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Shifting Dynamics of Social Politics:
The Implication for Policy Making
and Community Empowerment

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Shifting Dynamics of Social Politics: The Implication for Policy Making and Community Empowerment

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Shifting Dynamics of Social Politics:

The Implication for Policy Making

and Comunity Empowerment

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Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
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Foreword

Assalamualaikum Wr. Wb.

In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. May peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his family and companions.

Honourable guests, Rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Co-host Partners, Executive committees, all of the participants, ladies and gentlemen.

First of all, I would like to express gratitude to Allah for His invaluable blessings on us. Hence, this event can be held smoothly at Post-graduate Building, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Secondly, as the committee, I would like to express warm greetings and welcome to all of the participants and guest speakers; Dr Chi-fun Hung from National Cheng Kung University, Dr Non Naprathansuk from Maejo University, Chris Christopher A. Woodrich from Gadjah Mada University, and Dr Titin Purwaningsih from Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, by participating in this conference.

On this occasion, Jusuf Kalla School of Government (JKSG), the faculty of social and political sciences, in collaboration with Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs (APSPA), Universiti Utara Malaysia, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Khon Kaen University, Maejo University, Thammasat University, Rizal Technological University, De La Salle University, Korea University, supported by The American Institute for Indonesian Studies (AIFIS) and Kompas Media organize the international conference of 2nd JGP.

The Journal of Government and Politics (JGP) is a peer-reviewed journal, published by Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs (APSPA) in every four months in a year. The Journal of Government and Politics serves as a bridge between politics on the one hand and public administration and policy studies scholarship on the other. Moreover, JGP aims to develop political science, organisational, administrative, and policy science that are included in the government and governance. Besides that, this journal is committed to unique and rigorous scholarships which are beneficial for the best conceptual and theory-based research work in the field.

While the 2nd JGP-IC is a bi-annual meeting that facilitates scholars, researchers, professors, post-graduate students, and practitioners on Government and Politics. This event is to discuss and present a research paper. Furthermore, this International conference serves to foster communication among researchers, scholars and practitioners working in a wide variety of scientific areas with a similar concern. The 2nd JGP-IC will be conducted on July, 24th 2017 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. English is the official language used in the conference. The prospective authors are invited to submit the complete and original research papers which are never published, presented, and accepted by other conferences or journals. All accepted full research papers will be published in a form of CD as an ISBN e-proceeding. Also, the selected research papers will be published in Journal of Government and Politics and International Journal of Public Sector Performance Management.

In conclusion, I am also highly indebted to the Co-host partners and all of the staffs who help and support to make this event successful. I wish to all of you that this event will be sustainable and will contribute the achievement of knowledge on Public policy significantly. Once again, great thanks to all of you and enjoy the conference.

Wassalamualaikum Wr.Wb.

Yogyakarta, July 3, 2017

Eko Priyo Purnomo M.Res, Ph.D
The Chair of 2nd JGP-IC

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Democratic Institutions and Procedures

STABLE HYBRID DEMOCRACY AS LOCAL REGIME IN DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract

Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY) enjoys a special arrangement compared to other provinces in Indonesia, especially in terms of the governor and vice governor positions. Hence, the governor and vice governor of this province are political posts which are privileged to the Sultan Hamengkubuwono and Adipati Pakualam. For this reason, some people consider this arrangement undemocratic, since there is not equal access for everyone to be elected as governor in the province. However, in terms of Indonesian Democracy Index, DIY is always among the top three ranks. This paper is aimed to explain how and why this paradox exists in DIY. Tracing back the history, Kasultanan and Pakualaman both had their own values and traditions which were mostly hierarchical in managing public issues and their relation to their people. Soon after Indonesian independence in 1945, those two traditional institutions then had to deal with the newly established modern institution (state) which soon would promote democracy. This development creates a unique local regime pattern, wherein on the one side traditional culture, values, and social practice were mostly based on patron–client relationships which can still easily be seen in present-day political practice, while on the other side democratic institutions, such as political parties, non-government organizations (NGOs), and community-based organizations (CBOs) now flourish massively and greatly influence the democratization process in this special province. The intertwining between tradition and democracy is a form of hybrid democracy which usually is found in transition to democracy contexts. However, what happened in DIY is not just a transition from hierarchy based politics to democracy, since it is a regime already with a history involving a stable and long collaboration between traditional and modern institutions in managing public issues. This unique arrangementis unable to be replaced fully during the democratization process in Indonesia since 1998. As a result, this hybrid democracy situation then needs to be considered as a significant source in supporting political stability and maintaining development achievements in DIY.

Key words: traditional institution, modern institution, hybrid democracy, local regime.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is aimed to analyze what makes *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (hereafter DIY) politically stable. The signs of stability can be traced through its achievements in the Human Development Index (HDI) and Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI). In terms of IDI, since it was introduced in 2009, DIY has been getting higher indexes compared to the National Government Index (BPS DIY, 2014, 2015). Also, from the Human Development Index (HDI), DIY has been getting a high rank in Indonesia for the HDI since 2004. As an example, in 2014 HDI of DIY was in the second rank in Indonesia with 76.75 points after the Jakarta Province. Meanwhile, based on the Indonesia Governance Index, a measurement introduced by Partnership for Government Reform in 2012, among 33 provinces in Indonesia, DIY was in the first rank (Gismar et al., 2013).

Based on previous researches by the Baseline Survey of Democracy Project and Local Regime Project in DIY, conducted by the Power, Welfare and Democracy team of the Department of Politics and Government UGM (wherein the writer of this paper is involved in the Local Regime project team), there are some interesting findings that need to be elaborated further. Firstly, civil society organizations have been flourishing and growing up strongly, networking democratically and becoming independently institutionalized, while having greater access in managing public issues in DIY. There are more invited spaces for popular participation in the

policy making process compared to 31 other local areas in the research (Ardianto, 2015; Azizah & Al Akbar, 2016). Secondly, despite those groups' participation, the Local Regime team further found that people are welcome to participate, but not in all issues. In public issues such as education, health, infrastructure or poverty reduction people can freely participate. However, for the land use issue especially for the Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground[1], the doors for debate and discussionare limitedly opened (Azizah & Al Akbar, 2016).

Another research also found that in terms of promoting accountability and transparency through the establishment of *Lembaga Ombudsman DIY*, access to policy making process can be opened and closed based on the governor's favor. The rule of the game is clear, as long as *Lembaga Ombudsman DIY* or other NGOs do not touch the governor's interest, policy access will be widely opened (Azizah & Al Akbar, 2016; Mustikasari, 2015).

Those two contrasting settings in DIY create a paradox situation which shows intertwining between modern institutions (modern state and its instruments including democracy) and traditional institutions (Sultanate and Kadipaten as old institutions who mostly rely on patronage and hierarchy based relationship). This situation can be related to the history of the making of the Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and Kadipaten Pakualaman which involved the Dutch and English colonialism, in which traditional and modern institutions altogether were created to manage public issues in Yogyakarta. And since Indonesian independence in 1945, this intertwining model has also been applied up to now making it labelled as a hybrid regime – with well-established rules of the game and an established pattern of interaction (StoneMossberger & Stoker, 2001) among actors and institutions.

In other words, there has been a sustained dialectic between modern and traditional institutions in DIY. This coexistence process can also be found in some Asian and African countries who are in the middle of the third wave of democracy (Logan, 2009) and are then labelled as hybrid

democracy. The hybrid concept is most commonly used to explain transition periods, especially from authoritarian to democratic regimes. However, in the DIY context, this hybrid logic seems to be a stable type of regime, because this model has been implemented since the establishment of those two kingdoms. Therefore, this paper will use the hybrid democracy and regime stability concepts to better understand how this paradox phenomenon then became a stable regime in DIY.

THEORIZING HYBRID DEMOCRACY AND REGIME STABILITY

This part is intended as a theoretical framework for this paper which will be used to analyze what happened in the case of DIY. There are two concepts which will be discussed: hybrid democracy and regime stability. The hybrid democracy concept mostly is used to explain political transition, typically from an authoritarian to a democratic system. Transition to democracy in some countries in the 1990s showed that the results were varied, and regimes did not automatically turn from authoritarian to democratic government. Thomas Carothers (2002) in his paper "The End of the Transition Paradigm" explained that only 20 among 100 countries were able to fully construct a democratic political system. Meanwhile, the remaining 80 countries were trapped in a grey zone, since there were no significant democratic developments. Those 80 countries turned their authoritarian system into a system that combines both democratic and non-democratic characteristics together (Ekman, 2009).

Non-democratic character refers to authoritarian characteristics which have been able to survive by hiding behind democratic instruments, such as general elections. These are what political scientists called as democracy deficits, wherein democratic development is grown under the shadow of human rights violations, disrespect for civil liberty, bad interest representation, low political participation performance, constitutional abuse by civil servants, poor institutional performance, and low trust from the people toward state institutions due to their bad performance.

Those conditions then are labelled as *pseudo-democratic regimes*, *hybrid regimes*, or*electoral*

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[1] Lands that belong to Sultan and Pakualam, as an institution and/or individual.

authoritarian regimes (Diamond, 2002; Ekman, 2009; Levitsky & Way, 2002; Snyder, 2006). Further, Diamond (2002a) defines this hybrid regime into five alternative types: *liberal democracy*, *electoral democracy*, *competitive authoritarian*, *hegemonic electoral authoritarian*, and *politically closed authoritarian*, wherein these types have some democratic instruments which are there but not well functioning so that they turned into alternative forms of an authoritarian regime. Almost similarly, Boix and Svolik (2007) developed the electoral autocracy concept to explain a condition wherein the executive branch of government is led by a leader who is not directly elected by the people, while on the other hand the legislative members are elected through general election.

Within authoritarian regimes, democratic elements such as general election, opposition political parties, and civil and political liberties are deleted, both in *de jure* and *de facto* contexts by the regime. Whereas in hybrid regimes, democratic elements, such as competitive general election, multi-party system and political liberty are developed side by side with non-democratic elements. Hence, the ruling political party or dominant elites misuse state's resources to strengthen their political control over the people. Elites even manipulate the results of the general election to preserve their power (Snyder, 2006). In other words, democracy is then reduced into formal democracy (general election) without its substance which promotes civil and political rights (Levitsky & Way, 2002).

The hybrid regime concept helps us to understand two contrasting contexts: democratic vs. non democratic systems that coexist in one situation. However, hybrid regime study is mostly used to explain central/state level regimes in Africa (Kauzya, 2007; Logan, 2009; Rocha Menocal, Fritz, & Rakner, 2008) and some countries in Asia (Lilja, 2010; Logan, 2009). Hybridity in the local context is not fully covered yet, even though the world is also witnessing significant democratization process during democratic transitions in the local contexts. Ultimately, this paper aims to apply the hybridity concept to the regional and local levels in DIY.

To serve this aim, one great contribution came from Iris Marion Young (2000). She developed a framework for studying hybrid regimes from the local perspective. Young emphasized that the hybridity concept for the local level is not merely about contestation between democratic versus non-democratic values, wherein the non-democratic arrangement wins. The hybridity concept can be used to illustrate combining relations between traditional and modern institutional discourse in the policy making process. This mixture occurs as intended or unintended hybridity/organic hybridity that happens in an inter-discourse adapting process (Young (2000) in Lilja, 2010).

Young (2002) developed her local hybridity concept through her evaluation on post-colonial hybridity showing that cultural mixture could function as a tool for understanding resistance and social change in the society. Resistance here refers to subaltern or ruling group resistance toward discourses or narrative ideas brought by colonialism. Those subaltern/ruling groups use mainstream ideas/discourse/narrative prepared by the colonialists by moving the gravity of interpreting the ideas from the colonialist to the subaltern/ruling group concerns as its strategy (Parry, 2006). In terms of democratization, this hybridity concept helps us to better understand how democratic practices (as modern institutions) are accepted in a local context, however there needs to be an awareness that this acceptance actually is part of traditional institutions' strategy to sustain its role within the social change it faces.

Furthermore, in the context of the Javanese culture, this hybridity concept can also be found in the form of syncretism, especially in terms of religion and culture. The Javanese culture (and people) have been proving its ability to amalgam many religions which came to this culture, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity with the local indigenous Javanese beliefs (animism). Geertz labelled this as "Jawanisasi", in which Javanese culture accepted those religions/cultures, but remained in favor of the original system of Javanese values (Geertz, Mahasin, & Rasuanto, 1983). This religion syncretism included two important aspects. Firstly, there was a combining of two or more fundamentally different values into

one new value (Nitibaskara, 1993.; Partonadi, 1990; Reichle, 2007). And secondly, the new conjoined value physically appears publicly using the last value which came in. In the context of Islamization in Java as an example, the syncretism form can be easily perceived as Islam, but if we look deeper the Javanese values are still in practice, and this coexistence is the essence of syncretism (Geertz et al., 1983). So, by using the syncretism or hybridity framework, the traditional institutions then survived and can be seen in local and regional contexts such as DIY.

Even though the world community is now facing the third wave of democracy, authoritarian and autocratic regimes throughout the globe can still be found. In terms of autocratic regimes, the stability of these regimes comes from three pillars: legitimacy, repression, and cooptation (Gerschewski, 2013). Legitimacy is defined as a process to acquire political support from the people. Or more specifically, "… Legitimation seeks to guarantee active consent, compliance with the rules, passive obedience, or mere toleration within the population…" (Gerschewski, 2013), which can be traced through three indicators. Firstly, there is the quantity and intensity of public protest as an indicator of societal dissatisfaction. Secondly, there is the qualitative assessment of experts on the social and political situation within the country. And lastly, researchers are using discourse and content analysis to assess the formal legitimacy claimed by the elites, especially to identify gaps between elites' promises and realities which might eliminate the legitimation (Gerschewski, 2013: pp. 20-1).

The second pillar is repression, which becomes the backbone of autocracy, because it includes sanction, punishment and threats toward individuals or organizations and is aimed to set certain targets and prevent individuals and organizations outside the elites from doing threatening activities towards the existing regime. The third pillar is cooptation. Cooptation can be defined as elite's capacity to strategically bind and chain relevant individual or organization to elite's interests. By continuously using those three pillars, the autocratic regime will preserve and conserve social and political support from the society.

Examining how to maintain the sustainability of hybrid regimes, according to Ekman (2009), Levitsky and Way (2002) identified sources of legitimacy within three arenas (Ekman, 2009; Levitsky & Way, 2002). The first is the electoral arena which becomes the source of legitimacy for the hybrid regime. Since in fact the result of an election can be easily cheated or manipulated to satisfy the regime, an election thus can be an effective instrument for the regime to sustain its power. Secondly, there is the executive and legislative relation arena. Within an authoritarian regime, the legislative body does not exist, or if there is a legislative body it will be firmly controlled by the executive (elites). Therefore, there is no checks and balances mechanism, as required within the democratic system of government. Conversely, in the context of the hybrid regime, the legislative body still exists but is very weak and to some extent can play a role as opposition to the ruling elite (Ekman, 2009). The last arena is the judicial arena, wherein the hybrid regime tends to position the judiciary system under subordination through bribery, blackmailing, and through appointing and firing judicial staffs without fairness in evaluation or clear democratic mechanisms, such as due process. In addition, the hybrid regime uses legal principles to back up the regime's sustainability.

Hybrid regime stability also depends on incumbents' capability to circumvent opposition and to eliminate interaction between citizens and oppositional parties (Ekman, 2009). People's obedience to the regime then also is accumulated through patronage and clientelism. Patronage here refers to any materials or benefits which are distributed from the regime/elite to their people or clients, and reciprocally the clients give their loyalty and political support to the elites. Whereas, clientelism refers to politicians and voters/supporters' relation character (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015). According to Hutchcroft (2014), clientelism involved a personalistic power relation and material benefit provided by the ruler to get political support. Here, patrons offer resources (including state resources) to clients in exchange for clients' loyalty (Arriola, 2009). And for that reason, the state institutions become an arena wherein political actors are

bargaining for resources allocation and securing economic access (Arriola, 2009).

Clientelism includes three elements. First of all, there is some tradeoff or exchange, in which one party (patron or client) gives goods, benefits and/or political support as a direct response to another party's benevolence. There is also some hierarchical relation within clientelism, wherein an imbalanced power relation among patron and client is unremittingly retained. Another needed element is repetition which assures the cliental swap remains sustainable.

Gerschewski's explanation on what makes autocracy regimes stable (Gerschewski, 2013) can be applied to explain why the hybrid regime remains relatively stable in DIY. By using the three pillars (as explained above), this paper analyzes the role of Javanese culture and values which have been existing in DIY. A careful examination on the history of the development of DIY before Indonesian independence will also be an excellent source for more information to scrutinize the dynamics of hybrid regimes in the research area of local and regional political science.

THE EMERGENCE OF HYBRID REGIME IN DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA

Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY) Province itself is a conjoining formed of two independent kingdoms: Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat (thereafter Kasultanan) and Kadipaten Pakualaman (hereafter: Pakualaman) in 1945, soon after Indonesian independence on August 1945. Kasultanan was established in 1755 through *Perjanjian Gianti* (Gianti Treaty) led by the Dutch. The Kasultanan then was led by Sultan Hamengkubowono I and his descendants until today. Whilst the Kadipaten Pakualaman initially was part of Kasultanan Yogyakarta, but in 1812 when the English colonialists ruled, Kasultanan Yogyakarta was then divided into two kingdoms: Kasultanan Yogyakarta and Kadipaten Pakualaman. Pakualaman then was led by Adipati Pakualam I and continued by his descendants until now.

Based on political contracts with the Dutch East Indies Government, those two kingdoms were treated as vassals who had the rights to manage daily governing activities such as taxing and establishing local armies/police. However, the ways they ran those activities were scrutinized tightly by the Dutch East Indies Government as proof of their loyalty to the Queen of the Dutch and her General Governor of the area (Soemardjan, 2009: pp. 13-6).

Even though the Kings and Kingdoms in Yogyakarta were controlled by the colonialists, both had significant legitimation upon their people. As explained by Selo Soemardjan (2009), in the context of the Javanese culture, the Kingdom/Sultanate (especially Kasultanan Yogyakarta) is in the top of the social structure of the society. The Sultanate has held real power, in terms of economy, politics, military and religion, and even magical power which is still until today reproduced through myths (Soemardjan, 2009: pp. 17-8).

However, reproducing myths as part of cultural resources will not be enough to sustain this hereditary power. There are also material resources in the form of lands held by tenurial system which are important to keep the Kasultanan and Pakualaman's legitimacy, because this system also guarantees the Sultan's and Pakualam's positions as patrons for the society.

Since their establishment, the Kasultanan and Pakualaman have been gaining relatively strong and stable legitimacy from the people in a number of areas. The Sultan and Kasultanan have been maintaining this legitimacy through rituals and ceremonial events for the middle-upper classes, and the annual Grebeg parade (as part of Sultan's benevolence) to strengthen relations with the lower classes within society (Soemardjan, 2009: pp. 30-2). By using those strategies, the Sultan is then perceived as good and benevolent, since according to Javanese culture, to become a King, there should be character qualities such as generosity, good manners, patient, calm, smart and brave to fulfill the Sultan's philosophical role as *Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono* (The Defender of The World's Beauty) while providing public welfare in DIY (Nusantara, 1999 in Harsono, 2012).

In the middle of social change and democratization in Indonesia, the Kasultanan and Pakualaman are still gaining social and

political support among the people of DIY. This strength can be seen from the people's great support for the Sultan and Kasultanan around 2010 when the central government offered a new democratic process for electing the governor and vice governor by applying direct election as all other provinces in Indonesia (Kurniadi, 2009). The discourse was rejected by the public in DIY, so that the central government had no other choice other than acknowledging the original form of Kasultanan and Pakualaman (as well as the current, Sultan and Pakualam) in the formal and modern governmental system, by granting and strengthening Yogyakarta as a province with special status through Law No. 13/2012 as replacement of Law No. 3/1950.

DIY has been experiencing an asymmetrical decentralization in Indonesia since 1950. DIY has been enjoying a uniquely specific and special arrangement in the mechanism of electing the governor and vice governor of the province which are privileged posts granted to the Sultan of Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat as the Governor and the Adipati Pakualam of Kadipaten Pakualaman for the Vice-Governor position, based on Law No. 3/1950. Whereas for all other provinces in Indonesia, the governor and vice governor were appointed by the local parliament (with great influence from the President Soeharto during New Order Era) up to 2004, then continued with direct election since 2004 up to now.

As mentioned before, the Central Government issued Law No. 13/2012 which renewed the asymmetrical decentralization for DIY, not only in terms of mechanism for electing governor and vice governor such as Law No. 3/1950, but also asymmetrical in terms of managing authorities for local government organizations, culture, land, and spatial planning in comparison to all other provinces. This unique and special status recognition is a form of hybridity, wherein the formal and modern institutions (state) are accepted with traditional mechanisms based on the cultural values in DIY.

However, this hybridity form is not new in the history of Yogyakarta. Democratic syncretism can be traced back to the Sultan HamengkuBuwana (HB) VII, wherein the

Kasultanan granted right to use the land to the farmers (Kresna, 2009 in Ardianto, 2015: p. 401). Further, Sultan HB IX then continued this conjoining strategy when the Sultan and Kasultanan faced radical social and political changes before and after Indonesian independence in 1945. At that time, nationalism with the spirit of democracy among the people increased massively at the end of Japanese colonialism in the middle of 1945. Therefore, as proof of support for the newly established Indonesia, the Sultan HamengkuBuwono IX and Pakualam VIII declared that their areas were part of the new Republic of Indonesia. This recognition became a great contribution to Indonesia, since these two Kingdoms then provided the newly recognized country real territory as an important requirement for a state.

Joining with Indonesia for Sultan HB IX and Pakualam VIII was also a smart political strategy for both, because this recognition would then make both Kingdoms to continue to exist and be accepted by the people and by Indonesia as a sovereign state. Sultan HB IX and Pakualam VIII were fully aware of the fact that becoming part of nationalism and democracy development in Indonesia would be key factors to keep their Kingdom sustained.

Sultan HB IX carefully applied the democratic syncretism strategy for Yogyakarta. He was a resourceful leader who grew up with both Javanese culture, as part of his education as the Crown Prince of Kasultanan Yogyakarta prepared by his father (Sultan HB VIII) on the one side and on the other side, egalitarian and pluralism values, because Sultan HB VIII also sent him outside the palace to live with common people and a Dutch family (Soemardjan, 2009). These combination strategies provided a base in managing dualism in DIY: hierarchy based traditional institutions and modern institutions which promote egalitarianism and democracy (Tolo, 2013).

The form of hybridity of Sultan HB IX can be seen through three milestones. Firstly, there was the admitting Indonesia as a sovereign country, even though at that time he was offered a strategic position from the Dutch colonialists if he provided support to the Dutch. By stating Indonesia as sovereign

country upon his Kingdom, this choice meant that he had to sacrifice some part of his power. In the hybrid democracy concept, this decision can be perceived as a substantial effort to embrace Indonesia as a new democratic country. Secondly, there was the providing of continuous support to defend Indonesian independence. One example of this support was by allowing the new Indonesian government to use his palace as their office and Yogyakarta as the capital when Jakarta was re-occupied by the Dutch in 1946 (Carey, 1986).

Further, these decisions can also be understood as strategic steps to demonstrate that monarchy had become the savior for the Indonesian Republic. In return, this smart step then strengthened the Sultan-Kasultanan and Pakualam–Pakualaman in the Indonesian democracy history. And thirdly, as part of integrating modern institutions with traditional ones, Sultan HB IX implemented people centered politics in the name of Indonesia. One example is by allowing Bangsal Pagelaran (a place in front of the palace) for studying to become the newly established Universitas Gadjah Mada, and even further offered his land in the northern part of his Kingdom to be used as home base by this university (Soemardjan, 2009).

Institutionally and individually, those milestones provide positive images of the Kings and their kingdoms for the Indonesian government, Yogyakarta's people, and in general to all Indonesia people. The opening of the palace for youth to study was a power to "… prevent destructive elements embedded within revolution movement from entering feudalism in the palace…" (Soemardjan 2009: p. 429). Politically, this image then saved the Kingdoms from the emergence of an anti-monarchy system which happened in the neighboring area of Surakarta where there were the Kasultanan Surakarta and the Kadipaten Mangkunegaran. Secondly, after providing continuous support for Indonesia, the Indonesian Government awarded the Law No.3/1950 which legally recognized and admitted the area of Kasultanan Yogyakarta and Kadipaten Pakualaman as special province in the new Republic of the United States of Indonesia. Ultimately, this is the significant role of the law: providing legal

political recognition of the traditional power owned by the Sultan and Pakualam, in terms of formal leadership (as governor and vice governor automatically, without election) and sustaining the traditional land tenurial system. And again, syncretism or hybrid democracy strategy proved its effectiveness and successfulness in softening the demand for full democracy implementation in DIY.

This hybrid strategy was then continued by Sultan HB X, by effectively combining modern institutions with traditional institutions. He led the people in DIY in a large demonstration asking for Soeharto to step down in 1998. This type of active protest was a smart choice since the social and political contexts demanded political change in the country. As a result, in 1998 Sultan HB X was then appointed as Governor of the province up to today.

As mentioned earlier, DIY has been achieving very good performance ratings since 1998 in many aspects. Sultan HB X as Governor of the province has been proving his capacity to lead the area for many years. At the same time, there are cultural traditions which originated from Javanese culture, such as *Grebeg*, *Jamasan Pusaka Kraton*, and the royal wedding ceremonies of the Sultan's daughter, which have been attracting attention from almost all Jogjanese, showing people's support to the Kraton as one of Jogja's traditional institutions.

DIY also becomes home for active NGOs and provides access to the policy making process. As an excellent example, in 2004, through the Governor's Decree No. 134/2004, the Governor established DIY's Local Ombudsman (*Lembaga Ombudsman Daerah* DIY. hereafter LOD-DIY), and became the first province in Indonesia to establish a local ombudsman and provide funding for this new institution to function properly. By this policy, the people participation in monitoring and evaluating public service delivery was then legally granted. However, this opened participation space was unable to fully increase the quality of popular participation. Whenever LOD DIY raised issues and complained about sensitive issues which directly touch the leader(s), the participation space would be closed (Mustikasari, 2015). Further, another research also found that in terms of the

people participation in agenda setting and policy formulation, it is not the issue itself which is important but who brings the issue to the policy making process which matters. When an issue is brought by people who have close relations with the Sultan and his family, the policy process proceeds very quickly in transforming the issue into public policy (Azizah & Al Akbar, 2016; Azizah, Tapiheru, Stefani, & Widayati, 2014; Faidati, 2016).

In 2012, after having serious debates at both local and national levels, the Central Government issued the Law No. 13/2012 which strengthened the specific arrangement for DIY compared to the previous law (Law No.3/1950). The Law No. 13/2012 legally re-acknowledged the Sultan's and Pakualam's privilege for the governor and vice governor position. In addition, the central government stated that in terms of the local government's structural organization, culture, land use, and city planning, DIY are given authority to govern by combining national standards and procedures in providing public services with local wisdom to maintain DIY's special status. Once again, this syncretism is also a sign of the hybridity form in DIY which has been existing and will continue to be practiced in the future.

HYBRID DEMOCRACY AS STABLE REGIME PATTERN

Based on the all explanations above, hybrid democracy has been becoming a recognizable pattern in maintaining public issues in DIY. It also continues a pattern in terms of leaders' and people's relations, which has been established long before Indonesian independence. For this reason, DIY can already be seen as a hybrid regime, that is, a regime which continuously is implementing a combination between traditional and modern institutions.

Hybridity in terms of regime and/or democracy has usually been used to explain transitional contexts, especially the transformation from an authoritarian to a democratic system. However, in the context of DIY, hybrid democracy has been in practice since its establishment, which can be seen through its history. Of course, this fact does not mean that the traditional institution (Sultan–

Kasultanan and Pakualam–Pakualaman) is an authoritarian or autocratic regime. It is closer to what political scientists called as the Sultanistic Regime or constitutional monarchy system at the local level, but in a limited sense since the national policy is also effectively implemented. This unique form of syncretism and special status is what makes DIY interesting as a research area.

Based on Gerschewski (2013) as explained before, there are three pillars for regime stability: legitimacy, repression, and co-optation. In the social and political contexts of DIY, the most important pillar to explain why the hybrid democracy regime remains relatively stable is legitimacy, which has been originated from the strongly rooted traditional Javanese values, especially in terms of its idea of leadership and power.

In Javanese culture, unity and harmonious social order is important, so that the concept of governing in Javanese traditions is illustrated as a concrete, centralistic homogeny. Concrete here means that the power is solid as an already existing reality. Homogeny means that power is originated from one source and indivisible. Meanwhile, centralistic means that power is held in only one hand and it is permanent (Ali, 1986). Generally, power is perceived as the capacity to maintain the lives of the people, securing their loyalty, and as governing chaotic situations into order (Ali, 1986). Therefore, the Javanese concept of power is not on how to use the power itself, but more on how to accumulate the power into one hand (Anderson, 2006).

Looking at what had been done by Sultan HB IX when he opened the palace for youth to study soon after Indonesian independence, it can be interpreted as a strategy for accumulating and centralizing power. At that time, the nationalism spirit was very strong due to the Indonesian independence and was a new power which brought great challenge toward traditional institutions. Therefore, accumulating this new power with the people's loyalty was a great step to keep his traditional power's legitimacy.

Similarly, the way Sultan HB X established LOD DIY and provided funding for this organization can be considered as a form of power accumulation. Further, Sultan HB X in the last three

years has been welcoming academicians in DIY to be involved in the policy making process as part of expert teams to serve as government consultants in all sectors in DIY. Involving academicians into the policy making process is another sign of accumulating power, especially knowledge power, to support the governing process in DIY. In return, as the governing process in DIY has been showing a great performance confirmed by the high index ratings, the Governor's legitimacy's increases as well.

The high legitimacy of the Sultan and Kasultanan can also be seen from the results of *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* (DPD - Regional Representative Council) election. GKR Hemas (The Queen of Kasultanan Yogyakarta) has been becoming one of the four representatives from DIY since 2004. GKR Hemas has been getting 75–80% votes for DPD election in DIY in 2004, 2009, and 2014. This popular result is an enduring proof of the significant legitimacy which the Sultan and Kasultanan have among the Jogjanese people.

In addition, Javanese culture is historically hierarchical, in which the King as a patron is in the highest position in the social structure. The Sultan and Kasultanan are the hereditary owners of an estimated 500,000 hectares of land in DIY(Kurniadi, 2009), in which most of the areas have been used by Jogjanese who received permit from the Kasultanan to use the land. The Sultan and Kasultanan also gave away thousands of hectares of the land for educational purposes as well as for public interest. By giving the land to people and organizations outside the palace, this political act of benevolence is actually part of a centralizing strategy for securing loyalty to the King and his Kingdom.

Traditionally, this type of patronage system in the Javanese culture has been providing strong symbiosis and mutualism relation between patrons and clients. This stability of supports can be related to social and political benefits for both patron and client, in order to reach harmony as the main Javanese value. For this reason, conflict and tension between patron and client can be eliminated and as a result, the continued regime stability can be achieved.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper is aimed to explain hybrid democracy in DIY which has been a stable regime in the Special Province of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Through historical exploration, it can be found that the emergence of hybridity in DIY started long before modern Indonesia was established. After Indonesian independence, the Sultan and Kasultanan has been proving their durable support in defending Indonesian independence, and being important parts of promoting democracy before and after Reformasi since 1998.

The Sultan and Kasultanan as traditional institutions have been welcoming modern institutions and then beautifully blending these two institutions in their own special way of governing this area. Traditional institutions have been able to maintain their existence by blending itself or hybridizing with modern institutions. The key source for this stability is legitimacy, which traditionally was owned by the King then has been further strengthened by the legitimacy earned through great achievements in governing DIY. This unique strength of syncretism and benevolent vision is the main source of the hybrid regime's stability in DIY.

Hybrid logic is commonly used to describe transitions to democracy, but in the context of DIY then it becomes an example of stability. In the process, imagining an ideal democracy which is adopted in all western democracies, without the role of traditional institutions will only be a utopia. Thus, the next issue which can be opened for discussion is about how to blend those two institutions synergistically for the optimum benefit of the people.

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DEMOCRACY AND VOTING DECISION MAKING PROCESS

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Abstract

Democracy has already became a global aspiration, which required regular elections for power succession. It also opened the possibility for people accessed power shifting by expressing it into the elections to the express way into selection. The research uses the theory of Lau and Redlawsk on decision-making process. The research also seeks the decision-making process experienced by the voters in order to choose the regent/vice regent candidates of Bandung in 2010. The theory is used to understand the respondents when determine choices. The qualitative method with the case study is used to achieve these goals. Data were collected from in-depth interviews called "verbal protocol" that the respondent as "decision maker" is assumed to be able to report what they remembered when making decisions. The respondents were selected randomly. The number of respondents is then reduced based on their description of the decision-making processes, as well as from classifying the kinds of processes which they experienced. The research result showed that determining process in the election is not a single phase, which according to research can be classified into three types, namely the closed decision-making process, open and partly open. The voters which used the closed process are characterized as passive information retriever, and had a simple consideration. While voters using an open process is marked by active search for information, and has a complex consideration. The third calssification is called semi-open, since the openness has been limited by a common political, social and religious denominations among respondents and candidates from the beginning. Only the voters whom used the open process met the requirements of direct democracy, which holddeeper political knowledge in determine their choices. Besides, they have actively sought information, and then determined their choices carefully. High quality democracy requires voters who do not just merely choose their candidates, but the number of voters whom use this open process are in small amounts. Therefore, it required voter education by both of the participants and the election organizers.

Keywords: *Democracy, elections, voting process*

INTRODUCTION

With the existence of regular election, it indicates that a country has established on political institutions required by democracy (Dahl, 2001). Democracy has become global aspiration (Santoso, 2005) who played as citizen platform to participate more in selecting public policy.

Citizens are granted more freedom to elect their leaders over predetermined time intervals (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006). Hereby, democracy needs selected leaders; and fair yet justice elections. Both are sustained by the freedom of voters to express their choice. Elections are important because of several reasons i.e.: First, it allows political communities transfer their power peacefully. Second, they create institusionalized conflicts. Elections in fair and justice terms require the disputed parties to restrain and use elections as a medium for conflicts. Potential strength to gain power will only be released on election, thus the one who desired on it must gather their power to face the election.

From the description above, it can be described that election gives authority for citizens to participate in selecting public policy and leaders. In excercising those authorities, it is

necessary to proceed a process to define a choice. How does the process happens? How many decision making has been made? What kind of decision making process which is suitable with democracy?

Generally, the studies upon behavioral chosing use three types of approach i.e. approach from sociology tradition, psychology tradition, and political economy tradition (rational choice) (Carmines and Huckfeldt, 1996). Since 2006, Lau and Redlawsk have introduced a new approach in behavioral choosing which later known as *Behavioral Decision Theory (BDT)* to explain decision making process in choosing on political events.

Lau and Redlawsk argued that several researchers which had used three following approaches emphasized more in individual characteristic whom generally reached ideological character and partisanship, economic level and political experiences. By relying upon these arguments, Lau and Redlawsk focused on the understanding related to the following factors and relate them to how those factors influence the reception and information process (not just preference) for voters, which they classify as important intervening variables, and become key in influencing voter evaluation and choice of candidates (2006: 22). Meanwhile, historically, BDT traditions are rather simillar with three previous traditions. The sociological tradition states that socio-economic status such as religion, education and income will affect someone's choice of party or candidate. Meanwhile, according to psychological tradition, there are three variables exists, namely party identification, issue orientation, and candidate orientation. The political economy tradition explains that one chooses because there is personal gain from the program or policy of the candidate to be acquired so that the person of the rational type will tend to consider carefully the choice of party or candidate to support. For that, he will look for information about the candidate or party so he do not have "political miscalculations".

This study lies in one of the approaches described above, namely the behavioral decision theory approach or the behavioral decision

theory. It will focus on how decisions are made. Through this theory, Lau and Redlawsk show that they observe decision-making process through three factors as independent variables, which are consisting of: background characteristics of voter, political sophistication, and campaign factors. The three of them simultaneously determine the subjectivity of the voters "naturally" in considering the "nature" of decision tasks. The process continued until they form variables of information processing together with the memory of each voter will perform as the intervening variable (intervening variable) that will directly affect the evaluation and vote choice.

This paper focuses on describing what kind of decision-making process is appropriate to democracy system, whom does not simply require voter participation, but also the people's understanding of their choice. This understanding will be seen when choosing a selection based on candidate, political party and program information search, then selecting, considering all the information to be an option.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Democracy in Indonesia is described embracing liberal democracy (Eko, 2005: 44). Schiller (2009: 150-151) quoted from Taylor (1996) stated that theoretically, liberal democracy sees elections as an opportunity for voter learning and politicians to interpret public wishes, elect and rotate leadership among elites, and ensures state has legitimatation and establishes government legitimation based on mandate in creating policy.

The lessons in liberal democracy include five things: first, the election campaign is designed to inform voters about important issues, both submitted by the candidate party, as well as conveying contestants' character and vision. Second, the election is an exercise medium for political parties and candidates, by delivering certain meaning while doing campaigns, and voting whom designed for the voters, so they have the opportunity to communicate both of their concerns and their need. Third, elections are a place to give empowerment to voters. Fourth, the election is offer a mechanism to recruit leaders and rotate positions among the

elites. Fifth, the election provides who has the right to governs, along with its legitimacy and mandate.

According Ramlan Surbakti, voting behavior is a series of decision-making activities, in deciding to vote or not in the general election (Surbakti, 1992: 145). This definition tends to see the final result is a decision to elect either a political party, a candidate or a program or even a decision not to vote at all.

Below we will describe various approaches in choosing behavior, both traditional and recent thinking proposed by Lau and Redlawsk (2006), the BDT approach. Traditional approaches include: sociological approaches, psychological approaches and political economy approaches. These three approaches are loosely translations obtained by researchers from the book *A New Handbook of Political Science* (Pappi, Franz Urban 1996: Chapter 8 and Chapter 9), *Controversies In Voting Behavior* (Niemi, G. Richard and Herbert F. Weisberg1984: Chapter 5) , and *Election and Voters: A Comparative Introduction* (Harrop, Martin and William L. Miller 1987: Chapter 6). The quotations are also supplemented from *Empirical Election Studies* (Roth, 2008) and *Election and Behavior Selects 1955-2004* (Asfar, 2006).

According to sociological approach, social characteristics determines political preferences. In here, the explanatory model is divided into models of microsociological and macrosociological explanations. The first model has always been associated with sociologists Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet of Columbia University. While the second one is taken from Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan who observed the election of Lazarsfeld's research. It examines voting behavior at all levels or layers in society as a whole that eventually led to an explanation of political parties systems in Western Europe (Roth, 2008: 23-24).

Researchers from Columbia University who described the 1940 election by sociological model found that socioeconomic status (education, income, and class), religion and residence (rural or urban) are closely related to someone's choice. They combine it into the "index of political predisposition" (IPP). For example, Protestants from rural areas with high socioeconomic status are more likely to vote for the Republican Party. Social group factors are likely being taken into account which will lead to different choices. But this model does not try to explain why many Protestants choose the Republic over Catholics. It means that the research does not calculate certain political aspects of the election. (Carmines and Huckfeldt, 1996: 228).

Psychological approach was born to complement sociological approach, which Campbell argued, in terms of methodological is rather difficult to determine the criteria for societal group (Kristiadi, 1994). It was developed by the University of Michigan 's Survey Research Center which applied the paradigm by emphasizing individual factors. According to this approach, voting is determined by three aspects: the attachment of a particular political party (party identification), the orientation of the candidate, and the orientation to the political issues raised.[1] These three factors by Roth (2008) are called "triage determinants:. Furthermore Roth explained that according to this approach, personal perceptions and judgements of the candidate or the selected themes (short-term influences) are very influential on the future choices. In addition, the "psychological membership" in a party that can be measured in terms of party identification variables (long-term effects), also has significant influences in shaping choices. Thus the choice of a person is determined by both of short and long term influences. Thus, wecan argue that when someone decides to vote it is determined by his perceptipon about the political party, issues, and candidate itself.

The rational choice approach lied on cost and benefit calculations. It is convinced that someone's choice is not determined by a social

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[1] The three factors are establshed from various product of attitude. Followers of this approach explain that someone's attitude is -as a reflection of one's personality- a decisive variation in influencing one's behavior. This is, according to Greenstein's, caused by attitude function which is the function of interest. But then, many people argue the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Is it true that attitude affects behavior? Because, it cannot be predicted that a person whose attitude prefers on a particular party while choosing later will decide according to his attitude (Asfar, 2006: 142-143).

structure or strong party bonding, but the result of a competent citizens' judgement (Roth, 2008). Another classic masterpiece in rational choice comes from Anthony Downs (1957) which expresses rationality as voter involvement to achieve goals in a reasonable way. Taking from economic theory, the sensible way is when a person is being faced in a goal which he/she wants to achieve, by using his best knowledge, how to use the least possible resources to obtain more valuable results (Evans, 2004: 71).

Behavioral decision theory discusses how decisions are made by searching information and with a strategy of making choices. In the search for information, Lau and Redlawsk raised the types of information into five groups that are usually collected by voters (2006: 102):

1. Personal Information, including candidate background, personality, candidate photo and work or performance of candidates.
2. Hoopla and Horse Race, including results of polls, campaign slogans and reports relating to campaign strategy.
3. Issues, including economic issues that are usually maintained by candidates, foreign policy, and various other social issues.
4. Party, party-related affiliation.
5. Endorsements, news about candidates supported by interest groups.

Furthermore, Lau and Redlawsk modeled the decision making process, namely:

a. *Rational Choice: Dispassionate Decision Making*

This approach illustrates how decision makers have assurances in maximizing their values and decisions. They will evaluate the candidate with the hope that their choice will be able to fulfill their personal interests each time the election takes place. They must know a lot about politics because with his work he can easily obtain information. According to this approach, voters are placed as human beings who also are economic beings (Homo Economicus).

Lau and Redlawask argue that, even while there are people who provide information, people with this type will not easily accept it. They will be logically accountable, although it will take time, but will be happy to do so since they percived it as productive activity.

b. *Early Socialization and Cognitive Consistency: Confirmatory Decision Making*

This approach suggests that the vast majority of the population is relatively little informed of formal politics and does not even care about politics. Three things that become influential factors in decision making are the characteristics of political party, issue, and evaluation of candidate's performance

In this decision model, the early lessons of social identification (early-learn social identification) gives influence on the decision of choosing, identification of a kind with other alternatives which is also determined not with much consideration. The characteristics that voters have in this approach are categorized as passive because in this situation information is arguably in control. Therefore, to overcome this situation, voters are required to study party affiliation from the candidate in the shortest possible time. Voters are only looking for information about candidates from their party and do not really consider the information of the opposition party.

c. *Fast and Frugal Decision Making*

People in this category are described as individuals with sufficient political knowledge but then rely on economic choice, in the sense that they will focus on the cost of processing information rather than focusing on efforts to collect it. Political scientists call it "issue voters" (e.g. Conover, Gray and Coombs, 1982), while Carmines and Stimson call it "easy issues", with the characteristics that they will access long-term issues on the political agenda, but access to such information only serves as symbols and not to be used technically, where in this context it will rely more on policy as a goal rather than a tool.

d. *Bounded Rationality and Intuitive Decision Making*

Voters have characteristics as people with voting decisions based on collecting little information they get during the campaign. Therefore, there is no calculation as a result of alternative differences, no variation of information based on predisposisi politics seen from the previous type is categorized can be studied as early as possible, nor does he

makes consideration or confirmation with the views of others. The decision to vote them will appear almost automatically. This characteristic is called "low information rationality," as Popkin, Sniderman, Brody and Tetlock suggest, an approach that makes a person decide to choose without much advantage. This model emphasizes intuitive feeling in decision-making.

The authors see that the four models of decision-making processes are based on rational choice, Michigan, easy issue voting, and bounded rationality perspective. Lau and Redlawsk then aligned bounded rationality with intuitive decision making. According to the researcher, bounded rationality with intuitive decision making can not be aligned, since in bounded rationality the voter still has a reason why choosing the candidate, while in intuitive decision making, the voter can not give any reason related to why they chose the candidate.

RESEARCH METHODS

In terms of research methods, this study offers qualitative methods which rarely used in previous behavioral studies. Generally, behavioral studies prefer to use quantitative methods thus the research revolves around and focused on whether avariables has the greatest or little effects on someone's choice. So, does the method used by Lau and Redlawsk. They used the experimental method with the information board[2] to observe which variables affect the

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[2] The experiment was conducted in a computer laboratories, so subjects were required to operate the computer. Voters in this experiment sit in front of the computer and do not interact with other voters. They did not know any information about candidates, was given the opportunity to study candidates for 20 minutes for primary election and 12 minutes for general election.

The first step in this experiment : the subjects were assigned to fill out a questionnaire on the computer screen about his political stance. Questionnaires are designed to measure the subject's political preferences including party identification, conservative or liberal ideology, political preferences with different domain variations (important for determining support for candidates), their preference for political groups (it is important to determine how voters react to groups whom support candidates) and their level of education and experience. All questions are taken from ANES

After that, subjects were introduced with "dynamic informationboard" and given an explanation on how to use it. Information on computers contains about the 1996 presidential election campaign, but subjects were asked to imagine the 2000 presidential elections.

information process and then determine somenone's choice. Thus, the four approaches conduct variable-based research.

By using a qualitative approach, this research is going to explore the decision of respondents in choosing candidates for Regent / Vice Regent of Bandung Regency in 2010. In BDT, this method is called "protocol verba" in which voters are asked to report what they have experienced when they made a decision (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006).

This research will explore the process experienced by voters to decide the choice of candidate of Regent / Vice Regent both in first and second round. By reconstructing individual thoughts, researchers want to explore what the voter thinks, feels, and does when they decided to vote in particular regent/vice regent candidate. The researcher will ask them to reveal their feels, such as "external forces" that lead them to choose candidates that contradicted with their thoughts and feelings. Reconstruct the voter's thinking means "digging up the subjective experience of voters and interpreting events" (Devine, 2002: 199), to ensure they can describe the process in making decisions on the election. What are their thoughts, felt, and done in choosing candidates cannot be explained either by the traditional approach or the theory of decision behavior because the study is variable-based, i.e. data can only be obtained through rigid variables, based on survey results. Thus, the use of surveys is not possible in a voting behavior decision study that emphasize on its process.

From 31 sub-districts in Bandung regency, the researcher chose Cicalengka Sub-district, because this district has few villages where the winning result is varied both in first and second round elections, such as in the Cicalengka Wetan Village, the Babakan Peuteuy Village, the Margaasih Village and the Panenjoan Village, with a focus on candidates whom was carried Golkar (Dadang M. Naser-Deden Rukman Rumaji) due to the vote for the district won by them. The researchers selected four villages to see the decision-making process and the voter characteristics in the village with the following variations: 1) lose both in first and second

rounds, 2) lose in the first round but win in the second round, 3) win in first round abut lose In the second round, and 4) win both in first and second round.

FINDINGS

In obtaining an election option, the researcher found that the respondents' choice did not evolve in a single process. Thus, the researchers classified the decision-making process into three categories: 1) a closed decision-making process, 2) an open decision-making process, and 3) a semi-open decision-making process. Further explanation is available for each type of decision-making process.

The closed decision-making process is characterized by passive information searching, having a simple consideration which means that considerations are made in accordance with the incoming information, then making choices based on the recommendations of its social circle or sociological ties, party identification, public issues and drawing/ever seen. Stages of decision making process will be passed quickly, because the choice is determined based on simple considerations with similar information.

The closed decision-making process is a series of actions in choosing by absorbing information include the type of candidate's personal information in the background. It consists of candidate's name, photograph and personality; party name of the party bearer; program is barely known. Respondents considered by accepting advice from the nearest person, following the majority vote, watching campaigns at a glance, looking at sticker/photo candidates and accustomed to selecting the same party from election to election. All absorbed information are taken into consideration in determining the choice, except the candidate program. And then they immediately made a choice. In other words, respondents with closed types will not use the program they know as a consideration in determining their choices.

Respondents do not have the ability to deal with complexity in decision making, the process appears to be simple. The information absorbed is obtained passively, without any selection, so any information-unless the received program, will be taken as consideration to make a choice.

Choosing a party candidate based on familiarty or prioritize party labels as their basis of choice, has tied the respondent to be in this category. In addition, there is a bond of social circle in which the respondent lives, where it is necessary to distinguish the situation from the other respondents. On the basis of the description, the authors described it as the close type voters, which means voters who use the decision-making process in private.

In contrast with the closed type of decision-making process, the open choice decision-making process is characterized by an active search for information, having complex considerations means it considerates the positive or negative side of some candidates and programs, then making choices based on it. Stages of the decision-making process will be passed longer, because the choice is determined based on complex considerations with varied information.

Open choice decision-making process is a series of actions in choosing by considering the positive and negative side of the candidate without the use of certain boundaries, it means that the respondent does not use the limits of political and social organization or the status of the candidate in making decisions. This process has stages from beginning to absorb information, consider and make choices. As the candidate considerations are not motivated by personal interests, this process can be seen from the social motivation perspective.

Between closed and open category, the researcher also found the respondents who conducted semi-open process, meaning that their openness from the beginning has been limited by the similarity of political, social, religious and religious organizations between the respondents and the candidates. There are also respondents who use ascriptive aspects as negative and positive, if negative they have removed the candidate from the area of consideration, on the contrary if positive, such candidate status is used as a benchmark in decision making. Changes in the decision-making process between the first and second rounds also occur in some respondents, in which there are respondents who use closed

processes in the first round while differ in the second round by using open process.

The semi-open decision-making process is characterized by an active search for information, having a complex consideration of considering the positive or negative side of some candidates and the program on a limited scale, then determining the choices based on candidates, political parties, religious outflows, and candidate status. Stages of the decision-making process will be traversed longer, because the choice is determined on the basis of complex considerations with varied information in accordance with the constraints made by voters.

The semi-open decision making process is a series of actions in choosing by examining the positive and negative sides of the candidate using a particular category. The semi-open process can also be interpreted as a decision between closed and open processes or vice versa, meaning that in the first round of respondents use the open retrieval process, while in the second round using a closed process or vice versa. This process can be seen from the perspective of the scheme and changes in the decision-making process.

DISCUSSION

The election, whether nationally or locally, as a pillar of democracy does not promise successful leaders for the progress of a country. Until now, the result of the people's choice has been heading towards producing a local leader who is considered successful in advancing the region, or otherwise cultivating a disaster that people do not realize: the emergence of political dynasty.

Pilkada (regional head election) does not fully contain the goals of democracy and political change, because since it contains several short-term struggles that can tarnish and hijack democracy itself (Eko, 2005: 35). Behind the appealing image of democracy that can offer the conception of political goodness, that is, "prosperous life" under "free and equal" conditions, democracy is not an exit toll to deal with injustice, electoral fraud or other political crimes (Held, 2006).

The two conditions above show the important of voter determination in chosing

their leader. Direct democracy does require a requirement for voters to have advanced political knowledge in determining choice (Smith 2002; Smith and Tolbert 2004 in Dyck and Source, 2009). Furthermore, Dyck and Source (2009) quoted from Matsuka (2004) stated that democracy directly influences policy so that the issued policy is around public expectation. In other words, there is a congruence between policy and public desire.

In an ideal level, voting becomes the basis for influencing public policy, but not all voters use it as a consideration in making choices. Considering the choice because of being trapped by the surrounding social circle or accustomed to chose party candidates from election to election that has been identified within themselves, is a voter response for various alternative options. Votings are only responded by merely choosing when faced with various alternative options. Thus the voter's view of voting plays an important role in the decision-making process. If voters view voting as merely fulfilling their obligations as citizens, they will made choices without careful considerations. Democracy is a medium to take decisions freely is not being exploited carefully by voters like this. However, when elections are seen as a means of selecting policies, party programs will be carefully considered. Democracy as a means to reconcile party policies and public will be utilized by voters with careful considerations of their choice.

When the election is held, live voters will decide the leader. The way the voter determines the choices will be visible in the process they had experienced. The process through which voters can go through a closed, open and semi-open process.

Closed voters are bound by social circles or have been identified with one party, they are passively seeking information so that they are concentrated on a small amount of information only. Decision-making is done quickly and automatically, incoming information will be accepted to be an option (Miller and Krosnick, 1996 in Fournier, 2003). In general, closed-type voters only absorb information about candidates and parties, and took advice from the nearest person becomes an option. They do not have time to get information from other media, as

the work has dominated their time. If anyone has the time, they are already identified with one of the political parties, or getting public information because the candidate is frequently exposed. Closed-type voters are absent from considering the party program as an option. The campaign issue has no meaning whatever in the minds of voters (Highton, 2010). Thus, the elections as a manifestation of democracy at the local level, are not accompanied by the maturity of the electorate in determining the choice, since the electorate is alienated from the congruence between the policy and the public will.

In contrary, the open voters respondents actively seek information, consider all information relating to candidates such as candidate work, candidate family conditions and programs. Open voters meet some requirements of liberal democracy as above: first, they took the advantage of election opportunities to provide information on party programs and candidate backgrounds. This is proven by the diverse of absorbed information by the respondents, so when considering the task complexity and similarity of the alternatives occur. "Task complexity" occurs when the respondent is willing to consider several candidates whom had been known both from the negative and positive, while "similarity of the alternatives" means respondents see the similarity of candidates, both leadership skills and party programs.

Secondly, voters can communicate their concerns about the environment, education or welfare and related it to candidates whom has proximity with their wishes and able to fulfill their campaign promises. Third, the existence of voter empowerment, which means that the voters are able to hold pressure against the government, while this demand is adequately represented by interest groups. Government officials recognize that inside the voters is automatically attach their right to get good public service. This condition can be fulfilled when the candidate is in power, and his power is used as an opportunity to provide services to the community.

Democracy at the electoral level requires voters who want to face complexity in decision making. To meet democratic requirements, voters must seek information on party programs

and candidate backgrounds, whether through campaigns or mass media. It requires a voter's interest in politics, so they have a high level of knowledge. In addition to knowledge, an understanding of the meaning of elections is also shared by open category respondents. However, voters with this character are fewer than closed. Democracy requires citizens who care about political life and wants to deal with the complexity of choosing.

A little different from respondents in open category, semi-open category voters, have the same capability as open respondent category. The only difference is in the areas of considerations. Candidate which is considerate with open respondents are chosen regardless of the political party that carries them, while the respondents in the semi-open, political party become a "limits" in considering candidates and programs.

CONCLUSION

Democracy does requires voters who care about politics, especially in electing local leaders, but some voters did not care much with their choice. Such ignorance can be understood since most of their time is consumed to fulfill their daily life so they do not have time to seek information. Only voters with an open process can enjoy democracy in elections, they can use information as much as possible in decision making to determine their choice.

IMPLICATIONS

Few amounts of open voters in the election will have implications on the quality of elections in Indonesia. Most voters simply fulfill their obligation as citizens to vote, without any consideration to the candidate whom they choose. Democracy is ultimately trapped in quantity, who has the most votes that will be the leader despite the candidate's unidentified vision. This will certainly affect the bureaucracy that actually has a certain standards service even though the Local Leaders came and went.

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VOTE ERROR IN THE 2014 GENERAL ELECTION: THE CASE OF SOUTH SUMATRA PROVINCE

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Abstract

Empirical evidence shows that Indonesia's election is still characterized by the high number of invalid ballot papers. This research is designed to analyze the pattern and determinant of vote error in the 2014 general election in South Sumatra Province. We conducted the research using mix method. We found that, first, there are five types of vote error in South Sumatra Province. Second, candidates, voters and election organizer contribute to this error. Third, political patronage particularly in the form of vote buying, which is practicing by the candidates to gain political support from voters significantly contribute to errors because they create ambiguity among the voters. Based on these findings, we propose some recommendations to candidates, election organizer, policy makers in central and local governments.

Keywords: *Voter error, 2014 election, South Sumatera, Indonesia*

INTRODUCTION

Empirical evidence shows that the 2014 general election in Indonesia is still characterize by high rate of votes error. In South Sumatra, for example, the number of invalid votes for House of Representative's ballots in the 2009 and 2014 elections was 19 percent. While the average of invalid ballots for House of Representatives in the 2009 elections was 15 percent and the 2014 election reached 13 percent. The question is how do we explain this phenomenon? Is it caused by human error factors or non-human factors?

Although we can find vote error in each election, it does not attract attention from political scientists. Previous studies show that the election result (Wolfinger & Wolfinger, 2008; Neiheisel, 2016; Roseman & Stephenson, 2005), determinant of voter final choice (Kim, Petrocik, & Enokson 1975; Gerber et al. 2013; Tenn 2007), and patronage (Aspinall 2011;

Aspinall 2014) more dominated research on behavior voters in election. Zein (2014) is the only Indonesianist who tries to elaborate this phenomenon in the Indonesian context. Based on empirical research in three electoral districts, Zein (2014) concluded that votes error could be caused by money politics, electoral administration, and political parties. He also proposes the patterns of vote error. However, this model still needs to be improved because it is built only on interviews and focus group discussions. Zein (2014) did not develop his model based on ballot archive in the General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum* or KPU). Another limitation from Zein (2014) work is that it ignores the possibility of ballot design or ballot type as a trigger for vote error as shown by the experience of several countries (see, Herrnson, Hanmer, & Niemi 2012; Jastrzembski and Charness 2007).

This research is designed to construct

scientific knowledge on vote error in Indonesia. We are focusing on two questions. First, what is the pattern of vote error in the 2014 general election in South Sumatra Province? Second, what is the determinant of vote error? In contrast to Zein (2014) works, we do not only gather data through interview and FGD, but also analyze the archive ballot in the District Commission of General Election in South Sumatra Province. We select three districts (Palembang City, Pagar Alam City, and Banyuasin District) as sample locations to open and analyze the invalid ballot archive of House of Representative (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or DPR) and Regional Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* or DPD). This archive is securing in the office of the District General Election Commission in each location.

Theoretically, the political science literature identifies three theoretical approaches to understand the voting behavior in the general election (Manza, Brooks, & Sauder 2005). *First*, Columbia University tradition that emphasizes the importance of social characteristics, social groupings, and social networking voters to predict the preferences of the final voters' choice. Various independent variables are representing this approach, for example, social conformity (Coleman 2004), social networks (de Matos & Barros 2004), organization affiliation McDermott (2009), age (Tilley & Evans 2014), and socio-economic status (Min & Savage 2013). *Second*, the University of Michigan tradition that emphasize social and psychological factors that affect the voter behavior. This approach uses various independent variables such as the candidate perception (Bhambhri & Verma 1971), voter personality (Mondak & Halperin 2008), voter confidence (Blais & Rheault 2011), voter trust (Carreras & Irepoglu, 2013; Rosas 2010), gender preference (Sanbonmatsu 2002), and ideology (Degan & Merlo 2009).

Third, the economic model that emphasizes the evaluation process of the voters on election candidates (both individuals and political parties) and the influence of macro and micro economic situation felt by voters (Lewis-Beck & Nadeau 2011; Lewis-Beck & Ratto 2013). Independent variable in this approach is voter perception on objective economic indicator (Scotto 2012;

Weschle 2014), voter satisfaction on government performance (Schofield & Reeves 2015), and candidate political promises (Elinder, Jordahl, & Poutvaara 2015). In addition to three approaches above, several researchers give attention to genetics (Bell, Schermer, & Vernon 2009), social and mass media (Gerber & Rogers 2009; Kruikemeier 2014), and election system to analyze voting behavior (Blais, Héroux-Legault, Stephenson, Cross, & Gidengil 2012; Karp & Banducci 2008). Although these approaches do not focus on to explain why voters do not vote accurately, they can still be used to analyze vote error phenomenon.

Normatively, the General Election Commission Regulation No. 5/2014 never define the invalid ballot or vote error. It only makes a definition on the valid ballot or true ballot. Thus, if the voter does not follow these criteria, then the ballot will be invalid. According to the General Election Commission Regulation No. 5/2014, the valid vote is a product of a set of procedures as follow: (a) ensuring receive the ballot that signed by the chair of the polling station (*Ketua Panitia Pemungutan Suara* or KPPS); (b) voter must use punching technique; (c) the ballot punching must use nail that provided in polling station; (d) each voter will punch four ballots (the House of Representative, the Regional Representative Council, the Province House of Representative, and the District House of Representative); (e) each voter has three option to punch the ballot as follow: punching party attribute (number, image, party name), punching candidate attribute (number and candidate name), punching party and candidate simultaneously for one party only. For the Regional Representative Council ballot, voter can punch the ballot area in candidate number, image, and/or name.

The General Election Commission Regulation No. 5/2014 consist fifteen guidelines for the polling station in ballot tabulation. This guideline is a barometer for polling station official to determine whether the ballot could be counted or rejected as the invalid ballot. The fifteen instructions are as follows:

a. If punch sign located around number, logo, and party name, then this ballot will be counted for party;

b. If punch sign located in number and candidate name, then this ballot will be counted for candidate;

c. If punch sign located in number, logo, party name, candidate number, and name, then this ballot will be counted for candidate;

d. If punch sign located in number, logo, and party name and there is two punch sign in candidate number and name for the same party, then this ballot will be counted for the party

e. If punch sign located in two candidate number and name, then this ballot will be counted for the party

f. If more punch sign located in number, logo, and party name where there is no punch sign in candidate number and name, then this ballot will be counted for the party

g. If punch sign located in gray area (space below the candidate list on the ballot), then this ballot will be counted for the party

h. If punch sign right on the line of the column that contains party number, party logo, and party name without punch sign on candidate number and candidate name from the same party, then this ballot will be counted for the party

i. If punch sign right on the line of the column that contains candidate number and candidate name, then this ballot will be counted for the candidate

j. If punch sign right on the line that separated two candidates from the same party so that it is hard to determine which is candidate exactly choose by the voter, then this ballot will be counted for the party

k. If punch sign located in candidate column that fails to become contestant due to eligibility requirement, then this ballot will be counted for the party

l. If punch sign located in column which contains candidate name/number or candidate who fail to become contestant because dying or eligibility requirement, then this ballot will be counted for the eligible candidate

m. If a candidate has one or more punch sign in the ballot, then he gets one vote.

n. If punch sign located in the gray area and candidate name/number, then this vote will be allocated to the candidate.

o. If punch sign located in the number, name, and party logo who does not have a candidate list, then the vote will be counted for the party.

For the Regional Representative Council, The General Election Commission Regulation No. 5/2014 state that the ballot will be considered as a valid vote when one or more punch sign located in one column or the column line that contains candidate number, name, and photo.

METHODS

This research was conducted in two phases. In the first step, we apply quantitative approach. The primary data sources are the 2014 general election invalid ballot paper archive in South Sumatra General Election Commission. We determine two hundreds ballots (one hundred for DPR and one hundred for DPD) for each sampling city (Palembang City, Musi Banyuasin District, and Pagar Alam City). These cities and district are selected through simple random sampling technique. In the first phase, data analysis follows a set of procedures as follows: (a) selecting two hundred invalid ballots archive (one hundred for DPR RI and one hundred for DPD RI) randomly in three sample cities/district; (b) open invalid ballot sample one by one to determine the type of voting error; (c) tabulating the type of voting error; (d) calculating the type of error frequency; (d) visualized vote error frequency into the graphic.

In the second phase, we apply a grounded research approach that allows the researchers to construct a concept and theory during the process of data collection and data analysis (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Based on simple random sampling technique, we choose Ogan Komering Ulu District as research location to find ten key informants that representing the voters, candidate, political party witnesses, and polling station officials. We conducted in-depth interview to gather key informants' data on socio-demographic, socio-economics, the cause of the voting error, and recommendation to minimize vote error.

RESULT

Based on the first research phase, we concluded that there are five types of voting error in South Sumatra Province, that is: (a) **type I** (the ballot without punch sign); (b) **type II** (the

ballot contains two punch signs); (c) **type III** (the ballot contains punch sign outside provided the box); (d) **type IV** (the ballot contains more two punch signs); and (e) **type V** (the voter punches the ballot without using provided tool or a nail). Graphic 1 and Graphic 2 visualize the proportion of each category.

However, there is a substantive difference between the invalid ballot of the House of Representative and the Regional Representative Council. Table 1 shows five types of invalid votes which are sorted using the principle of largest to smallest proportion. There are only two categories are the same: Type III (the ballot contains punch sign outside provided the box) and Type V (the voter punches the ballot without using supplied tool or a nail). Type I, Type II, and Type IV have a different position. For the House of Representative, Type II (the ballot contains two punch sign) has the largest proportion. For the Regional Representative

Council, the greater portion is Type I (the ballot without punch sign).

For us, the hierarchy of category as shown in Table 1 is very meaningful. We can ask, for example, how do we interpreting Type II which has the largest proportion for the House of Representative? Does the ballot design cause it? Is it related to knowledge or the experience of the voters? In-depth interview shows that this error has been influenced by vote-buying practice among the candidate. MD, a farmer, stated that "I got 120,000 IDR from the candidate success team. He asked me to vote three candidates from the same party. In the same time, I got 150,000 IDR from other parties with the same request. You know, it makes me confuse. I cannot determine where is the best candidate. When I go to the polling station, I decide to vote all candidates who give me money directly. I do not care about the validity of the vote. For me, if they give me money, I will give my vote" (interview, 10/10/2016).
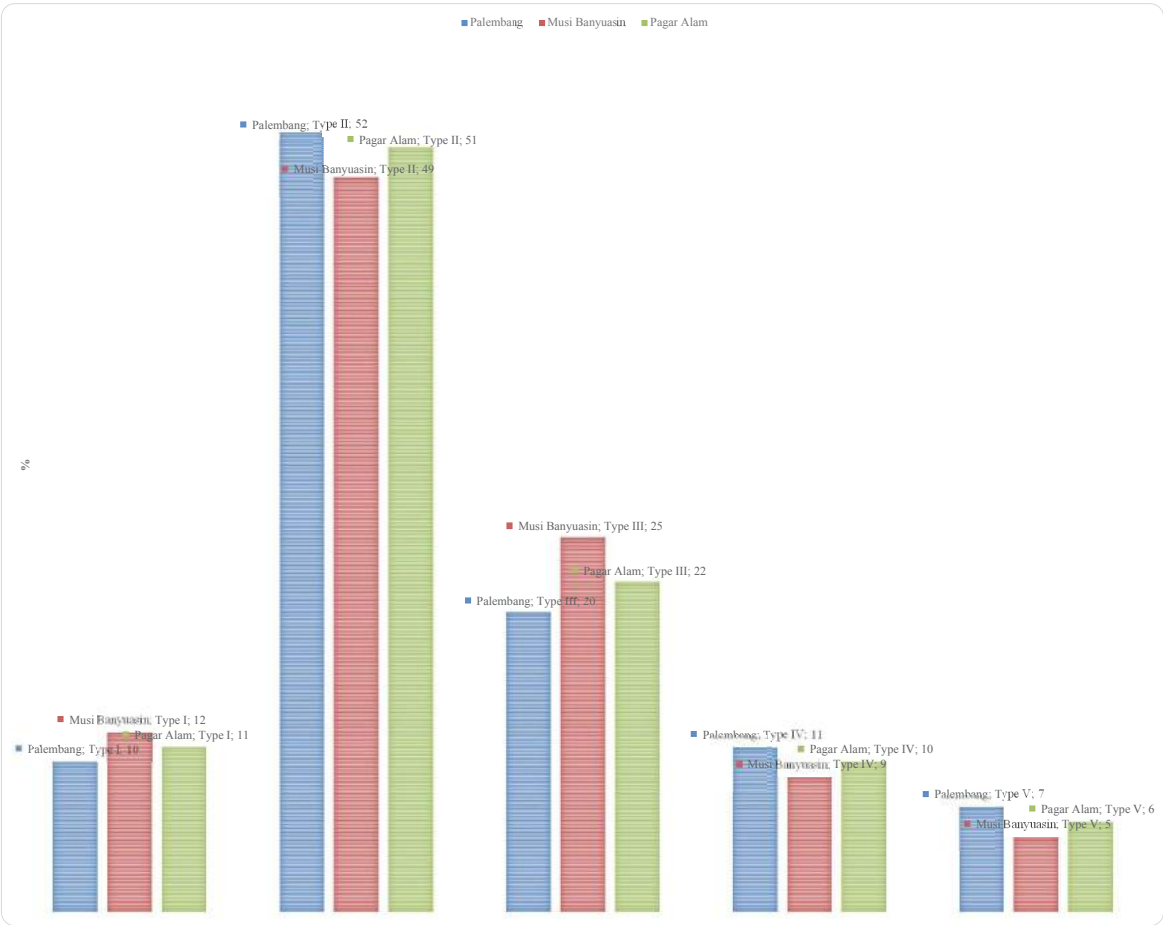
Graphic 1.
The Pattern of Voting Error for the House of Representative Ballots in the 2014 General Election in South Sumatera Province
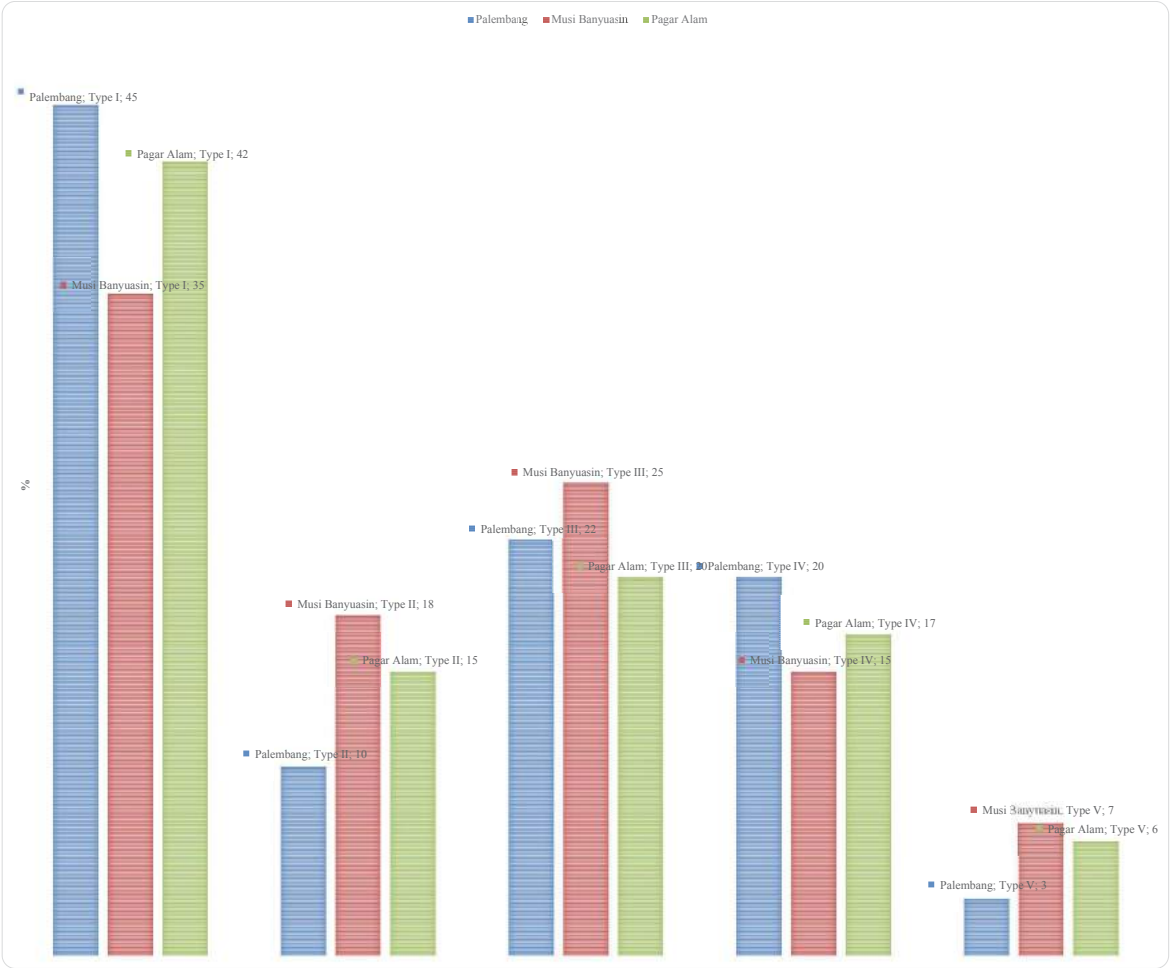
Graphic 2.
The Pattern of Voting Error for the Regional Representative Council Ballots in the 2014 General Election in South Sumatera Province

Table 1.

The voting error difference between the ballot of the House of Representative and the Regional Representative Council in the 2014 general election in South Sumatera Province

The House of Representative (DPR)	The Regional Representative Council (DPD)
Type II (the ballot contains two punch sign)	**Type I** (the ballot without punch sign)
Type III (the ballot contains punch sign outside provided the box)	**Type III** (the ballot contains punch sign outside provided the box)
Type I (the ballot without punch sign)	**Type IV** (the ballot contains more two punch sign)
Type IV (the ballot contains more two punch sign)	**Type II** (the ballot contains two punch sign)
Type V (the voter punch the ballot without using provided tool or a nail)	**Type V** (the voter punch the ballot without using provided tool or a nail)

Source: Composed by the Author.

ST, a candidate, said that "all candidates in this region use vote buying as a method to "lock" the voter. However, we cannot control the voter behavior on the election day. Long before the election day, I teach them how to know my number in the ballot list. I take a ballot replica when meeting voters in the village. I want them to remember it when they go to the the polling station. Of course, nobody can guarantee who will be voted by the voter. There is too many numbers in the brain of the voters. I do not feel that they can remember my number correctly. Legislative election is a complicated gambling because the candidate and the voter sit in the same boat. Both are very confusing" (interview, 15/10/2016).

Type II shows that the voter will vote the candidate who gives them money. When all candidates practice vote buying, the result is voter ambiguity. This ambiguity refers to the situation where the voter sees all candidates with the same meaning. In the specific case, we find that there is the voter who prefers to vote the candidate who gives him the highest value of money. "As ordinary people, I need money. You know, all candidates tend to forget their constituency after the election day. It is the reason to sell my vote each election. I am bidding my vote in a free market. I will receive all candidate's money. But, I will vote the candidate who gives me the highest money", said WH, a young voter (interview, 12/10/2016). These voters, of course, do not contribute to invalid ballots. It is why we do not cluster them as ambiguity voters. They are representing rational voter who can think analytically and make a priority.

In another side, in our mind, voter ambiguity is also the product of competitive market in the House of Representative election. We know that the House of the Representative election has multiple players (party and candidate). This election gives two options for the voter to punch the ballot. However, the voter should punches three ballots in the parallel time. All candidates come to the voter with various information, promises, and issues before the election day. In each election, the supply side is more productive than the demand side to produce information. In fact, there are a few voters who have the competency to organize and analyze political information. The result is that the voter feels the overwhelming of information. "All candidates come to me with promises. They give me their number in the ballot list. I do not care about this number because I do not have a close relationship with them. Too many numbers make me more confuse", said IA, the old voter (interview, 17/10/2016).

For the Regional Representative Council election, we state that it is a normal if Type I has the biggest proportion. The senator candidate does not have the formal political machine. They should provide information to South Sumatera province that consisting 17 districts, 231 sub-district, and 3.257 villages. Touching the voter in all villages without the political machine is impossible. The result is many voters have on information about the senator candidate. "Imagined that I must vote someone which I have no information about him. I think it is a ridiculous action. To vote a candidate, I must have information about him. This is a minimum requirement. It will be better if the candidate comes to our village and give something to village people," said MK, an informal elite leader at village level (interview, 21/10/2016). When the voter does not have information on the candidate, they just open the ballot without choosing the senator candidate.

In a particular case, we found the senator candidate who creates political machine to reach the voter in all areas. However, this machine is still weak because it does have a network at the grass-root level. A few senator candidates are just working at district or sub-district level. They cannot reach all villages due to financial constraint and social networking. The vote market for the Regional Representative Council is not competitive. Our informant said that he does not find vote buying for the Regional Representative Council election. It is one of the reasons for the voter to not impressive with the Regional Representative Council candidate.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Various theoretical approaches of voting behavior (economic model, Michigan approach, and Columbia approach) are remaining relevant to understand the invalid ballot in Indonesian elections. Our research show that candidates,

voters, and election organizers has contributed to the vote error. From the candidate side, vote error could cause by lack of campaign material supply, political patronage, and lack of political education for constituent. The current law on election said that the election organizer has responsibilities to produce and distribute campaign material to all villages. Political party and the candidate have no a right to produce and distribute material campaign. The result is material campaign supply very limited and dependence on election commission budget. From the voter side, age, knowledge, political awareness, ambiguity, rationality, and access to political information could contribute to the vote error.

Patronage, particularly vote buying, contributes to the vote error because it makes ambiguous voters. In other word, we cannot minimize the vote error if vote buying still exist as political strategy of candidate. This ambiguity is more acute when it interacts with knowledge and political awareness of voters. Various variables could influence this awareness such as education, welfare, occupation, media access, and organization affiliation. In the future, it is important to elaborate these variables to vote error more detail. Our finding confirms that patronage remains relevant to understand voter behavior in Indonesia.

This research has five practical implications. *First*, candidates, political parties, and general election commission should continue to strengthen political education for voters and to minimize vote buying practices in the election. *Second*, the general election commission should revise the rule on production, distribution, and allocation of campaign material. We propose that the general election commission should adopt market mechanism to rule campaign material. This mechanism is more compatible with the nature of election as competition, the nature of the man as *zoon politicon*, and the fact that the state cannot control the production, distribution, and allocation of information at community level. *Third*, central and local government should give attention to all development sectors, particularly education, health, infrastructure, and economic development that contributed to political participation. Fourth, to prepare the 2019 election, we suggest the General Election

Commission for conducting voting simulation. This simulation is important to predict the rate of vote error due to change some aspects of the electoral system.

We know that this study is not perfect. Our sample is too small. This study is *ex-post ante* study and we cannot identify who is the voter which makes wrong voting. In the future, we can conduct this study in the election day so that we can trace the owner of ballot paper through the list of voters in the polling station. We can wait and interview the voter after sign out from the polling station so that the voter still remembers where is the location he punches the ballot area. We do not want to know his choice. We just want to know that the voter punch the ballot in the right place. Another experiment is using the 2014 election ballot to examine the memories of voter on his choice. Did they still remember what is his choice and political action on the election? We also can examine the contribution of socio-demographic variable to vote error rate.

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DOES LOCAL ELECTION PART OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT REGIME OR ELECTION REGIME?

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Abstract

This paper is motivated by differences in the regulation concerning the election of the members of legislative and presidential elections with local elections in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. Article 22E paragraph (2) only stipulates that elections are held to elect members of the legislature (DPR and DPD) and elect a president and vice president. The setting of the local elections are dealt with separately in Chapter VI of Special Local Government Article 18 paragraph (4). This then makes the question of whether the local elections entered as part of the electoral regime or part of a regime of local government. The question examined through normative research using secondary data. The conclusion from this study is that the local elections are part of the electoral regime. It is based on three (3) things. The first, if the process of filling the post of head of the region conducted with the participation of the people directly and implemented according to the principles adopted in the general election in Section 22E of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945, the election is the election. Secondly, Article 18 paragraph (4) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 only mentions that the Governors, Regents and Mayors are elected democratically. This setting is then poured into Law Number 32 Year 2004 on Regional Government to specifically mention the local elections conducted by direct election. This is definitely the legal policy of the maker of the Act to determine the election system is adopted, so that the local elections are elections. Third, the local elections conducted by the Election Commission whose existence arranged clearly and firmly in Chapter VIIB regarding General Elections Article 22E paragraph (5) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. So it is clear that the local elections are part of the regime Election.

Keywords: democration, local election, election, regional government

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia as a unitary state in the form of a republic [1] divided into provincial and regional areas of the province divided into districts and municipalities, each of which the provinces, districts and municipalities have local government regulated by law.[2] Provincial, district and municipal governments shall administer and manage their own governmental affairs according to the principle of autonomy and co-administration.[3] This is in line with Harold

F Alderfer's view that regional governments as restricted for the purposes of our consideration comprise all government units below the national level within the unitary states and below the national and state levels in federal systems. The complete scope will cover all levels: the provinces, the districts, the sub-districts, the townships, the villages - whatever becomes their functions.[4]

As a sovereign country and put sovereignty in the hands of the people [5], So that the people should be the source of supreme authority in a

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[1] Indonesia, Article 1 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

[2] Indonesia, Article 18 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

[3] Indonesia, Article 18 paragraph (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. The principle of autonomy is the basic principle of the implementation of Regional Government based on Regional Autonomy. While Co-Administration is an assignment from the Central Government to the Autonomous Region to carry out some of the government affairs that are the authority

of the Central Government or from the Provincial Government to the Regency / City to carry out some of the government affairs which are the provincial authorities. See Law Number 23 Year 2014 on Regional Government.

[4] Harold F Alderfer, Local Government in Developing Countries in The Liang Gie, *Pertumbuhan Pemerintahan Daerah di Negara Republik Indonesia Jilid I Edisi Kedua*, (Yogyakarta: Liberty, 1993), p. 260.

[5] Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

country, others not. The people are independent of themselves.[6] Bung Hatta said the sovereignty of the people means the government of the people. Governance by leaders who are trusted by the people.[7]

The idea of political freedom by Hans Kelsen is described as follows, "*Politically free is he who is subject to a legal order in the creation of which he participates. An individual is free if what he "ought to" do according to the social order coincides with what he "wills to" do. Democracy means that the "will" which is represented in legal order of the State is identical with the wills of subjects. Its opposite is the bondage autocracy. There are subjects are excluded from the creation of the legal order, and harmony between the order and their wills is in no way guaranteed.[8]*"

This clearly shows that those who have political freedom are those who are subject to a legal order and participate in its formation. A person has freedom when what he 'must' do according to the social order coincides with what he 'wants' to do. Democracy means that the 'will' stated in the state law is identical to the will of the subjects of the legal order. The opponent of democracy is an autocratic bond. There the subject is not included in the formation of the legal order of the state, and the harmony between the legal order and the will of the subjects is not guaranteed at all.

If Kelsen idealizes a democracy through 'will', then it is different with Robert A Dahl who makes 5 (five) ideal criteria of a democracy, ie:[9]

1. Effective participation: in the whole process of collective decision-making, including in the preparation of an activity or work agenda, every citizen shall have equal and adequate opportunity to exercise his or her privileges and be known to other members.
2. Equality of voice: in making binding collective rights, the privileges of every citizen should be considered in a balanced manner in determining the final decision having equal opportunity and shall be calculated equally.
3. Adequate understanding of the assessment: every citizen should have equal and adequate opportunity to carry out a logical assessment to achieve the most desirable outcomes and to learn relevant alternative policies.
4. Oversight of the agenda: the public must have executive power as a place to determine the decision process, but the executive power requires control to avoid undemocratic execution processes.
5. Adult coverage: the community includes adults in relation to the law, except for temporary migrants, to participate in the full citizenship process.

Election is a means of implementation of the principle of people's sovereignty which in essence is the recognition and embodiment of the political rights of the people as well as the delegation of those rights by the people to their representatives to run the government.[10] Therefore, countries calling themselves democratic states have election to elect public officials in the legislative and executive branches at both the central and regional levels. Democratic democracy and elections are *qonditio sine qua non* dan *the one can not exist without the others*.[11]

Local government as part of the central government granted the authority to manage its own region, can not be separated from the dynamics of democratic life through elections. Since the reform era, the desire to revive democracy in this country is getting stronger. So the government then promulgated Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government as a form of appreciation to the will of the people who want to elect their heads directly. ZA Muttalib and Mohd. Ali Akbar Khan explained that the local government is a miniature of the political body and corporate body. In his first capacity (political body), he is an agent of the state and therefore represents the public interest. In this capacity, he uses a chart

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[6] Hendra Nurtjahjo, *Filsafat Demokrasi,* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2006), p. 31.

[7] Kholid O Santoso, Ed., *Mencari Demokrasi Gagasan dan Pemikiran,* (Bandung: Sega Arsy, 2009), p.61.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Robert A Dahl, *Perihal Demokrasi, Menjelajahi Teori dan Praktek Demokrasi Secara Singkat* (Translation), (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2001), p. 53.

[10] A S S Tambunan, *Pemilu di Indonesia: Susunan dan Kedudukan MPR, DPR, dan DPRD*, (Bandung, Bina Cipta,1994), p.3.

[11] Abdul Mukhtie Fadjar,*Op.Cit.*, hal.4.

of state sovereignty delegated to him within the geographic boundaries of his territory. As an independent government institution, must be fulfilled 3 (three) qualifications, namely:[12]

1. Shown as an organized body, which has the organization and some inherent minimum powers called autonomy in relation to income generation, budget preparation and oversight and regulation of human resources, natural resources, taxes.

2. Has the character of government, elected by the locals where he should be responsible to his constituents.

3. Have rights and contracts and to own or determine ownership.

Each region is headed by the head of local government called head of the region.[13] For the province referred to as the governor, while the district head in the district referred to as the regent, as well as the mayor for the head of the municipal level.[14] The regional head is a government leader on a scale and with a certain territorial scope called the region, whether regional (regional government), county or local government as determined by Article 18 paragraph (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945[15]. The regional

head is an element of regional government consisting of a representative body of the people, namely DPRD, and regional head as determined in constitutionally in Article 18 paragraph (3) and paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution. Each head of this region then according to Article 18 paragraph (4) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia[16] democratically elected. The Constitution gives freedom to the legislators to determine the system and mechanism of filling the position of a democratic regional head. This is then manifested by the enactment of Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government which regulates that the regional head is directly elected.[17]

At least since Indonesia's independence, there are 4 (four) models of filling the position of the regional head ever applied in Indonesia. In the filling of the chief executive, Samuel Humes and Eileen Martin argue that there are several mechanisms known and widely practiced, *the chief executive appointed by the central government*

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[12] M.A.Muthalib & Mohd. Ali Akbar Khan, *Theory ofLocal Government*, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1982), hal. 8 9. *The local government is a miniature body politic and body corporate. In its former capacity, it is the agent of state and, as such, represents public interest. In that capacity it exercise a part of the sovereignity of the state delegated to it within its geographical boundaries. As a self-governing institution it must exhibit three qualifications. In the first place, it must exist as an organized entity, possessing organization and some minimum powers constituting, what is called, autonomy relating to the raising of revenue, preparation of budget and control and management of local resources, human, fiscal and matrial. Secondly, it must have governmental character, as an agency of the public, it must be chosen by the local people to whom it must be accountable. Thirdly, it must possess the right to enter into contracts and to own and dispose of property.*

[13] Article 59 paragraph (1) of Law Number 23 Year 2014 on Regional Government.

[14] Article 59 paragraph (2) of Law Number 23 Year 2014 on Regional Government .

[15] Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia: (1) The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia shall be divided into provinces and provinces divided into districts and municipalities, each of which the provinces, districts and municipalities have local government, which is regulated by law. (2) The provincial, regency, and municipal governments shall administer and manage their own governmental affairs according to the principle of autonomy and co-administration.

(3) The provincial, regency and municipal governments shall have a Regional People's Legislative Assembly whose members are elected by general election. (4) The Governors, Regents, and Mayors respectively as heads of provincial, district and municipal governments shall be elected democratically. (5) The regional government shall exercise autonomy to the greatest extent, except for government affairs which by law are determined as the affairs of the Central Government. (6) The regional government shall have the right to enact regional regulations and other regulations to implement autonomy and assistance tasks. (7) The structure and procedure of local governance shall be regulated in law.

[16] Article 1 Paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, "Governors, Regents and Mayors respectively as heads of provincial, district and municipal governments are elected democratically".

[17] Article 24 paragraph (5) of Law No.32 of 2004 on Regional Government, "Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head as referred to in paragraph (2) and paragraph (3) shall be elected in one spouse directly by the people of the region concerned. Law Number 32 Year 2004 was made a reference because for the first time in the regency of local government, the regional head was elected directly by the people. For the legal umbrella in the current law is Law No. 8 of 2015 on the Amendment of Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Become a Law. Where in Article 1 Paragraph (1) it is stated that, "The election of the Governor and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy Regents, as well as Mayors and Deputy Mayors, hereinafter referred to as Elections shall be the implementation of the people's sovereignty in the provinces and districts / cities to elect the Governor and Vice Governor , Bupati and Vice Regent, and Mayor with Vice Mayor directly and democratically".

or other higher units,[18] *the chief executive elected by,*[19] *the chief executive elected by popular vote,*[20] dan *the chief executive appointed by council.*[21] Indonesia has experienced the four mechanisms of filling the position. This can be seen in the following table:

NO.	CONSTITUTION	FILLING MODEL
1.	Law Number 1 Year 1945 concerning Regulation Regarding Position of National Committee of Region	Chosen by the Council.
2.	Law Number 22 Year 1948 on Stipulation of the Main Rules Concerning Self-Government in Areas Eligible to Arrange and Maintain Their Own Households	The Regional Head shall be elected by the Central Government from the candidates nominated by the DPRD. DPRD has the right to propose the dismissal of a Regional Head to the Central Government.
3.	Act No. 1 of 1957 on the Principles of Regional Government	1. Regional Head elected by DPRD. 2. The Head of the First Level Region shall be appointed and dismissed by the President. 3. The second level regional head shall be appointed and dismissed by the Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy, from candidates nominated by the relevant DPRD.
4.	Law Number 18 Year 1965 on the Principles of Regional Government	1. Head of the regional elected by DPRD. 2. The Head of the First Level Region is appointed and dismissed by the President. 3. The head of a second-level region shall be appointed and dismissed by the Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy, from candidates nominated by the relevant DPRD.
5.	Law Number 5 Year 1974 on the Principles of Government in the Region	1. Head of the regional elected by DPRD. 2. The Head of the First Level Region is appointed and dismissed by the President. 3. The head of a second-level region shall be appointed and dismissed by the Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy, from candidates nominated by the relevant DPRD.
6.	Law Number 22 Year 1999 regarding Regional Government	The Regional Head is elected and is responsible to the DPRD.
7.	Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government	Head of Region and Deputy Head of Region elected in one couple directly by people in the area concerned
8.	Law Number 12 Year 2008 regarding the Second Amendment to Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government	Head of Region and Deputy Head of Region shall be elected in one candidate pair which is carried out democratically based on direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair principle.
9.	Law Number 22 Year 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors	The Governor shall be elected by members of Provincial DPRD in a democratic manner based on direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair principles. While the Regents and Mayors are elected by members of the Regency / City DPRD democratically based on the principle of direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair.
10.	Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors	The election of Governor, Regent and Mayor hereinafter referred to as Elections shall be the implementation of the people's sovereignty in the Province and Regency / City to elect the Governors, Regents and Mayors directly and democratically.

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[18] Samuel Humes dan Eileen Martin, *The Structure of Local Government A Comparative Survey of 81 Countries*, (The Hogue: International Union Local Authority, 1969), p. 137 – 140.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 140 – 142

[20] *Ibid., p. 144 – 146.*

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 142 – 144.

11.	Law Number 8 Year 2015 on Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Became Law	The election of Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, and Mayor and Deputy Mayor hereinafter referred to as Elections shall be the implementation of the people's sovereignty in the provinces and districts / municipalities to elect the Governor and Vice Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, Mayor and Deputy Mayor directly and democratic.
12.	Law Number 10 Year 2016 on the Second Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Became Law	The election of Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, and Mayor and Deputy Mayor hereinafter referred to as Elections shall be the implementation of the people's sovereignty in the provinces and districts / municipalities to elect the Governor and Vice Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, Mayor and Deputy Mayor directly and democratic.

With the choice of law-forming law policy that Pilkada conducted directly, then the problem that will arise is whether direct Regional Head Election including election law regime or regime of Local Government.

ELECTION POST

Discussing about the election of regional head will not be separated from the discussion about the election itself. There are at least 5 (five) norms in the Election-related Constitution,namely: 1. Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution: Elections to elect members of DPR, DPD, President and Vice President. 2. Article 6A Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution: The President shall be elected directly by the people. 3. Article 19 Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution: Members of the People's Legislative Assembly elected by election. 4. Article 22C Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution: DPD members shall be

elected through the General Elections. 5. Article 18 Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution: DPRD members shall be elected through the General Elections.

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia after the amendment has provided the foundations for the administration of the state and the arrangement of democratic national life. This is reflected in the recognition of the people's sovereignty implemented under Article 1 paragraph (2), and the affirmation that the state of Indonesia is a state of law (Article 1 paragraph (3)). The basic principles of a democratic constitutional state are manifested in the form of recognition and guarantee of essential human rights in the democratic process, the regulation of election mechanisms of the people's representatives and public offices as the embodiment of popular sovereignty, and Structuring of state institutions by *check and balances principle.*[22]

In Chapter VIIB Article 22E of the General Election stipulates that the general election shall only include the election of members of the DPR, DPD, president and vice president, as well as members of the DPRD. While the elections are not stated explicitly in the chapter on General Elections. Pilkada is regulated in Chapter VI Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution on Regional Government with the formulation, "Governors, Regents, and Mayors elected democratically". Which then by the legislator, Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution is followed up with Law no. 32/2004 on Regional Government, where the regional head elections are implemented directly. Differences in the treatment of Pilkada then cause problems. Whether Pilkada is part of the election regime or part of the local government regime. This is not without cause considering the different consequences that would be caused if the elections were organized in one of the above mentioned regimes. If Pilkada is a legal regime of Regional Government because it is not regulated in Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, but regulated

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[22] Jimmly Asshidiqie, *Menuju Negara Hukum Yang Demokratis*, Sekretariat Jenderal dan Kepaniteraan MKRI, Jakarta, 2008, p.419.

in Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, why is the KPU implementing it?[23] Is not the KPU part of the electoral regime?

Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 97 / PUU-XI / 2013 has a considerable impact on the implementation of regional head elections. Based on the verdict, the election of regional heads is not part of the election regime. This has implications for the KPU as one of the organizers of the general election, has no authority to organize regional head elections.[24] Because according to the mandate of Article 22E Paragraph (2), the so-called general election is the election of members of DPR, DPD, and DPRD, and President and Vice President. Not included in the phrase "Election of Regional Head" in the provision. In the context of a unitary state, where autonomous regions and autonomous status are the formation and granting of centers, it is legitimate if the election of regional heads is regulated in the regional government regime. It can even be possible that the direct election of regional heads is revoked and returned to the election through the DPRD.[25]

If using Election Principles [26] In general to determine whether the election of regional heads is part of the electoral regime or local government regime, then the election of regional heads can be categorized as an electoral regime. This is due to the similarity of principles adopted between the principle of General Election with the principle of local government,[27] namely direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair. According to Rasuli Karim, the elections are one of the main means to uphold the democratic order (sovereignty of the people), which serves as a means of healthy and perfecting democracy, not as a goal of democracy.[28] Therefore, political parties and elections in a country are a very important element, to gauge whether the country is organized with a democratic system of government or not. For countries that claim to be a democratic state, elections are an attribute as well as a benchmark of the basic values of democracy it embraces.[29] In line with that opinion, if a process of filling the position is carried out by involving the people directly and implemented according to the principle of General Election adopted in Article 22E Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the election is an election.

Determination of electoral system is an open legal policy forming law. When the lawmakers have established Pikada directly, the election is the election. In line with this opinion, Constitutional Court justice Ahmad Fadlil Sumadi stated that Democracy recognizes

[23] See Article 1 Paragraph (7), Paragraph (8), and Paragraph (9) Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Invite. Compare Article 22E Paragraph (5)) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia with Article 1 paragraph (7) of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors. Article 22E Paragraph (5) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia where it is stated that, "Elections shall be held by a national, permanent, and independent electoral commission". Article 1 Paragraph (7) of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 1 Year 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors where it is stated clearly that the General Election Commission hereinafter abbreviated as KPU is the national election organizer institution, Fixed, and independent in charge of elections.

[24] In contrast to the election organizer in Aceh. In the election process of DPR, DPD, DPRD, President and Vice President, and Head of Region, Aceh has Independent Election Commission (KIP) consisting of 7 (seven) members for Provincial KIP and 5 (five) persons for Regency / Municipal KIP Are all elements of the local community. See Article 57 paragraph (1) of Law Number 11 Year 2006 concerning Aceh Government.

[25] Eko Prasojo, Irfan Ridwan Maksum, Teguh Kurniawan, *Desentralisasi & Pemerintahan Daerah: Antara Model*

Demokrasi Lokal dan Efisiensi Struktural, (Jakarta: Departemen Ilmu Administrasi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Indonesia, 2006), p. 46-47.

[26] In accordance with the provisions of Article 22E paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, the principle of elections is direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair.

[27] According to Article 2 of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors, "Elections are held democratically on the basis of direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair".

[28] Rusli Karim, *Pemilu Demokrasi Kompetitif*, (Yogyakarta, Tiara Wacana, 1991), p. 2.

[29] Widodo Ekatjahjana, *Menggagas Peradilan Partai Politik dan Pemilu dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia*, Jurnal Konstitusi Pusat Kajian Konstitusi Fakultas Hukum Universitas Bengkulu, (Bengkulu: Fakultas Hukum Universitas Bengkulu, 2009), p.80.

the existence of direct and indirect democracy.[30] In addition to these two ways, still can be explored another way, namely the way based on democratic principles that place the people as the holder of sovereignty. Of these three ways, in its empirical experience practiced in Indonesia are the first and uniform ways for all regions. It has never been explored in a third way, for example by applying a system and filling mechanism by using other options, apart from the first two, asymmetrically, unequal ways for the whole region, adapted to socio-cultural conditions and The level of progress and other circumstances that actually exist in the society.[31] Therefore, the system and mechanism of recruitment of filling the position of regional head *opened legal policy* for the legislator as determined in constitutional terms in Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.[32]

If Pilkada is categorized as an election, it is not surprising that Pilkada is conducted by KPU as an institution established under Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution. Thus, this will further clarify the position of Regional Head Election as part of the election regime, not the regional government regime. The position of elections as an electoral regime or local government regime is a prominent issue in the process of judicial review of Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government in the Constitutional Court with registration number 072-073 / PUU-II / 2004. The answer to these problems will give rise to several consequences:[33]

1. If Pilkada is directly categorized as an election the consequence is:
   a. The organizer is the KPU as well as the controller of the Regional Head Election, while the Provincial KPU and Regency / City KPU shall be the technical implementers in each region responsible to the KPU;
   b. Participants are candidates nominated by a political party or independent candidate;
   c. Electoral Supervisory Board is independent, established by KPU and / or KPUD;
   d. In the event of a dispute over the determination of the results of the Regional Head Election, its settlement by the Constitutional Court;
   e. The dispute in determining the list of candidates for Regional Head Election by the KPUD is not a competency of the Administrative Court;
   f. Impeachment to head and / or deputy head of region submitted by Parliament to the Constitutional Court.

2. If direct elections are not categorized as elections, the consequences are:
   a. Its implementers can be Election Commission as stipulated in Law

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[30] *Dissenting opinion* Submitted by the Constitutional Court Judge Ahmad Fadlil Sumadi in the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 97 / PUU-XI / 2013 p. 75.

[31] In reality, however, there are 4 (four) regions whose election mechanisms are different from other regions in Indonesia, due to their position as special areas or special areas, such as Papua, Yogyakarta Special Region, Jakarta Special Capital Region, and Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. Like the type of Indonesian society which according to Selo Soemardjan into 4 groups, namely the type of indigenous peoples, the type of indigenous peoples who have started about modernization, the type of indigenous people that are very modern, and the type of modern society. The connection with this dissertation is, the opinion submitted by Selo Soemardjan is related to the type of Indonesian society, in accordance with the mechanism of filling the position of regional heads in Indonesia different implementation compared with other regions in Indonesia. As the type of indigenous peoples can be seen in the implementation of elections in Papua are still using the noken. Types of indigenous peoples who begin to recognize modernization can be seen in the filling of positions in the Province of Yogyakarta, where the Sultan and Duke of Paku Alam is designated as Governor and Vice Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region with unlimited tenure. For the type of indigenous people who have started modern can be seen in the implementation of elections in Aceh. Where a local party in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam can nominate a regional head candidate to compete for his constituent constituency. For the type of modern society can be seen in the implementation of elections in DKI Jakarta. Where for the election of Governor and Vice Governor conducted elections as in general. But for the Mayor, the mechanism of filling his position by way of appointment by the Governor with the approval of the Provincial DPRD DKI Jakarta from eligible civil servants. See Desiree Zuraida and Jufrina Rizal, ed., *Masyarakat dan Manusia dalam Pembangunan: Pokok-Pokok Pikiran Selo Soemardjan*, (Jakarta: Pustaka SInar Harapan, 1993), p. 78 -80.

[32] *Dissenting opinion* submitted by the Constitutional

Court Judge Ahmad Fadlil Sumadi in the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 97 / PUU-XI / 2013 p. 75.

[33] A Mukhtie Fadjar, *Pemilu Perselisihan Hasil Pemilu dan Demokrasi: Membangun Pemilu Legislatif, Presiden, dan Kepala Daerah dan Penyelesaian Perselisihan Hasil Pemilu Secara Demokratis*, (Malang: Setara Press, 2013), p. 102.

Number 32 Year 2004[34] Or by an ad hoc committee established by the local government and as the controller / supervisor of the Depdagri / Election Desk;[35]

b. Participants such as the provisions of Law Number 32 Year 2004;[36]

c. Election Supervisor is formed by DPRD as stipulated in Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government;[37]

d. Disputes over the results of the Regional Head Election are settled by the Supreme Court as stipulated in Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government;[38]

e. The dispute over the determination of candidate list by Election Commission / Ad hoc Election Committee becomes the competence of PTUN;

f. *Impeachment* To the head and / or deputy head of the region submitted by the DPRD to the Supreme Court.[39]

Another opinion is also given by Saldi Isra, where the determination of Pilkada is an election or not based on the mechanism used whether referring to the principles or principles of the General Election or not. Saldi Isra is of the opinion that if Pilkada is a part of the regional government regime because it is regulated in Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, while the DPRD is also part of the regime of the Regional Government as set forth in Article 18 paragraph 3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.[40] At the same time, the DPRD is also an electoral regime. Thus, the two legal regimes are not contradictory and can be used as an excuse to declare Pilkada not an election.

Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 072-073 / PUU-II / 2004 is the determination of the regional election system is an open legal policy forming law. While the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 97 / PUU-XI / 2013 Pilkada is declared a regime of regional government, does not enter into the election regime as regulated in Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia. The Constitutional Court in this case Local legal regimes to assess whether elections are elections or not, not on election principles referring to Article 22E Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Pilkada is considered as the legal regime of the Regional Government as regulated in Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia. While the

[34] The current elections are regulated in Law No. 8 of 2015 on Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors into Laws.

[35] Bandingkan dengan Aceh yang memiliki KIP (Komisi Indepen Compare with Aceh which has KIP (Independent Commission of Voters) to conduct Election of Members of Legislative, Presidential Election, and Regional Head Election from society den Pemilih) untuk melaksanakan Pemilu Anggota Legislatif, Pemilu Presiden, dan Pilkada yang berasal dari unsur masyarakat.

[36] Election contestants in Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government are candidate pair proposed in pairs by a political party or a coalition of political parties. See Article 59 paragraph (1) of Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government. Compare with election participants as stipulated in Law Number 8 Year 2015 on Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Becoming Act, Where the participants of the General Election are candidates nominated by a political party or coalition of political parties, and / or individual candidate pairs supported by a number of persons. See Article 39 of Law Number 8 Year 2015 on Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Becoming Laws.

[37] See Article 42 paragraph (1) letter I of Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government. Compare with Law Number 15 Year 2011 on Election Organizer where the supervision of National Election is conducted by the Election Supervisory Board of the Republic of Indonesia (Bawaslu RI) assisted by Permanent Provincial Bawaslu and District / Municipal Panwaslu which are temporary.

[38] See Article 106 of Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government. Compare with Article 157 of Law Number 8 Year 2015 on Law Number 8 Year 2015 on Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Became The law stipulating that disputes over the results of regional head elections are resolved by the Constitutional Court as long as a special judicial body has not yet established a

matter of dispute over the election result.

[39] See Article 29 paragraph (2) of Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government.

[40] Saldi Isra, *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Sebagai Pemilu*, Material presented at the Codification Seminar of the Election Law "Pemilu Nasional dan Pemilu Daerah" Which was held on Wednesday, May 18, 2016 at PP Muhammadiyah Building, Jakarta.

DPRD, which has been categorized as part of the election regime in accordance with Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, In the chapter on local governance. Thus, the two legal regimes are not contradictory and can be used as an excuse to declare Pilkada not an election. Another thing that strengthens the position of direct Regional Head Election is the election regime can be observed from Article 1 number 1 of Law No. 8 of 2015 on Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on Governor Election, Regent and Mayor Become Law, stipulates that the election of Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, as well as Mayor and Deputy Mayor hereinafter referred to as Elections is the implementation of people's sovereignty in the provinces and districts / municipalities to elect the Governor and Vice Governor, Bupati And Vice Regent, Mayor and Deputy Mayor directly and democratically.

CONCLUSION

Thus it can be ascertained that both the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia as well as Law Number 10 Year 2016 on the Second Amendment to Law Number 1 Year 2015 on the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Election of Governor, The Bupati, and the Mayor Being Act, have acknowledged that the direct election of the Head of Region is part of the General Elections regime. To ensure and ensure a democratic election, in addition to the application of direct, public, free, confidential, fair and equitable principles, there is also a need for a clear separation between the electoral regime and the regime of the Regional Government. This separation is important so that the electoral process and the governance process do not affect each other. So that the election results and government policies can be reflected as the people's sovereignty regulated in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ELECTION COMMISSION IN PADANG CITY IN INCREASING POLITICAL LITERACY SOCIETY IN WEST SUMATRA ELECTION

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Abstract

The importance of the role of the election commission can be observed through its involvement in any election process in Indonesia. The role, one of which is to provide information and political education are mainly about the essence of the election to society. But the outcome is precisely the role of the election commission is not so perceived by all walks of life so that the delivery of political education socialization and particularly about the elections relatively not comprehensive. The number of participation of communities in the West Sumatera election whether for electing mayor, head of district or governor only reaching between 70 perent and 80 percent so the relative numbers of approaching political participation has not been above 85 percent. This research aims to know the effectiveness of the election commission in Padang City in increasing political literacy society in West Sumatra Province elections in 2015. The results of the research show that the election commission in Padang City is quite effective in doing political literacy. The evident is from the research question form and also the Padang City turnout rate which is at number 52.06 percent (only some voters using voting rights in Padang City in the governatorial election). In addition to socializing the city election commission field, other factors also are rated by the community such as series of election implementation/presidential elections/regional head elections every year is done by people in Padang City (2013, 2014, 2015), the limited information about candidates in mass media (the impact of the general election commission regulations numbers 7 and 8 by 2015) and other factors.

Keywords: Organizational effectiveness, political literacy, regional election, election commission in Padang City

INTRODUCTION

The process of democratization in Indonesia was also influenced by the role of organizers in this election is the election commission as one of the aspects involved in political communication and socialization. The importance of the role of the election commission can be observed through his involvement in any election process in Indonesia. The role, not just in the socialization of execution of legislative elections, presidential elections directly including the elections but also plays a role in providing information and political education are mainly about the essence of the election itself.

But in the implications in the community precisely the role of the election commission is not so perceived by all walks of life so that the delivery

of political education socialization and particularly about the elections relatively comprehensive. Plus more, according to the election commission regulations numbers 7 and 8 by 2015, the mass media can only deliver advertising or political campaigns in accordance with the rules set forth from the leader or a member of the legislature, could not freely to make the mass media as a means of the campaign as the time before. Further these elections and district elections "festive" as before whether symbolizing nor was substantially due to the relatively limited information submitted by the election commission both in terms of time, material and location. Furthermore the number of participation of the community in West Sumatra on district/city elections or governor elections rated only as reaching the target election commission (between 70 percent and 80 percent) so relative yet approaching the numbers of political participation above 85 percent.

The question that then arises is related to the effectiveness of the election commission in improving the understanding of the political community (literacy) in district election is, whether election commission already provide socialization and good political literacy to communities in implementing district election and an introduction to the mission and vision of personality candidates head the area? Because all these we see in Indonesia, there is a mass media both print media, electronic media or online media that is rated launched political preaching in favor of a particular good parties when implementation of the legislative elections, the presidential elections as well as district elections, so the role of the election commission who only perform socialization impersonal and neutral, it does not strengthen the process of political literacy than political literacy (read: commercialization of politics) which is directly delivered by leaders who are "fighting".

Refers to research conducted by Mujani dan Liddle (2010), identified that the behavior of select communities in Indonesia in the last three elections in influence by the media and the candidate's capabilities. Then Putri (2011) also found in her study of political segmentation selector pairs winner at the elections of 2008, the City of Padang that the second winner of the elections were successful gained the highest vote because in terms of their political segmentation ability in problem solving that is supported by the communication and mass media. Subsequent research conducted by Putri (2015) about the effectiveness of the role of the mass media in Sumatra explains that understanding and political socialization of society about the elections as well as political education, one of which is obtained through the mass media, however since the election commission limiting the role of the mass media in the campaign, stretching the party democracy is not so perceived by the community.

Among areas in West Sumatra to know political literacy community and also the organizational effectiveness of the election commission is the City of Padang. As the capital of West Sumatra Province with the largest number of voters and also has a relatively high level of education compared to other areas in West Sumatra, then also a more heterogeneous

community characteristics, then it is deemed necessary to make Padang City as the locus of research will be examined.

In connection with the above and also for the general elections in Indonesia including district election concurrent in West Sumatra at the end of 2015, this paper would like to know two things. First of all, it like to examine how the political literacy community in Padang City in the West Sumatra election 2015; secondly, how the effectiveness of the organization in improving the literacy community in the 2015 West Sumatra election.

The purpose of this study is: to know the factors that lead to the formation of political literacy of citizens in Padang City to find out the organizational effectiveness of Padang City in improving political literacy community West Sumatra. Benefits of the research in the research objectives can be met, then the expected benefits of this research are: the usefulness of this study can be viewed from two things, namely the usefulness of theoretical and practical usefulness. Theoretically, this research will add reference and knowledge about the level of political literacy of citizens and also relates to the effectiveness of the organization as an extension of the theory and conceptual regarding science state administration.

Practically, this study is expected to provide information to political parties about the relationship between the level of political literacy of citizens with voter participation in the elections as well as district elections. Furthermore, these this findings are useful for Padang City and related government institutions in the formulation of policies in terms of increasing political literacy in society. Thus, it is also able to affect turnout in any elections.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Political Literacy

Political literacy definition

According to Crick (2006), political literacy is a practical understanding of concepts drawn from daily life and language. It is an attempt to understand the issues surrounding the politics, the conviction of the contestants, how they affect the tendency of self and others.

In short, political literacy is a compound of the knowledge, skills and attitudes about politics [Bakti, 2012: 117].

Regarding political literacy is also explained by Bev as the skills needed by the public to participate in government payload principal political literacy political participation. The political participation of citizens can be divided into several categories [Ibid. p 119]: Judging from operations, active and passive political participation. Said to be active when the community is actively involved in the formulation of government policy, etc. While passive political participation is an activity that reflects adherence to the government's decision. Judging from the level, divided into apathy, spectator and gladiators.

The first means not paying attention at all to political activities and apathetic. Spectator point is involved or concerned citizens who voted in the elections. While gladiator participate actively in the political process, participation distinguished numbers there is a more collective and individual judging from the level of participation can be divided into active participation; participation apathy (no trust in politics but lack confidence in the existing system); the participation of radical militants (belief in high politics but believes the system is low); participation is not active (low political consciousness, but believing in the political system is very high). Residents critical understanding on things subject matter related parties. It is associated with the understanding of the citizens about politics and aspects related to the political aspect itself.

The concept of the state, power, decision making, public policy, the distribution and allocation is a key point that must be understood by the citizens to participate actively in politics. Approaches on political literacy citizen [Ibid. 122], the need for political information, relating to what information is needed to know clearly information about political parties and candidates (formal education, career, family, vision, mission, etc.). Setting a search strategy, a strategy investigation into the entire political process, for example the source of campaign funds, successful team, infringement procedures campaigns, etc. Movement communicate information related to the role of media in the process of publication. It is better if the media is making a strong association to oversee the general election as well as a stabilizing force. For example, covering a campaign promise that in the future there is still authentic evidence of the political appointments. Evaluating the end product of the process of political, linked to a thorough evaluation at every level of the election campaign/ Regional Elections.

B. Effectiveness of Organization

1. There are various definitions of effectiveness. Siagian (2001: 24) defines effectiveness as the successful implementation of the targets. This means that if the results of the activities closer to the target, meaning the higher the effectiveness. While Miller in HN Tangkilisan argued that effectiveness defined as the extent to which a social system to achieve its objectives. Effectiveness must be distinguished by efficiency. Efficiency primarily implies a comparison between costs and outcomes, while effectiveness is directly linked to the achievement of a goal. Furthermore it is said by Georgopualos and Tannebaum (in Etzioni, 1969: 82) who argue that this view can be interpreted that the effectiveness of the organization is the degree to which an organization is a social system with all its resources and limited means available to fulfill its purposes without waste and avoid unnecessary tensions among its members). In general, it can be concluded that the effectiveness of an organization's ability or limitation in achieving the goals or objectives of the organization. To determine the effectiveness of the organization in performing tasks and goals can be known through some model or approach to organizational effectiveness. Model Objectives (Goal Model) according to Steers, an organization created and designed deliberately to achieve one or more objectives set. Model destinations basically states that the effectiveness of the organization should be assessed in the form of achievement of the final result is not the way or process. The usefulness of this model is limited to organizations

that have a clear target or goal that can be measured and estimated time. Relatively difficult to apply to organizations that are likely to have a dual purpose and the different parties have different preferences regarding the functions of these objectives. Model System Resources This model emphasizes the vision of the organization as a social structure that can be identified and interdependence between the organization and its environment. Organizations considered effective when resources are precious and rare exchanged in competitive conditions. The model emphasizes the acquisition of system resources needed resources as criteria to assess effectiveness. This model is suitable when there is a clear link between the acquisition of resources and organizational output. Multiple Constituency Model Develop criteria for assessing the effectiveness of the organization on the basis of various preferences of different stakeholders on organizational performance.

From the description of the organizational effectiveness model used in the study is looking at the problems. Then models can be analyzed from several indicators to see its application, namely: motivation; acceptance of the organization's goals; ratings by outsiders. According to Campbell, the operational definition of these indicators are:

Table: 2.2 Indicator of Organizational Effectiveness

No	Indicator	Definition
1	Motivation	The strength of the tendency of an individual or group involved in activities that targets in the work. It is not associated with satisfaction but rather the willingness and the willingness to work to achieve organizational goals
2	Acceptance of Interest Organizations	The acceptance of organizational objectives by each individual and by unit organizational unit. Their belief that the true purpose of the organization
3	Ratings by outsiders	Assessment by the organization or organizational unit by their (individual or organization) in the environment, namely the parties with whom the organization is associated. Loyalty, trust, support provided by groups outside the organization, such as NGOs or the public.

Source: Campbell in Steers (1985: 46-48).

RESEARCH METHOD

A. The Research Type

This research is descriptive research by using a mixed approach that use a quantitative approach. As for the mixed approach method used is the explanatory sequential i.e. research begins with the collection and analysis of quantitative data on the first stage and then continued with the collection and analysis of qualitative data that is built based on the preliminary results of the quantitative (Creswell, 2010). The design of explanatory is used to research this to find data that not only comes from the respondents (the electorate), but also from Padang City (so that the information obtained is both comprehensive and profound).

B. The Subject

The subject is Padang City and also the voters. This is because this study is looking at the organizational effectiveness of Padang City in increasing the literacy community in West Sumatra in 2015. After the obtained qualitative data, by interviewing informant research conducted a survey through the respondents in order to obtain quantitative data.

C. Types, Techniques and Tools of Data Collection

The types of data used in this research are quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data are obtained from respondents with the question form or questionnaire that was distributed to the general electorate in snowball sampling villages in the bottom of the crocodiles, Koto Tangah.

To use a sample of the entire population defined by using the formula of Frank Lynk as follows:

$$n = \frac{NZ^2.P(1-P)}{Nd^2 + Z^2(1-P)}$$

The formula used in the product moment correlation test was as follows: R xy xy = Σ √ x2y2 To view the correlation of variables X and Y can refer to the table below:

Table 3.1 Interpretation of reference Correlation Coefficient

Coefficient of Interval	Level of Association
0.00-0.199	Very low/ no association
0.20-0.399	Low
0.40-0.599	enough
0.60-0.799	Strong
0.80-1.00	Very strong

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

A. The Results Of The Study

1. General Findings

Regarding the organizational effectiveness of Padang City in increasing political literacy society in West Sumatra, the findings are presented data regarding the number of voters remain (DPT) DPT especially Padang City in the Sub-District of Koto Tangah as samples in the study with the highest turnout. Based on research findings, the number of Permanent Voters List (DPT) in Koto Tangah was 115,949 voters with the number of polling stations as many as 328 polling stations (TPS) for organizing Elections Kada West Sumatra by 2015.

Tabel 4.1 The Number of Permanent Voter List in Sub-District of Koto Tangah, City of Padang

No	Name of Urban Village	Total of Polling Station	Total of voters		
			Male	Female	M+F
1	Aia Pacah	18	2900	2948	5848
2	Balai Gadang	29	4784	4836	9620
3	Batang Kabung Ganting	25	3987	4091	8078
4	Batipuh Panjang	27	4552	4591	9143
5	Bungo Pasang	22	4486	4527	9013
6	Dadok Tunggul Hitam	29	5943	5897	11840

7	Koto Panjang Ikua Koto	23	3743	3733	7476
8	Koto Pulai	7	889	900	1789
9	Lubuk Buaya	40	6717	6771	13488
10	Lubuk Minturun	16	2881	2953	5834
11	Padang Sarai	29	5917	6056	11973
12	Parupuk Tabing	39	6769	6917	13686
13	Pasie Nan Tigo	24	4141	4020	8161
	TOTAL	**328**	**57709**	**58240**	**115949**

Source: KPU in Padang City, December 2016

Next in this research profile will also be shown the Padang City as part of the object of research. The Padang City is located at Jalan Sheikh Umar Khalil No. 42 Gunung Sarik Kuranji, Padang. The election commission in Padang City consists of five persons, namely M. Yusrin, Sawati Trinanda, Chandra Eka Putra, Riki Eka Putra. Then the secretary of the election commission consists of the city of Padang (IR. Lucky Darma Putra Yuli, M.Si), Kasubag (Fahmi, s. Sos), Kasubag programs and Data (Yunes Prawira Darma, SH), Kasubag Technical election and Hupmas (Rika Yanita Susanti, S. IP).

Test The Product Moment Correlation

Table 4.2 Correlations

		X	Y
X	Pearson Correlation	1	.867(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	100	100
Y	Pearson Correlation	.867(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	100	100

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Based on the analysis of the correlation of product moment between X and Y in the table above generates the coefficients of correlation of ryx1 = 0867 are at intervals of 0.800 coefficient-1.00 with the level of the relationship is very strong.

Significance of coefficient t calculate = 17,195 see Table 4.3

Table 4.3 Coefficients(a)

Model	Un standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error

| 1 | (Constant) | -3.362 | 1.058 | | | -3.179 | .002 |
| | X | .184 | .011 | | .867 | 17.195 | .000 |

a Dependent Variable: Y

While the price of t table on level 5% error = error level 1 and 1.98% = 2,617. Thus the hypothesis H1 is acceptable because there is a positive relationship between X with Y that is evidenced through the processing results t calculate = 17,195 > table t = 1.98.

From the results of the interviews obtained related to the factors of the formation of political literacy Padang city residents are as follows: the understanding of politics or political literacy. Literacy can be meant for some attitude or activity conducted by the citizens. These include: first, the need for political information, information related to what it needs to know clearly the information about political parties and candidates (formal education, career, family, vision, etc.). Based on research conducted from four indicators about the level of political literacy, it turned out that citizens of Padang city respondents answered quite well (the results of processing the Product Level Respondents variable x) [see page 19].

The second factor that determines the level of political literacy is a set of search strategy, it is the strategy of the investigation against the entire political process such as source of funding campaigns, successful teams, a violation of campaign procedures, etc. It is widely done by any citizen or society in a way that varies depending on the level of education and understanding of information and technology, the higher the person's understanding about education politics then attempts are made to find out information about political parties or candidates are getting bigger, but these data should also be supported with qualitative data.

Third, the movement communicate information, related to the role of the media in the process of publication. It's good if the media makes a strong association to oversee the general elections at the same time as the power balance. E.g. covering the campaign promises so that in the future there is still evidence of the political promise of authentic. This very important role performed by the mass media because one of the fastest source of information is currently through the mass media. But it would be better if in every preaching conveyed must be balanced and fair because the presence of the media are not only capital but also to increase the life of the nation. This argument would be more accurate if the direct interview to the media.

Next, evaluate the end product of the process of political, linked to a thorough evaluation at each level of election campaign/ district Election. The public have a right to evaluate and recommend whether a candidate is worthy or not. Not denied that political literacy levels in the spectrum of political participation as well as voters could not stand alone there are factors the other factors that also affect the turnout rate. But the level of political literacy community assessed more objective in assessing and critiquing every political process so that the criticism appears not only personal but also disappointment expressions are obvious and measurable improvement to people's lives in the future.

B. The effectiveness of the Organization of the Padang City in Improving Political Literacy Community in District Election 2015

From the results of the interviews obtained related to the effectiveness of the organization of Padang City in increasing political literacy society in district Election Years in West Sumatra 2015; see how organizations are able to obtain a clear goal, the end result and the time period, it has some indicator (motivations; assessment organization; goal acceptance of outsiders), the indicator of the retrieved data is as follows: Motivation associated with motivation that is the strength of the tendency of an individual involved in an activity that targets in the work. It is not associated with satisfaction but more to willingness and readiness to work to achieve the objectives of the organization, from the interviews conducted to research the Commissioner Yusrin Trinanda (December 2016) may note that:

... the motivation of the implementation of the political literacy to the citizens of Padang City especially when elections due 2015 is the duty and responsibility of the city of Padang as the organizer of the election both the legislative elections, the presidential elections as well as district elections. This is in accordance with the already outlined by the ACT and the rules of the election commission...

Further described by the informant that the task of dissemination and education against the voters were also made to increase the political

participation of the community and avoid going non voting but not denied also that all these activities are relatively constrained because the question of budgeting and authority. Further in the interview excerpts (December 2016):

...The city election commission authorities in organizing the elections by 2015 just carry out the mandate given by the election commission because Provincial Elections by 2015 is the Governor's Elections, so that the election commission is responsible for the province of West Sumatra. By the West Sumatra Province we have "dropped off" a number of budget allocation activities are clearly outlined through the provincial election commission regulations and also in accordance with the available budget. So we at Padang City election commission responsible for conducting educational and dissemination activities of 115 electors starting from the level of the village to the city. The task form submitted to every responsible starting from KPPS, PPK to the important city of Padang is not violating the rules ...

From the explanation above can be understood that the implementation of political literacy motivation in district election 2015 by the city of Padang is in accordance with the duties and functions and responsibilities given to the city of Padang, PPK to PPS at the level of the village.

2. Assessment by Parties outside

The assessment by the organization or organizational unit by those (individuals or organizations) in the environment i.e. Parties with whom this organization is associated. Loyalty, trust, support is provided by a group of outside organizations, such as NGOs or the public. In this study an assessment by outside parties carried out by the general public who are registered as voters (the respondents) are also interviewed. According to one of their interviews are as follows:

... Socialization of the elections now and previously somewhat different, more festive than the elections used to be 2015 yesterday, we usually know well about the candidates from the newspaper or the radio. .. now only through large billboards, even on the street the main street of course ...

After being confirmed to the city of Padang about community opinions above, the Padang city not belies that in socialization is also still not a classic question that is because maximum budget, following her:

...indeed we admit that socialization through billboards was limited because the election commission' budget also limited abilities, this source Elections budget of a grant so often also happens to the

budget reduction and so on, then why the minimal information in the mass media is indeed recognized This is fallout from the PKPU No. 7 and 8 by 2015 that the involvement of the mass media in providing information and socialization is indeed limited as regulated by the election commission and it's pretty effect conferring on the turnout in the elections ...

From the explanation above can be known that assessment by the community towards the effectiveness of the Organization of the city of Padang in conducting literacy to the community especially in terms of socialization and education of voters when district Election Padang city hasn't assessed the relative effective due to the limited resources in terms of funding and manpower in conducting the socialization. As mentioned by informants, energy research in the city of Padang just 20 employees plus 5 people then Commissioner ad hoc later on AIDS by PPK in every districts and PPS in every village with a population that is already determined.

B. Discussion

The formation factor of political literacy community the politics of literacy levels of residents in Padang City can be assessed relatively to 52.06 percent district elections by 2015. This means that the organizers of the election (Election Commission/Bawaslu) in Padang City and also local governments should boost the number of political literacy level of their citizens. But that does not mean jobs are waiting for an easy job. Sometimes when people have political literacy stakeholders should always improve understanding and also the actions of the community in order that this political literacy level is getting better and the correlated positively with the high turnout rate. The following table of turnout in Padang City.

Table 4.4 Recap of the Results and the Acquisition of Sound Per Sub-district in the of Padang on District Election 2015

Name of Sub-District	Total of legitimate Vote	%	Total of un legitimate vote	%	Voter participation	
					Total	%
Bungus Teluk Kabung	9058	98.68	121	1.32	9179	55.15
Koto Tangah	59368	97.84	1311	2.16	60679	51.54
Kuranji	44096	97.67	1053	2.33	45149	51.60
Lubuk Begalung	37204	97.61	911	2.39	38115	53.4

Lubuk Kilangan	16777	97.81	376	2.19	17153	52.60
Nanggalo	19473	97.67	465	2.33	19938	54.35
Padang Barat	14785	97.13	437	2.87	15222	51.69
Padang Selatan	19427	97.31	537	2.69	19964	52.24
Padang Timur	25869	97.27	725	2.73	26594	51.18
Padang Utara	18217	97.37	492	2.63	18709	51.32
Pauh	19071	97.87	416	2.13	19487	50.12
Total	**283345**	**97.64**	**6844**	**2.36**	**290189**	**52.06**

Source: KPU in Padang City, December 2016

For the region of Padang City, there are several things that can be done by the organizer of the election or local governments, among others: to record and analyze contemporary political issues in the city of Padang, for example through public discussion activities (e.g.: the activities of the meeting of the youth group of coral, a discussion on the education of voters in wards and others by inviting the public and also public figures. This will hopefully find the question what Central faced by society so that later on when elections/ district election, the public felt sure that they become the main agenda to be repaired by people's representatives after being elected.

Do a thorough political education beyond the education about the election or voter so that people are not allergic to political events such as elections. This can be done through cooperation with the election commission and local government schools or colleges that are in the city of Padang (although in fact already done but the frequency and the quality needs to be improved).

Discussion and political education result of such shared or communicated to the public through the mass media both print or electronic media even online. Like achievements to society of Minangkabau ethnic group which is the House of thinkers and writers to go back to the smallest from the environment is encouraged so that these thoughts and ideas back honed in the midst of a society). For example delivered a live talk show on radio, publishing writings critical thought or related development of community life in the city of Padang and Three others it becomes a program or activity of the opening

so that the level of political literacy of citizens of Padang city can be better for the future, in addition to policy or other programs that surely was also able to raise the level of political literacy of citizens.

The effectiveness of the Organization of the city of Padang in improving Literacy Community the politics on district Election in West Sumatra to find out the effectiveness of the Organization in performing tasks and achieve the objectives can be known through some model or approach to the effectiveness of the organization. Among these are the Model of destination. The model looks at how organizations achieve their goals. In terms of looking at the effectiveness of the Organization of the city of Padang in improving literacy community the politics on district Election West Sumatra by 2015 this model can be used with several indicators include: motivation, acceptance of the objectives of the Organization and the assessment by outside parties.

From the aspect of motivation as already described in the specific findings that provide socialization and political education to voters includes a form of political literacy conducted by the Election Commission in Padang City as the organizer of the election/ district Election. Further it is exercised in accordance with the basic tasks and functions as well as the obligations of the Election Commission in the institution and also a moral obligation that is done to every voter in order to actively participate in the elections or district Elections, because by voting leaders then we also participate in building the nation and the State both directly and indirectly and it is not a long-term benefit which is felt for a moment by the people (for example the practice of money politics during political campaigns and so forth). Public participation in the political sphere is important because it implies a policy, if the community is able to choose a good leader then a policy born also uphold the interests of the people, as one of political speech, "the voice of the people is the voice of God", it means a lot to people's life better is a representation of the wishes of the creator so that all creatures live in prosperity and peace. In the end the political literacy is important to get a place is given to the community professionally

and proportionally. In accordance with the meaning of motivation, the motivation that is the strength of the tendency of an individual involved in an activity that targets in the work. It is not associated with satisfaction but more to willingness and readiness to work to achieve the objectives of the Organization, at last curry on election commission as election organizers is to realize a fair and prosperous society lives in an atmosphere of democracy.

The next aspect of the acceptance of the objectives of the organization as its meaning is received by private organization objectives and by units of the organization. Their belief that the purpose of the organization is correct. On the basic of every government agency has goals for the well-being of the people through service. The Padang City as election organizers also has the responsibility of providing service to the voters and the public associated delivery information about the committee general election/district election so that the purpose of such an important organization and realized as something right to give to the community. Based on the results of interviews with informants can be know in any election commission district/city already contained the PPID as the unit in charge of the institution providing information and socialization of election/Election to the society including PPID in Padang City election commission. Although it is not denied that in within an organization including the election commission also has weaknesses in the execution of the task. For example, because of limited budget and human resources, the dissemination and submission of information to the public is not optimal. Base on interview results can be concluded that in the future, it has become a special concern for the Padang city so try to find a solution by cooperating with various related parties, and not to violate the rules for doing socialization and political education to the community.

The assessment by the organization or organizational unit by those (individuals or -organizations) in the environment i.e. Parties with whom this organization is associated. Loyalty, trust, support is provided by a group of outside organizations, such as NGOs or the public. Based on the results of specific findings can be known that some people say the socialization and education of voters conducted by the city of Padang has not been optimized and is also proven by the relatively low number of political participation society city of Padang when the district election 2015 i.e. 52.06% and this is far from the target percentage of the RI for a figure of political participation of the community ranged from 75-80%. The assessment conducted by the community against the election commission consists of various elements, based on studies of Nora Eka Putri, dkk (2015) about the role of mass media in district election, note that the role of the mass media by 2015 is relatively restricted in political campaigns this is due to the rules of the PKPU Number 7 and 8 by 2015, so that advertising and socialization about the candidates and the elections themselves are also limited to market segment, whereas the mass media both print or electronic in Padang City relatively large because the city was the center of Padang the capital of West Sumatra. Further based on the opinions of political observers in the city of Padang that the author quotes that district Election 2015 not so enthusiastic because in terms of the candidate or the political contestants, all of which are "old face" and there is a reluctance for people to vote again because it already knows the track record or their previous track record assessed less satisfying so it is also a factor of the low political participation of voters in the city of Padang. Other factors such as spoken by the Commissioner of the city of Padang is the distance between district Elections Padang City (2013), District Election second round Meadow City (2014), Elections (2014), and the election of Governor (2015) making the public grow weary or "tired" to do relatively the same activities every year although only to cast, but actually reversed it was fatigue because of the thought of the candidates will be selected and the political constellations in now. However assessment by outside parties is actually for repair organizing a series of election/ district election by election commission in Padang City because the goal is not only the numbers but also the election turnout leader is the best leader in the future to establish Indonesia as a whole.

CONCLUSION

Based on previous discussion, it can be inferred several things: factors influencing literacy community the politics is as follows: socialization and political education done by the organizer of the election (election commission in Padang City), although not optimal but it helps to provide information to communities on the role of mass media literacy also affects the political community in Padang City as a center of public access to the mass media both print and electronic good, meetings or discussions conducted by the community both, framed in scientific discussion in educational institutions as well as the discussions facilitated by the student organization or society such as NGOs or other community social institutions including political, discussions facilitated by local authorities as part of the duties and responsibilities of local authorities (*Kesbangpol*) the organizational effectiveness of the election commission in Padang City increased the political literacy community in West Sumatra elections can be seen from the model effectiveness goals effectiveness of this objective, the model viewed from the goals, results and time periods. In this research, the indicators that are used to look at the effectiveness of the organizational model "goal" model this is motivation; acceptance of the objectives of the Organization, and assessments by outside parties.

From the aspect of motivation can be aware that Padang City's election commission has done the political literacy to society through political socialization and education to the community, however it is not optimal in terms of quality because it is caused by various factors.

Furthermore, the organization's acceptance of election commission in Padang City did socialization and political education to the community especially during Election in West Sumatra are technically assignments help the West Sumatra Province as the leading sector in the gubernatorial election. The work undertaken by Padang City is set up appropriate regulations and the election commission has set the amount of the budget for the implementation of these tasks, so that the duties of Padang City as the executor, not policy makers. The acceptance of the goal of the organization was very well understood.

Lastly, this aspect of the assessment by outside parties, namely assessment by various parties to the effectiveness of Padang City in conducting political literacy. The results can be concluded that, Padang City is quite effective in doing the political literacy. It is evident from the research question form (based on the correlation analysis of product moment between X and Y in the table above generates the coefficients of correlation of ryx1 = 0867 are at intervals of 0.800 coefficient-1.00 with the level of the relationship is very strong.) and also the Padang City turnout rate which is at number 52.06 percent (only some voters using voting rights in Padang City on the election of the governor). In addition to the socialization of the Padang City, other factors also are rated by the community such as series of party democracy which every year is done by the people of Padang City (2013, 2014, 2015), the limited information about the candidate or candidates in mass media (from the PKPU impact Numbers 7 and 8 Know.

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Chapter 2
Gender and Leadership

THE PATH OF WOMEN ACTIVISTS TO FIGHT GENDER HABITUS IN NAHDLATUL ULAMA
(CASE STUDIES: FATAYAT AND RAHIMA IN CHILD MARRIAGE ISSUE)

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Abstract

Marriageable age limit for women in the law no.1 of 1974 on marriage (Undang-undang Perkawinan/ UUP) is one of the crucial issues to be revised. Structurally, NU through the Bahtsul Masail, supporting the marriageable age limit for women and men contained in the UUP. However, this decision is not fully accepted within internal circles of NU. NU women activists, both structurally (Fatayat) and culturally (Rahima) have different opinions with NU. Using structural genetic theory of Pierre Bourdieu and theory of feminism, this study aims to explain and analyze: 1) opinion, regime of knowledge as the basic of legitimacy, and the interest among NU, Fatayat, and Rahima in child marriage issue. 2) Capitals that used by Fatayat and Rahima to fight the child marriage issue dominated by NU. Data were collected using the techiques of documentation and interview. Documentation obtained from books, journals, print media, online media, Bahtsul Masail decision, Fatayat magazine and Rahima magazine. Interviews were conducted with the leader of Fatayat and Rahima. Data analysis was performed using qualitative analysis through data reduction, data display, and conclusion. The result showed that: 1). NU, Fatayat, and Rahima have different opinion about child marriage issue influenced by different interpretation of fiqh. Fiqh are multiple interpretations, not only determined by the methode of interpretation, but also the interest behind the interpretations. This is where knowledge becomes a regime that has the power. Opinion and legitimacy of fiqh used by NU could be read as an interest to maintain gender habitus in NU that is influenced by structure and patriachy culture. Whereas opinion and legitimacy of fiqh used by Fatayat and Rahima could be read as an interest to reconstructing gender habitus in NU to end gender inequality that is caused by patriarchy through fiqh reinterpretation. 2) Fatayat and Rahima used their capitals to maximize their path to fight gender habitus in NU. Their effort to develop capital knowledge—a capital which was not mentioned by Bordieu in his theory, enable them to build internal habitus as new value within their organization without leaving NU principles.

Keywords: gender habitus in NU, capitals and strategies, child marriage issue.

BACKGROUND

The marriage age limit for woman in our law no. 1 1974 about marriage is one of our crucial issues which its content has triggered pro and con arguments by both general public and gender activists. The article number 7 of marriage law, the first verse mentions "marriage is only allowed if man already reach 19 years old and 16 years old for woman." As the development of science in medicine, psychology, society change, so many parties consider that woman marriage age limit should rise into 18 years old.

Some people and gender oriented organization filed a judicial review of the first verse in the seventh article of marriage law to Constitution Court (Mahkamah Konstitusi)[1]. They argue that this regulation has triggered so many child marriage especially to woman which led to the rights violation—particularly rights to grow and develop. This argument refers to the article 28 B and first verse of article 28 C of UUD 1945. They demand MK to change and set the marriageable age limit for woman become 18 years old. However, in 18 June 2005

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[1] They are: Yayasan Pemantau Hak Anak (YPHA), Yayasan Kesehatan Perempuan (YKP), Indri Oktaviani, F.R. Yohana Tantiana W., Dini Anitasari, Sa'baniah, Hidayatut Thoyyibah, Ramadhaniati

MK declined the demand (Kompas, June 20, 2015).

The MK's refusal was based on several logics (http://www.rappler.com, June 19, 2016):

1. Marriage is anyone's right which should not be limited: all religions in Indonesia have their own rules and terms in marriage and these terms are binding its followers, on the other hand, state should just deliver a service in the marriage through providing administrative notation as law assurance for the wife-husband and their descendants.

2. There is no guarantee that the change of marriageable age limit will generate positive impact: It does not guarantee that the change will automatically followed by the reduction of divorce rate, better health condition for woman, or minimalizing any other social problems.

3. The proper mechanism is legislative review. MK suggest the activists to file legislative review to national House of Representative since judicial review will permanently binded thus it will be difficult to review this again in the future when there is an urgency to do so.

4. It prevents deterioration: the child marriage is effective to prevent the sexual relationship before marriage in the young people. Furthermore, marriage is able to prevent the birth of child from no-marriage relationship.

This MK's decision was actually not a unanimous decision since out of nine juries, one woman jury—Maria Farida Indrati—was stating a dissenting point. According to Maria, the appeal is ideally granted considering marriageable age for woman has direct implication to many aspects such as psychologic, economy, and health. Marriage is also related to to social condition, culture, and economy of the people that is always change and develop. In this term, state should assure every aspects mentioned above to be fulfilled by woman. (Koran Sindo, June 22, 2015).

The state of refusing marriageable age limit idea is too taken by Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) with following reasons:

1. The current regulation of age limit for woman marriage is already appropriate to *aqil baligh* principle within religion, which is

nine years old and menstruation for woman and nine years old plus already experience a wet dream for man; Or, kid who reaches 15 years old without additional requirement. Thus, 16 years old is considered as *baligh*. MUI once stated that in accordance to religion principle, it is not regulated to what age one can do a marriage.

2. Child marriage does not necessarily dismiss woman's opportunity to access education. There is no data or fact showing the inherent relationship that when woman in in 16 years old is getting married than her access towards education will be limited. Goverment already has formal education program and compulsory period of learning in the school that can accomodate them.

3. There is no eveidence proving that rising marriage age limit from 16 to18 can prevent them from health risk problems. Furthermore, there is no strong proof too explaining the causality relationship that woman who marry in 16 will lost the protection of her right to live and her right to grow.

Within NU, early-age marriage or child marriage issue is too still debated. Structurally, through Bahtsul Masail, NU states a support to current Marriage Law. Nonetheless, not all of parties within NU were supporting Bahtsul Masail's decision. Another point of view could be read from several Kiai and figures whose opinion are moderate, gender activists both within NU structural (Muslimat and Fatayat) and outside of NU structure (one of them is Rahima)[2].

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[2] Fatayat and Rahima were actively involves in driving the revision of woman marriage age limit from 16 to 18 years old. They joined other organizations and NGO such as Aisyiyah, Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (NA), Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia (KPAI), Kalyanamitra, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (PKBI), Women Research Institue (WRI), LBH APIK in advocationg this issue to MK and DPR.

Majelis Permusyawaratan Pengasuh Pesantren se-Indonesia (MP3I) also opposed NU's decision that supports the current marriage law. According to MP3I, the provision on woman marriage age limit in current marriage law is against the child protection law (law number 35, 2014). The child protection law (UUPA) states that child is anyone whose age is under 18. MP3I is an organization outside of NU structure whose people are leaders of Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) or Kiai from accross Indonesia. Some

The clash of view in NU is derived from perspective difference and interest. According to Fakih (2000:54), an interpretation towards religion teachings is highly influenced by interpreter's perspective and interest of the interpreter. It is often happen that interpreter is determined by to what extend the spiritual and material benefit he/she will gain. It means religious interpretation is highly related to ecoomy, politic, social, culture, and ideology interest.

Based on above background, this research thus tries to seek how: 1) opinion, regime of knowledge, and the interest among NU, Fatayat, and Rahima in child marriage issue. 2) Capitals used by Fatayat and Rahima to fight the child marriage issue dominated by NU.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs qualitative method. Data were collected using documentation and interview techniques. Documents are taken from books, journals, print media, online media, Bahtsul Masail decision, Fatayat magazine and Rahima magazine. Interviews were conducted with the leader of Fatayat and Rahima. Data analysis was performed using qualitative analysis through data reduction, data display, and conclusion.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Genetic Structuring Theory of Pierre Bourdieu

This theory is used to analyze child marriage issue as discourse contention, knowledge regime, and interest between NU (through Bahtsul Masail decision or *fatwa)*, Fatayat as representation of NU woman activist within NU structure), and Rahima as representation of woman activist outside of NU structure. Furthermore, this theory is also used to see how NU gender activists are using their capital to oppose the domination of gender habitus within NU.

Bourdieu views social world as shifting dynamic contention arena. The contention between heteroxa and orthodoxa over doxa is

continuing. Basically, in any society, there will be always ones who are dominated and ones who dominate. The domination is rely on situation, capital, and strategy of the actor. The employed strategy is depend on the amount of capital and the capital structure within social space. If they are in dominant position, so the strategy is directed to maintain status quo. On the other hand, if they are dominated, so the strategy is directed to shift the capital structure, regulation, and other positions so they can reach higher social position. A struggle, tension, and conflict happen in institutional level to gain certain position. Nevertheless, the struggle over any position is possible to be happened in symbolic sphere by which the contestation is working at discursive and praxis sphere (Fashri, 2003).

Bourdieu proposes a concept about habitus, domain, and capital as concepts that intersect with social practice. Habitus is a cognitive mental structure that is used by an actor in facing social life. Actor is equipped with a set of pattern which are internalized to themselves (through socialization) that is used to feel, understand, realize, and assess social life surround them. With these patterns, actor are producing their action (Haryatmoko, 2003).

Domain is contention arena. Social world as contention arena is dynamically shifting. Domain is consist of people or group that dominates or is dominated. Those living in the domain will try to maintain or change the existing power configuration with employing certain strategy. If in the game there is a contest among player to win the game, in domain there is a contest among individual, group, or institution with using certain measure. Strategy works as manuver of the actors to rise his/her/their position in contention arena. A struggle to gain recognition, authority, capital, and access towards strategic position is related to actor's strategy (Ritzer, 2011).

Contention in a domain involves doxa, ortho-doxa, and hetero-doxa. Doxa refers to intuitive knowledge built by experience, inherited, and accepted as it is normal and correct. Orthodoxa refers to situation in which the doxa's tyranny is recognized yet practically accepted. On the other hand,

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Kiai within this organizationare Kiai whose knowledge in Fiqh is authoritative and have strong charisma for NU members (Nahdiyin).

heterodoxa depends on the acceptance towards the possibility of belief contention that requires discursive change. Heterodoxa usually comes from a group that has different life experience from any other social class beneath its own class and also from dominant doxa (Deer in Grenfell, 2008).

Capital is defined as resource which is owned by actor or influential social position. Bourdieu classifies capital into four types. *First,* economic capital, and this includes productions means (machine, land, worker), material, and money. *Second,* cultural capital is the whole intellectual qualification which is produced through formal education or family legacy. Other variables include in capital culture are aptitude to behave, the possession of monumental cultural collections, knowledge and particular expertise as education result, diploma or any degree, cultural codes, writing skills, self-manner, politeness, and interaction way in which all of these variables have significant role in determining and reproducing social position. *Third,* social capital, that refers to social network owned by actor either individual or institution in relation to other party who has power. This social network is useful resource in determining and reproducing social position. *Fourth,* symbolic capital is any form of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy that is accumulated. Symbolic capital is not separated from symbolic power—a power that enables one to gain what can be gained with physical and economic force as a consequence from mobilization. Symbolic capital can be in any physical form; high office building in elite area, car with its driver, yet it can also be in something intangible that shows the social status of its owner, such as; degree in ID card, the way how people make his/her guest is waiting, or the way one affirms his/her authority (Haryatmoko, 2003).

2. Feminism Theory

Feminism theory will be used to analyze feminism ideas that are encouraged by NU gender activists in suing NU gender habitus domination that is patriarchal. Furthermore, feminism theory is also used to reflect religious feminism within NU, which in this context is represented by Fatayat and Rahima.

It is not easy to find one similarity or strict different among developing feminism theory due to all of the faculty were born with different background. However, it is safe to say that all of them are in the same line in fighting the subordination towards woman. Every feminism theory has its own perspective in seeing the factor causing injustice and discrimination against woman and its solution.

First, liberal feminism theory. This theory assumes that the cause of woman backward against man is her own mistake for being incapable to compete a man. The basic assumption of this theory is equality and freedom rooted on individual rationality. Thus, this theory fights for the same opportunity and right for every individual, including woman. This theory does not consider patriarchy based oppression and political economy structure which is dominated by men. The woman backwardness is caused by stupidity, irrational manner, and traditional values that they still hold. Industrialization and modernization are regarded as a way to improve woman's status due to biological difference between man and woman (Fakih, 2000:39)

Second, radical feminism theory. This theory regards oppression against woman is due to man's domination. A domination over woman physical body by man is considered as a basic of oppression. This theory is reducing gender relation into natural and biologic difference. Therefore, they against every form of sexual violence. To them, personal is political. Revolution can only be achieved by woman if they commit to change their lifestyle, experience, and their relationship. Woman oppression is subjective reality of woman as individual, which is different from marxist feminism theory that views woman oppression is objective reality of woman as a class (Fakih, 2000:40).

Third, marxist feminism theory. This theory refuses radical theory logic saying that the root of oppression toward woman is on the natural and biological difference. According to this theory, oppression towards woman is part of class exploitation in production relation. Woman issue, in marxism tradition, is placed within a critique towards capitalism. This theory sees the cause of woman oppression as structural oppression, which refers to the existence of capital accumulation

and international labor division. Therefore, it requires revolution to stop the oppression against woman or to end relationship with international capitalist system. After revolution, a guarantee for the establishment of equality is not enough since woman is still disadvantaged for their domestic responsibility. Hence, equality can be achieved if only woman involves in production process and stop managing domestic affairs themselves (Fakih, 2000:41)

Fourth, socialist feminism theory. This theory assumes that woman oppression can be happened to any social class. It critiques marxist assumption that considering the inherent relationship between woman participation in production and woman status. Woman participation in economy sector is indeed necessary, yet in reality it has not been always increasing woman's status. The increase of woman participation in economic activity often led to sexual antagonism instead of improving their status. In this term, critique towards capitalism should followed by critique towards domination against woman (Fakih, 2000: 42).

Fifth, ecofeminism theory. This theory born as critique towards previous feminism theories, whose foundation of thought is employing masculinity principle to end oppression against woman with using ideology and epistemology. This critique shows that when employing masculinity principle than we will automatically binded to masculinity indicator, anti femininity, and even unsconciously dismissing femininity. Femininity is undesrtood as paradigm thay is friendly to other and to environment. Ecofeminism criticizes liberal feminism theory that relies itself on developmentalism and modernity paradigm with their positivistic approach. Ecofeminism criticizes radical feminism theory for its masculinity principle in praising "competition" to deal with man. Ecofeminism criticizes Marxist feminism theory, apart from its rationalistic and positivistic approach, also due to its logic saying that equity and justice can be achieved for woman if they involve in production process and released from their responsibility of domestic work. According to ecofeminism theory, that principle is demeaning and devaluing femininity on one hand, and praising masculinity on the other

hand. The logic of rationality and the absence of spirituality between feminism theory and ecology becomes the main critique from ecofeminism theory. They envisage earth and nature circulates around femininity principles. The notion of ecofeminism rooted from the attention of group of woman on ecological degradation, the dismissal of femininity principles and spirituality within cosmology by a culture that is based on masculinity principle Gagasan ekofeminisme berakar pada kepedulian kaum perempuan atas proses penghan and lying upon patriarchy culture, capitalism, and reductionism (Fakih, 2000:43-44).

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

1. Child Marriage Issue: Arena of Discourse Contention, Knowledge Regime, and Interest

a. Opinion on Discourse

Within NU, early-age marriage or child marriage issue is too still debated. Structurally, through Bahtsul Masail, NU states a support to current Marriage Law in which the in the seventh article saying that woman marriage age limit is 16 while man is 19. This position was also stated in MK trial with opinion from islamic organizations. Nonetheless, not all of parties within NU were supporting Bahtsul Masail's decision. Another point of view could be read from several Kiai and figures whose opinion are moderate, gender activists both within NU structural and outside of NU structure.

Fatayat NU structurally made its point about the urgency in revising current marriage law that regulates the woman marriage age limit of 16 years old. A statement made by Anggia Ermarini, a chief of PP Fatayat (NU Online, December 22, 2015):

"Fatayat urges all elements in this nation to stop child marriage practice through supporting and encouraging the revision of Law number 1, 1974 about marriage saying the woman marriage age limit is rised from 16 to 18 years old. Through rising minimum age standard for woman marriage, it is expected can protect woman from early-age marriage given this type of marriage will deprive woman's right to get education and health reproduction, and also affect badly to human resource development and generating population problem".

This legal statement of Fatayat was also a structural instruction towards all memberships of Fatayat in the region. Khotimatul Husna, a member of Social Cultural division of Fatayat DIY states that Fatayat would not let any further increase of child marriage rate with working to fight this in local level (Harian Jogja, March 10, 2016).

Fatayat argues that under-18 marriage for woman affects negatively for woman reproduction helath. This is due to child marriage will lead to early pregnancy and childbirth so woman is highly potential to be attacked by various diseases which are related to their reproduction organ. Woman reproduction organ is indeed already functioned since their menstruation yet woman reproduction prior to their 21 years old is categorized to be not ready for any pregnancy (Harian Jogja, March 10, 2016).

Early-age marriage with unprepared mental will be much more vulnerable when facing various problems of marriage. Furthermore, raising age limit of marriage for woman can protect woman from child marriage. Child marriage may deprive rights of education and reproduction health for young woman (NU Online, 27 April 2016).

An interview with general secretary of Fatayat was showing the same consistency on this issue (interview with Ayu, October 27, 2016):

"It is true that Fatayat is one of organization that has been supporting the raising of marriage age limit in Marriage Law. Why? One of the reasons is due to woman's body under 18 year anatomically is not ready to be pregnant, give a birth, and breastfeed even her reproduction organ is already mature. Woman in this age is psychically not ready too. Most of our people especially those living in rural area will be pregant once they get married. So our struggle is for the health reason both for the mother and the baby. However, Fatayat recently has been asked to discuss this issue with NU in which NU, merely based on religion reason, is considering 16 years old woman can marry given she already *baligh*."

Nevertheless, once NU released its decision that supported the current age limit of marriage for woman, Fatayat involuntarily must followed the decision. Fatayat is structurally binded to any NU decision either through Bahtsul Masail or the NU position in dealing with child marriage issue. Fatayat's disappointment is clearly obvious in its position that keeps socializing the importance of marrying in an age that is physiologically and psychologically mature. This is seen in an interview with Ayu, a general secretary of Fatayat Central Board (PP). (October 27, 2016):

"Because of NU's position (supporting 16-year age as minimum age for woman marriage), so Fatayat took silent. Silent in this context is diasgree. However, it does not mean that Fatayat just silent at all. We still socialize the weakness and disadvantage of woman who marry before 18-year old to society. We also have tried to advocate to house of representative (DPR) level, yet DPR itself tends to support 16-year old. Kiai considers woman who has reached *baligh* is eligible to marry as religion regulates. They argue that it is to prevent free sex. On the contrary, free sex/adultery is more common in middle aged people. We afterward try to explain that it has more backwards if woman marry before 18-year. We fighted for it yet we failed."

Rahima firmly asserts the urgency of revising the marriage age limit from 16 to 18 year old. Rahima's focus on child marriage issue can be found in various statements and activities of its institution. Swara Rahima[3] edition 49 discusses the child marriage issue. In opinion rubric, Swara Rahima conducted interview with Zumrotin K. Susilo[4] dan Lies Marcoes Natsir[5]. In "*Dirasah Hadis*" rubric, Swara Rahima posted Afwah Mumtazah's writing on baligh interpretation against mature in various

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[3] Swara Rahima is a magazine published by Rahima routinely and it accomodates various writings and opinions representing Rahima position in Gender issue. Many statements and notions in this magazine are critique and counter-discourse to any gender based discriminative discourse.

[4] Zumrotin K. Susilo is human rights, woman rights and anti-corruption activist. She is currently a chief of Yayasan Kesehatan Perempuan (YKP), one of institutions that filed a judicial review to MK to raise minimum age limit of marriage for woman from 16-year into 18-year. Zumrotin's notions are in line with Rahima opinions, so Rahima is cooeperating with YKP and actively participate in child marriage issue start from the research, socialization, and advocacy.

[5] Lies Marcoes Natsir is a Moslem feminist. She is currently work as external director of Rumah Kita Bersama (Rumah KitaB) foundation. Lies Marcoes was Rahima founder, in which Rahima at the first place was a division of *Fiqh al-Nisa* in organization named "Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat (P3M)". Lies Marcoes has been one of the most important figure in Rahima whose opinion inspire Rahiman in amny ways so Rahima make it as reference.

context. Research and writings in Swara Rahima is a proof that Rahima has been supporting the increase of marriage age limit for woman from 16 to 18-year old.

Zumrotin K. Susilo argues that the idea of *baligh* has only been understood as a process when reproduction hormone starts function which can be seen in woman first menstruation and man first wet dream. This way of seeing baligh does not consider mental maturity, impact to human's health, and the disembedded of child rights. The contemporary society life and current science development requires us to revise our current law marriage (www.rahima.or.id, January 15, 2017).

The above argument is in line with Lies Marcoes's view about the need to reinterprete *baligh* concept to determine minimum age limit of marriage. In fiqh, baligh is understood as the time when someone is biologically mature in which his/her reproduction organs are starting to work so he/she is obliged to run religion practices in more strict way. However, in certain way and context, baligh as a concept is intersected with mind/mental maturity or *aqi*. Therefore, to determine marriage age limit is not only considering one's biological readiness

yet also considering mind and mental maturity (www.rahima.or.id, January 15, 2017).

b. Regime of Knowledge

Fiqh does not regulate the minimum age limit of marriage while it only regulates the dimension of baligh concept or mature. This concept then triggered further debate amoinf NU and woman activists within NU.

The classical fiqh literatures or *kitab kuning* mentions the early-age marriage with *ash shaghir* or *ash-shaghirah* term which literally means little, or in more specific is man or woman who is not grown/baligh yet. On the contrary is *al-kabir* atau *al-kabirah.* In contemporary fiqh literature is known as *az-zawaj al-mubakkir.*

Hence, early-age marriage or child marriage is a marriage between man and woman who have not grown or *baligh. Baligh* can be indicated from seeing its biological traits or seeing the age. The indication that man is biologically grown up is *ihtilam* or when man releases a sperm in either dream or conscious. On the other hand, the indication in woman is when she already menstruate. The mark of grown by age, according to Syafi'i school is 15 years old

Table 1

Actor opinion in early-age marriage (child marriage) issue in literature/text

ACTOR	OPINION
Structural of NU	Agree to 16-year old minimum as marriage age limit for woman, as regulated in law number 1, 1974 about marriage (article number 7 verse 2) TEXT: 1. Decision of PBNU Bahtsul Masail 2. Statement in the website 3. Statement in mass media
Muslimat	Following LBM PBNU decision, yet socialize and encourage to not marry before 18-year old. TEXT: 1. Statement in official web 2. Statement in mass media
Fatayat	Diasgree to 16-year old minimum age limit of marriage for woman, however, when NU supported the law, Fatayat structurally followed the decision, even in reality still struggle for 18-year old as minimum age limit of marriage for woman. TEXT: 1. Statement in website 2. Statement in mass media
Rahima	Oppose the 16-year old age limit of marriage for woman. TEXT: 1. Statement in Swara Rahima magazine 2. Statement in website

Source: documentation and interview

for both man and woman. According to Abu Hanifah, the age of grown up or *baligh* for man is 18-year old and 17-year old for woman (Muhammad, 2000: 89-90).

Majority of NU kiai are tend to refer to Syafi'i school when defining grown up or *baligh* as a foundation of *fiqh* in determingin the age limit for marriage. Apart from relying upon *fiqh* provisions, NU also rely on state regulation. According to KH Arwani Faishal, vice president of LBM PBNU, Indonesia has a law that regulates the the marriage age limit as a result of religious leader assembly or *Ijtihad jama'i*. This provision is law number 1, 1874 about marriage and was asserted in governmental regulation number 9, 1975 and also president instruction number 1, 1991 about islamic law compilation. As a result of *ijtihad jama'i*—an effort or *ijtihad* that is conducted with other muslim religion leaders (*ulama*) in a certain place and time. Thus, the government provision is something that should be obliged.

In the law number 1, 1974 about marriage, it was mentioned that the minimum age limit of marriage for woman was 16 years old and 19 years old for man. In another article, it was mentioned that below 21-year old marriage requires additional requirements. However, LBM PBNU agreed that parents, prior to marry off their son/daughter, should give a chance to finish his/her childhood, right to access education, and gaining experience with his/her friend before entering family life.

According to Fatayat, interpretation of grown up or *baligh* based on Syafi'i school to determine the minimum limit of age for marriage is not the oly reference, considering other schools/faculties that are exist and more relevace in dealing with child marriage or early-age marriage issue.

Baligh or grown up is understood differently by faculty/school leader and in several states. The different reflects on the object. For instance, the age limit of grown up or *baligh* to be eligible for marriage is different with age limit of grown up to be guardian in wedding or to be witness in any civil law. *Baligh* or grown up also marks that someone is considered independent in doing social transaction such as trade, cooperation agreement, rent, and vote. Hence, the age limit to be categorized as grown up or baigh is a result of both religion and social construction.

Early-age marriage or child marriage is often associated with *ijbar* right that is pertained to *mujbir* guardian. *Ijbaris* is a right that is owned by guardian to marry of his/her daughter without any consent from the daughter, as the daughter is not a widow. M*ujbir* guardian is father or grandfather. This opinion is in accordance to Syafi'i school. On the other hand, Hanafi school perceives *ijbar* right only applied for under-aged woman, and not for mature woman.

Nonetheless, *ijbar* right that is owned by grandfather or father can not arbitrarily exercised. Through considering all-party benefit, some *Kiai* have left child marriage, and even make it *makruh*. *Makruh* means thing that is allowed yet it is better left behind. A daughter who either physically or psychologically is not ready to run a role as wife and housewife even if they already menstruate. In this condition, marriage would not bring a benefit to any party, and it instead brings a destructive effect.

The followers of Syafi'i school argue that to marry off under-aged son should consider the benefit while there are several requirements to be fulfiled for woman:

1. There is no hostility or antagonism between the daughter with her guardian—either father or grandfather.
2. There is no hostility between the daughter with her husband candidate.
3. The husband candidate should be *kufu'* or equal.
4. The husband candidate shoudl be able to give worthy dowry

(Muhammad, 2000:93-94).

Rahima has similar argumentation with Fatayat about the need to reinteprete a concept of *baligh*. There is a need a baligh reinterpretation in term of considering context with open minded and not merely textual interpretation. Thus, it is possible to minimize a child marriage phenomenon, child exploitation, traficking, or woman domestification due to subordiantive reason as a consequence of textual interpretation of *baligh*. Rahima explores baligh or gworn up interpretation through several writings, such

as by Afwah Mumtazah, Lies Morcoes, dan Zumrotin (https://www.rahima.or.id/index.php/tswara-rahima/dirasah-hadist/1337-pemaknaan-baligh-versus-dewasa-dalam-beragam-konteks-dirasah-hadist-edisi-49).

Afwah Mumtazah states that Islam classifies the development phase of human being from his/her birth until his grown into three phases: First, As-shaghir. This phase is started since birth until tamyiz in his/her seventh years old. In this phase, kid is receiving more rights and not receiving any burden or obligation. Second, Tamyiz. This phase is started after kid entering his/her 7-year unti he or she grown up. In this period kid has not burdened a full shari'ah law. To burden kid with full shari'ah is only happened once the kid able to understand the religion literature that is marked with the functioning of reason and ability to run a shari'ah that is marked with healthy and firm body. Third, Bulugh. This phase is also known as puberty period and they already mature in understanding something. Terminologically, al-bulugh means the end of childhood in which one already pertained to religious shari'ah. Moslem religious leaders are having different opinion regarding to the limit to grown up or baligh age. Abu Hanifah said baligh for woman is on 17-year and for man is 18-year. According to Imam Malik, both woman and man age of baligh is 17-year while Abu Yusuf Muhammad, Imam Syafii, dan Imam Ahmad bin Hambal considered 15-year old for both man and woman.

Lies Marcoes explained that baligh terminologically means "it is the time or it is now". In Fiqh, this is defined as someone who has reached a certain age so he/she is given a responsibility in rirual or praying. The definition of baligh within fikih differs from baligh definition according to social indicatior and applied positive law. The limit of age for baligh that is regulated in positive law like 'law/UU' is polticial and jurisdiction product.

Baligh in its biological meaning, according to Marcoes, is having more disadvantageous impact to woman than to man. Woman, with her baligh or grown up condition should hold more social burden than what man do. Woman too, for its grown up condition, has lost her

right to go to high school or college, economy right, and political right.

The impact of this kind of way in seeing baligh as mukallaf (ready to receive full responsibility in life) has caused an idea about baligh is perceived as someone's readiness to marriage. The fact is mukallaf is actually a condition when someone ready to run ritual or religious obligation while other responsibility like financial management requires a condition named rusyd or post-grown up or baligh maturity.

There are three religious based argumentations that are often used as legitimacy source for early-age marriage/child marriage of under-18 aged children. First, the marriage between prophet Muhammad Saw with 7-year old Aisyah and they are doing their first sexual relationship when Aisyah was 9-yeard old. Second, definition of baligh with biological indicator that cause a common understanding saying that if one appears to be baligh means that he or she already mukallaf and is allowed to do a marriage. Third, an understanding on ijbar right that is owned by mujbir guardian.

Therefore, it is crucial to reinterpret a concept of grown up or baligh that is related to marriage. Baligh or grown up is often combined with aqil term. Aqil baligh as a term appears and is used in the context of someone who already mukallaf which can not be simplified only on his/her biological indicator, yet also considering his/her mentality and other social aspects based on his/her ability in thinking (aqil).

Aqil in this discussion refers to the phases of maturity and independent consciousness of human.

1. Fase tamyiz. The age when rational man/woman can distinguish bad from good and right fro wrong. Generally, islamic scholars or ulama regards tamyiz phase start from 7-year to 15-year according to Syafi'i and 7-year to 18-year according to Abu Haifah. In this phase, religion teachings are started to be taught.

2. Murahiq phase or an age of teen or puberty. Pshycologically teen in this phase is in unstable and tend to seek their identity. In Syafii's perspective, murahiq phase is beginned during 15-17 year old or 18-year.

3. *Rusyd* phase. This is phase where one is entering adult or full-grown, intelligent, able to manage her or his own financial, to do a business, and start a family. This phase is what moslem schoalrs say as mentally, psychologically, and intellectually grown up or *baligh*. People in this age able to be independent and receive higher responsibility like marry and live his/her family. *Rusyd* is highly related to *aqil*. Therefore, in the context of maturity in *rusy*d phase, *aqil* and *baligh* are inseparable. However, practically the concept of *aqil baligh* contains a bias-gender understanding in which for woman, the concept of *aqil baligh* is reduced only on biological aspect, which is menstruation.

Rusyd is divided into several phases:

1. *Rusyd ahli*yah. Mature age in its meaning as capacity in receiving law provision and consequence. This age is a separator between age of child and mature that already capable in bearing responsibility of state law, possess a right to act, and limit between teen and marriage age.

2. *Rusyd* in its meaning as independent. This is an age when one is able to stand by him/herself to decide and think socially. They also able to responsible for economic burden independently and responsible in marriage.

3. *Rusyd al-tam*. This is a perfect maturity of age, with up to 40-year old as maximum. This phase is the top of human experience, where mind and human's knowledge is becoming perfect, and able to interact and contribute to social life actively.

The period of *baligh* that is explained by several islamic schools or faculties is actually a teen period (*murahiq*), in which the maturity only limit to physical and biologic aspect. It has not entered the period of *rusyd* or mental maturity, psychology, , and economy.

If state sets the marriage age limit above 18-year, then the age is a mature age (*rusyd*). To realize that maturity is not absolute—or contextual, then we know that Al Qur'an does not rigidly mention the limit age of *rusyd*.

Islamic scholars and state have to disucuss this deeper or *ijtihad* to determine the grown up or *baligh* age so the goal of marriage is achievable in which to attain this goal requires not only physical maturity yet also mental, knowledge, pshycology, and economy.

Refer to Qur'an verse in Al-Furqon:74 "so the marriage would not broken in the midst and the establishment of *qurrata 'ayyun* family and in Qur'an verse Ar-Rum: 21 so the marriage can yield *sakinah, mawaddah,* and *warahmah* family so it requires a maturity in thinking, physical maturity, and mental maturity. This is difficult to be attained if marriage is conducted before 18 since in these ages teen are relatively unstable. A concept says that mother is the first school of her child seems unattainable if the mother is not ready either physically or mentally. (https://www.rahima.or.id/index.php/tswara-rahima/opini/1331-lies-marcos-natsir-ma-dewasa-itu-aqil-baligh-bukan-hanya-baligh-opini-2-edisi-49)

Furthermore, woman who marries when se has not 18-year old, even if she already menstruate, yet generally she has not mature physically to born a baby, nad also has not mature psychologically, socially, and economically. In this case they can experience various disruptions in their reproduction organ, psychology, social and economy (https://www.rahima.or.id/index.php/tswara-rahima/opini/1330-zumrotin-ksusilo-pernikahan-anak-sering-mengabaikan-hakikat-baligh-opini-edisi-49).

To end child marriage, there is a need to reinterpret the understanding of *baligh* in biological term into social term. Afterward, it is state responsibility that has authority to enact positive law that binds all of its people. In Fiqh principle, government's provision can remove any debate. If it is associated to child marriage issue, so the debate among *ulama* or islamic scholars are solved in governmental regulation with comprehensively considering all-party benefit and aspiration.

Table 2

Knowledge regime as legitimacy basis for actor opinion

ACTOR	REGIME OF KNOWLEDGE
Structural of NU	1. Fiqh of Syafi'i school 2. Formal legal law (Law number 1, 1974 about marriage) as *ijtihad jama'i*
Muslimat	1. Fiqh of Syafi'i and Hanafi school 2. Mother and child health issue
Fatayat	1. Fiqh of Hanafi school 2. Woman and child rights issue
Rahima	1. Fiqh of Hanafi school 2. Woman and child rights issue

Source: documentation and interview

c. Interest behind opinion and regime of knowledge

Interpretation towards religious texts is highly influenced by perspective that is used by interpreter and interest behind it. It is often happen that interpreter is influenced by any calculation about to what extend will he/she gain the spiritual and material benefit. This shows that religious interpretation is highly related to the interest of economy, politic, social, culture, and ideology (Fakih, 2000:54).

In this research opinion is an expression or attitude that is stated either in verbal or in written about child marriage. This opinion lays its rationality on religious text interpretation—in this term is fiqh from several islamic faculties/schools that are recognized by NU. In term of school/faculty usage, even NU recognizes all four big faculties as reference; Syafi'i, Hanafi, Hambali, and Maliki, yet the dominant faculty that is refered in NU is Syafi'i. This tells us that Syafi'i as faculty become the main reference in taking decision towards social problem.

NU agreed to current marriage law of 16-year old age limit of marriage for woman with saying that 16-year is an age that is categorized *baligh* or grown up in Syafi'i. In this term, current marriage law does not against islamic law.

Within Nahdiyin itself the marriage of couple whose age is under 18 is still common. Many factors are causing early-age or child marriage happened such as social, cultural, and economy factors (Muhammad, 2000). This opinion is strengthen by interview result with old islamic woman scholar and Rahima activist at the same time:

"Early-age or marriage is indeed still happening within Nahdiyin, not only in the lower class family but also in the upper class, even in amon

kiai or nyai. It happened due to many of them still use Syafi'i in determining grown up or *baligh* age. This is due to Syafi'if school suppose that *baligh* age for woman is 15 or even 9-year if she already menstruate. So, this limit or calculation is the one that used to determine the minimum age for marriage. Furthermore, social, cultural, and economy reality were also often contribute to child marriage. For example in society that economically weak and can not put his/her child to senior high school, so to minimize economy burden the child will be aksed to marry someone. Or there is also opinion saying that if a daughter of a family is married to a man from higher economy then it will raise the family's status as well."

Hence, it is safe to say that the interest behind NU opinion and its knowledge regime is to accomodate child marriage practice that still common happened within nahdiyin. The using of Syafi'i faculty as knowledge legitimacy by NU is to maintain status quo about marriage age limit for woman as part of NU gender habitus that is shaped by patriarchy. A consideration that seems to favor woman's interest is less accomodated.

The anxiety over free sex among teen is actually not really relevant reason since any adultery can be done by anyone from older age. What actually need more concern is the current health science showing how woman under-18 year is not ready for preganacy even her reproduction organ is already functioned and sexually attractive. It also important to consider woman rights as citizen (for example, right to access education).It is true that after marriage woman can still continue her education, yet her burden rises several times when she should also deal with doemestic affairs and caring to her child. Practically, more woman that finally quit from school after married due to her duty to handle a lot of things in home. At the

Table 3

Interest behind age limit for marriage

ACTOR	INTEREST
Structural of NU	Accomodate current practice of early-age or child marriage within its followers. The using of Syafi'i school, apart from its position as legitimacy of knowledge regime, also to maintain status quo about current age limit of marriage for woman as part of NU gender habitus that is patriarchal.
Muslimat Fatayat Rahima	Suing biologically interpretation of *baligh* and propose socially interpretation of *baligh* as reference to determineage limit of marriage for woman. The using of Hanafi school as a basis to reinterpret fiqh is intended to end gender inequality that is caused by patriarchal NU gender habitus (reconstructing NU gender habitus).

Source: documentation and interview

same time, government promotes the compulsory 12-year school program until one graduates from high school.

On the other hand, NU gender activist (Fatayat and Rahima) employs Hanafi school as basis of knowledge legitimacy. Hanafi uses *baligh* age limit of 17-year for woman and 18-year for man. This works as counter-hegemony towards built knowledge regime of NU. In this term, opinion and legitimacy of fiqh used by Fatayat and Rahima could be read as an interest to reconstructing gender habitus in NU intending to end gender injustice that is caused by patriarchy through fiqh reinterpretation.

2. Knowledge Capital: Capital to challenge Gender Habitus in Nahdlatul Ulama

Capital is a resource owned by actor and is used to contest. Based on Bourdieu's theory, capital is divided into four: social capital, cultural capital, economy capital, and symbolic capital.

Social capital is found within this research is a social network owned by Fatayat and Rahima in relation with other parties who have power such as NGO, mass organization, islamic boarding school, educational institution, public figure, kiai & nyai, and mass media. Cultural capital is intellectual qualification that is derived from formal education or family legacy that shows the habitus background from individuals within Fatayat and Rahima. According to Bourdieu, habitus could be identitied as individual or group. Generally, Fatayat and Rahima figures who have their education both in Indonesia and abroad enable them to intersect with new ideas, and they also have background of formal and boarding school. Symbolic capital is authority

and institutional legitimacy that is related to symbolic power. Economic capital is financial sources of Fatyat and Rahima, either internal or external funding (Rahmawati, 2017: 277).

Fatayat has enough social, cultural, and economic capital yet quite weak in symbolic capital. The weakness of Fatayat symbolic capital is due to NU symbolic power that dominates them. This is related to what researcher calls as structural obedience that reflects how weak Fatayat power relation towards NU. The dynamic of progressive thought within Fatayat is defeated when facing structural power and symbolic power of NU. On the other hand, Rahima has social, cultural, and symbolic capital, yet quite weak on economic capital. Nevertheless, Rahima also use social capital to accumulate economic capital (funding) (Rahmawati, 2017: 277).

Knowledge capital gives other perspectives for Fatayat and Rahima in taking opinion and position, those are woman reproduction, psychology and mental perspective that led to the need to reinterprete fiqh contextually. This capital—Knowledge capital—has not discussed in Bourdieu's theory and become new finding.

Their potential to develop knowledge capital has enabled them to develop internal habitus as new value within their organization without leaving NU habitus. Knowledge capital is yielded through Fatayat activist interaction with other sphere outside their organization "dunia luar" and through this interaction the idea of feminism and democracy entered and influence Fatayat current stand in responding child marriage issue. Knowledge capital gave another perspective to Fatayat and Rahima that led them to demand a re-interpretation of fiqh in more contextual way.

Table 4

Capital qualification in early-age marriage issue (child marriage)

Actor	Capital				
	Social	Cultural	Symbolic	Economy	Knowledge
Fatayat	V	V	-	v	v
Rahima	V	V	v	-	v

Source: documentation and interview

Strategically, Fatayat and Rahima employed similar tactic, which are; network development, reproduction of reason, affiliate charismatic, and strengthening grassroot. However, both are having different approach and target. Fatayat employs structural approach, while Rahima employs socio-cultural approach. Fatayat target is its own members from central level until those in the branch (village), while Rahima targets are *ulama*, public figure, and grass root generally. In this term, child marriage issue becomes an arena of those battling their interest to gain authority, recognition, and capital for both Fatayat and Rahima, although in different level (Rahmawati, 2017: 277).

3. Challenging NU Gender Habitus through education, not overthrowing: Reflection on religious feminism in NU

The emergence of more gender discourse within NU implicates to divided response; pro and con. The existence debate was rooted on the idea of man-woman relationship in Islam. The first group considers the current woman-man relationship is already as Islam suggests so there is no need to question it (Fakih, 2000:37) This group argues that feminist critiques toward traditional islamic texts (*kitab kuning*) is often exaggerated and misconception. Those false are lying upon three points: *First,* the mix of shari'a and fiqh problems. *Second*, feminist is often generalize a particular case. *Third*, refering to scholar's opinion whose law foundation is illegitimate and regard it as representative Islam opinion about woman (Isma'il, 2000:129).

The second group is those who consider that current model of relationship between man and woman still unjust where woman experience more injustice and discrimination. This condition is perceived to be against islamic values in which justice is placed as very crucial aspect. This group views discrimination and injustice against woman is caused by textual and rigid interpretation of religion texts so it requires contextual reinterpretation. This group critiques the first group whose way of seeing religion text is way too rigid and think that text interpretationis the text itself so it can not be change (Fakih, 2000:37).

The third group is people who argue that fiqh about woman that is based on *ijtihad* can be reinterpreted as contemporary situation and condition. The demand over fiqh reinterpretation and reconstruction by Moslem feminists is contextually possible only for the fiqh that is made by *istinbath ijtihadi* process and it also has to be done by a gorup of expert and highly competent—for example mastering the fundamental of fiqh or *ushul fiqh*. Nonetheless, teachings or rule that are included in shari'a (*syariah islamiyah*) is unchanged (Isma'il, 2000).

Based on Fatayat and Rahima opinion on early-age or child marriage issue, they tend to be shaped by socialist feminism ideology. Despite they base themselves on religon values yet their basic assumptions saying that woman faces subordination and injustice by gender-biased and patriarchal religion interpretation show their socialist feminism character. In child marriage issue they sue an interpretation over *baligh* that only consider its biological aspect and propose a social based interpretation of *baligh* or grown up as reference in determining minimum age limit of marriage for woman. The using of Hanafi school as a foundation in reinterpreting fiqh is intended to end gender inequality that is drived by patriarchal Nu gender habitus while at the same time be a counter-hegemony to Syafii school in interpreting *baligh* in early-age marriage issue.

In their thought, fiqh reinterpretation should be done to change woman position that is subordinated by patriarchal fiqh

interpretation. Fiqh is a product pf human reason or in Islam scholarly tradition is called as *ijtihad*. As a product of thought, fiqh is shaped by social condition, cultural, and politic in the time when the fiqh discussed. According to Marcoes, fiqh product has been produced by man with patriarchal culture and gender-biased. Thus, it can be understood if fiqh topic that is intersecting or particularly discuss gender issue would be suordinating woman. This is why even Islam is based itself on the spirit of pride and freedom of woman yet this liberation spirit is imprisoned by a decision or *fatwa* with judicial legitimacy ((https://www.rahima.or.id/index.php/tswara-rahima/opini/1331-lies-marcos-natsir-ma-dewasa-itu-aqil-baligh-bukan-hanya-baligh-opini-2-edisi-49).

This is as explained by Megawangi who said that feminism theology is an effort to collaborate modern feminism theories with religion teachings. Basically, feminist theology movement is a revolutionary movement to deconstruct patriarchal religion teachings. This deconstruction is intended to remove patriarchy and giving theological basis to euqal relation between man and woman. In this context, actually feminism theology theory is basically connected and close to modern feminism theories such as liberal feminism, marxist, socialist, and radical that want to remove gender stereotype so woman can have equal position with man in every aspect of life. What makes it deiffent is just feminism theology employing religous judgment as argumentation basis in achieving its goal. (Megawangi, 2000:216)

The problem it is facing is the reality that NU patriarchal gender habitus has strongly embedded within NU tradition. That is why any effort in stopping any subordination and injustice toward woman as a consequence of patriarchy with suing or even overthrowing it will definitely trigger massive resistance.

What needs to be considered is how to educate elements within patriarchy culture to further build more just gender relation proportionally in accordance to religon principles. In this context, Murata found her relevance. Murata views that Allah swt through his natures in his name is a balance between patriarchy and matriarchy nature, or between masculine and feminine. The same thing applies when Allah creates its creature, the balance of this nature is always presence. The goal of Allah's creation is to assert his one or singularity by the balance of *jamal* (feminity) and *jalal* (masculinity) to attain *kamal* (perfectness).

The patriarchy and matriarchy nature in human being has positive and negative sides that complete each other. However, most people have negative side of patriarchy and negative side of matriarchy. The negative patriarchy nature is a desire to rule, dominate, and self-reign. Negative matriarchy nature is a spirit in letting yourself to something unholy such as material things. Both of these natures are possessed by both man and woman. To achieve life sinergy and lifegoal to be *insan kamil*, so there must be a transformation from negative patriarchy to positive patriarchy and from negative matriarchy to positive matriarchy. (Murata, dalam Megawangi, 2000: 219-222).

Based on above Murata's logic, we can say that gender activist intention to change gender relation into more egalitarian relation will be difficult to be realized if existing actors within the structure are still having negative nature of patriarchy and matriarchy. Man who oppress within patriarchy structure is a man with negative nature of patriarchy, while woman who are oppressed are woman who possess negative matriarchy. As consequence, what is necessary is to educate both woman and man to transform themselves into positive patriarchy and positive matriarchy so the ideal of just, egalitarian, and proportional sinergy and gender relation is achievable.

CONCLUSION

1. NU, Fatayat, and Rahima have different opinion about child marriage issue influenced by different interpretation of fiqh. Fiqh are multiple interpretations, not only determined by the method of interpretation, but also the interest behind the interpretations. This is where knowledge becomes a regime that has the power. Opinion and legitimacy of fiqh used by NU could be read as an interest to maintain gender habitus in NU that is shaped by

patriarchal structure and culture. Whereas opinion and legitimacy of fiqh used by Fatayat and Rahima could be read as an interest to reconstructing gender habitus in NU which is intended to remove gender inequality that is drived by patriarchy in reinterpreting fiqh.

2. Fatayat and Rahima used their capitals to maximize their path to fight gender habitus in NU. Their effort to develop capital knowledge—a capital which was not mentioned by Bordieu in his theory, enable them to build internal habitus as new value within their organization with pertaining NU principles. Knowledge capital gives another perspective to Fatayat and Rahima in understanding gender issues.

3. Basic assumption of Fatayat and Rahima in seeing woman experiencing injustice and subordination by patriarchal and gender-biased religion interpretation showed their socialist feminism characteristics. In their thought, fiqh reinterpretation should be done to change woman position that is subordinated by patriarchal fiqh interpretation. However, it is no simply task to remove a strong embedded patriarchy within NU tradition. In conclusion, what needs to be done is not to change or overthrow elements within the patriarchy yet to educate them become synergystic, egalitarian, and proportional gender relation..

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WOMAN'S LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL AND PROSPECTUS OF INDONESIA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 2025

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Abstract

Driving woman to get in politics is not easy. Many obstacles had faced by woman in order to assign herself as official or elite. Consequently, not many women whose can get strategic positions in local, for example as head region or governor. But, after reformation, the political dynamic of woman for participate in political contestation has keep going processed, in spite of not significant. From 528 region and province in Indonesia, it is only 46 women (8.7%) who's got position as head/vice head region or province. It was caused by amount thing, as culture's perspective which dominantly patriarchal with placing man in public sphere and woman in domestic. Woman also tends to weak in social and political networks, and mass organization. Relatively, the woman whose voted as head local official because she has relationship with elite. Besides that, it also caused by parties orientation which tends pragmatic and just pursue victory. So, the parties usually support a person who has electable in high, and has good financial. Research method use qualitative descriptive approach to analyses how is woman's leadership in dynamic local politics, how is the woman build competition in local election and how is the woman's leadership prospects in political development 2025.Needed strategy and steps in order public sphere more accommodative to woman involving. Despite of not absolutely implemented about affirmative action, such as regulate for woman involving in parliament, but less the parties could promoted to keep attention for woman participation with always give more change for woman to step ahead and participate in local election. Increasing quality and formalizing social/political networks are need in order woman can build their prospect bigger for future.

Keywords: woman leadership, political development prospects, head local election, political participation, dynamic local politics.

INTRODUCTION

Woman involving in politics is one of problem that was debatable and always attempting to solve. In spite of not easy, but it must doing because woman also need representing themselves. Driving women to involve in politics become challenge because despite of politics are already wide open for women involved, but to change culture about women position among involving in domestic domain(working inside the house) or non-domestic (working outside the house), that is not easy. Indonesian cultures that is still inclined patriarchal which positioning the man superior than woman had make woman difficult to contribute more there out domestic capacity of themselves.

These is a big challenge that facing of this country today for able to open wider opportunity to women, educate women in order to care about interest of themselves and intensively trying to transform the condition in order to could do the action more there out domestic capacity where always pinned to women. Since reformation, the women involving in politics already show of condition much better.

According the data indicate that women participation in politics has showing phenomena which is quite encouraging, eventhough it is not significant yet. There are three obstacles why the women disposed reluctant to enter politics. The obstacles caused by three factor that is social political factors, social economic factors and social cultural factors[1]. Social political factors caused by many womens and publics still assume that women who enter politics is taboo and many custom rules that still inhibit the women to enter

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[1] Nur Hasan, artikel yang disarikan dari Media Indonesia, tanggal 29 April 2013 diakses dari http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/hambatan-umum-perempuan-di-politik.html, tanggal 1 Juni 2017 pukul 22.10 WIB.

politics. The women in Bali, for example, they have obligation to prepare traditional ceremonies and other religious activity everyday. So that, they do not have time to recognize politics. There are also many others region in Indonesia assume taboo the women who involving in politics.

From side of social economy, the expensive of political cost become obstacles for women to advanced as a candidate for regional head or legislator. For advanced as candidate need much costs, and that is imposible to filled by. So, we can imagined how difficult for women to enter politics.

Meanwhile, from social political side trend caused by reluctance of political parties and elites that dominantly controlled by men for opening women participation in politics. In many perspective, the women assume have not enough capable and capacity to participate directly in politics. Fortunately, through by affirmative policy can pressure the parties and elites to facilitating women participation in parties and advance as candidate.

Nevertheless, to driving women in politics must need hard work as well as special attention, particularly in the frame to change women's perspective in order to look political domainas a necessary. The current political development of Indonesia more complex and dynamic should be driving the women to take attention with their interest so it can be better positioned bargain. On this case, the women position must have strategic meaning and have direct correlation to embodiment of women aspiration.

Thus, the women must sit in strategic level to be able to make decision and strategic policy. Why? Because, if seen case by case, in fact not many women want to get involved further to get strategic position in politic, such as be regional head or local leader. Whereas the women's existance and contribution to occupy strategic position is very wide open. Honestly, not many women who want to catch this opportunity particularly caused by three factors above.

The release presented the Assembly For Democracy and Elections (Perludem) November 28th, 2016 which highlights the phenomenon of women in Elections and political affirmation and 2017 ACT Election stated that Simultaneous

Elections devoid of 2017 (discourse) the political participation of women.Only 44 women of a total of 614 candidates (7.17%) which followed the concurrent local elections in February 2017. As many as 38 women's progress through the party line with an average of 37.63 per cent support the Chair. While progressing through the remaining five individual trails. 44 the woman fought in 41 regions spread across 28 districts, 9 cities, and 4 province[2].

This proportion according to the Perludem release a significant proportion of the motionless when the first wave of cuncurrent local elections held by 2015. At that time, the number of women who followed concurrent local election 2015 approximately 123 women from 1646 is eligible as a candidate for the head of the region. This indicates a decrease in the percentage of women's participation in elections of 0.30 percent from 7.47 percent percent to 7.17.

At the local election in 2015, from 123 women who enroll and qualify as a candidate for the head of the region, voted 46 women who managed to become the head of the region. However, this percentage is very small when compared with the overall candidates register, where the percentage of women elected only 8.7 percent. While at the local elections in 2017, only 14 women who succeeded in being elected as head of the area of 44 women who enroll and qualify as a candidate for the head region.

The Background of elected women as heads of regions are also more dominated by their backgrounds as politicians, especially as representative members, both at national representative boardor local as well as the elite of the party. Based in Perludem data, in local election 2017, the women who have background as representative membersare most voted. 6 of 14 women were elected as head of the region and Deputy Head of the region is a representative member. The rest, 4 place of incumbent; 1 party politicians; 1 civil servants; 1 lecturer; and 1 private[3].

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[2] Dokumen rilis siaran pers Perludem, "Perempuan di Pilkada 2017 dan Politik Afirmasi UU Pemilu: Mengatasi Ketimpangan Gender Di Pilkada Melalui Jaminan Partisipasi Perempuan Dan Subsidi Partai" tanggal 28 November 2016, diakses dari http://perludem.org, tanggal 1 Juni 2017 pukul 22.12 WIB.

[3] Diakses dari http://rumahpemilu.org/id/perempuan-terpilih-

This fact explained a few things. First, despite it has created a policy of affirmation that facilitating participation of women in politics, especially the local election, but massively it was not widely utilized. So, a woman could be elected as the head of the region also does not maximum. The cause of this state of affairs caused still negative viewpoints over the magnitude of involvement of women outside the domestic domain.

Second, they are elected dominantly from among politicians, both as representative member or elite political party shows that women who voted as heads of regions are basically determined by the political power. Voted women usually already has a great political capital at a time has the popularity and high electable. Thus they accounted for nominated and have up to be chosen by the peoples.

Third, the reality of the political party still has a tendency of viewing the ownership of capital, both political and financial, as a consideration on women to be nominated. With such a large capital ownership, at least of the political party was able to ensure how far popularity and women's electable can be improved and get a chance to be selected by the peoples. Their dominant background elected as representative members shows it.

The issue of the involvement of women in politics need to keep continues to discoursed to gain alignment for women and ultimately may lead women to be able to implement his interests perfectly. These efforts need to be continued in a thrust so that women, not only no longer streotyped only handle the domestic domain, but also must be able to dye scene a political situation of the country.

Need to remember that the lack of number of women as a decisive political policy, leading to decisions on public policies that affect the alignment of women still held by men, most of whom are still updating image that politics does not fit for women, they obediently just what political decisions to be taken by men because men know and worthy of politicking, and myriad of other patriarkhi image. for that reason, women need to sue himself also so that aspects of the interests of women could be accommodated in the policy.

Vicky Randall (1982) in his book, saying that if more number of women in the decision-making process, then the focus of political life will also change. The most obvious is the impact of the impending expansion of the scope of politics toward issues and issues that used to be considered instead of political issues such as child welfare, protection of female reproduction, and more. Political life is probably going to be more immoral because women are more concerned with issues of conventional politics such as the economy, education, housing, the environment, social welfare rather than the hard politics of such weapons purchases, war, nuclear and others (Tri Marhaeni P.A., 2008: 3-16).

These expectations actually are capable of properly confirmed if women are more intensely involved in politics, seize power and able to make local governance policy constructively gender. Although it is not easy, because of the barriers, both structural or cultural, that influence will be greater women's participation in politics, including in local elections.

Women voters ambigusitas factor is also one of the constraints, where in reality, women in Indonesia are likely to be more like those led by men. Therefore, they still have a dominant voted male rather than female in the local elections. This can be seen clearly from the lack of women elected as heads of regions when compared to men. For that, it takes a set of strategies so that more women can look objectively and rationally the candidates advance in local elections, and not based on feelings and fears caused by cultural factors.

When enter political domain such as local elections, a leadership well done by men and women basically have the same objective, namely the prosper peoples. So, be counterproductive if the noteworthy more because of the sheer physical issues. As explained by Kartono Kartini (2012:40) that the leadership is a form of domination based on the personal capability able to encourage or invite another person to do something; based on the acceptance by the group, and has a particular expertise appropriate to the specific situation

Thus, it is not logic if the related leadership of women and men are distinguished and are not synchronised. Because if it is entered in the formal

areas (local governance), then the most needed is skill in the lead, which consists of managerial,the ability of drawing up strategies, create a good regional planning, agenda setting, the ability to optimizing resource to enabled in the aspect of the evaluation policy of the Government of the region. Overall this aspect is obviously not only owned by the dominant male.

If about style lead, certainly between men and women has its characteristics of each. Some research suggests that there is a difference of style led by men and women. The male is called a more comfortable style with lead that directive or the nature of the command.While women tend to be more comfortable with a democratic style (Robbin, 1998; Sudarmo, 2008). About relation, the lead womens more familial relationships and basing on familiarity, forming a more organic structure lines. Whereas for men put more emphasis on the status and independence, so it has a hierarchical structure (Tannen, 1995) (Faraz, 2013).

Apart from the distinction of style in the lead, the discourse of leadership women in politics, especially in local politics and elections need intense attention. Especially when it is linked with political development goals Indonesia 2025 emphasized self-reliance, stabilityand the strengthening of institutional politics, thus achieved the welfare of society. An important question that needs to be addressed is the how far institutional politics is worthed enough to support efforts of strengthening the political participation of women in local politics, especially in elections?Besides, it is also important to explain how the effort could be done so that the involvement of women in the elections could be further improved and capable of coloring the dynamics of politics in Indonesia.

METHOD

This research uses qualitative research methods with an approach that is both naturalistic and descriptive, so that the emphasis is not on a base measurement (statistics), but more on describing the actual, factual, natural, holistic, and about how the leadership of women in local politicsand build a strategic competition in local elections as well as participate in determining the direction of the achievement of the development goals Indonesia political 2025. The data collected through the study of literature by reviewing various information comes from documents, mass media, journals, etc. Then data analysis is done through a review of the data, interpreting and make conclusion.

RESULT

Strengthening Women's Participation in Politics and Local Leader

Becoming a leader is not easy. The same thing is not easy inside the run leadership. Leadership is not just the ability to influence others to achieve the desired goals.But the leadership more than it was an attempt to fight for the interests of the people and make the interests of the people as an important benchmark.

To run the leadership, there are various components required, which overall contain a variety of demands from leading ability, attitude, mental, intellectual and feelings. That's why, Despite it is rated everyone has the potential to be a leader, but not everyone is capable to run leadership. The only potential possessed by a small group of people, who are usually tested and through a scheme of the competition.

In this context -once more - cannot distinguish a person based on gender. Both men and women demanded more capable when he/she is believed to run a formal leadership, both at the central level as well as locally.So its weight to be a leader and run the leadership mandate, then it takes a long process for someone to be trusted by the peoples and make it as leader.

How important this leadership discourse as social discourse in mainstream politics. Especially when the discussion is already entered in the context of the leadership of women in the political,then it becomes interesting because an important reality of the top leadership of the women still become one issue. The debate is often prominent in the discourse of women's leadership includes several things.

First, that the leadership of women still have a dilemma, especially from the side of the social culture. The issue is, how point of view about the leadership of women still continue to work and in some cases being debated.One of them is a way of view about women's position in domestic domain and does not make the women as the central section to be determinant in the dynamics of the environment and the public.

Second, the direction of strengthening the political participation of women is still partially translated and gender bias. Cognitive aspects of the approach to the structure of the function is still often noteworthy, especially related to how women should play a role in kodratinya capacity as a woman, wife and mother, and on the other hand should still be intact giving attention to public issue.

Third, the problem of strengthening women's participation in politics, despite it has work in the form of a policy nature affirmatif, but it was not accompanied by the effort of providing political education which is right and good for women. So, to change the paradigm of thinking about the position of women in politics is still dilemmatis. Its condition was not over affirmatif just became a tool of political legitimacy.

This is as explained by Julia Suryakusuma (2004) that although the political system and the Government's policy direction toward women's issues increasingly gender-responsive, but the position of women in the context of political power in Indonesia remained vulnerable to political manipulation of various shapes and often used as a tool of political legitimacy. The assumption is simple: women are the basic unit in the lives of families and communities. Thus, control over the role of women is an effective instrument in controlling the whole operation of State power (Launa and AzmanFajar, 2009:8).

The lack of the number of women who apply and qualify as a candidate for the head area and the woman who was elected as head of the region is the fact that demonstrates the difficulty still strengthening women's participation in politics and local leadership. This can also read that in terms of local leadership, women still haven't been able to talk a lot and haven't been able to change the conditions that were more in favour of women.

Political participation of women is the involvement of women to take part in the selection process to become the leader of the Government, either in the national or local, take part of policy making and government influence in decision making. Therefore, overall, women's political participation include the involvement of either direct or indirect women in political dynamics.

Amid a lack of interest in women to go into politics should be seen more as a challenge to work more actively to give an understanding of the significance of women involved directly in politics. Arifin (2010) revealed that people nowday is actually already starting to realizethat the participation of women in politics would bring agenda, issues and its own leadership style in politics. Therefore, optimism should be continuously improved while still confirm the claim against the parties concerned to maintain and increase the involvement of women in politics.

Need also to remember that to see the how is women's political participation takes place can be seen from three aspects, namely, control, access and voice in policy making process (Naqiyah, 2005:78).Aspect controls basically concerns the issue how farthe women being able to supervise, control and ratify any stages of the political process and decision-making. This control can also be measured on the level where and how big the influence that belong to the political process.Large emphasis on the aspect of the access of women to enter and infiltrated aspiration and interests of the women in it. This means that the emphasis on how far women's participation in politics be intensively is working in politics and decision-making,with adequate facilities and control over resources. It also includes the expansion and utilization of resources owned optimally.

Meanwhile, the sound aspect in the process of policy making emphasis on the freedom to argue, removed idea and criticism as well as build keselaran political attitude with others. The sound aspect in the process of making these policies is also an integrative tool for women to explain political attitudes, political positions and will.

Once again, to develop and execute the strengthening of women's participation in local politics is not easy. Various obstacles still track in the effort. Including the most crucial is the strengthening of women's participation carried out by political parties that are trying to be the candidate (Notosusanto, 2009). The first obstacle is a construction program of the Centre of the political agenda of the minimal related females. Plus, the level of the political socialization of women who are low and are still considered secondary, so it does not affect much for women to actively involved in political parties.

The second constraint is the male dominance in nominating the head of the region. Women also often have to accept the fact that the dominant party elite decisions are oligarchic cause many of them do not favour women because prefer men who are judged capable of increase popularity and electable in candidacy.

The third obstacle is the political party leadership selection system less transparent and open and more likely to look at aspects of the candidate's affinity with the ruler. Women who want to join the run for the leadership of the Centre politically constrained because of the proximity factor is very strong against the occurrence of the practice of nepotism.

The fourth obstacle is all about aksestabilitas limited funding sources for women in political parties. Especially when facing the candidacy in elections, often women's difficulty in gaining access to adequate funds.Political parties are also reluctant to help raise funds for female candidates. The fifth obstacle is political solid by women tend to be low so not quite capable of giving them a significant bargaining positions for their own interests.

Obstacles faced this into explanatory that the strengthening of women's participation and leadership of local politics and is a necessity and should be attempted seriously. This is so that women can do much in an effort to achieve the goals of the region.Efforts could be made to increase the political participation of women including through political education that can foster awareness and understanding of the urgency of politics for women, as well as raise awareness of the political rights of women.

Other efforts could be made to increase women's participation in politics can be done through empowerment. Empowerment according to Amartya Sen (1999) in the "Development of the U.S. Freedom" emphasizes that development is not measurable from sematara economies,but the extent to which the community has a large selection of various occasions. In this context, Sen introduces the concept of ' human liberty ' (human freedom) in five things, namely economic empowerment, political freedom,social opportunity, security and transparency as a principle and the ultimate

goal of development, while size-the size of the economy is the way to achieve it. Women can participate in carrying out major andi empowerment (Dewi and Fuady, 2016:152).

Other crucial efforts in strengthening women's participation in local politics was safely democratization one of which eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in the political scene. Remove the discrimination be one of the important milestones in an attempt to induce the existence of politics for women.

Therefore, in an attempt to strengthen the political participation of women means it must traverse the effort that is not only a question of how to increase the number of women in the political sphere, but also how to improve performance and success in politics, examine the impact for their participation in the political system,monitor the development of the political agenda and monitor issues that arise along with their involvement in politics (Yuni Rentowati, 2012:165). No less important is also the effort must also be coupled with increased capacity of women's politics in order to be able to survive the political dynamics and coloring.

The Strategy of Improving The Capacity and The Political Dynamics of Women in Local Politics

Capability or capacity is one of the essential elements that should be owned by every person. Capacity essentially refers to the level of a person's ability in solving problems effectively and efficiently as well as being able to give clarity to how the problem could be overcome.

To increase the capacity of political women so able to demonstrate adequate dynamics especially in local politics need a variety of strategies that are relevant and mutually correlated. The strategy should be able to answer the biggest challenge about the involvement of women in politics how far can colouring its dinamyc.The biggest challenge is how far the strategies are able to increase the political participation of women and also improves the capacity of women to be more confident in the realm of politics.

The strategy that can be doing to enhance the capacity of women in politics and dynamics among others: first, by building awareness and a mindset that sees women as an important

entity in politics and his involvement is needed. Buildingthe changing mindset also include perceptions of the world of politics that tends to create a reluctance for women to enter politics.

Second, by building the capacity of support both in the individual and institutional politics. This resulted in the lack of support the capacity of women in politics is becoming less adequate. Steps for doing this is by managing of training for individuals as well as political organizer of politics itself.

Third, by beginning to learn to develop networks that will be able to support the development of the political capacity of women to be able to plunge directly in political dynamics. Develop networking do simultaneously or sustainability so as to show how the political process run takes place as it wishes.

Fourth, participated or involvement to join with community organizations or other groups and socialize well so that could be a capital importance for the development of the capacity of women itself. Sixth, by giving women a political education that are loaded will be constructive values.And seventh, with more closer to mass media and start thinking strategically how to actualize every political journey to be known and understood by the whole community.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the efforts of increasing women's participation in politics requires a great commitment and strategy. all the stereotypes about women already should be put in the proper context. However, when speaking in the discourse about the involvement of everyone in politics, it should not make a difference between men and women.

In the aspect of leadership is also already irrelevant to differentiate based on physical differences and gender. Between men and women have the same opportunities, the same capabilities and the same capacity to become local leaders.Because more precisely measured because the leadership capabilities to lead and intellect so that can lead the region with good and well liked by the people.

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INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES IN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE COUNTERMEASURES

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Abstract

Although gender-based violence is no longer a new issue, the number and intensity tend to increase instead. Indonesia is one of the developing countries with high-leveled gender-based violence. Indonesia's government has attempted various attempts to overcome it by involving a number of NGOs and forming service-providing partner institutions. To make Indonesia succeed in actualizing "zero violence" policyinter-organizational communication and enforcement activities between partner institutions and government's institutions are absolutely needed. The article studies the extent of inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities between partner institutions and government institutions in overcoming gender-based violence. The research was conducted in Sragen regency, Indonesia. The primary data were obtained from the interviews with key informants, namely those in the institutions providing accompaniment to gender-based violence victims, particularly *Aliansi Peduli Perempuan Sukowati*(Alliance of Women-Care *Sukowati*) of Sragen regency and the government institutions handling gender-based violence. The secondary data were obtained from policy documents and the data of gender-based violence victims. The data were analyzed qualitatively by using Miles and Huberman's model whereas the categorizing of inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities refers to Van Horn and Van Meter's implementation theory. The research result finds that inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities between the partner institutions and government's institutions in coping with gender-based violence has not been maximally carried out. Although the standard and goal of the program have been understood by the responsible individuals, there is still difficulty in its implementation. Due to the hierarchical power the officials and the institutions handling the gender-based violence make the execution mechanism and the institutions' procedures in handling gender-based violence hindered. Meanwhile the countermeasure of gender-based violence requires consistent actions with standards and objectives (either between the superior and subordinate or between the partner institutions and the government). This is necessarily conducted since the countermeasures of gender-based violence must be urgent and quick. The lateness in handling such case can endanger the victim. Accordingly it is recommended to set up collegial relation in handling the case.

Keywords : *enforcement activities, gender violence, inter-organizational communication, Van Horn & Van Meter.*

INTRODUCTION

Violence is no longer a new phenomenon in Indonesia. Since the year 2010 up to the last data the year 2015 the number of violence women continue to experience increased. Catahu, the National Commission of Women recorded in the amount of 216,156 cases (2012), case 279,688 (2013), case 293,220 (2014) and 321,752 cases by 2015. See the intensity data entirely always shows an increase and require rapid handling. From the data collected, the types of violence againts women the most prominent are the same as in previous years, namely Domestic Violence that reaches 75% or equal to 10,205 cases.

In addition to Domestic Violence, the violence is another prominent physical violence

as much as 4,304 cases (38 percent), followed by sexual assault case 3,325 (30 percent), psychological as much as 2,607 cases (23 percent), and the economy as many as 971 cases or equal to 9% (Armenia, 2016). See the above phenomenon Goverment has done numerous attempts by working with non-governmental organizations and institutions in order to service Procurement Partners are working hard to resolve the case. The efforts that have been undertaken such as the rule of law in a fair and clean, then the number kampaye nonviolence as well as create a good service for the rapporteur. In addition, given the consequences for the perpetrators no matter where it's been quite heavy. But not in the least make the perpetrators of deterrent. Rather than reduced cases of violence against women thus increasing critical and alarming.

Violence in Indonesia has also occurred in Sragen Regency. The existence of agender often gave rise to understand an inequity for women and become the main source of the occurrence of violence against women. The number of violence in Sragen district currently tend up to 200%. Within a year of recent cases of violence had already reached 64 cases with details of 30 cases of domestic violence, 21 cases of violation, 9 cases of rape, 3 cases of persecution, and 1 case of pornography. Dozens of such cases occurred in 32 adult women and 32 victims under (Sunaryo, 2016). The figure is estimated to be still will continue to experience increased. Even believed the facts on the ground will be much more than that because many cases are not reported.

A great many factors that cause violence. These factors include: the existence of a presumption that the violence is considered the usual case by culture or tradition. As the culture of rape is considered a complex set of beliefs that support sexual aggression and violence of men against women.This view of culture culture is a culture of rape where the woman was made the object of harassment (Subono, 2000). Then the victims of violence are reluctant to report because of shame, fear or reproach not understand how procedures in reporting. In addition to social and gender inequality is also one of the factors that favour the occurrence of violence. This is due to a patriarchal culture where men as superior beings and women as creatures of the interior. So that men feel if she ruled over women so entitled to do anything to women including violence (Nizarwati, 2012).

State this is what they consider the more affirming systemic injustice against women. Moreover, development policy in all its aspects so far more in favor of men. As for the policy with regard to women tend to lead to the empowerment of women as mothers and wives alone. Finally, the position of women is increasingly marginalized, especially in social rights, economics and politics; they have always been the number-two man after man, both in the private sector(family) or public (community). Cultural understanding is wrong like this should be soon on disconnect. The existence of the above factors make the position of women is becoming increasingly have no chance (Harnoko, 2010).

In an effort to provide protection for victims of violence then disediakanlah an institution as facilities for the victims of violence under the name Alliance of Concerned Women Sukowati (APPS). This APPS is a Partner Institution that works with the City Government to address the problem of Sragen violence on women. The people in it are trying to cooperate in addressing violence in the town of Sragen numbers for most benefits the policy of Zero Violence. They become facilitators for the victims of violence who came to report for the sake of national defense of women victims of violence, the fight for freedom of political, social, economic and Cultural Centre for women and empower women through strengthening the group. As for the efforts made by the institutions of the APPS is to provide mentoring for the victims. However, in dealing with each case violence APPS can not be self employed they work closely with the police and hospitals. Should cases of violence such as this to the attention of all stakeholders both Government to the community.

The violence in the town of Sragen have entered the category of very emergency. All walks of life are expected to be involved in tackling the case of violence occur. Both the Police, hospitals and APPS. Based on these things so that cases of violence can be reduced even missing the required communication between the Organization and the existence of a Ministry that involves related institutions (activity reinforcement). With the

coordination of the organization then handling cases of violence would be more effective (Christian, 2016). Based on this previous research also said that cooperation and good communication between the associated organisations is very influential in achieving a common goal (Hartati, 2013). That's why communication between organizations becomes important in a policy implementation.

This article will discuss about (1) how communication between organizations that handle violence, i.e. APPS, hospitals and the police force; (2) what are the obstacles faced in performing communication between stakeholders; and (3) the commitments taken by each institution with the existence of cases of gender-based violence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Inter-organizational Communication

Inter-organizational Communication is one of the six variables are the variables that affect the successful implementation of policies based on the theory of Van Horn Van Meter. Other variables that influence in addition to the communication between the Organization and its target is a standard policy, resources, implementing agent characteristics, social political and economic conditions as well as the disposition of the implementor. Inter-organizational Communication is the interlacing of communication and synergistic cooperation between relevant agencies that are required to support the successful implementation of the policy (Subarsono, 2005). Based on previous research (Paulraj, Lado, & Chen, 2008) suggests that communication between Organizations is effective in managing key relationships that later resulted in the achievement of a purpose.

2. The Dimensions of Inter-organizational Communication

According to (Wenwen & Balyu, 2015) there are four dimensions of communication between organizations, among others:

a. Communication Willingness

The availability of communication is defined as the intent to initiate communication. How does an institution willing to communicate shows intention to share information with other institutions to achieve a specific goal.

b. Communication Commitment

Communication relating to the positive commitment of trust within the organization such as selecting only the information required by the organization. In addition want to cooperate and collaborate to later join in the decision-making as well as having a specific goal of what will be done.

c. Communication Behavior

Communication behavior consists of communication media and communication frequency. The intensity reflects the immediacy of communication between organizations that may encourage the exchange of ideas and creating the communication effectiveness and efficiency. Communication behavior effect directly against performance and stability. Kecepat response of an organization in addressing an issue strongly in the estimate. In addition the accuracy, timeliness, adequacy, relevance, and credibility of information can factor is very important to the success of an organization.

d. Communication Quality

The quality of communication associated with the satisfaction of the society and the achievement of business objectives of an organization.

3. Gender based Violence

Gender-based violence is a violence in which women have always been a victim and became the party aggrieved. Different types of cases of violence afflicts women. As is the case of rape, domestic violence, etc. The occurrence of gender-based violence is affected by many factors. Among these patriarchal culture that assumes that women are weak creatures and men powerful beings which can arbitrarily against women includes acts of violence (Sihite, 2003). According to feminist glasses, violence against women is equal to gender-based violence. The equation is not without cause, because all this violence experienced by women occurs because of the difference in gender relations are lame. This gender-based violence is the result of some form of social interaction that occurs in the patriarchal society (Harnoko, 2010).

Where this social institution system basing on lame relationship according to the category

of kuat-lemah, a powerful party master and repress the underdog or cultural systems of social memarjinalkan women's position on a permanent basis in society which seems to legitimize various kinds of injustice, deprivation and repression of the perpetrator over the rights of women as victims azazi (Setiawan, 2011).

According to Perda No. 3 in 2009 about organizing the protection of victims of Gender-based violence and children in Central Java Advanced Services instances for the victims of violence particularly given by hospitals, police and nongovernmental organizations are as follows: (1) Hospital is responsible for conducting a thorough examination, treatment, psychotherapy, medicolegal, rehabilitation and psychological examination. (2) the police force responsible for doing reporting, restitution (investigation and investigation), orders of protection and capacity building unit investigators. (3) non-governmental organizations responsible for doing the counseling, legal consultation and legal assistance at all stages of the trial.

4. Model
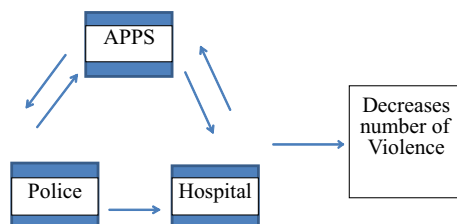
METHOD

The type of research used in this research is descriptive qualitative study types. Research done in the Organization of the Alliance of Concerned Women Sukowati (APPS) Regency of Sragen, Central Java, Polresta Kab. Sragen and hospitals Kab. Sragen. In this study researchers focused on (1) how communication between organizations that handle violence, i.e. APPS, hospitals and the police force; (2) obstacles faced in tackling gender-based violence; and (3) the commitments taken by each institution. There are two sources of data on this research. Primary data and secondary data. Primary data obtained from key informant interviews in-depth against. Key informant research is people at the Agency who do special mentoring programs

for victims of gender-based violence both in the APPS, the police or the hospital. Secondary data obtained through documents and data about the victims of gender-based violence. The technique of Data collection through the research library and field research that includes obeservasi, interviews and studies documents. Data analysis techniques used in this research is the analysis of interactive data model expressed by Miles and Huberman, namely data collection, simplification of the data, the presentation of the data and the withdrawal of the conclusion.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Result

Tackling gender-based violence involving a variety of stakeholders i.e. APPS, hospitals and police. In the process of tackling violence every stakeholder has the roles and responsibilities of each. In this research will be referring to four indicators of communication between Organizations based on the theory of implementation of Van Horn Van Meter said that communication between the organizations is one of the factors that affect the implementation of a policy. Four of these indicators include the willingness of communication, commitment to communication, communication and quality of communication behavior. Expected to-four indicators are owned by these three stakeholders who later bersinergis and complement each other to realize the common goal i.e. the response to gender-based violence.

a. The role of the Alliance of Concerned Women Sukowati (APPS) in Tackling Gender-based violence

Alliance of Concerned Women Sukowati (APPS) is an institution consists of individuals who care and want to fight for women's rights. APPS to facilitate and help every women victims of gender-based. In tackling Gender-based violence the Alliance Concerned Women Sukowati doesn't work alone. Party APPS do communication and work closely with the police, hospitals, community empowerment Agency (bapermas) and social service. To do tackling gender-based violence can be analyzed using the 4 dimensions of communication, where APPS have to four dimensions.From the dimension of the Willingnes

of the Communication, the APPS are willing to provide information related to case stakeholders to resolve issues on the victim. So there are cases that can be acted upon by the related stakeholders namely the police and hospitals. The agency strives to facilitate the APPS as well as helping the victims of violence. Such is the case, when there are victims who need legal assistance or the health service then APPS is willing to help communicate with related institutions. For APPS even though the violence is the responsibility of the Government, but when there is nothing to facilitate then handling victims of violence can not run well. In other words, the APPS as a facilitator who was instrumental to memblow-up the case so that a concern for the Government. During these many cases of gender-based violence which is not resolved completely to result in similar cases often occur repeatedly. In addition, the Institute also provides APPS for victims through cooperation with social service districts, provinces or social Ministry. For example rape cases related to conceiving, facilities given institutions the APPS that work together with the police or the hospital. Here the party APPS make letter for exemption to social service costs, and social service recommends the exemption letter to the hospital. So the victim get medical services health services fee exemption form. As for the costs of doctors, psychologists, lawyers, and entrepreneurs who have the concern to victims of gender-based violence. Based on the way to dikatakn the availability of communication between agency stakeholder related APPS with becomes very important, though cases of violence are entirely the responsibility of the State.

In terms of Commitment, Communication APPS have a commitment to continue to make special accommodation for the victims ranging from counselling, therapeutic stage up to the line of the law. The institution of APPS very keep identity and the story of the victim because it is very risky and the nature of privacy.If a party violates these APPS, it will be penalized 500 million fines and penalty of 5 years imprisonment in accordance with law No. 11 year 2012 chapter 97. In addition the agency coordinating with stakeholders related APPS, APPS within parties should also have a sense of empathy, being a good listener and do not blame the victim. So the victims will feel comfortable in counseling and convey information actually match

what happened. Based on the foregoing, it will be easier to determine the decisions carried out together with a clear and open mind among the victims with the relevant parties.

In terms of Communication Behaviors, institutions APPS quick response in dealing with cases of violence. When there are victims who come to the APPS it will soon quickly dealt with, quickly was accompanied in accordance with what is required of the victim. If the victim requires help to track the law then APPS quickly helps coordinate with the police. However, institutions such as the victim's family treats the APPS themselves. Like, if there are victims who come and cry, then the APPS will let victims cry issued a negative energy so that victims would be more relieved and tenng in doing the counseling.The last communication in terms of quality, the APPS in handling cases of violence will resolve completely with undertakings of certain facilities. The facilities are owned by institutions including the following APPS space shelters to provide rehabilitas victim in desperate need. APPS provides experts to stage counseling as many as 30 people. In addition, to do the recovery therapy stage victims APPS to facilitate in the form of prayer therapy. In doing this recovery therapy also works closely with the doctors and psychiatrists from Moewardi hospital is one of them. To achieve legal justice for the victims, the Agency also sought the APPS as a practitioner who ruled until the legal process has been completed. So that's not too need APPS institution party lawyers. It is already fairly reflect that APPS have good quality reflected in the satisfaction of society as well as the achievement of business objectives of the organization i.e. remove all acts of violence.The obstacles faced by the APPS is the presence of terror carried out by parties who did not receive and was not happy with the handling of criminal violence. However, it would not be a serious problem for the APPS as long as it does not interfere with the process of handling the gender-based violence.

Based on the results of interviews with resource data obtained some cases successfully handled by the APPS including sexual crimes pregnant 14 people, who don't get pregnant 6 people. Later domestic violence about 387 cases, rape of 81 cases, the later promiscuity about 126 cases of traficking, 6 cases of molestation and pornography 11 2 cases. From these data the

highest cases of violence happened was a case of domestic violence. This is in accordance with the said by the speaker.

b.   **The role of the Police in Tackling Gender-based violence**

In dealing with cases of gender-based violence police is also one of the important parties between the two other institutions. The police move more specifically in the field of law. In the handling of cases of violence the police also cooperate with the other relevant institutions such as the APPS and the hospital. To do set up gender-based violence can be analyzed using the 4 dimensions of communication.First, the availability of the communication, in this case the police working flexibly to handle cases of gender-based violence. The police are willing to communicate in accordance with what is required by the victim. Like for example when there are victims of traumatic violence which until then police will communicate it to the parties to bring the doctor's Hospital psychiatrist. If there is a victim who suffered physical abuse then the police will help communicate to the hospital so that it can be made or visa visum promiscuity that was later used as evidence in legal proceedings. Later, the communications commitment given the police is continuing to provide excellent service and timely and provide oversight with their best.This will continue until the victim comes to the stage of enforcement of the law. In addition to tackling the existence of gender-based violence, the police also conduct periodically with socialization aimed at community groups such as school children first to the intermediate level, the environment is high up to the village of the subdistrict, and others.

In terms of the behavior of the communication, the police maintains a quick response service for all victims of violence. This is shown with every victim or incoming reports will then be transmitted as it dealt with directly asked for captions and in use until the process of the trial. Moreover when there are victims who need care then will also be directly referred to the General Hospital of the region. In terms of the behavior of komunikai, which became the main police will really keep the identity of the victims is a must because it is already set in the legislation. Then in terms of the quality of communication, in the handling of cases of gender-based violence the police Child protection unit has a women's (PPA) that specifically deal with cases of violence that occurs in women or children.In the process of investigation any police also provides special women police personnel to deal with women victims of violence. It is meant to let the parties more investigators got the chemistry the victim until the victim continues to open the actual occurrence information. In the process of investigation, the police themselves have also facilitated the provision of victims with counseling room for each victim when asked for a description.

In dealing with cases of gender-based violence the obstacles faced by the police is the police power is not available for women in the police Sector (Polsek). Police power of women and Child protection unit of the woman (PPA) is only available at Police Resort (Polres) only. This which then impedes handling especially for the victims who were in the area. Each of the victims who were in the area did not report and automatically not affordable because of the lack of experts and units is needed. They must be to the Polres in advance. But as we know the process of handling the violence takes prolific fast. This is due to the delay in handling cases of violence will take more risks on the victims themselves. Thus the absence of units and personnel polwan into the PPA factors that hamper the response quite gender-based violence.Based on the results of interviews with resource persons obtained the data cases handled by the police this past year was sexual violence 5 cases, physical violence and domestic violence as much as 1 case 3 case.

c.   **The role of public hospitals in the Region for tackling Gender-based violence**

Agencies involved in tackling gender-based violence is also one of the hospitals. In its activity based on Perda No. 3 in 2009 about organizing the protection of victims of Gender-based violence and children in Central Java Hospital must provide service in the form of a thorough inspection, treatment, psychotherapy, a thorough psychological Examination, medicolegal and rehabilitation.Judging from the 4 dimensions of communication between organizations can be outlined as follows. The willingness of the communication, in handling cases of Gender-based violence becomes the last

reference hospital for the victims of violence are therefore in this Hospital was not a party to the pick up of the ball. The hospital is only waiting for the arrival of the victims of the police or the institution of APPS. Later seen from the behavior of communication, Regional General Hospital has been providing fast service response. If the victim entered then it will soon be handled in accordance with required sacrifices whether it's overall examination or treatment to the making of visum. In tackling cases of violence are the same as the other two institutions hospitals also maintain each identity victims to its privacy.

Then the quality of Communication indicated by the availability of experts such as doctors, as well as specific professional psychologist to deal with the victims of violence. In addition the hospital also gives exemption costs bore for the victims of violence who are pregnant who obtained from Social Service agencies through APPS. Last in terms of commitment to communication, the hospital continues to be committed to provide care, an examination of the psychology of thoroughly until the victims recover as readily kala and can survive again. Provide the most care for the victims.

In performing its task to tackle gender-based violence, the hospital also experience obstacles. These obstacles is the hours of work or hours of operation of the hospital. The existence of these hours then cases of violence can not be freely handled at any time especially related making of Visum. Whereas a long time making visum can only do 1 x 24 hours. While handling cases

of violence also requires rapid action. Hence the hospital expected to have services ready.

2. Disccusion

See the results of the exposure above, the existence of communication between Organizations becomes important and indispensable. Communication between the Organization became one of the factors that affect the success of implementations (Aneta, 2010). This is because each agency can not stand alone and not be in spite one another. In tackling Gender-based violence cases each agency should be able to work in integrated.In the handling of the case there is no institution more dominant or more plays. All three must work together and complement each other in the interim institutions to present barriers to decrease numbers Gender-based violence. Each institution has the role and responsibility of each in every process of countermeasures. Like APPS better focus on counselling and mentoring. The police focus more on services and law enforcement. The hospital as the last citation in provide care and also the making of visum in handling Gender-based violence. To be able to realize the policy of Zero Violence third good APPS, Police agencies and HOSPITALS also have to bersinergis and do coordination so that the common goals can be achieved. Of the 4 dimensions of communication between the third Organization of institutions both APPS, the police and the regional public hospital has four indicators. The existence of a synergy between these three institutions can be seen through the following table:

Dimensions	APPS	the Police Department	Hospital
Communication Willingness	1. helps communicate with the Social Service, hospital bgi rape victims who become pregnant 2. help make a recommendation letter bore the cost of liberation of rape victims who become pregnant	1. Communicate with the Hospital (psychiatrist) to victims who experience traumatic. 2. Communicate with the hospital for his wound visum/ promiscuity for victims who suffered physical abuse	1. the absence of an effort to communicate to other agencies because of the hospital including the last reference
Communication Commitmen	1. Filter information where victims are privacy or are allowed to be published 2. Accompany the victim until thoroughly	1. provide the best possible service in accordance with the required sacrifice 2. Organising periodic secar for socialization is aimed specifically at school children	1. Regional General Hospital continues to be committed to providing care and thoroughly checks up to the victim to recover and survive back
Dimensions	APPS	the Police Department	Hospital

Communication Behavior	1. Treat victims with the best possible	1. trying to keep the identity of the victim to its privacy 2. providing services such as quick response when there are victims who need care will be referred to the General Hospital of the area, etc.	1. Regional General Hospital has been providing service quick response according to which dibtuhkan victims 2. keep the identity of each victim are privacy
Communication Quality	1. Has experts counseling only up to 30 people 2. has a shelter for victims of violence	1. Have a Female Child protection unit (PPA) 2. provides special women police personnel deployed in the investigation of the female victim 3. have counseling room	1. availability of experts such as doctors, as well as certain professional psychologist to deal with the victims of violence

From the table above it can be seen that from the four indicators theory Wenwen & Balyu no indicators most notable at some institutions. Entire indicator synergized in accordance with the duties and role of each. In addition, each indicator becomes important because it is an indicator of sustainable and intertwined with each other in tackling the case of gender-based violence. Therefore, each of the institutions involved must run indicators which owned and always coordinate or communicate well with other agencies in order to achieve the common goal.

CONCLUSSION

See the range of activities undertaken by each institution or stake holders can be drawn the conclusion that there is communication between stake holder in tackling gender-based violence. In any activity conducted, each agency is not working alone they involve other institutions in the handling of the case. The involvement of these three agencies in tackling the violence shows that there is communication between the Organization and supported by strengthening activity in it. This is in accordance with the theory of Van horn Van meter (Sulistiani & Parabawati, 2016) that communication between organizations is one of the factors that influence the implementation of policy and very important presence. But so far, the communication between the organizations in tackling gender-based violence have yet to achieve optimum results. This is because the number of victims that have to be addressed and require quick time which then makes the handling of cases of violence are blocked. Thus communication between the Organization and the strengthening of activities is very important to continue to do

so that the victims can be resolved completely. Although not optimal, each agency still kept trying to run a commitment which belonged to each of the institutions. Such is the case, APPS will continue working to eradicate cases of violence either through counseling, therapy and mentoring completely. The police took the commitment to keep quick response when receiving reports, quick investigations, surveillance and take decisions in accordance with the applicable law. Then the hospital will also commit to continue to seek the maximum care, psychological examinations for the victims of the violence to complete. The Agency should do a third communication between organizations in order to achieve a common goal i.e. in addressing gender-based violence.

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FEMINIST ATTRIBUTE AND WOMEN LEADERSHIP STYLE IN MICRO SMALL MEDIUM ENTREPRISES

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Abstract

SMEs play a very strategic role in national economy from its contribution to improving gross domestic product, labor absorption, to improving national export and investment. The increase of SME numbers is expected to achieve the national target by growing 2% of total employers becoming the key to a state's advance. Data shows that more than 60% of SME actors are women, and this number increases continuously by 8% over year. On the other hand, the society's assumption that entrepreneurship is better occupied by men is correlated to masculine concept in which the characteristics of employers are very inherent to this concept. The increased women participation in SMEs is not recognized directly by the society. It is because of women's dual role as mother and the basic pattern of women entrepreneurship is represented as the form of struggle for balancing the work and the domestic responsibility. The increased women role as the owner of SMEs sufficiently proves that women should play not only feminine role such as taking care of children, cooking and doing other house chores. The establishment of women employer communities is a means of developing women's potency in learning their business. This research aimed to explain the women's entrepreneurship perspective in SMEs using feminism attribute in the women leadership characteristics. Thus this research could contributed to providing gender consciousness to prepare an idea of how a woman leads her business appropriately thereby can balance her role in family and her role as the leader in SME she leads. The method employed was literature study, using inter-theories comparative analysis and meta-analysis. The result of research showed that the women can show their role corresponding to the situation they face. When performing as the leader of SME, woman had characteristics different from those in feminism theory. She could be a transformational, participatory, action-oriented, creative and problem solver leader. Government's support in the term of women empowerment in SME was expected to benefit and to motivate other women to be successful in entrepreneurship.

Keywords: *leadership, feminism, entrepreneurship, micro small medium enterprises*

INTRODUCTION

Women as leaders often get a stereotypical view because of its traditional role as a mother who gave birth to children, and its status as a wife. Generally, people assume that the characteristics of the women are gentle and slow to make decisions which in this study is known as a feminism attributes. The social views on women's leadership is considerably less because of his personal life as a woman, wife and mother so that the basic pattern of women's entrepreneurship described as a form of struggle to balance work and household responsibilities (Orser, Elliott, Leck, 2011; Tijani-Adenle, 2016). There is an assumption that women leader is a kind of the gender stereotypes opposition. It is ineffective in leading and in keeping with his role (Rhee & Sigler, 2015). Workers who had female leaders feel that their leaders are lack of credibility (Patterson, Mavin & Turner, 2012). Although feminism attributes against women is still dominant in Indonesian society, in Small Medium Enterprise is still found a number of women served as leaders.

Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) is one form of entrepreneurship in a country. As known that entrepreneurship and innovation are essential to stabilize the development of country and create national competitiveness (EC, 2013; Sine & Lee, 2009 in Bell & Bell, 2016). In Indonesian gross domestic product (GDP), SMEs are able to provide a contribution of 60% of GDP and 9.29% of the growth of national export numbers (BPS, 2013). The improvement of number of SMEs is expected to achieve the national target to grow 2% entrepreneur numbers as the key to country development. The data showed that more than 60% of SMEs leaders from the total number of 57,895,721 SMEs units are women (BPS, 2013), and it increases by 8% annually (jaringneews.com). The roles of women in the business world cannot be considered as minor because 23% entrepreneurs in Asia are women and it grows 8% annually (the Asia Foundation). 49% of the total Indonesia population is female. This fact is a great opportunity of women to be actively involved in entrepreneurship activity in Indonesia.

Most of SMEs women leaders in Indonesia are largely struggled in food, crafts and clothing or other home-based industries. They are members of the various associations of women entrepreneurs as a step to empower and encourage each other in business. Women's associations aim to encourage the existence of productive women to optimize their potential for themselves, their families and communities. They create sharing, networking and empowerment activities to support their vision. The members of this association focus on fostering community and businesses members who are still *start-ups* business pioneers. There are 1,200 SMEs that was built by the Perhimpunan Perempuan Lintas Profesi (Women's Across-Professions Association).

Women's cross-professions association of has important role to improve the potential of SMEs. The existence of various women associations can pave the way for women entrepreneurs in developing their business wings. Strong networking provide a cooperation between associations' members to establish a business chain, such as to create a cooperation system between materials supplier and manufacturers that will create a quality product, cooperation and market expansion both nationally and internationally. In addition to direct empowerment, women association also runs its role *online* so there is no limit to the distance and time. The development of social networking media, such as *Facebook, Twitter, Path, Instagram*, and others led to the formation of a women entrepreneur community virtually.

A virtual community of women entrepreneurs is used to discuss and interact both socially and personally as well as a step in the marketing of the products they produce. This step is also to support the provision of literacy and understanding of the existence of *e-commerce* which provide more opportunities than just to open a business *offline.* These efforts have a support from the government both in terms of business assistance, providing a resource for the activities of associations of women entrepreneurs and policy support to empower women entrepreneurs. The government has issued policies and strategies to increase women's productivity economically. PPEP (Women's Economic Productivity Enhancement) is a program of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection whis is very strategic as an effort to improve the quality of life and the fulfillment of the economic rights of women through strengthening women's economic productivity in order to reduce the burden of health and education costs of poor families (www.kemenpppa.go.id). Therefore, the synergy between the government and the women association to increase the potential of women is very important.

Women also play a role in the increase of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country, as reported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a country with the labor force participation of women equal to men are able to increase the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country (Elborgh-Woytek et al. 2013, 4-5). However, the facts show that most sectors of SMEs run by women are small-scale enterprises so that they should act double roles in managing their business, as manager and a worker in the same time. Although the initial purpose of women to run SME is as a side job

to help her husband gain family income, now there are many businesses that have grown and become a major source income and provide a job for society. Dual-role acted by women entrepreneurs needs special qualifications and skills to help them equalize their roles as a leader and manager of business and household. It is important for women to master some *hard skills* and *soft skills* such as entrepreneurial competence, understanding of the context of women leaders and a commitment to develop (Mitchelmore,Rowley, 2013; Carter and Shaw, 2006; and Wiklund *et*al.,2003).

Leadership skill regards to how a woman lead their business, develop a capital, material and human resources comprehensively to achieve the goals set. The success of women in leadership in political, economic and other fields can be a good example for women entrepreneurs to increase their personal capacity. Women's leadership is not only seen as an icon of feminism, but also an effort to protect the rights of women. Feminine characters that exist in women such as patience, hospitable, careful, neatness and discipline can be an extra value that will provide excellent service to customers and an example for their employees.

Differences in leadership character to gender shows that women's leadership further illustrate the readiness while men are better described as a challenge. Women are more dominant to the type of transformational leadership, involve the participation of employees, emphasize cooperation, become an example or model, have good relations with employees, build trust and respect to all members of the organization and involve employees in the organization's vision as well as very critical (Brandt & Laiho, 2013; Sahin, Gürbü, & cent, in 2017; Stanford, Oates, & Flores, 1995; Metcalfe, 2010). This study discusses the leadership of women in SMEs and perception toward attributes of feminism in women's leadership. The study focused on leadership styles of women entrepreneurs, and the roles of the community of women entrepreneurs to increase the potential and capacity of women as leaders, business owners and simultaneously run their roles in the family.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Leadership and Leadership Style (Men and Women Leadership)

A discussion of leadership is always associated with a power and ability to mobilize others to achieve a predetermined goal. All of areas of social, political, economic and even the smallest scope of organizations, family, need a leader who can play optimally in mobilizing its members. Leadership can also be regarded as a process to influence subordinates such as motivation, prestative action as well as to increase group culture (Zuhriyati & Rahmawati, 2014). Leaders must show hearty attitude, emotional belief, understanding of present conditions, and evaluating the shortcoming vision and mobilizing members to produce organizational changes (Groves, 2006) through their roles in providing a model, delegation of responsibility, empowerment, teaching, creativity and communication (Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2004; Cacioppe, 1998). The figure of leaders are depicted as and entrusted to men until now, most of leaders are still dominated by men. Men are considered to more capable of directing subordinates, more assertive and brave to take risks, controlling the sale and the ability to improve the position of his career to the upper level (Kiser, 2015). The current emerging women leaders appear various leadership styles associated with gender differences.

Leadership styles determine how the tendency of leaders to behave and act. There is no leader who has an exactly good leadership style from point of views of organization, field or institution, as well as gender difference. Those will bring up different perception and mindset, differences on behaviors related to leadership style, profile motivational, and decision-making styles (Kiser, 2015; Andersen & Hansson, 2011). It is important to understand consistent differences between men and women in leadership positions in certain organizations, throughout the world the number of women is fewer than men in positions of leadership in business organizations. Leadership that is still dominated by men relates to gender stereotypes developed in a country. Saudi Arabia has multiple organizations that is led by women

leaders. Leadership fact of women in Saudi pointed that the big role of women. Women can achieve success in organization if only there is a support from government (Sikdar and Mitra, 2012). Leadership that associated with gender cannot be separated from such stereotypes. Men is depicted to tend to act quickly, action-oriented and analytical in decision-making process. While women in decision-making is described to take more time and need to identify the main aspects in every situations (Alimo-Metcalfe, B. 2010).

To be successful, women leaders do not need to compare with or imitate leadership styles of men but should take advantages from those differences. Women can build and grow up their own leadership style, strengthen the characteristics become strengths, develop certain required skills, show dedication to the job. Those ways will the success of women's leadership towards gender diversity in their organization (Baker, 2014).

Attributes of Feminism and Women Entrepreneurship Identity

Definition of feminism is always associated with gender. Gender comes from English word which means sex, the apparent differences between men and women related to values and behavior. To discuss about gender can be started by outlining on feminism paradigm that follows two theories named, structural functionalism and conflict theory. Structural functionalism start from the assumption that a society made up of various parts that affect each other. While the functionalist or contemporary theory focus on issues regarding social stability and harmony. Social change is described as a natural evolution of a response to an imbalance between social function and structure of social roles. Feminism and masculinity from the perspective of jobs illustrates the different participation between women and men. The differences relate to whether a woman has certain attributes that offer unique value for their teams and organizations, for example related to communication and interpersonal patterns of women and how they relate toward their team (Syed & Murray, 2008). While the notion of feminism attributes described the nature of female is typical with

an emotional character, careful, warm, able to devote themselves entirely to others, gentle, helpful, kind, aware of the feelings of others, develop social skills, cooperation and sharing (Hurley, 1999).

Feminism theory imply that activity of women becomes determinant key of human evolution in women's involvement in organization and gender. It explains how women can easily adapt to the job and organizational response to the presence of women in their work as well as social relations between women and men (Slocum, 1975 and Calas & Smirch, 1990). Feminism is a belief which assumes that women is actually part of society that demand equality to men in every aspects of life regarding to the nature and disposition. It is expected that women are able to contribute and participate in all political, economic, social, cultural, and educational activities as well as similarities to experience national development. Feminism movement has emerged since 18th century, and nowadays has created gender equality in many fields such as education, politics, law and business.

Therefore, women should understand the proper entrepreneurial identity in determining the notion to behave in their environmental, cultural, social and economic (Down and Warren, 2008; Warren, 2004). Entrepreneurial identity is also used to create organizational legitimacy and self-actualization to the development of business based on targeted result (Down and Warren, 2008).

Entrepreneurial identity includes risk-taking, problem solving, developing potential, managerial ability, and strong skills and attitudes (Lepisto, Ronkko, 2013), creativity, innovativeness, and readiness (Heinonen, 2007; Clements & Abboud, 2016; Patricio, 2017; Rae et al, 2012; Cheung, 2008). Entrepreneurial identity on perspective of feminism illustrates that the identity of the women's entrepreneurship is participatory. It involves inspiration, involvement, collaboration and empowering others (Orser, and Leck, 2011). It supports study of Orser, Elliott and Leck (2011) that explained that women entrepreneurial identity can be seen by ability

to lead through inspiration, empowerment, and development team as well as employees. They also promote sharing, modeling, motivating others not to confine the restrictions, and active in decision-making. Women entrepreneurs believe that feminism attributes attached to women is not negative meaning. They prefer to describe themselves as hard-working, energetic, confident, assertive and optimistic. Mostly, women entrepreneurs describe themselves as passionate, communicating, focus on relationship, flexible, risk taking, professional and visionary.

SMEs and Women's Empowerment

Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) is one of the business groups in the Indonesian economy. Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium defines SMEs as small enterprises (SEs), including Micro Enterprises (ME), is a business entity with maximum 200 million rupiah net worth (not including property) and has maximum annual sales of 1 billion rupiah. Medium Enterprises is a business entity owned by Indonesian citizens with more than 200 million to 10 billion rupiah net worth (not including property). SMEs in developing countries is dominated by private businesses with sole ownership and employment. It is mostly built from informal relationship with family based on trust, loyalty and less on business management and only observe everyday survival (Sultan, 2014). Some studies explained that the character of SMEs is different from a company where the decision-making process in SMEs is informal, centered on the owner or manager. The manager has more complex responsibility, focusing on the current process and usually ignoring business opportunities in the future as well as choosing internal financing for this small size business. (Ojiako, et al, 2015; Wang, 2016).

As a small economic group, the role of SMEs hard to be underestimated. SMEs play an important role in absorption of workforce and social welfare. It also becomes a social imbalances stabilizer and contribute in economic improvement of a country. Various studies showed that SMEs become an economic pillar of many developing countries. SMEs become important sector that contribute to the growth

and economic stability with a contribution of 59% of China's GDP (Wonglimpiyarat, 2015; Wang, 2016) and increase 8% of the GDP of Palestine by employing about 85,000 workers (Sultan, 2014). In Romania and Malaysia, SMEs are also able to increase their GDP, grow the number of jobs available and increase national budget revenues (Nicolescua & Nicolescub, 2016; Aziza & Samad, 2016). The rapid development of SMEs should be supported by empowerment, especially for women. SMEs become a mean of mobility of women to develop themselves, their business and their entrepreneurial skills

The efforts of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises for the empowerment of women entrepreneurs include the consolidation of knowledge, improving skills, expanding business network, exploiting business opportunities, establishing business attitudes. Those program are also supported by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection through Women's Economic Productivity Improvement Program (PPEP) with various communities and associations of women entrepreneurs. Empowerment is important to develop and improve strengths and quality of women on business management, confidence, decision making skills, leadership, creative thinking, problem solving, effective and efficient planning, relationship, entrepreneurship and business knowledge as well as other skills to balance personal and business life (Setyaningsih *et*al,2012; Xavier, *et*al,2012; Welsha, memili & Kaciak, 2016).

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Attributes of Feminism and Women Leadership Style

Developments of civilization and opportunities in globalization era provides a chance for women to achieve leadership positions both in careers and in their own started business in the form of entrepreneurship. The opportunities given to women in gender equality is often misunderstood community since there are still many problems concerning about gender understanding. A gender analysis aims to dispel public misconceptions about gender and sex differences. It has an impact on

the reduction of gender inequalities that harm women. An example of gender inequality is a stereotype that women responsibility is only related to household work. This stereotype is not only happening in family environment, but also in workplace, society and government. The existence of these stereotypes makes women get a little chances to become a leader. It supposed that if a woman becomes a leader, she will rely on dominantly emotional rather than rational to make a decision. It is considered as equivocal, easy offended and careless. Thus, it is reasonable when those are acted by men.

Feminism is a belief which assumes that women is actually part of society that demand equality to men in every aspects of life regarding to the nature and disposition It is expected that women are able to contribute and participate in all political, economic, social, cultural, and educational activities as well as similarities to experience national development. Feminism movement has emerged since 18th century, and nowadays has created gender equality in many fields such as education, politics, law and business. The development of feminism in the business world is marked by the emergence of women entrepreneurs in fields ranging from culinary, fashion, and industrial manufacturing. The understanding about feminism attributes in identity of entrepreneurship and characteristics of women entrepreneurs in leading efforts will inspire other women to participate in developing the business.

It is important to understand consistent differences between men and women holding leadership positions in organizations throughout the world. It is just fewer women than men in leadership positions of business organizations. A result of the study explained gender inequalities occur in women's career as CEO of hospitals in Ontario, Canada. They are faced a choice between a career or the chance to become a leader with limited women leadership opportunities, structural barriers, rough evaluations, and assumption that women who successfully achieved leadership positions is considered as to do harm to existing culture (Soklaridis, et al, 2017). Research in Saudi Arabia showed that this country has multiple organizations that is led by women leaders.

Leadership facts of women in Saudi refers to the big role of women. Women can achieve success in organization if only there is a support from government (Sikdar and Mitra, 2012). Leadership that associated with gender cannot be separated from such stereotypes. Men is depicted to tend to act quickly, action-oriented and analytical in decision-making process. While women in decision-making is described to take more time and need to identify the main aspects in every situations (Alimo-Metcalfe, B. 2010). To be successful, women leaders do not need to compare with or imitate leadership styles of men but should take advantages from those differences. Women can build and grow up their own leadership style, strengthen the characteristics become strengths, develop certain required skills, show dedication to the job. Those ways will the success of women's leadership towards gender diversity in their organization (Baker, 2014).

Women's leadership in establishing a businesses is often banged with her role as a wife. The findings of study by Muller (International Labor Office, 2006) found that women frequently have started their business to support their family income, but then their efforts became their main family income source and these efforts mostly placed at house. This can be explained primarily by the struggle of women to combine household responsibilities and effort which is more easily achieved if their business is closer to house. Women entrepreneurs generally are accepted by the people of Aceh with the provision of their first priority is still family. However, as women entrepreneurs frequently spend the same amount of time in their businesses as men entrepreneurs, it means that they face a more workloads because they still have to run their household responsibilities after a day of doing their business. They usually look after their children at the business location. This happens due to the fact that in general there are only a few child-care facilities and belief that women are responsible for keeping their children and afraid of leaving them with strangers.

Women leaders who defy gender stereotypes are considered to ineffective and less preferred than male leaders with the same leadership style

but identified as masculine style. To modify those perceptions and stereotypes need to do some changes. Changes in cultural expectations and experiences to women leaders by giving more female role models and changes to the law. For example by demonstrating the success, effectiveness and compatibility of women leaders in various fields, especially education, government and organizational service. If the woman shows the character of the agent related to such competencies, for example independence, it can be a combination that leads to a perception of women leaders effective and enjoyable. Traditional leadership style is not the most effective way to lead or manage people in a dynamic business organization as present.

Being a woman entrepreneur provides many alternatives for women in balancing her roles in household and career development as well as her potential. In accordance with results of research conducted in Gujarat, women entrepreneurs are able to lead their business by various innovations, sustain and achieve success by maintaining a work-life balance (Shastri & Rao, 2014). It supports research from Xavier et al (2012) stated that to enter the business world women can achieve personal achievement, independent and autonomous with courage, confidence, readiness to take risks, ability to solve the employment problem and a strong will to lead their business based on experience they have and continue to follow the trainings to improve their personal capacity. Meanwhile, the success of women entrepreneurs in leading the business is also affected by their level of education and age. Those affect problem-solving and managerial skills and knowledge to help in their business activity (Welsha, memili, & Kaciak, 2016). Another step of women entrepreneurs to fight against the stereotypes is by doing collaborative jobs and creating a climate of confidence in the workforce, acting as managers and entrepreneurs in a leadership style suit for them, and managing multiple relationships in symbolic space of femininity and masculinity to fulfill the role of social as women. Those ways can cause improved performance and credibility in the leadership of women (Moore, Moore, & Moore, 2011; Patterson, Mavin, & Turner, 2012).

Various studies have explained and revealed characteristics of women leaders as follows: generally use the principle of transformational leadership; empower advocates by providing opportunities for followers to express their opinions and give input; make various efforts to self-development, act as a mentor rather than a boss; give complete instructions and guidance to do the task; exemplify leadership model through their attitudes and actions; motivates their subordinates to transform their interest in the organizational goals and balance all of their roles in business life, social and households.

Women's Entrepreneurship and Women's Empowerment

Entrepreneurial women is one or a group of women who manage a business actively and have a courage to take an initiative in economic development to improve family welfare. Supports from various stakeholders including government, banking, community groups and even communities of the international economy towards women entrepreneurs are expected to improve the quantity and quality of women entrepreneurs. Almost a year the embodiment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), entrepreneurship for women is still to be one important record of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). On its website, *OECD.org,* this agency warned Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines through the Bologna Charter to increase entrepreneurship for women since it is also one part of the business and investment climate, market access, electronic trading system *(e-commerce)* and innovation (www.bisniskeuangan.kompas.com).

Efforts to improve the quantity and quality of women's entrepreneurship in order to compete on free trade system is to perform a variety of women's empowerment. Some kinds of empowerment of women entrepreneur conducted in Inodonesia by the Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises are as follows: preparation *(Need* Assessment): coordination, synchronization, consultation meeting, socialization, mapping, identification, recruitment, and verification; Reinforcement (entrepreneurship debriefing): training, apprenticeship, workshops, seminars, grants, motivation, opportunity plan, vocational

and grants for beginner entrepreneurs; and always conduct evaluation. Women's empowerment by increasing women capability can be executed through entrepreneurship trainings by improving knowledge and skills, expanding network and utilizing business and entrepreneur chances.

The women's empowerment strategy is also carried out by the Ministry of Empowerment of Women and Child Protection with Policies and Strategies to Increase Productivity of Women's Economics (PPEP) to strengthen, facilitate and bridge NGOs and Universities in the empowerment of women in the economic sector at the central and regional levels; Improve knowledge, attitude and managing skills in the implementation of women's empowerment in social and economic field; and improve and develop partnership and network (networking). This strategy is structured in accordance with the characteristics of conditions and problems occur in target group of programs such as urban, rural, farmers, fishermen, and women in manufacturing industry. The steps taken are:

Implementation of empowerment through institutional / group system.

Implementation of empowerment through institutional / group system is done to achieve efficiency and effectiveness of program.

Empowerment programs should be specific to the needs of the target group

Empowerment programs provided is designed for characteristics and conditions of participants of empowerment.

Development of local microfinance institutions.

Empowerment is not only limited to the delivery of material, but also the provision of revolving funds for capital and making an institution to manage the revolving process to ensure continuity and accountability of the management of revolving funds. The form of microfinance institutions at local level must be equipped with clear legality and organizational structure. Such management institutions should be established and adapted to the culture and needs of local communities, so that their presence will be more embedded and appreciated in existing social systems.

Provision of initial capital to run a productive economic enterprise.

In some target groups, it may be necessary to provide initial capital assistance to conduct productive economic activities. This is because the target group is really poor in the sense that they have no capital goods used to start their business activities (such as farm workers groups, etc.). This initial capital can be land or production equipment. It is better to avoid the provision of initial capital in the form of cash money.

Development of sustainable productive economic enterprises.

Empowerment process is not only just in the form of awareness of gender equality or improvement of knowledge and skills, but also must be manifestly poured in the form of real implementation of productive economic activities. This economic activity can be the development of business field that has been created before by the target group (as long as it is still economically feasible) or development of new business field. The developed economic activities should be supported by the potential availability of raw materials and supported materials in target region and be a supreme product.

The involvement of families/husbands of target.

In certain target groups (such as those already married), women's empowerment programs should also consider about the involvement of the family and or husbands role of the targeted women. The family and husband are expected to provide support to their wives or family members who are the target group of the empowerment program, both in the form of motivation and opportunities to conduct economically productive enterprises which may be something relatively new or even taboo among life of a particular community.

The integration of participation of all stakeholders.

The process of women's empowerment requires an integrated support from various stakeholders such as government, society, NGO, and business community. At the government level, this process requires cross-sectorial support from the central, provincial and district levels.

Provision and enhancement of ease of access to venture capital.

The availability and enhancement of access to capital is very necessary given regarding to the limited and difficult access of micro and small entrepreneurs in general (especially those who are just starting their business) to obtain capital assistance from existing capital sources.

Facilitation of capital assistance for regional capital fertilization.

Various capital helps provided should not be a free grant fund that will be used only by target group received it.

Establishment of advisory system for group independence.

This Mentoring System is self-sustaining and has been done well by volunteers, NGOs, universities or government officials

Entrepreneurship program for women's empowerment is not only take by government but also women entrepreneur communities. Some of those communities are Perhimpunan Perempuan Lintas Profesi (Women's Cross-Profession Association), Womenpreneur Community, Komunitas Ekonomi Perempuan (KEP Muslimah), Jogja Muslim Preneur and many others. The steps taken by Perhimpunan Perempuan Lintas Profesi (PLPI) to accelerate empowerment activities is to invite PT Telkom Indonesia as a strategic partner in women's empowerment on modern women-based digital entrepreneurship through the utilization of e-commerce. Now Telkom has had 120,000 partners of SMEs throughout Indonesia (Www. plipi.com). While, Womenpreneur Community is a non-profit organization as a forum for female companions in increasing independence and economic empowerment under the shade of Karya Perempuan Indonesian with the purpose of discovering, building and improving self-potential for housewives, employees and young generation women; Empowering women to dare to own and build their dreams; Spreading the spirit of entrepreneurship for Indonesian women to help their family economy by continually to accentuate family roles; Developing a family-based creative culture; Provide more information for women's community, public and housewives

with a relaxed, serious and useful event; And seeks to encourage female SMEs in Indonesia to go to higher class (http://womanpreneur-community.com). The empowerment of women in entrepreneurship is an effort to educate people and raise their awareness to move forward and develop so that they can engage in development, and prepare themselves in the world global competition (Syamsir, 2016).

CONCLUSION

Women Entrepreneurs who run their business in a group of SMEs have a goal to be able to balance between lead and manage business and keep the attributes of feminism inherent in women. It is because being a woman entrepreneur will provide space for them to perform household tasks but still can develop its potential as a successful entrepreneur by dominating leadership character that is transformational leadership by empowering supporters, performing various self-development efforts, acting as a mentor rather a boss, providing instruction and necessary guidance in performing the task, modeling, motivating, dynamic and balancing all of roles in business, social and household life. The realization of independent women entrepreneurs cannot be separated from the empowerment of entrepreneurship performed by both government and private sector to realize national welfare and the growing associations of other women entrepreneurs as a chain of women empowerment.

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE TOWARDS GENDER-RESPONSIVE SCHOOLS BASED ON MINTZBERG'S THEORY

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Abstract

Indonesian government has implemented education reform by regulating gender mainstreaming in education since 2008. The reform demands every education organization unit to integrate gender perspective into their education services called Gender Responsive School. School organization should be changed in order to implement gender mainstreaming in education. The Mintzberg's theory states that organizational change should be done in two dimensions, namely strategic and organizational dimensions. This article discusses about organizational change (schools) to be seen from strategic dimension (visions, positions, programs, and products) and organizational dimension (culture, structure, system and people). Four Senior High Schools in Sragen Regency Indonesia have been purposively selected. The primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with principals, students, and parents and the secondary data were collected through documentation studies, such as schools' strategic plans and regulations. The data were then analyzed using Mintzberg's model. The data validity uses data source triangulation. The findings show that organizational change towards gender-responsive schools has been done both in strategic dimension and organizational dimension. Unfortunately, all of the schools didn't have gender responsive vision and gender responsive structure. Besides, most of the schools have not implemented gender-responsive culture and systems. They only integrated gender dimension incidentally. In conclusion changing organization in strategic dimension is more difficult than in organization dimension. In other words, changing the concrete level of organizations such as products (in the strategic dimension) or people (in the organizational dimension) is easier than changing the conceptual level of organizations such as vision (in the strategic dimension) and culture (in the organizational dimension). Accordingly, organizational change should be embodied from the strategic to technical level.

Keywords: *gender responsive school, Mintzberg's theory, organizational change*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian government has implemented education reformation by issuing regulations on Gender Mainstreaming in education in 2008. The reformation states that every educational unit (one of them is school) must integrate gender perspective in its educational services called Gender Responsive School. Therefore, school organization has to be changed from gender-neutral/bias to responsive gender.

The implementation of gender mainstreaming in education through gender-responsive schools is necessarily executed due to the existing discriminative practices at schools such as gender-bias in teaching-learning process, gender-stereotype in subject election, gender disparity in the interaction between students and between teacher and student, the low number of female registering at schools compared to that of male, the difference of game types between male and female, the difference of adoration-expression use to male and female, stereotype messages within children literature and game materials, discrimination in

students' competence in Mathematics, Biology, Physics and Chemistry and discrimination in leadership (Tuwor & Sossou, 2008; Evans, 1998; Makarova & Herzog, 2015; Agezo, 2010). Such stereotype should keep increasing because of sex-role socialization during child period, so that female is very difficult to get out of her being left-behind (Agezo, 2010).

Even though stereotype frequently harms female, a research finding shows that parent (mother) views that female child has better academic quality than male. It is shown by the research result of Wood, Kurtz-Costes, Rowley&Okeke-Adeyanju (2010) stating that mothers have less hope to their male children and they are considered to be academically less competent than female children. Mothers prefer paying their daughters more than their sons for their school. Moreover, it was found that female "creates more cooperative working-climate by endorsing higher employees' participation and collective accountability." In addition, they don't see the employees' participation and groups' decision making as a menace towards their authority, but they tend to see that as better and more creative problem-solving solution (Helgesen, 1995; Rosener, 1990) and probably that is more effective in the present organizational environment (Paris & Decker, 2012). Male students tend to leave school much younger than female students. The trend is similar to what has happened to the other developing countries (Grant & Behrman, 2010).

Although gender-discrimination practices at schools still occur to both men and women, this problem is frequently ignored (Tannock, 2008; Aikman &Unterhalter, 2007). Whereas education is the basic human right and an element which is strongly needed to women empowerment and a means to achieve development and peace. Besides the government, Non-Government Organizations play an important role in widening the access of education to the marginalized population by removing the obstacles towards education access and improving education quality (Roberts & Chittooran, 2016).

Organizations have to change and make adaptation to adjust to the social dynamics. On the other side, changes frequently take place very quickly. The question is whether the changes are good or bad. The appropriate answer depends on the urgency of the cause of the change and how much it costs compared to the advantage to be obtained. In addition, changes also implicate the change of regulation (Pruna & Pruna, 2012; Angel-Sveda, 2012).

Choosing the appropriate time to begin to survive is considered one of the most important components of managerial activities. Every change is necessarily considered an opportunity. Beer (1990) in Pruna & Pruna (2012) considers the most efficient way to change behaviour is placing an individual in a new organization context demanding the role, responsibility and new relationship. A new situation is created, then forcing new behavior and manner.

The Mintzberg's Theory states that organizational change should be executed in two dimensions, i.e. strategic dimension and organizational dimension (Mintzberg, 1999). This article discusses about school organizational change seen from strategic dimension (covering the visions, positions, programs, and products) and organizational dimension (covering culture, structure, system and people). The study was conducted in Sragen Regency, Indonesia, which is purposively selected because Sragen's Gender-Related Development Index is still low and the schools having been researched have ever got trainings on Gender Responsive schools.

METHODS

Four Senior High Schools in Sragen Regency Indonesia have been purposively selected. The primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with principals, students, and parents and the secondary data were gained through documentation studies, such as schools' strategic plans and regulations. The data were then analyzed using Mintzberg's model. The data having been collected were analyzed qualitatively and descriptively by referring to Mintzberg's classification model, namely strategic dimension and organizational dimension. Strategic dimension covers vision, positions, programs, and products. Meanwhile organizational dimension covers culture, structure, systems, and people. The validity uses data source triangulation.

RESULT AND FINDING

Organizational change on strategic dimension

Vision

Vision is the goal or dream of an organization in the future which will be achieved within certain period of time. In relation to gender perspective, organizational vision has to bear the dream of organization to actualize gender equality and equity at schools. Schools' vision is considered the foundation of every school community in doing their activities in line with the goals to have been set up in the future, both for academic and non-academic. To actualize gender-based schools it is necessary to integrate gender perspective into the schools' vision. Table 1 depicts the vision of each schools having been examined.

Table 1: Schools' visions according to gender-responsive categories

No	Location	Vision
1.	SMAN 3 Sragen	Prominent in achievement, virtuous, caring and environment cultured
2.	SMAN 1 Sumberlawang	Noble, virtuous and achievement-oriented
3.	SMKN 1 Sragen	The actualization of noble individual, smart in IQ, EQ, SQ, caring and environment cultured in order to be able to compete globally
4.	SMKN 2 Sragen	Producing graduates having faith and piety, being competent, competitive, having national personality and global view with environment-care

The research result reveals that none of the schools has responsive-gender vision. All of the schools' visions are still neutral gender. However, there are not affirmative-action vision and gender-discriminative vision.

Positions

Position can be defined as how organizations (schools) interact with competitive environment, and what can be done to make unique product in relation to gender-responsive schools.

In encountering the competitive environment change outside the schools, schools in Sragen Regency, Indonesia conducted collaboration with the Educational Institution, the institution of Women Empowerment, Child Protection and Family Plan, Universities, and NGOs. In an educational unit, mutual relation between subject teachers has been embodied (it is called subject-teachers discussion/teachers' working consolidation/teachers work-group), and the relation between principals called principals forum. The relation is oriented to improving teacher's professionalism at schools and the improvement of educational services. In relation to actualizing equity and equality on gender unit products related to it have been produced.

At schools environment teachers and principals of each schools has policy product sample leading to gender responsive schools. The policy product is like what can be found at SMKN 2 Sragen, for instance the principals and teachers made self-confidence development program entitled *Program Ketarunaan*. The program is aimed at encouraging female students (minority) to be able to develop their potential and self-confidence. Moreover to fulfill the criteria of gender responsive school, the school has attempted to provide facilities: infrastructure supporting the needs of male and female equally (none is gendered-needs fulfillment), for example separating the male and female bathrooms, the making of covered front-part desk model, non-discriminative gender teaching model and other products which can support the school to lead to gender responsive school.

Programs

Program is a legitimate way to achieve the goal, so that the plans will be more well-organized and easily operated because within the programs various aspects to achieve the program are accommodated (Jones, 1994).

Education integrating gender equality and equity has been regulated in the act of the Minister of National Education Number 84 Year 2008 about gender mainstreaming in education. Based on the Act every educational unit should integrate gender perspective in their policy, program, and activities. Nevertheless, not all schools have integrated gender equality and equity into the schools' policies.

Some initiation to integrate gender to schools are conducted through a phase called

agenda setting phase and matching phase (Roger, 1983 in Sa'ud, 2008). In agenda setting phase identification process and the implementation of school priority and problems are executed. Problems in organization (problems at schools) are formulated and then a study about the environment to determine the innovation needs and innovation potential scores to schools is conducted. In relation to gender responsive school program, problem-identification activity is conducted through gender responsive school training and gender responsive school socialization. During the running of gender responsive school training, the government of Sragen Regency invited the principals of state senior high schools and vocational high schools of Sragen Regency. Gender responsive school training has been conducted twice in 2015.

As the follow up of gender responsive school training a wider-scale socialization inviting several teachers from each state senior high schools and state vocational high schools of Sragen regency was conducted. The socialization is aimed at making the schools set up school gender-responsive school programs and activities, such as making syllabus and gender-responsive lesson plans. School ceremonies and meetings are utilized as a means to conduct socialization on gender responsive school. One of the agreements achieved from the gender socialization conducted by the principals is the arrangement of the students' seats by sex-opposition and the making of lesson plans by subject teachers.

In the matching phase the adjustment between organization problems and the innovation to be done is executed, then it is planned and the design of the innovation implementation in accordance to the problem being encountered is made. In this phase, each school adjusts the problem with the school condition. The adjustments conducted by the schools in actualizing gender responsive school are among others: (1) evaluating the schools policy; (2) evaluating the fund availability and (3) evaluating the number of students. Because of the absence of reward and punishment mechanism from the government (both central and local government) makes the school not able to fully carry out gender-responsive school

program. Moreover, the absence of policy regulating the guidance of technical operation in integrating gender-perspective at school makes the principals have difficulties in guiding their staffs (teachers) to implement gender in the teaching-learning process. In the fund evaluation phase schools are required to make some breakthroughs to make gender responsive school come true. The adjustment is made to have especially innovation in the infrastructures at school. If the school doesn't have sufficient fund it cannot develop better school facilities. This problem is experienced by several schools so that it becomes a barrier of the implementation of gender responsive school innovation. Fund problem has become the main factor of the unavailability of the infrastructures to actualize gender responsive school. Infrastructure becomes an important thing due to the different needs of male and female students.

In the evaluation phase of the student numbers the schools identify the composition between the number of male and female students. One of the schools, i.e. SMKN 1 Sragen has more female students. Whereas SMKN 2 Sragen has more male students. Based on the description each of the principals has big responsibility to treat their students equally in both teaching-learning process and using the schools facilities.

Products

Products are considered the output of work programs conducted by schools to actualize gender equity and equality. The products are utilized by school to improve gender responsive environment. The products can be a policy or an activity, for instance on Kartini's day SMAN 1 Sumberlawang Sragen conducts competition followed by all of the students. Besides schools policy on gender-responsive infrastructure, it becomes a product which is continuously endorsed and improved. The infrastructures availability such as separated bathrooms, student desks with their front part covered, and the school health units separating between male and female students endorse the school to be gender responsive.

In the delivery of lesson material although the syllabus has not mentioned gender responsive teaching, in the implementation at school teachers have implemented gender

responsive environment, for example there is no discrimination towards male and female students while giving opportunities to the students to ask questions. What's more, the school does not prohibit the female students to participate in the election of the head of school organization. Such policy or action accelerates the school change from gender neutral or bias to gender responsive.

Organizational change on organizational dimension

Organizational change on organizational dimension includes culture, structure, system and people.

Culture

School culture is considered the reflection of the activities and the interactions among the school communities within the school environment. The culture is reflected in the regulations and the norms of school. By referring to Kabeer's model on gender analysis (in March, Smyth &Mukhopadhyay, 2005), school regulations are classified into two categories namely gender blind policies (often implicitly male-biased) and gender-aware policies. Gender neutral policies (interventions intended to leave existing distribution of resources and responsibilities unchanged), gender-specific policies (interventions intended to meet targeted needs of women/ men, within the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities) and gender-redistributive policies (interventions intended to transform existing distribution of resources and responsibilities to create balanced gender relationship) (Kabeer in March, Smyth &Mukhopadhyay, 2005).

The result of culture classification shows that school regulations which are considered the reflection of organizational culture still have gender-blind policies. In the case example of SMAN 3 Sragen, school culture classification referring to gender-blind policies is seen on the regulations regulating female students. It is mentioned in the regulation that students are forbidden to use canteen outside school. The prohibitions belong to the category of gender-blind policies, because if there are female students who need medicine or certain amenities in relation to their reproduction (such

as having period), which are not provided at school, the female students cannot buy them outside school. Besides, the prohibition to use canteen outside school, female students are also forbidden to get married or to get pregnant. The prohibitions belong to gender-blind policies, because they are just specified to female in order not to break the norms, meanwhile to male students the school applies the same regulation (to get married during their study period).

Gender-blind policy regulations are also found in the school regulations of SMAN 1 Sumberlawang. The regulation requires all students to participate in school ceremonies or school activities. It is different at SMKN 1 Sragen. The regulation of the school does not have gender-blind policies.

Table 2
Classificationsof gender-responsive school culture

No	School	Regulations	Category
1.	SMA N 3 Sragen	a. Female students are forbidden to use canteen outside the school b. Female students are forbidden to get married/pregnant	gender-blind policies
2.	SMA N 1 Sumberlawang	All students have to participate in the school ceremonies or activities	gender-blind policies
3.	SMK N 1 Sragen	No point of regulation which is gender-blind because most of the students are female	gender neutral policies
4.	SMK N 2 Sragen	No point of regulation which is gender-blind because most of the students are male	gender neutral policies

The school regulations are not only gender-blind policies regulations, but there are some which are gender-responsive. So, this makes gender-responsive organization culture. The table below describes gender responsive school culture.

Tabel 3
Description of gender-responsive school culture

No	Description of Gender Aware Policies
1.	All schools preventing gender violence
2.	All schools giving reward based on performance
3.	All schools avoiding gender discrimination
4.	All schools eliminating gender stereotypes
5.	One school some times using gender-based symbols/images / languages with gender-based harassment

Structure

The organizational structure is the framework for organizing the formal relationships of responsibility, authority, and accountability (Montana & Charnov, 1993). According to Robbins (1990) organizational structure confirms how assignment will be divided; who reports to whom, and formal coordination mechanism and interaction patterns to be followed. There are four components of organizational structure, namely (1) division of assignment (responsibility) to individuals (specialization); (2) The relations of formal report, hierarchy, control range; (3) Individuals grouping becomes the part of organization; and (4) System of relation, communication, coordination, and integration (vertical and horizontal).

In this article organization structure is school's organization structure. Seen from gender perspective school's organization structure is considered the representation of male and female proportionally within school organization, school committee, and school management. School organization structure is not subordinative harming one of the sexes in work allocation. Gender-responsive organization structure provides equal opportunity to male and female to occupy strategic positions at school.

The research finds that school organization structure is still dominated by male, especially the positions of principals, vice principals, head of committee, and head of school organization. Meanwhile female are mostly found in the position of administration. It doesn't mean that there is no endorsement to make the organization structure gender-responsive, but the opportunities given to them are frequently rejected, stating that they haven't had competence to carry out the responsibilities.

The disparity between male and female in occupying opposition occurs because of the absence of endorsement to the school communities (teachers and students) to utilize the opportunities awarded by the principals as the highest authority holder. Although the opportunity awarded is similar, if the participation of male and female is different,

the result will also be different, for example the school regulates that every student (either male or female) is entitled to participate in the election of the head of school intra organization. If there is no female participant to participate at the election, there is no endorsement to female students and even the school doesn't seem to care. This obstructs the actualization of gender equality and equity at school. This can be overcome if the school determines quota for balanced number of male and female will-be heads of school intra organization. It is an affirmative policy in determining the will-be students who will occupy the position.

System

System is the concept of synergy of organization elements to make the output of organization bigger than the output of individuals or the output of each section. A system is organized connection of integrated sections to achieve the goal holistically. The system has various inputs managed to produce a certain output, and collectively achieve the goal set out by the organization. There is a feedback between these various sections to ensure that they are in line to achieve the goal of the whole organization. The elements of system cover: goal, input, process, output, control mechanism, and feedback (Kambey, 2010).

Table 4
Gender integration in the element of organizational system

Element of System	Gender Integration
Goals	All schools have not gender responsive goals
Input	- 50% of the three schools have gender responsive human resources - All schools have not gender supporting - All schools have gender responsive Facilities and infrastructure - All schools have not Gender tools
Process	**Process standard:** - All schools have Gender redistributive policy in Development methods - All schools have Gender redistributive policy in Learning model - All schools have Gender redistributive policy in Class management - All schools have Gender redistributive policy in Assignment - All schools have gender Learning activities

Output	Substance standard:
	- All schools have not gender responsive Syllabus
	- All schools have not gender responsive Lesson plan
	- All schools have gender responsive Teaching materials at certain subject
	- All schools have gender responsive Learning resources at certain subject
	- All schools have not gender responsive at Instructional Media
Control mechanism	All schools have control mechanism through Meeting & school ceremonies
Feed back	All schools give gender responsive feed back through Recommendation

There are five elements in organizational system, namely: goal, input, process, output, control mechanism, and feedback. Of the five elements, there have been some integrating gender and some others do not. Seen from the element of goal, none of the four schools has integrated gender into the school vision. In the input section, there are only three schools, which have human resources who understand about gender. For budget support the schools have not provided specific budget for an activity, but just integrated gender-perspective into a certain activity such as Kartini's day commemoration. From the perspective of facilities and infrastructures, the schools have integrated gender although it has not been maximally implemented, for instance gender-responsive desks (the front part is covered) has been fulfilled, just in several classes. In gender tools, it can be seen that the schools have not possessed guidance book of how to integrate gender to school. What has been done is just verbal socialization.

In the element process, all of the sub-element (development methods, learning models, class management, and assignment), have distributed and integrated gender into these processes even though it's not maximal yet. In term of teaching method every teacher is different, so that some of them have integrated gender in to their teaching and the others have not. Whilst in learning activities gender has been fully integrated.

In the output element (the sub-element syllabus, lesson plan, and instructional media) gender has not been integrated. Meanwhile in the output element the sub-components

of teaching materials and learning resources, gender integration is just implemented in a certain subject, such as Indonesian language. Meanwhile gender integration has not been done in Mathematics.

In the element of control mechanism the principals use meeting and school ceremonies as media to give socialization about gender to the school communities. In the element of feedback the principals give recommendation to the teachers to integrate gender in a wider scope such as enlarging the bathrooms for female students in SMKN 2 Sragen, formulating gender-responsive lesson plans, etc. The reason why gender has not been integrated into the syllabus is mainly caused by the absence of instructions from the government to execute it according to the source person.

People

The meaning of people here is the people at school (school communities) starting from the principals, teachers, administration staffs, and students both male and female, who have rules to integrate gender into school environment based on their own task and function. However, in fact not all of the school communities have known and understood about what gender is and how to integrate into their schools. It is because gender training is merely awarded to the principals as the highest authority holder at school.

Sragen Regency has conducted gender training twice about how to integrate gender into school to the principals. However, there hasn't been a training on gender provided to teachers and administration staffs. This results in the responsibility of the principals to give guidance and directions to their school communities in order to integrate gender into school. The principals even make use of flag ceremonies and teachers' meetings and meetings with students in school organization meetings to give socializations about gender. The principals are responsible to convey the way how to integrate gender into schools, starting from school culture which supports and respects to each other, none-gender discriminative teaching method, task and responsibility distribution based on the rule and competence of each, and

providing opportunities to male and female to occupy a position. Table 5 depicts the role of principals, teachers, administration staffs, and students in integrating gender into their schools environment.

Tabel 5

Description of the role of school communities in gender integration

Position	Role	Implementation
Principals	Authority delegation	- Assigning teachers to participate in training to support the quality of class management (all schools)
	Human resource directing	- Directing human resource in setting up the schools' regulation (all schools)
	Attention	- Participating in gender training - Giving socialization to the school communities about gender equality and equity (all schools)
	Support	- Giving equal opportunities to students and teachers both male and female to develop the competence (all schools)
	Giving motivation	- Motivating the students while attending school ceremonies - Motivating the teachers to be just in teaching process (all schools)
Teachers	Managing classes, giving motivation and support	- The teachers give directions, supports and motivation to both male and female students to develop their potentials without discrimination. - Teaching without gender discrimination - Giving equal opportunities to the students to ask questions (all schools)
Students	Agent of Change	- Applying gender-sensitive culture at schools - Applying non-discriminative treatment to both genders (all schools)

Active roles of the school communities namely the principals, teachers, and students to integrate gender into the school is strongly needed. Each of the school community has different roles. The main role of the principals is endorsing and actualizing gender at schools, from assigning teachers to participate in gender training to endorsing teachers and students to develop themselves without gender discrimination.

Teachers have roles in providing endorsement and motivation and guidance to the students to develop their potential and competence, especially during teaching-learning process without differentiating sexes, for example during the teaching-learning process, teachers allow there students to ask questions and give their opinions without gender discrimination. Male and female students have equal rights to obtain teaching. Meanwhile students as agent of changes are demanded to be able to integrate gender into their attitude and behavior, at schools or outside schools. It is reflected when the students treat their friends and teachers without gender discrimination.

DISCUSSION

The study result shows that the schools have made organizational changes towards gender-responsive schools both in strategic and organizational dimensions. Interestingly, none of the schools has vision formulation integrating gender perspective. Accordingly, the organizational change leading to gender-responsive schools in strategic dimension is not done in the schools' vision, but in positions, programs and products. The absence of gender-responsive schools' vision potentially results in the discontinuity of gender integration at schools unless the principals as the policy maker have strong commitment to achieve it. Vision is considered an entity which can guide schools in achieving the goals having been determined. Without gender-responsive vision it means the schools do not have gender-responsive future dream formulation as the guidance to individuals and organizations in acting for positions, programs and products to actualize gender equality and equity.

The importance of organizational vision as the guidance of individuals' and organization behavior is in line with what Hill (2010) says that "Vision is something that can guide us as individuals or as organizations to reach a point that we have given some thought to rather than simply arriving wherever we might end up. Vision provides the drive needed to pursue something to completion. A vision can be a road map to help guide us in making decisions, prompting us to think through things. This can result in changes." By referring to Hill's

statement, the planed and continuous changes leading to gender responsive schools can be just conducted if the schools have gender-responsive visions.

Furthermore, Hill (2010) states that has a lot to do with where you will be in two years, five years, or even at the end of your years. Having a vision and seeing that vision come into reality will also have a lot to do with how satisfied we are at the end of whatever time period we might choose to examine. Vision provides the drive needed to pursue something to completion. A vision can be a road map to help guide us in making decisions, prompting us to think through things. This can result in changes.

In addition Khoza (2016) also states that Vision in the curriculum is needed to make the teachers able to operate vision within the goals, targets, and outcome. He states that subject/discipline curriculum/teaching vision is very important in teaching because it forms the foundation for why teachers teach their subjects. The vision is divided into personal daily experience, societal/social and professional/content visions/reasons. When teachers understand the teaching vision, they identify relevant curriculum goals. The goals are divided into aims, objectives and outcomes. Teachers have to understand the curriculum vision in order to achieve the curriculum goals.

Tabel 6

Organizational change in the strategic dimension

Dimension	Research Findings
Strategic Dimension	
Visions	The vision of all schools were neutral gender
Positions	The schools have developed the collaboration among institution
Programs	The schools have integrated gender perspective through agenda settingdan matching
Products	The schools have provided facilities and infrastructure of gender responsive schools
Organization Dimension	
Culture	Gender-blind policiesand gender-aware policies
Structure	Male-dominated structure without affirmative action for promoting the candidate
Systems	Varied from Gender-blind policies to Gender-aware policies, include gender neutral and gender redistributive policy
People	Principals, teachers, and student endorse gender integration within limited skill

The changes having been done by the schools in the organizational dimension happens on cultural, system, and people dimension. Whereas in the structural dimension, there is still male-dominated structure without affirmative action for promoting the candidate.

The research finds that culture and organizational system which are gender blind polices (often implicitly called male-biased) and also culture and organizational system with are gender aware policies. The inconsistency of gender responsiveness in cultural and system dimension, makes organization not process ideologies, beliefs, philosophies, feelings, assumptions, expectations, attitudes, norms and values, about gender equality and equity as social clue to schools communities in making the stances and behaving. This agrees with Silman (2012) and Sabanci et al. (2016) who state that organizational culture becomes the first aspect of organizational dimension. According to Silman (2012) and Sabanci et al. (2016) organizational culture is the ideologies, beliefs, philosophies, feelings, assumptions, expectations, attitudes, norms, and values. These elements guide our organizational behavior, help us make sense of the organizational world in which we operate, and create a mechanism for identifying with others at work.

Organizational culture is a complicated and multi-faceted area of study. Fard, Rostamy &Taghiloo (2009) suggest that organizational culture is the common ideologies, beliefs, philosophies, feelings, assumptions, expectations, attitudes, norms, and values, which should be considered collectively since they are interdependent and interinfluencing. (Silman, Ozmatyatli, Birol & Caglar, 2012). Furthermore Sabanci et al. (2016) state that organizational culture is a multilevel construct comprising many elements of primarily artifacts, values, and assumptions. As a set, these elements guide our organizational behavior, help us make sense of the organizational world in which we operate, and create a mechanism for identifying with others at work. At the core are the assumptions, beliefs, and values regarding work or non work interests that manifest in individuals' and groups' behavior that in turn affect or are affected by organizational systems,

procedures and norms and the underlying philosophy, strategy and so on".

In organizational structure there are still male domination and lack of female representation on important positions at schools. Balancing male and female representation on strategic positions at schools becomes a homework which needs to be resolved. In the organizational system dimension there are variations from gender blind polices to gender aware polices, including gender neutral and gender redistributive policy. Every school has a system consisting of goals inputs, processes, output, control mechanism, and feedbacks. Some of them have been gender responsive. Gender responsive is found in feedbacks, whereas goals haven't been gender responsive.

In people, principals, teachers, and students integrated gender perspective in accordance to their own roles, for instance the principals have a role to endorse and socialize gender, and delegate authorities. Teachers gave motivation and endorsement to both male and female students to improve their competence in academic and the students have a role as an agent of change in integrating gender in their behavior and culture.

CONCLUSION

The findings show that organizational change towards gender-responsive schools has been done both in strategic and organizational dimensions. Unfortunately, all of the schools didn't have gender responsive vision and gender responsive structure. Besides, most of the schools have not implemented gender-responsive culture and systems. They only integrated gender dimension incidentally. In conclusion changing organization in strategic dimension is more difficult than in organization dimension. In other words, changing the concrete level of organizations such as products (in the strategic dimension) or people (in the organizational dimension) is easier than changing the conceptual level of organizations such as vision (in the strategic dimension) and culture (in the organizational dimension). Accordingly, organizational change should be embodied from the strategic to technical level. Thus, schools have a reference to implement gender responsive school.

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Opportunities and Challenges of Female Participation in the Concurrent Local Election in Indonesia

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Abstract

Women's representations in Indonesia have been guaranteed through the Indonesian constitution and laws. But, the laws are neutral gender. Therefore, political parties as a gatekeeper of the candidacy should take a role to enhance women's participations in politics. In fact, political parties tend to nominate those who are loyal to the party and have networking and financial capacity, such as the former members of parliament, the party cadres, and the incumbents. This occurs since party focuses on the opportunities to win the votes. This condition hinders women's participation in candidacy process since most of them do not hold the strategic positions or close relationship with the elites. However, the opportunities for women can be open through such efforts, such as engineering the electoral and political party's laws. The affirmative actions, such as 30% quota for women's candidates and zipper system, which has been applied for the general elections can also be implemented in the concurrent elections for the local heads. Then, political parties should place women's cadres in all departments and strategic positions, not only put them together in the department of women. Thus, women's cadres can mainstream gender within the party. After all, the parties should repair their regeneration system by providing political education to women cadres. The government can support this activities by providing political aid funds.

Keywords: women, political party, local elections

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has held local elections for the local heads in several different models depend on the running government. The model of the local elections can be divided into four phases. The first phase occurred during the authoritarian regime Soeharto from 1966-1998. In this phase the local heads are appointed by the regime. The second model is during the reformation era in 1999-2004. During this phase, the local parliamentary members elected the local heads. The third one is during the decentralization era started in 2005 until 2014. The local heads are voted directly by voters. The last one is the concurrent local election began in 2015. Started in 2015, the election for the local heads for all Indonesian areas has been run at the same time. Although Indonesia has experienced the elections for local leaders for about 43 years, women's participations in the electoral process are still low. According to the last concurrent local elections, the participation of women in candidacy process for the local heads only

at 7%, although women's participations in politics have been guaranteed internationally and nationally. This paper argues that the low of women's participation in the concurrent election for local heads because political parties prioritize those who are recognized to win the votes. To achieve this goal, parties often ignore the importance of regeneration's system within the party. Therefore, this paper discusses the challenges and opportunities for women to participate in the candidacy process.

Body Text

Foundation for Women's Rights

Equal rights between women and men are formally recognized at the international level. These have become a political framework for the struggle of women's activists to achieve gender equality. The CEDAW has also become a strong foundation for the leaders of the UN member countries to commit to gender mainstreaming their national development plans (OSCE/ODIHR 2012, 6). The Beijing Declaration and

Platform for Action (BPfA), as a result of the CEDAW, is known as a foundation to enhance women's participation in politics, including in government and decision making positions, as it recommends creating opportunities for women to become fully embedded in political power structures and decision making (United Nations 1996, 24).

Indonesia had ratified the CEDAW which was legalized through the Law Number 7/1984 about Ratification of CEDAW. The article 4 verse 1 of this law demands the country to create regulations to boost gender equality. Gender equality has also been guaranteed in the Indonesian Constitution (*Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*). In addition, women's participation in politics has been strengthened through the Law Number 39/1999 about Human Rights, article 46 stated that the general elections and party system, and appointment systems for executives and legislatives should guarantee women's representations. Another law which is supported gender equality is the Presidential Instruction Number 9/2000 about Gender Mainstreaming. This law requires gender perspectives in all policies and the national development programs. In the local level, gender mainstreaming is also arranged through the Decision of Ministry of the Domestic Affairs Number 132/2003 about the General Guidance to mainstream gender in the development at the local level.

Public officers are considered as the representation of public. Some people argue that the gender of the officers is not a problem as long as they properly represent the constituents. On the other hand, others think that increasing female officers is crucial in order that women's interests can be represented and to inspire other women to follow their food steps and to change people behavior toward women's leadership. Pitkin (1967, 59) divided the concept of representation into two poles, namely 'acting for' and 'standing for'. 'Acting for' emphasizes more what the representatives do while 'standing for' refers to the importance of who the representative is (Pitkin 1967, 209). Substantive representation is at the pole of 'acting for'. The supporters of this model of representation reject the assertion that women should be represented by women since there is not a guarantee that female legislators will fight for all female interests (Celis and Childs 2008; 419). Women are not homogenous and there is not a single identity which represents them (Mansbridge 1999, 629).

However, if substantive representation is unrealized or female interests are neglected, then, descriptive representation is needed (Champbell, Childs and Lovenduski 2009, 194). There are four conditions under which the descriptive representation is necessary, namely, when there is distrust towards substantive representation, when female interests are not properly articulated, when there is a history of female sub-ordination, and a lack of government legitimacy (Mansbridge 1999, 641-647). Increasing the number of women's officers can be important in providing role models for other women to follow in their footsteps and to influence public attitudes toward women in politics more broadly (Bauer 2012, 371). Both descriptive and symbolic representations are a part of the 'standing for' pole in Pitkin's concept of representation (Pitkin 1967, 59). Both are considered to support adding more women in public offices since it is not only of benefit for women, but it also has broader effects throughout the community.

According to Matland (2002, 1), there are three stages should be passed by women who willing to participate in the process to achieve political offices. First, woman should select herself for candidacy (self selection). In this early step, woman should ask herself and decide whether she desires to enter into the dynamic of candidacy and election process. In some communities, someone, especially woman who desires to nominate herself is considered ambitious and break the custom since offices consider as *amanah* (trust) or task from party. Second, woman should be selected as candidate by political party (party selection). This nomination process is crucial as it becomes the authority of party. The party's gatekeepers, especially the leader of party, will play essential roles as they are responsible to recruit and nominate candidates to be their representation in the election.

Recruitment system can be defined as a process to recruit candidates to be nominated

for public offices. In the political context, political recruitment often refers to the selection of candidates or candidacy process to recruit members of legislative or executive (Hazan 2009, 109). This early candidacy process refers to the primary election which occurs in internal party to select candidates to be party's representatives to run election for public offices (Heywood 2007, 278). In this process, political parties have an important role since they are the only entrance to public offices. Political party has an authority to recruit and nominate candidates for political offices. Even, in some countries such as Indonesia all candidates for almost all political offices should come from political parties (The Indonesian Constitution 1945, article 6A, paragraph 2 and article 22E, paragraph 3).

Political parties become gate-keepers of women's representation in parliament. According to supply-demand theory, recruitment system operates between the availability of women who looking for political carriers and the selection process set by political parties (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 690). Generally, there are two patterns to select candidates used by political parties. The first is the patronage-oriented which emphasizes on the loyalty of those who are in the power positions (Inagawa 2008, 197). While, in the second pattern, bureaucratic-oriented system, the selection process runs based on standard and did not consider those who are in the power positions (Inagawa 2008, 197). However, the most important reason for political parties to recruit and nominate someone is to win the seat. This candidacy process occurs within the party will influence the next step, namely candidates selected by voters or called as voter selection.

The Elections for Local Leaders

The election for local leaders in Indonesia occurs in several phases depends on the running government. The first phase is the reign of the New Order regime which was run from 1966 to 1998. During the authoritarian regime, New Order, there is no direct election for local leaders. Under the Law Number 5/1974 about the Principals of the Government in Local Area, Soeharto appointed the local leaders without clear indicators unless they are loyal to the

regime. This authoritarian regime embraced paternalistic culture –a culture that places the leader as the most dominant person. As a result, political elites are dominated by men since they are considered as the leaders of the family (the Law Number 1/1974 of the Act of Marriage, article 31, paragraph 3). On the contrary, major roles of woman during the authoritarian regime Soeharto is related to domestic works, namely being wife, mother, and involved in social activities or communities, which popular as '*Ibuism*' (housewifization) (Fattore, Scotto and Sitasari 2010, 264). '*Ibuism*' refers to the concept of the New Order regime that defines the ideal roles for woman is as mother (and wife).

The concept of *Ibuism* was used by the regime to limit women's roles in the smallest area, namely family. This concept are disseminated through the two women's organizations established by Soeharto, namely PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*: Fostering Family Welfare- usually for rural women) and Dharma Wanita (the organization for civil servant wives). Women were demanded to have understanding that their roles were limited to serve husband and teach their children at home (Fattore, Scotto and Sitasari 2010, 264). This condition limited women's activities in the politics. As a consequence, there was no woman as the local leaders for 32 years the regime governed except at the end of the tenure, there were two women became local leaders. The two women are Tutty Hayati Anwar as *Bupati* Kabupaten Majalengka (the Regent, the leader of Majalengka Regency) and Molly Mulyati Djubaedi as *Bupati* Kabupaten Sukabumi (the Regent, the leader of Sukabumi Regency) who governed the regencies from 1998 to 2003 (Dewi 2015, 8).

The second phase is the reformation era which occurred between 1998 and 2004. After the authoritarian regime, Soeharto, overthrown from the presidency in 1998, Indonesia entered to the new era, namely transition of democracy or known as reformation era. According to Bauer (2012, 372), Transitional era usually created opportunities to change the political structure of the country since taps of democracy are opened during the transition. This situation

occurred in Indonesia about 19 years ago. The political system of Indonesia suddenly changed from centralistic to decentralization. The power of the New Order regime which was centralized in the national level became distributed to the local level. As a result, the local head was chosen by the members of the local parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD). Through the Law Number 22/1999 about the Local Government, the local heads, such as governor, mayor and regent, were elected democratically by the DPRD. Although the local heads did not elect directly by people but this step is considered more democratic since the local legislators are the representatives of society (Ali, 2017). There are five women who became the local heads during this phase, which one of them gained position as the vice governor and the rest is in the position of regents. The one who became the vice governor is Ratu Atut Chosiyah from Banten Province (2001-2006). The four women, namely Rustriningsih from Kebumen (2000-2005), Haeny Relawati Riniwidyastuti from Tuban (2001-2006), Rina Iriani from Karang Anyar and Tutty Hayati Anwar from Majalengka, who were elected in 2003 (2003-2008), obtained the position as regents (Dewi 2015, 8).

The third phase is the direct election for local heads. This phase occurs from 2005 to 2014 under the Law Number 32/2004 about Local Government. The article 24 of this law mandated the local heads should be elected directly by the voters. This law was influenced by the direct election for the president which has been started in 2004. As the local government is considered as a part of the Indonesian government so the electoral model for them should follows the model of presidential election as the supreme leader in Indonesia (Asy'ari, 2014). During this phase there are 26 women won the election. One of the elected women wins the position as governor while five women elected as mayors and 20 women became regents. This phase has been maintained until 2014 as there was a decision from the Constitutional Court (Mahkamah Konstitusi) through the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 97/PUU-XI/2013 stated that the elections for local heads are not a part of the general elections. As a

correction of this issue, the Indonesian political elites tried to seek a new formula to elect the local heads.

The next phase is Indonesia has implements the concurrent direct election for the local heads started in 2015 after passed the political drama between the members of the House of Representatives and president. At the end of 2014 the Member of the House of Representatives enacted the Law Number 22/2014 about the Elections for Governors, Regents and Mayors that arranged the election for those local heads is through the DPRD. But, this law only survived for a week since the current President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, abolished the this law through the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-undang, Perppu) Number 1/2014 about the Elections for Governors, Regents and Mayors and the Perppu Number 2/2014 about the Changing on the Law Number 23/214 about the Local Government. Then, the drama ended when the Members of the House of Representatives legalized those Perppu became the Law in the early of 2015. Through the Law Number 8/2015 about Determination of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1/2014 about the Elections for Governors, Regents and Mayors Becomes Law Indonesia has entered to the new phase of the election for the local heads, namely the concurrent election started in 2015. Then, this law has been equipped with the Law Number 10/2016 about the Second Changing of the Law Number 1/2015 about the Determination of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1/2014 about the Elections for Governors, Regents and Mayors as the legal foundation of the second concurrent election in 2017.

Women's Participation in the Concurrent Local Election 2015-2017

Women's participation in the concurrent election for local heads is low. In the last election in 2017 there are only 44 women (7,17%) from 614 candidates who ran for the election in 41 different districts. From those 44 women, 38 women are supported by political parties and five the rest ran the competition through the individual path to compete in 4 provinces, 28

regencies and 9 cities. The individual path was recognized through the Law Number 12/2008 about the Second Change on the Law Number 32/2004 about Local Government. This law accommodates those who have potential leadership but they are not reached by political parties. This law is inspired by issue that there is political deals between the elite's party and the prospective candidate who want to be supported by the party (Ali, 2017). The political deals usually involve the exchange between money from the prospective candidate and the candidate's position from the party. However, most of the prospective candidates prefer to take support from political party instead of ran through the individual path since political party is considered has real constituents and political machine which is important for the candidates to win the election (Ali, 2017).

Furthermore, understanding the background of the women's candidates is important to analyze whether those women are gender-sensitive. According to Perludem (Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi/NGO the Association for Elections and Democracy) (2016), the majority of women's candidates come from former legislators, party's cadres and family network with the political elites. There are 52,27% women's candidates whom the previous job are members of the parliament, 43,18% women's candidates are cadres of the party, 31,82% have a close relationship with political elites and there are 15,91% women's candidates are incumbents. The rest, the background of the women's candidates are as entrepreneurs (9,09%), the retired of military and civil servants (6,2%), activists of NGOs and mass organizations (4,55%), academics and the incumbents from the lower level of the government's structures (2,27% each) (Perludem, 2016).

According to Kumparan (2017), there are 13 women from 44 women's candidates who won the seats. There are four women nominated in the provincial level. Two women's candidates ran the election for governors, namely Hana Hasanah Fadel from Gorontalo and Irene Manibuy from Papua Barat. Two other women who fought for the positions of vice governors, namely Sylviana Murni from DKI Jakarta and Enny Anggraeni Anwar from Sulawesi Barat. Nevertheless, there is only one woman won

the votes, namely Enny Anggraeni Anwar as the Vice Governor of Sulawesi Barat. Enny is a member of the House of Representatives, Golkar Party faction, and wife of the former Governor, Anwar Adnan Saleh. She and her partner in candidacy obtained 38,76% of the votes (Kumparan, 2017).

For the position of mayors and the vice mayors, there are 10 women's candidates in the competition (Kumparan, 2017). Six women nominated as mayor's candidates but only three women elected, such as Dewanti Rumpoko in Batu City, Jawa Timur and Tjhai Chui Mie in Singkawang City. Dewanti is a lecturer in the Faculty of Psychology in the Merdeka University, Malang and wife of the current mayor, Eddy Rumpoko. Dewanti pairs with Punjul Santoso who is the current vice mayor. They gained 44,46% of the votes. Tjhai is a member of the local parliament (DPRD) in the Singkawang City, Kalimantan Barat. She pairs with Irwan and obtained 40,60% of the votes but there are 40,2% voters did not use their rights. One elected women from four women's candidates ran for the vice mayor's position, namely Pahima Iskandar in Sorong City, Papua. Pahima with her pair, Lamberthus Jitmau, are the incumbent. They defended their seats with 77,95% of the votes (Kumparan, 2017).

There are 15 women nominated for each regent and the vice regent's positions (Kumparan, 2017). From 15 women's candidates, there are eight women elected as regents, such as Karolin Margret Natasa in Landak, Kalimantan Barat. She is a member of the House of Representatives, PDIP faction, and daughter of the current governor of Kalimantan Barat, Cornelis. She and her pair competed empty box since they are the single fighter. They gained 96,72% of the votes. The second is Yati Soepredjo Mokoagow in Bolaang Mongondow, Sulawesi Utara. She is the member of the House of Representatives. She, and her pair, obtained 64,88% of the votes. The third is Idza Priyanti in Brebes, Central Java. Ida and her pair, Narjo, are the incumbent. They defended their office with 67,02% of the votes, but there are only 55,4% voters used their rights. The fourth is Nurhidayah in Kotawaringin Barat, Kalimantan Tengah. She, and her pair, is the member of DPRD Kotawaringin. They obtained 52,43%

of the votes. The fifth is Noormiliyani in Barito Kuala, Kalimantan Selatan. She is the member of DPRD Kalimantan Selatan and wife of the current Regent of Barito Kuala, Hasanuddin Murad. She, and her pair, gained 52,43% of the votes. The sixth is Winarti in Tulang Bawang, Lampung. She is the chairperson of DPRD Tulang Bawang. Her pair, Hendriwansyah, is the chairperson of the regional party boards of PAN. They obtained 47,63%. The seventh is Masnah Busro in Muaro Jambi. She is a member of DPRD Jambi. She and her pair gained 40, 09%. The last is Neneng Hasanah Yasin in Bekasi. She is the incumbent and her pair is the chairperson of DPRD Bekasi. They gained 39,83% of the votes. For the position of the vice regents, there is only one from 15 women's candidates who won the votes, namely Satya Titiek Atyani Djoedir in Barito Selatan, Kalimantan Tengah. She is incumbent (Kumparan, 2017).

For comparison, the first concurrent election for local heads which was occurred in 2015 also showed the similar issues. From 123 women's candidates (7,4% from 1646 candidates) who ran the competition, the major background of the elected women (47 women or 8,7% of the total candidates) can be divided as incumbents (13 women), former members of parliament (12 women), and bureaucrats and entrepreneurs (7 women each) (Setiawan, 2016). From 123 women's candidates who ran the competition, there are 35 women won the votes. Anggraini (2015) divided the background of the elected women's candidates into three different backgrounds. The first is the success local heads and incumbent, for example, Tri Rismaharini, the Mayor of Surabaya City, Jawa Timur. The second is those who relatives of the political elites, for instance, Airin Rahmy Diani as the Mayor of Tangerang Selatan City, Banten and Ratu Tatu Chasanah who became the Mayor of Serang City, Banten. Both of them are the family of the former Governor of Banten Province, Ratu Atut Chosiyah. The third is the controversial elected women's candidates, such as Airin Rahmy Diani as the Mayor of Tangerang Selatan City, Banten. She is the wife of Tb. Chaeri Wardhana, a convicted bribery case for the former Chairperson of the Constitutional Court (MK), Akil Mochtar.

Opportunities and Challenges of Women's Candidacy

The first stage of woman's candidacy is to select herself to being candidate. This decision is influenced by cultural barrier, including Islamic perspective existing in the society. Woman involves in the political arena are still considered taboo since politics is identical as male activities. In some parties, the Islamic perspectives also influence the opportunities for women to being participated in the candidacy. For example there is a rule in PKS that cadres are not allowed to submit themselves to be candidates unless they are appointed by the party. This party considered candidacy as duty from the party that should be done properly (*amanah*)[1]. So, those who are selected by the party are considered as their ambassadors of *dakwah* (religious call) in political arena[2]. This rule limits woman's opportunity to promote herself to achieve strategic positions, even since at the early stage.

However, in some other parties women's involvement is more open. According to Anggraini (2016), there are three political parties who are involved in supporting and nominating the highest numbers of women as their candidates in the coalition for the local heads, namely PKB, PDIP and PAN. PKB has been supported 18 women's candidates whereas PDIP and PAN bore 17 women's candidates. PKB nominated four women's candidates in the provincial level, 12 women for the regency positions and two women for the mayor offices. PDIP bore two women for the governor positions, 11 women for regents and four women for mayors. PAN supported two women in the provincial level, 13 women for the regents and two women for the mayors.

PKB and PAN sometimes are considered as Muslim based parties since they rely much on and were born by the two oldest and biggest Islamic mass organizations, namely the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah respectively although they stated Pancasila as the foundation of the parties. NU and Muhammadiyah are

[1] Interview with LH, the current PKS women's legislator in the national parliament, Jakarta, 13 January 2017.
[2] Interview with the Secretariat Staff (Male) of the Sharia Council of the Regional Leadership Council of PKS, Jawa Barat, Bandung, 18 January 2017.

the two mainstream Islamic organizations which promoted Islamization in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is the Indonesia's second largest and "modernist" Islamic organization which built in 1912 by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan (Dewi 2015, 11). At the beginning, still according to Dewi (2015, 11) Muhammadiyah aims to purify the teachings of Islam since at that time society tended to implement mystical practices. NU is the biggest and traditional Islamic organization which established in 1926 by Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari (Bush 2009, 2). In the early stage, NU only acts into particular fields, such as social, education, and economy but in 1954 NU became political party (Bush 2009, 2). In the first general election of Indonesia after the independence, 1955, NU succeeded in nominating itself in the third position, with 18,4% (45 seats), after the Indonesian National Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI-Soekarno's party) and Masyumi (the biggest Islamic party at that time) (KPU 2010, 35). Then, in the reformation era (1998), NU gave birth to the PKB whereas PAN was born by the figures of Muhammadiyah (Turmudi 2004, 232). On the other hand, PDIP is considered as the nationalist (secular) party which also stated Pancasila as the foundation of PDIP.

There are some factors why PKB, PDIP and PAN supported more women than other parties. The first is the votes share that they obtained from the general elections can be a crucial capital for the local elections. For example, PDIP, as the winner of the last general election and the presidential election in 2014, their vote share is also distributed across the country. Once the party's machine works, they might win the votes. PDIP won the votes in 17 from 33 provinces, such as Lampung, Bangka Belitung, Kepulauan Riau, DKI Jakarta, Jawa Barat, Jawa Tengah, DI. Yogyakarta, Jawa Timur, Banten, Bali, NTT, Kalimantan Barat, Kalimantan Tengah, Sulawesi Utara, Maluku and Maluku Utara (Kompas 2014). For example, the elected woman's candidate from PDIP for the Landak District, Karolin Margret Natasa obtained the highest votes in the 2014 general election with 397.281 votes when she submitted as a legislator candidate in the district Kalimantan Barat (DetikNews, 2014).

Party tends to nominates women as their candidates merely to win the votes. Therefore, party tends to choose potential candidates who have loyalty to the party, and networking and financial capacities to win.[3] The former members of the parliament are considered have both of the requirements. The legislators are usually the senior cadres who have been involved in the party for a long time period. As legislators, they should have constituents on their electoral districts which have been maintained during their tenures.[4] Thus, party usually nominates them for the local leader's position in the same district with their candidacy for legislators. The same conditions are also applied for the incumbents.

The second reason is the influence of parties experience toward woman and leadership. For instance, the experience of PDIP and PKB about the presidential candidacy of its chairperson in 1999 and 2004 has become a valuable experience for them. The presidential candidacy of the chairperson of PDIP, Megawati Soekarnoputri, after her party won the 1999 general election was hindered by the coalition of '*poros tengah*' (central axis) (Thompson 1999, 4). This coalition consists of the Islamic parties –PKS and PBB- and Muslim based parties –PKB and PAN, and supported by Golkar (the nastionalist party, legacy of the New Order regime). As the result, Abdurrahman Wahid, known as Gus Dur, a famous leader of Islam, the chairperson and the founder of the PKB, the former chairperson of the biggest Islamic mass organization, NU, and the grandson of the founder of NU, Kyai Haji Hasyim Asyari became the first President of Indonesia after reformation and Megawati became the vice president (Thompson 1999, 4). Nevertheless, in 2001 Megawati became president until 2004 as Gus Dur was deposed from the presidential position by the same coalition, '*poros tengah*' (Ananta, Arifin, and Suryadinata, 2005, 12). Megawati submitted herself in the first direct presidential election in 2004 (The Charter Center 2005, 50). Although

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[3] Interview with some parties' boards in Jakarta, 17 January-20 February 2017.

[4] Interview with LNH (Female), the Chairperson of Perempuan Bangsa (the Women's Nation), the women's wing organization of PKB, and the Former Legislative Candidate in 2009 and 2014 General Election, Jakarta, 17 January 2017.

she failed to retain the presidency, her candidacy became a watershed for female politicians in the future. She proved to public that woman is feasible to compete with men even though under the shadow of *fatwa* (religious edict) from some Islamic organizations that prohibits Muslim to choose women as their leader.

The third reason is the influence of the Islamic interpretations about women's leadership, especially for PKB and PAN. PKB, indeed, does not hinder its woman's cadres to participate in each stage of the candidacy process. However, PKB does not have special treatments to enhance women's representations in parliament but let the competitions run openly between female and male's cadres[5]. Regarding the influence of Islamic interpretations during the candidacy process, PKB does not have special requirements related to religious. PKB believes that religious is given so it is not necessary to ask religious of other people[6]. This thought is also influenced by the acts of the founder and the first leader of PKB, Gus Dur, which embraced pluralism. During his presidency, Gus Dur struggled the rights of religious minority groups in Indonesia, namely Chinese Confucianism (Pausacker 2007). This religion became the sixth official religions by the country, besides Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hinduism, and Buddhism, in the early of 2000s. Through the Presidential Decision Number 6/2000 about the Revocation of the Presidential Instruction Number 14/1967 about the Chinese Religion, Belief, and Customs, the fourth President of Indonesia, Gus Dur, recalled the prohibition of open celebration of Chinese religion, faith and common practices. The alignment to pluralism is still maintained by the successors of PKB. Nevertheless, in some electoral districts the *fatsun* that woman should gain the permission from her husband to run the candidacy process has been still maintained by the party's boards and women's candidates[7]. The political *fatsun* refers to process or political activity which contained ethical principles of civilization, manners, and responsibility in the frame of equality and respect for fellow political actors.

However, in PKB the recommendation of the *Kyai* of NU is essential for candidates during the recruitment process. This recommendation can beat the will of the party's chairperson[8]. The elected candidates are also proved have strong relationship with NU, such as the family background and alma mater[9]. This also prevails for the external candidates. The candidates who come from outside of PKB and NU should prove that they have incision with NU, even, if they do not have it, they should create it by promising to develop NU[10]. For example, Chusnunia, the elected women's candidate for the regent of Tuban has background as NU. Her extended family is NU and has big *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) consists of many *santri* (students) (Anggraini, 2015). In addition, Anggraini (2015) added that as she is the former member of the House of Representatives, she has visited her constituents frequently during her tenure. Therefore, she was nominated in the same district.

The assumption that cultural barriers hinder women to participate in the political arena are not relevant anymore since those women had passed the personal selection before they are elected by the political parties. From the data above, it has been seen that the women's candidates have been compromised with their responsibilities toward domestic affairs once they decide to enter the political arena.[11] Once woman decided to be a candidate, the decision has to come from herself. Although the woman who came from the political dynasty (family/

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[5] Interview with FR (Male), the Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Board of PKB, Jakarta, 16 January 2017.

[6] Interview with FR (Male), the Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Board of PKB, Jakarta, 16 January 2017.

[7] Interview with SJ (Male), the Former Chairman of the PKB's Governing Board of Jawa Barat, Bandung, 23 January 2017.

[8] Interview with LNH, the Chairperson of Perempuan Bangsa (the Women's Nation), the women's wing organization of PKB, and the Former Legislative Candidate in 2009 and 2014 General Election, Jakarta, 17 January 2017.

[9] Interview with LNH, the Chairperson of Perempuan Bangsa (the Women's Nation), the women's wing organization of PKB, and the Former Legislative Candidate in 2009 and 2014 General Election, Jakarta, 17 January 2017.

[10] Interview with LNH (Female), the Chairperson of Perempuan Bangsa (the Women's Nation), the women's wing organization of PKB, and the Former Legislative Candidate in 2009 and 2014 General Election, Jakarta, 17 January 2017.

[11] Interview with SBEW (Female), the Director of the NGO of Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia (Center of Political Studies, Indonesia University), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

kinship), she also became the decision maker for herself as she knew the consequences of her candidacy. [12] She is the one who should perform the campaign since the winner takes all system embraced.

However, the recruitment system within the party is centralized and closely. There is no mechanism of accountability during the candidacy process since only those are in the strategic positions can follow the process. [13] Actually political parties had have criteria to nominate their candidates in the elections. But, this policy sometimes has been diverged for some interests, such as when party has deals to nominate someone who affiliated to elites. [14] Some major woman's candidates came from the family members of the political elites. On the one hand, those candidates are expected to maximize the existing network. On the other hand, the elite nominate their relatives in order to maintain their power. [15] This situation has been known as political dynasty. It does not matter with the political dynasty as long as the candidates had passed the regeneration's system of the party. [16] In fact, the candidates who passed this path usually are those who suddenly being nominated by the party without followed the regeneration's system as cadres. [17] In addition, political dynasty has been recognized to promote corruption since the power has been distributed within one family only. For example, the corruption case experienced by the family of the former Governor of Banten Province, Ratu

Atut Chosiyah which involved herself and her young brother, Chaeri Wardhana (Staitstimes, 2014).

The crucial factor regarding women candidacy for the local heads is in the political parties. The elite's party has important roles to nominate candidates as their representations on the local general election for the local heads. Although in the final stages, the election day, voters are the final decision makers, the list of the candidates on the ballot paper comes from political party. Thus, political parties are the gatekeepers of the candidacy process. Since the electoral laws are gender neutral, political parties are expected to provide the internal policies to ensure the opportunities for women. The problem is the most political parties have not had a special treatment to enlarge the opportunities for women's candidates. [18] The logic of the winner takes all system is to promote the network between the candidates and the party who supports the candidates. [19] The candidates should disseminate the ideology of the party to the constituents through the programs in the electoral district. [20] After the candidates win the votes, loyal constituents have been established in this district. The fact is political parties have not been ready yet with this expectation. Therefore, party tends to take a short cut by nominating potential candidates who are recognized to win the seats. Those are usually considered have loyalty to the party, networking and financial capacity, at least, to pay their own activities during the campaign period. [21] This decision has damaged the regeneration system within the party. [22]

In order to create opportunities to enhance women's participation in the candidacy process, there are some efforts need to be done. The first is engineering of the regulations, such as the

[12] Interview with SBEW (Female), the Director of the NGO of Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia (Center of Political Studies, Indonesia University), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[13] Interview with TA (Female), the Executive Director of the NGO of Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (the Associations for Elections and Democracy), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[14] Interview with TA (Female), the Executive Director of the NGO of Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (the Associations for Elections and Democracy), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[15] Interview with TA (Female), the Executive Director of the NGO of Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (the Associations for Elections and Democracy), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[16] Interview with SBEW (Female), the Director of the NGO of Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia (Center of Political Studies, Indonesia University), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[17] Interview with TA (Female), the Executive Director of the NGO of Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (the Associations for Elections and Democracy), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[18] Interview with some parties' boards in Jakarta, 17 January-20 February 2017.

[19] Interview with SBEW (Female), the Director of the NGO of Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia (Center of Political Studies, Indonesia University), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[20] Interview with SBEW (Female), the Director of the NGO of Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia (Center of Political Studies, Indonesia University), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

[21] Interview with some parties' boards in Jakarta, 17 January-20 February 2017.

[22] Interview with SBEW (Female), the Director of the NGO of Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia (Center of Political Studies, Indonesia University), Jakarta, 25 January 2017.

electoral laws and political party's law to ensure the representations of women. The policy of affirmative actions, such as 30% of women's representations in the candidacy and zipper system (places at least one woman in every three candidates) should also apply in the concurrent local election and party's boards in all level.[23] Sometimes, the positions of party boards are considered as a strategic position which influences the nomination process. Parties do not only put all women's cadres in the Department of Women but they should be involved in the decision making process.[24] All women's cadres should be placed in every department to gender mainstreaming other party's members. The next step is political parties should revive their function to provide political education, especially for women's cadres, to strengthen the regeneration and recruitment system within the parties (Bhakti and Nurhasim, ed. 2016, 50-60). In order to make it happens, the government should provides budget for this political education. For example, 30% of the political aid funds from the government to political parties should be used for women's cadres.[25] However, this funding should be accompanied by transparency and accountability to ensure that the budget is not perverted.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT IN PROVIDING ADEQUATE GENDER-RESPONSIVE URBAN SANITATION

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Abstract

Indonesia's sanitation level is considered bad in term of the quality of services and public access opportunity. In contrast, the demand towards clean water keeps increasing, particularly in the urban areas due to the high demand of areas excavated for development each year. The limited access to clean water can trigger the emergence of new problems related to health and environment, more particularly towards women whom they are closely related to clean water either for household or personal needs. The absence of clean water will increase the risk of sexual abuses in public facilities and unfulfilled women's specific needs. This article analyses the commitment of local region in providing gender-responsive urban sanitation considering to need separation towards men and women. The research was conducted in Semanggi sub-district of Surakarta City bearing the program "Kampung Sanitasi", the collaboration between Surakarta Government and USAID since 2014. The primary data were obtained through interviews and observations, whilst the secondary data were gained from documents. The data were analyzed using 7S McKinsey model (system & staff) for local-region commitment and Sara Longwe model to see whether the available sanitation has been gender-responsive through access, participation, control and benefit received by women. The analysis result using McKinsey's theory shows that there hasn't been commitment of the local region providing responsive-gender sanitation. When using Sara Longwe's theory it is found that 1) women's access towards proper sanitation increased since the program was launched, 2) women's participation in program planning is still low but its implementation is quite sufficient, 3) in control women don't tend to have authority in using collective facilities; it's proven by many of them are feared of sexual abuses at sanitation area, 4) in benefit women merely still got access to clean water but not for being protected from sex abuses and moreover the walking distance was still too far. Thus the commitment of the local region to provide responsive-gender urban sanitation has not been actualized maximally. The existing sanitation facility is still neutral gender, without separating the practical needs and strategic gender.

Keywords: gender-responsive, urban sanitation, Longwe, local-region commitment

INTRODUCTION

Sanitation in Indonesia is categorized in poor level for the quality of the provision for public access and opportunity (World Bank, 2013). By 2013, 54% of Indonesia's population does not have access to clean water and adequate sanitation (UNICEF; WHO, 2013). The situation is aggravated by 40-60% urban areas do not have sanitary facilities which integrated with the water source (Juliman, 2014). Indonesia recently filled the 18 million (40%) out of the 45 million target should be achieved in 2019 in case of equal opportunity to access

decent sanitation (Ditjen BGKIA, 2015). In other hand, the provision of public facilities had already printed on the National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN). The implication showed us there was a negative trend in bowel haphazard behavior increased to 17% in 2013 in the suburban and rural area (Cameron, Shah, & Olivia, 2013).

Clean water needs from year to year is always increased, mainly in urban areas as the consequence of high utilization of land for development (WBCSD, 2005; Platt, 2012). Limited access to clean water would of new

problems, such as disruption of health care and the environment, crime, psychosocial stress and even poverty(UNICEF , 2012; Hendrawan, Widarnako, Moersidik, & Triweko, 2013; Truelove & Mawdsley, 2011; Njenga, et al., 2009; Sahoo, et al., 2015). Especially for women, where they become the person who is closest to the procurement of water whether for household needs or personal needs (Tacoli, 2012; Chant, 2013; Institute for Women's Policy Research , 2015). With the lack of sanitation that close to the settlement, it will be dangerous for women and children(Hartman, Rowe, & Elledge, 2015). Some of the losses are, first it would not accommodate the special needs of women related to reproductive health while menstruation, which those activities requires sufficient clean water(Engel & Susilo, 2014; McFlarlane, Desai, & Graham, 2014).

Second, with a distance of sanitation would increase the risk of the occurrence of sexual harassment around the sanitation area especially with lack of lighting at night(Bapat & Agarwal, 2003; Moser, Winton, & Moser, 2005). Third, considering to the social psychology of women, the unavailability of a adequate sanitation led their stress levels to be higher like feel so embarrassed if only they continue bowel carelessly habits (BABS) and fear while having to access communal toilets at night (Sahoo, et al., 2015). Inadequate of sanitation would harm women and children and that is why women are being marginalized within economic and politic including lack of participation in development.

In Indonesia, the provision of adequate urban sanitation becomes Central Government liabilities as well as the Local Government. It is in line with the national program called Community-based Urban Sanitation (SPBM) as a supporting program of PNPM–Mandiri (Kementerian PU, 2012). Local governments are required to arrange a working group (Pokja) as a preparation step in the realization of this program. However, local governments often meet some problems while trying to reach an adequate sanitation such as the technical stuff (Pokja formation logistics and procurement) and also limitedness for accommodate community needs. Those problems likely experienced by the City Government of Surakarta in realizing the provision SPBM around settlements especially the one which categorized as streams polluted. Governments' city of Surakarta already built 93 units sanitation which are already integrated with the IPAL or limited communal sanitary facility(Pemkot Surakarta, 2016).

Provision of urban sanitation was prosecuted not only focus on sanitation itself, but also should pay attention to the practical needed differences between the women and men, it is then known as the provision of sanitary based on gender. . It is in line with the regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) Number 67 in 2011 and Presidential Instruction Number. 9 of 2000 which every region shall be obliged to do that (Kemendagri, 2011). But in fact that occurred, there are still many policies in local region are still neutral (blind) gender(Bastian, 2010; Dhewy, 2017). Integrating gender in development in region or commonly known as gender mainstreaming has several key components, one of the components is the commitment of the region(Inpres, 2000). The commitment of the region can be manifested into formal regulation (policy) of the existing regulations or doing a preparation in term of their human resources capability to understand what is actually the urge of providing sanitation based on responsive gender. Overall in the case of sanitation development, indicated that there is still far from applied gender mainstreaming among to the all components.

This article aims to find out how far the commitment of local governments in providing urban sanitation based on responsive gender. Gender-based procurement of sanitation is required to ensure that no one harmed due to the lack of sanitation reminded by the basic needs differences between women and men. Previous researches which is also used as a reference in this study were more likely to discuss only about the urgency of the existence of sanitation must be gender responsive and about efforts of local government as the lowest level in bureaucracy(Moser, Winton, & Moser, 2005; Choguill, 1996; Chong, Abeysuriya, Hidayat, Sulistio, & Willetts, 2016). In the end, this study would like to combine two main elements of several previous researches regarding to local government commitment and urgency of the existence of gender responsive sanitation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

One key component in realizing the PUG in the context of providing adequate sanitation in region is the existence of regional commitments. Regional commitment is named as determination and steadiness area to achieve a purpose which is believed to be together. The existence of a commitment in an important government agency since an organization will routinely changes(Feldman & Pentland, 2003). To achieve these changes, there should be supported by the existence of a will and awareness throughout the Organization to support the existence of a component changes. One of them can be realized through a system created by the local Government must be able to empower their employers as well as the society in the running of a policy(LGAT, 2014). The commitment of the region can be measured using one of the McKinsey 7S approach.

According to Mckinsey, there are seven approaches that are used to describe whether an organization can achieve the goals set or not. Seven of these components are divided into two parts, as hard skills and soft skills (Ravanfar, 2015). Hard skills are represented with three key components. First, the strategy is meant as the direction, scope and manner, owned by an organization to be able to achieve the goal. Second, structure or known as the basic formation of the organization, refers to the unit, responsibilities and specialization. Last there is called by system, as formal and informal procedure which is used as a guide the organization took a decision(Mišanková & Kočišová, 2014). Soft skills related to the ability of the individual as a member of an organization that is divided into four components. First is style, as the approach undertaken by the top manager in an attempt to reach out to all members of the organization. Furthermore, staff, related to human resources is owned by the Organization and how they are trained and motivated which is then expected to support the achievement of the organization. Third, skill or basic capabilities and competence possessed by members of the organization. Lastly, shared values or better known as the objectives of the organization that want to be accomplished as a guide Member organizations in action.

Hard Skills	Soft Skills
Strategy	Style
Structure	Staff
System	Skill
	Shared value

This Research will take two approaches out of seven approach expressed by Mckinsey. They are system and staff where both chosen because some consideration. First, choosing system in hard skill clumps, considering to the definition of system is as leads to a procedure that is always there in every government activity every day. McKinsey also mentioned that the existence of system will represent the interests and needs of elite in an organization, where the power of individuals and groups will determine the direction of the policy(McKinsey Co., 2011). System is also a component of the sustainability for other components (strategy and structure), in the absence of system, an important component in efforts to improve the quality of the Organization (structure and startegy) would not be achieved (Potocki & Brocato, 1995). Next, from the soft skills, staff approach selected because according to another research claimed that all activities of the organization that support organizational change and drive increased necessarily involves human resources component(Alshaher, 2013). So, however the plans and the system have been set in the Organization, will not make anything better if only there wasn't a member or agent who would do that actions.

From the society as users and recipients impact of the policy especially for women, this paper use an indicator of women empowerment by Sara Longwe (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999). Between the commitments of the region with women empowerment indicated have a relationship. Where to realize justice access to sanitation for women and men, local governments need to undertake efforts that came to be known with the commitment of the region(WHO, 2004).

There are five levels to describe whether women who are involved in the policy reasonably have received the results/benefits

and have equal access with men or not. The first stage in the tools Longwee is 1) access, where women have equal access with men to take the an outcome of the policy. 2) After women and man have an equal access, the next stage is to measure the participation especially for women who considered to always be subordinate. Do women have the same rights in planning to evaluate in all policy stages. Next 3) controls, which can be measured the extent of the involvement of women in policy, conduct complaint if found any discrepancy in implementation to participate in proposing a work plan in the new budget. Finally, when all the stages already reached, the latest component to measure both women and man have an equal access and whether the policy was effective or not is 4) benefits, this measure explains about some positive impact received by women within a certain period after the policy is rolled out. Women could get benefits as a whole and not decriminalized in the result of a policy.

METHODS

This research undertaken in Surakarta Central Java, or specifically in RW 23 kampong Semanggi where there has (risk of polluted waste water domestic and drainage) poor sanitation. Governments' city of Surakarta or more specifically is the Public Works Agency and the Spatial (DPUPR) in cooperation with USAID and NGO Groups. Data resources taken in this study is divided into two types: primary data and secondary data. Primary data obtained through interviews with relevant parties and observation. Meanwhile the secondary data, obtained through policy documents relating to program SPBM through work plan and the Department's strategic plan.

RESULTS

According to analysis tools are used, through Mckinsey to measure how far the regional commitment and Sara Longwe to measure women empowerment in urban-based community sanitation program (SPBM), this research presents the results. The results of the research begin with the measurement of regional Government commitment the city of Surakarta.

A. Local government commitment

The commitment of the region reflects to the ability and willingness of the area as well as the device in realizing development goals through cooperation with the Community(Winters, Karim, & Martawardaya, 2013). Through tools from McKinsey namely system and staff (human resources), the results are:

1. **Systems in support of gender-based procurement of sanitation:**

   As revealed in advance, the success of the providing sanitation based on gender-responsive is the existence of regional commitments. One of them is through the system built within organizations. System relating to formal and informal procedures that commonly used to support any activities in term to achieve organizational objective. Based on the results of research, related with DPUPR and observations, it was found that:

a. **Formal procedure:**

   Provision of urban sanitation in Surakarta city became the responsibility of Department of Public Works and Spatial (DPUPR) or specifically Cipta Karya department. The construction of sanitation facilities in Semanggi is still in the stage of revamping the environment area of the slums to reach the targets within the RPJMN years 2015-2019. According to Decision of the President number 2 2015 and the legislation of the Republic of Indonesia number 2 in 2012 mentioned that the provision of urban sanitation be responsibility of the local authorities concerned. In Surakarta, based on the decision letter of the Mayor of 605.3.05/48/ Number 1/2013 Date 05 July 2013 bestows the construction of sanitation in Semanggi to the Part of Cipta Karya Department by forming a working group (Pokja).

   Developing sanitation in Surakarta city stated in Region Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD) since 2008 whether refers to technical or non technical procedures. Legally, the construction of sanitation facilities has been conducted by Cipta Karya department since 2012 until the end of 2015. There are one communal IPAL, IPLT, communal toilets and some of the water sources. It is in accordance with that stated

in Act No. 7 of 2004 regarding water resources, including sanitation development in realizing the strategy of universal access at a decent sanitation. Governments' city of Surakarta, has done some efforts in the improvement of sanitation services in Semanggi according to what is mentioned in the Act. Among them, the first based on the decision letter of the Mayor of 653.2/Number 48-B/1/2012-performance of construction waste water Disposal Installation (IPAL) centered (off-side) and construction of the communal toilets (on-side) in order to increase access to sanitation services that reach out to all communities.

Related with the implementation of gender mainstreaming (PUG) in region, the Government of the city of Surakarta hasn't been able to integrate gender aspects in the provision of urban sanitation. According to the results of interview with the head of Cipta Karya department of DPUPR, provision of sanitation still focus on structuring the environment to achieve the slum target of the program and access to clean water. In the end, the providing of sanitation based on gender by separating needs between women and men hasn't realized by the Government of the city of Surakarta yet. In the regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) Number 67 in 2011, mentioned that each Organization Device Area (OPD) is required to draw up a strategic plan and work plan which already integrated with gender. But the results show, Cipta Karya department, only does physical development. Implementation of gender mainstreaming hasn't been able to do in Surakarta regarding to the lack of socialization which should hold by the Regional Development and Planning Board (Bappeda).

As mentioned in the PNPM-Mandiri that one of the Government's approach in term of community-based urban sanitation program is to considering gender equality and justice in every stage of development and in the utilization of development results. Development is done by the Government of the city of Surakarta hasn't reflects what is meant by gender responsive yet. Development is still in the stage of community empowerment without considering to the differences needed between women and men. In the socializing held by Cipta Karya department,

presentation of women who attended not as many as man. The impact is there are difficulties in mapping and accommodating the needs of women. In the end, the formal legal rules from some (technical) that already mentioned, the only program of PNPM-Mandiri which is SPBM in its policy document mentions the need for gender integration in the provision of urban sanitation.

b. **Informal procedure:**

The construction of sanitation in Semanggi not only carried out by the City Government. In the framework of community empowerment and community involvement, local government cooperating with a community self-help group (KSM) known as KSM Dabagsari Makmur. KSM are tasked to do the treatment and periodically checking to some point where sanitation facilities was built. In addition to performing maintenance and management, KSM Dabagsari Makmur is also responsible to do collecting charges every household which uses clean water pipe connection. The mechanism and amount laid down by the agreement of the community with members of KSM, where charges collected every month will be channeled directly to PDAM as a party of clean water service providers.Cooperation built by the Government of the city of Surakarta and KSM are not based on the formal document endorsement. Formation of KSM completely derived from the initiatives from the community in Semanggi as a form of responsibility for sanitation services that are already built,hence KSM plays an active role in manage and take a control of facility sanitation

Governments' city of Surakarta is also cooperating with international donor agencies, named USAID. Grant funds are used for the additional construction for clean water pipe connection which is connected to each household. USAID presence beyond the original plan as provided in the City Sanitation Strategies (SSK). This program has been running since 2012, while the cooperation undertaken at the end of 2014, which means with or without USAID, will not interfere for the sustainability of the program.

2. **The quality of human resources:**

The second tools after the system in McKinsey approach is relating with the implementing capabilities in achieving Organization objectives

or better known by staff. In this tool, there are three major indicators, namely the existence of the implementing team, human resource capabilities within understanding the gender mainstreaming (PUG) and socialization and training. Staff becomes an important component in this approach because the entire activities of the Organization related with willingness to change will always be involving and exploring human resources in it. Based on the research, the quality of human resources in the sanitation program found that:

a. **The implementing team:**

Implementing of sanitation program in Semanggi has involved several OPD. One of the most dominant OPD that responsible to do mapping and territory development is Cipta Karya department which is part of DPUPR. According to interviews conducted with the head of Cipta Karya department, they only in charge of implementing do developmental physically, riverbanks region setup and maintenance of sanitary facilities. Focus targets have done by DPUPR was to improve sanitation services and arrangement of slums as aimed increasing universal access to decent sanitation.

The team also joined in a working group (Pokja) which was formed through the synergy made by Bappeda, DPUPR and health services (Dinkes). By creating a working group reflects that Pokja Surakarta already was really well planned in case improved urban sanitation services. The implication is, planning and preliminary mapping of the area that will be built in urban sanitation right on the target. The results shows, that Semanggi categorized as a village in a red zone which means Semanggi is one of most contaminated waste, garbage and have poor drainage. With the presence of Pokja, it would reduce the risk of mapping the area out of target group. As a result, the selected area indeed has a fairly high BABS, which is about 40% of the total population in the village.

b. **Human resource potential in understanding gender mainstreaming:**

As described in the previous points, the construction of sanitation facilities are still only in arrangement of slum and increased sanitation access. On the other hand, the purpose of this SPBM program isn't only to improve access to sanitation, but as well as for adequate communal sanitation system provides, environmentally sustainable and appropriate regarding to the needs and abilities of the community. Community needs in here is meant as the practical needs of women and men which in fact both of them are different. Those things are encouraging the further integration of gender on any policy either in the central or regional level, one of them is in the program SPBM for example.

Associated with the Permendagri number 67 in 2011 regarding the implementation of the PUG in the region, the Government city of Surkarta had not reached at this stage yet. Head of Cipta Karya department stated that they are only in charge of the construction and physical mapping of the territory. The simple concept of gender regarding to the separation needs between women and men is meant only as a purely abstract concept are in fact also not implemented by another agency yet. The statement contrasted with what is stated in Chapter 1 verse 13, claimed that every work unit at OPD is required, that there should at least one focal point PUG or the person who has the ability to undertake gender mainstreaming concept. In the work unit in Cipta Karya department, the staffs are less likely to know what it called as gender mainstreaming. The main obligation which they run is limited to what is contained in the work plan (Renja) in OPD.

Less understanding about PUG indicated occurs due to the presence of socialization has not undertaken by Bappeda with related OPD. As a result, the impact of SPBM programs are still gender blind, by not paying attention to what the needs of the community in particular. In addition because the existences of socialization, the willingness of the staff to better understand about PUG was also lacking. To define the meaning of the word gender, some staff is having trouble and did not know that there are regulations which specifically address the integration of gender in the region. It indicates that the average of the amount employee in the work unit of the Cipta karya department as an executor of sanitation development has known yet what a PUG in region is and what is that emergence.

c. The process of socialization/training to the target groups:

Socialization had been held by Pokja Sanitation program at the beginning starts from planning to the implementatio of the programme in Semanggi. The process of socialization is done in order to encourage the local community to leave defecate habits in the river and the determination of the regions to be built whole sanitation facilities (toilets, IPAL, IPLT and water sources). The socialization program encountered several problems; such as some communities reject the existence of sanitation development as it pertains to the acquisition of land and they have an assumption that it is more practical and easiest way if they do cleaned the bowel in the river. The training was attended by KSM was intended to target community is easier to get to know and understand the purpose of the program because it felt that the KSM are part of them.

Aside from the main socialization has done by government agencies, it is also done by KSM directly within community. Socialization is concerned with how the management of the IPAL and water connection installation procedure to householder. The involvement of every element in community directly within a policy making will have an impact on the high degree of acceptance of the target group where the policy was running. Togetherness in managing and caring for sanitary facilities could happen because every community feels involved in every development process. In the end, among socialization that have been held, the percentage of women presence as members of KSM are not as big as the number of male members who were present. Even if there had a comparison, it is only 1 performed woman out of 10 members who attended the training held by the Government city of Surakarta.

B. Women empowerment within target group

After knowing the level of commitment to the program areas of providing SPBM in Surakarta, the results will further expose women empowerment as parties who are likely to be harmed if there was lack of access to adequate sanitation. Women empowerment becomes the reflection of policy impact in case it could

capable to accommodate their needs as parties who are often being sub ordinate within community. This research shows the following results as below:

1. **Women in gaining access to decent sanitation:**

Longwee describe the access indicator has several points of key questions combined with the Directorate General of Cipta Karya. Among them are, how big the women presence percentage in every stage of socialization to evaluate the program and the number of female cadres within KSM who implementing sanitary facilities management (Directorate General of Cipta Karya, 2013). As a result, both women and men have the same opportunity to be involved in the development process of sanitation. Although, there is access owned by both equally large percentage, but the presence of women in the activities of socialization and training tend to be a little bit lower than man. It is caused by the role undertaken by the majority of women in Semanggi is as housekeeper and labor. Consequently, they prefer to do a major liability as a person who has responsible for all household affairs compared to attend socializing which relating to sanitation program. In contrast to the low percentage of women in the activities of socialization, the numbers of female cadres are being incorporated in KSM quite a lot. Women tasked to do the management and treatment of sanitary facilities. The female cadres are usually tasked to conduct logging charges water connections to home payments, managing of public dues and as an initiator to invite other women (housewives either). Although the numbers are not comparable to the cadre of men in KSM, but the presence of women in the KSM are already said to be able to articulate their specific needs of women in terms of providing adequate sanitation in the community.

2. **Women's participation in the policy process:**

Women's participation in the program through their involvement measured since the planning process until controlling program. In terms of involvement in program planning, males had larger proportions compared with women. It is represented through the participation of women in discussion and

negotiation when conflicts are occurred, very low. In the extension and training conducted by the Government of the city of Surakarta and another OPD, percentage of women presents is extremely minimal. Participants are dominated by male members of KSM. These circumstances caused by the role of women who are be members of KSM was not as thinker and regulator, but women tend to be more taking care of things that are technical as management of dues and maintain communal toilets.

In contrast to men who have a higher role, those who become members of KSM are always doing the coordination with the Government of the city of Surakarta in case how to operating IPAL and controlling the connection among pipe households. From in the beginning of planning until the controlling process, the proportion of men more than women almost in every rules. Women involvement to be said only limited in the implementation of program. As evidenced by they only participate in socialization, the inauguration of the new water connection, manage communal toilets, members of KSM and the utilization of other facilities. Women have not said to be entirely involved yet in all policy making process, but if viewed through participation in the utilization of policy output, they are already contributing, not too significant but already shows positive results.

3. **Control programs against women:**

When women are already engaged or participated in program, the next step is to see whether there is control or not can be done by them. Control relates with ability of women to exert influence on program planning, sanitation facilities management and decision-making. The result shows that women tend to have no control over this sanitation program. Women and men have their respective duties in the distribution of water. The majority of women worked as a housewife who has responsible to collect clean water for daily needs, when they don't have a direct pipeline connection.

Distance traveled from the House towards the source of the water is not so far, thus making it easier for them to access those sources of water. However, when they access sanitary facilities they couldn't get guarantee for being secured and comfortable. The lack of separation of booth in communal toilets between women and men, make women's anxieties will be matters relating to harassment are still high. Plus the area of the shared facilities to access water, washing clothes and other is no barrier or wall with outer areas adds to the sense of discomfort when women do activities there. As a result, women in Semanggi tend to have not the control to do interventions on the program. The controls are carried out only limited on the management and maintenance of communal toilets without can articulate their needs into something real.

4. **Benefits of the program for women:**

Seen from the target group, the community Semanggi in General, feels the environment become more clean and neat after the sanitation program was built. The society usually has a bowel habits carelessly in the river which is 100 meters from the village, now they have access to the five adequate communal toilets. Another benefit is by constructing of new water pipeline connections, now the community doesn't need to buy clean water. They could simply pay charges amounting around Rp. 60,000, each household which has a water pipeline connection. There is no difference within delivering a good service access to women as well as men, they both have the opportunity to take the benefit from the program. Unlimited access to all of sanitary facilities doesn't mean it would benefit both. Women tend be the person who can't take all benefits as man can. By there aren't separated booths between women and men, inflicting any discomfort. So does the distance a shared sanitary facilities are less attentive to the differences between the needs of women and men. Gender responsive development that does not consider the differences needed of women and affected that there is one interest which not be accommodated, in the case of Semanggi, women had less benefited with the urban sanitation program which aren't based on gender responsive.

DISSCUSSION

The result shows that at the first analysis tool (McKinsey) which is contained two indicators on first dimension. System known as a formal procedure and non-formal procedure,

the only one which is presentated the condition of the Surakarta Government of supplying the gender responsive based urban sanitation. The formal procedure indicator not entirely runs by the Surakarta Government that is connected with implementation of Permendagri Number 67 year 2011 about Gender Mainstreaming in region. Mentioned in a research, that is changing in organization can run accordingly with the goal if both system inside the organization either it is formal or non-formal can fully understand by every members(Cerna, 2013). These thing shows how important the understanding and obligations is for every member of organization to run the formal and non formal procedure.

Second dimension of first analysis tool is every staff shows the positive result of program implementation generally, like physical development, training group of target and sanitation facility management. However, the understanding and integration of gender for sanitation development is yet to seen. It shows through the concept of gender which is only understood as an abstract concept which is hard to realize and less attention of woman representation in whole process of policy. It is mentioned in the research, the realization of government commitment in a country or region will directly affect the development of sanitation pay more attention to differences of needs between woman and man or gender responsive (UN Water, 2015). From the first analysis tool which is region commitment, the Surakarta Government has not indicated the commitment yet to his staff for procurement the gender responsive based of urban areas sanitation. These result is gained through analysis that has been done, showed that the Government of Surakarta only focus on physical development without consider the differences of needs among woman and man. In fact, success of improvement against feasible sanitation access will come true if the Region Government can involve the community as the resource in whole process of policy that implemented on the succeed of gender mainstreaming implementation(Morna, 2000).

Second analysis tool is seen from the empowered target program, woman show the improvement of access and participation not yet accompanied with the improvement of control and the benefits gained. Even though, the sanitation

facility that can accommodate the woman and man needs will relieve them from poverty and the improvement of economic condition through the much easier access of basic needs(Murphy, McBean, & Farahbakhsh, 2009). This research shows that less of control and benefits gained of woman which suits their needs due to their not accumulated needs inside the development process. It is the result of the policy that are executed by the Government of Surakarta that is still gender neutral. The policy that is still gender neutral indicated lack of the understanding of PUG in Region Government and also lack of willing. In other hand, the region commitment will be formed if the individual that is involved in making the policy consider the data about inequality gender in early design of a policy(Gine-Garriga, Palencia, & Perez-Foguet, 2013). The result of research tends to support older findings, which is the ability of a region to supply the responsive gender of urban sanitation realization because one of the reason is supported by the commitment of the region itself (Thang, Meng, Chen, Bekedam, Evans, & Whitehead, 2008). The Government of Surakarta tends to less of commitment as expected, so that the procurement of urban sanitation is not gender responsive.

CONCLUSION

As has been discussed, the research concludes that the commitment of the Government of the Surakarta city in the provision of urban sanitation based on gender responsive hasn't done yet. It is reflected through the analysis tools usedboth in terms of willingness and preparation of local government itself as well as in terms of the recipient of the service in general is a society in RW 23 Semanggi and in particular is women. Some analysis tools show positive results, which are related to non formal procedures, the implementing team, socialization programs, access and participation of women. As for the formal procedure, the ability to understand the PUG, the controls and the benefits that accrue to women haven't show a significant results. The existence of local commitment within providing adequate sanitation based on gender responsive is important because one of the keys to successful implementation PUG in region is the presence of local commitment itself.

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THE EMPOWERMENT OF FEMALE-FARMERS GROUP IN INCREASING THE LOCAL-WISDOM BASED VILLAGE-FOOD INDEPENDENCE: ANALYTICAL STUDIES OF NAILA KABEER'S INSTITUTION MODEL

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Abstract

The menace of food crisis encountered by countries including Indonesia forces a region to increase its independence on local-based food. Indonesia's government develops a program titled KRPL (Kawasan Rumah Pangan Lestari/ Everlasting Food-Housing Region) as a movement to support environment-friendly food needs in local regions. Unfortunately, the empowerment of female farmers group hasn't been maximal due to gender-problems.This article analyses the institutionsin KRPL program in empowering women to improve the local-wisdom based village-food independence.

The research was conducted in Karanganyar regency, Indonesia. The primary data were collected by using interviews to informants, including female-farmers group members and the program manager. The secondary data were collected through documentation studies. The data analysis employs Naila Kabeer's gender-analysis model covering five aspects, i.e.: women empowerment analysis, the right and control analysis of women towards sources, institution roles, gender-responsive program and the factors causing the program to succeed. The research result shows that: (1) the empowerment of female-farmers group hasn't been optimal in actualizing the local-wisdom based village-food independence; (2) women have got access towards resources but still haven't got sufficient control; (3) the institution role is still limited at the state and family level, whereas the support of market and the society is still limited; (4) the responsiveness of KRPL program is just limited to determining women as the target of the program and still hasn't integrated gender into all program dimensions; (5) ideology about gender influences the empowerment of female-farmers group in improving local-wisdom based village-food independence. The research concludes that the empowerment of female-farmers group in KPRL program in increasing the local-wisdom based village-food independence has not been maximal. State institutions and family have played their role in empowering women, whilst market institutions and society merely played little role. This research recommends the necessity of gender ideology deconstruction in the society and program manager and therefore this can increase women's control on program resources.

Keywords: empowerment, female-farmers group, institutions, local-wisdom based village-food independence, Naila Kabeer

INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the essential principle ofwomen empowerment is equality in business, workplace, market place and community, this principle is a prerequisite for any society regarding empowering women. On the other hand United Nations Global Compact'sreport describes a group of rules and principles for the empowerment of women, including: Establishing a highlevel of cooperative leadership for gender equality, treating all women and men fairly at work, respecting humanrights and non-discrimination, promoting education and training, providing professional development forwomen, implementing enterprise development, and marketing practices that empower women(Bukhari & Asim, 2013). (Al-Kharouf & Al-Hadidi, 2011),

(Najm, 2013)and (Niraula, 2011)approved that the women'sempowerment programs included the psychological, cognitive, economic and political domains. Thepsychological domain is the feelings that individuals are competent, worthy of better conditions and capable oftaking action on their own; the cognitive domain is the knowledge of one's social reality and the mechanismsthat makes it functions the way it does; the economic domain is an access to independent means of support,which helps to make individuals more autonomous in their decisions; the political domain is the gaining of theskills to participate in and modify the institutions and policies of one's community or nation.In this research will focus on the empowerment of women in the field of agriculture. Since the agricultural sector has a very important role and strategic in a country(Mulyo, Sugiyarto, & Widada, 2015).The threat of a food crisis faced by many countries, including Indonesia resulted in the importance of an area toincrease the local-wisdom based village-food independence. The Government of Indonesia to develop the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region as the movement to support environmentally friendly food needs in the area.

In 2012 the Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of agriculture to implement the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region that's based on Presidential directives on Food Security Council Conference in Jakarta's International Convention Center (JICC) in October 2010 that the national food resilience and self-reliance should start from the household with the utilization of local resources(Kementan, 2011). Program Everlasting Food Housing Region is an effort of land use lawns to achieve village-food independenceat the household level. The program is expected to be a movement from and to the public both in urban as well as rural areas ranging from the level of the village up to the level of the household, in cooperation with the driving the member of the female-farmers group while institution government only serve as a motivator, facilitator and stabilizer over against the movement.A female-farmers group was instrumental in supporting the strategic food independence of the local-based. Unfortunately the empowerment of female-farmers group not optimal due to constrained by issues such as

the gender stereotype, marginalization, double burden, and sub-ordination.

Approach to development of Program Everlasting Food Housing Regionis done by developing sustainable agriculture, such as establishing nurseries and give priority to local resources coupled with the utilization of local knowledge (Local Wisdom) until the preserved natural sustainability(Indonesia, 2016). It is intended because the empowerment of women is currently regarded as a very important aspect for the development of the country(Khan & Moin, 2013). Many governmental and non-governmentalorganizations (private organizations)have adopted the principles of women'sempowerment as a strategic objective for these organizations, where empowerment is associated elements in thedevelopment based on productivity, sustainability and social justice(Oyelude & Bamigbola, 2012). Empowerment in this research is strengthening the active role of women in the overall development. So, women individually and collectively gain knowledge in each development (Al-Zoubi & Rahman, 2014). So, Women's empowerment refers to a strategy to achieve gender equality as well as to the inherentcapacity building processes for women(Suja, 2012). Therefore it is a political decision makers and policy makers should support initiatives aimed at gender equality in all areas ranging from the fields of education, politics, economics, and social events.

Through a farm field in each district or city beginning in 2012 until now to implement the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region. Activities Program Everlasting Food Housing Regionis done with the accompaniment by the agricultural field extension officers to groups of women farmers with the aim of empowering women farmers group members as the goal of empowerment in UU No. 19 2013 stating that empowering women farmers do to promote and develop the mindset and working patterns of female-farmers group, increase farmer, as well as to grow and strengthen institutional farmers to compete and a high competitive power. In the execution of development requires the participation of women in this case are is a female-farmes group(Kirain,

Dipak, Grupta, Pandey, & Upadhaya, 2012) dan (Luh, Wayan, & dan Setiawan, 2015). Village women's participation in agriculture played a crucial role in development, because without these roles will not be able to achieve the development goals(Kirain, Dipak, Grupta, Pandey, &Upadhaya, 2012). In theProgram Everlasting Food Housing Region, one goal is the empowerment of women in managing their local food sources that are on the grounds of the House(BKP, 2017). But unfortunately the majority of the role of women are still at the level of the medium or low empowerment (Kirain, Dipak, Grupta, Pandey, & Upadhaya, 2012). The research result(Yuliati & Iskaskar, 2016)to create the village food independence of villages influenced by four important factors i.e. : 1) provide financial resources for working capital with low interest rates; 2)optimize the use of revolving funds to improve food security through the development of community activities and village food storages to increase farmer income or revenue farmers group; 3) improve the ability of public institutions to develop into one of the drivers of rural economy;and 4)achieving food security at the household level. But it is different with the opinion(Ahamad, Hemlata, & Narayana, 2015)who says that in doing the empowerment of women in the agricultural sector should include lives of women at various levels such as the family, the community, the market and the State. As way as with third concept of Gender Analysis Naila Kabeer, namely the concept of institutional analysis. Therefore, in this study the researchers will examine "How the institutional role of contributing to the empowerment of female-farmers group through Sustainable Program Everlasting Food Housing Regionin Karanganyar Regency in increasing the local wisdombased village food independence?"

LITERATURE REVIEW

Empowerment of women both individually and group needs to be done, because women are still at levels lagging behind compared to men and not to the development of the ideology of gender in society so diskrimination for women.Therefore, the public should be aware of programs that positively impact women's empowerment for families, communities and

entire countries, and social and cultural barriers may constitute barriers to the empowerment of women(Jabeen & Jabeen, 2013). According to(Floyd, 2005)the empowerment means enhancing spiritual, political, social,educational, economic, and gender strength of individuals and communities.By increasing the capacity of women in various aspects so women can be empowered. This is same with the opinion of the(Ahmed & Khalid, 2013)that indicates that empowerment by increasing the power of the political, social, economic and education are particularly appropriate for dealing with social change in General and with structures that are not equivalent in particular. It is intended to create people, communities, and organizations with the coercion skill, confidence, and strength to transact effectively with social change in the world that distributes the needs, resources, and strengths that are not equivalent.Therefore, in this article use gender analysis Naila Kabeer to analyze the process of empowerment in the female-farmers group in the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region through the approach to social relations.

Social relations of gender in the analysis and planning of development developed by Naila Kabeer is there are three key concepts in it that is used to analyze, i.e.,:Development as increasing human well-being; Social Relation Concept; Institusional analysis; Institutional Gender Policies; and Social Relation of Causes and Effect. The concept of Naila Kabeer'sgender analysis (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010)analyze gender differences in the distribution of resources, accountability, and power through social relationships.In this study will analyse the institutional involved in empowering women farmers Group that will elaboration with five tools developed by Naila Kabeer which will be developed in more detail as follows:

**Social Relations Approach Concept 1 :
Development as increasing human well-being**

In the Social Relations Approach, development is primarily about increasing human well-being. It is not simply about economic growth or improved productivity. Human well-being is seen as concering survival, security, and

autonomy, where autonomy means the ability to participate fully in those decisions that shape one's choices and one's life chances, at both the personal and the collective level. Therefore, development interventions must be assessed not only in terms of technical efficiency, but also in terms of how well they contribute to the border goals of survival, security, and human dignity.

Social Relations Approach Concept 2 :
Social relations

Social Relation in this theory to describe the structural relationships that create and reproduce systemic differences in the positioning of different groups of people. Such relationships determine who we are, what our roles and responsibilities are, and what claims we can make; they determine our rights, and the control that we have over own lives and those of others. Social relations produce cross-cutting inequalities, which ascribe each individual a position in the structure and hierarchy of their society.

Social Relations Approach Concept 3 :
Institutional Analysis

The underlying causes of gender inequality are not confined to the household and family but are reproduced across a range of institutions, including the international community, the state, and the market place.Kabeer suggests that, for analytical purposes, it is useful to think of four key institutional realms- the state, the market, the community, and family or kinship. One could choose to add the international community. To give an example of how an institution relates to organitations, the state provides the larger institutional framework for a range of legal, military, and administrative organitations. Naila Kabeer defines the institution as a framework of rules to success especially in the social or economic purposes. There are 5 aspects of social relations that is shared by the institutions, i.e. : 1) Rules, rules on how it's done, what is done, by whome it will be done, and who will benefit; 2) Activites, What activities have been done, who dose what, who gets what, and who can claim what; 3) Resources What are the resources used and what is produced; 4) People, who they allow in and whom they exclude, who is assigned various resources, tasks, and responsibilities, and who is positioned where

in the hierarchy; and 5) Power, about who decides and whose interests are served.

Social Relations Approach Concept 4 :
Institutional gender policies

Naila Kabeer classifies policies into two types, depending on the degree to which they recognise and address gender issue such as : 1) Gender-blind policies : these recognise no distinction between the sexes. Policies incorporate biases in favour of existing gender relations and therefore tend to exclude women; 2) Gender-aware policies : these recognise that women as well as men are development actors, and that they are constrained in different, often unequal, ways as potential participants and beneficiaries in the development process. In Gender-aware policies can be further sub-divided into three policy types, that is: a) Gender-neutral policy approachs, use the knowledge of gender differences in a given society to overcome biases in development interventions; b) Gender-specific policies, use the knowledge of gender differences in a given context to respond to the practical gender needs of either women and men, they also work within the existing gender division of resources and responsibilities; and c) Gender-redistributive policies, are interventions which intended to transform existing distributions to create a more balanced relationship between women and men.

Social Relations Concept 5 :
Cause and effects

Analyze the cause and effect of things urgen, principal, and structurally the most was a factor causing the problem and its effect in a variety of engagement actor.

METHOD

This research is a descriptive qualitative research that illustrates the empowerment of female-farmers group inincreasing the local-wisdom based village food independece.The location of the research in the Karanganyar Regency Indonesia with consideration because the Karanganyar Regency is an area that has the expansive lawns of land and one of the locations was made an example of the application of the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region.

The research on a subject of this research is the field of the Food Agriculture and food agency of Karanganyar Regency, Agricultural extension officers Karanganyar Regency Hall and female-farmers groups Karanganyar Regency.

This research use two types of data, primary data and secondary data.the primary data were collected by using interviews to a number of informants, including female-farmers group member and the program manager.Secondary data were collected through documentation studies. Data analysis in this study uses the gender analysis model Naila Kabeer which covers five aspects,i.e: women empowerment analysis, the rights and control analysis of womentowards sources, institution roles, gender-responsiveness program and the analysis of factors using the program to succeed.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Development as increasing human well-being

At this stage of human well-being consists of three main indicators there should be, i.e. : survival, security, and autonomy. At this stage of this program means the survival Program Everlasting Food Husing Region is already able to meet the needs of the household. In the security Program Everlasting Food Husing Region are able to achieve food security, so every household is already assured of the food problem with the Program Everlasting Food Husing Region. At this stage of autonomy is defined as the ability to participate fully in decision-making in the form of an option and the one chance that both in decision-making at the level of the individual and at the level of the group. In this case the empowerment of female-farmers group in the prosperity is not optimal.Moreover in realizing based village food independece of village-based local wisdom. This is due to get the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region, female-farmers group have to rely on field extension officers who have been appointed by the Department of agriculture and food security section thickness, Karanganyar Regency.Most of Female-farmers group in Karanganyar Regency already has empowered because most of members have jobs, there is that as civil servants, private, entrepreneurial, and traders.The leader

of the female-farmers group in Karanganyar Regency already has the innovation to empower its members without giving it a burden to its members. Already there are innovations to optimize the potential of discernment of each local area. As leader of the female-farmers group of the village Karangpandan (the female-farmers group Al-Amin) that optimize planting vegetables in summer, guava tree planting when the rainy season, and serves excellent products "soybeankampong" managed by the leader of the female-farmers group. Female-farmers group Sri Rejeki that optimizes its territory with orchid plants and vegetables. There have got aid from the Government either funds or assistance tool that's now been developed further. But in the development community can not innovate toward aid seedlings provided by the Government. So, seed provided by the Government could not develop. Female-farmers group Muningalso already optimizing potential. The potential of the region in the form of cassava processed into food for sale as well as selling medicinal herbs as superior product regions.

From the above findings can be known that to achieve human well-being, Program Everlasting Food Housing Region is still at the stage of survival.The impact caused the presence of Program Everlasting Food Housing Region is only able to meet the food needs of every household and haven't been able to reach the stage of security and autonomy.Thus to create food independence has not been optimal. So from the first model, the analysis of Naila Kabeer development as increasing human well-beingfemale-farmers group in new stage of prosperity on the fulfillment of food needs alone. According to Sara Longwee (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010) to achieve the empowerment of groups of women farmers must achieve five criteria empowerment i.e. welfare, Access, awareness, participation, and control. It cause of empowerment of female-farmers group make the food independece of the village has not been optimal.

Social Relation in Female-farmers group

Social Relation in this theory to describe the structural relationships that create and reproduce systemic differences in the

positioning of different groups of people. Such relationships determine who we are, what our roles and responsibilities are, and what claims we can make; they determine our rights, and the control that we have over own lives and those of others. The research found that a female-farmers group known their position in the program. A female-farmers group in the program as the target group of the program of the Government and at the same time as the implementor of the program. All members of the female-farmers group in Karanganyar Regency doing activities that already exist in the technical execution of the activities. For example, a female-farmers group plant that belongs to the plant stalls alive (Chili, mustard greens, eggplant, celery etc.) and plant that include to the Toga plant (turmeric, galangal, ginger, galingale etc.).

On the other hand a female-farmers group are also doing the orchid cultivation and planting plants are also cultivated catfish.Each Member of the female-farmers group who are located in Karanganyar Regency at each meeting delivered the obstacles faced in the implementation of the program.But, for decision-making are still tied to the leader of the female-farmers group. What a female-farmers group leader delivered always adhered to and carried out. This shows that the concept of social relations in these women have had access to resources but don't have adequate control especially in decision making.Because when there are constraints of the members of female-farmers group still depend on fathers who are members of group Gapoktan(Farmer Group) to overcome the obstacles faced and female-farmers group don't have control overresources adequate financial support from the Government.When the aid just go down once and uninitiated visibility will decline a female-farmers group can't get information clarity decline assistance and Gapoktan dominance in the field of agriculture. The Government gives more socialiszation at Gapoktan as well as knowledge about agriculture and the granting of subsidies for fertilizers are also more dominant at Gapoktan. From the results of the findings found that women or in this cause isfemale-farmers group into groups that are marginalized.

Institutional Analysis in Program Everlasting Food Housing Region

Institutional analysis of the underlying causes of gender inequality not only household and family but gave birth to cross-institutional, including the international community, states, and markets. In this study will analyze the institutions involved in the implementation of the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region among other things:

1. The State, in this case is the Government's food security through a field of Karanganyar Regency which became one of the branches of the field at the Department of agriculture and Food Security Agency Karanganyar Regency and Field extension officers who are members of Agricultural Seeds Karanganyar Regency Hall who perform the duties of their respective in accordance with Standard Operational Procedures. As well as the monitoring and evaluation of programmes in the field and running the administration process becomes her responsibilities.

2. Family, it is the role of the family in the area of Sustainable Program Everlasting Food Housing Region very dominant because every household would certainly be a member of female-farmers group who implement the program. Every household is required to actively implement the programs in accordance with the Standard Operating Procedures of the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region.

3. Community, in this case the role of the community there is only on informal groups only. So between the Group of female-farmers group communicate with each other and work together in terms of procurement of seed villages. Their mutual exchange of seed plants are owned by the respective seed villages. There is no existence of aid funds from private parties or other funds of donor agencies.

4. Market, in this research the market not play a role optimally. There is no agency funds from private parties or cooperative so that members have not been able to develop the program.

Table 1 : Institutional analysis of Agencies involved in the Program

Institutional analysis	State	House Hold	Community	Market
State	X	Mediators and facilitators	X	X
Household	Implementor of the program and administrative accountability report	X	The relationships between the female-farmers group in the form of barter seeds	Sales proceeds production
Community	X	X	X	X
Market	X	There has been no access to sell production results	X	X

From the table abovewe know that the role of the dominant in the program Pogram Everlasting Food Housing Region is institution of the State and the family.There has not been the role of the market and society, and the role of the market in a strategy of empowerment that are very important in community empowerment, especially in creating the local-wisdom based village-food independence. It's same with the result (Oduol, Mithofer, & Place, 2017)who says that in the empowerment of women in the field of agriculture requires the role of markets for selling their product. If the result of local product can be marketed with large numbers then to reach women where empowerment would not be difficult.

Naila Kabeer also defines the institution as a framework to realize success in particular in social or economic goals. There are five aspects of social relations that is shared by the institutions, namely:

Table 2 : The relationship between Social Institutions

Aspects Of Social Relations	Description
Rules	The Decision Of The Minister Of Agriculture Number 12/ KTPS/ KN.210/ K/ 02/ 2016 about technical guide Food Consumption Diversity Acceleration Motion in2016
Activities	A female-farmers group do planting each vegetable crop five in every home; Help manage Nurseries Village; The Division of the village Nurseries care schedules and maintenance of aquaculture animals(in the field cultivated Catfish were found and cultivated orchids)
Resources	There is already a financial support in the form of funds and assistance from the Government and tools of human resources in the form of a field companion for any female-farmers group who implement the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region
Community	There is already a relationship formed between female-farmers group in terms of exchange of seed plants but there has not been the role of public institutions that support such as : Village tribunals, voluntary associations, patron-client relationship, and NGOs
Power	The leader of the female-farmers group have full power in decision making, but keep paying attention to the aspirations and interests of its members

So, from the perspective of institutional analysis we know that Program Everlasting Food Housing Region has been implemented based on The Decision Of The Minister Of Agriculture Number 12/ KTPS/ KN.210/ K/ 02/ 2016 about technical guide Food Consumption Penganekaragaman Acceleration Motion 2016. This is evidenced by the activities a female-farmers group do planting each vegetable crop five in every home; Help manage Nurseries Village; The Division of the village Nurseries care schedules and maintenance of aquaculture animals (in the field cultivated Catfish were found and cultivated orchids)with the support of the Government's financial resources and human resources support by field extension officers.There is already a relationship formed between female-farmers group in terms of exchange of seed plantsbut there has not been the role of public institutions that support such as : Village tribunals, voluntary associations,

patron-client relationship, and NGOs. But in the process of empowerment needed the role the role of the NGOs, because the NGOs is part of the community (Finn, Heinrich, & Fioramonti, 2007).

Gender Policies in Program Everlasting Food House Region

Gender policy analysis are classified in four different types of policy, i.e. : 1) *Gender-aware Policies*; 2) *Gender-neutral Policies*; 3)*Gender-spesific Policies*; dan 4) *Gender-redistributive policies*. Based on the category of Naila Kabeer, Program Everlasting Food Housing Region included in categories*Gender-aware policies*because the program has put women as actors in development and the implementor in the activities of the program.However, the program also raises problems and perception of men who think that such a program exists and is made for women. So there is no role and involvement of men in the program.This is commonly called *Gender-neutral Policies*. Furthermore because the program puts women as targets of the program then this program is included in the *Gender-specific Policies*to women. Because only women who are established as the target program, not xistence of a relationship between raises female-farmers group with farmers group (Gapoktan) sothis program called*Gender-redistributive Policies*. This has resulted in the need for the integration of gender in all dimensions of the program. According to the report (Empowerment, 2009) Care International SII on Women's Empowerment revealed that the relationship between men and women in the program of empowerment.

Table 3 : Categories of policy in the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region

Findings	Categories of policy
Program Everlasting Food Housing Region has put women as actors in development and the implementor in the activities program	Gender-aware Policies
A problem has occurred and perception on the man who thinks that the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region there and created for women. So there is no role and involvement of men in the program	Gender Neutral Policies
Women in the Program Everlasting Food Housing Rehion was set as the target program	Gender-spesific Policies
Program Area Homes Preserved Food put women as targets of the program, this raises not existence of a relationship between Female-farmers group with the combined group of farmers	Gender-redistributiv policies

The causes and consequences of women's empowerment of female-farmers group

The cause has not been optimal empowerment of female-farmers group in increasing the local-wisdom based village-food independence Program Everlasting Food Housing Region is only for female-farmers group.So men do not want to play an active role in the program. But in terms of the equation of the position, both men and women equally serves as the subject or perpetrator's development. In the position as the subject of development, men and women have an equal role in planning, implementing, monitoring and enjoy development results (Battjo, 2013).Consequently the aim of the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region to community empowerment in particular of female-farmers group is not reached and the program has not been able to create the local wisdom based village food independence.Therefore, gender mainstreaming is required in all the dimensions of the program. Program made need to be specific as to who the target of the program. And Program Everlasting Food Housing Region is already stated specifically that the goals of the program are women.It's same with the statement(Ara, 2006)say that on every program should integrate gender, because doing so will increase women's participation in the program and the dimensions of the female empowerment is formed.

DISCUSSION

In this study according to the theory of Naila Kabeer at this stage of development of welfare Program Everlasting Food Housing Region are still at the stage of survival in realizing human well-being.Whereas in the theory is to achieve a level of human welfare that there are three stages, namely survival, security, and autonomy.While the result

in a field just to the survival stage only. Therefore at this stage of this one was to be expected that the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region hasn't been able to empowerment women in increasing the local-wisdom based village-food independence. This is because the relationships that occur in the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region this only occurs the connections between of female-farmers group only. There is no relationship between groups, especially relations with the combined group of farmers. As a result there is only the active role of female-farmers group whereas according to the Care International SII on Women's Empowerment revealed that the relationship between men and women influential in the empowerment program. Therefore the goal of the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region has not been able to empowered women in this case are a female-farmers group. In this program, there is only the active role of State institutions and institutions of family, there has not been the role of public institutions and market institutions the programme. But on the third concept Naila Kabeer revealed that to build social relationships in terms of empowerment it is necessary to involve the role of state, community, families and market. The program is a program of the Government of the target program is just for women. The role of men in the program is still a little or even no their role. This is causing the existence of gender integration in the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region. So the women empowerment to bring about village-food independence has not been optimal. Whereas the beneficiaries empowerment program that not only women, but also all sectors of society (Dito, 2013). In addition to empowerment can vary from one community to another, but generally refers to the ability of individuals to be active and productive members in the development of the community.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This research concluded that empowering of female-farmers group in the Program Everlasting Food Housing Region increases local-wisdom based village food independence has not been optimal. So far, the role of State institutions and the family has been active in performing the role of empowerment of women, while the market institution and the community for less active

role. According to an analysis of the theory of Naila Kabeer Program Everlasting Food Housing Region recently reached at the survival course. The program is only able to food needs of households, not be able to guarantee food needs and have not even capable of providing opportunities for female-farmer groups to have their rights and control in agriculture. This is because the relationships that occur in the field only the relationships between female-farmers group, there is no relationship between the female-farmers group with a combined group of farmers. This is because male or Fermers groups consider that the program that is the program for women only, and in certain jurisdictions it is also mentioned that the targets in this programme are women. Therefore this research recommends the necessity of gender ideology deconstruction in the society and program manager and therefore this can increase women's control on program resources.

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Pendekar and Gender Equality in Pencak Silat Culture:
A Socio-Historical Perspective

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Abstract

The *pendekar* was a respected pillar of the community, and in the ideal a living embodiment of traditional values. In essence, the figure of *pendekar* in *pencak silat* is an example of a wise and noble human, a moral and virtuous human, a leader who is devout, perceptive, trustworthy, reliable and swift. This article is an outline the historical life figure of *pendekar* in *pencak silat* tradition. It aims to probe the socio-historical relationship that enacts and exalts the men's position whose role dominantly played in *pencak silat*. Objectives of this article are to examine in detail the origins and spread of historically prominent gender figure in *pencak silat* tradition in Indonesia. This study applies a socio-historical approach to produce an explanation that can reveal symptoms of an event to explain the origin and in terms of social dynamics and the social structure of the society. The results found that in martial arts, the masculinity and femininity are considered non-existent. In being a *pendekar* '*guru*', it measures up by way of *pendekar* in martial arts techniques, power and authority. In fact, the popularity of female warriors as many found in the form of story books (comic books), colossal film and radio series, from various sources that there is the figure of heroism that partially represented by prominent female martial arts *guru*.

Keywords: *pendekar;* heroism; martial arts*;* female; gender; history.

INTRODUCTION

The debates among the sociologists and anthropologists have been many occurred across several academic generations especially on defining the term "culture." Since the development work of Clifford Geertz (1973a), the early definition of culture as the people's way of life, including artificial technology and material artifacts, these are the very things members of society keep each other in touch, have been displaced in favor of defining culture as the publicly available symbolic forms through which people experience and express meaning (see Keesing, 1974). For objectives of this article, culture comprises of such symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies. These symbolic forms are the means through which "social processes of sharing modes of behavior and life worldview within the community" (Hannerz, 1969:184) take place. *Pendekar* is a symbolically defined a great, noble man, wise and tough person in *pencak silat* culture. The question is, can the

pendekar 'traditional warriors' be from women?", do they deserve the position in *pencak silat* tradition? . This question is the heart discussion in this paper.

Pencak Silat comes into existence as a local product of martial arts combining other combating arts of various forms and modifications (Alexander et al, 1972: 15). In Indonesia, there are officially about 820 schools of *Pencak Silat* (Wilson, 2002, Ediyono, 2005). In its early time, *silat* was initially a means of corroborating interactions between local communities' relationship with the kingdom and enhancing the capabilities of the state to prevent foreign interference and occupation. Later in the Dutch colonial era, martial arts cannot thrive because of the prohibition of practicing the local martial arts by the colonial government, while in the Japanese colonial period; martial arts were on its progressed. This occurs because the Japanese colonial era people gave the freedom to train and practice the martial arts. Even by the Japanese government,

there were often held games which gathered some pendekars of *silat* against the Japanese warriors (Aj, 2010: 13, Ediyono, 2012: 20).

This article is an outline the historical life figure of *pendekar* in *pencak silat* tradition. It aims to probe the socio-historical relationship that enacts and exalts the men's position whose role dominantly played in *pencak silat*. Objectives of this article are to examine in detail the origins and spread of historically prominent gender figure in *pencak silat* tradition in Indonesia. The details are significance discuss the underlying attitudes and assumptions regarding the nature and potential character of *pendekar* that associates with the male's role. They continue to act as the major point of reference for measuring authenticity and defining identity by succeeding generations of *silat* practitioners.

METHOD

To understand the martial arts traditions and social figures and imaginary of *pendekar* scientifically, then this study applies a socio-historical approach. This approach is expected to produce an explanation that can reveal symptoms of an event which is closely related to the time and place, environment and culture, where the incident took place, and then be able to explain the origin and in terms of social dynamics and the social structure of the society concerned.

DISCUSSION

Life Figure of *Pendekar* and the Antithesis

The central figure of *pendekar* 'warriors' in *pencak silat* tradition has been associated the hero of *kampung* has its comparable figure across the Indonesian archipelagos, the called *jawara* 'local strongmen'. The local strongmen with his reputation pendekary of martial arts and the supernatural knowledge occupied an ambiguous role throughout history as both defenders of the weak and oppressed people, as well as ruthless opportunists and thugs. (Wilson, 2002).

Indonesian independence has seen the politicization of *jawara* by the state and the military. They were the disliked people but useful, *jawara* were frequently employed throughout the New order period as political gangster. In the popular imagination, the *jawara*

find their antithesis in the figure of the *pendekar*, who socially represents the ideal person that has pendekared *pencak silat*. The historical ambiguity between *pendekar* and *jawara* directs attention to some of the central evidence in *pencak silat* culture between issues of self-control, proper personal conduct, self-interest and violence. Pencak silat seeks to embody in the individual social and cultural ideals, but it is also a form of social and political capital that can be readily used and abused.

The origins of *pencak silat* are shrouded in mystery. The lack of adequate written references makes it impossible to be recorded in any detailed information concerning how it was practiced, or even if it existed in a form resembling that identifiable as pencak silat today prior to the early 18th century. In so far as it constitutes a 'body culture', the body itself has necessarily been its primary medium of transmission. Consequently any theories regarding silat's early history must build mainly on forms of evidence that are not at the core of practice.

The History of Pencak Silat Culture

Characteristic of traditional Pencak Silat, Mix of martial art with magical aspect can affect view of conservative school group over pencak silat as sport. In general they did not acknowledge this aspect and consider pencak silat as martial art. They did not follow competition activity with reason that techniques they have are too dangerous for competition because each steps and attach used inner power that may lead to death. In this matter, conservative school hold principle that its ancestor defines that pencak silat is only used for defense of necessity. Notosoejitno (1997), explain characteristic of traditional school as follow, (1) The leader position is inherited from generation to generation, which mean the founder will teach his student to inherit the school, (2) Admission of candidate student is limited through selection and thigh probation,. (3) Education, teaching and practice method is monologue and conservative. Student should follow what is taught by the teacher and the motions did not change, (4) Provision, rule and code of ethic of the school are simple and unwritten. Usually code of ethic is recited together by student

when they will start practice, (5) Violation against school discipline is given with sanction of termination as member, (6) School did not know attribute or administration and written documents related to organization, education, teaching and practice, (7) The school did not take feed or contribution from member, (8) School activity is funded by school leader. The school teaches life philosophy and body health and also teaches motion beauty by including art of pencak silat in traditional theater such as *ludruk*, *lenong* and *ketoprak*. In addition, the school is happy to perform art capability in public by doing martial art performance in open area in folk parties.

Characteristic of modern pencak silat , the openness is required to develop pencak silat as modern sport science by composing competition system. Pencak silat competition is not contrary to pencak silat philosophy. After the game is over, pencak silat players shake hand as friendship mark with other school. These schools deny view that a pencak silat player did not indicate their capability and focus attention to wining in competition area. In order for winning the game, they are pragmatist and selective that select from various sources. Motion and technique that is considered most effective to defeat opponent in competition area is adopted and taught in the school. Conversely, motion and technique that cannot result in score are left or they are taught for conservation as culture heritage. Rational liberal pencak silat school did not deny foreign cultural element and explore knowledge from other martial art when it may be useful for example taking techniques from Karate, Judo, Kuntao and other foreign martial are by use it to increase performance (Surohadiprodjo, 1982). Liberal rational pencak silat school play role to introduce principle of study and modern sport practice to pencak silat universe. Memorization of motion is eliminated definitively by selecting new practice method to increase motion quality and technique. Practice was done massively; student is encouraged to develop some special technique that suit to body structure shape and their capability as special technique. Teacher explain in detail and deep benefit and objective of each movement to their student. Student can understand and develop by giving freedom to work and having opinion to other pencak silat player and release pencak

silat from past binding to meet era demand and allow transition of pencak silat from martial art science to sport. Notosoejitno (1997), explain characteristic of modern pencak silat as follow (1) Leader and administrator of school are based on election among school cadre that is considered capable of being leader, (2) School is open and free in receiving student candidate, (3) School do not use probation period but is substituted with education and practice era as beginning period, (4) Education, teaching and practice method is dialogical and analytical. Student is given with chance to ask and has right to ask or state opinion on any thin taught, (5) School discipline is enforced through awareness and traditional argument, (6) Passing examination is not only related to physical capability and mental capability but also capability of proposing report of pencak silat theory as result of their research, (7) Provision, rule and code of ethic is formulated systemically and written, (8) School has attribute, administration and written documents related to organization, education, teaching and training, (9) School collect fee and contribution from its member as fund source to finance its activity, (10) Trainer got compensation although there are trainer willing not to receive and the fund is given back to school,(11) It has written administration such as student registration and school documentation. Some example of rational liberal school is Bangau Putih, Satria Nusantara, and Perisai Sakti Mataram in Yogyakarta. According to growing demand of society that is increasingly educated, smart, rational and critical, traditional and transitional pencak silat school will develop and change to be modern pencak silat school with relatively professional management and education.

Pendekar Leadership Characteristics

Pencak Silat pendekar as a leader according to Notosoejito (1997), explained that an ideal leader must at least have the following five qualifications:

1) A leader must possess noble attitude as a man of norms, religion, and a role model who portrays *taqwa, tanggap, tangguh, tanggon,* and *trengginas.*

2) A leader must be *birawa anuraga* (strong yet modest) and reliable, and someone who portrays the wisdom of rice paddy,

the more seeds it carry the lower it bows, consistently and consequently.

3) A leader must be an honorable and charismatic person, whose honor and charisma is not only due to his *pencak silat* skill and strength, but also due to his nobility, religious attitude, and his sincere service to the society. A leader is portrayed as someone who is *sakti tanpa aji, digdaya tanpa mantra,* which means someone who is able without *pencak silat* skill, and powerful without mystical enchantment.

4) A leader as a teacher who educates his house members sincerely, diligently, and patiently, and takes the role as fatherly figure and foster parent who performs *asah, asih, asuh* (teach, love, and care) . This is so that his teachings can be strongly attached and actively grown in the heart of the house members, and that it can motivate them to take the pendekar as their significant role model.

5) A leader is an honorable and charismatic social figure. According to pendekar as leader characteristics, a leader must possess superior personality, an able leader with noble attitude and faith in God.

A leader and Martial Art Ability

Pencak silat pendekar as leader is a person who nurture supernatural powers either from his inner self or from the outer world. This knowledge is passed down through generations throughout Indonesian territory with many kinds of names such as *magis* (magic), *daya linuwih* (supernatural power), *kasekten* (superior martial art ability), and *kanuragan* (physical martial art ability). The world of *pencak silat* have long known those terms. Physical and spiritual knowledge merge within *pencak silat* and are often related with mysticisms, religious teaching, and supernatural power. Through the physical skill, a pendekar expects to be able to defend himself from enemy attacks, and through the spiritual power, he expects to be able to make his opponent not willing to attack him. This spiritual power can also call upon a greater power which results in movement effectiveness and supernatural ability, which makes a pendekar immune to fists or blades. With this spiritual power, a pendekar can improve his confidence and get closer to God the creator of the universe.

As for nowadays, spiritual aspects are limited only within the formal religious teachings and not the mystical beliefs.

Pendekar as Knightly Agent

An ideal pendekar attitudes must reflect high quality moral leadership with an advanced religious background. Pendekars as knightly agents are an elite group who have a strategic position within the social class. Javanese knights must be qualified with noble personality which is manifested within positive actions, serve toward righteousness and kindness, and to be just in solving matters. Knightly leaders as an elite upper-class group of the society are reflection of the expectation that they can be the promoters of noble social actions within the society. Abdullah (1985) explained that there are three essential elements which must be applied. They are humanity, justice, and honesty.

1). A leader's humanity, it means that in life a pendekar must be *welas asih* (compassionate) to anyone. Humanity in leadership quality will directly and indirectly result in God the creator's blessing or guidance. On the other hand, to act arrogantly toward others will result in God the creator's punishment whether in this life or in the afterlife.

2) A leader's justice, this element is an absolute element in life. A pendekar is required to be just in his actions toward his family, to be just in giving decision to other people, and to be just in assessing one's value within the society. This justice element is the one of the main pillars which support the peace in the social life.

3) A leader's honesty, this element is the motor of the two previous elements. Someone whose level of honesty is low will never be able to be just. This honesty element must be started from within one's self. If someone cannot be honest to his own self, it is certain that he will not be honest to his God the creator. Honesty element is main quality which must be possessed by everyone and it is the absolute reason for the existence of humanity and justice elements in living and in life. On the other hand, dishonesty will cause tension, fear, and

anxiety. Ciptoprawiro (1986), explained the way to develop knightly characteristics are as follow:

(1) *anteng jatmika ing budi*, peace of mind within actions.
(2) *luruh sastra*, careful and polite manner in speech.
(3) *wasis samubarang tanduk*, ability to fulfill duty.
(4) *prawira ing batin*, wise in making decision.

With those practices a leader will possess knightly noble attitudes.

"The word *jawara* didn't use to have the negative connotations that it does now. It used to refer to *inahong-inahong* silat (Sd: silat elders), to pendekar" (Personal Comm.with Nalapraya, April 16, 2010). The word pendekar is derived from the base word dekar, meaning to fight with a sword. Colloquially it is interpreted as meaning "short and tough" (Ind: *pendek dan kekar*). A *pendekar* is a pendekar of martial arts, or like jawara, a champion of a particular cause. According to Notosoejitno the word may be derived from the Javanese words pandega (leader), pandika (someone who has pendekared a particular field of endeavor) or *pandita* (a priest or mystic) (Notosoejitno, 1997: 103). Among the Minangkabau pendekar is said to come from the phrase pandai akal, meaning "clever mind" (Draeger,1992:38). In each case the characteristics attributed point to a particular kind of person that transcends the ordinary. To be a *pendekar* is the pinnacle of *pencak silat* culture. Traditionally it has been an honorific title conferred by society upon a pendekar, not only due to martial skill, but also personal attributes.

Popularity of *Pendekar* both as Imaginary and Reality Figure

The development of a hierarchical grading system among modern *perguruan* 'pencak silat school', modeled largely upon the Japanese belt system, awards the title to those who have achieved a high level of technical proficiency in a particular style[1]. In both cases there has been a secularization of a title that has traditionally had semi-religious

connotations. Unlike "*jawara*", it has remained devoid of connotations of criminality. The pendekar was a respected pillar of the community, and in the ideal a living embodiment of traditional values: "[The pendekar is] an example of a wise and noble human, a moral and virtuous human, a leader who is devout, perceptive, trustworthy, reliable and swift (Notosoejitno, 1997: 102).

The image of the *pendekar* has been firmly engrained in the popular imagination via silat stories (Ind: *cerita silat*), comic books, film, television and radio serials (Boneff, 1998:113). Cerita silat constitutes a unique and immensely popular genre of literature in Indonesia, with a history dating back to the 1920's (Suryadinata, 1996: 72-130). The narratives generally follow a familiar pattern, described by Denys Lombard as follows:

In silat stories there is no center of power, no state, no police, and no uniform justice. People busy with everyday activities in their village or neighborhood are constantly made fools of by bandits from surrounding areas that control the mountains and forest, and who also, from time to time, loot and extort. In this pessimistic world fortunately there appear a number of chosen people – the *pendekar* - who live a nomadic and solitary lifestyle, are blessed by the ascetic practices they perform, and possess supernatural powers. Endowed with *silat* techniques, they are able to temporarily break the grip of evil power and provide security to the oppressed (Lombard, 1996: 332-333).

In this world *pendekar* were the antithesis of the jawara, and indeed this and other forms of popular culture has been influential in establishing an image of the *jawara* negatively termed as a bandit, a pendekar who went astray, or perhaps one who has yet to discover their true calling. Physical strength and skill was only of use to society if the inner self was also strong. In the opinion of Bonneff, silat stories were "literature for the oppressed", containing allusions to political figures and events. The *pendekar* used their powers to free ordinary people from the oppression of a corrupt ruler or ruthless bandits. As a result they themselves also became rulers: "the hierarchy of the silat world mixed with administrative structure. With the

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[1] Pendekar extensively distinguished into three levels; *pendekar muda* (young pendekar), *pendekar madhya* (middle pendekar), and *pendekar utama* (main pendekar), analogous to the *Dan* system of black belt grading within Japanese martial arts. It seems possible that the Japanese introduced this system during their brief but influential period of occupation.

social integration of the *pendekar*, the secure limits were extended, so that a state could be formed" (Boneff, 1998).

The Storeis Literary of Activity   Migration *Pendekar*

From literary tradition, epic stories and colonial government reports, pencak silat developed rapidly amidst the communities of Central Java, East Java and Madura during Dutch colonial times. Many poems and folk tales tell highly stylized images of the young master of pencak silat, called jago or pendekar, studying the Al Qur'an, and practicing pencak silat in the monastery as an eager youth. Then, after mastering the skills, the jago rises to the role of opposing the Dutch, by becoming a marauding bandit who steals from the rich and distributes the spoils of this thievery to the poor, sometimes donating it in order to build a village mosque. The legend of these "Robin Hoods of Java" have become well known and their actions are described in Malay and Indonesian literature, some of them in the form of popular comic books. The adventures of Sakera (a hero from Madura), Sarip Tambak Yoso (a jago who won Surabaya), Sawung Galing (a jago from Pasuruan) and Si Pitung (a jago of Batavia) have spread far and wide in the Indonesian archipelago, with many of their stories being passed on orally from generation to generation, and some even being adapted for cinema and television. It is believed that the development of silat in the Dutch colonial period is closely related to the social-economic situation during the 18th and 19th centuries in Java. At that time, pencak silat spread across Java via mass (trans) *migration*, which resulted from the development of transportation and infrastructure, as well as from changes in the agricultural economy. In 1808 hundreds of thousands of farmers from the whole northern coast of Java were mobilized as forced laborers (kuli or coolies) to build a highway, known as the "Grote Postweg", stretching from Anyer (in Java 's westernmost point) to Panarukan (on Java 's east coast), covering approximately a 1000 km (Koentjaraningrat, 1994). In the very little spare time they had, the kuli from each region who were involved in the construction, entertained

themselves and each other by practicing and showing off their pencak silat-skills. Their expertise in self-defense was, clearly, also useful for them in facing conflicts or robberies, which often arose amongst the different groups of laborers or against their often tyrannical overseers and work-bosses. So it happened that different, regionally based styles of pencak silat, in this case various Javanese branches of pencak silat, became mixed. This eventually resulted in the creation of new pencak silat styles. The Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia (IPSI) or Indonesian Pencak Silat Organization is a national umbrella organization for Indonesian pencak silat schools. The members of IPSI are independent pencak silat perguruans spread all over the country. It is said (but official statistics are lacking) that IPSI counts more than 800 pencak silat perguruans from 34 provinces as its members.

Leader's Attitude as a *Pencak Silat* Pendekar

A pendekar's way of life as a leader, according to PB. IPSI (1990), must consist of the following five characteristics:

1) *Taqwa*, it means that a leader is expected to always have strong faith in God the Almighty by enforcing His commands and restrain himself from doing what God forbids.

2) *Tanggap*, it means that a leader is expected to always be attentive, concerned, anticipative, proactive, and to always have self-readiness toward ongoing change and progress.

3) *Tangguh,* it means that a leader is expected to be sturdy and able to develop his ability to face and answer every challenge which comes to them.

4) *Tanggon,* it means that a leader is expected to be willing to enforce justice, honesty, righteousness, and strength consistently and consequently.

5) *Trengginas*, it means that a leader is expected to be active, creative, innovative, empowered, and willing to work hard toward the future.

Such establishment of way of life for pendekar as the leader of *pencak silat* training house is intended to be easily remembered and understood. It portrays religious attitude, social awareness, strength in life, enforcement of

personal and social discipline, and future oriented dynamic attitude. And such qualification of a pendekar as a leader are usually given by the house members and the people within the society who know him.

In the words of Boneff, "the *pendekar* incited people to believe in their own virtuousness and their own abilities" (Boneff, 1998, pg. 157-158). They were 'self-made' men and women whose abilities were the product of their own moral resolve, bravery and discipline. To become a king one required a sign of divine providence (Jv: *wahyu*), however the possibility of transforming oneself into a *pendekar* was an existential one open to all. Their ongoing struggle against the forces of evil was also an inner one, the battle to overcome their own inner demons. The power of the *jawara* and the king derived from external strength, whereas the *pendekar's* was internal. In this respect the *pendekar* represents a unique folk tradition that articulates a relationship between self-transformation, power and authority.

Female *Pendekar* of Silat? A Reflection of Gender Equality in *Pencak Silat* Culture.

Women may have many roles (multiple roles) as long as she is committed to the truth and justice. The dichotomous perceptions in society which discredited the role of women can be overcome if the enacted paradigm was changed on the side of universal humanity. A feminist, Susan Wolf, (1997) said that efforts to improve women's lives takes courage to constantly socialize feminist ideas in a rational and sympathetic. "Being a feminist" for Wolf to be interpreted "humanly", as a feminist is a concept that endeavors the personal dignity and self-esteem to all women (Wolf, 1997: x)

Similarly, in the martial arts world, technical fighting of the martial arts world reflects emancipatory as an extreme value, i.e, when the existence of masculinity and femininity are considered non-existent. It looks whoever she / he is and wherever she/he comes from, it does not need to hesitate in fighting. A male warrior should never feel embarrassed if you have to fight with a female warrior. Indeed, the popularity of the warriors as many found realized in the form of story books (comic books), colossal film and radio series, from various sources that there is the

figure of heroism (read; *kependekaran*) partially represented by prominent female martial arts *guru* 'teacher'. For example, the one who taught Wiro Sableng, Eyang Sinto Gendheng, is a female warrior who had stunned the martial world in her heyday. Nobody can beat Siaw Bwe, the teacher of Suma Han, during his lifetime. Serial Jaka Malela by Jan Mintaraga who featured female warriors as the main character in several stories. From the list (appendix) of the martial arts stories title created by Leo Suryadinata were the evident for various stories that featured prominent and leading female silat warriors subsequently competed the male warriors in stories characters (Leo Suryadinata, 1996. pp. 117-130.)

Indeed, sometimes it is undeniable to give a special value to the women who are "naturally" have certain limitations than men, i.e., whether it is related to the menstruation, or other life events such as women naturally have to give birth. However, this assumption can be rejected by the "feminists", who want to reject 'logocentrism' as commonness. That is, at least they reject the perception of the "common sense" which has been established by male's perceptions and thinking (Jefferson & Robey, 1987:204). Prejudice and social discrepancy have almost never n in the world of martial. The fact is, indeed, the world warriorships dominated by men. However, it does not preclude a female warrior who is able to become a high class warrior. The importance is the talented and perseverance teachers in practicing, and after that every person has the chance to become a heroic warrior. In *pencak silat* stories, no male warrior will win a fight against a woman, and more of the fight as a something given in the martial arts life. Conversations that lead to differences in men and women hardly appear. The benchmark of "existential" is the magic or mystical power level (technical qualification). In fact, the kind of power can be learned. Thus, it is not surprising that powerful female warriors are able to cope with troubles if any of them was assaulted by a number of men. One thing that may hardly found in the non-martial life world. Based on this reality, it contradicts to common perception which says that the only the muscular and big man will win a fight against a little skinny person.

The Ideally personal treat or character of a *perndekar* should reflect a highly moral man with deep religious background. *Satria*, an elite group that occupies a strategic place in the social *strata* of the Javanese *Satria* must meet the requirement of having the properties of noble, laudable 'in manifesting the positive actions, devoted to the truth and goodness, and fairness in deciding a case. *Satria* as an elite group of top layer of society as a reflection and is expected to become a pioneer of social behavior commendable in their lives (Ediyono, 2013, 355).

CONCLUSION

The central figure of *pendekar* 'warriors' in *pencak silat* tradition has been associated the hero of *kampung* has its comparable figure called *jawara* 'local strongmen'.The historical ambiguity between *pendekar* and *jawara* directs attention to some of the central evidence in *pencak silat* culture which took special concern between the issues of self-control, proper personal conduct, self-interest and violence. To be a *pendekar* is the pinnacle of *pencak silat* culture. Traditionally it has been an honorific title conferred by society upon a pendekar, not only due to martial skill, but also personal attributes.

In martial arts, the masculinity and femininity are considered non-existent. In being a pendekar '*guru*', it measures up by way of pendekary in martial arts techniques, power and authority. The kind of power can be learned. Thus, it is not surprising that powerful female warriors are able to cope with troubles if any of them was assaulted by a number of men. In fact, the popularity of the women warriors as many found realized in the form of story books (comic books), colossal film and radio series, from various sources that there is the figure of heroism (read; *kependekaran*) partially represented by prominent female martial arts *guru* 'teacher'.

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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN STRATEGIC DECISION MAKING: OPPORTUNITY AND OBSTRUCTION

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Abstract

Strategic decision making in an organization plays an important role to achieve the desired goal. Strategic decision making is a process of how managerial faces complex issues and needs analytical skill to solve them. The process and steps at a strategic decision include people who work in the organization, so they are able to transform risks into opportunities. The fact is, there are only few women sitting in high positions in organization compared to men. Whereas according to Zhou etc (2014) men in the decision making process have higher risks compared to women. The purpose of this article is to review women's participation in strategic decision making in organization. This research uses qualitative approach. Data source uses secondary data through literary study, both from books and published research on national and international level journals in the last five years.

The results of the analysis show that women's participation is lower if compared to men's. The strategic decision making process is still influenced by strong gender stereotypes in organization. Women have fewer opportunities and incentives in organization promotion compared to men. The inability to manage emotions and many job opportunities in high levels make women less optimal in participating in the strategic decision making. The ability of a woman in management perspective is more effective compared to men. Women can also construct a way out in financial achievement even in crisis. Another strength is women's ability to multitask simultaneously. Some implications from this research are giving an equal opportunity between men and women in strategic decision making. Moreover, organization needs to provide higher education so women can develop their potential to be involved in strategic decision making.

Keywords: women's participation, decision making, strategic decision, gender, leadership

INTRODUCTION

Strategic decision making plays an important role to achieve the desired goal of an organization. The employer and employees should cooperate to make use of resources with the help of applied system. One organization will discover lots of difficulties in achieving goals if it is going without good teamwork. Teamwork among employees will be useful in giving considerations to make an accurate and optimal decision. Employees in any organization or institution consist of males and females. All of them are committing to each other to face all the issues in their organization. According to the research of Valogy, Lessing & Schepers (2000), prove that employees' participation in making decision for organization matters prefer the higher level of academic standardization, higher level of motivation and men to lower level of academic qualification, lower work quality and women. This such situation shows there is a different role in making decision or in making policy from a particular group in the organization.

Everyone might have a desire to contribute in making a strategic decision. This is also said

by Valogy, Lessing & Schepers (2000) that all employees have desires to participate in the decision making process, and that academic qualification, work quality and gender are all related to what they want to join and participate, furthermore, if the decision they have made could give some particular benefits for some particular people. However, if the chosen decision gains more disadvantages to the particular group, they will surely feel uncomfortable and bring disatisfaction feeling to the employees. This perception is similar with the research result of Krishnan and Park in Almeida & Bremser (2015) that either men or women are required to response to the environment difficulties and to make the best decision to market the company. The cooperation between men and women shows a continuity that can help the company or organization to make decision together. However, there are always tendencies in any leaderships and also the involvement of male employees and female employees. The research of Almeida & Bremser (2015) revealed that company or institution led by men tend to use more technology and internet in taking action to reduce the cost and to fire employees. Meanwhile, company or institution led by women tend to focus more on strengthening their relationship with their clients, increasing their employees' values and giving a working allowance and social allowance. Besides that, women are able to contribute in designing an innovative vision to make decision. Even in some other ways, women can bear a new perspective to overcome the financial crisis in the company, and also can play a social role on a global economy life. The impact of women's participation can help to run the company more affectively than men. Some proves that women are worthwhile to take part in the organization to make decision are showed in the study of Laher dan Croxford (2013), that women have higher score than men in the area of Neuroticism, Anxiety, Vulnerability, Self-consciousness, Warmth, Activity, Positive Emotional, Aesthetics, Feeling, Spirit, Adaptation, Tendermindedness, Altruisme, Simplicity, Accuracy, Discipline and achievement. Even though, in the level of depression, women also have a high score. However, in terms of maintaining the harmony

among the employees, especially in making decision, women are dominant (English & Hay, 2015). Based on the previous studies, it is revealed that the role of women in running an organizationwith many different characteristics is worthwhile to be placed in the sampe level with men whom are perceived more capable in making strategic decision.

Somehow, in the real life, the role of women are still being underestimated. Women are hardly to be given opportunities to contribute on making decision in an organization. Todays's fact is still showing that there is a discrimination towards women's capability in running an organization especially towards women's participation in making decision. According to ILO (BBC Indonesia, 2016) the data from 178 countries revealed that the level of women's participation in work life is lower 25,5% compared to men's participation in 2015 with a difference only 0,6% lower compared to 20 years ago. Then, women are jobless 6,2% higher than jobless men which is around 5,5%. Besides, women have longer work time than men.

Those data show that women's participation in work life and perception toward women's competencies are still low. The differences between men and women's participation create a discrimination towards women, which we can see on the provided data about the low of women's role and contribution in work life. The less of respect and the low of work quality are still the reason women are stereotyped negatively and perceived less capable than men. This also can be viewed through the women's participation for the chair of public election (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) which showed that there is only 1 woman of 5 existing commissioners. The percentage showed only 30% opportunity for women being important legislative candidates in making decision (Titi, 2017). Supporting Titi, Yohana in the news article of CNN Indonesia (2017) explained of how hard for women to have a chair in legislative tend to decrease from 23% becomes 17%. She also said that only 77 women are being regents, mayors, vice mayors, and none are being governors. Thus, the percentage of women's participation either in a company or government institution is still imbalanced. Bad

perceptions such as women's ability in managing their households will surely impact their work outside the house and also men will be valued as more competent than women.

In another hand, the study result of Fanani in Harian Kompas (2016) showed that discrimination towards women still happens offtenly. It can be perceived in any aspects, such as politics, ekonomics, social, culture and civil. Tragically, there is still violence, social stigma, domestication, and marginalization. Some gender injustice cases toward women have also been the research of Cross-factory Labor Federation (Federasi Buruh Lintas Pabrik) found approximately 25 cases of sexual harassment to women around 25 companies in industry zone (Detiknews, 2016). Similar cases also occured to female journalist. Female journalist who are working in the studio get a beauty and spa facility, instead female reporter who are working in the real field should take care of themselves (Detiknews, 2016). Moreover, female journalists tend to be perceived as a single person eventhough they have been married and they can not get family allowance or insurance (Aliansi Jurnalis Indonesia atau AJI, 2016). AJI's study in the government radio office mentioned the number of female employees are 45% and male employees are 55%. di kantor radio pemerintah menyebutkan jumlah pegawai perempuan 45 persen dan laki-laki 55 persen. While among 900 structural position, women chaired around 300 position, and more dominant on administration (AJI, 2016). Such injustice also occured in politics, parliament and bureaucracy. Women are always given internal position such as treasurers and administration while external position are always given to men (merdeka, 2015). The number of Indonesian House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia) members could reach 560 members, number of chosen female candidates for legislative periode 2014-2019 are 97 members or around 17,32%. Since our country has women rights to be house of representatives (DPR RI) members around 30%, then it should actually be around 168 members of women in DPR RI. The fact above shows that the involvement of women in politics is not fully applied in Indonesia.

In politics practices, politic participation in legislative institution is still lower than 30% based on Undang-undang 12 in 2003 chapter 65 verse 1 that each member of politics party in public election can propose candidates for House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat), Assembly at Provincial (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) for province, DPRD regency/city for each election area without omitting the 30% involvement of women. Estu further mentioned that women representation in legislative institution is not higher than 15%. If women's representation can not reach the expected number, it will affect the decision making in the government which is done without considering the women's participation. While in social discrimination, women are seen as highly related to household stuffs. Those such perspectives out of any considerations about equality for women will be the root of the perception that women are not capable to participate in making strategic decision in an organization. The purpose of this study is to see women's participation in making strategic decision by considering their potentials. This study is also seen through opportunities and obstacles for women's participation in their work.

THEORICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Making Decision

Making decision is a process to choose an alternative or an action bu using an efficient method regarded to the situation and condition. This is also a process to find and overcome a problem related to the organization. Decision making was about choosing an alternative among two or more alternatives of action to overcome the ongoing problems (Terry in Hasan, 2002; Siagian, 2002; Desmita, 2008; Stoner in Hasan, 2002). While according to Suharnan (2005) decision making is a process to choose as many possibilities in an unstable situation. Decision making happens in a situation that forces someone to make prediction for the future, to choose one among two or more choices, to estimate the frequency of expectation that will happen (Suharnan, 2005: 194). Thus, decision making is a process of choosing some alternatives to be used for overcoming the unstable situation

in the organization and all the problems could be solved effectively and efficiently.

Kotter (2000) explained that the process of making decision consists of: 1) Indentifying problems, 2) Collecting and analysing data, second step is done to help in the process of solving problems as if the data could strengthen the overcoming process, 3) making alternative policies, to think of alternative policies to overcome the problem, 4) Choosing the best alternative. This step might need longer time to decide whether the alternative will work or not. 5) Implementing the decision, should be open to either the positive or negative impact, if it is negative, the leader should think of another alternative, 6) monitoring the implementation process, the chosen decision should be implemented, the leader should be able to measure the impact from the taken decision. Decision making processes are strongly related and inseparable to each other. The process is done through some steps to decide the most accurate choice.

The decision making process needs involvement of some people in the organization. They are both eployers and employees, although in the reality, there are still few employees involved. All circles in the organization will take part and give contribution in making the decision. When the leader is only considering some particular factors, the decision will not be satisfying, even the risk might be bigger. Decision making has two functions : a) as the root of all human activities which are either done consciously or not, individually or in group, b) something futuristic, where there is always connection between now and the future, give long term impact. (Hasan, 2002). It is also cen be said that the chosen decision might have relation with one and another problem. Conflicts in an organization should be handled earlier to minimize the long term impact.

Also, there are some beckgrounds behind the decision making: intuition or conscience that affected the decision making, experience as the prediction for the future, facts in the real life, the authority of someone that has relationship to the position, and the rationality. These are all aspects that should be considered

in making decision although there are some other aspects that could also significantly affect, such as culture, law, politics, technology, health and many others. This happens because humans tend to pay more attention to the exception not the expectation, and also bad past memories about making a wrong decision that always stay in the mind. This is needed in making decision to follow the procedure and make the right decision by using the right tools in a particular situation to avoid consequences from a bad decision (Ahmed dan Omotunde, 2012).

B. Participation

All the possibilities for all the citizens to participate in the public management fully relies on the heart of democracy. In the same time, a full and equal participation for men and women in politics will give a more accurate balance that reflects the society composition, and increase the legitimacy. The politics process to make them more democratic and responsive to the concern and the whole segments of the society.

So thus with everyone on the organization has the right to take part on the decision making to achieve the goal of the organization. Every member has a voice that could be taken for the consideration in making the decision. A person or a group has the ability or the obligation to speak up and act in the name of a bigger group is considered as a participation (Rosieana, 2013). Participation can be defined as the citizen's involvement in the process of identifying the problems and the potential in the society, choosing and making decision about alternatives of solution to handle the problem, the implementation to solve the problem, the society's participation in the process of evaluating the changes happen (Supartinah, 2010).

Participation increases their understanding about how the decision is made, and also decreases the employees' assumption in which can head to another problem. Previous studies have found the relation between participation-with positive things such as positive relationship between participation and productivity, participation and working satisfaction, participation is a way to increase the enthusiasm and performance of the employees, it tends to increase the working satisfaction, and a bigger

involvement will lead the employees to have higher commitment or identification with their organization. (Andaleeb dan Wolford, (2004; Ding and Shen, 2017). Based on some things studied in the participation, participation is an essential thing that could affect employees' performance to achieve particular goal.

Great impact will define the quality of an effective and efficient achievement in their work. Therefore, this should be monitored by an institution to achieve an optimum result. A process of when the employees directly make a decision, that is also the management style is defined as management participation (Kreitner and Kinicki in Ding and Shen, 2017).

According to Davis (in Supartinah, 2010), participation can be divided into some types, such as: a) Mind participation; b) Energy participation ; c) Mind and energy participation; d) Skill participation; e) Material participation; f) Money participation. Those mentioned types are given by some members in finishing their duties and responsibilities. Participation could be individually or in group.

C. Women Empowerment

The concept of Women Empowerment is the result of the important criticsm through the women movement, especially by the "third world" of feminists. They clearly stated women need challenges from patriarchy leadership that had made women have less power the material asset and knowledge resources. Women participate in their own violence until they realise that they should legitimate men's domination first. The empowering starts from the internal but the access of ideas and information will come from the external. With a new realisation and the strength of solidarity, women could clearly state their rights to control the resources and to participate equally in making decision. In brief, women empowerment should be the organized power of citizen's movement. Challenges and the transformation of relationship power are all relied on the society. Empowerment should be the women's strength to response the acknowledment in the developing countries that women are lack of confidence and resources control to participate in the process of making decision.

In the same time, the awareness that women's roles getting more important in the area of social and economy innovation has been accepted widely. If not, women empowering to participate with men will affect partially.

Empowerment is a construction that connects the power with the individual's potential, nature contribution, proactive behavior towards the social policy and social changes (Perkins dan Zimmerman, 1995). Women empowerment suggests that participating with more proficient people will give more advatage to access the resources, and increase the understanding about social-politics environment as the basic components for a particular job in an organization. Empowerment is also related to the perception on how women have not given an optimum impact for the development of the organization becomes capable to increase their life quality through participating in the improvement of the organization goals. Empowerment allows possibilities for women to have connection to the resources. Resources control will allow women to remove choices. For example to choose between potential choices and actual choices (Kabeer, 2001). Women empowerment is one thing that cannot be underestimated. Women's competency and ability are all the same as men's. Empowerment has a very wide definition, such as: Getting an authority. Previous studies had tried to define women empowerment as the ability to control their own lives and be confidence. Women who have many choices and enjoy their power might be the perceived as being empowered. Women empowerment can also be defined as women autonomy, relative access on household resources and control on the power of making decision (Sultana, 2010).

By taking a look to all the definitions, women are those who have self confidence, and critical in analysing their environment and controlling the decision that can affect life. Based on the fact, women existence is still being underestimated since more negative perception coming toward the weaknesses of women in overcoming problems especially in either public organization or privated organization. Even though there are still many strengths of women that can suport the organization such as an effective communication adjustment and organization climate adjusment.

D. Gender Injustice

Gender injustice is still occuring in every aspect of women's life. Women have less opportunities on the work field rather than men, it is proved through the representation in the higher level of management and leadership in an organization. Manager will give more challenges and rules to women rather than men, but less opportunities for joining training or other positive opportunities for women (Stamarski dan Hing, 2015).

Gender injustice is: Marginalization, subordination, stereotytping, violence and more working responsibilities and working hours (burden) or (double burden). Marginalization means: a process of marginalizing for difference gender which can cause poverty. Subordination means: a perspective that a role can be done wirse by a particular gender. Stereotyping itself means giving a particular image to a particular person or group which is derived from a wrong or perverted assumption. Violence means an act of violent, it can be done either physically or non-physically by a particular gender or family, society, or country to another gender. Gender roles have differenciated the character of women and men. Women are perceived feminine and men are masculine. Double burden means the responsibilities of one gender is heavier than the others. Basen on those things, we can see how gender injustice can possibly happen just because the things that are unwanted from a gender, especially women. Thus, the implementation of gender equalizing nowadays should be monitored carefully.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was using a qualitative method. The data were obtained through many secondary sources especially journal articles, organization reports, books, etc. Secondary research was based on the existing secondary sources. The purpose of this study was to explore the women's challenges and opportunities in making decision in Indonesia.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

A. Women's Participation on Making Decision

Participation on making decision is very essential from gender's perspective, for there are more women joining on labor, achieving the gender balance and justice in participation and decision making can cause many challenges for a modern organization. Even, the needs to integrate women in the decision making process has been an on ongoing effort in many organizations. The research result of Watson, et.all showed that the variation of demographic team (including women) can be very meaningful to the organization, especially when they are involved in decision making matters. (Andaleeb dan Wolford, (2004). While Denton (Andaleeb dan Wolford, (2004) found an empirical proof that participation in decision making could increase the performance quality of employees which can bring good impact to organization.

Participation in decision making has impacts, such as: working satisfaction, developing the focus in the information and knowledge fit to the responsibility, and the last one will focus on the commitment. In another hand, participation facilitates the excanging and integrating information, reduces the unwillingness to change, and encourages the team to commit in team's decision and decision quality as the result of the employees' participation is higher than the manager's participation only (Ding and Shen, 2017).

In a organization lets the employees to take part in making decision symbolizes how the company values its employees. This could make the employees feel acknowledged and increase the sense of belonging in the organization. The more significant the participation that the manager give to the employees, the more advantages that the organization will get from the employees. All work will run smoothly because of the employees' satisfaction make them be more productive.

Women should increase the participation onto the bigger number under the majority rule. With a fixed rule, the numbers of women's participation are still not fully chaired even though the rule is actually made to help minority of women. The study result of Karpowitz, Mendelberg and Shaker (2012), showed that there was a relation between gender composition and decided rules where men's communication will increase when women also participate in it.

B. Women's Participation Areas in the Working Place

Women's participation monitoring will be done through education and politics. In terms of education (Astuti, 2012):

Table 1.
Comparison of Government Male Employees and Government Female Employees according to Eselon

Eselon	M	F	Amount
II/a	1	0	1
II/b	29	37	37
II/a	52	62	62
III/b	98	135	135
IV/a	518	810	810
IV/b	541	909	909
V/a	20	34	54
Jumlah	1259	749	54

Source: BKD Semarang 2012

Based on the data, the leadership position is still dominated by men (63%) while government female employees who chair the leadership position are only 37%. Position with bigger opportunities such as being the leader of Regional Work Units (SKPD). There are only 8 female leaders for the position out of 37 leaders (Astuti, 2012). Based on the fact, the decisions made by those strategic position are still paying less attention to the women's side and less guarantee the gender injustice and in education area. This could be the correction on how women can increase their participation in the education field especially in officiating as government employees and having part in making decision. Great motivation and self-quality should also be improved to be in the same level with men.

In the normative context there is already a guarantee of legislation that either government female or male employees have the equal opportunities to chair the structural position as long as they are qualified. According to the government regulations No 13 year 2002, some requirements in the structural position are: have a status as a government employee, competen the position professionally, effective and efficient, ranking, performance appraisal, and health condition. By looking at those requirements, women who have got the position, should improve themselves and their potential to utilize the opportunities by participating in the process of decision making. The position level of female employees is still lower than the men's level.

Next is the politics position monitored through a case study in Bandung:

Table 2.
Composition of Assembly at Provincial in Bandung

Fraksi	P	L	Jumlah
PKS	2	9	11
PDIP	2	8	10
Partai Demokrat	1	5	6
Golkar	1	5	6
PAN		6	6
Persatuan Bintang		6	6
Jumlah Total	6	39	45

The data proved that there is still inequality between women's participation and men's in the position of Assembly at Provincial in the year of 2004-2009. The number of women are only 6 (13,3%) while men's are 39. The opportunities for women are still not used properly. Whereas, in the goverment regulations 2 in 2011 about politics that the minimum quote for women as politics members are given 30%. This fact is the total female members are not reached the expected number.

C. The guarantee regulations for women's position

Gender equality and justice which have been pursued from the past until now. The reason is that many women have not been acknowledged to be equal to men even though the highest power in Indonesia has been occupied by President Megawati Soekarno Putri and quite a lot of women occupy strategic position both in government and private organization. Women are still marginalized and left behind in a decent aspect of life. This makes it an important issue for governments and even women to review in gender unfairness.

Legal regulations governing the gender equality in Indonesia are contained in the following types of laws: Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Law Number 12 Year 2006 regarding Citizenship,

Law Number 21 Year 2007 on the Eradication Crime of Human Trafficking, and Political Laws (Law No. 2 Year 2008 and Law No. 42 Year 2008). Then Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Implementation (PUG) and Presidential Decree No. 65 of 2005 on the Establishment of National Commission on Violence Against Women or Komnas Perempuan. Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights cites the Prohibition of discrimination stipulated in Article 3 paragraph (3), which reads: "Everyone has the right to the protection of human rights and human basic freedom, without discrimination". This is a clear proof that human freedom is addressed to all human classes in Indonesia in either race, ethnicity, group and all people and gender.

The next law is Law no. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties has been last amended by Law No. 2 Year 2011 on Political Parties and Law no. 10 of 2008 on General Election of Members of DPR, DPD, and DPRD which was last replaced by Law no. 8 Year 2012 on Public Election of DPR, DPD, and DPRD members. Both of these Laws formulate rules on the form of 30% affirmative action for women in the political sphere of Indonesia (Kania, 2015). Affirmative action as a compensation for discrimination or gender inequality, marginalization and exploitation experienced by women. This is done in obtaining equal opportunities and benefits for equality and justice in all areas of life such as: social, economic, political, cultural, defense and security, most likely never enjoyed by the social groups left behind. The main purpose of affirmative action towards women, is to open up opportunities for women so that those who have been marginalized can be integrated in life fairly.

The legislation that govern the gender regulation relates to Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Equations which contains a) that in order to improve the status, roles and quality of women, and to promote gender equality and justice in family life, in the community, Nation and state, it is deemed necessary to undertake a gender mainstreaming strategy into the whole process of national development; B) That gender mainstreaming into the entire development process is an integral part of the functional activities of all government agencies and institutions at the Central and Regional levels. Based on some of the provisions that have been presented, the author only review some of the rules related to meeting the needs of women in participating. Besides, of course there are still laws that are felt discriminatory against women, or less sensitive to genders issues. Legislation that guarantees women's rights as mentioned in the implementation has not been felt optimally.

CONCLUSION

Women should get appreciation better than their own talent and performance, and that their participation is not an obstacle in the organization. There are so many ways that can be done in the organization to increase the women's participation especially in making decision. In this organization regulation women's participation and contribution will possibly see themselves as more valuable for the organization and be able to produce more positive perception from men about their work.

Some opportunities for meetings to chair strategic positions open wide through the various regulations that have been provided one of them. For example, the quote for women is a minimum 30% in the political field. However in the implementation, women have internal barriers (motivation, educational background, nature, personality) and external (the treatment of certain parties, culture, professional, stereotype, violence). So this needs to be viewed from many aspects as for equal participation will be properly implemented between women and men.

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MANAGEMENT SUCCESS AMONG WOMEN LEADERS IN THE SELECTED STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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PHILIPPINES

Abstract

The value of women's education has received global recognition over the past two decades. As early as the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, in Jomtien, Thailand, women's education was cited as a top priority for international development agencies. The "Beijing Platform for Action," the outcome document of the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, focused on 12 critical areas of concern. The education and training of women was one of these critical areas. Governments committed themselves to ensuring equal access to education; eradicating illiteracy among women; improving women's access to vocational training, science, and technology and continuing education; developing nondiscriminatory education and training; allocating sufficient resources for and monitoring. The implementation of educational reform; and promoting lifelong training for girls and women. Since the Philippines is considered to be the country's leading in gender equality in East Asia, it is in this context the researcher endeavored to assess the indicators of women leaders' success in the selected state colleges and universities in the Philippines. With this study, the researcher endeavored to discuss the experiences and challenges of women they faced in their chosen profession. The objective of this study is to assess the indicators of women leaders' success in the selected state colleges and universities. Specifically, this study will answer the following problems: 1.What is the profile of a successful leaders in terms of: Personal attributes; courage; Passion; Authenticity; Ambition; conscientiousness; Self – Insights; Capabilities; Cultivating Relationship; Building Organizational Talent; Personal Growth Orientation; Organizational Support; 2. What are the factors influencing management success of women leaders in selected State Colleges and Universities?;3 What are the challenges faced by Women in Leadership Positions in the selected State Colleges and Universities?; 4. What are the coping mechanisms of women leaders in the SUC's?

Keywords: *Management, Women's Leadership, Selected State*

INTRODUCTION

To most Filipinos education considered as the key for the future. According to Dr. Jose Rizal, "Through education the Filipinos can liberate from poverty and ignorance. " Higher education for Filipinas helped them break out of the roles imposed by four hundred years of Spanish colonialism. Under the Spaniards the average Filipina was semiliterate; she could read prayers and write simple letters. Moreover, she was expected to be content with her lot. The advent of public school education gave women the means to look beyond their homes, prayers, and church. Eventually, they saw the gross inequality in Philippine political life and began a successful struggle for political suffrage.

During American period, Education was correctly perceived to be the most effective way to pacify the nation. The network of public schools established throughout the islands helped the American colonial government achieve the following ends: (i) the development of a new generation of Filipinos educated on the economic and political values of American society; (2) the suppression of independence and nationalism, which had previously been ignited by the Philippine revolution; and (3) influence over the minds of educated men and women (including educators, entrepreneurs, bureaucrats, and politicians), through the adoption of English as the medium of instruction, which introduced them to Anglo-American ideals.

The Americanized character of Philippine education affected the thinking and aspirations of educated Filipino men and women alike. It also

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had an impact on the nature of economic, political, and sociocultural life in the islands. Gender roles and relationships were likewise affected.

Gender stereotypes are likewise evident in the occupational patterns among women during the early years of this century. Although a few completed courses in medicine, law, dentistry, optometry, and business, most women studied teaching, nursing, and pharmacology. Although equal opportunities for both sexes existed in higher education, society propelled most women into traditionally feminine professions, those that called for caring and nurturing others. In other words, through the regulations and laws had helped women advance to upgrade themselves and become competitive in the Philippine society. The continued use of English as the medium of formal instruction, accompanied by the adoption of textbooks from the West, liberalized the gender equality in the Philippines.

In other words, there were several decades wherein the Filipina women asserting their roles specific areas in our society. Based on the Human Development Report 2002 (UNDP) revealed that 35% of Filipino administrators and managers are women -- which are one of the highest in the world. At present, more than 2,100 higher education institutions in the Philippines, 39 percent, or 850 institutions, were led by women in 2011 (CHED, 2011). Thus, the figures indicate the reasonable access and success of women in the educational system.

According to Dr. Roman, (UP President) there is a general acceptance or recognition of women's ability to assume leadership positions in higher education. Based on the several studies, the factors that led to the women attributes style are the following: Women are perceived as great social risk takers; Women are better at recognizing subtle facial expressions; Women react to situations with greater emotional intensities than men do; Women have less preference for competitive environments (Niederle & Versterlund, 2007); When confronted with uncertainty, women report fear whereas men report anger (Grossman & Wood, 1993). A research of 7280 leaders conducted by Zenger Folkman (2012) shows that women excel at most leadership competencies. A global leader needs a high level of cultural and emotional intelligence

but above all an awareness of one's own values, purpose, and vulnerabilities. Women benefit from a greater affinity with this type of leadership (George, 2012)

Furthermore, the Philippines are known for its very liberal and progressive Constitution that was formulated during the euphoria of People Power Revolution in 1986. Gender equality is a key element of this Charter and as enshrined in Article II Section 14 of the 1987 Constitution, "the State recognizes the role of women in nation-building and shall ensure the fundamental equality before the law of women and men." Considering the unequal gender relations in the country, the Constitution further provided for women representation (as one of the 9 marginalized sectors) in the legislature through the party-list system (which should cover 20% of the lower house). Finally, Article 13 Section 14 specifically mentioned that the "State shall protect working women by providing safe and healthful working conditions, taking into account their maternal functions, and such facilities and opportunities that will enhance their welfare and enable them to realize their full potential in the service of the nation".

In addition, there were several legislations promoting and protecting women to realize their potential to serve the nation and these include the following: *Gender and Development Budget (GAD)*. Integral to the national plan, it is aimed at "institutionalizing gender concerns in the mainstream development process and agenda and not just peripheral programs and projects of the government"; *1990 Day care Law (RA 6972) and 1996 Paternity Leave Act*. Both of which acknowledge that children is both a parental and state responsibility; *Anti-Sexual Harassment Law*. RA 7877 (1995) an act declaring sexual harassment unlawful in the employment, education or training environment; *Republic Act 7822 (1995)*. An act providing assistance to women engaging in micro and cottage business enterprises; *Republic Act 8353 (1997)*. An act expanding the definition of the crime of rape reclassifying the same as a crime against persons.

Since the Philippines is considered to be the country's leading in gender equality in East Asia, it is in this context the researcher endeavored to

assess the indicators of women leaders' success in the selected state colleges and universities in the Philippines. With this study, the researcher endeavored to discuss the experiences and challenges of women they faced in their chosen profession. The findings offer a strategies for career success and for overcoming professional and personal challenges, but also shed new light on critical factors that affect women' experiences at work.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
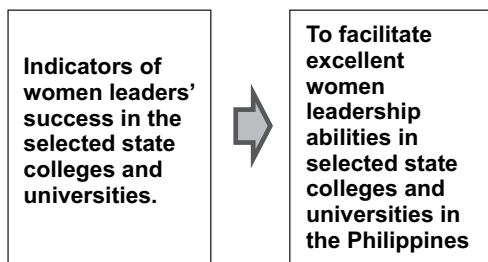
Filipino women considered as one of the most advanced among other countries, in the areas of academic, professional, politics and legislation. Based on the Human Development Report 2002 (UNDP) revealed that 35% of Filipino administrators and managers are women -- which are one of the highest in the world. At present, more than 2,100 higher education institutions in the Philippines, 39 percent, or 850 institutions, were led by women in 2011 (CHED, 2011). In this aspect, it reveals in the data the advancement and success of Filipino women and gender equality in the field of education and every sectors of the Philippine society.

Further, the researcher used quantitative analysis through survey questionnaire to assess the indicators of women leaders' success in selected state colleges and universities in the Philippines. Hence, the findings offer a strategies for career success and for overcoming professional and personal challenges, but also shed new light on critical factors that affect women' experiences at work . Consequently, the results of the analyses can serve as the bases for recommended measures to facilitate excellent women leadership abilities in selected state colleges and universities in the Philippines.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The objective of this study is to assess the indicators of women leaders' success in

the selected state colleges and universities. Specifically, this study will answer the following problems:

1. What is the profile of a successful leaders in terms of: Personal attributes; courage; Passion; Authenticity; Ambition; conscientiousness; Self – Insights; Capabilities; Cultivating Relationship; Building Organizational Talent; Personal Growth Orientation; Organizational Support;

2. What are the factors influencing management success of women leaders in selected State Colleges and Universities?

3 What are the challenges faced by Women in Leadership Positions in the selected State Colleges and Universities?

4. What are the coping mechanisms of women leaders in the SUC's?

Significance of the Study

First, the study is intended to add to the existing body of knowledge on women leadership in public and private sectors. Second, the findings of a study intended to provide insights to policy makers and researchers on challenges facing women leaders in order to effectively and efficiently address them. Lastly, it aimed at empowering women leaders in fulfilling their potentials through adding value on women leaders' skills and strategies.

RELATED LITERATURE AND STUDIES

This chapter presents a review of related literature and thematic outline adopted for this study. These were derived through extensive research from books, journals and other published and unpublished papers which cover Management Success among Women Leaders in the Selected State Colleges and Universities.

Introduction

The Philippine educational system is a combination of public and private institutions with the State providing free education for elementary and secondary levels. The Constitution provides that without "…limiting the natural rights of parents to rear their children, elementary education is compulsory for all children of school age… (Article VIX, Section 2).

There is no general discrimination of girls

in education thus there is no marked differences exist in the educational status of Filipino women and men. Wide disparities exist, however, between urban and rural areas where government schools are few and far between and the peace and order situation often disrupt children's schooling. In terms of general enrolment recent data indicated that there are slightly more boys than girls in elementary schools though in the 1997 the completion rate of girls was higher by 10%. These proportions were reversed in favor of women in secondary or high school during the same school year. Secondary enrolment rate as well as the completion rate for girls is higher by 10% over the boys. At tertiary and higher education level, women constitute 55.46% of the students.

Another issue is the gender stereotyping of fields of study and specialization and its onward translation into the world of work where men generally occupy the highest occupational ranks and the highest paying positions. Women's larger responsibility for housework and for the family impedes their ability to use their educational training and skills for remunerative work. One can also cite the issue of child labor. Though there are more male working children, the 1.5-million female working children are mainly sidelined from school due to demands of housework or assistance in family business. The 2001 Philippine Survey on Children revealed that among child laborers more males (59.6% against 40.4% to female) attended school during the school year 2000-2001. The following further exemplify the extent of women's share in the educational system: Literacy. Nationally, the literacy rate of females (94%) stood higher than the male's literacy rate (93.7%) in 1994. Employing a stricter definition of literacy (by including the ability to perform basic computational procedures), the Functional Literacy and Education and Mass Media Survey (1989) yielded considerably lower national functional literacy rates than those indicated by the censuses; Academic Degree Holders. During the SY 1996-1997, female graduates outnumbered the males in Trade, Craft and Industrial courses (98.6%), home economics courses (93.6%) and service trade courses (84.1%) but were a minority in Engineering courses (19.9%) and in architectural and town

planning courses (29.3%); Skills Training. There were more men than women who are enrolled in Formal.

Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) courses during the school year 1995-1996 with women comprising only 39.4% Likewise, there were also more men who graduated during the same school year in formal TVET courses with 61.8%, leaving women with only 38.2%. However, in the non-formal training programs offered by the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) during the calendar year 1995, there were more female graduates with 54.4%; Education Institutions Officials. As of February 2000, 9 out of the total 1 regional directors of the Department of Education were women, or a total of 56.25%. Educational Workforce. The country's educational workforce is heavily female. In February 2002, three out of 5 (61.48%) school superintendents were women, while 38.52% were men. In the higher education institutions, there are slightly more male than female faculty members, with females covering 46.9%; the above figures indicate the reasonable access and success of women in the educational system. But at this stage stereotyping and pre-determined career path can already be discerned.

Leadership Defined

Traditionally, leadership has been associated with masculinity and the belief that men make better leaders than women. Even though the number of women leaders has improved especially in Africa over the last two decades after ratification of the Beijing conference in 1995, yet, women representation and participation in the public sphere is still small. Hojgaard (2002) argues that the cultural structure of leadership in itself initiates difference. It is only now being clear that women could gain admission to leadership positions. According to Ngcongo, (1993) in Grant (2005), it is believed that in African culture men lead and women follow.

It is unusual in rural villages in Africa to find the man literally walking ahead of women. Different motives may be postulated for this, but eventually it demonstrates the intensely held conception of leadership as masculine. De La

Rey (2005) lists the qualities commonly linked with leadership as effective communication skills, task completion, responsibility, problem solving, originality, decision making, vision, self- awareness, confidence, experience and power. Although it is likely to build up these qualities in any human being in spite of gender, in male dominated societies, as is often the case in African societies, male leadership and styles prevail, and are regarded as the more acceptable forms of leadership. Growe & Montgomery (2000) defined leaders as people who offer vision and meaning for an institution and embody the ideas towards which the organization strives. From that point of view, leaders are identical and genderless. However, there is still doubt when women lead, and in many situations gender, more than age, experience or competence determines the role one is assigned

Qualities of a Women Leader

According to Caliper (2005), women leaders are more assertive and persuasive, have a stronger need to get things done and are more willing to take risks than male leaders....Women leaders were also found to be more empathetic and flexible, as well as stronger in interpersonal skills than their male counterparts. Since the focus of this study is grounded on the challenges facing women leaders in a comparative lens between both the public and private sectors, the reliance of the literature will rely on that line In her book Why the Best Man for the Job is a Woman: The Unique Female Qualities of Leadership, author Esther Wachs Book examines the careers of fourteen top female executives - among them Meg Whitman, President and CEO of eBay - to learn what makes them so successful. What she discovers echoes the Caliper study, including a willingness to reinvent the rules; an ability to sell their visions; the determination to turn challenges into opportunities; and a focus on 'high touch' in a high tech business world. This evidence - that the leadership style of women is not simply unique but possibly at odds with what men practice - begs the question: Do these qualities have value in the marketplace? Is this type of leadership welcomed by society and by the public and private sector? These are among the questions that this study intended to

investigate. Apart from them, the study assessed whether women leaders in the private sector prefer particular leadership styles that is different from those of public sector, and whether there are differences and similarities in the leadership style of women leaders in both the public and private sectors in South Africa.

Other writers openly acknowledge the existence of female traits. For example, G.A. Williams' advice to the aspiring senior manager is to avoid emotional responses to crisis situations, to express hostility tactfully and to allow judgment, initiative, perseverance, determination, integrity and foresight to rule and direct her. These, she sees as female rather than male qualities. But a woman must also master male qualities: to be clear headed, precise and firm in decision making as well as to be available, motherly and sympathetic. This dualism is not expected of men. There are many references to the special qualities of the woman manager in the area of intuitive judgment and interpersonal skills. Women are seen as more skillful in conflict resolution, more concerned with relationships than men and more supportive, caring and compassionate. Thaman and Pillay go furthest of all the writers in making a bold claim for the special contribution of women managers. They argue that universities cannot afford to ignore the strengths of female managers. Organizations need to be concerned about understanding relationships, and women are more likely to have these insights because it is the source of their moral strength. The ethics of caring, and the tie between responsibility and relationships must be recognized, they say, or aggression and violence will emerge.

According to Laff (2006), while this information can be explained in part by female preferences, it can also be attributed to educational choices. Some analysts believe that the educational choices women make explain the low number of executive and managerial women in tactical, science, and engineering fields. According to Nelson and Lavasque (2007), women in the United States only comprise 25% of the doctorates in math and science and less than 17% in Engineering and computer and information sciences. The figures suggest education is an enabler of the glass ceiling.

Challenges faced by Women Leaders

Globally, women experience specific challenges when aiming for leadership positions and undertaking leadership roles. These specific challenges are double burden, confidence, and

Disadvantage from perceptions and stereotypes. *Double burden*, Women are improving their professional opportunities, yet are still responsible for the majority of the chores and care giving duties, also known as the double burden syndrome. This syndrome is particularly experienced in the African and Asian regions, which reflects the responsibility for both work and household. European women are responsible for twice as many household tasks than the men McKinsey (2007); *Confidence:* A major problem relates to women's confidence, in both the beliefs in their own abilities, as well as in the capability of communicating confidence. This will be discussed extensively in later sections. As an example, research amongst MBA women shows that while the majority of women consider themselves equally capable as their co-workers, the majority of men consider themselves more capable than their co-workers (Eagly, 2003). In an environment where the behaviors expected are still male dominated, female-specific communication can be interpreted negatively; *Gender Bias and stereotypes*: Unfortunately, women do experience a strong gender bias when being evaluated for promotions on both their level of performance as well as their potential impact. Research within professional groups show that women have to significantly work harder to be perceived as equally competent as men (Lyness & Heilman, 2006). Moreover, unfortunate assumptions are sometimes made about women's ambitions and

Abilities. Research by DDI (Development Dimensions International, 2009) shows those women

Do not excel sufficiently in their career due to assumptions on women's' ambitions such as women having less ambition and a lesser company commitment due to family responsibility. Yet, women and men hardly differ in their ambitions. Catalyst shows that there is hardly a difference between senior men and women when aspiring for the highest roles in the company

(Catalyst, 2004). Furthermore, women struggle with so-called second generation gender biases, which are "powerful yet often invisible barriers to women's advancement that arise from cultural beliefs about gender, as well as workplace structures, practices, and patterns of interactions that inadvertently favor men" (Ely, Ibarra, & Kolb, 2011, p. 4). These second-generation gender biases have recently been discussed as causes for women's underrepresentation on boards.

As of 2005 women accounted for 46.5% of the United States workforce, but for less than 8% of its top manager positions although at Fortune 500 companies the figure was a bit higher (The Economist, 2005). Female managers' earnings now average 72% of their male colleagues' (Emory, 2008). Often cited as the reason for why women are not represented in top management positions is the "glass ceiling." The glass ceiling effect is defined as an unofficial

barrier to opportunities within an organization or company preventing a protected classes of workers, particularly women, from advancing to higher positions (Glass Cliff, 2008; Olin, et al., 2000). According to Helfat et al. (2006), the percentage of women in executive positions is gender specific. For example, industries with the highest percentage of women executives include publishing and printing (15.8%), transportation equipment (15.7%), securities (14.8%), healthcare (14.6%), temporary help (14.5%), airlines (13.8%), and food Services (13.6%). In contrast, industries with women holding the least amount of executive positions include semiconductors (1.3%), energy (2.8%), waste management (3.6%), trucking (3.8%), aerospace (3.8%), mail, package, and freight delivery (3.8%), and pipelines (3.9%).

Du Plessis and Barkhuizen (2012) focused their inquiry on the career path barriers that women engineers experience. Their findings echo international research in that they identified inadequate training and mentorship opportunities as the primary professional barriers to integrating women in the field of engineering. The authors also conclude that the most significant psychological barrier is gender

discrimination. Similarly, Damaske (2011) found that negative psychological experiences, like gender stereotyping and discrimination in male occupations, caused women's movement from male-dominated to female-dominated occupations. Feelings of bias and under-utilisation amongst women in male-dominated occupations are common (cf. Feyerherm & Vick, 2005).

Other psychological barriers that inhibit women from reaching their potential in male-dominated occupations relate to their own stereotypical gender role expectations. These include stereotypical questions about women's competence and gender-role ideologies that lead to them feeling inadequate and to having low self-efficacy and low self-confidence (Damaske, 2011; Lewis-Enright et al., 2009; Mathur-Helm, 2006; Shantz & Wright, 2011). Researchers have noted that salary inequities (or the female-male pay gap) exemplify gender inequality and discrimination and inhibit women's career progression (Ashraf, 2007; Feyerherm & Vick, 2005; Hicks, 2012). As a result, women feel that their organizations do not take them seriously, that they do not receive challenging opportunities and subsequently do not receive the pay or positions commensurate with their talents.

Common Barriers among Women Leaders

Selection Process. One of the most common and well known barriers to career advancement is that of the selection process used by most companies. As indicated previously, the pool of women that are qualified for promotion to executive positions is quite small and therefore women simply cannot be promoted. According to Burke and Nelson (2000), 82% of firms stated that lack of general management skills and line experience was a major contributing factor in her decisions not to promote women. However, another study finds some firms have a large pool of qualified women and simply do not consider them for the position (Burke, et al., 2000). Another rationale is that existing top management positions are held by men who tend to promote other men who are similar to themselves (Van Vianen & Fischer, 2002). *Workplace Relationships.* Another organizational

barrier is the relationships many women have with their mentors, bosses, and female co-workers. Most employees tend to bond through similar interests. Since there tend to be few executive women; many women are unable to find a female mentor. *Globalization.* Globalization presents many new barriers for women. Senior level managers and top executives now have even more responsibility and higher expectations than before. Due to the time pressures and relocations of many businesses, top executives have had to move to new towns, cities, and countries. This presents a large barrier for many women with families and a working spouse or significant other (Wellington, Kropg, & Gerkovich, 2003). *Internal Motivation.* Many senior executive and top management claim that women simply do not have a desire to excel in their current job positions. However, a recent study indicated that 55% of women not in management positions desire to be in the top most levels of their organizations. Annis (2008) finds many women lose their drive to excel due to the many obstacles met along the path of becoming a manager. These obstacles include discrimination, stereotyping, prejudice, family demands, and lack of opportunities (Emory, 2008).

The above literatures and studies serve as the indicators in the present study. Based on the above discussion, the decision making' reveal key gender distinctions in the behaviors between women and men, and how these behavioral differences influence and shape decisions as well as the outcomes of leadership styles employed in an organization.

METHODOLOGY

The topics discussed in this chapter include the method of research or research design, sampling procedure techniques and instruments used, and the statistical treatment of data.

A. Research Method Used

The researcher used the descriptive method. According to Calderon and Gonzales (1993), descriptive research is a fact-finding study with adequate and accurate interpretation of findings. It describes with emphasis what actually exists, such as current conditions,

practices, solutions and other phenomena. Descriptive research satisfies the requirements of the present investigation since it assess the indicators of women leaders' success in selected state colleges and universities in the Metro Manila for the S.Y.2015- 2016. The description is used for frequencies, averages and other statistical calculations. Prior to writing descriptive research, to conduct investigation is often the best approach. The aim of the method is to gather information that about the indicators of women leaders' success in selected state colleges and universities in Metro Manila specifically in the following institutions, namely: Rizal Technological University, Pamantasan ng Pasig, Pamantasan ng Makati, Polytechnique University of the Philippines. Survey is a method that involves determining information about variables rather than about individuals. Survey studies are employed to employ to measure existing phenomenon without inquiring into

why it exists. However, there are only 80 women administrators from the head up to the Vice presidents are covered in this study and who are willing to answer the questionnaire and served as the part of the sampling.

Table 1 show that the total number of respondents is 80 government employees in selected state colleges and universities.

As to age, majority of the respondents are those with ages ranging from 46 to 60. This implies that the respondents in this study are in adulthood period. In terms of educational attainment, the greater number of respondents is doctorate degree with 50 out of 80 respondents.

Is the profile of a successful leaders in terms of: Personal attributes; courage; Passion; Authenticity; Ambition; conscientiousness; Self – Insights; Capabilities; Cultivating Relationship; Building Organizational Talent; Personal Growth Orientation; Organizational Support;

Table 1

Distribution of Respondents by Age, Educational Attainment

Profile Variable	RTU (20)		PLP (20)		UM (20)		PUP (20)		Total Group N=80	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Educational Attainment										
College Degree	5	25	4	20	5	25	5	5	24	30
MA Degree	5	25	6	62.67	5	25	5	5	26	32.5
Doctorate	10	50	10	7.042	10	50	10	10	50	62.5
Degree										
Age										
25 to 35	5	25	3	15	5	25	5	25	28	35
36 to 45	5	25	7	35	5	25	5	25	22	27.5
46 to 60	10	50	6	25	5	25	5	25	26	32.5
No response	0	0	4	20	5	25	5	25	15	18.75

Table 2
Profile of the Successful Women Leaders

Profile Of the Successful Women leaders	RTU		PLP		UM		PUP	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Courage	30.5	1	~~335~~	1	34.2	1	~~32.1~~	2
Passion	25.5	~~5~~	26.5	5	28.5	4	27.2	4
Authenticity	28.7	3	28.6	3	29.2	3	26.3	5
Ambition	20.1	9	20.2	10	21.8	9	22.2	8
Conscientious	30.1	2	31.2	2	32.1	2	33.4	1
Self- insights	27.0	4	28.2	4	29.	5	29.1	3
Capabilities	25.2	6	26.2	6	25.1	6	26.2	5
Cultivating	20.1	9.5	21.3	8	22.1	7	22.3	6
Relationships	25.1	7	25.2	6	21.5	10	22.1	7
Building organizational Talent	20.2	8	21.4	7	22	8	22	9
Personal Growth	19	11	19.2	11	19.3	11	20.1	11
Orientation Organizational Support	20	10	21.2	9	21.2	9	21.2	10

Based on table 2 among the selected colleges and universities the qualities that attributes to the women leaders are the following: Courage (1), Conscientious (2), Authenticity (3), Self – Insight (4), Passion (5), Capabilities (6), Relationship (7), Building Organizational Talent (8), cultivating relationship and Ambition (9), orientation Organizational support (10), Personal growth (11).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Based on the results and discussion, the following summary of findings is drawn:

1. *The profile of successful women leaders.*

The qualities that attributes the women leaders are the following: Courage (1), Conscientious (2), Authenticity (3), Self – Insight (4), Passion (5), Capabilities (6), Relationship (7), Building

Organizational Talent (8), cultivating relationship and Ambition (9), orientation Organizational support (10), Personal growth (11).

2. *The factors influencing management success of women leaders in selected State Colleges and Universities.*

The factors influencing management success of women leaders in selected State Colleges and Universities are educational attainment, training and dealing with her subordinate.

3. *The challenges faced by Women in Leadership Positions in the selected State Colleges and Universities.*

The individual differences, cultural diversity of the subordinates and budget for the institutions for the welfare of the students and employees.

4. *The coping mechanisms of women leaders in the SUC's.*

Going to church and organizing team building to build a better relationship among co- workers.

CONCLUSIONS

Based from the findings, the following conclusions are forwarded:

1. Courage is considered as the leading qualities of the success of the women leader among state colleges and universities.
2. Educational attainment and training is the factors influencing management success of women leaders in selected State Colleges and Universities.
3. The individual differences, cultural diversity of the subordinates and budget for the institutions for the welfare of the students and employees.
4. Going to church and organizing team building to build a better relationship among co- workers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the findings and conclusions, the following are the recommendations:

1. Good character must be a leading quality to continue success and contribute in the welfare of the institutions.
2. Every faculty members and belong to educational institutions must be encouraged achieve quality excellence.
3. Flexibility is important and maintains among women leaders to restore harmonious relationship among co- workers.
4. Team building, training must continue to develop professional growth among women leaders in higher education institutions (HEIs).

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICAL DYNASTY
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN BANTEN PROVINCE
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF GOVERNOR RATU ATUT CHOSIYAH

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Abstract

Post-the adoption of a new paradigm of local autonomy and decentralization, including in the political field (Devolution of power), which one of the form is the implementation of direct elections for regional head. The dynamics of local politics marred by the issue of political dynasty or political kinship that been conducted by the head of the region. In practice, the political dynasty is an attempted to "maintain" and eternally in power, by putting the family, relatives, and relatives, at strategic positions (executive, legislative, and judicial branch). This study is trying to explore and understand, how the political dynasty can be influencing the development of democratic life in Banten Province under the leadership of Ratu Atut Chosiyah. Hypothetically, the practice of political dynasties in Banten could hamper the process of consolidation, institutionalization, and the development of democracy in the region. The important democratic principles such as participation, equality, also fair and open competition could be easily negated. The study utilized a qualitative approach with method of data collection is a combination of interviews the eligible informant, phenomenological study of the facts developed in the public domain and an appraisal of the sources based on information and/or reports in the mass media. The results showed that the practice of political dynasties in Banten Province could hamper the process of consolidation and institutionalization of democracy, at the same time adversely affect the prospects of its development in the future.

Keyword: *Decentralization, Political dynasties, Political Kinships, Democracy*

INTRODUCTION

After Suharto's resignation as President of the Republic of Indonesia on May 21, 1998, the passion and spirit of democracy grew everywhere. The situation, according to Haryanto (2009), has changed the political system and gave birth to reforms that provide opportunities for the ongoing democratization in Indonesia. In the context of the scope of actors in the organizing of power, Djafar (2008)sees a significant change, in which the actors involved in the power process are increasingly pluralistic. Vertically, the change in power shows that politics is no longer dominated by the central government.

Although not always easy to realize, democracy is believed by many parties to be the most appropriate style, in conformity with the human nature that requires equality, freedom, and mutual participation, to realize the governance of society and better state in the future. That is why various efforts of

institutional arrangement of the political system as a manifestation of democratization are done in various domains of political life, starting from election implementation, arrangement of state political institutions, new arrangement of central-regional government relations, strengthening interest groups, etc(Marijan, 2011).

However, the road to democracy is not always easy to achieve. Such a phenomenon also happened in Indonesia after the collapse of the authoritarian regime of the New Order. The transition from a centralized, non-democratic regime to truly democratic government and political life proves not to be easy to go through it. Various obstacles and distortions, coloring the landscape of political life and the agenda of democratic consolidation in Indonesia. One of the problematic constraints, which is also a paradox in the framework of democratization and the better arrangement of political life is the

issue of political dynastic phenomena in various regions.

Political dynasty, generally interpreted as a model of power dominated by one family and or relatives, built through certain mechanisms and strategies that allow the process of inheritance of power takes place for generations or circles in the family or relatives. Querubin (2016) defines the political dynasty as a particular form of elite persistence in which a single or few family groups monopolize political power. Indeed, the practice of political dynasties is a traditional legacy of the history of power management in the era of monarchy (before democracy). It is characterized by the basic characteristic, that the power within the grip of a ruler (king, emperor, sultan, or whatever his name) is regarded as the privilege of the respective ruler who, therefore, that power can be passed down from generation to generation to family and relatives.

In the case of Banten Province, the initial symptom of the formation or revival of political dynasty or kinship politics began since Governor Election in 2001. The first governor election of Banten province, after being separated from West Java and becoming its own province. At that time, Tb. Chasan Sochib, a *Jawara* and businessman who has been famous since the New Order era and is one of the important figures for the establishment of Banten Province, succeeded in placing his eldest daughter, Ratu Atut Chosiyah in the post of Vice Governor accompanying Djoko Munandar through a very dynamic competition in the direct local election, which is still the authority of the DPRD (Hamid, 2010)

In October 2005, Governor Djoko Munandar was temporarily discharged from his post by the President after being named as a corruption suspect for housing funding for the members of the Banten Legislative Assembly (DPRD), and in December 2015 Djoko was convicted and sentenced to 2 years in prison. In accordance with the provisions of the law, Ratu Atut as Vice Governor and then inaugurated as Executive Task of Banten Province Governor. Then about a year later, in 2006, Ratu Atut ran for the first direct local election as a candidate for governor accompanied by Masduki as

deputy governor, who was then elected as the winner. Since then the great family of Ratu Atut and his relatives entered the political arena, both in the legislative and executive bodies, even in the future penetrated more widely to the various aspects of the life of the people of Banten.

The expansion and spreading (proliferation) of the political dynasty during the era of Governor Ratu Chosiyah is mapped in detail in the article entitled "The Symbol of Proliferation of Political Dynasty in Banten Leadership Era of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah" (Sutisna, 2017). The article has maped the proliferation of the Ratu Atut dynasty in the various non-state (executive and legislative) arenas, such as business, social-educational organizations, youth organizations, even arts and cultures.

Hypothetically, the political dynasty exerted a particularly bad influence on the context of the need for strengthening and the development of democracy, especially at the local level. Based on Sidel's (1999) about the local bossism, it is concluded that the presence of oligarchic models, personalize, and clientelism– all of these are the essence of the characteristics of political dynasties-have hampered the process of consolidating and building democracy at the local level. In his other book, Sidel even accused the dynastic politics as the most responsible variable for the rise of political personalization and the weak capacity of state and political institutions. The decision-making process is no longer based on the process of instrumental rationality, but rather based on individual decisions of the members of the ruling dynasty. Institutionalization of political parties is also clogged because the principle of meritocracy is subdued by blood and family relationships.

Meanwhile, Agustino (2010), sees the bad influence of the political dynasties on aspects of social, political and economic development, which has resulted in political and economic opportunities of every citizen to be very limited. Not only are they limited, those opportunities are also assumed to be monopolized by rulers and groups close to the holder of power (family and relatives). In addition, this practice not only ensures that a person can monopolize economic and political resources, but also make it easier

for them to have a place or position in power and to use political and economic resources on a wider level. This situation is of course unjust and discriminatory from the perspective of equality as one of the most essential values of democracy.

1. **Research Scope.**

Based on the description on the problems background on the above, this study seeks to explore and mapping out how the implications of political dynasties in the era of leadership of the Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah in Banten Province (2006-2013) on the development of democracy. The study of the implications of the political dynasties, is limited to 3 (three) important aspects in the framework of electoral democratic events;(1) Institutionalization of political parties as a supplier as well as a way for the best local leaders with the integrity, to have the opportunity to lead the region; 2) Participation of the citizens in a series of events of the direct local election, and;(3) The competition of the election candidates.

2. **Research Method.**

This research is using Qualitative approach. This method was chosen in view of the wide scope of the problem and the multi-dimensional phenomenological relevance of the issues, data / information, facts, and empirical events. The use of this method aims to make the subject and scope of the research problem can be explored and understood in a comprehensive and in-depth manner.

The data in this study are explored and collected with various techniques that commonly used in qualitative research, but in using it depends on the type and scope of the required data. For a variety of secondary data, such as similar study literature and academic value references (books, journals, and scientific papers, such as thesis and dissertations), relevant documents and laws, as well as other written sources such as news and opinion articles in the mass media, and anything else collected using document study techniques.

In collecting primary data in this research is using semi-structured interview technique and done with direct face to face with the informant. Interviews were conducted with using the topic guides techniques, where the interviews focused more on the topic, not on questions. Beside the two data collection techniques, to get a picture, especially the "full psycho-political atmosphere" of the research location, that can grasp and understand the "socio-political situation" for the data analysis stage and the presentation of research results, the researcher also did a Direct observation of the research sites, especially on places or locations in Banten that have thematic links with data / information required. In the last stage, for various data or information (including thoughts, views, and attitudes) from the informant and / or data as well as information derived from secondary sources that are convergent, inconsistent, and even contradictory, the researcher uses a triangulation technique with as necessary.

The number of informants in this study was chosen based on characteristics commonly used in qualitative approaches. Based on Spradley's suggestion (Sugiyono, 2008)informants in this research are people who have a deep and extensive involvement with the issue of the local politics dynamics (Banten), especially related to the direct regional heads election; understand the context and substance of the subject; and can be expected to be objective in providing views andattitude to every aspect of the research issues asked. The technique of data analysis in this study is using the model offered by Miles and Huberman (Sugiyono, 2008), a technique where the data are analyzed interactively and continuously to complete, or the researcher assumes the data and the information needed is adequate (data saturated).

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. **The Political Dynasty.**

Revivalism of the political dynasties in the modern era, as indicated by many studies in different countries, has a very close relationship with family interests or the kinship politics. Family interests often become the basis for the growth, development, and expansion of political dynasties in a democratic political system.In the tradition of kinship politics, family members who have become rulers or public office in general will nepotism by giving special treatment to family members or relatives, not to prosper

the people and promote the region, but in order to build and strengthen their family network of power.

In a study conducted by Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984), argued that giving priority to family members and relatives in political life was based on 4 (four) arguments: (1) Trust, the family or relative is more trustworthy and impossible to betray as commonly practiced by power-hunting politicians; (2) Loyalty, the family member o relatives will have a high level of loyalty in the context of carrying out all political duties especially in respect of the dignity and honoring the relative rather than others; (3) Solidarity, relatives certainly will be more have a strong level of solidarity, especially in helping family clans from degradation of power and wealth than the outsiders of the family or relatives; (4) Protection, related to the goalfor maintaining the prestige and honor of the family. Those who belong to the inside of the clan will tend to be able to keep what the family has rather than given to others.

Hypothetically, the political dynasty will go to the various problematic threats in political situation and condition at the local level. In the framework of consolidation of local democracy, political dynasties will narrow the sphere of public participation as well as negate one of the basic principles of democracy, political equality. More deeply, the political dynasties will be strengtheningthe oligarchic symptoms in areas that had an impact to weaken the check and balance mechanism because most of the political positions are controlled by the family or relatives. Amich Alhumami (2012)a social researcher at the University of Sussex England, sees the political kinship or political dynasty is out of the principle of meritocracy. The recruitment process is based on family sentiments, not based on competence, if this things still continues, these symptoms can be counterproductive in the work of establishing a modern democratic system. The control of power by a group of local elites or the family members will finally contribute to the vulnerability of several kinds of miss conduct on the political and economic power.

In the context of the local economy, political dynasties can also give birth to clientilistic capitalism as part of cronyism, in which economic investors can not be free to do their activities, because always get asked for tribute by relatives of the regional head. While Agustino (2014) observes that the practice of political dynasties exerts a negative influence on the socio-political and socioeconomic development, because the political and economic opportunities of every citizen were limited because of the monopolized by the authorities and their families or relatives.

In the context of this study as stated above, the political dynasty gave rise to bad implications for at least 3 (three) important aspects in the framework of electoral democratic events (Direct local election) as one way of the new institutionalism for achieving the democratic political life. The three affected aspects are: (1) Institutionalization of political parties as suppliers as well as the path of the best local leaders with integrity have the opportunity to lead their regions;(2) Aspects of the voter participation, and; (3) Aspect of competition between candidates. In the case of Banten as described in the discussion, in these three aspects it can be clearly seen how the political dynasty has had a negative impact on the election process as a way to consolidate and develop regional democracy.

2. Banten Political Dynasty.

The study of political dynasty in Banten has been done by some scholars(Agustino, 2010) (Hamid, 2010)(Agustino, 2014)(Kenawas, 2015). However, they did not specifically address theimplication ofpolitical dynasty to the development of democracy.

Agustino(2010), in an article titled " The Political Dynasty Post the New Order Autonomy: Banten Experience". Examines two important points of phenomena concerning the emergence of a political dynasty in Banten that is, the emergence of the dynasty and its impact in political-economict. Using the elite approach that focuses on the issue of political dynasties within the framework of the study of the role of the political elite in the structure of society, Agustino concludes that the emergence of political dynasties in Banten is inseparable from the role and character of Chasan Sochib (Ratu Atut's father) as a local elite with the ambition of

successfully controlling the Economic-political life, after Banten became a province in 2000. Sochib's ambition to dominate Banten's politics was accomplished by "easy way" through the opening of opportunities provided or created by the cause of the process of political change from the authoritarian era to the democratic era.

Meanwhile, in the article "The Rise of Political Dynasty in a Democratic Society" (Kenawas, 2015)in generaly concluded, that the critical success factor in building a political dynasty is the support of the power of informal family networks and the accumulation of material wealth (financial). In the case of Banten, Yoes (2015) concluded that the emergence of political dynasties is inseparable from the figure of Chasan Sochib as one of the most influential figures in the formation of Banten Province. Chasan Sochib built the early foundations of political dynasty in Banten with the support of three resources, (1) financial resources derived from the exclusive access to government projects, (2) coercive (by force)of the*Jawara*, which is bound by patronage tradition, and (3) The control of political parties, in this case the Golkar Party which since the New Order era has been dominated together by family members and relatives.Then to consolidate and expand his network of political dynasties, Yoes (2015) concluded that the Ratu Atut dynasty, particularly since the Banten governor election in 2001 - when Ratu Atut succeeded in occupying the Vice of Governor's seat accompanying Djoko Munandar - which they "won", strives to create the arena of local politics participation narrowly and limited to others, in addition to obstructing the intervention of the authority of central political power.

A different perspective with Agustino and Yoes, in the dissertation entitled "Observation of Democratic Decentralization in Indonesia during 2009-2014: Political Dynasty in Banten Province and Populism in Jakarta Province (2016)", Hamid discussed the phenomenon of political dynasty in Banten Province in the context of the issues that preceded it , the decentralization in Indonesia after the fall of the Soeharto regime that has transformed the authoritarian centralized political system into a democratic decentralist. Hamid's study does not deal specifically with the phenomenon of political dynasty in Banten, but only makes it one of the political implications of decentralization in the framework of regional autonomy. This implication is discussed in a comparative study with a diametrically opposite phenomenon but both of that ar the implications of the application of decentralization, that can be called as the phenomenon of populism.

In his study, Hamid explained that the era of decentralization, which for the first time was based on its implementation by Law Number 22 Year 1999 on Regional Government, has given birth to two typologies of leadership and the management of local power that diametrically paradoxical, which the calledas dynasties and populism.Dynasty symptoms grew in a number of areas, one of which is relatively strong in Banten province, during the leadership of the Governor RatuAtutChosiyah. Meanwhile, the symptoms of populism grew, among others, in DKI Jakarta which surfaced during the election event of Jakarta governor in 2012 and more or less during the two years of Jokowi's leadership in JakartaSimilar with Agustino and Yoes, Hamid also concluded that the history of the emergence and formation of political dynasties in Banten boils down to the figure and political behavior of Tb. Chasan Sochib (father of RatuAtut) who took advantage in the momentum of the implementation of regional autonomy and the first election of the governor, relying on violence to achieve and maintain his political power. After the political power was under his control, Sochib then used his family and his relatives' network to expand and develop his domination, until he finally managed to control the local politics arena in Banten. However, again, the three authors do not discuss specifically how the political dynasty, which had been built by Ratu Atut Chosiyah, gave rise to bad implications for the development of democracy in Banten, especially in terms of electoral democracy events (Direct local election).

3. The Elections Of Regional Heads As A Way Of Democratization At The Local Level.

The General Election and the direct local electioneer the mechanisms required in a democratic political system to rotate political leadership, both in the legislative and executive

bodies, at the central and local levels. Through the General Election and the direct local elections well, the people based on legislation have qualified for elections using their political rights and sovereignty as citizens. In the framework of consolidation and development of democracy, the General Election and the regional heads are also believed to be the most strategic and urgent roads that governments should undertake with their people.

Theoretically the views and beliefs that the General Election and the regional heads are the most important instruments for democratization, which are then supported and grounded in argument by experts of new institutional approaches. Among them is Samuel P. Huntington, who defines democracy (1991)- with reference to the view of Joseph Schumpeter (1947) - procedurally with elections as the core of democracy. However, Huntington added that the democratic system is not enough just by the election process.Free, honest, and competitive elections are possible only where there is freedom of speech, freedom to associate, and freedom of the press, and if the opposition party candidates can criticize the authorities without fear of retaliation (Azhari, 2004).

A similar view is expressed by Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1990), that a country is said to be democratic if it fulfills the prerequisites, among others, to give freedom to its citizens to formulate their political preferences through union, information and communication channels ; Then provide a healthy competitive space and through peaceful means; And does not prohibit anyone from competing for political posts.

The same perspective also come from James G. March and Johan Olsen (1984)that "political democracy depends not only on economic and social conditions, but also on the design of political institutions". The underlying assumption is that elections are the way to rotate leadership where people are directly and openly involved. The General Election and the direct local elections one of the most expressive forms of the political steps of institutional design structuring to consolidate democracy.

In the context of this study, the crucial problem was then that the election of regional heads as one of the ways to consolidate

democracy in the regions was hampered, even injured by the presence of political dynasties. These symptoms can be identified at least in 3 (three) contexts of regional election, political party institutionalization, competition between candidates, and voter participation quality.

Institutionalization of political parties is the process of stabilizing political parties both in the form of behaviors that govern or in attitude or culture (Romli, 2008). Institutionalization of political parties is important as a condition and consequence for democracy. Through this effort in institutionalization, political parties are assumed to be able to perform their roles and functions properly. In the context of leadership in a democratic state, as defined by Mark N. Hagopian (Amal, 1996), a political party is a group that nominates candidates for public office to be elected by the people so as to control and influence the actions of the government. Political parties also function as a media of the people to articulate and actualize their interests and aspirations from time to time (day to day politics). In the framework of democratization, as states by Schattscheider(Asshiddiqie, 2005): "Political parties created democracy".

In the tradition of democracy, competition and participation is a necessity. Dahl (1971: 1) for example, states that to see how democracy works is enough to look at two minimal measures:(1) how high the level of contestation and competition or opposition; (2) how many citizens have the opportunity to participate in the competition. The terms of contestation and competition refer to the high level of relativity of the opposition (right to oppose). While the term participation (right to participate) refers to the involvement of citizens in government including influencing public policies.In this regard, healthy contestation and competition also the participation of qualified citizens becomes an important and priority part of the agenda to consolidate and develop democracy.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The author classifies the research findings and discussion into three sub-sections: (1) The political dynasty implications into institutionalization of political parties; (2) The political dynasty implications for competition

among candidates for direct local elections; And (3) The political dynasty implications on the quality of voter participation. As noted above, these three implications are taking place within the framework of the election of regional heads as a way to consolidate and develop democracy at the local level.

1. The Political Dynasty Implications into Institutionalization of Political Parties.

The political dynasties in the era of the leadership of Ratu Atut Chosiyah tended to hamper the process of political institutionalization that should take place in the internal the political parties. Some important variables of institutionalization process such as the strengthening of ideology / party identity, the effectiveness of regeneration, and internal democratization process are not working properly. In the end, most of the political parties in Banten have failed to do their functions optimally. This phenomenon takes place in the first place in every direct local election in Banten, both at the provincial stage, as considerably as the regency and cities that are politically under the influence of the leadership of Ratu Atut because their regional head is part of the political network of her dynasty.

A number of Direct local election in Banten, during the reign of Ratu Atut (2006-2013), even until after her dismissal (The simultaneous direct local election in 2015 and 2017), indicate how the dynasty of Ratu Atut dominated the nomination process until the determination of the candidate pair for the regional head and deputy head area. In this context, some political parties fail to assert their ideology / identity, and / or at least the character and vision of their idealism, or show the effectiveness of regeneration, or consolidate the process of internal democratization in their respective parties.

The Direct local election of Tangerang Regency in 2008 as example, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), formerly known as a very critical party to the policy and leadership of Ratu Atut and the domination of her family in various development projects in Banten, nominated Jazuli Juwaeni (PKS) and Airin Rachmy Diani, known as Ratu Atut's sister-in-law. In the process of nomination, Ratu Atut even "dared" to against the policy of her own party, Golkar, which at that time brought his best cadre, Ismet Iskandar paired with Rano Karno. In this case, PKS failed to assert their ideological position as a party known to be "clean" at that time, as well as vocal critiquing the policies and dominance of Ratu Atut's family. Although getting defeated by the pairs of Ismet-Rano, the Direct local election 2013 is a very important entry point for the Atut dynasty in order to expand its tentacle network in the Tangerang Raya area in the future (Interview with AN, Lecturer at Mathlalu Anwar and BP University, also Tirtayasa University).

Based on the assumption that parties born in the reform era should be characterized by a spirit of political reform and democratization, except in one or two elections, but in fact the ideological basis of the parties is almost invisible to almost all political parties in Banten when entering the Direct local election. In contrast, in this context, the dominance of the Ratu Atut family has become very prominent in almost all direct local election in Banten. This can be seen, for example, from the tendency of parties to vote for joining a large coalition of carrying candidate pairs from Atut's family, although Ratu Atut's political policies and the dominance of her in the management of development projects are much criticized for being go far from the spirit of the reformation, and also allegedly indicated as a corruption. In the Direct local election 2006, the couple Ratu Atut and Masduki, carried by a coalition of 5 parties born in the reform era, Golkar, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), The Reform Star Party (PBR), The Crescent Star Party (PBB), and The Prosperous Peace Party (PDS). While in Pilgub 2011, other than by the Golkar Party, the pairs of Ratu Atut and Rano Karno even carried by about 21 political parties that born in the reformation era; 10 of them already have a seat in Assembly at provincial (DPRD) Banten: Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), People's Conscience Party (Hanura), Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the National Awakening Party (PKB), National Mandate Party (PAN), The Reform Star Party (PBR), The Crescent Star

Party (PBB), and The Prosperous Peace Party (PDS), The Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party (PPNUI), The Concern for the Nation Functional Party (PKPB), and The Regional Unity Party (PPD) (www.kpu-bantenprov.go.id and various sources).

The tendency of the parties to preferchoose the safe way and / or profits in every election in Banten, by joining coalition group that carrying candidate pair from family of Ratu Atut dynasty also happened in every Direct local election in regency and city where one of couple The candidate comes from Ratu Atut family; Direct local electionof the Serang city (2008 and 2013); Direct local election Election of the South Tangerang City (2010 and 2015), Direct local electionof the Serang Regency (2010 and 2015), and Direct local election of the Pandeglang Regency (2009 and 2015). Their choice to join the coalition is certainly not without reason. There are at least 2 (two) reasons: (1) the candidate carried by the dynasty generally offers a larger budget for buying the nomination boats; (2) there is anxiety about the economic impact if it does not take the candidate from the dynasty, because in general the party leaders and elites in Banten are mostly bussinesman, who rely heavily on the supply of projects from the provincial government (Interview with BP and YJ, a local newspaper journalist of Kabar Banten).

For cadre promotion variables, within the framework of institutionalization of political parties, the dominance of the politics of the dynasty Ratu Atut is also often a barrier in terms of institutionalization. For example, the case of the governor Piilkada in 2006, where Atut (paired with Masduki, a former bureaucrat) succeeded in getting rid of Marissa Haque in the internal contestation of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP).Though Marissa was one of the PDIP cadres who were judged to have superior ability and integrity. The defeat of Marissa according to some research sources is because Marissa's "political cost" is not as much as Ratu Atut to buy boats from PDIP. In this case, the PDIP which is the main partner of the Golkar Party in the coalition practically handed over the full figure of Vice-governor candidate to Atut. Though in addition to the

figure of Marissa, in the PDIP body there are a number of names that actually have the capacity to be promoted, at least as a candidate for vice governor candidate to accompany Ratu Atut.

Different incidents, but containing more or less the same substance is recurring, in the 2011 governor's election. There were three PDIP cadres who were worthy of being promoted as candidates for governor at that time, and all three had signed up for the internal screening process. They are Mulyadi Jayabaya (the former head of the Lebak regency for two periods), Dedy Gumelar (the former Member of Parliament), and Rano Karno (The Vice head of Tangerang Regency).Once again Ratu Atut managed to control the local elite PDIP to be willing only to be a candidate as avice of governor and propose it to the Central Board of PDIP. The result was Ratu Atut accompanied by Rano Karno and managed to win the 2011 governor election(Interview with KU, the closest person of Mulyadi Jayabaya, and interview with DG).

The dynamics in the nomination process in the above, also indicate that the internal democratization process in the PDIP is not open and honest. Based on the explanation from DG and KU, regarding the process of choosing Rano to accompany Atut, it was revealed that the process of filtration by the Regional Board of PDIP Banten is merely a formality. Because Jayabaya and Dedy Gumelar are never given the opportunity to present the vision-mission for their nomination, which should be a parameter in the assessment and decision making; meanwhile, Rano suddenly set unilaterally by the Central Board of PDIP to accompany Ratu Atut.

2. The Political Dynasty Implications For Competition Among Candidates For Direct local elections

Under the political dominance of the Ratu Atut dynasty, the competition among candidates, which already established by the local election committee (KPU), also takes place in a less fair and equal situation. This situation is possible because of the dominance and control of the Ratu Atut dynasty, not only against the bureaucracy, but also on the various elements of society successfully co-opted through the strategy of channeling social assistance and /

or grants and controlling the business actors and business associations through a strategy for sharing Development projects (sutisna).

In addition, of course, there is a fact that cannot be blamed, that competition tends to be unbalanced, it is also a bit much or less also caused by the financial capabilities of candidates of the Ratu Atut family who are generally much richer and more abundant than their competitors. This situation is particularly prominent in the direct local election, especially prior to the simultaneous direct local election in 2015 where there has been no regulation of restrictions on campaign properties.

One of the cases of involvement and mobilization of the bureaucracy by Atut in the 2011 Pilgub, is Eneng Nurchayati (Head of the Regional Food Security Agency of Banten Province), who vulgarly in front of his staff instructed them to fight for the victory of Ratu Atut (Irawan & etc, 2016). In a video that later spread on YouTube, Nurcahyati said: "*I understand, I realize the neutrality of civil servants should be preserved. And the heart, the movement, the soul are all I cannot hold because I do not go into all the souls of staff in this SKPD. But I plead with great sincerity to help Mrs Atut, Hajjah Ratu Atut Chosiyah to continue the noble task of leading Banten. And afterward there will be some details activities. First, of course we have built in almost 50 villages. And this must be, before the 22nd of October later, the minimum H-7, we should have a picture of data and information from Gapoktan group leaders who are in our care, to recognize how the readiness of each*"

This imbalance of competition situation is also made possible by the cooptation of the Ratu Atut dynasty against various elements of society, which are "tied up" through the distribution of social assistance funds and / or grant funds. Irawan et al (2016: 78) stated that Ratu Atut has poured grant and social assistance, in the period of fiscal year 2009 amounted to 74 billion rupiah, in 2010 amounted to 290 billion rupiah, and in 2011 amounted to 391 billion rupiah. In the report of *Majalah Teras* (2011), grants and social assistance are distributed to hundreds of organizations / institutions in Banten. This grant and social assistance fund, allegedly is used

for the 2011 Gubernatorial Election winner's fee, also the intended of Ratu Atut to maintain the loyalty and political support of various civil society elements (Interviews with US, Director of Allip and AN). Referring to the article from Hamid (2010), this co-optative mode has been done by Queen Atut at the time leading up to Gubernatorial Election 2006.

3. The Political Dynasty Implications On The Quality Of Voter Participation

The last review is about the quality of voter participation. In this context, all research sources explain and confirm that in general the success of the candidates for the Direct local election who won the contestation in Banten, has a kinship relationship with the Governor of Ratu Atut is mainly determined by the influence of money politics performed by the winning team of the candidate pair.

The phenomenon of voter's voting in every election or election through a team of sharks and the networks it builds in all districts and cities in Banten is conducted in various ways and through various networks that are successfully co-opted and even controlled, besides of course through successful teams and / or organizations Which was specially formed to win the candidates from the Ratu Atut family in every election or direct local election (Interview with US). Through a network of bureaucracies and / or civil society organizations that are usually done by utilizing the functional connectivity of bureaucratic institutions or civil society organizations.

Thie buying voter's strategy is also done through formal or informal network of ketokohan up to the grassroots level. Among the formal figures, village heads play an important role in distributing money politics to the voters. While among informal leaders, bussinessman, *Jawara,* and even *Kyai* are important nodes through whom money politics is channeled to the voters. The amount of money politics varies widely, the rangeis around 20,000 rupiah - up to 100,000 rupiah per voter; In some cases money politics is also in the form of the staple food (Interview with US).

There is one important organization that became the ballot machine through this strategy

of money politics, which is Volunteer of Banten United (RBB) formed by deceased Chasan Socihb (father of Ratu Atut) in May 2006. According to US, RBB has a special purpose to counterbalance Tryana Syam ' Un (a competitor of the Ratu Atut Chosiyah-Masduki in Pilgub 2006) who originated and had a strong vote base in South Banten, particularly Pandeglang. Since Atut succeeded in winning the 2006 Pilgub, the RBB was further strengthened; And in every election / Direct local election has always been a very important political machine in carrying out the money politics strategy. Through this network of administrators and members of RBB, money politics is spread to the voters.

Based on the facts described above, it can be concluded that the willingness of citizens (voters) to come to the Voting Place (TPS) to vote, especially to the candidate pair who came from the family of Ratu Atut, because more driven by money politics factor, not because awakened awareness by an adequate degree of political literacy. This hypothetically suggests that the quality of voter participation in the Banten, which won by the candidate pairs from the Ratut Atut family is inherently low. Of course, the of money politics is also being done by other candidates, but money politics by Ratu Atut's family / relatives and cronies is much more massive with a much larger nominal, and therefore becomes determinative in the election process of a candidate from the family, relatives or cronie.

CONCLUSION

First, during his tenure as the Governor of Banten (2006-2013) Ratu Atut Chosiyah has developed in such a way the political dynasty by exploiting the current of democratization of local hardened in its area.

Secondly, the political dynasty developed by Ratu Atut is bad for the need to consolidate and develop the life of democracy in Banten, at least on the three strategic variables of the electoral democracy event (direct local election) which is actually intended as one of the institutional roads of developing democracy in the region. The three strategic variables are: (1) the process of institutionalization of political parties; (2) competition between candidates of regional

head and deputy regional head; And (3) the quality of voter participation.

Third, the adverse effects of political dynasties on the institutional aspect of political parties are marked by the weakness of political parties in expressing their ideological commitment and institutional characteristics; The lack of courage of political parties to promote their best cadres in elections contestation; The failure of political parties to build and develop an open, fair, and accountable democratic tradition within their own bodies.

Fourth, the adverse impact of the political dynasty on the aspect of competition between candidate pairs is the imbalance and unfairness of the competition, as a result of the unhealthy dominance of the dynasty that co-opted and controlled the bureaucracy and the elements of society to win the candidate pairs derived from the dynastic family.

Fifth, the adverse impact of political dynasties on the quality aspect of voter participation is the low quality of citizen participation in the elections, because their willingness to come to the TPS and give their voting rights is further encouraged by money politics from dynastic families, rather than being motivated by political literacy-based volunteers.

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REFORMING INSTITUTIONS: THE IMPACT OF FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT TO CIVIL SERVANTS PERFORMANCE

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Abstract

Recently, global economic challenge is getting more competitive and economic growth increases in many countries. However, such the economic growth phenomenon is not compensated with employee performance. Many corruption cases occur and employee competency is low, and lavish lifestyle is not comparable to the salary they receive. Financial management is an appropriate means to help the employees manage their finance according to their income. This article aimed to analyze the effect of financial management of civil servant's performance. The method employed was literature study, using inter-theories comparative analysis and meta-analysis. Basically, financial management has three components: firstly, fund source, constituting any activities conducted aiming to get income. Secondly, fund use is any form of activities related to fund source use wisely. Thirdly, asset management is the activity of managing fund source invested or allocated in the form of asset. Those three basic components should be collaborated to create positive synergy. The result of research showed that poor financial management indirectly affected the performance of civil servant. A poor financial management is characterized with the servants' debt not comparable to their salary. Many factors affected the decreased performance: lavish lifestyle, performance focusing on the promotion of position rather than on work productivity, and personal asset ownership. The implication of this article was that a civil servant should be able to manage their finance well so that their performance will be good. The higher compensation given by the state should motivate them to improve their work productivity. In addition, public institution should reform its institution, particularly in the term of payroll and reward system. Salary should be no longer considered as merely the right received by the servants monthly but the size of salary should be dependent on the performance of servants. In addition, public institution should oversee tightly to prevent the civil servants from having debt beyond their solvency.

Keywords: Financial Management, Work Productivity, Civil Servant

INTRODUCTION

Good governance becomes one of the guidelines in the administration of government in Indonesia. Good governance is basically a concept that refers to the process of allocating and managing the policies to respond to various issues to be able to provide the quality public services to the community through the principles of efficiency, transparency and participation (Kalsi and Kiran, 2015: 173). The government always tries to improve the best service for the community, especially in the public services. The development of employees is one of the efforts undertaken by the government to improve services to the community. In other words, the employees should have professionalism or good performance in providing services to the community because the challenge of the employees' professionalism will increase in every age (Caron and Giauque, 2006: 543).

To realize the professional employees in the good governance achievement, there are two main factors, namely: internal factors and external factors. Internal factors can be

manifested through various ways, namely: employee development, salary, rewards and punishment, or facilitate administratively the needs of employees. While external factors can be realized through improving the quality of service to the community or employment of employees through remuneration. Although good governance has been designed since the end of the New Order Government, until now the quality of public services is not optimal because of the low performance of civil servants. This is evident from the survey on the quality of public services from the Transparency International report which shows that Indonesia is ranked of 107 from 175 countries. Manifestations of low public services include: high corruption, wasteful use of state budget, employee behavior that tends to behave extravagantly with acceptable acceptance. In other words, the financial management of employees has not been properly managed so that employees can not balance the acceptance received from the institution.

Lukito (2016: 933) in his research mentions that the corruption cases in Indonesia are still become the main problem, the opinion is supported by Platt (2015: 86) explaining that the corruption impacts on the reduction of public funds, obstacles to business competition, waste of international development aid and looting wealth of natural resources. This shows that the high level of welfare provided by the government is not fully aligned with the performance of employees. In addition, Prabowo and Cooper's research results (2016: 1042-1051) explains that employees focused only on personal needs such as multiplying personal assets, promotions, or luxurious lifestyle. Then what is an urgent solution for the problem? To solve the problem we need to determine the point of the main problem. From the impact, high income from employees is often not matched by financial management. Hence, it causes an imbalance between income and outcome. The level of demand in the current global era has its own special interest, especially in the emergence of attractive products and help variety of human needs.

Institution plays a very important role in managing their employees related to income and outcome (Graham, Davey-Evans and Toon, 2012: 71). In the other hand there is the assumption that the management of personnel finances is the private right of employees and institutions do not need to intervene (Murphy and Yetmar, 2010: 812). Empirical evidence shows the existence of a number of employees who earn very low income even minus because they have to return loans obtained from banks or cooperatives, this matter will be discussed also in more detail on the discussion. As a result employee spirit is low because feel that every month work without earn adequate income. From the background study above, it can be concluded that financial management is still needed by employees in order to improve performance. This article analyzes the effect of financial management on employee performance. Specifically identify how the role of the institution in providing motivation and direction related to good financial management for employees.

MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYEE FINANCIAL
Understanding and Scope of Financial Management

Today we rarely encounter an employee or even ourselves that record our own income in a financial book. Most of them keep their incomes in the passbook and pick it up when it is booked. The impact is we will not be able to calculate the financial condition after we use it. This is where financial management has an important role. Riyanto (2013: 4) explains that financial management is all activities that are related with the effort to obtain funds and use or allocate the funds.

Malinda (2007: 2) states that personal financial planning is a process of achieving personal financial management through a structured and precise financial management. A person who has fixed income is deemed necessary to manage his finances well. The main purpose of financial management is to maximize or increase the welfare for the individual. Increased welfare can be realized here because the income and outcome of employees can be well planned so that all financial risks and challenges can be controlled.

Murphy and Yetmar (2010: 811) explain that most of employees feel financial planning is important and they are interested in developing financial planning but just few that have the skill and knowledge required to prepare their own plans. The statement is supported by the lack of knowledge about the financial literacy of Indonesian, most of people are only familiar with the savings.

Hendro (2011:439) states that there are scopes of financial management, namely:

1. Knowing about theory of money value
2. Financial administration system, financial recording or financial accounting (management accounting)
3. Creating financial statement and analysis of financial statement about the situation, position, and financial performance (financial position)
4. Creating a plan and supervision of the budget.
5. Analysis of financial investment that will be planned and conducted
6. Cash flow manajement
7. Global financial changes

Horne and Wachowicz (2009: 2) states that the implementation of financial management is associated with 3 main activities, namely:

1. Acquisition of funds, is an activity to obtain the sources of income both from basic income and additional income.
2. Activity of using funds, is an activity to invest the funds in various needs both for basic needs and additional needs.
3. Activity of asset management, after the funds have been acquired and allocated, all assets owned should be managed as efficiently as possible.

Standard of living improved is not matched with well financial management

The pattern of modern life offers a wide choice of products in the form of goods and services. Mankiw (2007) states that the standard of living in the country depends on the quantity of goods and services produced. If the value of production is greater, the standard of living is also higher. Along with the implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)

in Indonesia, the standard of community life begins to increase. This is proved with various kinds of advanced technology that begin to enter in Indonesia cars, smart phones, laptops, or various kinds of electronic equipment. The principle of mankiw is also applicable in our daily lives. If an employee is more productive in work, he/she will obtain the greater result.

A worker who works harder and smarter will earn more income than those who are less productive, the example is the application of remuneration in various agencies in Indonesia. Sancoko (2010: 43) through the results of his research shows that the remuneration can give motivation to the officers to improve their performances, the achievement is marked by the performance of good service (service excellent). Remuneration programs run by the Finance Ministry can be operated by direct interconnection with other government institutions, especially with public services. But in practice in Indonesia, in his research (Prabowo, 2016: 297) describes that wages and opportunities for high income to encourage civil servants in wasteful lives. The impact is various corruptions in Indonesia are certainly common for us.

The wasteful lifestyle is also a familiar phenomenon. Atmadja (2008) criticizes that teacher certification only makes the teachers rich but not welfare. How much the salary received, it will be felt less, so that the dream of creating a professional teacher remains a dream. The criticism is not merely a common reference, Purwanto, Sugito, and Suud (2012: 20) state that the social and economic changes that occur to the teacher in elementary school who have received teacher professional allowance, in the form of changes in food consumption, dress, hobbies / entertainment, book, association, side job, teacher's living facilities, income management, participation in organizational, the relationship between husband and wife, and children.

James, Leavell, and Maniam (2002: 35) state that Most of households in the modern era tend to have low saving desire and have limited financial assets. Institutions in Indonesia have largely adopted the account method of columns

so that salaries are directly distributed to employees' personal accounts. It can be seen that generally financial individual is taken directly from the account without plan the savings for the future. Nga, Yong, and Sellappan (2010: 278) explain in the context of financial planning, the lack of rational economic considerations can lead to excessive debt, high risk investments and / or inadequate savings for retirement.

Ansyarullah (2015) states that employee is one of the most professions sought in Indonesia, being employees will have their own prestige in the community. One of the advantages of employees is easy in getting a bank loan and stable income that be the main factors of the debit provision from the bank. But with the high needs and poor management, the employees often face shortages at the beginning of every month because of his salary is deducted to pay the debt, while he is not always able to always get the external income to fulfill the other needs.

PERFORMANCE OF CIVIL SERVANT

Understanding of employee performance

An organization can be said to grow if it has a qualified employee. A qualified employee is an employee who can accomplish the job according to the target or target set by an organization. The ability of an employee to complete his or her job is called an employee performance. Hasibuan (2006: 94); Nurlaila (2010: 71) explain that performance is the work achieved by a person in carrying out the tasks assigned to him based on the skills, experience, sincerity and time. Performance is high if a work target can be completed at the right time (Nawawi, 2006: 63). Performance is low if a work completed beyond the time limit provided or completely unresolved.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the performance of employees is the work achieved by employees in performing their duties as a public servant. In practice, the employee performance appraisal in Indonesia can be assessed through SKP based on PP No. 46 Tahun 2011. However, in the practice this employee performance appraisal through SKP is considered irrelevant, due to the large number of fraud and non-conformity assessment

standards to accommodate the situation and condition in various regions (Pio, 2013: 1). The performance of employees is assessed through how the performance of employees can be felt positively by the public.

Standards of employee performance

Good performance is basically a performance that is based on standardized procedures established by the organization itself. However, the performance appraisal must have several criteria in order to increase work productivity that is suitable the goals set by the organization. It is not easy, it takes the role of managers to be able to create an atmosphere of work in accordance with the vision and mission of the company. The role of managers on the employee performance can be done with strategies and approaches in dealing with the whole form of problems in the organization. According to Wirawan (2009: 67), performance standards are targets, goals, objectives of employee effort within a certain period. In carrying out its work, the employee must direct all of his energy, mind, skill, knowledge, and working time to achieve what is determined by performance standard.

Prawirosentono (2008: 27), performance can be assessed or measured by several indicators, namely:

1. Effectiveness when group goals can be achieved with planned needs.
2. Responsibility is an inseparable part or as a result of the authority ownership.
3. Discipline is obedient to the law and the rules applied. The employee discipline is the obedience of the employee concerned in respecting the employment agreement with the company in which he works.
4. Initiative, related to the power of thought, creativity in the form of an idea related to company goals. The nature of the initiative should receive the attention or response of the company and the good boss. In other words, the employee initiative is the driving force of progress that will ultimately affect to the employee performance. The main problem is found that in some professions of employees in Indonesia have incentives that are not comparable with the tasks and needs.

Relationship between financial management and employee performance in Indonesia

To relate how the financial management with employee performance, there are some researches related to various employee performances in Indonesia that deal with poor financial management.

- Ramadan (2013) in his research "Teacher and Health Worker Absence in Indonesia" explains that there are six determinants of teacher absenteeism and health care workers. They are: inadequate infrastructure (roads and bridges); bad working conditions; absence of sanctions; bribery; side job; and low salaries (only for health workers).

  From the results of this study, it can be known that poor financial management (health workers) can affect to the absenteeism of employees.

- Haryanto, et al (2016: 224) in his research "Teacher Certification Policy: Evidence from Students and Policy Implications" explains that although teachers have received certification of personality and professional competence of teachers is still considered low. This study provides information for policy makers to evaluate certification policies in Indonesia.

  From the results of this study, it can be seen that the increase in the teacher income through certification leads to changes in lifestyle and decrease the professional teachers.

- Prabowo (2014: 306) in his article "To be corrupt or not to be corrupt: Understanding the behavioral side of corruption in Indonesia" describes the pressure / motivation, opportunity and rationalization that can be consideration in corruption. Profits and costs can be taken into account before deciding whether or not to commit corruption.

  From the study, the benefits offered to improve the level of life is deemed as a consideration to someone in the act of corruption.

- JPNN.com (2016), one of the mass media explains that 619 civil servants in Malang City Government since October 2016 ago have been warned by cooperative of Montana Hotel. This happens because

the debt arrears about 2 years on the cooperative. The outstanding debt value of 619 civil servants was quite fantastic that is 35 billion rupiah. Debt raising is caused by credit loans on the banks and cooperatives are personal by each civil servant. Long ago the government has also warned the civil servants to be careful and wise in making loan and credit.

From the article above, easy in proposing the loans and poor financial management that is marked by consumptive lifestyle of civil servants cause the number of civil servants debt.

Based on the results of the discussion conducted, it can be described in the chart as follows:
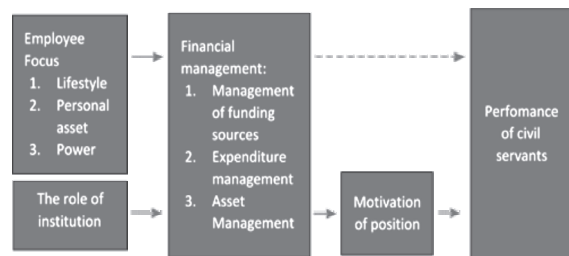
Figure 1 The role of institutions in the financial management of employees

The meaning in the compilation of the chart is consistent with the concept of employee performance according to Prince (2005: 293) career performance is positively related to employee satisfaction and performance so that organizational support plays an important role for employee career development.

DISCUSSION ON INSTITUTIONAL REFORM OF THE EMPLOYEES IN INDONESIA

Everything is change so is the organization. But the changes that occur are different between one organization with others, either fast or slow. It can be concluded that there is no permanent thing. Wursanto (2005: 309) states that organization that has dynamic relationships is the organization that is always adjusting to the changes. A change that occurs in the company will affect all elements of the organization either directly or indirectly, either quickly or slowly. Hence, the defenses that occur will be interrelated, interconnected, and mutual influence between one another.

The changes that occur within the organization are the result of the various challenges that always arise in the life of the organization. Based on the analysis of the various problems that have been described, it can be concluded that financial management indirectly impact on the performance in terms of effectiveness, discipline, responsibility and employee initiative. The problem is line with the Tjiptoherijanto (2015: 39), he states that the employee performance in Indonesia is considered slow, not have transparency, accountability, initiative, and sometimes corrupt. Therefore, the employees in Indonesia need the reform, both in relation to institutional aspects and in relation to moral issues.

Supardi and Anwar (2007: 113) states that the managers always have to anticipate changes in the environment that will require the adjustment of organizational design in the future. Decrease in performance is also a responsibility for a manager to be able to take decisions in response to changes that occur.

In this case, there are several solutions that can be done by the manager, they are:

1. **Strict regulatory related to loans in the banks is required**

Through strict regulation, the agency is expected to control the desire of employees to apply for loans in various financial institutions. With this regulation, the agency will know how the financial condition of its employees automatically. Lemma (2015: 433) finds evidence that corruption occurs because of the need for debt financing and firm corporate regulation. Hence, this policy is considered appropriate to be able to overcome the desire and ease of employees in applying for a loan.

The implementation of this regulation can be applied through regulation in agency that require the employees to follow the steps applied when applying for a loan. Requirements submitted can be completed by various forms of agreement, or limitations of submission in accordance with the ability of employees. Hence, the agency should have the right to be able to determine the approval of loan by the employee financial institutions/ loan providers.

The implementation of this regulation will face the pro and contra because the employee's right in applying for the loan is limited by the regulations applied by the agency. However, poor financial management can indirectly affect the employee performance, so that the manager must act decisively. But it also needs a persuasive approach to the employee so that the employee can accept this change wisely. Through a good approach, all the problems that may arise will be resolved.

2. **Provision of financial institution facilities related institutions such as cooperatives**

The provision of financial institution facilities under this agency aims to provide a place for employees to conduct financial transactions. If the agency can pass the management of financial institutions properly, the agency will also be able to know directly the financial condition of its employees. The financial institution of this case is a financial institution that is managed by the employees, and all the benefits can also be felt by employees. It is not only benefit for agencies but also it can provide training indirectly to employees about good financial management.

Cooperative is an ideal financial institution. Briggeman, Jacobs, Kenkel, and Mckee (2016: 402) state that the cooperative business model has several unique aspects including profit distribution system and owner's equity structure. The cooperative manages the various financial problems that may arise as long as the cooperative develops. The cooperatives includes various business sectors, ranging from business cooperatives, consumption cooperatives, production cooperatives, savings and loan cooperatives. The saving and loan cooperatives can compete in fulfilling the needs of employees because the offered interest can compete and can be adjusted with the employee circumstances.

Technical borrowing in saving and loan cooperatives can also be done without guarantee as a member of the cooperative. Loan payments can also be made by periodic payroll deductions, thus it facilitate the members in the process of payment and managing finances. In addition, the cooperative members can also receive SHU given at a certain period according to the agreement, so that it can also be the income of the employees themselves.

3. Collaboration with the insurance agency

The low of financial literacy in Indonesia is common for us. When people hear the word 'insurance', they may have negative thoughts. But nowadays people in Indonesia have been open since the government conducts BPJS program because they directly feel the benefits. The problem of poor financial management of employees can occur because the employee does not take into account the various risks that they face during their works.

According to Maenpaa and Voutilainen (2012: 52), there are several types of risks that can be insured for human capital namely: insurance of retirement, accident, health, life, accountability and crime. Through employee insurance, agencies will gain a sense of security, because any risk or accident that occurs is responsibility of insurance so that our economy can continue to be stable. In addition, insurance can also provide a beneficial premium as a fundraiser that continues to grow. And the most important thing is the insurance will conduct a survey in advance and provide recommendations for customers to hold the concept of prevention efforts and countermeasures so that financial management of employees to be better and avoid the risks that may occur.

A company can work together with the insurance if the employee's work has risks that need attention. Although currently in Indonesia employees are required to follow BPJS employment, the use of insurance institutions can also be done in some areas such as retirement management programs, workplace accidents, the risk of crime.

4. Implementation of employee remuneration

It is not unfamiliar thing if employee income in Indonesia does not have clear standard. Hence, every field of work has different wage standard and it will cause many problems. Starting from the economic gap, jealousy, even criminal act. For example, the salary of Bank Indonesia (BI) employees will be greater than the salary of the House of Representatives. Although it is still become controversy between morality and reality, from an economist's point of view a person with high income will tend to maintain his performance, this is inversely proportional to person who has low income will try hard to increase his income. Therefore the same payroll system is required based on employee performance.

With remuneration of employee wages will be adjusted with its performance. The more productive an employee, the more wages earned. And conversely the unproductive an employee, the less wages earned. So this remuneration system will indirectly have a significant impact on the improvement of employee performance. A productive employee will have more income and minimize the fraud that can happen with an online recitation system. Simanungkalit (2012: 110) employee performance can be improved through the remuneration policy, but it takes a uniform subsidy to avoid jealousy among employees who receive remunrasi and who do not. Through remuneration, the wages of employees will be adjusted with the performance. The more productive employee, the more wages earned. And the more unproductive employee is, the low wages earned. Hence, this remuneration system will indirectly have a significant impact on the improvement of employee performance. A productive employee will have more income and minimize the fraud that can happen with an online recitation system. Simanungkalit (2012: 110) states that the employee performance can be increased through the remuneration policy, but it takes a uniform subsidy in order to avoid jealousy among employees who receive remunrasi and who do not.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of good governance in Indonesia until now is not optimal. This is caused by the performance of employees who have not maximized. One of the main causes of poor employee performance is poor financial management skills. Most employees know that financial planning is important but very few who have the skills that are necessary to prepare their own financial planners. In modern era, the employees tend to have a high consumptive lifestyle. Fixed income and ease in obtaining loans sometimes cause employees to have multiple bills on a monthly. The employees who are unable to manage their finances well will

lose their source of income each month it will affect to the focus of employee indirectly.

The employee performance can be measured through several standards of work effectiveness, responsibility, discipline, or initiative. Many cases in Indonesia can illustrate the poor employee performance due to financial management failure. Low income and poor management of employment institutions lead to decrease employee performance, increase income that change lifestyles and decreased in work professionalism, increase in instant living is considered to be more profitable even through corruption, or the ease of lending makes many employees have debt.

Based on these various problems above, organizational changes need to be done. The researcher provides several options that can make changes in their institutions. It is required to arrange the strict regulatory related to bank loans, provision of the facilities of financial institutions under relevant institutions such as cooperative, collaboration with the insurance agency, and implementation of the employee remuneration. Through these options, it is expected that it will solve the problem of financial management and poor performance of employees.

SUGGESTION

Recommendation for Institutions in Indonesia

In the growth of an institution or company in Indonesia, a manager needs to have closeness with his employees. It includes about welfare and behavior issues in work or out of work. Based on the discussion about the poor financial management will have an impact on employee performance, so that the managers have a role as financial management controller of an employee so it is not affected to the employee performance. The various policies need to be implemented firmly for the good such as license and loan recommendations to the banks. Hence, the employees will have a careful consideration before lending. The cooperative organizations are already widely applied but few still survive. This makes the additional task of being a leader to be able to implement people's economic system through cooperatives.

For the Employees

The employees should have enough income compared to other jobs. Many programs have been done by the government to improve the standard of employees' living such as certification, remuneration, income subsidy, retirement, etc. But the main problem is the pattern of consumptive lifestyle in the modern era. Hence, the employees need to understand about good financial management. Through the management of good customer satisfaction, all the life needs of the employees can be fulfilled so that the employees can focus on completing the duties and being responsible as servant of the country.

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WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN RURAL AREA THROUGH CULINARY TRAINING AT BENDOSARI OF SUKOHARJO

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Abstract

The research is aimed to describe: (1) the roles of Self Help Groups (SHGs) in empowering women; (2) the model Project Based-Learning (PBL) effectiveness as an entrepreneurship training model to empower rural women based on local potentials, and (3) the supporting and inhibiting factors of culinary entrepreneurship training at Bendosari of Sukoharjo. *The type of the research is qualitative research using phenomenological design. Based on the analysis, the research concludes as follows: (1)* the Self Help Groups plays important roles as actors involved to improve the women's self-confidence and independence in developing their bussines; (2) the model Project Based-Learning (PBL) is effective to be used as entrepreneurship training model in empowering rural women using local based potentials. It is indicated with the effects and results of the program in the form of the improvement of self confidence and income of the beneficiaries; and (3) the supporting factor of culinary entrepreneurship training is the high motivation to improve the economic statuses of the beneficiaries and the support of the facilitators. The inhibiting factor of culinary entrepreneurship training at Bendosari, Sukoharjo is the doubts feelings of the beneficiaries about the success in developing their own enterprises for their capital constraint.

Keywords: women empowerment, culinary training, Project-Based Learning

INTRODUCTION

One of the issues experienced by women in rural areas is problems regarding economic problem. The presence of limitations, both in terms of resources available in the region and the skills possessed by the individuals become the main cause of the economic problems for rural women.

The downturn in the economy happens to women regardless of their education level of inequality between women and men. Based on the data taken from National Economy Census 2012 released by BPS, it is stated that in national level, the length of schooling for women above 15 years of age is only 7.68 years. It means that in average, Indonesian women were only reach their education at Junior High-school level (BPS RI - Susenas, 2012). Such a condition is exacerbated by the statements of UNFPA (*United Nations Population Fund*) that stated the poor girls, low educated, and lives in rural areas tend to marry before they reach their 18 years old of age.

The governement, in its effort to alleviate poverty, initiate strategic plan by including gender equality issues in its development program as stated in RPJPN of 2005 – 2025. The development of gender equality and women's empowerment aimed at enhancing the quality of life and the role of women in various fields of development; mimimize the number violence against women, women's exploitation and discrimination, including the availability of data disaggregated by sex and gender statistics (Bappenas 2013: 2).

The empowerment of women is related to poverty alleviation which is one of the objectives of the Millennium Development

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Goals (MDGs) that were launched in 2010. The poverty alleviation and the hunger eradication become the first goal of the MDGs. Whereas, the women empowerment is more related to the third objective, namely gender equality and women's empowerment.

Women empowerment itself, is defined by Kabeer (1999) as quoted by Swain (2007) as "*a process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such ability*". Based on Kabeer's statement, empowerment is defined as a process to empower those who have not ability to make their own will and choices so that they have the capability to do so.

Targetting women as empowerment program is stated by the World Bank (2011) as quoted by Rehman, Moazzam & Ansari (2015), that states by providing and opening resources into the poor women's hand, and in the same time encouraging gender's equality, both in the household and society level, may give rise to a great development for women. Providing more opportunities for women in public works, agriculture, financial, and other sectors may able to accelerate economic growth.

One of the empowerment forms for women in order to improve the quality of life is done by increasing their productivity. The quality of life improvement can only be done by increasing the level of their economic statuses. Given the limitations in terms of their education as a barrier for rural women to compete in the labor market, one attempts can be done is to provide entrepreneurship skills in accordance with their own capabilities.

In relation to the entrepreneurship skills, Mazumdar and Ahmed (2015) stated that entrepreneurship plays important roles in enhancing the opportunities of employment for rural communities, providing self-employement for those who run their own businesses so that they are able to enhance their economic statuses based on local potentials.

The entrepreneurship and other activities development that enable the beneficiaries to improve their income is one of possible solutions to empower women who want to gain their economic independence, gain opportunities to

control their own lives. It is in accordance to the statement made by Bisht & Sharma (1991) that stated one of the effective instruments to empower women is making women as entrepreneur.

One of the entrepreneurship training developed at Activities Managemen Unit (UPK) of Bendosari Sukoharjo is the training in culinary skills. The implementation and the type of training selected is based on need analysis of the beneficiaries.

The strive to alleviate the poor women from poverty is carried out through entrepreneurship training. The training is carried out using *Project Based Learning (PBL)* model, for the reason that the model represents one of the training model that orientated on *Contectual Teaching and Learning Process* (Jones, Rasmussen and Moffit, 1997). CTL is a training concept that helps trainers to relate the training materials with the real world situation and able to encourage participants to use their knowledge to be applied in their real lives as members of the society, including running a business.

The determination of the type of the training conducted is done through the bottom-up models become a supporting element of the success of the program implemented. The success of the training program is measured from the impact and results obtained by the beneficiaries in improving their economic and social statuses.

Referring to the background above, this study aimed to describe: (1) the roles of the *Self Help Groups* in empowering women; the model *Project Based-Learning* (PBL) effectiveness as an entrepreneurship training model to empower rural women based on local potentials, and (3) the supporting and inhibiting factors of culinary entrepreneurship training at Bendosari of Sukoharjo.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Entrepreneurship and Women Empowerment Concepts

The concept of women empower-ment as stated by UNESCO (2002) is defined as improving women's capacity in terms of spiritual, political, social and economic. Such a concept

can be defined that women empowerment refers to the improvement in terms of spiritual, politics, social, and economic capabilities. By such a concept, women's empowerment can be defined as improving the capacity and means for women's so that they achieve their desired goals. Empowerment is a process by which women have greater control over resources such as economic, social, and political, participation in the decision making process, and become active participants in the process of change.

"Women Entrepreneur" is a person who admits exigent role to meet up her personal needs and become economically independent. The Government of India defined women entrepreneurs as an enterprise owned and controlled by women having a minimum financial interest of 51.00% of the capital and giving at least 51.00% of the employment generated in the enterprise to women (Mazumdar and Ahmed, 2015). Based on the above definition, tt can be said that women entrepreneurs are women who lead and organize the business or industry and provide employment to others.

Project-Based Learning Training Model

The concept of Project-Based Learning (PBL) model is one that organizes learning around projects. PBL according to Duch (in Diehl, Grobe, Lopez, & Cabral, 1999) is defined as a learning method that is characterized by real problems as contexts for the learners to learn critical thinking and skill to solve problems and gain knowledge. The other crucial features found in the literature concerning PBL is that PBL includes authentic content, authentic assessment, teacher facilitation but not direction, explicit educational goals, (Moursund, 1999), cooperative learning, reflection, and incorporation of adult skills (Diehl, Grobe, Lopez, & Cabral, 1999).

The concept of *Project-based learning* according to Cord (Okudan & Rzasa, 2004) is defined as a learning model that emphasizes contextual learning through complex activities. *Project-based learning* focuses on main concepts and principles of any discipline, that engage learners in problem solving activities an other meaningful tasks, providing opportunities for the learners to work independently in constructing their own learning, and eventually yielding meaningful and realistics products of the learners.

The steps in *Project-based learning* cover six stages (Woodward & Ceccucci, 2009). The first stage is called problem identification, in which the learners identify the actual problems in small scale industry. The second stage is the formulation of problem solving strategy. The third stage is product design. The fourth stage is production process. The fifth stage is evaluation. The final stage is presentation.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is a qualitative research using phenomenological design. Qualitative research focuses on interpretation of phenomena in its natural setting, to make sense in terms of the meanings people bring to the setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1984; Creswell, 2007). The study is based on primary data. The data is collected from interview, observation, documents and literature review is done by online available studies and journals.

The object of the research is the culinary training to empower women in rural area of Bendosari, Sukoharjo. Based on the object studied, the setting of the study is women empowerment through culinary entrepreneurship training at Bendosari Sukoharjo.

Kecamatan Bendosari is located in the eastern of Sukoharjo. It is divided into 13 desa and 1 kelurahan. The vilages in Kecamatan Bendosari comprise: 1) Desa Cabeyan, 2) Desa Puhgogor, 3) Desa Paluhmbo, 4) Desa Manisharjo, 5) Desa Mojorejo, 6) Kelurahan Bendosari, 7) Desa Jagan, 8) Desa Mertan, 9) Desa Mulur, 10) Desa Sugihan, 11) Desa Toriyo, 12) Desa Jombor, 13) Desa Sidorejo, dan 14) Desa Gentan.

Based on statistic data of 2012, Kecamatan Bendosari covered an area of 5.299 hectares or equal to 11.36% of the area of Kabupaten Sukoharjo. The area of Kecamatan Bendosari consist of 2.569 hectares (48.48%) of farming land, and 2.730 hectares (51.52%) dry land. The population of Kecamatan Bendosari in 2012 covers 67.734 people. It consists of 33.677 males (49.72%) and 34.057 females (50.28%).

The economic condition in Kecamatan Bendosari can be depicted through the occupation of its inhabitants. Referring to the Statistic Data of Sukoharjo 2013, 35.86% of population in Kecamatan Bendosari are farmers. The 2nd position occupied by traders, with the proportion of 23.09%. The third is occupied by labour, both industrial and farming, with the proportion of 21.29%. The remaining is occupied by government employees with the proportion of 5.41%.

STUDY RESULTS

The roles of *Self Help Groups* (SHGs) in empowering women at Bendosari of Sukoharjo

The training program to empower rural women at Bendosari, Sukoharjo is done based on community's need proposed from the grass-root (*bottom up*). The training plan is initiated from gaining ideas about the kind of training provided. The ideas' searching is done in the community meeting in the neighborhood level (*RT*). Having been approved, the idea gained is then brought to the village level to be discussed in the community meeting in the village level (*Musdes*), so that the form and the kind of training program needed by the community can be formulated.

The formulation of the training program is then proposed to the Activity Management Unit (*UPK*) through the facilitation of Village Community Empowerment Leader (*KPMD*). The proposal will be competed in the sub district level and will be executed as it passed the verification process.

The verification itself is a phase that aimed to check and verify its feasibility. It is done by Verification Team formed in the sub district level and consist at least 5 expert personnels. As the verification process done, the training program can be executed when the budget available. In the case that there are no budget avilable, the program will be done in the following year budgetting.

The roles of the Self Help Groups in empowering women at Bendosari, Sukoharjo is to encourage and facilitate the training program beneficiaries during the program implementation. The Self Help Groups (SHGs) proposed the training program based on the need analysis. The program proposed initiated from the inter-group discussion. The formulation yielded from the discussion, then, brought to the higher level discussion to be decided.

Self Help Groups able to solve most of the practical problems experienced during the implementation of the programmes for to empower women economically. The SHGs are plausible choices to achieve the rural development goals and to gain the participation of the community in development programs provided for rural areas.

The most simplest results of women's entrepreneur through SHGs at household level are self-employment, the social dignity and women's statusses enhancement. SHG may lead to benefits the individual women and women's groups, instead of the family and community as a whole. These benefits are done through collective action for development.

Participation in the activities that generate income play important role in the overall women's empowerment. The SHGs played important roles both on social and economic life for rural women. It empowers women and trains them so that they eager to participate in progress of the socio-economic of the nation. In relation to such finding, Pattanaik (2003) stated that SHGs are continuously striving for a better future for rural women as participants, decision-makers and beneficiaries in the domestic, economic, social and cultural spheres of life.

The following diagram is the roles of SHGs in empowering women at Bendosari Sukoharjo through the entrepreneurship training program.
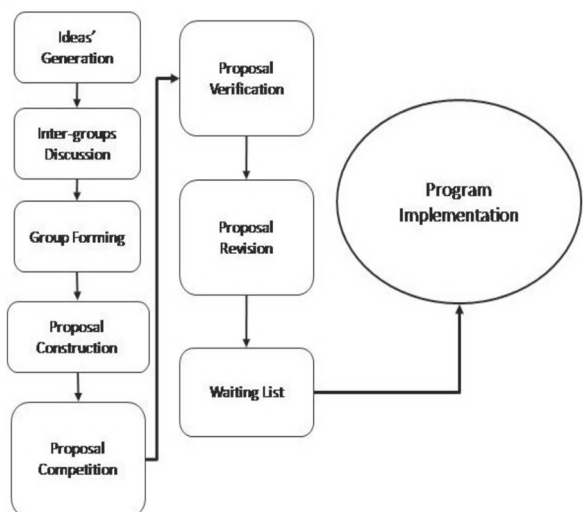
Fig. 1 The Process of Training Program Implementation

Makandar & Mulla (2013) stated that women's participation in SHGs enabled them to discover inner strength, gain self-confidence, social, economic, political and psychological empowerment and capacity building. Women's participation in SHGs brought about significant impacts on the empowerment in social aspect. SHGs helps women to encourage them to emerge and discuss their problems. SHGs also helps to encourage the awareness on savings, education, health, environment, cleanliness, family welfare, social forestry, etc., among rural women.

The model Project *Based-Learning* (PBL) effectiveness as an entrepreneurship training model to empower rural women based on local potentials at Bendosari of Sukoharjo

The implementation of entrepreneurship learning model using Project-Based Learning Implementasi (PBL) provided to 287 women originated from 11 vilages at Bendosari Sukoharjo. The trainings were provided in 11 villages. The beneficiaries of the training can be presented as follows Table 1.

The entrepreneurship material provided consist of: (1) the social entrepreneurship development, namely: (a) personal skill, (b) thinking skill, and (c) social skills; and (2) business entrepreneurship development that consist of: (a) vocational skills, and (b) leadership skills. The quality of PBL model training implementation is assessed using the beneficiaries activities in terms of: (1) questioning activities (QA), (2) the intensity of searching problem source (ISP), (3) the intensity of task completion based on problem identification (IMT), (4) the intensity in assissting coleagues (IBT), (5) the intensity of finding problem solusion alternatives (IMA), (6) the intensity of result presentation (IPH).

The observation results on training beneficiaries' activities that show the learning quality can be presented as follows Table 2.

Table 1. Data of Training Beneficiaries based on Village Residences

No.	Residence	Beneficiaries	Type of Training
1.	Sidorejo Village	26	Pastry Cooking
2.	Jombor Village	28	Beverage Training
3.	Toriyo Village	22	Pastry Cooking
4.	Mulur Village	14	Food Cooking
5.	Sugihan Village	27	Food Cooking
6.	Mertan Village	26	Pastry Cooking
7.	Jagan Village	30	Food Cooking
8.	Mojorejo Village	24	Pastry Cooking
9.	Manisharjo Village	32	Pastry Cooking
10.	Cabeyan Village	28	Food Cooking
11.	Bendosari Village	30	Food Cooking
	Total	287	

Source: Bendosari Activity Management Unit Report

Table 2. Training Beneficiaries Activities during the Training Program

No.	Aspect	Activities Level					
		High		Moderate		Low	
		Ttl	%	Ttl	%	Ttl	%
1.	QA	136	47.39%	92	32.06%	59	20.56%
2.	ISP	146	50.87%	88	30.66%	53	18.47%
3.	IMT	152	52.96%	94	32.75%	41	14.29%
4.	IBT	161	56.10%	97	33.80%	29	10.10%
5.	IMA	158	55.05%	84	29.27%	45	15.68%
6.	IPH	155	54.01%	95	33.10%	37	12.89%

Based on the data presented above, it can be said that the process of entrepreneurship training using PBL model is enjoying and highly motivating the beneficiaries. It can be demonstrated with the high percentage of high activities level of the beneficiaries during the training program. The percentages of all aspects are > 45.00%.

The data presented above can be visualized through the following diagram (Figure 2).

The results and the effects of training program in women's empowerment through culinary training at Bendosari of Sukoharjo during the period of 2010 – 2012 can be seen from the condition alteration of women who participate in the program. The alteration of the women's condition is the alteration from powerless into the condition of those who are able to take initiative or able to make a decision, and then improve into the condition of participating, and then to the next level of the ability to adopt, and in some cases into a leadership among themselves.

The alteration from powerless into initiative can be seen from the women's attempts to change their family economic condition. They strived to alter their economic condition with the positive perceptions towards the poverty alleviation program provided both by the government and non government organizations.

In the next level, as they became aware of their initiative, they started to participate in the activities provided both by the government and non government organizations. They started to participate actively in the training program formulation processes and participate in the training program actively.

The ability to adopt the training program of the beneficiaries can be seen from the positive perception of 69.44% of the respondents that stated the training program provided helped them to develop their daily economic entreprises. Whereas the remaining 30.66% stated the training program provided do not help their business development.

Based on the interview with Mr. Mulyono, S.T., (the Chief of UPK Bendosari) the leadership competence of the beneficiaries can be seen from the emergence of new leaders among them. They are able to coordinate their members to participate actively in various activities provided by Activity Management Unit (UPK). The emergence of new group leaders, which are fragmentations of beneficiaries groups, show that some of them have the capability as leaders among themselves.

The effects of the training program in women's empowerment through through culinary training can be seen from the alteration of their family economic condition and their thinking patterns. Other effect can be seen is psychological effect happened among them.
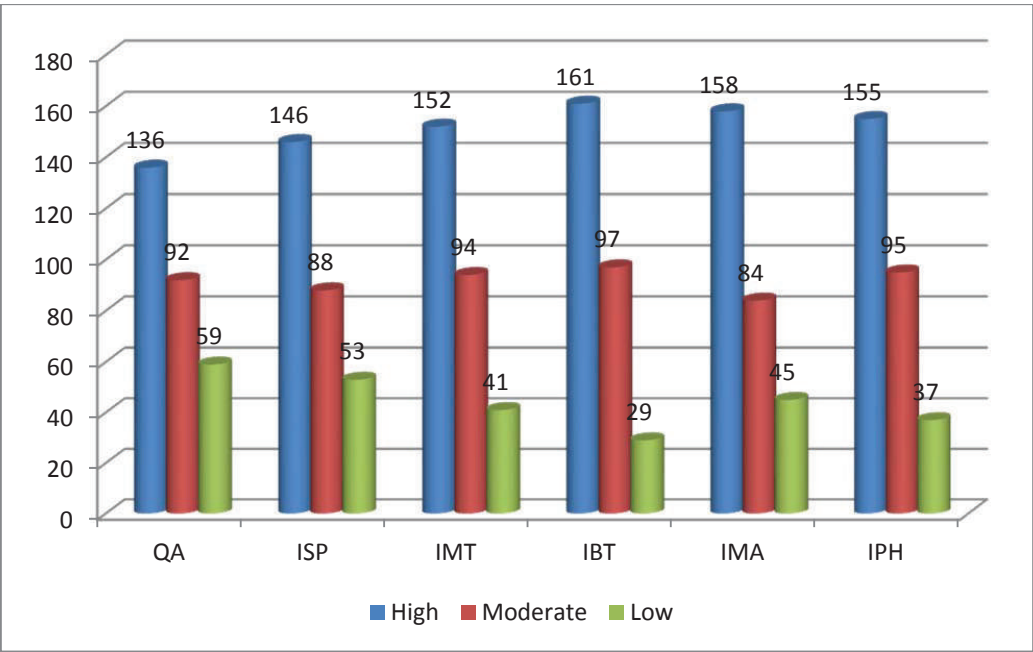
Figure. 2 Diagram of Training Beneficiaries Activities during the Training Program

Viewed from the thinking pattern alteration, the training program in women's empowerment through through culinary training has brought significant change in their thinking patterns. The shift can be demonstrated by the emergence of initiative to change their family economic condition by participating in the program, their ability to adopt the training into their own business, and finally the emergence of new leaders among women.

Viewed from the economic condition, the training program in women's empowerment through through culinary training has changed their family economic condition into better ones. Some of the women able to improve their business assets and some of them able to alter the business system from manual into semi automated system by using production machineries. Viewed from psychological aspect, the training program in women's empowerment through through culinary training has improved their selves confidence. Some of the women were able to become leaders in social organizations, both women's organization and mixed members' organizations.

The results of the culinary training program for the Women's Saving and Loans (SPP) Program beneficiaries in Bendosari covering seven aspects confirmed that the empowerment activities undertaken through the training resulted in *outcome* in the form of alteration. Such a result is in accordance with the empowerment concept that strive to help marginal groups become empowered. The empowerment concept proposed by Kieffer views empowerment as "*a gradual process that takes different stages towards participation and commitment, from entry to progress*" (Kieffer in Aguiar, 2012). The empowerment is a '*gradual*' process that start from '*entry to progress*'.

The result of the culinary training program for the Women's Saving and Loans (SPP) Program beneficiaries in Bendosari showed that the beneficiaries able to brought up initiation, encourage them to participate in the activities, the ability to adopt the training material, and in some cases, the emergence of leadership ability. The findings support the research undertaken by Shroff (2010) which concluded that the

empowerment stage was done through five trajectories that consist of: (1) *powerless;* (2) *initiation*; (3) *participation*; (4) *adoption*; and (5) *leadership*.

The result that women empowerment through culinary training program that enable women from powerless condition into a better economic condition, is in accordance to the 5 trajectories of women's empowerment proposed by UNESCO.

The result of the research showed that the culinary training program for the Women's Saving and Loans (SPP) Program beneficiaries in Bendosari brought about the welfare among beneficiaries. It indicates that the beneficiaries, in this case are women, already have a level of ability to adopt the results of the training received. It means that they have reached the level of adoption (Shroff, 2010). The ability to adopt training results to improve their welfare shows that women empowerment has reached the fourth level in the trajectory of empowerment development.

Other result of the culinary training program for the Women's Saving and Loans (SPP) Program beneficiaries in Bendosari is the alteration of behaviors and attitudes among the beneficiaries. The behaviors and attitudes alteration of the beneficiaries can be seen from the self confidence improvement among them and the courageousness to make decision. Such a finding is in accordance to the research undertaken by Nabacwa (2001); Linos, Khawaja, & Al-Anshour (2010); Vetrivel and Chandrakumaramangalam (2010); Dheepa & Barani (2010); Suja (2012); and Subramanian & Gowri (2013).

The results of the study indicate that the culinary training program is enable the beneficiaries to improve their self-capacity, which in turn, enable them to improve the self confidence and the emergence of courage to make decisions about matters relating to their families. The self capacity improvement as a result of entrepreneurship skill training show that the empowerment is in accordance with gender perspective empowerment. The women's empowerment undertaken is in accordance to the concept of gender equality proposed by

Momsen (2010). According to Momsen, the gender equality "*means equality of opportunity and a society in which women and men are able to lead equally fulfilling lives.*"

The supporting and inhibiting factors of culinary entrepreneurship training at Bendosari of Sukoharjo

The supporting factors of culinary training program cover: (a) the high motivation to improve the family income and family's prestige and dignity; (b) the support of the Activity Management Unit in both in the district and village levels; (c) the support in financial capital; (d) the support and cooperation between the Community's Self-Help Body and village government institutions and other institution in the village level.

The high motivation to improve family income and dignity that emerged in beneficiaries having attended culinary skill training activities showed that women empowerment was quite successful. The women's empowerment concept according to UNESCO is defined as "*refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social or economic strength of individuals and communities.*" (Shroff, 2010). The high motivation to improve family income and dignity represent the emergence of '*developing confidence in their own capacities*' among beneficiaries.

Such a result is in accordance to the researches undertaken by Nabacwa (2001); Mayoux and Hartl (2007); Shetty (2010); Shroff (2010); Metcalfe (2011); Jeyakodi (2012); Suja (2012); Prasad Das (2013); and Rehman, Moazzam, and Ansari (2015). Their research results concluded that the motivation to change the family's economic life is the main driver of women following the empowerment program by NGOs.

The research showed that other supporting factor of the culinary training program for Women's Saving and Loans (SPP) Program in Bendosari, Sukoharjo is the support and cooperation between the Community's Self-Help Body and village government institutions and other institution in the village level. The support is in the form of facilitation.

Facilitation as a form of support in empowerment is in accordance to Fear and

Schwarzweller's concept that stated the empowerment concept can be viewed as an effort to provide power (*empowerment*) or strengthening to the community (Mardikanto, 2009).

The inhibiting factors of culinary training program cover: (a) the existence of traditional perspective on gender's role within part of the community; (b) the high dependence that exist among parts of the beneficiaries; (c) the lack of self confidence among parts of the beneficiaries; (d) the less harmonious social interaction among parts of the beneficiaries; and (e) the factors related to human resources quality

The inhibiting factors of the culinary training management for Women's Saving and Loans (SPP) Program in Bendosari, Sukoharjo covering: (1) the traditional view of the part of the community; (2) the high dependence among women; (3) the lack of self confidence among women; (4) the inharmonious social relationship; and (5) factors related to human resources quality.

The traditional view of the gender's role in patriarchal culture tends to place the position of women in male subordination. By such a position, woment are placed in domestic work as stated by Cooke that states "*More men than women are employed continuously and work full-rather than part-time …. Women, in turn, spend more time than men in unpaid housework and child care whether or not they are employed*" (Cooke, 2010).

The traditional view that places women under the male sub-ordination still prevalent in some communities in Bendosari sub-district become one of the obstacles in culinary skills training management in women's empowerment for the Women's Savings and Loans (SPP) Program. These constraints are manifested in the form that some women who are not allowed to attend training activities by their husbands.

Such a finding is in accordance to the researches undertaken by Roomi, & Harrison, (2010), Aslanbeigui, Oakes & Uddin (2010), Shetty (2010), Vetrivel & Chandrakumaramangalam (2010), Mayoux (2010), Drolet (2011), Suja (2012), Mathew (2013) and Mazumdar & Ahmed (2015).

The results of the above studies concluded that female sub-ordination as a result of patriarchal cultural influence in some countries become an obstacle for women to work in the public sphere and place women in the domestic and unpaid jobs. This has brought about an impact on women's high dependence on men in the economic field. The empowerment of women is done to give awareness of women's rights to obtain gender equality in various fields.

The inhibiting factors of the training programs in women's empowerment through culinary training comprise the doubts feelings of the beneficiaries about the success in developing their own enterprises for their capital constraint.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that: The *Self Help Groups* plays important roles as actors involved to improve the women's self-confidence and independence in developing their business.

The model *Project Based-Learning* (PBL) is effective to be used as entrepreneurship training model in empowering rural women using local based potentials. It is indicated with the effects and results of the program in the form of the improvement of self confidence and income of the beneficiaries. It can be demonstrated with the high percentage of high activities level of the beneficiaries during the training program. The percentages of all aspects are > 45.00%.

The results and the effects of the training program in women's empowerment through culinary training can be demonstrated through the improvement of the beneficiaries' economic activities. The effects of the training program can be seen from the alteration of the thinking patterns of the beneficiaries.

The supporting factor of culinary entrepreneurship training is the high motivation to improve the economic statuses of the beneficiaries and the support of the facilitators. The inhibiting factor of culinary entrepreneurship training at Bendosari, Sukoharjo is the doubts feelings of the beneficiaries about the success in developing their own enterprises for their capital constraint

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Chapter 3
Governmental System and Practice

THE POLITIC OF CLEAN WATER DOMINATION (A CASE STUDY TOWARD A CONFLICT OF PDAM PROCUREMENT IN TAPANGO SUB DISTRICT, POLMAN REGENCY)

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Abstract

The objective of this research is to find out the forms of clean water domination in Tapango sub-district, Polman regency, and to detect a conflict resolution caused by struggle of clean water. This research was conducted in Tapango sub-district, Polman, by applying a qualitative research type. This research is descriptive and the data collection was received by applying the techniques of observation, documentation and interview. The data collected from multiple sources and technique of informant determining was processed by selecting informants that play a part and involved in domination and conflicts of clean water struggle. The data was analyzed qualitatively. The results of this research reveal that there is domination of waterl and conflict resolution efforts related to the struggle for clean water. Forms of clean water domination include: the power of the state policy, the power of the security forces, the power of information, and capital, While the conflict resolution efforts include: negotiation, mediation and arbitration or guardianship.

Keywords: Domination forms, Conflict resolution

INTRODUCTION

The earth, water, and natural wealth contained above and within the earth's surface are the gifts of God to human being, and are beneficial to the survival of human lives that lives within the borders of the region. It is therefore an obligation for human being to keep, and utilize it as good as possible. The Politic of Natural Resources Management of State as the highest authority organization within the region which is mandated to organize and lead the life of society in a region. The state obligates to create a sense of security and prosperity for its people. Therefore, all management within a region is left to the state, including, regulating and coordinating of natural resources management in the territory. (Maria, 2009). The policy of natural resource utilization frequently contains a large social, political, economic dimension and complex because it is related to a system which supports the life and the sufficiency of basic needs of society. (Endaryanta, 2007). Water problems often occur between different actors, such as, society and government, society and investors vertically, and horizontal conflicts between peasants themselves. In the long term,

horizontal and vertical conflicts in the allocation and distribution of water need energy, time, and high expense to solve. (Subagyono, 2004). Because of the struggle of clean water that occurred in Tapango Sub-district, Polman regency, it causes a conflict.

Compared to the pre-regional autonomy period, the management of water resources, in fact, has not changed. The ownership status, the holder of water resources exploitation authority, and the position of irrigation committee have not changed. However, the government's attention in managing the resources is changing. The change of Government's attention causes two changes that increase the water problem; *firstly*, placement of water resources as economic assets, and *secondly*, interpretation of the rights and authorities of the Regional Government in managing the water resources in the region. (Mardimin, 2015). Meanwhile, conflict occurred as a result of the struggle of clean water is commonly a matter of concern by conflict resolution. Therefore, an approach adopted to solve a problem, such as different parts of the world, is the conflict resolution. An alternative approaches in resolving of resource

conflicts are those mentioned (1) negotiations, (2) mediation, and (3) arbitration. (Baikuni, 2015). A water resource conflict is defined as a social situation where at least two water users at the same time need access to certain water resources. The conflict of water resources not only offers a negative impact in the form of mass freedom but also offers an articulation space, so the subjective interests will be known, and find a compromise and the solution. (Wahyudi, 2011). This paper aims to understand how the forms of water domination and conflict resolution as a result of the struggle of clean water, and to find out how the forms of water domination and the conflict resolution.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used descriptive qualitative method which was implemented in Tapango sub-district, Polman regency. The topic researched is forms of clean water domination and conflict resolution in Tapango sub-district. This research take place in Tapango Sub-district, Polman Regency, which involved six informants that were from Head of Region, staff of Public Works Office, Public Relation of PDAM, BWSS staff, and society. This research was held in September-October 2016. Through observation which was overall time for two months.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The domination of clean water of society in Tapango sub-district is actually refused by the community. This is because the water that will be used is water used by the society for irrigation, so the changing of the water function is refused by society that is being conflict. The society, to respond the government policy related to the changing of water function, thinks that the policy of Government will harm many water users of society, include two sub-districts; Tapango sub-district and Matakali sub-district. The results of the interviews reveal that there is an obstacle in domination of clean water which is refused by local society properly. That is proved when the socialization of project is not executed openly and is not on target since the water user community has no the socialization. The socialization is held on the upstream of river, but the water users are in the downstream

region. The conflicts occurred because of people refuse a policy that will harm the society. The researcher interviewed one of the staff of Public Works Office of Polman concerned the policy of water usage. He stated that the policy and the construction implementation of the water clean domination are not authority of the local government. The project is carried out by the Public Hall of Sulawesi River Region (BWSS) which take controls of all parts of the river in the Celebes. Although project plan of the clean water BWSS has submitted several reasons to the society such as the results of the study achieved or water distribution which will be implemented and the assessment of environmental impact, the society still refuses the building of the project. As a result of the local community's refusal, BWSS had temporarily stopped the building of project because the society refuses the project continuously, so BWSS stopped the project and it is decelerated that it would not be continued.

The results of interviews with farmer communities in Tapango sub-district, demonstrate that the society refusal effort, ending conflict, is an obligation for them. The farmers in Tapango, Polman regency, consider that if water used for irrigation of paddy fields is converted to others, the communities will not receive the results from their paddy fields. Moreover, the farmers consider that if water used is used for other purposes, so the same as they take "available food of societies' plate". Because of that "term", the farmers in Tapango sub-district think that we have to stand to fight even though it is being conflict. If we do not stand to fight, we will still die slowly. In this situation, conflict resolutions are needed to handle conflicts within the community. The Conflict resolution also is needed to solve conflicts quickly which can harm between two people within the conflicts.

Mosca, in his paper, *The Ruling Class* quoted by Sastratmodjo (1995), states "in every society, there are two classes of the population. One class is as master and one class is mastered. The first class is always smaller, runs all political functions, monopolizes power, and enjoys the benefits provided by that power, while the second class, which is much larger than the first class, is organized and dominated by the first

class." Regarding the class of ruling group and ruled group, the first class commonly consists of a few people where they implement all political functions and hold all the systems by enjoying all the benefits from their position as authority holder. The second class (dominated), consisted of more people, is directed and dominated by the first class, by illegal ways, arbitrary or violent. The second class provides the means to live and survive, as well as other matters of great importance to political organism. (Soekanto, 1984).

A conflict is a factor that helps the building of community development. Conflicts can build solidarity of groups, citizen's relationships and inter-citizen's relationships. Conflicts can not be avoided by any actor, but one thing for sure is the way to resolve the conflict so that threats can be opportunities where the dangers of conflict are widely localized by building an early prevention and mitigation model. (Sihbudi, 2001). A typical custom in a conflict is on the priority to keep the personal interest of one. (Miall 2002). If A's interests different from B's interests, A tends to ignore B's interests, or actively destroy them. Conflicting parties usually tend to see their interests as diametrically opposite interests. Therefore, Miall concludes that the results obtained are a losing and winning result. It is required a conflict rule which requires three factors. Firstly, two groups involved in the conflict have to recognize the importance and fact of the conflict situation, in this case, recognize the fundamental justice of the opponent's intent. (Dahrendorf, 1986). According to The British Council in (Baiquni and Rijanta, 2015), the settlement of a conflict that occurred can be solved in three ways:

1. Negotiation, a process to enable conflicting parties to discuss possible options and reach resolution through face-to-face interaction.

2. Mediation, a process of interaction assisted by a third party so that the parties that involve in conflict find a settlement that they agree on their own.

3. Arbitration or trust in dispute, action by a third party authorized to decide and execute a settlement.

CONLUSIONS

The dominance of power in the domination of clean water has caused conflicts between the project managers of water supply facilities with the community of Tapango sub-district, Polman regency. The effect of the dominance creates an act of resistance from the farmers. The resistance of the farmers toward project management caused conflicts between farmers and project managers. The Conflict is a serious issue, so conflict resolution is needed. The conflict resolutions in this case are negotiation, mediation, and arbitration.

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CRITERIA FOR STATE OFFICIALS
IN THE CONTEXT OF PANCASILA STATE OF LAW

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Abstract

Arrangements of institutional structure of state officials still have a number of weaknesses and reap problems in Indonesia. It is influenced by the absence of rules governing fully and firmly on the criteria and characteristic of State officials in the context of Pancasila State of Law, thus in the practice of constitutional often creates legal uncertainty and jealousies within the organizational structure of state institutions. These problems arise because there is no division of criteria against institutions which can be categorized as State officials or not. It is important to examine the criteria regarding the constitutional system of the State Officials in Indonesia, so that there would eventually be an ideal conception of the determination of state officials in Indonesia based on standard criteria. This study uses normative legal research and sociological research, which will produce criteria and characteristic of state officials in accordance with the values and principles of Pancasila State of Law.

Keywords: Criteria, State Officials, Pancasila State of Law

INTRODUCTION

The positions of Public Officials have been a dream and being contested in the dynamics of political development of developing countries (Sullivan, 2003), and this phenomenon also occurs in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the regulation on the Criteria of Public Officials has not been regulated in the form of Legislation or in the form of standard criterion, which could be used as guidance in the process of classification of position in organizational structure of state institution (Hendrawan, 2005). In juridical terms, the standard criteria of Public Officials is not regulated in the existing official legislation. However, the definition and classification of Public Officials could explicitly be found in several legislation and regulations. The legislation only covers and regulating some institutions that could be considered as Public Officials and those that could not be considered as non Public Officials. The legislation only conduct minimium regulation and delegating authority to the legislators in order to determine which institutions that could be considered as Public Officials or not.

The serious issue in the structure of institution of Public Officials is the determination of those who could be categorized as public officials and those who could not be categorized as public officials because there has not been yet any standard criteria in the system of state administration of Indonesia that regulates it. As already known, the state institutions in Indonesia are not only regulated and established by the 1945 Constitution, but they are also regulated by lesser regulations such as Government Regulations, Presidential Regulations or Presidential Decrees (Asshiddiqie, 2006). Nevertheless, the state institutions that regulated by higher-level of legislation are not automatically considered as superior institution compared to those that regulated by lesser legislation/ regulation.

There are several state institutions that are formed on or under the authority of the Constitution of 1945, and there are also several state institutions that are constituted by other regulations or legislations, and there are also few institutions that are formed or established under the Presidential Decree (Soemantri, 2005). The

position of institution highly depends on their applicable legislation. The names of several institutions are explicitly stated in Constitution of 1945, however, the constitution also explicitly stated the functions of several institutions.

There are also several institutions, in which their names and functions are regulated by the lesser legislations. However, it remains a problem because there is inconsistency of regulation in the determination of institutions as public officials. Therefore, the determination is not based on standard criteria, instead, it is normatively based on the Regulation and Government Regulation (PP/ *Peraturan Pemerintah*).

In the amendment of the Constitution of 1945, there are more than 35 subjects of positions or legal subjects of institution (Asshiddiqie, 2006), which could be attributed to the definition of state institutions or in a broad sense (Kelsen, 1961). In addition to 35 institutions that stated in the Constitution of 1945, there are still state institutions that established under the law or even under the order of the subordinate legislation, and according to Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, the state institutions could be classified into the following list(www.menpan.go.id, 2017):

No.	LIST OF INSTITUTIONS	NUMBERS
1.	Secretariat of State Institution	7
2.	Ministries	34
3.	Ministerial-Level Institutions	4
4.	Non-Ministerial State Institutions (LPNK)	28
5.	Non-Structural Institution	88
6.	Public Broadcasting Institutions	2
7.	Provinces	34
8.	Regencies	398
9.	Municipalities	93
	Total	687

According to Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, Government of Indonesia has 687 state institutions, and some of them could be categorized as state officials. However, until recent times, there is no regulation in the legislation that strictly regulates the characteristics of criteria of public officials. The existing legislation only directly determines the particular positions that could be considered as public officials or non-public officials with or

without the criteria of state/ public officials in detail. It certainly will bring jealousy among the officials because the position of public officials could become ultimate goals for several people. Therefore, the government is highly required to formulate the comprehensive regulation on the characteristics of public officials in Indonesia.

Based on the brief description above, it is necessary to discuss about the characteristics of public officials in the concept of Pancasila-based nation of law. Therefore, such best effort will regulate and producing characteristics and division of Public Officials that are in accordance with the characteristics and culture of the Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

The focus of this research (Creswell, 1994) is the examination of the characteristics and division of Public Officials in Indonesia. The researcher uses normative and sociological legal research method (Hartono, 2006). Normative legal writing is the method of research that is based on the analysis of some legal principles and theories as well as legislations that are in accordance with the problems of the research in this paper. Normative legal research is a procedure of scientific enquiry in order to find the truth that based on the logic of legal science in terms of its normative (Ibrahim, 2006), and according to Soerjono Soekanto, the sociological/ empirical legal research includes the research on the identification of non-written law and the research on the effectiveness of Law (Soekanto, 2009).

The researcher uses three approaches of research problems: literature approach (library research) (Arikunto, 1998) and conceptual approach (Ihalalauw, 2000). The materials of this research consist of 3 (three) parts: material of primary law, secondary and tertiary law. Primary legal material is a authoritative legal material, and it means that the material is authoritative (Marzuki, 2009). Secondary legal material is a legal material that provides the explanation of the primary legal material (Marzuki, 2009). Tertiary legal material is a legal material that provides guidance as well as explanation of primary and secondary legal materials (Marzuki, 2009).

RESULT OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

A. The Problems of Criteria and Determination of Public Officials

In juridical terms, the standard criteria of Public Officials are not regulated in the existing legislations, however, the definition and types of Public Officials could be explicitly found in several regulation such as in Article 1 Paragraph 1 of Law Number 28 of 1999 concerning the Clean and Free-of Corruption State Actors, in which it states as follows:

"The State Actor is Public Officials that perform the executive, legislative, or judicial functions and other officials whose functions and duties are related with the administration of the state in accordance with the provisions of applicable legislation."

Article 2 of Law Number 28 of 1999 concerning the Implementation of a Clean, Free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism State Actors. State Actors include:

Public Officials on Highest State Institution;
Public Officials on High State Institution;
Ministers;
Governors;
Judges;
Other Public Officials *that are in accordance with applicable regulation and legislation; and Other public officials that have strategic functions in state administration, which are in accordance with applicable regulations.*

Furthermore, the definition of Public Officials is described in Article 1, Paragraph 4, Law no. 43 of 1999 on the Amendment of Law No. 8 of 1974 concerning the State Civil Apparatus:

Public Officials *are the leaders or members of high/ highest state institution as referred to in the Constitution of 1945 and other Public Officials as determined by the Regulation*

Furthermore, the position of public officials is described in Article 11 Paragraph (1) of Law No. 43/1999 and with its Elucidation:

1. *President and Vice President;*
2. *Chairman, Vice Chairmen, and Members of People's Consultative Assembly*
3. *Speaker, Deputy Speakers, and Members of People's Representative Council*
4. *Chief Justice, Deputies, Vice Chiefs, and Supreme Court Judge in Supreme Court*

of Indonesia and other judicial bodies in Indonesia;
5. *Chairman, Vice Chairman, and Members of Supreme Advisory Council;*
6. *Board chairman, Vice Chairman, and Members of Audit Board of Indonesia;*
7. *Ministers, and other ministerial-level positions;*
8. *Heads of Indonesian Representatives in Foreign Countries as Ambassadors;*
9. *Governors and Deputy Governors;*
10. *Regents/ Majors and Vice Regents/ Vice Majors; and*
11. *Other Public Officials that are regulated by Regulation*

In the Law of State Civil Apparatus, the positions of public officials and state actors/ apparatus are described in Article 122 Law No. 5 of 2014:

a. *President and Vice President*
b. *Chairman, Vice Chairmen, and Members of People's Consultative Assembly*
c. *Speaker, Deputy Speakers, and Members of People's Representative Council*
d. *Chief Justice, Deputies, Vice Chiefs, and Supreme Court Judge in Supreme Court of Indonesia and other judicial bodies in Indonesia, except ad hod judges;*
e. *Chief Justice, Deputies, and members of Constitutional Court of Indonesia*
f. *Board chairman, Vice Chairman, and Members of Audit Board of Indonesia;*
g. *Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Members of Judicial Commission of Indonesia;*
h. *Chairman, Vice Chairman of Corruption Eradication Commission;*
i. *Minister and other ministerial-level position;*
j. *Heads of Indonesian Representatives in Foreign Countries as Ambassadors;*
k. *Governors and Deputy Governors;*
l. *Regents/ Majors and Vice Regents/ Vice Majors; and*
m. *Other Public Officials that are regulated by Regulation*

Based on provisions that are mentioned above, the standard criteria of the state institutions has not been well-regulated, and therefore the institutions which is regarded as public officials or as non-public officials are not clearly explained. The institution only abstractly regulates about the role of regulator to classify

several state institutions as Public Officials as well as as non-Public Officials. This problems are also only abstractly explained in Law of State Civil Apparatus and Law of Conditions of Employment of Civil Servants.

The absence of standard criteria on the distinction or differences of Public Officials and non Public Officials rises several problems. The example of the problems is the provision of Article 122 Point E of Law No. 5 of 2014 on State Civil Apparatus, which excludes ad hoc judges as public officials. This provision states::

"As reffered in Article 121, the public officials are: e. Chief Justice, Deputies, Vice Chiefs, and Supreme Court Judge in Supreme Court of Indonesia and other judicial bodies in Indonesia, except ad hod judges ".

The exclusion of position of ad hoc judge from the criteria of public officials as mentioned above had made several representatives of the Ad Hoc judges submit a petition for a judicial review to the Constitutional Court with the register number of case 32 / PUU-XII / 2014. However, based on the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 32 / PUU-XII / 2014, the Court argued that the qualification of ad hoc judges whether they are public officials or not is an open legal policy (Wibowo, 2015), which might be amended by the legislator in accordance if necessary. Thus, the determination of exclusion of ad hoc judges was entirely the legislator's authority.

In addition to the problem of the absence of standard criteria on the distinction between public officials and non-public officials, which are exemplified above, also occurs in National Commission on Human Rights and General Election Commission, which are considered as state institutions. However, their commissioner are not considered as public officials. It is also applicable for the speaker and members of Regional Representative Council, which are not considered as public officials. In contrast, the chairman and vice chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission has been considered as public officials. The status of public officials has consequences on allowances and financial facilities, which are provided for public officials.

B. Division of Criteria of Public Officials in the Future

In this sub-chapter, the researcher will describe in detail about the definition or meaning and characteristic (Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language, 1998) of public officials. As already know. The definition of public officials could be generally divided into three: first: public officials, second: government officials, and third: professional officials. Public officials are "political appointee", which are appointed through political consideration, and government officials are "administrative appointee", which are appointed for administrative reasons. Whereas Professional Officers are appointed due to an increasingly unstoppable market demand, and therefore, the professional officials start to lead the public duties, even if the facilities and benefits are not derived from the Government.

In order to discuss the meaning of Public Officials, it is better for us to understand the basic functions of organs in government. According to Hans Kelsen: "An organ, in this sense, is an individual fulfilling a specific function" (Kelsen, 1961). The quality of the individual as a state organ is determined by its function. The individual can be considered as a state organ, because the individual implements function that create law (law-creating function) or function that implements law (law applying function) (Kelsen, 1961). Furthermore, in order to understand the concept of public officials, we should be able to explain about the meaning/ definition of "government" both in broader sense (wide sense) as well as in a narrow sense (Manan, 2009). CF Strong (Strong, 1983) defined that the government in a broader sense as an intact state organization with all the equipments/ agencies that have legislative, executive and judicial functions. In other words, a nation with its agencies and equipments is the definition of government in a broader sense. In contrary, the definition of government in a narrow sense only refers to a single function, which is the executive function. Based on Strong's opinion, the definition of public officials will refer to the definition of government in a broader sense. While the definition of public officials will refer to the definition of government in a narrow sense, or officials who are in the government alone, which is the branch of the executive power.

From the meaning of State Officials which indirectly alluded to by Hans Kelsen and C.F. Strong above, then there are some main thoughts from Jimly Asshiddiqie stating that: "state officials are" political appointee "while state officials are" administrative appointee ". This means that state officials are appointed or elected because of political considerations, while state officials are elected purely for administrative reasons. All officials appointed for political appointment must be sourced and in the exercise of the principle of popular sovereignty. Because the people are essentially Holding the highest sovereignty or power in the field of state politics. Officials appointed for such considerations are commonly referred to as elected official officials (Asshiddiqie, 2010).

Furthermore, in order to clarify the opinion of Jimly Asshiddiqie, Bagir Manan tries to raise a question whether the public officials hold the position of true public officials or not, and it is necessary to examine the function of position that held by the state institution. Bagir Manan categorized 3 (three) types of state institutions according to their functions (Manan, 2009):

1. State institutions that directly perform the functions of the state or acting for and on behalf of the state/ nation, such as the Presidential Institution, the People's Legislative Assembly, and the Judiciary Authority. These institutions are called state agencies or organizations.

2. State institutions that perform the administrative functions and do not act for and on behalf of the state. It means that these institutions only runs non-constitutional administrative tasks. The institutions that perform this function is called an administrative institutions.

3. Supporting state institutions or supporting bodies that serve to support the function of state agencies or organization. This type of institution is called an auxiliary organ/agency.

This division is in accordance with Hans Kelsen's idea about the concept of the State Organ in his book that titled General Theory of Law and State. Hans Kelsen described: "Whoever fulfills a function is determined by the legal order is an organ", and it means that anyone who performs a function that determined by a legal order could be considered as an organ. According to Kelsen, the parliament that enacts the legislation and citizens who voted for their representatives through elections could be considered as state organs in the broader sense. Similarly, judges who try and punish criminals and convicts who accept the punishment in correctional institutions could also be considered as state organ. In other simpler words, the state organs is identical to the individuals that have function and positions in the context of state administration. These positions are called public officers and public officials. In addition to this broader sense, Hans Kelsen also described the existence of the state organ in a narrow sense, which is the definition of organ in material sense. Individuals could be said as state organs if they personally have specific legal position. Based on such categorization, it could be concluded that the public officials are those whose working environment is in the state institution, which are the agencies of state along with its auxiliary organ/agencies.

In contrast to Jimly Asshiddiqie and Bagir Manan's ideas, Philipus M Hadjon defined the Public Officials that based on the process in obtaining the authority. Public officials could autonomously obtain the authority (Hadjon, 2002):

1. Based on the law that regulates the position;

2. Hierarchically not subordinate to other Public officials;

Such authority in point 2 according to Hadjon is called Decentralization, which is the authority exercised by officials in whose exercise the authority is not hierarchically under a higher authority (Hadjon, 2002). Whereas the authority of Deconcentration is an authority that they can exercise (Civil servants) who are hierarchically still lowly employees who have such authority in accordance with or according to the Act (Hadjon, 2002).

Based on the description above, the researcher is able to draw a conclusion of the criteria of Public officials:

1. Officials that are subject to the Constitution.

2. State institutions that directly perform the functions of the State or acting for and on behalf of the State Institutions that perform

this function, which are considered as state agencies.

3. Officials who are appointed or elected for political appointment.
4. Officials who are not hierarchically subordinate to other public officials.

Certainty on the Criteria and Division of Public Officials becomes very important and urgent, and it also applies to the division of ranks in Civil Servants. It is because that the Division of Criteria of Public Officials does not only affect the income, benefits and facilities, but it also relates to the authority and level of positions held by each organization in structural positions in state institution, which is directly related to the Specialization of Works, chain of command, span of control, Centralization-Decentralization and Formalization (Robbins, 2007). Therefore, if the Criteria and the Division of Public Officials are consistently implemented, then it will not be impossible that the institutional structure of the State Institution will be as effective as proposed by Ivancevich (Ivancevich, 2008).

CONCLUSION

After the amendment of the Constitution of 1945, Indonesia does not have yet the criteria and division of public officials in its administration system. As already known, Law No. 28 of 1999, Law No. 43 of 1999 and Law No. 5 of 2014 only directly point to the institutions that are categorized as Public Officials, however, the regulation function of these laws seems conflict to each other and producing law disharmony. Therefore, the division of public officials criteria should be based on the following criteria: (1) Officials that are subject to the Constitution, (2) State institutions that directly perform the functions of the State or acting for and on behalf of the State Institutions that perform this function, which are considered as state agencies, (3) Officials who are appointed or elected for political appointment, and (4) Officials who are not hierarchically subordinate to other public officials.

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GOVERNING STREET VENDORS AND PROSTITUTION IN INDONESIA: COOPTATION BY THE GOVERNMENT AND EMPOWERMENT MARGINALIZED GROUPS BY THE COMMUNITY

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Abstract

In the view of Surakarta City Government, the attractiveness of the city was deteriorated from increasing street vendors activities. Using the terminology of 'empowerment of the poor', the government decided to relocate many the street vendors to a newly built 'traditional' market designated for them in a location where recognized prostitution activities had been run for decades. Officially the policy was intended to improve the street vendors' livelihoods and ensure their future. This study used ethnographic methods. It was found that the street vendors rejected the policy until the city government met all their demands or at least that the prostitution activities should be cleared from the proposed re-location area. The city government then co-opted the leaders of the street vendors and of the prostitutes and procurers to support its policy. The implementation of the policy caused declines in the livelihoods of the powerless street vendors and former prostitutes and procurers. The city government had promised that former procurers would be given rights to parcels of state-owned land that they had occupied, in some cases for decades, and former prostitutes given financial compensation. However, these promises were not kept and the lives of those who had earned their living in the prostitution trade deteriorated as they became unemployed. It was members of the Islamic-based local community with a concern for the lives of these disadvantaged people who acted to develop social capital to produce an alternative governance and empowerment for them. So, it was demonstrated that governance of disadvantaged groups in the form of empowerment terminology based on a city government's perspectives may include cooptation in the pursuit of governmental objectives but if the government does not also provide adequate social welfare services for members of marginalized groups, the local community may complement government inaction in improving their future livelihood.

Keywords: cooptation, empowerment, governance, social capital, disadvantaged people.

INTRODUCTION

The City of Surakarta in Central Java has a population of about half a million living within its official municipal boundary, but is in the middle of a densely populated area with several million people living and working in what, in some ways, is effectively a Greater Surakarta region. The municipality is headed by an elected Mayor and is divided administratively into 5 Districts, each headed by an appointed Camat, then further subdivided into 51 Sub-districts, with from 7 to 13 in each District headed by an appointed Lurah. The number of street vendors in Surakarta city during the early reform era from 1998 had increased from year to year, compounded by the economic crises where the formal sector could not provide adequate employment opportunities; and becoming a street vendor was the only available option for their survival with easy entry requirements. Although a precise number of street vendors was not easy to count because it varied with time of day or season of the year [ILO, 2013], the city government's official data indicates the trend: 2001 1,115; 2002 tripled to 3,390; 2003 3,834 (Kantor Pengelolaan PKL Kota Surakarta, 2003); by mid-2005 by more than half again, to 5,817 (Handayani, 2006). Also, in a politically important change, at the end of 2003, about 74 per cent of them were long term Surakarta City residents but by mid-2005 the city government was claiming that about 80 per cent were economic immigrants from the surrounding areas

About 1000 of the street vendors, both resident and migrant, occupied the public space around the 1945 Monument of Struggle in the Setabelan Sub-district of Banjarsari District. As they had effectively taken over this central civic space and constructed permanent or semi-permanent stalls, the city government defined this as reducing the attractiveness of the city and the street vendors there as a 'public problem'; However, "problems are often defined differentlyby individuals and groups holding varying interest and values" (Anderson, 1990, p. 79). Having defined this 'public problem' the city government decided it could be solved by relocating the street vendors. This is the development of specific instruments to achieve government goals. However, in presenting its policy with the city government labeling it as 'empowerment for the poor', with the provision of social welfare or guidance, the actual goal was removal or relocation of the target group, together with any other action, such as cooptation embedded in governance of the group.

There have been diverse studies on street vending in poor countries. Some focused on the revenues of street vendors or the local government (Adhikari, 2011; Rachmawati, 2014); conflicting relationships between street vendors and government (Pena, 1999; Cross, 2000; Njaya, 2014); formalization of street vending (Monte and da Silva, 2013); relations between street vendors and poverty alleviation (Mramba, 2014); the relationship between global economic crisis, migration and the growth of street vending (Bhowmik, 2005), and the empowerment of marginalized street vendors for developing creative economy (Syamsir, 2016). Similarly, there have been various studies on prostitution issues. Some studies focused on reasons of legalized prostitution (Long, 2012); relationships between reasons for gradual migration and prostitution (Sapio, 2011); trafficking for prostitution (Farley, 2009; Leman & Janssens, 2008); government legislation on prostitution (Mathieson, 2015; Kim, 2007); causes and effects of prostitution on education and health (Ogutu & Muraguri, 2016; Goodman & Fallot, 1998); the relationship between social media and prostitution among students of institutions of higher learning

(Ufuophu-Biri & Iwu, 2014); causes of sexual exploitation (Kumar, 2014; Silbert & Pines, 1983); and the social relationships between women involved in streetwalking prostitution and families (Dalla, 2001). Despite these diverse studies, none specially discusses policy on street vending that affects the livelihood of actors in prostitution.

This paper both discusses policy issues on street vending and prostitution and also deepens the previous published study by Sudarmo (2011) about the prostitution trade in this Surakarta sub-district. In particular, the paper discusses the policy implementation of the Surakarta government relocating street vendors to a location with an existing prostitution trade, using the label of 'empowerment' but at the expense of powerless street vendors, former prostitutes and procurers after the government co-opted the leaders of these groups. This discussion includes the initial lack of local government's commitment to provide any social welfare service assistance as compensation for the eligible former procurers and prostitutes but then this being provided by individuals and organizations in the local community with the intention of actually empowering members of the disadvantaged groups.

Empowerment of disadvantaged groups is often portrayed as part of good governance (Ogbogu, 2012); as a vital potency to realize better evenhandedness, and to make poor and marginalized people able to break out through obstacles of poverty and inequality and take part in greater political, economic and cultural functions in society (Tucker & Ludi, 2012), as a prerequisite for achieving effective and people–centered development (Agu cited in Owolabi & O'Neill, 2013; Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2012); as supporting people, individually or collectively, to attain better control over their lives; 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 & Cauch, 2006); as an action to support weak groups in society (Esidene & Abdul, 2013); and which has wider benefits and impact (Olufuunke, 2014).

However, in this case the city government's proposed actions, allegedly to empower the target groups of street vendors, prostitutes and procurers, were initially rejected by them. In a clear case of a common response to this, the government as the 'power holder attempted to co-opt them by intentionally extending some form of political participation to actors who pose a threat' (Lacy cited in Corntasell, 2007), intending to 'bring the interests of a challenging group into alignment with its own goals' (Trumpy, 2008).

There has been a general consensus that states are responsible for protecting 'all those unable to care for themselves for whatever reasons' such as poor street vendors and marginalized people in the prostitution trade; and also that social welfare is 'a matter of right rather than of need' (Kwok, 2004). Social economic empowerment for disadvantaged groups by a welfare-state regime where the government guarantees the wellbeing of its citizens (Pakpahan 2010) can be initiated by providing a social welfare service for them as a system of transfer payments to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich and assist the powerless to sustain their lives (Warnecke & DeRuyter, 2008). Unfortunately, such public services could not be provided by the Surakarta government because of limited resources. However, if there is a lack of government public services, a community may have, to some extent, a capacity to govern and provide services to its members which are not able to be provided by individuals alone or by market and state (Bowles & Gintis, 2002).

Perceptions and suggestions are provided by earlier theoretical and empirical work and publication on cooptation and empowerment, but cooptation of group leaders of street vendors and procurers and prostitutes by the Surakarta city government in the early reform era has not been studied in a systematic manner. Neither has its consequences which led to empowerment of former procurers and prostitutes by the community after the entire removal of the long-existing prostitution activities (in the Silir zone of Semanggi District) from the area proposed for street vendor relocation. Thus, this study focuses on how the process of cooptation and marginalization happened and how, with a

refusal and lack of government resources, a local community was able to empower disadvantaged people by providing free training and short courses as a social welfare service through the creation of networks with others.

METHODS

This study was descriptive qualitative research, using an ethnographic method, involving two stages of fieldwork: the five months July-November 2016, then the four months April-June 2017 in Semanggi Sub-district of Surakarta which included the Silir prostitution zone; spending much time watching street traders, former prostitutes and procurers of Silir, officials of the Surakarta City government relating to market affairs and law enforcement, Sarjoko and his family and officials of the Ar-Ridho foundation involved in the prostitution issue in Silir; and talking to them about what they did, thought and said. This approach was designed to gain insights into the ideas, opinions and concerns of all these involved actors about (1) the government's policy on the relocation of street vendors into the new market building and the implications of its implementation on their livelihoods, and (2) the closure of the local prostitution zone's activities and its impact on the livelihoods of former prostitutes and procurers. The subjects of the various approaches were selected on the basis of both purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques. This was combined with interviews with local people and with detailed content analyses of relevant documentary materials and local newspapers. The validity of the research was increased by this use of multiple sources and forms of data which could be compared and related to each other, so providing for triangulation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Surakarta city government had decided that the street vendors with their stalls in the open public area in the center of the city around the Monument were breaking local city law and so it could use its legal power to compulsorily relocate them to the newly built Notoharjo market in Semanggi in July 2006. This was part of the government's policy for a

zero growth of street vendors by the end of 2007 and restoring what it considered to be a declining attractiveness of the city. In implementing the policy, after it had already been through several stages of planning by government officials, the city government invited representatives of nine street vendors groups, mainly only their leaders and other officers to attend the meeting and engage in a dialogue with the Mayor at his official house in November 2005. The city government also invited two local non-government organizations, *Kompip* (Consortium of Non-Governmental Organizations for Monitoring and Empowerment of Public Institution) and *Gita Pertiwi (*an environmental action and advisory association*)* to attend.

During the meeting, the Head of the Regional Planning Board explained the reasons why relocation should take place and his prediction of its strongly positive impact on Surakarta's development. During the meeting most of the street vendor representatives listened in silence but three expressed a similar interest that prostitution should be removed from Silir in Semanggi. In fact, the demand articulated to the city officials were intended to justify rejecting the relocation, basically because they had found the area around the Monument was a suitable place for marketing their goods while Semanggi was a remote area that was not a strategic place for running their businesses.

Because of this rejection at the meeting, which had probably been planned to achieve agreement and acceptance of the city's already decided plan, the city government tried to provoke local residents to put pressure on the street vendors in their neighborhood. To facilitate its desire to achieve its policy goal of 'keeping Surakarta city beautiful' to relocate the vendors to Semanggi (and therefore Silir), the city government tried to encourage the long-term Surakarta residents to themselves oppose the continued existence of the street vendors in their neighborhoods, not only those around the Monument. The Mayor disseminated this program by encouraging and challenging subordinate officials, including Camat and Lurah, and other influential local residents to ban the street vendors. Lurah then passed the Mayor's 'instruction' to the leaders of neighborhood associations and the heads of citizen associations encouraging them to chase away the street vendors running businesses in their own area.

Since the first dialogue had failed to achieve agreement between the city government and street vendors, the city government made more serious attempts to relocate them by arranging a second dialogue. It also asked the two local NGOs to be involved in the government team organizing the relocation. The coordinators of the NGOs tried to mediate between the interests of city government and the street vendors. The Mayor was induced to provide kiosks in the market for free ownership, not just for free use, as had been offered in the first dialogue, but actual ownership. The Mayor finally 'heard and accepted' this proposal made by the coordinators of the NGOs and prepared for the second dialogue.

The city government again invited street vendors to have a second dialogue, on 30 December 2005 in the City Hall Room. Contrasting with the first dialogue that had only invited the leaders and some other representatives of street vendors, the second dialogue invited all street vendors as well as their officers and leaders. The Mayor during the meeting promised to provide kiosks for free, soft loans amounting to 200 million Rupiah, and promised he would ask the national Minister of Cooperatives to provide 5 million Rupiah for each relocated street vendor in 2007, and would provide legal licenses for free and with no daily fees until early 2007.

By mid-January 2006 this proposed relocation program had been supported by three groups of street vendors coordinated by one influential leader, LT, but the remaining six groups organized by another prominent leader, ED, still did not agree because they were still in doubt over whether the new location would provide future certainty for their livelihood and their leader was clearly so. The city government then put pressure on the oppositional groups by sending police intelligence agents to spy on their meeting activities during the dissemination of the relocation plan, in particular after the January 2006 meeting until the eventual agreement in

July. Any meeting they held after the failure of the second dialogue was always under police surveillance. This situation created pressure and scared the street vendor groups and their leaders in their continuing opposition. Eventually, because they did not see any other option, they accepted the city government decision that they should be relocated.

Finally, all street vendors occupying the area around the Monument were relocated to the newly built market of Notoharjo on 23 July 2006. The vendors themselves were not given a choice of where in the market building they would be. The city government put all the small vendors, with small capital businesses who used to sell used metal goods, on the top floor which was not commercially strategic. In contrast, the large vendors who usually sold new goods, in particular the vendors of motor spare parts, were put on the ground floor and the front sides, the places that were most strategic. Consequently, the relocated small vendors could not sell their goods as they used to because prospective buyers were now very rare in their new location. All of them were now in financial trouble because their income had not just declined drastically but most of them had stopped having any income at all. Consequently, many changed their occupation, some men becoming trishaw riders, and some women becoming household helpers for other families. Others had preferred to close their kiosks although the city government threatened them that these would be taken back if they were kept closed for a whole month. A very few defended themselves and survived by changing the commodities they sold from used goods to drinks.

The city government also broke its promises in that the Mayor had announced at the end of the December 2005 dialogue that ownership of all kiosks would be provided for free but this did not materialize; what was provided was only the right for their use whilst their ownership was still by the city government. The government further broke the agreement by charging each vendor for electricity, sanitation and security whether they used electricity or not. This decision was not only inconsistent with its promises to provide facilities including freedom from charges until 2007 but was also felt as a serious burden that threatened the sustainability of their businesses while these were deteriorating. Many small vendors planned to lease their kiosks to other large vendors while many others had plans to sell theirs to vendors with strong capital. The city government did not provide the placement licenses immediately. Due to their economic burden, many of the initial vendors sold their kiosks. By December 2006, after only 5 months, at least 30 per cent of the kiosks had already been sold to others, in particular, those with strong capital, and thus changed their ownership. By 2016 about half of the kiosks had been sold by their initial owners to richer traders.

Although the street vendors had nominally received the basically soft loans amounting to IDR 200 million from the city government as it had promised, the money did not go directly to them but went to LT. He, together with his wife and son, managed this money in a cooperation (koperasi). No vendor knew when this cooperative was established because neither LT nor the city government had ever involved other street vendors in this establishment although they had the right to be involved and the right to own this money jointly as the city government had promised in the second dialogue phase before relocation. However, LT and his family treated the cooperative as their own private company and treated vendors as customers rather than the members of the cooperative. Small vendors never got any access to have loans from this cooperative. LT and family also rented their own kiosk to the cooperative as its office at a cost of Rp 600,000 per month. He had also been given strategically placed kiosks when he was relocated. Moreover, he only gave access for loans to the large (rich) vendors and to those who had good personal relationships with him.

The city government also provided extra facilities to ED, the leader who earlier had opposed the relocation program. It entrusted him with the management of the lavatory and the mosque in this area. Both public facilities produced money for him. The city government's decision to appoint him was not transparent because it did not involve any other vendor in the decision-making process.

The relocation of street vendors to the new location also affected the livelihoods of Silir prostitutes and procurers. The prostitution business in Silir involved 63 procurers and more than 200 prostitutes; it was mainly through brothels owned by procurers who recruited prostitutes and provided rooms for them to work in, usually from late afternoon to midnight, with both procurers and prostitutes living on the premises and the prostitutes paying the procurer for each customer. The prostitution was organized by its leader, MP. He was by far the richest procurer with at least 5 houses being used as brothels and employing more than 40 prostitutes.

In relation to the street vendors' demand for removing the prostitution as one of the requirements for their accepting the relocation to Silir, the city government issued an ultimatum that 10 July 2006 was the last day that prostitutes could live there. The procurers had agreed to the Mayor's instruction as long as the city government provided a parcel of 300 square meters of land for each procurer who had occupied it for more than 20 years and granted him or her a formal certificate as the legalization of land ownership. However, it was not easy for the procurers to obtain the land because they had to meet several other 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 (Parliament), and 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 and the Mayoral Decree 1/2012 on the Urban Spatial Plan for Surakarta City 2011-2031.

Among the 63 procurers living in the area, 2 obtained a certificate and 22 had sold their land to MP. 16 were occupying state-owned land, 30 privately-owned land and 15 city government concession land. The National Land Board could only process the applications of those on national state land. Processing the applications of those on the city 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 proceed on its own as it could not make the necessary decisions without the agreement of the Assembly.

The processing of the 10 applicants who were occupying state land was given priority because their cases were considered to be relatively easy. However, the procedures were still not as easy as had been supposed, with only two obtaining their certificates of land ownership from the National Land Board on 22 July 2006, after each of them had paid to this office a total of 7 million Rupiah (about US$538). Those who lived on privately owned or city concession land had even more trouble. This was not only due to the complicated procedures required but also to their financial incapacity because the process would require between 3 and 5 million Rupiah (about US$ 385) depending on the size of the land they were applying for, plus this did not include the additional fees for the state treasury and operational costs that could be as much as another Rp 2 million (about US$ 154) while the city government did not provide any financial assistance for them.

The city government also broke another element of the agreement it had made with the procurers and prostitutes. It had been agreed that the prostitutes would leave by 10 July 2006 but city government officials, in cooperation with police and local people not involved in the sex trade, had actually chased them away on 23 June 2006, three weeks before the due date, coming when they were sleeping. Each of the prostitutes only obtained Rp 50,000 (about US$ 3.85) from her procurer for a transportation fee. This money was basically the prostitutes' own money which they had previously contributed to their procurers because each of them had an obligation to always provide Rp 500 per visitor she served. A procurer could thereby obtain Rp 2,500 from each prostitute each night; and the total cash before they closed had reached an estimated almost Rp 50 million. The city government basically had promised to provide Rp 1 million as a financial compensation to each prostitute but this had never materialized. The prostitutes, who were mostly not Solo residents, 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 had become prostitutes to enable their families' survival.

MP, the leader of the prostitution business, had colluded with the power holders of Surakarta by encouraging them to close down prostitution in Silir and sell their land. Since he had become dissatisfied with the previously dominant Golkar party in the 1997 election, he had joined the PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) and become the right-hand man of Surakarta's PDIP Mayor and Vice Mayor in encouraging his community members to support their re-election in the June 2005 election of the mayor and vice mayor. The demand by MP on behalf of all procurers of Silir for the city government to provide land certificates to them was encouraged by the fact that he was occupying at least 13 parcels of land of 300 square metres each, and his demand was positively responded to by the Vice Mayor because it was also part of the reward for his efforts on behalf of what became the victorious re-elected mayoral team. He had also always encouraged the other procurers to leave their houses, hoping they would sell their properties to him, and after that he asked the city government to help him by providing the certificates of the land ownership in his name.

The closure of the prostitution businesses had caused the procurers' lives to deteriorate; they lived in economic trouble because they were now unemployed without a secure income. Before the end of 2006 about 40 of the 63 procurers had resigned from the prostitution business because they were getting older and did not have any access to re-enter the business due to lack of capital since they were falling into debt whilst the remaining 23 procurers moved out from Silir.

The resulting poor situation of many of the former procurers and prostitutes, mostly illiterate and unskilled, attracted the attention of a local resident, Sarjoko, and his family. They were concerned about the future of these disadvantaged people, and also wanted to change the stereotype of Silir from a center of Surakarta prostitution into it being a center of public education. Therefore, this family initiated efforts to empower the former procurers and prostitutes by providing them with material and financial assistance from their own family's financial and social capital. But as their capacity to provide aid was limited so their efforts were not sustainable by themselves alone so they approached the city government asking for the promised right of former procurers to have a parcel of land. The city government rejected this request using legal reasons, and until the end of 2016 no more land grants were made. After repeated attempts during 2006 to lobby the city government had failed again and again, the family created a network with Islamic religion-based organizations in Surakarta and succeeded in setting up the Ar-Ridho Foundation, a religion-based non-profit organization working on social and poverty issues, human development and dignity. This foundation, led by Sarjoko, initiated the construction of a center of education in Semanggi for the former procurers and prostitutes of Silir. It provided kindergarten education for children of them and offered free training. The former procurers and prostitutes were trained to improve their skills in the reading of the Holy Qur'an, making home industry products and diverse foods, operating a computer, beautifying services, management of the marketing of their products, tailoring and other training intended to improve their work-related and entrepreneurial competences. They were encouraged to change their old behavior which is not allowed according to Islamic religion rules, society norms, national laws, and local laws, such as Surakarta Law 3/2006 concerning prevention of commercial sexual exploitation which states that prostitution is illegal. This free training in entrepreneurship, marketing management and other courses has been provided continually since 2006 by the Ar-Ridho Foundation, in cooperation with private institutions such as the Bank of Mandiri providing capital of 450 million Rupiah in 2014, the *Dan Liris* Corporation and the *Vinsa Mandiritama* Corporation supplying 15 sewing and tailoring machines in 2013; and other non-government organizations offering continuing short courses in producing traditional food and its diversification. As their competences were improved the Ar-Ridho Foundation, in cooperation with other distributors, also helped

the former prostitutes and procurers to find market networks for their products. Because of these various kinds of empowerment, they were now able to have sustainable incomes and be self-sufficient.

The above discussion shows that the city government's relocation of street vendors from the Monument to the new Notoharjo Market building did not really represent empowerment for the powerless street vendors. Instead, it was governance with cooptation by the city government of the influential leaders of the groups of street vendors, prostitutes and procurers, and cooption by the dominant leaders of their members. It represents a situation in which some parties with a strong interest in the outcome of regulatory decisions attempted successfully to influence the groups making such decisions, in a situation in which those entities with most power, democratically entrusted with protecting the public interest, are charged with regulating the groups (Jaffee & Howard, 2009). This was cooptation because there was a process of absorbing new elements into the leadership, or policy-determining, structure of the city government as a means of diverting threats to its stability (Selznick, 1949); and there were efforts of the city government 'to neutralize the effectiveness of movements for social change or to maintain the status quo' (Jaffee & Howard, 2009; Campbell, 2001; Gamson, 1968, 1975).

The above discussion also shows that the removal of organized prostitution while the city government did not have sufficient priority in its commitments to provide any of the promised compensation for the former prostitutes and procurers would have resulted in poverty and marginalization of these disadvantaged people. Marginalization implies issues of human rights (Schaffer & Smith, 2004) and. happens because the perspectives, ideology, culture, interests and preferences of the powerful group dominate those of the weaker group. Both society-at-large and government may be involved in the process of marginalization through government policy and actions (Suparno, Ismunandar, & Rochimah, 2005). In this case the city government used its resources of governance, as well as in coopting dissident leaders, to organize and mobilize elements of the local society-at-large to act against both the street vendors and the Silir prostitution after they had been publicly defined as marginalized groups.

It is also clear that a community may create an important contribution to governance through empowerment of the poor, the powerless or disadvantaged groups as market contracts and government's social welfare services were lacking (Bowles & Gintis, 2002). Local elements of the community who were concerned about the problems faced by the former procurers and prostitutes were able to work effectively in resolving the problems because they were able to develop themselves into an autonomous institution which did not rely on the city government. Its independence enabled it to work collectively with other institutions in empowering the disadvantaged people (Pratchett, 2004) and to develop their network to form bridging and linking social capital (Putnam, 2000, Pretty. 2003; Sanginga, Kamugisha, & Martin, 2007) sharing resources in providing practically relevant social welfare services for them. The provision of these services in the form of 'competency' improvement for the disadvantaged and marginalized by the Ar-Ridho Foundation led by Sarjoko 'is a kind of empowerment' (Brookings & Bolton, 2000; Menon & Hartmann, 2002). The Ar-Ridho Foundation has implemented ideas of a capability approach (Nussabaum, 2000), focusing on the *realized* functionings (what former procurers and prostitutes are actually able to do in the real normal world and on the capability set of alternatives she or he has (as real opportunities). As 40 former procurers and some former prostitutes went through this process of personal transformation, "they built up their self-esteem and self-confidence, and were able to create safer and happier home environments for themselves and their families" (Tsey, 2008, p.17), and free themselves of dependency (Friedmann, 1992; Lennie, 2002).

CONCLUSSIONS

Implementation of government policy may bring positive impacts but also negative impacts for those being governed. In a process of governance labeled as empowerment the implementation may embed cooptation because

the power holders want their programs to be successful so that they attempt to use any form of influence or pressure on a target group perceived to be a threat to the success of the programs and will be intended to keep the status quo of relative power.

In the absence of government public service for a disadvantaged group, including cases where the government defines and operates against a marginalized group, elements of the community may perform alternative governance for its members and for those of the marginalized group. This governance may provide a program of empowerment for this group, such as powerless former procurers and prostitutes in this case; but to make it effective the program should provide directly practical and work-related skills such as literacy education and livelihood skills training plus a package of economic support and related training to the disadvantaged, marginalized people so that they may improve their self-reliance, self-confidence and their advanced status in the family and community.

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Chapter 4
Issue and Contemporary Theory

IMPLEMENTATION OF REGIONAL EXPANSION ACCORDING TO LAW NO. 32 OF 2004

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Abstract

The regional growth is a product of public policy, as the government attempts to solve public problems. Implementation of regional expansion policies as outlined in Law No. 32 of 2004, has brought new changes compared to the previous law. Regional Expansion is solving Provinces, the Regency, and City into more than one area.The formulation of the problem is how the implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 of 2004. The purpose of this study was to analyze the implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law. 32 of 2004 on the model of implementation of Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn , The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative method. This method is used to establish the facts, circumstances, phenomena, variables and circumstances that occurred while running the research and presenting all the events are.The results of the study "Implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 of 2004" are, (1) The activities of implementation and communication between central and local government organizations went well through the decentralized system, (2) characteristics of the implementing agencies of regional expansion is good enough, (3) the economic, social and political areas became the main requirements of regional expansion. (4) tendency (disposition) of implementing the regional division is still experiencing dishonesty because there is the forced establishment of new regions in order to gain positions and power.The conclusion of this study is the regional division is run fairly well but there are still many political elites who exploit regional expansion only to have the sheer power without thinking about the welfare of the people. Based on these explanations, the regional expansion is expected to refer to the Law No. 32 of 2004

Keywords: *Public Policy , Implementation, Regional Expansion, Law No. 32 of 2004*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a unitary state, as a unitary state then sovereignty is singular. The system of government within a unitary state is centralized. But over time the Indonesian system of government changed, the centralized system changed into decentralization. This change occurs because the Indonesian state is too broad to be managed by the central government. The central government can not manage a very wide area from Sabang to Merauke. The country of Indonesia consists of tens of thousands of large and small islands with a diverse population of different ethnicities and religions. The number of islands in Indonesia according to data of the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in 2004 is 17,504 island. 7,870 of them have names, while 9,634 have no names. Based on these data, the Indonesian government must have the ability to manage all areas fairly

and equitably. To create a sense of fairness and equality in every region required a system that can benefit all parties. The system is a regional autonomy.

According to Law No. 32 of 2004, Regional Autonomy can be interpreted as the right, authority and obligation given to the autonomous regions to regulate and manage their own governmental affairs and the interests of local people according to the aspirations of the people to improve the efficiency and effective in the framework of Service to the community and the implementation of development in accordance with the legislation. To run regional autonomy it is necessary to establish an autonomous region. An autonomous region is a legal community unity that has territorial boundaries that is authorized to regulate and manage governmental affairs and the interests of local people according to their own initiatives based on the aspirations of the people.

To set the boundaries of the region then formed the so-called provinces, districts and cities. This is described in Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution which reads as follows: "The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is divided into provinces and provinces divided into districts and municipalities, where each province, district, and city have local government, which is regulated By law ".

The concept of regional autonomy in essence implies the existence of regional freedom to make decisions both political and administrative according to their own initiative. Therefore, regional independence is an important thing, there should be no intervention from the central government. The lack of self-reliance means region dependence to the center. Thus, accompanying the implementation of regional autonomy is the expansion of the region, the changes that accompany the regional autonomy are very influential on life at the regional level, among them are the many encountered the spirit of the region who want to split its territory, though eventually the problems will arise soon, including the infrastructure Inadequate, boundary issues, parent regions that do not provide financial support, the problem of asset delivery by the parent district, and as a new area have not been able to explore the income original area (PAD), so tend to levy taxes and levies and so on.

Demands from the expansion of the region that occurred during this generally based on the government's inability to carry out the maximum service function as a result of the area and the development of the population in addition to other supporting facilities and infrastructure. This resulted in a gap in society, between people whose positions are relatively close to the center of government with a society far from the center of government. Based on this, the division of the region is very important to be implemented so that areas far from the central government can enjoy the same development as the areas close to the central government.

PROBLEM FORMULATION

Based on the description of the above background, the division of the region must have a comprehensive development orientation of development solutions for both the extended area and the parent region. Therefore, this research will discuss about How to Implement the Expansion of Regions According to Law No 32 Year 2004 in South Sumatera Province

LITERATURE

a. Public policy

According to Thomas R Dye (1995, 2) in Nugroho, public policy is what government do, why they do it, and what difference it makes. Based on these definitions, it can be interpreted that public policy is something that is done by the government. The government in question consists of 1) at the national level are all state institutions namely legislative bodies (MPR and DPR), executive institutions (President and Ministers), judicial institutions (MA and Judiciary), 2) at the regional level covering local governments and DPRD. The notion is also expressed by Anderson. According to Anderson public policy are the policies developed by agencies and government officials.

According to H. Hugh Heglo in Agustino (2006: 21) policy is an action that intends to achieve certain goals. Anderson in Islamy (1999: 4) defines policy as a set of actions that have a specific purpose followed and executed by a principal or a group of actors to solve a particular problem. Explanation of the two experts can be concluded that: the policy is a procedure to formulate something based on certain rules which then used as a tool to solve the problem and achieve a goal.

In a simple policy can be grouped by character into three (Nugroho, 2006: 31), namely:

1. Public policies that are macro or general include the 1945 Constitution, Laws / Government Regulations in Lieu of Laws, Government Regulations, Presidential Sellers and Regional Regulations.
2. Meso public policy includes Minister Regulation, Ministerial Circular Letter, Governor Regulation, Regent's Regulation and Mayor's Regulation.
3. Micro public policy includes policies governing the implementer or implementation of public policy such as regulations issued by public apparatus under the Minister, Governor, Regent and Mayor.

Based on the above explanation it can be concluded that public policy is a regulation made by the government to solve problems and achieve a goal.

b.   Regional Expansion Policy

One of the problems that exist in the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is the number of territories that must be managed by the Unitary State of the Republic. To manage it fairly and evenly, the government issued a public policy in the form of Law No. 32 of 2004 on local government in which there is a policy on the expansion of the region. According to Law No. 32 of 2004 the division is one area into two or more regions. In relation to that, pemekaran can also be interpreted as a whole or a unity that is divided or separated into several independent parts. (Poerwadarminta, 2005). Thus, the region / region of pemekaran is a region / territory that was previously a unified whole which then divided or divided into several parts to regulate and manage the affairs of his own government. This policy of regional expansion aims to improve the welfare of the community through:

1. Improved service to the community.
2. Accelerating the growth of democratic life.
3. Acceleration of regional economic development.
4. Acceleration of regional potential management.
5. Improved security and order.
6. Improved harmonious relationship between the Center and the Regions.

The Terms that must be met by one region to split the territory according to Law No. 32 of 2004 there are three conditions, namely:

1. Administrative requirements:

   a.   For the province, there should be approval of the Regency / Municipal DPRD and the Regent or Mayor that will be the province's coverage, the approval of the Provincial Parliament and the Governor, as well as the recommendation of the Minister of Home Affairs.

   b.   For the district / municipality, there should be the approval of the Regency / Municipal DPRD and the relevant Bupati or Mayor, the approval of the Provincial DPRD and the Governor, and the recommendation of the Minister of Home Affairs.

2. Technical Terms.

   The factors that form the basis of regional establishment are the factors of economic ability, regional potential, socio-cultural, socio-political, population, area, defense, security, and other factors that enable the implementation of regional autonomy.

3. Physical Terms must meet as follows:

   a.   For the formation of provinces at least 5 (five) districts.

   b.   For the establishment of a district at least 5 (five) sub-districts.

   c.   For the establishment of 4 cities (four) sub-districts.

   d.   Location of candidates for capital, facilities, and infrastructure of government.

In addition to these conditions Gie (2002) mentions there are five factors that must be considered in the formation / expansion of a region that is:

1. The area of a region as far as possible is a unity in the nexus, watering and in terms of economy and also must be considered the wishes of the local population, the equation of customs and habits of life.

2. The division of powers of government in the formation / expansion should be sought so that there are no equal duties and responsibilities and there must be a balance between the severity of the obligations that are left to the structures in the regions.

3. The population should not be too small.

4. Regional officials should have professional and expert staff.

5. Regional finance means there are sources of prosperity owned by the region itself.

After fulfillment of these conditions does not mean an area has by itself made the expansion of the region. This is caused by the requirement for the duration of the running of the parent government. There is a minimum age limit for the administration to be able to expand the region. For the formation of the Province required ten years, the Regency / City is

required seven years, and the District minimum administrative boundary is five years.

The division of the region has existed since time immemorial but it became popular in the era of reform, where in that era people felt freed from the shackles of the new order era so that people felt it was important to manage their own territory without central government intervention. Expansion of the territory or the establishment of new autonomous regions has become more widespread since the enactment of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Autonomy which was then revised to Law No. 32 of 2004.

At this time in the State of the Republic of Indonesia has had as many as 34 Provinces that have been spread throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia from sabang to marauke from miangas to rote island. Of the 34 provinces there are some of which are the New Province resulted from the pemekaran which after the reform era that is in 1999. While the number of districts and cities in the whole of Indonesia Currently as many as 416 districts (Data 2015 - 2016). The number of cities in Indonesia or se Indonesia currently is as much as 98 Cities (Data 2015 - 2016). So the total of regencies and cities in Indonesia today are 514 districts and cities.

Based on the number of provinces, districts and cities it can be seen that within 18 years of expansion of the territory of Indonesia is increasing. Many new provinces, districts and cities are emerging. To see the development of an area of expansion, it is necessary to compare the performance of the area before and after expansion. From this it will be seen, whether there is a significant change (progress) in an area after the split. Such an approach can be considered inappropriate if there is no equivalent comparison. In addition, comparisons can be made between parent regions and new autonomous regions (DOBs), so it can be seen how the impacts occur in these two areas after the expansion. Comparison is also made to the average development of districts / municipalities within the same province. It is intended to see in general the condition of new autonomous regions (DOB), parent regions. As well as the surrounding area.

c. Policy Implementation

Implementation by Donald van Meter and Carl van Horn is' The actions by public or private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions ". While Edward III in Winarno (2002) states that policy implementation is the stage of policy making between the formation of policies and the consequences or effects of policy on the target group affected. So in accordance with this opinion, the implementation can be interpreted as the policy-making stage between the formation of policies and the consequences or effects of policy on the target group directed towards the achievement of objectives outlined in policy decisions. But in practice the policymaker does not clearly decide what to do and what should not be done. Policymakers do not know clearly the goals or objectives of the policy, activities / activities to achieve the objectives and the results of policy implementation. This is supported by Browne and Wildavsky (in Nurdin and Usman, 2004: 70) who argue that "implementation is an extension of mutually adjusting activities. Based on the description it can be concluded that the word implementation leads to the activity, the action, action, or mechanism of a system. The mechanism implies that implementation is not merely an activity, but an activity that is planned and done seriously based on a certain normative reference to achieve the objectives of the activity.

d. Model - Model Implementation

Models are used to help analyze problems that arise in research based on facts in the field so that problems that arise can be solved with the help of policy implementation models. Based on the nature of the policy implementation model is divided into 2 parts, namely top-down and bottom-up model (Agustino, 2006: 140). According to the top-down model, policy implementation is centralized and starts from central level actors and the decision is taken from the central level. The top-down model starts from the perspective that policy decisions set by policymakers should be implemented by administrators or bureaucrats at the lower levels. The essence of the top-down model is the extent to which the actions of the implementers (administrators or bureaucrats) conform to the

procedures and objectives outlined by policymakers at the central level (Agustino, 2006: 140)

Implementation of a bottom-up policy is a process of policy-making and the possibility of empowerment of the targeted parties of the decision. The bottom-up implementation contains various strategies from the frontline bureaucracy in solving everyday problems (Lipsky in Parsons, 2006: 469). In order to limit this research, the researcher chose to present several theories that are considered relevant to the subject matter of the object being studied. This does not mean that researchers justify other theories are no longer relevant in the development of public policy implementation theory, but rather to direct researchers to focus more on the variables studied through this research.

Implementation model in this research is model of Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn. This model interprets that policy implementation will run in a linear fashion from policy, implementers and public policy performance. The variables that influence the success of Implementation by Van Meter and Van Horn, in Nugroho (2006: 128) are:

1. Implementation and communication activities between organizations
2. Characteristics of the implementing agency.
3. Economic, social, and political conditions.
4. The tendency of the implementor.

Here's the implementation model cycle according to Van Meter and Carl Van Horn
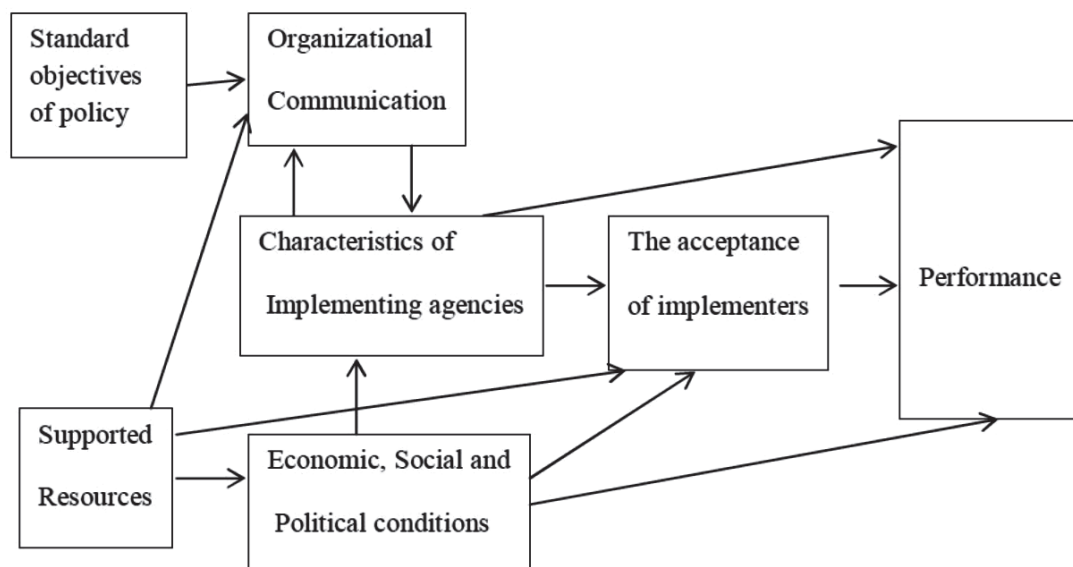
Based on the picture of the chart it can be interpreted as follows:

1. Standard objectives of policy

    Standards and objectives are needed to direct in implementing the policy, it is done in accordance with the program already planned.

2. Supported Resources

    Resource support is very important in implementing a policy. These resources are human resources, cost and time

3. Organizational Communication

    Communication between organizations is an important factor in running a public policy in order to achieve the goals that have been determined.

4. Characteristics of Implementing Agencies

    The success of the policy can be seen from the nature or characteristics of the implementing agency / agency. This is very important because the performance of the organization's implementation will be greatly influenced by the proper characteristics and fit with the agencies or implementing agencies.

5. Economic, Social and Political Condition

    Social, economic and political environmental conditions can affect public policy performance. A non-conducive environment can be a source of performance failure in policy implementation. Therefore, policy implementation requires conducive conditions of the external environment.

6. The Acceptance of Implementors

In the opinion of Van Metter and Van Horn in Augustine (2006): "the attitude of acceptance or rejection of the policy implementing agent greatly influences the success or failure of public policy implementation. This is very possible because the policies implemented are not the result of formulation of local people who know the problems and problems they feel. But public policy is usually top down which is very likely the decision makers do not know even unable to touch the needs, desires or problems that must be resolved.

In this study, the discussion about the good or bad performance of Regional Expansion Implementation According to Law No. 32 Year 2004 in South Sumatera Province using Model Implementation Van Meter and Carl Van Horn.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

a. Types of research

The type of research used in this study is the type of Policy Research. Policy Research is a process of research conducted on or analysis of basic social problems, so its findings can be recommended to decision makers to act practically in solving problems (Sugiyono, 2009: 8). In this study using qualitative methodology. Qualitative methodology according to Bogdan and Taylor in (moleong, 2015: 4) is a study that produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of the people and behavior that can be observed. This methodology is used to describe the government's policy on the Implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 Year 2004 in South Sumatera Province.

b. Research sites

The location of this research is the expansion of the region in southern sumatera province

c. Technical Data Collectors

Data collection techniques undertaken to analyze the Implementation of Regional Expansion under Law No. 32 Year 2004 in South Sumatra Province using the method:

1. Interview
   Data collection in this research using interview method. This interview was conducted to informants to obtain data or information on Implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 Year 2004 in South Sumatera Province.

2. Observation
   Observation is done by observing various phenomena, circumstances, actions and events that occur in the field associated with the Implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 of 2004 in the Province of South Sumatra.

3. Documentation
   Data collection techniques, documentation obtained through documents from various records, archives, books and regulations relating to the Implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 of 2004 in the Province of South Sumatra.

d. Data analysis techniques
   The analysis technique used in this research is qualitative method with descriptive research technique. Miles and Huberman (1984) in Sugiyono argued that the data analysis in qualitative research conducted interactive activities and lasted continuously until completely. Activities in data analysis ie data reduction, data presentation, drawing conclusions or verification

DISCUSSION

Implementation of Regional Expansion According to Law No. 32 of 2004

In this study the Implementation of Regional Expansion under Law No. 32 of 2004 will be discussed using the implementation model of Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn as follows:

A. Standard objectives of policy.

The standards and objectives of regional expansion pursuant to Law No. 32 Year 2004 are to improve the welfare of the community through: (1) improvement of services to the community, (2) Acceleration of democratic life, (3) Acceleration of regional economic development, (4) Acceleration Management of regional potential, (5) Improving security and order, (6) Improving the harmonious relationship between the Central and Regional. According to an evaluation conducted by the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) in 2016 on compliance with the assistance of public

services. Of the 34 provinces in Indonesia, there are 16 provinces that enter the zone considered good according to the standards of public services. One of them is the Province of South Sumatra that entered in the green zone. The green zone is a predicate of high compliance zone with a value of 82.59. This predicate can be interpreted that the Province of South Sumatra has provided the best service to the community.

B. Supported Resources.

According to Law No. 32 Year 2004 local resources in the form of:

1. Pendapatan Asli Daerah (PAD) is income obtained by area which is collected according to local regulation in accordance with regulation of law. PAD comes from local taxes and user charges

2. Balancing Funds are funds sourced from APBN revenues allocated to regions to fund regional needs in the context of decentralization implementation. Balancing funds consist of revenue-sharing (DBH), general allocation funds (DAU) and special allocation funds (DAK)

a. Revenue sharing

According to Law No. 33/2004 on Fiscal Balance between the Central Government and Local Governments, revenue-sharing funds are funds sourced from APBN revenues allocated to regions based on certain percentage figures to fund local needs in the context of decentralization implementation. The percentage can be seen from the following table:

Table Revenue Sharing Funds

No	Source of Profit Sharing Fund	Central government	Province	Regency / City
1	PBB	10 %	16,2 %	64,8 %
2	BPHTB	20 %	16 %	64 %
3	PPH articles 25 & 29 personal domestic taxpayers & article 21	80 %	8 %	12 %
4	Forestry A. HPH contribution B. SDH provision C. Reforestation Fund	20 % 60 %	 16 % 16 %	 64 % 32 % 32 % 40 %

5	General Mining
	  a. Land-Rent
	  b. royalti
		20 %	
			
			16 %
			16 %
				
				64 %
				32 %
				
				32 %

6	Fishery	20 %	80 %	
7	Petroleum Mining	84,5 %	3 % 0,1 %	6 % 0,4 %
8	Natural Gas Mining	69 %	6 % 0,1 %	12 % 12 % 0,4 %
9	Mining Geothermal	20 %	16 %	32 % 32 %

Source: Act No. 32 of 2004

Based on the above table it can be seen that the central government provides allocation of funds to the region in accordance with the percentage and through the state budget. If the region is experiencing an expansion but does not have its own local revenue source then the government helps the area through the revenue-sharing fund.

b. General Allocation Fund

The general allocation fund is as a fund sourced from APBN revenues allocated for the purpose of equitable inter-regional financial capacity to fund regional needs in the context of decentralization implementation. The purpose of granting general allocation funds to local governments by the central government to reduce the inequality of financial capacity among regions through considering the needs and potential of the region. The general allocation fund of an area is determined on the basis of the size of the fiscal gap of an area, which is the difference between the needs of the region and the potential of the region. If the region has large fiscal potential but small fiscal needs it will obtain relatively small general allocation funds, otherwise the areas with little fiscal potential, but large fiscal needs will obtain a relatively large general allocation fund. Based on this, it can be interpreted that the function of general allocation fund as a factor of equity of fiscal capacity.

c. Special allocation funds

Specific allocation funds are funds sourced from APBN revenues allocated to specific areas with the aim of assisting in funding specific activities which are regional affairs and in accordance with national priorities, in particular to finance the needs of basic community facilities and infrastructure that have not reached a certain standard or to encourage Acceleration of regional development. The amount of special allocation funds is set annually in the APBN. Special allocation funds are allocated to specific regions to fund special activities that are regional affairs. The government sets the criteria for special allocation funds into three general criteria, special criteria and technical criteria. General criteria are set by balancing the regional financial capacity of the APBD. Specific

criteria are established by taking into account legislation and regional characteristics. The technical criteria are set by the state government / technical department. This special allocation fund will be accepted by the region if the region can provide a matching fund of 10% of the special allocation fund. These companion funds should be budgeted in the APBD

Based on the above description it can be interpreted that the development of the region experienced pemekaran assisted from revenue-sharing, general allocation funds and special allocation funds. This regulation greatly helps the developing region to improve its territorial development. This is what triggers the vying regions to unite themselves so that regions that have not yet been able to expand will force themselves to become new territories.

3. Other Income is income derived from grant income and emergency income.

Grant revenues are regional revenue derived from foreign governments, international agencies / institutions, central government, agencies / institutions or individuals, whether in the form of foreign exchange, rupiah or goods / services, including experts and training that do not need to be paid back. Emergency funds are funds originating from the APBN allocated to regions experiencing national disasters, extraordinary events, and / or areas experiencing a prolonged financial crisis.

C. Organizational Communication

According to Law No. 32 of 2004 the principles in local governance are decentralization, deconcentration and the task of unification. Regional autonomy is a broad principle, has authority in the policy, real and responsible, oriented to improve the welfare of the community, ensuring inter-regional relations and maintaining territorial integrity. To achieve this, the local government embraces deconcentralization.

According to Law No. 32 of 2004 the provincial government adopts the principle of deconcentration as well as decentralization. Based on the principle of deconcentration, the province is an administrative area. Deconcentration is the delegation of government authority by the government to the governor as a representative of

the government and / or to a vertical institution in a particular region. Provinces as administrative areas only receive administrative authority from the central government. Head of administrative area is the representative of central government in the region. The administrative area only implements what the central political authority decides. Thus, the administrative area only implements policies that have been decided by the central government. Communications conducted by the central government and local governments create a hierarchical relationship between the central government and the administrative region. This can support the expansion of the region to perform its duties well.

Based on the above description in the province of South Sumatra is one of the provinces that have additional areas. This is because many regions are expanding the region. The area in South Sumatera Province which has just experienced the expansion is Panukal Abab Regency of Lematang Ilir which is capital of Talang Ubi. Regency of Panukal Abab Lematang Ilir newly expanded from Muara Enim parent regency with Act No. 7 of 2013 concerning Formation of Regency of Panukal Abab Lematang Ilir. Before being expanded by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Panukal Abab Lematang Ilir regency communicates first with the local parliament and the regent of Muara Enim district as the parent region to seek approval. After obtaining approval from the Muara Enim District Council and Muara Enim Regent, the District Proposal requested the approval of the Provincial DPRD and the Governor of South Sumatera Province after it was approved then the proposing District communicated to the Ministry of Home Affairs to request a recommendation from the Minister of Home Affairs for the Panukal Abab Lematang Ilir Regency to be legalized Into a new Regency. Based on the description, it can be interpreted that the implementation of regional expansion in South Sumatera Province has been running quite well through the decentralization system.

D. Characteristics of Implementing Agencies

The implementing agency of the regional expansion is the Civil Servant. Civil Servant is an element of state apparatus that is tasked to provide services to the community professionally, honestly, justly, and evenly in the implementation

of state duty, government and development. According to Law No. 32 of 2004 employees are differentiated into central employees and local officials. The central employee is a civilian employee whose salary is charged to the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget, and works with ministries, non-departmental government agencies, secretariats of state / supreme institutions, vertical agencies in provinces / districts, court partnerships, or employed to organize Tasks of other countries. While local officials are civil servants of the provincial / regency / municipality, whose salaries are charged to the Regional Budget and work on the local government or employed outside the parent agency. Based on these matters, the personnel are handled by the central government. The government handed over some of its authority namely the issue of coaching and transfer to governors and regents / mayors. With these provisions, in the regions there are only local officials, except the employees of vertical agencies which by law is still a central authority. Based on the explanation it can be interpreted that the officer who implements the expansion of the region in the Province of South Sumatra is a civil servant of the region. The civil servant of this area is assigned to serve the community in South Sumatera Province and to accelerate the implementation of regional economic development through the construction of roads and bridges that can facilitate the distribution of regional economy. The development uses general allocation funds and special allocation funds and is implemented by the Provincial Public Works Office of South Sumatra. The South Sumatra Provincial Office of Public Workers is also responsible for overseeing the construction of state roads and provincial roads in 17 districts. This is done for equity of development so that the purpose of the expansion of the region can be achieved well.

E. Economic, Social and Political Condition

The economic, social and political conditions of the regions are very influential in the expansion of the region, without these three conditions then the process of pemekaran will run slowly. According to the National Socioeconomic Survey, the economic condition of South Sumatera Province can not be said well because the poverty line in this province reaches 13.77%. This can be seen from the following table:

Table Percentage of poor people In South Sumatra Province

Year	Poor people	
	Total number (000)	Percentage
2010	1.105,00	14,80
2011	1.061,87	13,95
2012	1.043,62	13,48
2013	1.104,57	14,06
2014	1.085,80	13,62
2015	1.112,53	13,77

Source: national socioeconomic survey 2015

Based on the above table shows that the poor in South Sumatra Province is still experiencing poverty. For that region expansion can improve the welfare of the community in the province of South Sumatra. To improve the welfare of the population through the expansion of the region in the South Sumatra Province by opening employment opportunities for the community. Expansion of the region opens opportunities for the community to become civil servants because in South Sumatra Province has many developing districts. This means the districts need a lot of manpower. Therefore the people of South Sumatra Province get the opportunity to fill the empty formation in the district that has bloomed earlier. Based on that, it can be interpreted that the expansion of the region gives a positive impact for the economy of the community. It also means that regional expansion can eliminate the social problems caused by poverty. Expansion of the region also has a negative impact on the region of expansion.

Based on the observation of the negative impact is the number of areas that have not been able to be expanded but forced to be expanded. This is because the elite of the party eyeing the power to become regional head and served as a member of the House of Representatives. This can be seen in one of the districts that is the Empat Lawang regency. This district has been expanding since 2007 from Lahat Regency. It has been ten years since Kabupaten Empat Lawang was established but there has been no significant progress. Development in this district seems like a road in place. There are no roads, bridges and buildings that can show that the district is expanding. Service to the community

also did not increase. This is evident from the absence of hospital in the district. People who are seriously ill should be referred to a hospital in Lahat district. Based on the description can be interpreted that the economic, social and political conditions can affect the success of regional expansion.

F.   The Acceptance of Implementors

Expansion of the territory may also create conflicts for areas that contact with the area to be expanded. This is because the attitude of the expansion regional implementor itself. Executor of the expansion of the region is the head of the parent region that will experience expansion and the relevant DPRD. The approval of the regional head and the support of the relevant DPRD. Generally the blessing of the DPRD is not difficult. Often, the approval of regional heads is even tougher. Approval of a regional head in the expansion of the region is an absolute requirement to run the process further. Not all regional heads agree with the expansion of their territory. There are several things that may be the reason why a regional head does not agree on the plan for the expansion of his territory. Approval will be difficult to obtain if it is considered that expansion as a threat to the power of the head of the region. Threats over the size of its territory, threats to the share of power Add to bad if there is no good communication between the pro-expansion group and the regional head. Plus the inability to provide an excuse that can be accepted by the head of the region. In addition, if the implementing actors of the regional expansion policy are fighting over the borders of the territory, ie which areas enter into the expansion area and still remain part of the parent region, especially if the area belongs to a "wet" area. The issue of tug-of-war in the determination of local chief officials before definitive regional head elections will also lead to conflicts between the Central and Provincial Governments or between District and City Governments and Provinces, as each tends to impose the desired candidate. Not yet conflicts over the determination of officer fillers - echelon positions often occur contradictions between indigenous and non-indigenous, whereas indigenous do not meet the requirements

required.Conflicts in pemekaran can be seen from the process of pemekaran area of North Musi Rawas Regency. Chronology of the establishment of North Musi Rawas Regency as follows on April 29, 2013 thousands of residents from various villages and sub-districts gathered in Rupit demonstrated demanding the division of North Musi Rawas District to separate from Musi Rawas parent district. The demonstration was held because it did not grant the proposal for the expansion of the territory after through the previous negotiation. At first the protesters did the gathering peacefully. A few hours later the masses began memeortal Sumatera Highway until the state of total traffic jam. The mass that staged the closing of the Sumatera Highway (Jalinsum) refused to be disbanded even though it was late at night. The situation began to heat up and then clashed between the community with the police. The incident caused casualties on both sides. Four people died and six people from the police force were injured. The long journey of the establishment of New Autonomous Region (DOB) of Musi Rawas Utara, was finally approved by the regents of Musi Rawas Ridwan Mutki and Muba Pahri Azhari Regent. Governor of South Sumatra Alex Noerdin finally agreed to the splitting of New Autonomous Region (DOB) Musi Rawas Utara after two days after the clash. After the approval of the regional head and the DPRD, the next step is to wait for the recommendation letter from the Minister of Home Affairs. On June 11, 2013 North Musi Rawas Regency becomes the new regency in South Sumatera Province. Based on this description, the acceptance of the actor of the pemekaran region is the most important condition of the process of expansion of the region. In the absence of an implementing attitude that accepts regional expansion will not succeed

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this research is the expansion of the region is run quite well. Expansion of territory can make South Sumatera Province applying good public service standard so that South Sumatera Province enter into green zone. Expansion of the region in South Sumatera Province can create new jobs for the community so that the people have the opportunity to work in the expanded area, but there are still many political elites who utilize the expansion of regions only to have power themself without thinking of people's welfare. They did not consider whether the territory was worthy of splitting or not, so many areas in South Sumatera Province that have been expanded but not experienced significant development.

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THE ANALYSIS BORDER MANAGEMENT
(CASE STUDY: ILLEGAL FISHING IN THE NATUNA SEA)

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Abstract

Illegal fishing, whic is one of the global problems of environmental crime. is a form of transnational organized crime. Many countries developing a legal frameworks to fight against illegal fishing. They urge the significant strengthening of surveilance and enforcement. On legal aspect Illegal fishing operation massively scale, involves hundreds of people, across multiple jurisdictions, and long-term investment in the infrastructure. Illegal fishing related to with human trafficking, illegal drug smuggling, violence and murder. Indonesia should strengthen the international regulations about shipping and vessels, creat a domestic legislation, which is designed to law enforcement and combating the illegal fishing.

Keywords: Illegal fishing, enforcement, transnational.

BACKGROUND

Demographically, Indonesia is a country that has 17,506 islands , long coastline of more than 80.570 km, the territorial of the sea of about 285. 005 km, wide sea waters of the EEZ number 2.692.762 km, inland water area 2.012.392 km and land area of 2,012,402 km with a total area of Indonesian waters is 5877879 km. Based on the area of 5.877.879 km waters, fisheries sub-sector exports of Indonesia in 2011 was only valued at $ 3.34 billion compared with Vietnam in 2011 the value of exports reached $ 25 billion, though the Indonesian ocean broader than Vietnam. In addition the level of per capita consumption of 30.47 kg in 2010 Indonesia and Malaysia 46 kg. Natural resource revenues marine fisheries and fisheries sector in 2011 amounted Rp183,56 billion. While the loss of marine and fisheries sector, according to FAO data, the losses suffered by Indonesia as a result of looting by foreign fishermen amounted USD 3,125 million or Rp30 trillion, one of the largest locations of illegal fishing in the is sea of Natuna.[1]

Geographically, Natuna regency is located at 1016'-7019 North Latitude and 105000;- 110000 west longitude. Natuna total area is 264,198.37 km2 with land area 2.001,30 Km2 and Sea area 262.197,07 Km2. Natuna has 154 islands.[2] Natuna is administratively bordered by: North: Vietnam and Cambodia South: Islands East: Malaysia West: Anambas Island. The geographical position makes Natuna a strategic region, which mainly because of the wealth in the sea. Natuna Sea fishery resources is more than 1 million tons per year with a total, of only, about 36 percent utilization.

The awareness of the strategic waters of Natuna has been felt by the countries which are the searching of fisheries resources such as China, Vietnam and Taiwan. In an effort to develop the fish industry, Indonesia considers it's importance to use the area around the islands of the South China Sea, including the Natuna as a fish production area. Natuna archipelago is a strategic way to be the gateway of Indonesia in the South China Sea, which is prone to conflict and border disputes.

PROBLEMS

How is Natuna Border Management on facing illegal fishing?

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[1] Press Release AttachmentCPC 2012

[2] Natuna.go.id access on 8 March 2017, 11.00 WIB

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to determine how the border management in Natuna facing of illegal fishing.

RESEARCH METHODS.

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

THEORY FRAMEWORK

1. Border Management

   Border area is a part of the territory of the state that is located on the inner side along the boundary between Indonesia and other countries, in terms of state borders on land, the border area is located in the district.[3] Based on a theory developed from the Theory of Boundary Making, by Stephen B. Jones in A Handbook for Statesment, Editors and Boundary Treaty Commissioners; is divided into four chambers, namely management;

   1) Alocation basic inventory of the holdings of the country based on the principles of international law, the principle of Uti Posideti Juris.
   2) Delimitation; determination of the boundary line between the two countries that partly overlap.
   3) Demarcation; demarcation between countries in the field after the Delimitation.
   4) Administration; administration in the areas bordering with neighboring countries such as the management of people and resources,

   The division of authority between central and local management of CIQ other another countries. (National Resilience Institute, 2009).

2. Illegal Fishing

   Illegal fishing is a foreign term popularized by legal experts in Indonesia, which became a popular term in the mass media and is served as a legal study that appeals to environmentalists. In the terminology of illegal fishing of literally understanding is derived from English. In The Contemporary English- Indonesian Dictionary, stated that "illegal" means unauthorized, prohibited or unlawful.[4] "Fish" means fish or fish fillets, and "fishing" means fishing as a livelihood or where to fish. Based on the understanding, it literally can be said that "illegal fishing" means catching fish or fishery activities that are conducted illegally.[5] Criminal act of poaching (illegal fishing) is to engage in fishing activities that are contrary or inconsistent with the formulation of legislation (Fisheries Act, Act No. 9 of 1985 in the fox by Law No. 31 of 2004 and then refined to this day by Law No. 45 of 2009 and other laws and regulations) law governing of illegal fishing include:

   1) UNCLOS (United Nations Convention On the Law Of the Sea) of 1982
   2) Act No. 31 of 2004 on Fisheries
   3) Act No. 45 of 2009 on Amendments to the Law No. 31 of 2004 on Fisheries
   4) Act No. 5 of 1983 on the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone
   5) Act No. 17 of 1985 on Ratification of UNCLOS (United Nations Convention On The Law Of The Sea.

Generally Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU Fishing), among others:

1. Causes Illegal Fishing, among others:
   a. Ascending and high demand for fish (DN / LN)
   b. Reduced / exhaustion SDI in other countries
   c. Weak national fishing fleet
   d. Permit / supporting documents issued more than one agency
   e. Weak monitoring and enforcement at sea
   f. there are no common vision of law enforcement officers
   g. Weak laws and regulations and penal provisions.

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[3] http://bnpp.go.id / docs / produk_hukum / 2015 / perkaban /Peraturan_BNPP_Nomor_1_Tahun_2015. download October 10, 2016

[4] Salim, Peter. 2002. Dictionary of contemporary Indonesian, Jakarta: Modern English Press

[5] Pratomo, Wiliater. 2014. Overview of criminological against Illegal Fishing Happens in Makassar. Makassar: Hasanuddin University.

2. Cause Unreported Fishing, among others:
   a. Weak legislation
   b. yet imperfect data collection system for catch / transport of fish
   c. No awareness of employers of the importance of submitting data catch/ transport of fish
   d. Fishing Ground is considered confidential and not to be known the other party (rival)of
   e. Lackprovisions of sanction and criminal

The islands caused a lot of fish landing sites are largely unmonitored and uncontrolled.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Management Regulatory Frontier

Government considers that the Law No. 31 of 2004 is no longer effectively preventing the crime of illegal fishing in the waters of the Exclusive Economic Zone of Indonesia. Regional Fisheries Management of the Republic of Indonesia which is increasing quantitatively and qualitatively, as well as the form of crime increasingly organized. Substantially, a significant change in the Act No. 45 of 2009 compared to the previous legislation, the emphasis is on the provision of the heavy criminal sanctions against foreign vessels who are committed the crime of illegal fishing in Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone.[6]

Indonesia legislation clearly states that the act of Illegal Fishing is a criminal act, as stipulated in the Law No. 31 of 2004 on Fisheries, which was amended by Act No. 45 of 2009. Likewise with the various annual resolution forums of organization of regional fish manager or Regional Fisheries Management Organizations (RFMO) either the Commission on the Conservation of Southern Bluefin tuna (CCSBT) or the Indian Ocean tuna Commission (IOTC), Indonesia is a member and the contracting party every year obliges member RFMO to register it's boat in order to catch certain types of tuna legally in

the waters RFMO with the appropriate total-catch- quota of each country. In that resolution, it is very important to report any appropriate catches, according to the quota.Illegal fishing in Natuna region due to the legal agreement about the boundaries have not reached common ground.[7]

Illegal fishing occurs because the border zone management is not done in an integrated manner to all relevant sectors. Until now, the problems of the border areas are still handled ad hoc, temporary and the partial and more dominated by the approach to the security through several committee, then there are no optimal results. Cooperation committees that is handling the issue contemporary of borders including the General Border Committee on (GBC) RI-Malaysia, Joint Border Committee.[8]

Table 1. Status Limits of the Continental Shelf between Indonesia and neighboring countries in the South China Sea

Limits of the Continental Shelf (BLK)	Status	Description
RI - Thailand	has been agreed	Andaman Sea agreed under the agreement in 1977
RI - Malaysia	has been agreed	15 points in the Natuna Sea agreed by treaty in 1969
RI - Vietnam	yet agreed	in the negotiation process
RI - Philippines	yet agreed	in the negotiation process

Source: Bakosurtanal 2003

2. Infrastructure management border

Weak supervision foward illegal fishing in the Natuna Sea created the obstacles that encountered in the process of enforcement of border violations that was due to:

1) Natural limitation in the form of the South China Sea to the climatic conditions that makes difficulty for smaller vessels such as patrol boats to sail.

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[6] Marudut Hutajulu, "Analysis of Criminal Law Against Theft of fish in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Indonesia Regional Fisheries Management Indonesia (Study Decision No: 03 / Pid.Sus.P / 2012 / PN.MDN", USU Law Journal, Vol.II-No. 1 (February-2014), downloaded 6 Oktober 2016

[7] Appendix Release Audit Board, downloaded dated October 7, 2016

[8] National Policy and Strategy Management of Inter-State Border Regions in Indonesia, downloaded dated October 10, 2016

2) The lack of the quantity and quality of the patrol vessels owned by Post Navy, most of the ships are old (wooden vessel) so it is not aviable to use in patrol duties on the sea boundaries of the State.

3) The lack of the knowledge of patrol management border, so it does not support the defense and security at the border.

The availability of fuel is inadequate and does not allow patrol vessels to perform their duties regularly Navy, Police, Immigration, Customs and Quarantine (CIQS) and infrastructure in coastal areas are directly bordering neighboring countries, will be detrimental to the border of regions and Country. In this case, if there is violation of sovereignty as foreign ships enter the territory of Natuna with the purpose of illegal fishing and cases of violation of any other law, the rule of law at sea boundaries of Natuna also need to be in place so that the authority of the defense and security at sea boundaries will be more powerful and assertive.[9] Illegal Fishing in general acts that occurred in the Natuna waters, among other things:

a. Fishing without permission;
b. Fishing using false license;
c. Fishing using prohibited fishing gear; and
d. Fishing with types (species) that does not comply with the permit.

The high number of Illegal Fishing in the Natuna waters due to the presence of Post Transboundary (PLB) and Cross Border Inspection Post (PPLB) and facilities Customs, Immigration, Quarantine and Security (CIQS) is not maximized. Natuna as the gate of the country, the infrastructure is expected to regulate economic and social relations between the people of Indonesia with the communities of neighboring countries. Besides, the facilities and infrastructure of the border will reduce illegal fishing. Demian However, the number of facilities and infrastructure of PLB, PPLB, and CIQS in Natuna region is still low.[10]

Event the entry of Chinese coast guard vessels in the Natuna Sea, they interfere with law enforcement at sea that is being carried out patrol boats Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, KP Sharks against acts of illegal fishing carried Chinese fishing boat 11. Indonesia lodged the protest. In the protest note, it emphasized three mistakes made by the Chinese coast guard vessels, coastguard vessels which violate the sovereign rights and jurisdiction of Indonesia in the EEZ and continental shelf of Indonesia; in violation of the law enforcement officers who are being made Indonesia; and violate the sovereignty of the territorial sea of Indonesia.[11]

3. **Institutional Management Border**

Barriers are affecting the law enforcement at the sea, Natuna can not be separated with the product of national regulations that many regulations invitation owned by their respective law enforcement agency or agencies that have jurisdiction in the maritime field. There are 17 (seventeen) legislation governing authorities in the field of marine by 13 (thirteen) ministries / agencies of law enforcement at sea. Based on the 13 (thirteen), the are six agencies agencies / ministries own fleet / ship as tools of law enforcement at sea by carrying out patrols in the sea, the Navy, Police / Directorate of Police Bodies, Ministry of Transportation / Director General of Sea, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries / DG PSDKP, The Ministry of Finance / Director General of Customs. 7 (seven) law enforcement agencies that do not have a fleet at sea / patrol boats, among others, the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Energy and Mineral resources, National Narcotics Board, and regional governments.[12]

Indonesia Maritime Security Agency and Navy (BAKAMLA) formation led to the birth of *the costguard* of new in the waters of Indonesia and especially in Natuna this is not in accordance with the regulations of the International Maritime

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9 *National Resilience Institute, Indonesia,* Friday, December 11, 2009

10 National Policy and Strategy Management of Inter-State Border Regions in Indonesia, downloaded dated October 10, 2016

11 A Brief Study on Current Issues and Strategic Vol. VIII, No. 11 / I / P3DI / June / 2016

12 Wasisto, law enforcement authorities BAKAMLA in specific criminal acts at sea Based on Law No. 32 Year 2014 About Marine, 2015 Journal of master of law Faculty of law of the University of Brawijaya

Organization (IMO) which recognizes only the coast guard which is under the Ministry of Transportation of the institution is the Indonesia Sea and Coast Guard (KPLP).

CONCLUSION

Natuna sea border management in terms of infrastructure is still in the process of revamping to prevent and reduce illegal fishing action, regulatory management and institutional management must be integrated and coordinated. In the management of border management is necessary to coordinate integrated KPLP, BAKAMLA, Customs and Excise and the navy at the checkpoints through clear regulations and follow the regulatory rules of international law and the regulatory agency International Maritime (IMO)., It is streamline of the functions of the coastal supervisor as a step of law enforcement against illegal fishing in the sea of Natuna.

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SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST: A SEARCH FOR MODELS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION STRATEGY OF INDONESIAN UNIVERSITIES

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Abstract

International cooperation of university has become increasingly important, following the changing nature of higher education as the unavoidable consequences of globalization. In internationalization realms, strategic partnership is one of the tools of how universities can survive and compete each other. In South East Asian context, the ASEAN Sociocultural Community is counted as the regional framework that gives both challenges and opportunities for universities in the region to develop their quality, since universities are believed to play crucial roles to produce highly qualified human resources. Here, to pursue the goal of enhancing its global competitiveness level, Indonesia as one of the biggest players in the region has started to exercise policy initiatives to assist the universities in becoming 'world-class'. This paper aims to identify current model and strategy of international cooperation from Indonesian higher education institutions. The methods conducted in this research is descriptive qualitative approach and the data taken from field inquiries including interviews as primary resources, as well as literature study from previous researches. By taking the case of Universitas Padjadjaran (UNPAD) and Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB) as initial steps, the preliminary findings show that most of the international cooperation initiatives taken in both institutions are in the forms of MoU in university level and/or Cooperation Agreement in faculty or department level, in diverse programs such as management contract, sandwich program, dual degree, credits transfer, students and/or faculty exchanges, research collaboration and publication, and so forth. Another similarity is found in their perception on the strategy taken which seems to be struggling between quantity and quality enhancement. Both believe, that more strategic cooperation with real projects will bring more benefits and profits, rather than only massive number of MoUs. On the other hand, the differences between the two universities rely on the organizational strategies and coordinating capacity which include governance, organizational structure, staff resource, financial resource and support services.

Keywords: cooperation model, international cooperation strategy, internationalization, Indonesian universities, higher education institutions

INTRODUCTION

As a multi-dimensional and complex concept that shows intensification and interconnectedness in economic, political and socio-cultural aspects, globalization has given impact in many human endeavors (Maringe, 2010). The nature of higher education also has changed as one of the unavoidable consequences of globalization.

Taylor (2010) even stated that globalization as one of the most powerful forces for changed in higher education, where the most descernible impacts, as Maringe (2010) argued, has been the intensification of internationalization activities by higher education institutions, especially universities.

Internationalization is considered as a key strategy adopted by universities in responding the influence of globalization (Maringe & Foskett, 2010). While on the other way around, internationalization activities in universities also will intensify mobility and connectivity. Hence, it is vigorous to say that globalization and internationalization in higher education is very closely related each other.

The transition towards knowledge-based economy in global level has prominantly driven many national governments to lead internationalization of its higher education. It also relates with how nation-states' global competitiveness is measured partly by the quality of higher education as effeciency enhancer. Universities are directed to be enlisted in global ranking. Therefore, they will play their role in boosting their countries global competitiveness index. Internationalization, in this context, is the key instrument to achive that goal (Dewi, 2014).

Internationalization strategies and initiatives in national or institutional level could differ depend on the circumstances. On institutional level, it may be the focus of the universities tend to place on research and teaching (Maringe, 2010). The strategies could ranged from recruitment for international students, internationalization of curricula, internationalization of research, student and staff mobility or exchange programs, development of international partnerships for teaching, to development of international collaborative partnerships for research (Dewi, 2014; Maringe, 2010). From this broad scope of strategies, it could be seen that international partnership or international cooperation of university is an indispensable part of internationalization (Chan, 2004). In internationalization realms, strategic partnership is one of the tools of how universities can survive and compete each other.

Challenges and opportunities coming from global or regional framework, followed by the improvement of national economies and transformation process in buiding knowledge-based economy, are the background setting of internationalization aspirations for nation-states and higher education institutions. In South East Asian context, the ASEAN Sociocultural Community is counted as the regional framework that gives both challenges and opportunities for universities in the region to develop their quality, since universities are believed to play crucial roles to produce highly qualified human resources. Here, to pursue the goal of enhancing its global competitiveness level, Indonesia as one of the biggest players in the region has started to exercise policy initiatives to assist the universities in becoming 'world-class'.

In national level, the current Indonesian government has made the reinforcement of higher education quality and science, technology and innovation capacities as the main goal of the Strategic Planning of Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti) in 2015-2019. Together with main goal, several targets are mentioned, which includes the quality enhancement of higher education institutions, human resources, skilled manpower, researches, and innovations. Within the internationalization efforts to achieve the objectives, universities are encouraged to actively exercise international cooperation and partnership. The legal platforms for international cooperation of university are the National Act on Higher Education No. 12/ 2012 Article 50, and the Ministry of Education Regulation no. 14/ 2014. The establishment of International Office/ International Cooperation Office also already regulated under the Ministry of Education Regulation no. 26/2007 and Government Regulation no. 17/ 2010.

Regardless of similar umbrella of national policy, just as internationalization policy could vary, international cooperation strategy and model of higher education institutions will also be distinct to each other. Therefore, this paper aims to identify current model and strategy of international cooperation from Indonesian higher education institutions.

METHODS AND DESIGN

This paper presents an early finding of ongoing research that is conducted by the authors on Indonesian universities' international cooperation models. The methods conducted in this research is descriptive qualitative approach and the data taken from field inquiries including

interviews as primary resources, as well as literature study from previous researches.

The main concept in this research international cooperation within the internationalization of higher education. Here, internationalization is referred as the *process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education* (Knight, 2004:11). While international cooperation refers to *broad range of programs and activities of collaboration, cooperation or partnership with international partners that could be exercised from individual, department, faculty or university levels that aims to increase the quality and competitiveness level of the institutions.*

In this paper, two institutions is chosen as case study. First institution is Universitas Padjadjaran (UNPAD), and the second institution is Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB), which both located in West Java Province, Indonesia. The basic considerations of institutions selection are the type of the institutions, institutions' reputation, management status, and institutions' membership in regional or global academic network, such as ASEAN University Network (AUN).

The process of data collection is consisted of semi-structured interviews with senior leader and senior officer within the institutions or universities that responsible with institutions' international relationships or cooperation, also review of documents and data relates to internationalization.

The paper will mainly discuss the current approach of international cooperation conducted by the two universities. Then, the elaboration will be on the analysis between theory and practice of international cooperation management in Indonesian higher education institutions.

FROM WEST JAVA FOR INDONESIA TO THE WORLD: THE CASE STUDY OF UNIVERSITAS PADJADJARAN

Universitas Padjadjaran (UNPAD) was established in September 1957 in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia. It has sixteen (16) faculties in various areas ranging from economy, law, culture, communication, language, humanities, social and politics, health, science, technology. It offers various programs from undergraduate to graduate and post graduate studies. As one of the oldest universities in Indonesia, UNPAD has a good reputation amongst the other. The national standing for UNPAD is within top ten universities in Indonesia. While on international level, UNPAD ranked 199th (QS Asia University Ranking 2016), and 1917th (Webometrics 2015).

The university has been engaged with international activities since its earliest establishment (OIA UNPAD, 2017). However, intense development of internationalization activities took place after mid-2000s as global awareness also arose significantly. Currently, UNPAD has 104 partner universities from around twenty nine (29) countries, with the scope of cooperation that cover exchange programs on academic information and materials, students and staff mobility, joint research, visiting professors or lecturers, and other academic activities based on mutual agreement. For international networking group, UNPAD is mentioned as member of Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL). However, there is no further significant data both on UNPAD's contribution to the association nor the other way around.

UNPAD also conduct double degree or twinning programs with several partners such as: Bachelor Double Degree Program in Economic and Business fields with University of Canterbury, Groupe ESC Troyes, University of Northampton, and Ajou University; Master Double Degree in Economic and Business fields with Munich University of Applied Science, also with Youngsan University and Groupe ESC Troyes; Master of Environment Management with Twente University (Netherland) and Mie University (Japan), and so forth (UNPAD, 2017). To accommodate international students, UNPAD offers English Medium Instruction courses in around twenty programs in several selected faculties (UNPAD, 2017).

To enhance better quality performance as response to global challenge, UNPAD in 2007

has declared its grand vision to be a "*Leading University in Delivering World Class Education in 2026*" or to be a World Class University. To achive the goal, as stated in the university Strategic Plan (UNPAD, 2012), there are four stages of strategies, which are becoming Excellent Teaching University (2007-2011), Research and Excellent Teaching University (2012-2016), Regional Class University (2017-2021), Entreprenerial World Class University (2022-2026).

Within the process of getting the world class reputation, the institution changing status from state public university towards legal status state university (PTN-BH) is also another important turning point. This legal based status means that the institutions are given authorities and autonomies in governing themselves to enhance their accountabilities and competitiveness (Dewi, 2017). With this PTN-BH status, universities are expected to be more innovative, creative in income generating, also able to increase the amount of international publication and citation. Therefore, their reputation and global ranking will climb up eventually.

In the context of university internationalization efforts, the Office of International Affairs (OIA) acts as the main gate of UNPAD to international arena. The OIA is stated as one of the most important office in UNPAD (Vice Rector on Research, Community Engagement, Cooperation and Academic Corporation, 2017). Currently named as Universitas Padjadjaran's Global Relation and Advancements, the OIA is responsible in escorting the key dimensions of internationalization of UNPAD: internationalized staffs and students, international research collaboration, and internationally focused curricula (UNPAD, 2017).

Together with the international engagement aspect, the current focus for UNPAD just as other higher education and research institutions in Indonesia is to boost up the number international publication and citation index. For SCOPUS indexed publication, in 2016, UNPAD has around 997 total publications (Kemenristekdikti, 2016). The number of UNPAD's publication has been increasing since 2008 with average growth of 29,59%. Eventhough the data keeps getting higher, it is still considered very low. UNPAD is targeting to have at least 500-1000 publications annually, so at least UNPAD can be at top three national university ranking (Vice Rector on Research Community Engagement, Cooperation and Academic Corporation, 2017). To achive the target, UNPAD provides quite big amount of internal research grants (Hibah Internal UNPAD/ HIU) started from 2017, as additional to national research grant given by Kemenristekdikti. Academic Leadership Grant (ALG) is also an internal grant scheme given for UNPAD's professors and senior lecturers to strenghten their research capacity to produce innovations and publications (Rahman, 2017).

The establishment of research or studies centre and centre of excellence in UNPAD is also another strategy carried to achive the publication target. These range of strategies and actions are part of capacity building to create the brand and excellence of the university. With speciality of research and other type of excellence, the university partnership will be more strategic and beneficial rather than only general cooperation in many aspects (Vice Rector on Research Community Engagement, Cooperation and Academic Corporation, 2017).

"*From West Java for Indonesia to The World through SDGs*" is the new slogan and aspiration that UNPAD implements in education, research and community service activities. UNPAD is commited to generate the best potention of West Java Province and give significance contribution to the national and global development (Rahman, 2017). This commitment is executed with several programs such as Strategic Alliance UNPAD-West Java (ASUP-Jabar); UNPAD Care for Jabar, UNPAD – BCE (BUMN Centre of Excellence), and UNPAD Multicampus, also the establishment of UNPAD SDGs Center.

TOWARDS INNOVATIVE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP: THE CASE STUDY OF INSTITUT TEKNOLOGI BANDUNG

Institut Teknologi Bandung or Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) is a technological university in Indonesia that historically was

founded in March 1920 during the colonial era. Then in 1959, the Indonesian government formally established the institution as higher education institution of science, technology and fine arts. Currently ITB offers more than a hundred degree programs and has twelve schools and faculties, which recently include the business and management area.

ITB is positioned as one of the top three universities in Indonesia. It also has a considerably high regional and international ranking. In 2016, QS World University Ranking for ITB is 401th, while in Asia it is ranked 86th. A quite significant improvement from the previous year, where ITB ranked 445th globally, and 122th in Asia. This improvement is believed due to the national higher education policy reform in Indonesia on changing the management status of selected universities, from previously state universities into legal enterprise universities (PTN-BH). ITS is one of the very first university that was trusted and chosen to hold the PTN-BH status in 2013, together with other three universities, which are Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB) and Universitas Indonesia (UI).

The high reputation of ITB is a result of remarkable quality of the institution in teaching, research, and community engagement. ITB has one of the highest publication in national and international level. For Scopus indexed publication, it is traced that ITB has it first publication in 1964. Since then until 2016, the total of Scopus publication of ITB is 5.884 documents, with around 3,575 ITB-affiliated authors (Kemenristekdikti, 2016). It keeps increasing with the 21.48% growth each year for the past five years.

In internationalization aspect, ITB believes that they have started internationalization since 1920 when foreign professors from the Netherland were in presence there (ITB, 2008). However, the intense internationalization as a strategy to enhance university global reputation was formally took place in 2008 when the Rector of ITB signed the ITB Internationalization Statement. It is stated that internationalization for ITB means that the institution has several obligations in education, research and community

services where all elements are committed and dedicated to achieve the goal of becoming world class university by having a international mind set in every action they take (ITB, 2008). The elements of internationalization in ITB include several initiatives which are: provision of internationalization abroad and at home for students, establishment of institutional partnerships with national and international peer and institutions, supporting education and research programs that have international dimensions, and establishment of necessary infrastructures to support internationalization (ITB, 2008).

The supporting body for international engagement of ITB is the International Relation Office (IRO) which is under the Directorate of Partnership and International Relations of ITB. This office is responsible for several programs include building partnership with foreign institutions and international network also supporting the development of international education and research programs. Currently, ITB has hundreds cooperation with national and international partners in the form of G to G (Government to Government), U to U (University to University), and more personal level partnership. With other universities abroad, the partnership are categorized in education, research, training, entrepreneurship and recently, innovation areas (Vice Rector on Research I. a., 2017). These are ranging from student and staff mobility, academic exchange, research collaboration, dual degree, joint degree, summer course, and training.

For the education area, ITB has developed ITB International Program Admission for degree program (undergraduate and graduate) as well student exchange program. There is also an international transfer program only for foreign nationals that has completed a minimum of 4 semester study at overseas university and wish to transfer and finish their study in ITB. Courses with English Medium Instructions are available. The regulation, as explained by the Vice Rector, stating that the class should be conducted in English, or at least provides slide presentations and reading materials in English, if one international student is enrolled in the class (Vice Rector on Research I. a., 2017). The

regulation also has made it possible for students (both local and international) to write their final projects or thesis in English.

For international networking and collaboration, ITB are members of the ASEAN University Network (AUN), ASEAN European University Network (ASEA-UNINET), The Asia-Oceania Top University League on Engineering (AOTULE), Global Engineering Education Exchange (GE3) The ASEAN University Network/Southeast Asia Engineering Education Development Network (AUN/SEED-Net), Pare Consortium, EMILYA – European Program for International Mobility with Asia, and Interweave (Erasmus Mundus partnership Asia-Europe). In this various international networking, the membership status is gained in different settings, both top down or bottom up. Most of the time, if the initiation came from higher level such as government or international organization, ITB is chosen as the focal point that represent Indonesia (Vice Rector on Research I. a., 2017). This explains how the reputable status of ITB has given the institution an advantageous position to enter the regional and global networking.

The participation of ITB in various international networking is stated to be a very favorable for them. By building network, more opportunities will be available, including the possibilities of strategic partnerships and funding issues (Director of Partnership and International Relation, 2017). Many programs of collaboration are funded by the international partner so that ITB is able to optimize their own budget spending. The other distinct benefits from this international collaboration through networking is that the programs and activities are real, means it is not only a general agreement that written on paper or MoU. This is similar with the point of view from UNPAD, that the strategic partnership which brings real benefits and profits is more desirable rather than only piles of sleeping agreements.

As previously mentioned, ITB is now heading toward partnership in the area of innovation, in addition of traditional form of partnership. The partner could be other universities but also private sector. The form of collaboration is to research and development to create innovations, which relates to the case of intellectual property (Vice Rector on Research I. a., 2017). From both parties who are engaged within the research, the intellectual property rights will be shared. Another type of innovative partnership is when the partner university wants to demonstrate their innovation products, when in advance development, for example, they can build techno-park especially in ICT. The collaboration also includes the joint development to create product together.

BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICES: SEARCHING FOR THE FITTEST MODEL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Conceptual Approach

Taylor (2010) mentioned several changing ideas in higher education that derive the advancement of internationalization. Some important ideas are the view that measurement of quality and status is at international rather that national level, the expectation for global impact if universities, the acknowledgement of internationalization as an integrated part of university's commitment and all university activities, which requires a lot of investment as it is a long term process (Taylor, 2010: 2). For stakeholders, importantly universities who are aware of these changes, a comprehensive approach of internationalization is therefore needed and unavoidable.

There are various discussions in explaining the rationales of internationalization in higher education (Knight & Wit, 1995; Knight, 2004; Fielden, 2006; Foskett, 2010). The categorization of rationales or motives can at least be divided into external and internal rationales; economic, political, academic and socio-cultural rationales; also national and institutional level of rationales. External rationales, -as it is explained in the previous paragpraphs-, are forces that dominantly arose as effects of globalization from political, economic to social dimensions, while internal factors relate more to academic reasonings.

Regardless the motives, with common perception that internationalization is becoming

increasingly crucial in higher education institutions' management, international cooperation or partnership gained more significance in order to support the goals of internationalization. Chan (2004) even clearly stated that international university cooperation is a developmental key in current global market.

National Level Policy

Indonesia is not an exception in responding the external forces to higher education. Of course internal assessment is also exercised in order to identify what are the problems that encountered by the management of Indonesian higher education, but then, the stakeholders is fully aware of the necessity to actively respons to the global challenges. Before the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997, there were several government strategies in Indonesian higher education management, but failed due to the severe crisis. However it is worth to note the important point after the crisis, where the government planned a Higher Education Long Term Strategy (HELTS) 2003-2010. The strategies have three policies focusing on building nation's competitiveness, decentralization and autonomy, and organizational health (Dewi, 2017). This strategy was based on the assessment of Indonesian universities that unfortunately were not listed in the top 500 university ranking.

To increase the role of universities in creating a knowledge society and boosting the competitiveness level of Indonesia, several strategies were designed. First, diversifying mission of universities into teaching university, research university or teaching and research university. Second, increasing cooperation and partnership. Then followed by increasing accessibility, quality of education and learning process, quantity and quality of research, publication, accreditation, certification, training, art higher education and last but not least, internationalization of academic programs (Kemenristekdikti, 2015).

Building World Class University (WCU) is also a goal of Indonesian government, with the specific target to ensure Indonesian universities, especially the top universities, to be able to enter the top 500 world universities as assesed by international companies such as Quacquarelli

Simonds (QS) or Times Higher Education (THE). Government also put an eye to the significant role of international cooperation in the process of building WCU. In 2010, the Government Decree no. 17 was announced, mentioning about the establishment of university international office to be the main body of internationalization (Dewi, 2017). In addition to that, government actively conduct socialization on internationalization, also encourage the opening of international programs for international students such as joint-degree or student exchange.

Under the leadership of Joko Widodo, still with the main goal to increase Indonesian universities reputation, a major restructurization of higher education management was exercised. The Directorate General of Higher Education that previously was under the Ministry of Education and Culture, was moved and merged to the Ministry of Research and Technology in 2015. The current institution name is Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti). This restructurization is taken place to support the focus of the national higher education management, which is to increase Indonesia's global competitiveness index. On 2015-2016, Indonesia's global competitiveness indes was ranked number 37 out of 140 countries. And this ranking was still lag behind other ASEAN countries such as Singapore (2nd), Malaysia (18th) and even Thailand (32th) (Dirjenrisbang, 2015). The merging between research, technology and higher education under one ministry is also to show the high relevance and connectivity between those three aspects in making a nation able to compete strongly in global stage.

Directorate General of Higher Education put the increasing of the quality of higher education as the priority of DIKTI's Strategic Plan 2015-2019. Another crucial priority is boosting the number of international publication and citation level of Indonesian scholars, because the number of researched being published and used is one indicator of the development of science and technology in a country. Compared to other ASEAN countries, Indonesia is still ranked below Malaysia and Thailand in terms of number of international publication.

Table 1

Comparative Number of Scopus Publication Level in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia 2010-2016

Year	Malaysia	Thailand	Indonesia
2016	6.630	3.864	2.062
2015	24.460	11.886	6.706
2014	27.911	13.244	6.219
2013	25.004	12.171	4.997
2012	22.564	11.898	3.811
2011	20.663	10.695	3.227
2010	15.662	9.993	2.602
	142.894	73.751	29.624

Source: (Kemenristekdikti, Kekuatan 50 Institusi Ilmiah Indonesia: Profil Publikasi Ilmiah Terindeks SCOPUS, 2016)

The table above shows that Indonesian scholars are still less productive in producing international publication compared to highly productive scholars in Malaysia and Thailand. Realizing the current assessment status of publication capacity in Indonesia, Kemenristekdikti then urge targeting to improve the number of reputable international publication in Indonesia should passed beyond 30.000 in 2019. The strategies are varied from making a regulation that obligate university lecturers and graduate students to productively conduct research and publish in reputable international journal, giving huge amount of competitive research grants, rewarding publication incentives, and building supportive system such as managerial reform of selected universities status into legal enterprise (PTN-BH), also supporting the international cooperation efforts.

University cooperation and partnership aims to improve affectivity, efficiency, productivity, creativity, innovation, quality and relevance of Tridharma (higher education functions: education, research and community services) as the role of university, in order to boost up the competitiveness level (Kemenristekdikti, Pengembangan Kerjasama Perguruan Tinggi Menuju Internasionalisasi Pendidikan Tinggi, 2015). In national level, Kemenristekditi supports university to develop their international cooperation through several aspects. First, by widening the chance for cooperation, such as Joint Working Group with France, Japan, Taiwan, Australia, New Zealand, UK, USA, China; Higher education exhibition in developing networking; Indonesian Higher Education Expo since 2012; development of academic collaboration in Joint Degree, Double Degree, and Credit Transfer or Credit earning programs; development of consortium and innovation research center.

Second, by developing university academic partnership through grant schemes: grant for the science consortium development, grant for facilitating international cooperation, grant for the strengthening of international office and technical training for academic cooperation. Third, by classifying the ranking of Indonesian universities where the activities of international cooperation and the number of international university body is counted as one variable. Fourth, by supporting the student mobility through programs such as ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS), Nusantara Student Exchange Program (PERMATA), and online application for international students permit documents. Last, by providing the online reporting platform for Indonesian universities' cooperation or partnership.

Dynamics of Institutional Management

In institutional level, the dynamics of international cooperation management are different from one to another. Advantage comes in the form of the advancement of internet and computer technology which makes connection became easy and intense. Making contacts and building networks are no longer as challenging as before. However, this does not automatically make international cooperation turns into a successful story. Success factors of international cooperation, as suggested by Prichard, van Ginkel, and deWit (as cited in Chan, 2004) are ranged from mission and objectives, partners, people, projects, time and resource and communication.

Chan (2004) also mentioned how the organizational structure and internationalization process also contributes as success factors of international cooperation. By modifying the 'internationalization cycle' (Knight & Wit, 1995) and the 'formation of successful strategic alliance' by Liu (1998), Chan (2004) made a model of process and strategies for international

cooperation in higher education. Process and strategies explain how a higher education institutions see the importance of international cooperation, and turn it into commitment in paper and in action, supported by conducive organizational strategies such as governance, organizational structures, staff's resources, financial resource and support service.

Based on Chan's model of process and strategies for international cooperation in the figure below, the identification will be conducted to two universities as case study in this paper. The identification of current approach model on international cooperation in UNPAD and ITB will be mainly on the awareness, commitment and organizational aspects.

Figure 1 Process and Strategies for International Cooperation in Higher Education
Source: Chan, 2004 (modified from Knight and de Wit (1995) and Liu (1998)

On the aspect of awareness of needs, purposes, and benefits of international cooperation, both UNPAD and ITB are affirmatively aware of this. Both senior leaders in two universities stated international cooperation as part of effort to achieve the vision and mission of university. The commitment of institutions on international cooperation also indirectly included in the university Strategic Plan. However, ITB is a step ahead since ITB has a specific internationalization statement, which directly stated their awareness of the urgency of internationalization, and mention international cooperation as key element of it. This statement is a proof of governance commitment from senior leaders to plan, implement and evaluate the initiatives.

In the case of organizational structure, it seems that ITB is more detailed in organizing the structure of people who are responsible in all internationalization related activities. In UNPAD, internationalization and international cooperation worked under the responsibility of Vice Rector on Research, Community Engagement, Cooperation and Academic Corporation. While in ITB, the international engagement and cooperation is under the Directorate of Partnership and International Relation, with another classification between partnership and international relation. This structure also include the vice director for each field. For supporting services, both universities have special office for international affairs, Office of International Affairs (OIA) in UNPAD, and International Relations Office (IRO) in ITB. The function and responsibility of two offices are similar, yet the IRO of ITB seems to be more well developed in terms of the sufficient directories given in its formal website.

Another point to be highlighted is the perception of awareness in seeing international cooperation as an important aspect that will give significant impact to university's international publication, hence relates to the efforts of achieving the vision of the university. In UNPAD, international cooperation is seen as one of the strategies to achieve goal of the institution. While in ITB, the senior leader clearly mentioned that the high dynamics of international cooperation is proven to be closely related to the number of international publication in university.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed an early finding of the dynamics of international cooperation in Indonesian higher education, with slight emphasis on two universities, UNPAD and ITB. The first part of the paper mainly explains the background of the study, seeing how internationalization takes an important standing in current higher education market, and how regional and global forces has made national governments and universities response towards it. The second part then describe the factual findings sheets of the current internationalization efforts and initiatives of UNPAD and ITB, including

the international cooperation aspect. The last part of the paper finally discusses the theoretical approach of international cooperation and the practices in national and institutional level, by speci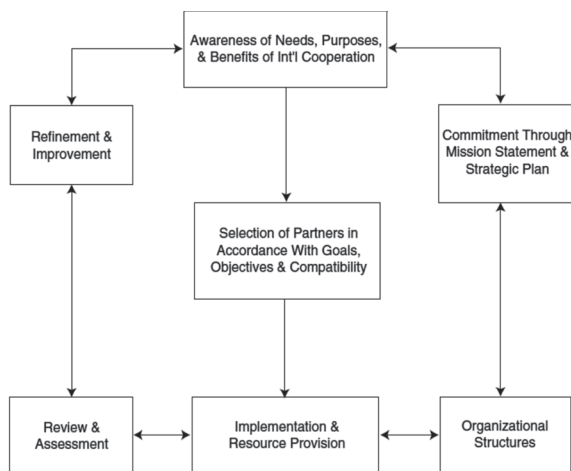fically assessing using the model of process and strategies for international cooperation in higher education developed by Chan (2004) as modification from Knight and de Wit (1995) and Liu (1998).

With the examination above, it shows that most of the international cooperation initiatives taken in both institutions are in the forms of MoU in university level and/or Cooperation Agreement in faculty or department level, in diverse programs such as management contract, sandwich program, dual degree, credits transfer, students and/or faculty exchanges, research collaboration and publication, and so forth. However, in UNPAD, building local identity and specific excellence or quality are emphasized, while in ITB innovation partnership is recently developed. Another similarity is found in their perception on the strategy taken which seems to be struggling between quantity and quality enhancement. Both believe, that more strategic cooperation with real projects will bring more benefits and profits, rather than only massive number of MoUs. On the other hand, the differences between the two universities rely on the organizational strategies and coordinating capacity which include governance, organizational structure and support services, also on the perception of positioning international cooperation with international publication level in specific, and with university vision in general.

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PARADIPLOMACY: A VALUE ADDED IN THE CAPACITY AND CAPABILITY OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION OF THE JAKARTA CAPITAL GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

Study of paradiplomacy is beginning to take shape. The role of diplomacy by the central government is now beginning to be taken over by the local government and actors working together with other areas in the realm of international relations. Paradiplomacy considered more effective because it has a deep understanding of the community. Thus, in the era of globalization and decentralization, international relations activities undertaken focused on regional development, from various sectors. We examine the activity of paradiplomacy by local government of the capital city of Jakarta has increased in importance over the last decades. We examine how such activity affects value added for local government. The effect is positive for example an increase understanding and awareness of local actors in the area of diplomacy, as well as the strengthening of capacity and capability of diplomacy. The activities of paradiplomacy by the Jakarta government in line with the enhanced cooperation in the sister city program, project cooperation and delivery of the delegation and result also in an increase in FDI (foreign direct investment).

Keywords: paradiplomacy, Jakarta, International Cooperation, capacity

INTRODUCTION

In the era of globalization and liberalization, international activities are inevitable and will be part of governance reform undertaken by local governments in the context of decentralization. Judging from the concept of paradiplomacy, international activities by local governments also determine the strength of the state. The existing laws on foreign relations only regulate and do not deal with the activities of foreign relations and cooperation by local governments. Therefore, the problem of central-regional relations becomes an essential argument in decentralization policy when it is associated with the activities international cooperation by local governments.

Jakarta is controlled directly by the national government and is designated as the Special Capital Region. Since the enactment of Law Number 24/2014 on Local Government (the Law was twice revised, first Law Number 22/1999 and second revision was Law Number 32/2004) local governments play a greater role in administering their areas. Foreign policy,

defence (including armed forces and national police), system of law, monetary policy, and religion affairs however, remain the domain of the national government. Since 2005, heads of local government (governors, regents and mayors) have been directly elected by popular election. The Governor of Jakarta has the power to appoint and dismiss mayors and regent within the Jakarta Special Capital Region. The local government is allowed to co-operate with other cities from other countries

METHODS

There are two concepts underlying this paper, decentralization and paradiplomacy as the point of view in discussing the study of Central-Regional relations in the context of international cooperations undertaken by the local government. The purpose of this paper is to present the activities of foreign cooperation (international arena) by the Jakarta Capital Government based on empirical fact, and 'not rigid' from the formal-juridical point of view, as well as its relevance to the policy of decentralization. This is done through tracing the concept of paradiplomacy through

library references. From the broader perspective on globalization and decentralization concept of paradiplomacy integrates study of international relations into the study of government to enrichment the field study on the discipline of government.

The theme of this article begins with the curiosity of understanding the text and the contextual paradiplomacy as a concept in the practice of relations and cooperation abroad by local governments. The activity of paradiplomacy is the starting point for tracing the activities of foreign relations and cooperation which 'should not always' be conducted by the central government. As international economic interaction grew and as societies became more complex and interconnected, local (government, community and local entrepreneur) involvement in international arena inevitably require for local solutions.

This is where the phenomenon of relations and foreign cooperation by non-state actors is expressed with paradiplomacy activities as a dynamic concept. Through an understanding of the concept of paradiplomacy gives awareness and necessity as Hermawan writes to 'translate and make sense of the current developments of the object of our study' (xi). The phenomenon of globalization and decentralization is the latest development in the perspective of scientific studies and is a scope of discussion that has not been much discussed in the development of governmental studies. The emergence of the concept of paradiplomacy, as stated by Creswell (2012) is defined as a reflection to understand regional and international dynamic and regional changes by local government. Furthermore, in understanding a concept, Irfan Ridwan Maksum (2007) expresses "not to measure and base the search for the universal laws of the observed practices, but to become a corridor to capture local knowledge and empirical practices Location of the study "(128).

Neuman describes a concept as the 'fundamental unit of theory' and a concept is an idea expressed with symbols or words (definitions). In the social sciences according to Neuman, this concept is more expressed in words (text). The word 'paradiplomasi' is a symbol, and with symbols allows us to express abstract ideas.

Neuman then points out that we communicate these abstract concepts, which do not appear in our minds, with each other by using visible symbols (72). Thus, paradiplomacy activity is a symbol of the activities of non-state actors to face the international problems. The contextual understanding of the concept of paradiplomacy which is a social construct is a dialectical process between 'structure' and 'agent', as expressed by Hadiwinata in Hermawan (2007) that 'in socio-political and human spheres interact to produce socio- politics' (20). Thus generated an argument or statement which is the proposition of a social reality.

PARADIPLOMACY

Paradiplomacy is a social reality that begins with the phenomenon of decentralization and globalization. Aguirre (1999: 185) explains that the 'neologism' paradiplomacy emerged in the 1980s as a result of the desire to renewed theory of federalism. Renewal of the federalism theory or 'new federalism' begins with the emergence of new players in international relations, the community- community which is an autonomous legal unity. This autonomous legal unity grew due to the premise of decentralization. In fact decentralization has brought about an autonomous legal unity, as a critique in managing the international arena.

Decentralization and paradiplomacy are concepts derived from ideas of governmental management or administration, cross-linking between external events of globalization, regionalization and democratization and clash with internal social-political change that begins with efforts to correct a centralized political system. From there, emerged the action of reform and democratic transformation which was manifested by the implementation of regional autonomy that changes the relation of central-regional governmentAs Cheema and Rondinelli point out "Decentralization was defined as the transfer of authority, responsibility, and resources—through deconcentration, delegation, or devolution—from the center to lower levels of administration" . It can not be denied that this change affects the activities of international relations that were originally state domains (central power), now more obviously

done by subnational actors (local government) whose purpose is to promote their own interests and independence.

In a classical study of international relations, the object of analysis is 'nation-state' as the main actor in foreign cooperation. The study focused on the principles of state sovereignty and nationalism in international relations. Then, there is a shift of foreign cooperation actors in contemporary international relations, where the nation-state is no longer a hegemonic actor in the arena of international relations. In addition, there is also a shift in the theme of international relations which originally as a means for identity and nation building (high politics) turned to community engagement activities.

International events that now involve local government are becoming more visible. The unpredictable phenomenon of globalization, with intensive and comprehensive political-economic interaction, impacts the paradigm of single actor role shifts in international relations. At the same time, the decentralization system allows local governments (sub-national actors) to engage in international cooperation. With the shift of major actors in international relations, thus theoretical foundation is needed to analyze the contemporary phenomena in international relations. Paradiplomacy is a relatively new study even in international relations that begins with the desire of sub-states entities (local governments) to conduct foreign relations with specific objectives, and carried out separately or as a complementary diplomacy conducted by the state (central government).

The concept of paradiplomacy, first coined by Ivo D. Duchacek and Panayotis Soldatos in the 1980s, describes a new phenomenon in the study of international relations, which begins with the term parallel diplomacy (abbreviated as paradiplomacy). According to Kuznetsov (2015), research conducted by Inaki Aguirre in the 1990s clarifies the concept of paradiplomacy in the arena of international relations as an approach used to enrich the political process of power in the international arena by relying on words and ideas. According to Aguirre in Kuznetsov "politics is also the matter of semantic, and the art that implies the power to

give a certain meaning to things such as complex political processes through words ". In practice, according to Ariadi, paradiplomacy refer to parallel, coordinated, complementary activities, or sometimes even contrary to diplomacy by the central government.

Wolff used the term parallel diplomacy, as to divide authority with local entities, in the context of Indonesia the division of authority between the central government and local government in the arena of international relations. The word paradiplomacy is the result of the adoption of 'coordinated parallel activity, complementary to, or even against macro-diplomacy conducted at the national level' (Ariadi, 2010). Indeed, the study of paradiplomacy is still dominated by empirical studies and practices in federated states (Soldatos 1980, Duchachek & Soldatos 1990, Cornago, 2010, Criekemans 2010). International activities by non-state actors (local government) are rarely become news, as local governments are only engaged in domestic affairs, 'lost the sensation' of the news by diplomacy by state actors which addresses issues of war, ceasefire, terrorism, or matters relating to the news of international conflict (high politics). But according to Duchacek and Soldatos, domestic affairs are in fact related to real problems (politics) - the daily lives of people, and this domestic problem also affects foreign affairs. Through regional leaders, domestic affairs and international cooperation can be implemented. Wolff's sentence below explains the shifting of international relations activities from high politics to low politics activities.

"*International activities of non-central government rarely make the first page of national dailies. They are neither alarming nor dramatic - they can hardly compete for public attention with wars, arms talks, international terror, and other forms of conflict or cooperation among sovereign nations. Their impact on national foreign policy, involving decisive center-to-center relations, has remained modest: primarily they deal, so to speak, with the territorial daily bread. But, as every struggle for our daily bread, these internal concerns with their external dimensions influence the welfare of millions, their local and provincial leaders, and through them the complex interaction between domestic and foreign politics.* "*

Globalization forces foreign relations and cooperation done by non-state actors: local government, community communities and other interest groups. The reason, because the

dynamics of society is no longer determined by a dominant global power. Especially since the 1990s, according to Chalid "takes place a new game in the international arena where the country will not be able again as a single player in the face of hyper competitive". Further Chalid, the government will be too big to solve small problems and too small to be able to solve the problems faced by the community.

At the same level, it is important to disclose that globalization is a necessity, and local governments are actors who must understand the world (global) and are active in international relations. In addition, in reality overseas cooperation undertaken by the local government is real and shows the intensity of the increasing and varied relationship. Some local governments with sister city / sister provincial programs are embryos of overseas cooperation by local governments, namely a global paradiplomasi inter-city cooperation of a country.

The increasing number of urban (provincial and district districts) participation as participants and members at international forums, organizations and events proves that the region has the ability to engage in international activities. In addition, there are many congresses, meetings, seminars, workshops, programs and world-class events in provincial / regency cities that can enhance the image and competitiveness of local governments. Several events are associated with investment in the field of tourism that combines international cycling activities with tourism objects of the archipelago, including as in the activities: *tour de Singkarak, tour linggarjati, tour de Jakarta, tour d'Indonesia.*

The mechanism of program / activity cooperation begins with the exploratory process which is the initiative of cooperation of both parties as the initial proposal about the program / activity to be cooperated. The chart below shows the flow of arrangement of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) of cooperation memorandum of understanding with foreign party.

(MoU) or memorandum of understanding is a memorandum of understanding of cooperation between the parties that will cooperate begins with the revelation of the will of the joint or the LoI between the parties who will cooperate, and this cooperation agreement into a script of cooperation with civil ties containing rights and obligations. In the Regulation of Jakarta Capital City Governor No 269 of 2014 on Foreign Cooperation Patterns that cooperation with foreign parties conducted by local government aims to:

a. Building friendship and mutual understanding among Jakarta residents and residents of foreign cities / regions;

b. Facilitate cooperation with City / Local Government overseas / Foreign Private Entity / Foreign Non Government Institution in various mutually agreed fields; and

c. Facilitating information exchange activities, programs and development activities and urban management between the Regional Government and the City / Regencies overseas.
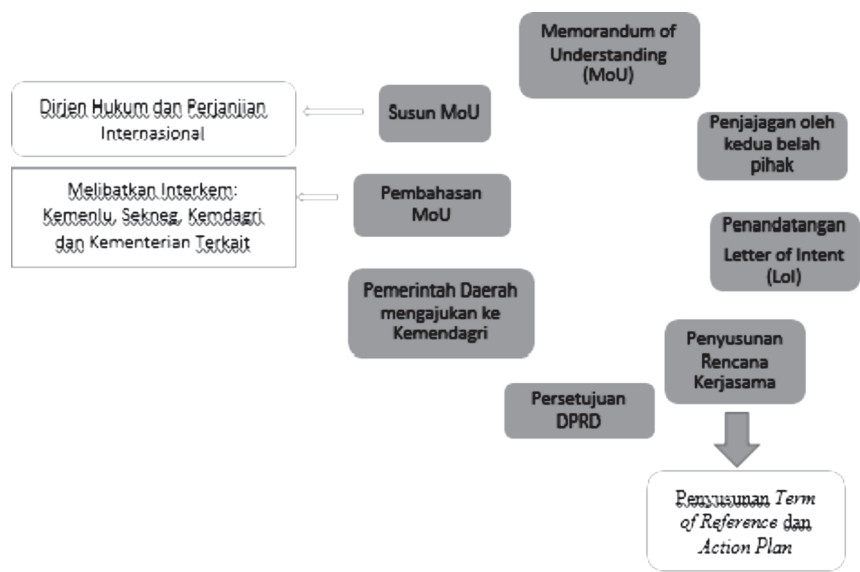
The principle of cooperation between local government and foreign parties is regulated in the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 3/2008 concerning Guidelines for Implementation of Regional Government Cooperation with Foreign Parties, namely: a) equality of positions; b) provide benefits and benefit each other; c) does not disturb political stability and economic security; d) respect the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia; e) maintaining environmental sustainability; f) supporting gender mainstreaming; And g) in accordance with the laws and regulations (art 2). Further stipulated also the requirements of cooperation (Article 4) that cooperation with foreign parties is a complement in the implementation of local government; Have diplomatic relations; Is a matter of regional government; Not opening representative offices abroad; Does not lead to interference in domestic affairs; In accordance with development policies and development plans and transferable science and technology.

PARADIPLOMACY: PRACTICES OF JAKARTA

Local government is the object as well as subject to understand in detail and comprehensively the concept of paradiplomacy, which originated from the transformation of actors in international relations - from 'state actors' to 'non-state actors' - arising from the practice of decentralization in the field of foreign relations in countries with federal system. The problem is, what if the concept of paradiplomacy applied in a decentralized country like Indonesia, which is constitutionally a unitarist state. Asymmetric decentralization as the spearhead

of government management in order to synergize governance as a single unfragmented system

The emergence of the concept of paradiplomacy resulting from a new phenomenon in diplomacy which explains that the international arena is no longer state-centric, which is juridically-formalistic focus on *high politics* (Act No. 23 of 2014, Article 10 Paragraph 1,2). Paradiplomacy is multy-track diplomacy in international relations and engages in *low politics*, such as cultural and knowledge exchanges, education, increased investment, tourism, entertainment and others that can unite global communities for dialogue and collaboration. This dialogue and collaboration management pattern raises specific terms in diplomacy such as cultural diplomacy that moves to unify local wisdom in each region with foreign parties, and it evolves into cooperation in the field of tourism. In addition, among the long-established is education diplomacy which has one mission globally namely *Education or All.*

Jakarta, as the capital city has conducted sister city/sister province program since 1973 with the city of Amsterdam, Netherland. Over the years, Jakarta has engages in sister city/sister province programs with almost 21 cities and provinces around the global. Areas of cooperation in Table 1 indicate that the focus of activities is on the level of *low-politics*, which is the most important of people-to-people engagement and collaboration, and these activities are very close to the daily life and problems of the community. Out of the 21 sister city programs between Jakarta and other cities, only 10 are categorized as "active".

Bidang Kerjasama *Sister City/Sister Province*
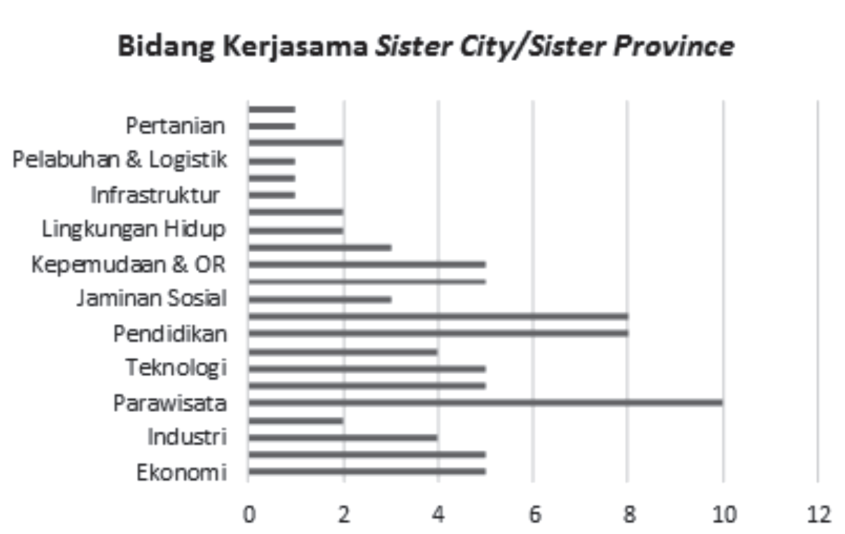
	Name of Cities	Scope of activities	Years of Agreement
1	Seoul, South Korea	City Planning,Transportation Environment,Community Development,Sport and Youth	July 25 1984
2	Rotterdam, Netherland	City Transportation,City Development (Sunda Kelapa areas)	August 1, 1986
3	Tokyo, Japan	City Management,Youth and Sport,Art and Culture Employment	October 23, 1989
4	Beijing, People Republic of China	City Administration,Small and Medium Industry, Sport, Tourism, Education, Economic and Trading	May 9, 1992
5	Berlin, Germany	City Planning, City Transportation Drinking water & Waste	April 13, 1994
6	New South Wales, Australia	Economic and Trading City Planning,Tourism Zoo management	May 30, 2009
7	Bangkok, Thailand	Economic and Trading, City Planning, Tourism, Traffic, Employment management and Government	January 1, 2002
8	Moskow, Russia	Architecture, City Planning, Landscape & Park Management, Sport, Transportation, Tourism, Trading, Investment, Legislative	June 22 2007
9	Pyongyang, North Korea	Economi, Trading, City Management, Education, Culture, Sport	November 8, 2007
10	Hungaria, Budapest	City Management, Tourism, Culture, Economic, Legislative	February 2, 2009

Whereas according to them (Jakarta government) the involvement of local government is very important in the era of globalization and ASEAN Economic Community (AEC or in Indonesia MEA=Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN). Limited resources (staff and funds) on the international aspect are the main issues of non-continuing relationship.

Opinions on how the process should proceed, according to sources at the central government, will rely on local government initiatives and innovations on the success or failure of the program. Compared with other regional governments, foreign cooperation by the Jakarta government is said to be more advanced.

There are notes about the success of foreign cooperation by Jakarta government, this is due to the new type of leadership. The governor of Jakarta plays an important role toward the achievement of good governance in Jakarta. The key to leadership is *visionary and trustworthy* and this is one of the main element to good governance innovation, especially in cooperation with Rotterdam and Beijing. Second, innovation is related to technical and management capability, that is how policy planning is formulated, implemented and supervised. Professional demands regarding technical and management capacity will determine the success of governance innovation for international activities. In addition, more important is innovation in the arena of participation, thus innovations in communication systems between actors - coordinated system, deliberative and show an equal relationship should be considered in the continuous of international aspects.

CONCLUSION

The importance of realizing a balanced and proportional Center-Regional relationship is a reality that has always been emphasized in decentralized governance systems. Therefore, it is necessary to formulate the decentralization that puts the Center-Region relationship in the context of democracy that leads to efficient and effective governance of modern governance and promotes community service and community participation. Therefore, in accordance with its function required local government that is able to bring public services closer to the community. Similarly, in the international arena, its activities should lead to the problems of the community, so the revelation of a senior diplomat Kemenlu-RI that when diplomacy is about to be down-to- earthed and brought closer to the people, it must put forward concrete socio-economic issues beneficial to the people (Darmansjah Djumala, Kompas, November 14, 2014).

Second, the phenomenon of globalization has felt its influence and demand the improvement of regional competitiveness, and this can have positive and negative impact, because with open market local competitiveness becomes the key of success as well as failure in addressing international activities. Today, foreign relations are no longer by state actors, but by non-state actors (local government (city / province), community, private sector) play a role in supporting the globalization process to bring benefits to the welfare of the people. However, it must remain vigilant because the economic-capitalist played by the developed countries with its protection policy still holds the role of global economy, so with the unification of the market then imported goods and services can dominate the regional economy that has not grown. It is therefore the duty of local governments to increase their capacity in the international arena

Finally, the concept of paradiplomasi that emerged in the 1980s meant that international activity no longer had to be an elitist inter-state diplomacy relationship, but could be done in parallel with diplomacy between non-state actors who were more egalitarian. Local government because it is closer to the problems of the community, especially related to the issues of "daily life" is easier to do when there is intervention from the international environment because of the collaboration to handle issues together, such as poverty, health, education, environment Has long been declared in one of the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) programs under the command of the United Nations.

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SIDENRENG RAPPANG VERSUS MASYARAKAT EKONOMI ASEAN

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Abstract

Barisan, Muh. Rohady Ramadhan and Ahmad Mustanir, 2016. Sidenreng Rappang Versus Asean Economic Community (AEC) 2016. This study aims to identify strengths and weaknesses as well as opportunities and challenges of the Sidenreng Rappang district government in the implementation of the Asean economic community policy (AEC) 2016. In addition to identifying the research, this study also aims to find the government's strategic steps in addressing these challenges.The results of this study indicate that although Sidenreng Rappang has the strength and opportunity, also known weaknesses and challenges are quite large. The weakness which is also a big challenge is the low capacity of human resources owned by it, the government of Sidenreng Rappang is expected to make development strategy and protection strategy to overcome it.

Keywords: Sidrap, AEC.

BACKGROUND

In the 21st century the internationalization of the activities of the world community in almost all fields will increase and lead us to developments in the interconnected phenomena among the countries of the world. Developments in technology and patterns of economic activity make people in the world increasingly touching each other, need each other, mutually determine the fate of each other, but also compete with each other.

The long term development vision of Sidenreng Rappang Regency in 2005-2025 as stated in Regional Regulation Number 26 Year 2007 "The Realization of Sidenreng Rappang as One of the Leading

Regencies in East Indonesia in 2025". With three advantages: 1) As the center of agribusiness development, 2) As an independent region, and 3) Having a cultured and religious society.

The development vision of Sidenreng Rappang Regency 2014- 2018 "The Realization of Sidenreng Rappang The Foremost and Leading One with Religious Society With Increasing Double Income".

In December 1997 a summit was held in Kuala Lumpur, the ASEAN leaders decided to turn ASEAN into a stable, prosperous and highly competitive region with just economic development, and reduce poverty and socio-economic inequality (ASEAN Vision 2020). At the Bali Summit in October 2003, ASEAN leaders stated that the ASEAN Economic Community (MEA) will be the goal of regional economic integration by 2020, the ASEAN Security Community and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community are two inseparable pillars of the ASEAN Community. All parties are expected to work strongly in building the ASEAN Community by 2020. At the 12th ASEAN Summit in January 2007, the Leaders

affirmed their strong commitment to accelerate the establishment of ASEAN Community by 2015 proposed in ASEAN. Vision 2020 and ASEAN Concord II, and signed the Cebu Declaration on Accelerating the Establishment of ASEAN Community by 2015 In particular, the leaders agreed to accelerate the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community in December 2015, in which the AEC has five main pillars:

1. Free flow of goods
2. Free flow of services
3. Free investment flow
4. Free flow of skilled labor
5. Free capital flow

President Joko Widodo insists Indonesia is ready to face the AEC. "We must be ready and optimistic able to face the MEA. I met the leaders of the ASEAN head of state and they were also afraid of the power of Indonesia. So, we must be ready to take advantage of the AEC".

To understand clearly the strategies that should be applied in the face of any changes can be done by first doing the analysis in depth. Rare appropriate analysis to do is to use the SWOT analysis method (Strenght, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats).

Based on the above discussion, the researcher conducted the research with the theme "Sidenreng Rappang Versus ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)". The purpose of this research is to find a good strategy model for the government in facing the challenges and opportunities of AEC?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN (MEA) dan Daya Saing Investasi Indonesia (Usman, 2016). Perubahan Perdagangan Bebas ke Integrasi ASEAN (*Changes Free Trade to ASEAN Integration*) (Rahim & Taufiq, 2015). Potret UMKM Indonesia Menghadapi Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN (Tedjasuksmana, 2014). mempersiapkan Sumber Daya Manusia Indonesia Dalam Menghadapi Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN Tahun 2015 (Pramudyo, 2014). Optimalisasi Pemanfaatan Teknologi Informasi Komunikasi Berbasis E-Commerce as media Pemasaran Usaha Kecil Menengah Guna

Meningkatkan Daya Saing Dalam Menghadapi masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2015 (Ramadhani & Arifin, 2013). Implementasi Kurikulum 2013 Dalam Mempersiapkan Sumber Daya Manusia Indonesia Menghadapi "Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN" (ASEAN Economic Community) pada 2015 (Afandi, 2014).

The analysis of the local government strategy of Sidenreng Rappang Regency in facing the challenge of implementing the ASEAN economic community is done by using SWOT analysis method (Strength, Weekeness, Opportunities, threat). SWOT analysis is a tool used to identify various internal and external environmental factors systematically allegedly influencing or influenced by the organization so that will produce the formulation of strategy of sorganization (Nurmandi, 2010).

FINDING AND DISCUSSIONS

SWOT Analysis of Sidenreng Rappang Regency

Formulating the government strategy of Sidenreng Rappang to face the challenge of Asean economic community (AEC) is done by using SWOT analysis method (Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) in several sectors. Sidenreng Rappang District Government is expected to be able to make strategic policies that are more in line with the strengths and opportunities that are possible to be applied. Based on SWOT analysis, it is concluded that the strategy analysis focused on the food security sector in Sidenreng Rappang Regency which consists of agriculture, plantation, animal husbandry and fishery.

a. Agricultural Sector

Aquaculture Development has shown an upward trend over the last 5 (five) years. In 2009 the area of development of 148.04 Ha increased to 382.84 Ha in 2013. While the area of rice Cultivation has decreased area. In 2009 the total area reached 237.44 Ha to 224.96 Ha in 2013. 1) Strength (Large rice field area, good irrigation, and Government support through irrigation dam development 2) Weakness (Low human resources owned by farmers and Behavior of the people who feel prestige to farm) 3) Opportunities (The high demand of the general public on agricultural products and

the high demand from outside) 4) Challenges (Lack of supply of subsidized fertilizers from the government and many pest disorders not followed by toxic pesticide inventory).

b. Plantation Sector

Plantation commodity is the second highest contributor (2) in supporting the GRDP in agriculture sector which is 4.53% this year. Compared to the previous year, commodities slowed by 2% from 6.50% to 4.53%. 1) Strength (large plantation area, existence of community with gardening, fertile plantation land), 2) weakness (lack of community human resources on plantation, lack of socialization from related apparatus, frequent crop failure due to long dry season) 3) Opportunities (Increased Production Outcomes / Great Opportunities Opportunity for Marketing of Plantation Products, Widespread Employment Opportunities), and 4) Challenges (Often Dry Drought, Lack of Public Interest for Gardening, Lots of Land Used as Citizen Settlements).

c. Livestock Sector

The livestock sector is the pre- eminent sector in Sidenreng Rappang Regency after agriculture this can be seen with the number of farms, both large livestock and small livestock. It is also known as an egg producer. The types of cattle that exist in Sidenreng Rappang District are: Cow, buffalo, horse and goat. While the types of poultry are: free chicken, laying chicken layer, broiler and duck. 1) Strength (Availability of large cattle feed location (Pitu Riase), Laying chicken farming and chicken cutting (almost all sub- districts), suitable rice field area for post-harvest farm duck) 2) Weakness (Human resources of rancher and source of capital), 3) Opportunities (Business assistance through people's business credit (KUR) from banking and High (Free trade opening and inability of farmers to manage capital from banking)

d. fishery Sector

Sidenreng Rappang Regency is known as one of the agricultural areas in South Sulawesi province and is a National Rice Mill. This can be seen from the role of the agricultural sector, especially food crops that have a big enough share in economic growth. Some of the main food crops produced in Sidenreng Rappang Regency are: rice, corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, and nuts. 1) Strength (The existence of suitable agricultural irrigation to serve as a source of pond water and suitable weather conditions for freshwater fish development), 2) Weakness (Frequent community fish decompose due to the absence of fish management industry, lack of human resources to manage the crops , And fish crops are only for food and there is no management system that makes long-lasting fish), 3) Opportunities (High public interest to consume freshwater fish and Presence of government efforts to provide guidance to the community related to fish management), and 4) Threats (Lack of public interest for freshwater fish farming and lack of cooperation   among government agencies especially between agriculture and fisheries)

SIDRAP VS AEC

The implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community will underline some key points that will be a challenge for the Sidenreng Rappang district government. AEC comes up with free points of free flow of goods, free flow of sevice, free flof of investment, free flow of skilled labor, and free flow of capital.

a. Free points of free flow of goods

The opening of ASEAN free market makes the outflow of goods into the country becomes more rapidly. The provision of basic goods needs become the nation's main challenge. Further development, liberalization of free goods flow is one of the main elements in realizing ASEAN as a joint market based on production. The embodiment of the impact of an open economic nature certainly involves the political system. Sidenreng Rappang Regency is one of the areas that has the potential to provide some basic human needs sourced from agriculture especially rice.

According to (Usman, Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN (MEA) dan Daya Saing Investasi Indonesia, 2016) For some things, Indonesia is still considered not ready to face the competition AEC. The size of Indonesia's large economy could be one of the causes. Indonesia is indeed the largest country in ASEAN, both in terms of the size of the population, and the size of its economy. But unfortunately, in terms of quality, especially competitiveness, Indonesia is still lagging behind compared to Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand.

This condition is also followed by the economic condition of Sidenreng Rappang Regency, especially in the provision of basic needs of the community sourced from agriculture, plantation, fishery, and livestock.

b. Free flow of sevice

Service-free flow is present in the implementation of the ASEAN economic community by opening up the widest possible opportunity for the provision and delivery of services. The readiness of local governments in order to prepare services to the community becomes the demand.

c. Free flof of investment

Implementation of the free flow of investment in the ASEAN region aims to make Southeast Asia region an attractive place for investors and competing, both from ASEAN countries and those from outside the region. This is related to policies on business activities to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) or Foreign Investment (PMA).

The presence of this freedom becomes an opportunity for the district government Sidenreng Rappang to welcome the entry of investors invest in some sectors. Some sectors that are in dire need of investment in Sidenreng Rappang district, such as livestock, fishery, plantation and others.

The free flow of investment becomes the government's need in developing the Sidenreng Rappang district. The Sidrap government is expected to be able to develop a development strategy. A strategy is regarded as a development strategy if the organization deliberately designs a strategy that aims to improve the status, capacity, resources that will ultimately give birth to a different new organizational posture in the future. Wechsler and Backoff (Suwarsono, 2013) mentioned that the organization is fully laid out and operated in a mode of development.

d. Free flow of skilled labor

The low human resources owned by the district government of Sidenreng Rappang in the four main sectors that are the focus of the study is still in the low category. The lack of human resources is reflected in the availability of extension workers in each sector. Local governments have only the availability of extension teams; Agriculture

75 people, plantation 14 people, animal husbandry 46 people, and fishery 5 people. The availability of these extension workers when compared with the potential possessed by the region can be said that not directly proportional. One example is agricultural extension which amounts to 75 people with rice field area 44.934 ha with a ratio of 1: 599,15 Ha.

Given these shortcomings, the strategic steps required by the government in order to face the ASEAN economic community. The existence of free access related to skilled workers, the local government should develop development strategies to maintain and empower local communities. The strategy is in line with the opinion (Bilson, 2001) that human resource development is the Identification of development needs, Formulating appropriate development programs for the employees concerned, and Monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the development program that has been developed.

e. Free flow of capital

The development of global trade in the last twenty years is increasingly massive. This is marked by an increase in global export and import value. The increase in exports and imports in recent years has been partly attributable to the rising volume of world trade and declining world commodity prices. In 1980, the value of trade transactions amounted to USD 3,813.48 billion. In 2010 the value of trade transactions has reached USD 30,367 billion.

This development will continue and increase with the opening of the free market of the ASEAN economic community. To anticipate the phenomenon, local governments must develop protective strategies to maintain local conditions.

CONCLUSION

Sidenreng Rappang District Government has the power and opportunity especially in agriculture sector to face the implementation of Asean Economic Community (AEC). While the weaknesses as well as a challenge lies the ability of human resources that are owned, especially the resources of extension workers both agricultural extension and other sectors. The strategic step that should be taken by the local government is the transformation- development strategy. This strategy

is intended to adopt the advantages that are present due to the implementation of Asean economic society (AEC) to overcome all the shortcomings and weaknesses, and develop the quality of each sector owned.

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BIG BUDGET, LOW IMPACT: AN ALTERNATIVE EVALUATION ON BENEFIT AND IMPACT OF SPECIAL FUND IN DI YOGYAKARTA, 2013-2015

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Abstract

Special region of Yogyakarta is the newest area that has reached constitutionality privilege status of three other special regions: Aceh, Papua and Jakarta. This paper is the results of combination from several data collection method such as survey, interview, and Focus Group Discussion in order to gather a more comprehensive data and analysis. In Addition, data are collected from official document, library literature, and media report. And the method of analysis is using descriptive and chronological. Lastly, conclusions are produced by induction and deduction model. This research findings are go as follow. First, good governance approach in funding are made to be preferred procedure in creating various program and privilege activities under the special fund (danais). Second, the philosophical debates are so dominant in three years instead in more substantial programs related to support and craeate more social welfare in the grassroot. Third, a large proportion of the budget allocation was spent in cultural events creating a serious public apathy where the principle of privilege and power for the welfare is still left behind. It is becoming provocative summery that the implementation of privilege regions during first three years is facing a condition what we called 'big budgets but low Impact.'

Keywords: Asymmetrical democracy, DIY, Evaluation, Welfare, Special Fund

INTRODUCTION

"Special Region" is a famous term of government practice within decentralization practice in Indonesia history since colonial periode. For instance, as attached status to Aceh, Papua, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta. Substantively, The special status of Yogyakarta doesn't has any disctinction with other special region mentioned above. According to Eko Sutoro (Hadiwijoyo, 2009.p.52) in relating to desentralization, central government has been givinga recognition to the cultural diversity, the origin of society, and experience of political history to give special status. Yogyakarta Special Regions (DIY) itself reached special status under Law No.13/2012 and followed by special fund from national government each year. Nothing distinction

with other privilege regions, commonly the aims are to fulfill the fairness, social welfare, human right and basic right of society, increase the local citizen, giving chance to people to participate in development process, and decrease the gap between the rich and the poor in these regions in Aceh province, Papua, and west papua with other provinces in Indonesia (Zuhria, 2015).

Yogyakarta region is interpreted as lack of prosperous society based on economical side so it needs to be developed by improving trade industry, agriculture, SME, and other service sector which can be sustained by creating the economical infrastructure like traditional markets. Special society can be understood as a community who have own high level of knowledge and wisdom who is indicated from

the level of people education, and the high level of public participation, and the number of professional experts that are generated by better educational system. Special community is also one kind of the people who have own high level of health, small growth rate, high life expectancy and good quality of social services (DIY government documents).

This research is significant due to its concern on important historical, political and economic background that encourages the existence of special autonomy policies or granting privileges to the region, As what was stated by As-shiddiqie in (Hadiwijoyo, 2009) there are four prerequisites that must be met: (1)The policy can strengthen the foundations of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; (2) Accelerate the prosperity of the local people; (3) support the welfare of all Indonesian people, (4) increase the development of social justice, and (5) reflecting the implementation of local people's sovereignty. Thus, the policy of special autonomy or granting privileges for a particular region not only become a symbol or slogan and make the area into a State within the State, but it will also be more oriented to the welfare of the people by remaining in the corridors of the Unitary State.

Asymmetrical decentralization in DIY has a different model from which are in Aceh, Jakarta, and Papua. The budgetary funding from the central government in the form of special autonomy funds for the two regions is already standart, While the budget for Privileges Fund is based on the number of submitted proposals and budget absorption by Yogyakarta's government. It triggers the DIY government to implement various strategies that are intended to maintain and increase the amount of annual budget (special fund). Among one of these strategies are to make as many cultural programs as possible for spending special fund without weighing the siginificant of the program—benefit and impact to the people.So far, stakeholders only pursue the quantity of the program and ignore the quality issue which should be a priority for people in the regions.

As a country whose economic system is still dependent on public sector financing, the hope

that decentralization policy in Indonesia can improve the welfare of the people significantly has not been fulfilled. This is like what happened in Yogyakarta which has special authority in governing the affairs of his government.

This special authority was strengthened when Law No. 13 of 2012 on Special Privileges of DIY had passed.This special law of DIY covers five core bussiness, namely the governor appointment, Institutional Affairs; Cultural Affairs; Land Affairs; and Spatial Affairs. By this legal document, it is expected that the Government of Yogyakarta can guarantai the right of the people to live in more prosperous condition. However, these expectations still has not be realized so far.

Yogyakarta Special Government gets big enough budget through privileged program. Disbursement of funds in 2013 amounted to IDR231.392.653.500.And it was increased in 2014 amounting to IDR523,874,719,000. Unfortunetly, the amount of special fund budget has not been directly proportional impact to the level of community welfare by statistic. The lack of usefulness of the use of the special fund (danais—*dana keistimewaan*) are clearly illustrated by the low absorption of the budget by the people and Government which have not been able to contribute to the acceleration of the people's welfare in general. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in September 2013, the percentage of urban and rural poor in DIY was 15.03%. Exactly, this figure come up from 2012 which previously amounted to 16.08% and ranked the top 10 provinces with the highest poverty rates in Java. However, the level of poverty in DIY remained the largest among all provinces, especially, in Jawa. The trend of poverty figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Yogyakarta Special Region from 2011 to 2014 showed that the poverty rate continues to increase respectively. In 2011 the poverty rate was 257.909 and it reached into the number of 541.90 in 2014. This slightly illustrates how the actual contribution of privileged funds to the society welfare, if it is seen from the poverty rate which continues to increase. Based on released data by BPS in the final report of Gross regional productive analysis DIY 2011 to 2015 shows

that the income inequality in DIY still lame with the distribution of 40% low income society. Based on the above facts, so we are interesting to do research related to how the effectiveness of privileged funds in Yogyakarta

The vision that formulated by the Governor of DIY which is also as the king of of DIY changed the development paradigm from "Among Tani to DagangLayar (agriculture and coastal economy orientation) " in the hope of achieving the prosperity of his fellow citizens. However, the achievements indicate that the empowerment of the marine sector is still very minimum. Not only achievements at the level of outcomes, benefits, or expected impacts, but also the absorption of the budget in 2013 and 2014 was still low. Based on the special report of 2013, the privilege budget for 2013 stipulated by Regulation of the Minister of Finance issued on 17 October 2013 Number 140 / PMK.07 / 2013 the special fund amount was IDR 231,392,653,500. physical achievement Aggregate could only be achieved as big as 29,41%. While the financial realization amounted to IDR 54,562,180,053, or about 23.58% of the ceiling. This is caused by the process of preparing of the new DPA which was completed in October 2013 so that the implementation time was only 2 months.

In 2014 through Regulation of the Minister of Finance No. 36 / PMK.07 / 2014 on General Guidelines and Allocation of Privileged Funds of Special Region of Yogyakarta, Local Government of DIY get budget allocation in the privilege of IDR 523.874.719.000. In general, the realization of financial uptake is IDR 272.056.608.289,00 or about 51.93% of the total budget. The largest budget allocation for the use of privileged funds in 2014 was cultural affairs with a budget of IDR 375,178,719,000. While spatial affairs only amounted to IDR 123,620,000,000.

RESEARCH METHODS

In the modern scientific community worldwide (Stehr 1991, 1994), there are a high need to scientifically prove the effectiveness, efficiency, quality, and application of political programs and standards in all areas of society so that an appropriate analysis knife is needed

to know and explain the objective situation. Departing from the facts, the researchers used the method of evaluation in this study. Evaluation research operates in a field which is characterized by a diverse range of power and interest groups, and it is confronted with, and engaging in problematic social situations, trends, policies, and effects.

According to Stufflebeam (in Lincoln & Guba; 14) evaluation can be defined as process of describing, obtaining, and applying information descriptively about the benefits of multiple objects as defined by its objectives, structure, processes, and products.

The evaluation approach is used to conduct an assessment of the existence of a government program, in this case is the existence of privileged funds to the welfare of the community. This research will produce some big information stages as described by Kusek (2004) about the stages of information that will be obtained through evaluation research that are strategy, execution or process implementation, and learning.

Evaluation research in this case is intended to support, document, and monitor the social and intra-organizational changes and desired learning processes (Torres et al, 1996). The results of this evaluation study are expected to provide support for decision-making and planning, and from a client's point of view, aiding better monitoring processes, higher rationality, and improve product quality, and providing arguments for the achievement of goals and interests (Von Kardorff 1998a; Madaus et al., 1983; Rossi and Freeman 1993; Weiss 1998; see 6.3). In essence, evaluation research understands constructivist-based realities. Social reality is understood as the result of communicative and interactive negotiated structures, which manifested in patterns of meaning, discourses, social representations, and patterns of action.

In this study, researchers use several data collection techniques. First, an experimental quantitative-based approach (Bortz and Doring, Wottawa and Thierau 1998). The model of this approach is data collection through interviews with a questionnaire of 250 recipients, with the balance between men and women. Respondents consisted of several job backgrounds.

This research was conducted in Yogyakarta, Bantul, Sleman, Gunungkidul, and Kulonprogo districts. Second, an integrative qualitative-based approach (Guba and Lincoln 1998; Shaw 1999). In this approach, data are collected from government documents, media analysis, literature review, and dissemination of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) at the time of exposure to research results. The wide range of selected techniques is aimed to obtainea valid, factual, and reliable data.

The next stage is data analysis. According to Effendi (1989) data analysis is the process of simplifying the data into a form that is easier to read and interpret. In this study, the authors use analytical techniques with a qualitative approach as the theory of Miles and Huberman (1992, in Agus Salim, 2006). Miles and Huberman's theory can be described as follows: (1) coding/data reduction; (2) thematization; (3) determining the story line; (4) developing the storyline and theorizing; (5) analysis by linking themes to available theory and/or seeking relationships with other themes; (6) drawing conclusions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Special statuse of Yogyakarta is one of the public policy due to the central position of the local and national government. Thomas R. Dye (in Suharto, 2007) says that whatever government does or does not do is public policy. Mostly, public policy aims to manage, organize program, distribute the benefit, and control people.

The issues of asymmetric decentralization attract many researchers to examine. There are several attempts by researchers to understand the dynamics of local politics or in this case the practice of implementing asymmetric decentralization in academic studies based on factual or empirical fact with a fairly rigorous methodology. Almost all literatures on decentralization stated that there are three important components underlying the aspects of political structure, administration, and the dimension of the relationship between the public sector and private sector (private). This is being best described by Turner and Hulme as the table below:

The World Bank since 1999 have had a large and concentrated interest in various decentralization projects. This world class lending institution explained that decentralization encompasses various aspects of political, administrative, tax and market decentralization. The political decentralization aspect as a big umbrella to allow decentralization in other fields to run. The World Bank explained that the goal of political decentralization is to open wide space to citizens and representatives/ governments in the regions to make better policy decisions. Meanwhile, Rondinelli (1999) provided a very comprehensive definition of decentralization. He wrote:

"Decentralization is the transfer of planning, decision making or administration authorithy from the central government to its field organizations, local administrative units, semi autonomous and parastatal organizations, local governments or non-government organization."

Nature of Delegation	Basic for Delegation	
	Territorial	Functional
Within formal political structures	Devolution (political decentralization, local government, democratic decentralization)	Interest group representation
Within public administrative or parastatal structures	Deconcentration (administrative decentralization, field administration}	Establisment of parastatals
From state sector to private sector	Privatization of developed function (deregulation, contracting out, voucher schemes)	Privatization of national functions (divestiture, deregulation, economic liberalization)

source: Turner & Hulme, 1997

Rondinelli added that decentralization including asymmetric decentralization in DIY has several benefits which are: (1) reducing the centrality control of development planning by the central government with greater delegation of authority to regions; (2) region will have higher sensitivity to problems occurring in the region; (3) spur more creative, innovative, responsive areas; (4) enhancing the accountability of bureaucrats and people's representatives; (5) increasing political, social, and economic participation of the community; (6) public services to be efficient and effective; and (7) decentralization can enhance national stability and unity. Each of these points can actually be structured as an indicator and how it is practiced and can be evaluated, how and where the gap lies between the ideal and the reality.

In some provinces in Indonesia, including DIY as a study in this paper, is an area with asymmetric decentralization regulation. The asymmetric decentralization term is also widely used in the study of decentralization in other countries. This concept is used to cling to the special treatment of the rebellious areas (demands independence) and responds with special treatment. Problems such as Quebec in France, Basques in Spain, Sammi in Norway, Mindanao in the Philippines, and similiarather case that have been commonly discussed within the framework of the asymmetry of the administrative order. In this context, a special treatment for Aceh and Papua is in the tradition of asymmetric decentralization studies which already popular in the literature.

According to PurwoSantoso, this asymmetric democracy policy as a response of academicians and civil society in general to the militaristic government, as applied in New Order era, where the regime had a tendency to make uniformity. The post-reform politics opportunity made it possible to advocate for the region. Asymmetry of decentralization feels urgency to be developed when we dare to understand and develop a system of government in a contextual (PurwoSantoso, 2012). If it being studied, Indonesian nation had known 'special area' since long time ago. Constitution (UUD) has accommodated this kind of political

part. Also, the colonial era, in "Decentralisatie Wet", on 23rd July, 1903, has imposed an asymmetric concept of regions in managing the state territory by distinguishing treatment between Java and non-Jawa islands. In this case, the nuances of this political agenda funding are the most prominent.

There was also research on the actual situation of decentralization and its financing that author can present, firstly, an interesting thesis statement from (Sakir, 2015) entitled "Analysis of privileges budget policy of special region of Yogyakarta in 2014" proved that the implementation of privileges budget policy since 2013 until 2015 was still not maximized. Through qualitative research methods and data collection techniques of in-depth interview and elite interview models, Saakir found that the use of privileged funds was dominated for artificial cultural events. In addition, in his research syakir explained that the implementation of privileged funds has not had a significant impact on output and outcome to be achieved.

Second, study entitled "Democratization Problems in Asymmetric Descentralization Post-ordebaru " that conducted by MardyantoWahyuTryatmojo in 2012. This study focused on the problematics of asymmetric decentralization in four regions. The authors also focused their research to examine deeper issues of special autonomy funds that were perceived to be ineffective. In his research Mardyanto found that the problematic democratization at the local level occurred due to the design of political institutions that determined by the central government, but it didn't guarantee that the central government understand the situation and conditions in the region. An interesting finding from this research is the massive control of certain groups in the management of policies and special autonomy funds.

Third, a journal article entitled "The Impact of Special Autonomy to the Welfare of Indigenous Papuans in the Eastern Mimika District of Mimika Regency of Papua Province". This quantitive research was cunducted by Wiwie S. Iryanti by focusing on the impact of special autonomy funds on the welfare of the East Mimika community. She found that the

existence of special autonomy has not been able to provide prosperity to the East Mimika people.

Fourth, scientific paper from Dewi Kartika entitled "Analysis of Privileged Funds readiness of Yogyakarta Special Region in 2013 Fiscal Year ". This study seeked to identify the constraints which are faced by local governments in regulating privileges in 2013 and beyond it. The author used qualitative descriptive method in his research. The findings of this study demonstrated that there were four obstacles in the privileges of 2013 and there were five attempts by the local government to resolve these problems. The four obstacles were limited implementation time, dense local government activity, lack of human resource capability that is underlying and there was no detailed description of privileged fund in constitution.

Fifth, the results of Wulandari and Sulistio research (2013), that the special autonomy policy could indeed be claimed to have succeeded in significantly improving Papua Province's regional finances, but the policy has not succeeded in increase the economy and prosperity of the people. The failure of the special autonomy policy to improve the economy welfare of the people in Papua is caused by several things, that are: Firstly, there was an inequality in understanding and perception of special autonomy between central government, local government and society; Secondly, lateness of the process of regulations implementation drafting in the form of Government Regulation (PP), Provincial Regulation (Perda) or Special Regional Regulation (Perdasus); Third, In reality, the policy of proliferation ("pemekaran") was not being supported by adequate government infrastructure; Fourth, the Special Autonomy Policy opened the opportunities for some irresponsible parties to corrupt and waste the special autonomy funds.

Furthermore, the research from Yuwono and Waimbo (2012) explained that the granting of special autonomy in Papua was not necessarily solved the political problems which faced by the Papuan people. The problem of the democratization process which was initially ignored by the central government seemed to be neglected by the local government in special autonomy era. In the economic field, people's income has also not improved significantly. The poverty level is still relatively high, not much different from the previous condition. From a cultural point of view, where the vertical conflict in the ordebaruregim which penetrated both migrant and indigenous conflicts, when special autonomy was implemented, it causes the conflict between mountain communities and coastal communities. The implementation of special autonomy has not been able to solve the concerns that faced by the Papuan people. The thing to be aware of is the excesses that arised in society. The conflict may not be a vertical conflict, but it will be a horizontal conflict that is driven by the interests of local elites that are sometimes motivated by a regional ego. As a result of this fact, the support of various elements of society towards special autonomy in Papua began to weaken instead of further strengthens pessimism over the future of the special autonomy implementation in the region.

Rumbino also conducted (2011) study on APBD allocations of special autonomy Papua especially in the education fields. Broadly speaking, the finding was that: some budget posts were used up for programs that have been determined by the Provincial Government of Papua, while the participation and priorities derived from society or lower government structures have not been accommodated well. In fact, there were still many budgets which were considered unclear, so that the needs that were in direct contact with the participants have not been met yet.

In addition, other cases of budget allocation management were found from Herzon's (2011) study, where he proved that contestation in the Public Works Department's direct expenditure budget was due to an imbalance of interests between the legislative and executive actors who involved in the discussion. The contestation between the legislature (the Budget Agency and the Commission III of DPRD) with the executive (TAPD and Public Works Department) is analogous to a "whisper" or closed collaboration work. In this study, it is also seen that the number of legislators representing its territory becomes the determinant factor for the inclusion of the aspirations of the people in

the electoral district in the budget deliberation agenda, Then the contestation put the DPRD as the dominant actor in budget discussions. This has led to disparities in other electoral districts with few legislative members. The budget policy flowed from the interests of the executive and legislative actors and went down to the community, while it should have come from the rising public interest which affecting the views and values of the actor. As a result, budget alignments to the public interest were minimum and could be said not at all. Based on the results of this study, it is suggested that the Local Government have to provide broad access to the community together with NGOs concerned with the public budget in Kerinci District to actively participate and oversee every process of regional planning and budgeting.

In general, the eight studies above addressed the designation of asymmetric decentralization and its impact on society. The authors wish to emphasize that the focus of this research is to discuss the impacts as well as the causes of 'ineffectiveness' in the implementation of asymmetric decentralization of DIY especially in designing the Privileged Fund. The study also wants to answer the question of why a large Privileged Fund has not been directed to encourage the resolving of actual welfare issues such as poverty, economic inequality and local food security. In other words, this paper not only describes on how privileged funds work during the first three years, but also provides a discourse on how privileged funds should be in the welfare of society and how the special fund should work.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

In his speech, Sri Sultan HB X stated that the renaissance brings the culture and education as the basic capital of the revival of new civilization in Yogyakarta. By building togetherness, refinement and nobility through education and culture as social capital. This seems to be misunderstood by stakeholders who then put the cultural aspect into a high portion of the fund (sindonews.com, 2012). Head of the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) of DIY, TavipAgusRiyanto said the largest porsion fund for culture. In

contrast to what was conveyed by the Head of Bappeda DIY Representative of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) RI, DKR Hemas said there is a misperception in the community against the use of privilege fund. The Cultural Sector is a priority in the privilege because the identity of Yogyakarta is the culture. This reason seems to be a reference for stakeholders who assume themselves as community guardians in managing privileged funds. Whereas according to the results of the evaluation of funds is the year 2014 found that there was no special design that discusses and explain which related to Privileges fund so that the public have not understood clearly in what context the priv fund should work. The community assumes that DIY privilege can only be maintained through the improvement of cultural programs so that the largest allocation is for cultural events (tribunjogja.com, 2015).

At the strategic stage, the fundamental question posted is whether the activity or program can be completed, it is certainly proven by empirical and rational data. In the operation phase, the fundamental question raised is whether a policy, program or activity can be properly resolved. In this section, what is assessed is the effectiveness of a policy, program or activity in achieving the expected outcomes, efficiency in optimizing existing resources, and the level of community satisfaction. The last stage is learning, the learning stage provides information about the existence of innovation or precise strategies of policy makers or activities which consist of alternative ways, best practices, and lesson learning.

Because of this evaluation research benefit here seeks to integrate between work achievements as well as the interaction and public responsiveness of the privileged activity schemes, of course these findings also begin from the assumptions and then it is argued to look for relevant responses for the internal improvement agenda of the fund management organization.

Some key findings include; (a) the community is satisfied with the use of the funds but the benefits are insignificant: (b) the public may receive enormous cultural allocations, but does not address the actual cultural challenges

of DIY: cultural infrastructure, cultural sustainability, sovereignty and segregation of elite culture and popular culture; (c) large enough funds, accessible, high participation, but the roadmap is not yet clear for the actual issues of agendas such as poverty, inequality, infrastructure, sovereignty and food self-sufficiency.

Finding 1: Communities are satisfied with the use of funds but the benefits are not rational and significant enough

Regional development in the framework of the 2014 special privilege includes five affairs that are: The Governor and Vice Governor appointment,Institutional design, Culture, Land use, and Spatial Planning as stipulated in Law no. 13/2012 on Special Privileges of Yogyakarta. Politically, the appointment of the governor is the main issues. In this case, democracy is localized and claimed as local-cultural democracy. Institutional Affairs is managed by one SKPD namely the Organization Bureau. Cultural Affairs is managed by 23 SKPD including 5 SKPD at Regency and City level in DIY (Bappeda, 2015). Land Affairs is handled by one SKPD namely Bureau of Governance of Regional Secretary of DIY and Spatial affairs is managed by two SKPD namely Department of PUP-ESDM DIY and Department of Hubkominfo. Overall SKPD of the special funds holders consists of 25 SKPD so-called KPA. Meanwhile the budget for the whole allocation, in accordance with Regulation of the Minister of Finance No. 36 / PMK.07 / 2014 of 3rd of february 2014 on General Guidelines and Allocation of Privileged Funds of Special Territory of Yogyakarta amounted to IDR 523,874,719,000.

Not much different from the results in 2013 or 2015, during the implementation of programs and activities in year fiscal of 2014, the performance (physical) realization if it compared to the target is about 92.77% while the financial realization is 64.88% of the budget ceiling. Of course, this is not a bad achievement. But it is also reported that, there are still many internal issues related to human resources, regulatory understanding, and cooperation with the private sector. In the report document,

very few aspects of community and community participation are alluded to either as a driving force or as an impediment. Similarly, Sakir (2015) found that the quality of special funds expenditures caused the absorption of privileged funds from 2013 to 2015 did not optimal. In 2013, the budget absorption was 23.58%, 2014 was 64.88% while in 2015 it was 20.06% in first stage. The objective of danais is very noble that is to improve the welfare of the society as the aspiration of the privilege of Yogyakarta. However, if it is seen from the aspect of output and outcome, the exercise of the privileges has not own the clear identification of output and outcome yet.

Spatial and land issues are the most urgent in privileges and "danais" schemes. This structural damage is so severe so there is an excessive pesimism among the public regarding the prospect of the danais. The policy in the conceptual level is contrary to what happens in the field. The dominance of the modern market economy is not only marginalizing the power of the local economy, destroying spatial, but they are also againstlocal culture, and endangering local economy entities. This is a very serious challenge in the era of special statuse of DIY. Also, the agrarian issues are still taboo discussed in the open space. This is also a job that must end soon.

Another important thing that makes this finding interesting is the magnitude of the privileged funding budget has not been directly proportional to the government's achievement on the scale of the welfare level of the community. Lack of usefulness of this privileged budget funds use clearly illustrated by the low ability to absorb the budget by the Government of Yogyakarta and it has not been able to contribute in the acceleration of people's welfare in significant number. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in September 2013 the percentage of urban and rural poor in DIY is 15.03%. This figure is down from the year 2012 which previously amounted to 16.08% and ranked the top 10 provinces with the highest poverty rates. Yet the poverty rate in DIY remains the largest among all provinces in Java. The trend of poverty figures released by the BPS from 2011-2014 shows that

the poverty rate continues to remains in take. In 2011, the poverty rate was 257,909 and reached 541,90 in 2014. This slightly illustrates how exactly the contribution of privileged funds to the welfare of the community D.I.Y if the poverty rate continues to increase. Based on data released by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in the final report of Gross Regional Productivity Analysis of DIY 2011-2015, the income inequality in DIY is still unequal with 40% low income society, 40% middle income group and 20% high income society.

In addition, there are fundamental issues about the location of regional autonomy that has not been resolved whether in the district / city or provincial governments. The are many impact of this problem. Stakeholders of the privilege fund of Keraton and Pakualaman arrangement have the interest of internal coordination of Kasultanan and Pakualaman to equate perception to the implementation of Special Law and also the necessity to consolidate existing strengths such as central and local political elite, local and national capitalist, local community to ensure this special budget are more useful for the regional development.

Finding 2: A certain communities receive big budget, but does not address the actual challenges of local culture, its infrastructure development and sustainability, also the problem of segregation between elite and grassroot culture.

Sultan on several occasions reminded that the use of privileged funds not only limited to cultural activities but also can be developed for other activities such as community empowerment so that people become more independent and cultured.

This study found data from four districts and cities in DIY that as many as 60% of people agree if the allocation of privileges for culture is more than 70% of the total and 38% of the people who disagree with the allocation. This study is reinforced by the results of special meeting in district perspectives on 19th of May, 2016, the management of privileged funds has not been optimal due to the activities that are accommodated privileged funds are still many ceremonial events such as jatilan and wayangan activities. At that

time, the implementation of the activities did not involve the distraction as a budget user but directly to the government village.

Visible, in the third year there are efforts to initiate privileged funds directed to rationalized infrastructure sector on the grounds of the need for protection of Yogyakarta culture such as parking and trade relocation zones. In the first two years of 2013 and 2014 fiscal year there was no such strategic and creative thinking. The public has already been constructed that the usefulness of the danais is clear and inflexible-when in reality it is not as strict as imagined earlier in the year. It may be that, because the process of technocracy tends to make the public only a passive object or subject so that the sensible ideas of society are not accommodated by the government's reason. If the culture belongs to the people, the people will know more and give more color as to how to calculate all things related to it (know-how). It is clearly because the struggle to get special statuse has involved so many actors from traditional groups and mobilized a huge cultural and political resource within society (Efendi, 2015).

There are 3 factors that affect the implementation and budget realization of 2013 special fund. Firstly, in terms of the tools of the regulation used as a foothold for the implementation of privileges program has not been completed. So, the program implementers (SKPD) do not have adequate guidance for empowering and realizing those programs. Second, the alignment side of planning, budgeting and implementation between the Central and Regional, Where the transfer of special allocation of budget year 2013 was done during the process of implementation of the budget entering the limit of the budget spending. Third, the availability of adequate time for planning, budgeting and implementation. Based on the proposed activity plan proposed by the Local Government of DIY, it is known that most privileged activities require time in implementation, so privileged funds become less effective if not starting from the beginning of the year. Forcing the allocation and disbursement of the privileges of 2013 is ineffective and inconsistent with the spirit of Law no. 13/2013 (Wulandari, 2015).

Government efforts in realizing good governance by involving the public in the privileges fund has not been optimal yet. This is a question mark, the article based on a field survey in 2015 found that 78% of the people of DIY know the existence of privileges Fund. However, only 29% of those who have submitted funding proposals. The low participation of the Yogyakarta community in accessing the Privileged Fund is caused by the lack of public knowledge of the privilege application procedure. From the survey conducted there are 75% of respondents do not know how the procedure of filing Privileged Funds while enthusiastic community of DIY in applying privileges of 93%. The low understanding of the community related to privileged funds describes the performance of SKPD in the less optimal socialization process.

To realize the spirit of awakening of Yogyakarta in all sectors of development with bermayungkan culture, the government of DIY plans and formulates strategic policies such as cultural policy and tourism. This policy basically embodies cultural-based tourism governance that prioritizes the welfare of society. The vision formulated by the Governor of DIY as the king of DIY changed the development paradigm from "Among Tani to Trade Screen" in the hope of achieving community prosperity. However, the achievements indicate the empowerment of the marine sector is still very minimum. Not only the achievement of the level of outcomes, benefits, or expected impacts, but also the absorption of the budget in 2013 and 2014 was still low. Based on the privileges of 2013, the special budget of year 2013 stipulated through the Regulation of the Minister of Finance, published date on 17th October 2013 Number 140 / PMK.07 / 2013 of IDR 231,392,653,500. Aggregate physical achievement can only be achieved as big as 29,41%. While the financial realization of IDR 54.562.180.053, or equal to 23.58% of the ceiling. This happened because of the process of preparing the new DPA had completed in October 2013 so that the implementation time was only 2 months. When viewed from the absorption, then the land affairs occupy the highest percentage of 70%. However, it is noteworthy that land affairs are the least allocated. The land issue in DIY is closely related to the existence of Sultanate Ground (SG) and Pakualaman Ground (PAG) that located in DIY which is still recognized by the government and its fellow traditional citizens. The land is spread over 4 (four) districts and the city of Yogyakarta. Sultan Ground covers 16.7 million square meters in Bantul Regency, in Kulonprogo District 10.3 million square meters, in Sleman Regency 3 million square meters, and in Yogyakarta City 800 thousand square meters. The total area of SG and PAG are only about 1.2 percent of the total area of DIY. Along with the variety of cases located in the southern coastal areas, the allocation of funds should also lead to the solution of the problem (Wulandari, 2015).

In 2014 through the Regulation of the Minister of Finance No. 36 / PMK.07 / 2014 on general guidelines and allocation of this special funds of DIY get the budget allocation for 2013 was IDR 523.874.719.000 in total. In general, the realization of financial absorption is IDR 272.056.608.289,00 or about 51.93% of the total ceiling. The largest budget allocation for the use of privileged funds in 2014 is cultural affairs with a budget of IDR 375,178,719,000. while spatial affairs only amount to IDR 123,620,000,000. Spatial and land issues are most urgent in privileges and danish schemes. The dmage of this structure causes the excessive psimism among the public about the prospect of danais. The policy in the conceptual level is contrary to what happens in the field. The dominance of the modern market economy is not only marginalizing the power of the local economy, destroying spatial, as well as cultural, as well as humanism of city residents. This is a very serious challenge in the era of special statuse due to this policy paradox (Stone, 2002).

Finding 3: the provided budget is accessible and high partisipation, however the roadmap of special fund has not been clear yet as solution for the actual problem such as poverty, inequality, infrastructure, and food self-sufficiency

On the other hand, the use of privileges budget is too dependent on the cultural sector that puts forward the ceremonial activities. This is in line with those found in Sakir (2015) study revealing four weaknesses of regulatory funding arrangements. First, the budget allocation of

this special fund is more dominant for cultural affairs—not directly adrees an actual problem in DIY sucs as poverty and job opportunity, that 2013 allocation and cultural affairs of 91.86%, 2014 of 71.62% and 2015 gets allocation for 76.87%. Sri Sultan HB X in a speech stated that the renaissance of Yogyakarta put the culture and education as the basic capital of the revival of new civilization, by building togetherness, refinement and nobility through education and culture. This seems to be misunderstood by stakeholders who then put the cultural aspect into a high portion of the fund. Quoted from (sindonews.com, 2012) Head of the Regional Development Planning Agency (BappedaDIY) TavipAgusRiyanto said the largest fund for culture. In contrast to what was conveyed by the Head of Bappeda DIY Representative of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) RI, DKR Hemas said there is a misperception in the community towards the utilization of danais. Because during the majority danais only used in the cultural sector only (tribunjogja.com, 2015). Research conducted by Efendi (2015) conducted in four districts/cities in DIY found that as many as 51% of people strongly disagree if the allocation of privileges for culture sebnayak more than 70% and only 2% of people who agree if the allocation of funds privileges for the field Culture is more than 70% of the total budget. This study is reinforced by the results of special meeting in kecamatan perspectives on 19 May 2016, the management of privileged funds has not been optimal due to the activities that are accommodated privileged funds there are still many ceremonial events such as jatilan activities.

Secondly, Sakir (2015) found that the quality of special fund expenditures caused the absorption of this funds from 2013 to 2015 is not optimal yet. In 2013, for exemple, the budget absorption was 23.58%, in 2014 was 64.88% while in 2015 it was 20.06% in the first semester. Third, the main fungtion of special funds. The purpose of the fund is very noble to improve the welfare of the society who is the aspiration of the privilege of Yogyakarta. However, if it judged from the aspect of benefit and impacts, the exercise of the privileges of the privilege of the lack of clear identification of output and

outcome. Fourth, Stakeholders of Privileged Funds. There is a fundamental issue about the location of regional autonomy that has not been resolved whether in the local government or province. There are many impact of this problem. Stakeholders of the privilege fund of Keraton and Pakualaman arrangement have the interest of internal coordination of Kasultanan and Pakualaman to equate perception to the implementation of Special Law and also the necessity to consolidate existing strengths such as central and local political elite, capitalist, community to ensure danais useful.

It can be said that for the first-three years the implementation of special budget of 2013 to 2015, did not show an objectively exhilarating achievement. The arguments is quite objectified to confront two elemen between spending budget and outcome epsecially on the longterm benefit and impact. What causes big budget low impact in this political policy in DIY are can be tracked from bureaucratic constraints, design of budget allocation, local political constraints. These factors are more valid questions instead of be stuck on bureaucratic and human resources issues.

This wasan evident from the recommendation of 2014 for the improvement of management as well as circulation. First, the addition of human resources, especially for financial managers. The addition of working hours is also needed to overcome the problem of limited time to work on activities in the agenda; Secondly, procurement issues are related to the performance of ULP in which the procurement of funds together with procurement from regular APBD funds can be overcome by coordinating with ULP to prioritize privileges procurement. It is necessary to timely arrangement of goods procurement; Third, for PA and KPA to be more careful in preparing operational plan implementation of activities to be executed so that activities can be done efisien, effective, and timely. Apparently, this type of recommendation does not provide much learning for internal organization for continuous improvement as suggested byKusek and Rist (2004) and also in the standard of total quality management (Morgan &Murgatroyrd, 1999) that require total performance. Rather, the implementation

of special budget in Yogyakarta as one of asyemetric decentralized region seem like an evolution in progress toward society welfare.

CONCLUSION

Due to this paper is an alternative evaluation, it can be stated that special fund has not been able to work for the welfare as expected by both the political elite and the local community in general. As an indicator is the gini index in DIY as released by BPS. This indicator is supported by Stiglitz (2004). Job oppurtunity is another indicator based on his thought(Stiglitz, 2005) in order to strongly criticize the logic of economic growth under the neoliberal value. This situation is characterized by several circumstances. Firstly, although the structure of open opportunity for participation, but there is phenomenon where enthusiastic of society to participate to the using of the privileged funds are low, especially in the year 2013-2015. Large participation is only for certain groups who have access and gain a trust as the receiver of the fund. Because of this participation problem, the funds that should work for the greatest benefit of the people of Yogyakarta become unattainable. Second, Stakeholder Funds Privileges. There is a fundamental issue about the location of regional autonomy that has not been resolved whether in the local government or province. The impact of this problem is many. Stakeholders of the privilege fund of Keraton and Pakualaman arrangement have the interest of main elites (Kasultanan and Pakualaman) to equate perception to the implementation of law on Special privilege and also the necessity to consolidate any existing strengths such as central and local political elite, capitalist or businessman, community to ensure special fund are useful enough.

Finally, the position of beneficiaries of privileges. Following the problem or others special regions, it is clear that the beneficiaries of the specialty of Yogyakarta are the people of DIY as a whole but in fact the fund distribution is not really equal. It can be seen from 2013 to 2015 the impact of the privileges of Yogyakarta's privileges has not been significant, has not been able to contribute to the acceleration of the people's welfare. that is the inability of this fund

to work to reduce DIY poverty rate which isnow 14.55% and the income gap.

Local government said that technical delays in transferring money is main problem (Dardias, wikidpr.org), but in our finding, following Stiglitz, asyimetrical information received by among stoakeholder and also people and its has been creating so many conflict of interest and prioritise elites's agenda instead of public interest.

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Chapter 5
Public Administration and Public Policy

THE INFLUENCE OF REMUNERATION REVENUE ON PERFORMANCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE STAFFS

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Abstract

This study aimed to understand the extent to which remuneration influence the performance of administrative staffs including those of civil servants and non-civil servants. This study used combined qualitative and quantitative methods but the former is predominant. Quantitative analysis was used as supporting method for qualitative analysis. The sample in this study consists of three states universities at Central Java implementing remuneration program. 500 staffs out of population were taken as respondents. The study also used focused group and in-depth interview. The study showed that remuneration affected the performance of the civil servants mainly during the first year of the program implementation. The performance of civil servant tended to increase as the remuneration revenue increased, and it tended to decreased when the remuneration revenue decreased. However, the number of remuneration did not affect significantly to the performance of administrative staffs of the civil servant when the staffs were in saved zone because they got high revenue despite having low performance. Since the university policy regulated that those who had low performance would be reduced their revenue, most of them attempted to improve their performance. Conversely, the study showed that the administrative staffs of non-civil servants were always high although they obtained low remuneration revenue because they felt that they were in the unsaved zone. They were scared of being fired or of not being contracted anymore in the future. The study concluded that remuneration revenue itself did not always improve the performance of administrative staff who were in the saved zone; it required regulation such as punishment that is able to force the staffs to keep their performance.

Keywords: remuneration, performance, regulation, administrative staffs

INTRODUCTION

Remuneration is an absorption of English words remunerate according to Oxford American dictionaries means to pay (someone) for services rendered or work done. While in a dictionary of Indonesian language said remuneration be defined as The prize (recognition services and so forth); retained.

According to the theory of the needs of a person motivated by necessity that must be fulfilled; And according to the theory of motivation, people tend to increase their performance when the needs that they want have already been fulfilled. But this condition only applies to theories and thus need of the field.

Remuneration has been applied to some institutions, including in Universitas Sebelas Maret. This college institution has implemented the policy regarding remuneration to employees.

But this remuneration, it seems improved performance not so invisible. Various work of staff, according to an observation seem fine with it as before the remuneration.

The influence of the application of remuneration and performance has done by some researchers, one of them: Bambang Sancoko 2009, with the title "influence remuneration on the quality of public service", this study found that there are significant changes from service before the implementation of remuneration with after imposed remuneration. The remuneration received employees prove to motivate employees at KKPN Jakarta I. Repair program remuneration in bureaucracy reform created the readiness organisation and human resources to improve its performance. Sugeng Boedianto, 2012, "influence the remuneration against the employee performance Correctional Institution Klas II Blitar", the results show

that his innovation remuneration can improve performance employees at Correctional Institution Klas II Blitar Child. Meanwhile, Ismenia Boe, 2014 with the title, "influence training programs and motivation work on the performance of civil servants at the presidential office of East Timor ", the results show that training his innovation and motivation work is absolutely necessary in the implementation of the employee performance in order to provide best service to the society. Motivation work improved in order to employees would add ability, skill and knowledge employees in providing good service to the public.

Arumawan Mei Saputra and Sutikno has done a research with the title, "analysis the influence of competence, motivation, discipline, satisfaction work and remuneration towards the performance of civil servants". This study discovered that the higher motivation the higher its performance. In addition, there is no influence discipline education workers and lecturers towards its performance. There is a satisfying work of teaching staff and lecturers towards its performance.

Based on the direct observation, information was obtained that may indicate whether there was any influence remuneration of the performance of employees. Hence, research on "influence the application of remuneration of the performance of staff" aims to understand how big the influence of between the influence of revenue the number of remuneration of the performance of staff includes civil servants and non-civil servants, from the time before they received remuneration.

A common purpose this study is to find how big the influence of between income the number of remuneration of the performance of staff includes civil servants and non-civil servants, from the time before they received remuneration the.While specifically, research aims at 1) to know how big the influence of revenue the number of remuneration of the performance of staff civil servants from time before receiving the remuneration and after receiving remuneration, and 2 know how big the influence of revenue the number of remuneration of the performance of staff non-civil servant (non-civil servants

from time before receiving the remuneration and after receiving remuneration.

Remuneration basically serves as an instrument in order to realise the vision and mission the organisation for the purpose of compelling employees who capable and inexperienced, retain quality employees, motivate employees to work effectively, motivate the establishment of a positive behaviour, and becomes a means of controlling expenditure. Remuneration has to understand in the form of 'a thing' that received employees in return for the contribution that has been accorded to the place of work organisation. The effective basic principle remuneration system includes the individual or justice individual equity, in what sense received by employees must equivalent to what given by employees to organize, internal equity or justice internal in the sense of justice between weights work and return received, and external equity or justice external in terms of justice return received employees in his organization compared with other organizations that have equal access.

The novelty of this research with title "The Influence Of The Remuneration Application On The Performance Of Teaching Staff" focused on working culture employees before receiving remuneration and after receiving remuneration. Is employees metallike of working culture that the more high levels of revenue remuneration the increased motivation performing to those who get culture performing. On the other hand the higher the level remuneration the lower motivation performing in those who do not have culture performing.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The research is descriptive research with a qualitative approach, that is accused of the influence of the application of remuneration of the performance of staff and teachers in of three states universities at Central Java implementing remuneration program. 500 staffs out of population were taken as respondents.

The data collected consists of primary and secondary data. Primary data derived from informants who set in purposive. Informants consist of staff and teachers in university related. Lab data will be gathered using several methods, the observation field, interview, (focus group

discussion), and take documents methods. Observation field survey was conducted through the observation to the influence of the application of remuneration of the performance of staff and educators. Focus group discussions done with in-depth interviews were conducted with interviewing significant people that responsible for assessment and determine the provision of remuneration, in this matter, was remuneration university team.

The research conducted by using the survey to technique statistical analysis and engineering ethnography approach to ensure the reliability of data validity and the study and he did a comparison to know influence remuneration on the establishment of working culture.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Organization culture

Based on the results of data collection, after processed score which may be getting on the variables of culture organisation is the highest scores 15, the lowest 3, the average 9,24, and standard deviations 2,88. Data classified into four categories, obtained distribution as follows:

Table 1. Distribution of Organizational Culture Data

Interval Class	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
3-6	Low	97	19,40
7-10	Medium	229	45,80
11-14	High	162	32,40
15-18	Very high	12	2,40
		500	100

From the table above, it is known that cultures organisation according to respondents most included in the medium category. This indicates that cultures organisation in effect in institutions it can be said usual course, or it can be said as another organisation in general.

Remuneration

Based on the results of data collection, after processed score which may be getting on the variables of remuneration is the highest scores 39, the lowest 8, the average 22.32, and standard deviations 7,34. Data classified into four categories, obtained distribution as follows:

Table 2. Distribution of remuneration data

Interval class	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
8-16	Low	123	24,60
17-25	Medium	200	40,00
26-34	High	148	29,60
35-43	Very High	29	5,80
		500	100

Performances

Based on the results of data collection, after processed score which may be getting on the variables of performance employees is the highest scores 160, the lowest 99, the average 133.61 and standard deviations 12.77. Data classified into four categories, obtained distribution as follows:

Table 3. Distribution of employee performance data

Interval Class	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
99-115	Rendah	81	16,20%
116-131	Sedang	204	40,80%
132-147	Tinggi	163	32,60%
148-163	Sangat Tinggi	52	10,40%
		500	100%

From the table above, it is known that performance respondents most included in the medium category. This indicates that performance produced employees not fully meet the target or planning.

The result showed that a significant relation exists between remuneration with the performance, shown by the result of statistical analysis. Obtained R count of 0.463 and price F count of 67,797 with the significance of 0,000 < 0.05 or Ho rejected. Thus can be inferred there is the influence of culture and remuneration organisation in together on performance.

Obtained R2 or coefficient determination of 0.214 which indicates that the contribution culture organisations and remuneration on the performance of 21,4 %, and that means also there are still other factors of 78,6 that influences the performance. Obtained T count as follows:

Table 4. Partial analysis results

	t	Sig.
Organization Culture	7,997	.000
Remuneratation	7,196	.000

Based on the results of data processing obtained value t count for variables organisation culture of 7,997 with the significance of 0.000. As the price of significance <0.05, then Ho were rejected and concluded that there is the significant influence of cultural organisation on performance.

Based on the results of data processing obtained value t count for variables remuneration of 7.196 with the significance of 0.000. As the price of significance <0.05, so Ho was rejected and concluded that there is significant remuneration on performance.

The multiple regression equations are obtained: Y = 102,509+ 1,446 X1 + 0,511X2, indicates that each evidence for changes culture organisation of a unit of will cause changes in performance of 1.446 unit and if evidence for changes in remuneration of a unit of would change the performance of 0,511 unit. While if variable culture organisations and remuneration considered zero, so the size of the performance is 96.572 unit.

The results of the analysis prove that the significant culture organisations and remuneration with the performance of Administrative Staffs in three states universities at Central Java implementing remuneration.

Culture organisation is manners or customs that can be seen in the environment an organisation. As presented Robbins (1996:289), that cultures organisation is a perception which embraced by members of the organisation. Clear that cultures organisation is behaviour by the members of an organisation that affected by the perception with. Thus, culture organisation reflected of behaviour members organisation.

The Cultural organisation created because of the influence of various factors. One of these is the leadership. A leader who is in an organisation can form culture certain organisations. The culture of the organisation formed by the leader in the organisation and perception by members of the organisation in a positive way, it will be

to exert an influence on motivation employees work. By the presence of the motivation, then staff will work well and full time to accomplish a purpose of work. Thus, the cultural organisation that develops in the organisation and perception same between a fellow member, can contribute to positive performance.

The policy remuneration is a policy of enhancing performance employees and giving awards to officials representatives. Remuneration policy is central government policy and the implementation hanging from masing-masing institutions. The implementation of the policy regarding remuneration is based upon them on the board to provide incentives or award to employees. This is consistent with opinion Abdur Rahman (1991: 899) "remuneration, (the prize) is compensation, payment, the reward or prize, especially for services provided" according to Rosenberg (1983: 428) "remunerations: wages and other financial benefits received from employment" (remuneration is wages and benefits other financial received as a result of work).

Remuneration system is a matter of sensitive and not easy to be implemented. Making mistakes in determining policy remuneration could lead to fluctuation for the members of the who were cheated. Hence, to determine system remuneration good required analysis either by management organisation. The provision of remuneration for employees is one of the conduct of function management human resources that deals with an award presentation for employees in performing an organisation duty.

The performance or the outcome employment is the work done by employees. Mangkuprawira and hubris (2007: 153) claim that performance is the result of the process a particular job in a planned manner on time and place of employees as well as the organization concerned. Mangkuprawira and Hubris (2007: 160) mentioned that employee performance influenced by employees intrinsic and extrinsic factor. Factors intrinsic is a factor that influences the performance of employees consisting of education, experience, motivation, health, age, skill, emotion and spiritual. While extrinsic factors influences the performance of employees consisting of the physical environment and non-

physical, leadership, communication vertical synchronisation and horizontal, compensation, control of facilities, training, workload, procedure work, system the penalty and forth

From a variety of factors that influences the performance on, then associated with remuneration is the motivation. Motivation is a direct somebody to do something. In terms of occupation, motivation is an impulse who made a clerk do a job in the hope of being rewarded. Hope so that evokes motivation. In return as compensation is natural for employees. Especially when return promised larger, so can be factors that increase the motivation. The remuneration into factors that drives a clerk work in full, because there is a greater return if could be done very well. So remuneration would policy aimed at increasing the employee performance in full

CONCLUSION

A significant relation exists between cultures organisation in the performance of staff at three states universities at Central Java implementing remuneration in 2016. The research indicated that cultures organisation is the factor that needs to considered in run leadership organisation and also Remuneration is the factor that needs to be considered in the policy in providing compensation for employees.

With the conclusions on, so was recommended to of an organisation to 1) can run leadership that could cause culture organisation positive and can be appreciated by all employees well. 2) To consider granting remuneration for employees. The consideration that should be taken is the financial ability of institutions and the expectation of employees performance that can be inflated well. To employees suggested: 1) to support the good culture organisation and positive to create a harmonious work so minimal conflict and 2) employees expected to prioritise the task as a form of devotion. While remuneration must be appreciated as the effect of devotion to the organisation.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIP IN CONTROL OF SPATIAL UTILIZATION AT NORTH BANDUNG AREA

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Abstract

In the framework of autonomy, local governments in conducting the affairs of its government have a relationship with the national government and other local governments. The relationship may include the relationship of authority. The implementation of local government authority relations both the Provincial Government and Regency/City often do not work as it should. The problems of authority relationship are in the field of spatial management. One of the problems of spatial management in West Java is a matter of controlling the spatial utilisation in the area of North Bandung (KBU), which has not been resolved until now. This study used a qualitative method in order to gain an understanding of the factors that influence the effectiveness of the relationship of the authority of local government. This study uses two types of data are primary data and secondary data. Sources of secondary data obtained from 1). Documents regulations, 2). The activities of governance and development are published, and 3) the publication media. And, the primary data is obtained through observations and interviews. Based on results of research and analysis be concluded following that authority relations of the provinces and districts/city in the control of spatial utilization in area of North Bandung is not effective because the substance of the regulations are vague and open to multiple interpretations, deviations permitting caused by weak legal awareness, unscrupulous officials who sold government-owned land, and the bargaining in the licensing process, as well as weak supervision provincial and district authorities in controlling the use of spatial in KBU. This indicates that the delegation of authority to the local government in the framework of autonomy does not always result from good governance. autonomy ego encourages the violation of the authority because public officials who are issuing licenses has a pragmatic interest in favour of a particular group that may ultimately result in environmental damage in KBU.

Keywords: *local government, autonomy, authority relationship, control*

INTRODUCTION

North Bandung area (or abbreviated as KBU) is a topographically located area in the mountains with a contour line of 750 meters above sea level (mdpl). Since the Dutch colonial era, North Bandung area has been designated as a conservation area because this area has a high water absorption potential, so naturally, this area becomes the area of water supply for the area below which is the city of Bandung and surrounding areas. Ground water supply for Bandung basin area about 60% comes from North Bandung Area. The total area of North Bandung area is approximately 38,543.33 Ha. Administratively, the area of North Bandung is in the region of 4 (four) districts/cities namely Bandung Regency, Bandung City, West Bandung Regency, and Cimahi City. Map of North Bandung area can be seen in the picture below.
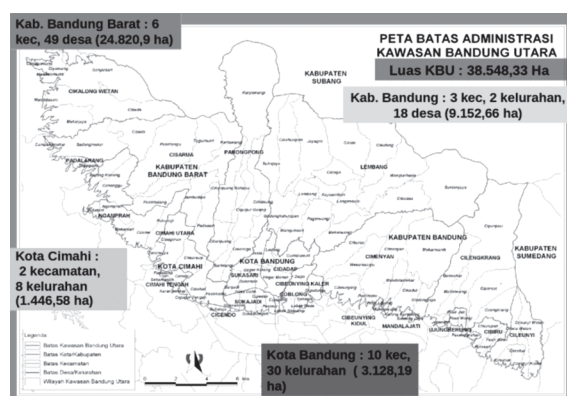
Figure 1. Map of North Bandung Area
Source: West Java Housing and Settlement Service, 2015

Areas that include KBU as listed in the attachment of Regional Regulation Number 1 the year 2008 which is detailed in Governor Regulation No. 58 of 2011, divided into zoning ie zone 1A, 1B, zone II and zone III.
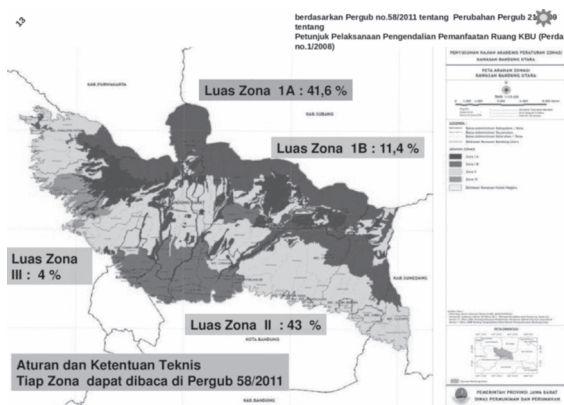
Figure 2. Zoning Distribution in KBU Control
Source: West Java Housing and Settlement Service, 2015

The utilisation of existing land, split into 4 zoning directions, as follows:

1. Zone IA (marked in dark red), ie areas where restrictions on the addition of built or constructed areas may be considered, provided that they are outside the forest area and are environmentally appropriate or permissible for a permanent building permit to Guard posts, observation posts, special functions supporting plantations and forestry. Zone I B (marked in red), ie the prohibition of the addition of built-up areas; Development may be considered, provided that:

A) environmental carrying capacity and capacity is considered feasible;

B) are renovations or restorations of licensed old buildings; And/or

C) be in a complex/area that already has a land use permit for the provision of infrastructure, facilities and infrastructure of public services after being assessed and declared feasible;

Zone II (marked with yellow), a namely recommendation of space utilisation is based on environmental carrying capacity, are not on land with slopes of more than 40%; Not engage in mining and other activities, potentially causing pollution and environmental damage; And does not take over the function of irrigated agricultural land. Zone III (marked with green) ie recommendation of space utilisation can be given as long as fulfil provisions in Regional Regulation and technical requirement in Governor Regulation Number 58 the year 2011. Hydrologically, KBU is very vulnerable because the KBU ecosystem is characterised by

the Lembang Basin Zone and Expert-Ciburial Zone. LMebang Basin Zone influences the water system of Bandung through Cikapundung River. Then the Expert-Ciburial Zone is characterised by the potential for landslides and high erosion, hilly topography with a slope of more than 45%, as the reduced water catchment area in this area has the potential to cause flooding in Bandung.

Development in the area of North Bandung is very rapid and not in accordance with land allocation. The condition of protected areas of West Java is seriously degraded both in terms of quality and quantity, widespread shrinkage and increasing critical land due to population growth pressures, land conversion, and the reduced sense of caring and togetherness. Development in the area of North Bandung is not in accordance with the conditions of hydrological functions, so it must be controlled, in order to be optimally utilised for community life in a sustainable manner. Provincial, Regency and City Government in North Bandung Area are responsible for controlling the utilisation of space of North Bandung area.

THEORITICAL REVIEW

In the concept of a unitary state, regional autonomy means the transfer of some of the central government's authority to the regional government. This means that in a unitary state, great authority tends to be in the central government, whereas the local government only accepts the delegation of authority from the central government. This causes the regional government in a unitary state depend more autonomously on the political will of the central government, ie to what extent the central government has a good intention to empower local government through greater empowerment (Sarundajang, 2011: 40).

Autonomy is all tasks that exist in the region or in other words what should be done by the local government. The duty of the area in its term is the authority in which it is the power/macht (bevoegdheiden), the right (recht) or obligation (plicht) given to the region in carrying out its duties. In principle, the authority is written into legislation. The next problem is the content of the regulation, which authority is governed by the central government and which

authority is regulated by the local government (Sarundajang, 2011: 47). The arrangement of duties and authorities between each other is necessary to prevent the occurrence of problems and provide The constraints that may or may not be exercised.

Regional autonomy as a form of decentralisation of government is essentially aimed at meeting the interests of the nation as a whole, namely the effort to get closer to the goals of governance, to create a better and more prosperous society. In the regional autonomy, there is a delegation and submission of some tasks of the central government to the regions. Decentralisation is the process of devolving the authority of planning, decision-making or government from the central government to the organisation of local implementing units.

Efficiency arising from the implementation of regional autonomy due to changes in the behaviour of local government more professional. However, the implementation of regional autonomy does not guarantee the creation of a better governance system. This proves that in the implementation, the purpose of the concept of regional autonomy is not easy to achieve because of a limited capacity of local government, political resistance, the political will of the central government affect the quality of public services (Conyers, 1984; Neher and Marlay, 1995; Said, 2008).

Spatial arrangement is a system of the spatial planning process, spatial use and space utilisation control. This is the scope of spatial planning as the object of State Administration Law. As the principal legal principle of justice, the direction and framework of thought and approaches to any regulation (the substance of laws and regulations), including the Law on Spatial Planning, shall be imbued with the principle of justice "(Hermit, 2008: 68). The law of spatial arrangement according to Law Number 26 Year 2007 is the law in the form of spatial structure (is the composition of settlement centers and network system of infrastructure and facilities that serve as supporting the economic activities of society that hierarchically has functional relationship) and spatial pattern (is the distribution Allotment of space within

an area comprising the designation of space for the protection function and the designation of space for the cultivation function).

The task of the state in the implementation of spatial planning includes two things, namely; (A) police making, is the determination of state direction; (B) task executing, which is the implementation of tasks according to the bow that has been set by the state. In the implementation of the duty as mentioned above, the state gives spatial arrangement authority to the local government (Ridwan, HR, 2006: 13).

METHOD

Research on the implementation of the Authority Relations of Provincial and Regency / Municipal Governments in Control of Spatial Planning in North Bandung Region using qualitative methods with reasons to explain the process of implementation of the authority relationship of the West Java Provincial Government with the District Government / City in detail, and observe the implications of the authority relationship to achieve regional autonomy objectives, especially in the implementation of spatial affairs in North Bandung area in order to fulfill public interest and prosper the society.

The research using qualitative approach on implementation of authority relation among local government and its relation with regional autonomy is done objectively through direct observation, documentation study and interview, and if necessary, open questioning is conducted, taking into account the requirements of the evaluation instrument covering the validity of the data (credibility And transferability), objectivity (confirmability), relevance, and ease of use in data capture.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Regulation of Authority of Provincial and Regency / City Government in Control of Space Utilization in North Bandung Area

A series of policies aimed at preserving KBU's conservation function has been established by West Java Provincial Government. Unfortunately, none of these policies managed to control development in the region. The latest regulation related to North

Bandung Regions Control is regulated in West Java Provincial Regulation No. 1 of 2008 on Controlling Utilisation of North Bandung Area and Governor Regulation No. 58 of 2011 on Technical Guidelines Implementing Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2008. Based on Local Regulation No. 1 of 2008, the position of this regulation Among others, for the regulation of space utilisation in KBU and the basis for determining the permit of space utilisation in KBU. The pattern of utilisation of KBU is protected area and cultivation area (agriculture and settlement). In the use of space in the KBU should consider the height of the land, slope, and coefficient of built areas (KWT). Space utilisation permit in KBU is issued by regent/mayor and need to get a recommendation from Governor. The control and determination of space utilisation in KBU are coordinated by the Governor together with the Regent / Mayor. In the framework of coordinating the control and determination of space utilisation in the KBU, a Team is formed which includes membership of Provincial, Regency / City elements in KBU and community areas. In the case of violation of the Regional Regulation of KBU Number 1 The year 2008, administrative sanctions, criminal sanctions and coercive sanctions are imposed. Monitoring of space utilisation at KBU is conducted through monitoring, evaluation and reporting activities. Control of space utilisation shall be carried out by Governor and Regent / Mayor according to their authority.

Even though it has been running for eight years, the issuance of Prada KBU (Perda Nomor 1 Tahun 2008), is not easy to implement. The irregularity of regional arrangement in KBU is caused by the neglect of spatial planning policies. Perda KBU has enough gaps that can lead to multiple interpretations. This has the potential to create various issues related to development licensing in KBU. One of the issues related to development licensing in KBU is that there is no mutual understanding between West Java Provincial Government and Regency / Municipal Government concerning whether or not the governor recommends in every issuance of a permit in KBU.

One of the mayors in the administrative area of the KBU expressed the opinion that the recommendation of the governor has no legal ties to the development permit at KBU. Recommendations for development in the area of the KBU are only a consideration, licensing still remains the authority of the district/city government. However, officials at the provincial level argued otherwise, the recommendation of the governor is necessary in the process of licensing in order to regulate development in the area of North Bandung. Development in this region can not be done sporadically. Although, Building Permit (IMB) is the jurisdiction of the district-municipal government. However, specifically for development in the area of this KBU, building permits must be accompanied by a recommendation from the governor. The issuance of IMB for the KBU area is not possible without the recommendation of the governor. Because in the recommendation of the governor was clearly explained there are some areas that can and can not be erected buildings. The recommendation of the governor reminded the local government of the district/city, which areas could be built. If it had not been given a recommendation, then there is a special note as to why the recommendation was not given.

Interrelated opinions need to be the recommendation of the governor in every permit issued by districts / municipalities in the KBU shows that the West Java Provincial Government actually has exceeded its authority. The provisions of the need for the recommendation of the governor prior to the permit for the utilization of spaces or permits for the construction of the building shall be issued by the district / city government, as set forth in Article 21 paragraph 2 of the Regional Regulation of the Regional Government of West Java, showing the West Java Provincial Government's intervention on the licensing authority owned by the district / city government. Under the law, the provincial authority of spatial planning is only limited to planning, utilisation arrangements, and control, while the authority to grant the permit for the utilisation of space and the granting of building permit (IMB) is the authority of the regency/city government.

The provision of the recommendation of the governor in every issuance of the permit in the KBU is considered only to extend the

bureaucracy of licensing services in the region. The governor's recommendations have in fact extended the licensing procedures that the community must take, so that service time will be longer. Governor recommendation service process often takes at least 6 (six) months even there is more than 1 (one) year. The duration of the issuance of this recommendation is of course complained by the local governments of districts and communities. This causes the community and entrepreneurs sometimes lazy to take care of the request of the governor's recommendation so that many people and private sector keep doing development although not pocketed the governor's recommendation permit.

In addition to the length of the licensing process, the clarity of recommendation becomes a separate issue in the development control of the KBU. The deviation of spatial planning resulting from the uncontrolled development in KBU is so visible, as a result of the unclear boundaries of KBU area. The ambiguity of KBU's limits becomes a gap for unscrupulous actors to violate the laws.

The reason for the ignorance or unclearness of the limits of the KBU is considered to be justification (justification for violation) committed by the district/municipality government for misuse of authority who has issued the building permit and deviates from the provisions of the Perda of the KBU. Ignorance or ambiguity of the limits of KBU which is the reason for the misappropriation of the KBU is only the actions of the district/city government and private entrepreneurs only to find loopholes for violations of the rules. In fact, the government apparatus abuses the authority to gain personal gain, by facilitating permits for private groups to launch their investment business in North Bandung. Local regulations on the KBU still have loopholes that can be utilised by the community to build buildings. The rules on development permits at KBU are still considered grey by the public. The gap in the regulation came when the governor rejected the establishment of a building in the KBU. Because of this rejection, the licensing is then returned to the local mayor/district head. The statement of authority returned to the district/municipality government in the rejection recommendation

letter is considered confusing, so in the end even though the proposed recommendations returned or rejected make most district/city governments not stop the community / private development permits but instead grant permits Although the development is violated by the Regional Regulation of KBU.

Licensing authority based on the right of regional autonomy is the authority of the Government which becomes one of the regency/city revenue sources. While the authority of the provincial government only do the planning and set the provision of space utilisation in the KBU as a strategic area of the province. Therefore, the Regional Regulation of the KBU which stipulates the need for the recommendation of the governor in the licensing process at the KBU is not in accordance with the provisions of the applicable laws and regulations regarding the local government law and the law on the authority of building permit and space utilisation. Based on Spatial Planning Law, provincial government authority is only planning spatial planning in KBU which becomes Provincial Strategic Area, making spatial regulation, and controlling by supervising the permits issued by regency/city government whether in accordance with the regulation of space utilisation in KBU. The authority of the Provincial Government is neither involved nor interferes in the licensing process itself.

Implementation of Authority of Provincial Government and Regency / Municipal Government in Control of Space Utilization in North Bandung Area

The condition of North Bandung Area (KBU) is currently uncontrollable. The more massive the development, both housing construction and business location, make the area of KBU is in the shadow of disaster due to environmental damage caused by the development. The roar of development in the KBU region has eroded most of the water catchment area. During this construction of housing/ settlements, cafes/ restaurants to hospitality in the KBU is very worrying. Based on data from the Geospatial Information Agency 2014, the total remaining green land in the KBU is only 20 percent of the total 38 thousand

hectares, the remaining 80 percent of the land has been converted into private buildings and land. This condition, resulting in the land for water absorption in the area eroded. Until now, the problem of development in North Bandung (KBU) is still not resolved properly. Many buildings were erected in the area, either illegal buildings with no building permits, buildings built without the recommendation of the governor, as well as illegal buildings standing on state land.

In order to control and preserve the function of conservation of KBU, West Java Provincial Government does stipulate the requirement of governor recommendation for every permit building application. With the provision, the West Java Provincial Government overwhelmed the service and restricted the application of development permit recommendation in North Bandung Area. Approval of recommendation permit in North Bandung area continuously entered from four regencies and city government. In fact, based on the data coefficient of the region built in the KBU, there should be no more development proposals in the region.

Based on information from the West Java Regional Environmental Control Agency, the calculation of environmental carrying capacity related to space utilisation in the area of North Bandung, the land in West Bandung regency is between 10% -20% that can still be built. While in the area of Bandung, the permit for the development of KBU is maximal, so it should not be built anymore. In fact, development in the area of North Bandung continues. Walhi Jabar estimates about 3,000 commercial buildings in North Bandung area, estimated about 30% problematic buildings from spatial and environmental permitting aspects. Development in the KBU is illegal/ illegal because it does not get development recommendations from the Governor of West Java. Many commercial buildings emerging, such as hotels and apartments, which stood in North Bandung area were built by crashing the licensing process and not in accordance with the plan approved by the local government. Not a few districts / municipal governments publish documents IMB (Building Permit) without having the governor's recommendation. In

the area of Cimahi City, buildings in the new KBU 30% pocketed the permit. Meanwhile, the Government of Bandung Regency recorded at least more than 60% of the total existing buildings in the KBU under the administrative area of Bandung Regency has no operational permit. Similarly, the number of businesses in the KBU Bandung District reaches more than 100 business units ranging from hotels, cafes, to restaurants. While in the city of Bandung, in the year 2008-2009, most of the published IMB no one pocketed the recommendation of the governor

Utilisation of space and the transfer of land in the KBU, in recent years, has resulted in environmental damage. Much luxury housing, apartments and hotels built by developer companies that have obviously violated/ violated various legal regulations are still ongoing. Various regulations that are violated in building the building in KBU, among others are:

1. The location of land used for residential buildings, apartments, or hotels is located in a small channel/ ditch that functions as a rain drainage channel from several areas of the population.

2. The level of slope of the land used for the residential building, apartment, or hotel ranges from 40 to 70 degrees and steep/ steep, with the structure of the crumb,

3. Stands of trees that serve to strengthen the structure of the soil eroded by bulldozers or excavators in the construction of luxury housing, apartments, or hotels.

4. Development activities are feared causing flood and landslide disaster in KBU and surrounding areas.

5. The construction of luxury villas/ houses at several points of land in the hills of Kampung Sindangwangi, Sukamulya and Buniwangi Mekarwangi Village, Lembang Subdistrict, the location is directly adjacent to Juanda Forest Park (Tahura)

6. 80: 20 Built Coverage Ratio (80: 20) threshold as stipulated by the bylaw of the KBU, is only a provision on paper that has never been obeyed by the district/ city government. In fact, each district/ city assigns different BCRs, most districts set B.

Development in the KBU not only breaks the rules and damages the environment but also affects the socio-economic life of the community. Some construction cases have been protested by citizens facilitated by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Several environmental organizations are concerned about the environmental sustainability of North Bandung and help the community to conduct a demo of rejection such as Walhi, Community Forum Bangbajang-Tubagus Ismail (Formas Bagus), Communication Forum Citizens Ciumbuleuit Cares Bandung (FKWCPB), North Bandung Community Alliance (AMBU), Bandung Heritage, Green Forum and Forest and Environment Observer Board of Tatar Sunda (DPKLTS). Development in KBU that got the most citizens protests is the development of high-rise building type (high buildings such as hotels and apartments). According to community members and environmental activists, the construction of tall buildings will only increase the population density, so the permit for the construction of these tall buildings should consider the balance of environmental carrying capacity and capacity. With the increase of population, water supply is needed to meet the needs of the surrounding community. The emergence of citizen protests against development in the area of North Bandung shows how the community just became the audience and the object of development. Various public upheavals arise because communities are not involved at the planning level.

Supervision of the Implementation of Provincial and Regency / City Authorities in Control of Space Utilisation in North Bandung Area

Supervision of the exercise of the authority of control of space utilisation in KBU is still weak. This is due to the unconscious of the stakeholders, both the district/ city government and the community in obeying and enforcing the rules. The deviation of the building arrangement in the KBU area occurs because there is no penalty for officials and officials who violate the rules by misusing their authority. Abuses of authority or violation of licensing provisions are also ostensibly left by the higher government

(central or provincial) without any action of sanctioning officers or apparatus or sanction for public / private violating regulations with building demolition action. Violations continue to occur because the district/ city government has never seriously addressed the issue of environmental control. In addition, officials are also inconsistent in enforcing the rules, so supervision and law enforcement related to the control of space utilisation and conservation at the KBU is so weak.

a.   **Unclear Structure of Executing Control**

In terms of supervision and control of the KBU as regulated by the local regulation is not so clear the legal structure and become a multi-interpretation. The issue of licensing supervision at the central government office (KBU), often occurs in mutual responsibility between the district/ city government and the province. On the one hand, in terms of spatial use permits, district/ municipality governments often ignore provisions regulated by the Provincial Government, on the other hand in terms of licensing control, the district/ municipality government hands over its responsibilities to the provincial government. Supervision West Java provincial government is still fairly weak. The district/ city government also has no intention to control the utilisation of space in KBU. Not a few reports of development violations in the KBU submitted by the community either to the district/ city government and Provincial Government. But the report received no serious response from the government.

The authority to control and supervise the utilisation of space is not only the authority and responsibility of the Provincial Government, but the first gate of supervision rests with the authority of the district/ city government. The problem of KBU is not only the responsibility of the provincial government but because, KBU consists of several areas, including the city of Bandung, Bandung Regency and West Bandung regency. Thus, when local regulations are enacted, all parties must be held accountable.

In regencies/ municipalities, law enforcement of illegal buildings and licensing irregularities in the KBU does not arrive at physical actions such as sealing or dismissal of building work activities.

In view of the district/ municipality governments, the control of the KBU becomes the authority of the province. Therefore, the action against illegal buildings in KBU is done by Satpol PP of West Java Province. Satpol PP at the regency/ city level is only a member or companion whenever there is illegal building action at KBU. Satpol PP regency/ city generally do not have data related to the number of illegal buildings in KBU that have been dealt with. According to the regency/ municipal government's view, Satpol PP of West Java has the authority to crack down on illegal buildings in KBU. In addition to the action, Satpol PP Jabar can also directly impose sanctions. Furthermore, the provincial government can follow up filing or file complaint to court. During the court process, the regency/ municipality Satpol PP is only a member of the seconded team, while its control is within the authority of the Province. If you look at the basic regulations on spatial and regulatory arrangements in the regions (provinces and districts/ municipalities), activities related to the control of building problems in the KBU should be a shared responsibility. Both the provincial and district / municipal governments have the task of controlling, supervising and controlling, and extending existing building permits in their area so that it becomes the responsibility of the local government.

Therefore, curbing and controlling the use of space actually becomes the authority of the district/ city government as regulated in the regulation in each region. Meanwhile, the Provincial Government only acts as a coordinator of supervision that is only cross-regional, therefore the supervision of spatial planning in the administrative area of each regency/ municipality becomes the responsibility and authority of the district/ city government. If the district/ city is not able to implement it, then the new Provincial Government will intervene to help implement the control and control of the utilisation of space in KBU.

Although the issue of supervision and control is considered unclear or multi-interpretation, Satpol PP of West Java Province assisted by Satpol PP of Regency / Municipality has conducted the control of illegal buildings or buildings that violate the rules of the permit. Controlling illegal buildings in the

KBU conducted Provincial Government prove the commitment of West Java Provincial Government in preserving the environment. Nevertheless, environmental activists consider this step of control is delayed because the law regulating the control of space utilisation in the KBU has long been enforced.

b. **Handling of Building Control and Spatial Control**

The implementation of Regional Regulation No. 1/2008 and the Governor Regulation No. 58/2011 concerning the control of KBU is constrained by the issue of enforcement funds and limited human resources in the field of building control and supervision. Efforts to control the building is difficult because of the unacceptable cost of building demolition costs. For ordinary house building or illegal kiosk can be done by the related OPD (Satpol PP), but the difficulty when having to carry out the demolition action of high buildings which of course require heavy equipment and fund/ budget financing large enough, while public awareness to dismantle The building itself is still low.

In addition, supervision and control issues are also hampered by the lack of human resources of the implementing apparatus. For the city of Bandung for example, supervision and control of illegal buildings are difficult because of limited human resources. In the Control Division Office of Spatial Planning and Cipta Karya Bandung, on the control, the number of human resources about 150 employees. The number of employees that exist in the office as many as 32 people, while for supervision in the field per for SWK (District Unit District). In the city of Bandung, there are six SWK, namely SWK Bojonegara (9 people), SWK Cibeunying (12 people), SWK Karees (9 people), SWK Tegalega (11 people), SWK Ujung Berung (12 people), and SWK Gede Bage (9 Person).

The minimum number of building supervisory apparatus and the spatial controller is also experienced by West Java Provincial Government. The control function is under one section namely Section of Control and Control of Spatial in Office of Settlement and Housing of West Java Province. This section contains

only 11 people including the section head. Supervisory and controlling human resources are not divided based on territoriality, but are a team only and assisted by consultants. The consultant helps with spatial mapping. In the case of supervision implementation, assisted by partners of KBU. The number of personnel of partners of KBU is an average of 1 person per village (Kelurahan) which is a local resident. Much of the information on spatial deviations in the KBU is derived from reports of KBU partners.

The limited number of personnel supervising the spatial and building aberrations led to the control and spatial control in the KBU to be not optimal. Illegal building action or illegal licensing is often delayed, in addition to continuous supervision, so that violations and irregularities that do not comply with prevailing regulations continue to occur. Lack of supervision caused also by the administrative procedures in the control of the building. New building activities can be stopped or sealed if they have followed the mechanism of three letters of reprimand, ranging from delivery of summons, letter of termination, to building demolition orders. Due to the length of the procedure that must be taken in the administrative process, the developer (developer) has already built the building, so if done repressive actions in the form of dismantling the building can have implications on the new social problems. Demolition of the building itself has constraints from various aspects of social and political aspects. The social aspect, for example, there is a public lawsuit that does not accept the sanction of demolition, while the political aspect, the demolition is not done because of the leadership policy.

c. **Coordination of Control and Spatial Control of KBU**

Coordination of control of spatial planning of KBU between the provincial and district/ city governments has not gone well. Even coordination between agencies in the district/ city government is also not running properly. At the Provincial level, according to Gubernatorial Regulation no. 120 / Kep.697-Bapp / 2010, the stipulation of recommendation is made on the consideration of BKPRD (Regional Coordinating Board of Spatial Planning) of West Java Province by involving representatives from the district/ city government. In fact, every request for the recommendation is submitted by the community, the Provincial BKPRD does not involve an element of the district/ city. Then BPMPT West Java Province was complained of never giving a report to BKPRD West Java Province on the number of recommendations issued. Thus, BKPRD and related agencies feel difficult if they want to conduct supervision because of the limited data of the recommendation owned. Neither is the district/ city government, which never reports to the province (to the governor represented by the relevant agencies) on the implementation of the recommendations.

At the regency and city level as well, coordination did not go well. The license issuing agency does not coordinate and provides reports on the licenses issued to the relevant agencies. So that supervisory action is difficult because the related offices do not have the data where the building has taken care of the permit and which building is complete without permission, so the officer must plunge himself into the field to check the permit of each building. This is of course not maximal considering the limited number of apparatus that must oversee all the buildings in the area. Similarly with the involvement of sub-district and village (Kelurahan) apparatus which is the spearhead of building supervision. Although there is already a proactive conduct of supervision in their respective areas, there are still sub-district and village apparatus who do not know the development in their own territory.

d. **Weakness of Law Enforcement**

The violations of development in KBU is also caused by the weakness of law enforcement. The law enforcement has never given a deterrent effect to the perpetrators of both societies and private as well as apparatus who violate the authority by giving building permission in KBU. The problem of law enforcement is also complained by the district/ city government. The authority to impose criminal sanctions for violations of the licensing law is under the jurisdiction of the judges in the Administrative Court of the State Administrative Court, but the judge's decision to sanction violators is too

light. The weakness of legal action for licensing violators in North Bandung Area at least has dropped the government's authority in front of the public.

In Law No. 1 of 2008 as basis legal that clearly regulates the control of space utilization in KBU, Article 35 states that everyone is prohibited to build buildings in KBU without permission in accordance with the provisions of legislation, change the function of space utilization in protected areas, Function of irrigated agricultural land, undertake unauthorized mining activities. Then Article 38 paragraph 1 states that anyone who violates the provisions as referred to in Article 35 shall be subject to imprisonment for a maximum of 2 (three) months or a fine of up to Rp. 50,000,000 (fifty million rupiah). Furthermore, Article 38 Paragraph 3 also states that in addition to criminal acts as referred to in paragraph (1), not criminal to the utilisation of space in the KBU resulting in damage to conservation functions in the KBU subject to criminal threats in accordance with the provisions of the legislation. This condition shows how various rules of law that are enacted in reality are helpless so that the environmental damage in KBU is difficult to control.

Both the Law on Spatial Planning and the Regional Regulation of the KBU actually have formulated severe sanctions against the perpetrators of government officials / officials and business actors as well as the public who violate the above provisions as a form of criminal offense that establishes buildings that are not in accordance with the assigned license or the perpetrator The KBU's conservation function. However, based on information from informants, local regulations and regulations do not have a strong legal grasp to crack down on any violations, because the sentence is heavily influenced by the knowledge and understanding of judges in deciding the sentencing verdict for spatial offenders. In the case of KBU control, strict law enforcement should include unity of understanding with the spatial judges, so that the sanctions imposed are not just minor crimes, but administrative sanctions, criminal sanctions, and sanctions for cancellation/ suspension of licenses referring to the laws and regulations

CONCLUSION

Provincial Government as well as District/ City Government can not use the authority to control the utilisation of spatial planning in KBU. The rise of tourism business activities, property business, and community settlements have significantly damaged the function North Bandung Area.

The autonomy ego is suspected to be the cause of licensing violations in the KBU, because of the attractiveness of interests between business interests, the interests of local governments on spatial planning and environmental preservation. In addition, the bad mentality of officials and officials who abuse the authority and violate the rules to make changes in the function of the region continues in the KBU.

Ego areas that issue policies or permits do not care about the interests of other regions. The control of spatial use in the KBU becomes difficult to do because it is related to the lack of coordination between the fields as well as the issue of licensing and regional autonomy that overlap with authority.

The role of the government is obliged to realise justice, reduce conflict and the negative impact of space utilisation and ensure efficient and effective urban development in accordance with the city function and consistent with the spatial plan. In the case of development control, the government must be consistent with the planned spatial plan. Consistent implementation of the spatial plan can ensure efficient urban development and functioning of the city effectively. In addition to the obligation to carry out the function of controlling the development and utilisation of space, the government is also obliged to facilitate the participation of the community in order to realise the arrangement in the utilisation of the space. Development control is a government policy that should be more oriented to the public interest, not just business interests alone. For that reason, the rule of law and the principle of good governance should really be applied in implementing development policies. In the process of utilisation of space, the principle of good governance can be realised through the role and function of each stakeholder who put forward the obedience of rules in its implementation in the field.

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Public Administration and Policy:
Are Failed Policies Can Be Sued?
Failure of Traditional Market Revitalization Policy in developing countries

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Abstract

Traditional market revitalization policy now has been done in various cities in Indonesia. The reason for this policy is for traditional markets to compete with modern markets. But the physical revitalization of the market is not a guaranteed will make the market be crowded, in some cases revitalization of market visitors even less after the revitalization is done. This failure results in a decrease in income that has directly harmed the trader. So after revitalization, many market cases do not function from the original functioning. This article attempts to describe the failure of revitalization policies in developing countries. This research was conducted in traditional markets Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo who had a problem related to market revitalization between years. The problem is the abandonment of nearly two years of market development that causes losses for market traders. The problem of market revitalization is increasingly visible from demonstrations by traders with supporting elements, the audience between traders and the government to litigation efforts conducted by market traders Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo who filed a civil lawsuit against the government and contractors of market revitalization. This indicates from the view of market traders Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo that the process of market revitalization at that time is considered failed. This study uses qualitative research methods with data retrieval through interviews with related stakeholders, observation and document studies. Data analysis was done with miles and hiberman models. From this research, it can be seen that the failure of market revitalization that reaps the polemic is broadly divided into two factors, namely external factors and internal factors. Internal factors include government commitment and resource constraints. While external factors this is related to support from outsiders and socio-cultural conditions. The recommendation of this research is that market research should be conducted first before the revitalization policy is actually done, so as to be able to measure the need of market revitalization itself. In addition, the commitment from the government becomes a press point in the implementation of the policy

Keywords: public policy, traditional market revitalization, policy failure

INTRODUCTION

Revitalization is an attempt to re-vitalize an area or part of something once vital to life but to decline and degradation (Daniswara, 2002). In Indonesia, many emerging policies are nuanced revitalization, one of which is the revitalization of traditional markets.

Traditional market revitalization policy is one of the government's policies to save traditional market in the midst of modern market invasion in society and on the other hand is growing rapidly online market. The rises of retail and modern markets both in quality and quantity have an adverse impact on the development of traditional markets. The AC Nielsen survey, in 2013 shows, the number of traditional markets decreased in 2007 amounted to 13,550, in 2009 amounted to 13,450 and in 2011 amounted to 9,950. The comparison

of traditional market growth with the modern market is quite far away; the traditional market is slowing down -8.1%, while the modern market grew 31.4% (Kompas, 2014).

Traditional market conditions with inadequate physical and facilities (slums, dirty, uncomfortable) and poor management of market management increasingly add to the lack of attractive markets to visit. Considering the condition of traditional market which is getting worse compared to the modern market, the government made efforts to improve through market revitalization policy by doing physical renovation and management of market management. This revitalization is an effort to make traditional market being able to compete with the modern market and can function well in running economy to society.

The market revitalization policy aims to transform the traditional market image of dirty, chaotic, smelly, and arid impression into a clean, orderly, comfortable and cool market, and more competitive, in line with the growth of modern stores. From Tempo data (2014) that during 2011-2013 the Ministry of Trade has revitalised 461 market units consisting of 53 pilot markets and 408 non-pilot markets through a co-administration fund of 1.9 trilli/'on rupiahs, A total of 44 units of which at a cost of 199 billion rupiahs are located in the province of Central Java. The traditional market revitalization policy implemented by the Ministry through special allocation funds and co-administration tasks is also one of the efforts to encourage the acceleration of regional development.

Market revitalization should not only be physical but should include better management of the market. Traditional market revitalization policy should be able to improve the economy of society will be just to realise the program and spend the budget. In reality, however, not all traditional market revitalization policies go smoothly (Malano, 2011). There is a case of market revitalization whose construction has ceased to have a socio-economic impact borne by a revitalised market trader. In addition, the physical revitalization of the market is not a guaranteed market will be crowded, in some cases revitalization of market visitors even less

after revitalization done. This failure results in a decrease in income that has directly harmed the trader. So after revitalization, many market cases do not function from the original functioning.

One of the traditional market revitalization policies that generate conflict is the Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo whose construction was halted for about two years. This has had a direct impact on market traders Ir. Soekarno who was temporarily relocated to the emerging market with dismal conditions. Number of market traders Ir. Soekarno before it was revitalised according to Sukoharjo City Market Traders Association (HPPKS) as many as 1030 market traders. But after being revitalised amid the cessation of market development, which survives in the emergency market only about 400 traders. Of the remaining 400 market traders, many traders whose turnover decreased to about 70% when moving from the market Ir. Soekarno to the emergency market provided by the district government. The decline in the number of existing market traders, due to many traders who turn professions into labour or other professions for the decline in turnover and some traders out of the emerging market and selling outside the emerging market. In addition, psychologically there are even traders who stress to threaten to kill themselves (Ambarwati, 2015).

The success of the policy can be seen from the effectiveness of the policy itself. The effectiveness of the traditional market revitalization policy uses the merchant's income as one of the benchmarks of the progress and existence of traditional markets in the eyes of society. Sugiyono (2004) explains the effectiveness is the appropriateness between the acquisitions of results with an agreed vision. The reliability of local government in realising the revitalization program can be measured by the level of effectiveness by comparing it with agreed targets. Juliarta & Dasarna (2015) describes the success of the revitalization of traditional markets in Bali precisely in Nyanggela Market, Panjer Village. They found that this revitalization policy was considered to be very effective at 89.89 percent and had a positive impact on market management, visitor numbers, and merchant revenue. In developing countries, not all successful policies implemented in advanced countries and then adopted in developing

countries will be successful as well. There are differences in factors that differentiate between countries one with other countries that affect the course of policy. Even in developing countries have many areas so that the differences in one area to another greatly affect the policy itself.

This article attempts to describe the failure of revitalization policies in developing countries. This research was conducted in traditional markets Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo who had a problem related to market revitalization between the years 2012-2015. The problem is the abandoned market development of nearly two years that cause losses for market traders. The problem of market revitalization is increasingly visible from demonstrations by traders with supporting elements, the audience between traders and the government to litigation efforts conducted by market traders Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo who filed a civil lawsuit against the government and contractors of market revitalization. (Ambarwati, 2015). This indicates from the view of market traders Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo that the process of market revitalization policy at that time and considered failed from the perspective of traders. In addition, after the market revitalization is completed from 2015 to 2017 traders still hold that buyers in the market Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo decreased from the turnover of traders. So from the market functioning for traders, this revitalization policy fails to be seen from the market functioning after the revitalization. So this article will identify the factors that affect the failure of this traditional market revitalization policy. This study is different and complements previous research that saw the failure or success of the policy from the perspective of the community. This perspective is important to see because the community as beneficiaries and connoisseurs of policy benefits need to be known so that the government budgeted investment for this policy is really beneficial to the community. In addition, the knowledge of policy failure factors may avoid future policies with the failure of similar policies in developing countries.

METHOD

The method used is descriptive qualitative. Previously, the name of this market was Kota Sukoharjo Market. Then in 2012, this market was revitalised. After that, it had been renamed as Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo market. By using interview technique to resource related to market revitalization Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo which includes Market Traders, Chairman of the Association of Market Traders Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo, a society that supports the merchant market as well as the ranks of the government from the industrial service. The initial technique used is purposive sampling technique, but when in the field the technique is more appropriate to use is snowball sampling. Key informants are previous speakers when set in purposive sampling technique. In this research, interview technique used is the in-depth interview. Interview conducted with related parties and knows about information needed by researcher that is about matters relating to market revitalization Ir. Sukarno. The researcher asks questions by using an interview guide that outlines the subject matter in a systematic and pre-prepared way to ensure that the same information content is obtained from a number of people covering the same material. To facilitate the capture of information, this interview is assisted by tools. In addition, researchers also conducted observations and document review to complete the information obtained in this study. The observations are to follow meetings among market traders, listen to hearings with the district government and attend court hearings of the case. Documents used are data from HPPKS, LHP BPK on market revitalization policy and other relevant documents. Then from the results of the researchers can consult the results of field findings with existing theories so far. In this study, researchers used data triangulation techniques from the source, where the authors used several data sources during the collection of information. This method leads researchers to collect data in a compulsory manner, using a variety of available data sources. Thus, one data with other data can test each other and complement, so its validity can really be accounted for (Moleong, 2007: 330). The results of collecting and existing data sources are crosschecked, tested and equipped with each other so that the validity of the data written can be really accounted for. Data analysis was done with the miles and hiberman model (2007) where the process was done with interactive

model analysis covering data reduction, data presentation, conclusion and verification. Data reduction is done from selection and focusing on simplification of written notes in the field. This is done from interviews and many documents contained in the field. Then the presentation of data is done when after the reduction is done with the form of a series of data for easy to understand. After that, the conclusion and verification are done from the data obtained previously.

RESULT

The market revitalization policy that has experienced problems is the revitalization policy in the market Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo. The core of the problems that exist in the market revitalization Ir. Soekarno this is because the cessation of development so that the market is finished is not timely. Initially, the local government promised traders that the market was revitalised on December 25, 2012, or in other words, the market revitalization process lasted for 6 months and traders occupied the market with no cost (Ambarwati, 2015). However, in reality, the construction is not completed within that timeframe.

On the one hand, the traders experience discomfort while selling in the emerging market. The inconvenience according to the traders is the inequity in occupying the location, the location of the strategic emergency market area, the number of rodents that eat their wares and the muddy and dusty market conditions. In addition, there are some traders who sell near traditional markets that are not emergency market areas.

It is next to a revitalised traditional market. Then mushroomed further south and west. Even some traders rent houses around the community as kiosks to sell. With this effort, visitors are more crowded and should not park if bought here. With increasingly crowded, many new traders are also appearing. New traders here mean traders who are not traders in traditional markets before. The impact on the emergency market is getting quieter. Originally the number of traders is 1030 now the number is only about 40-30% only occupying the emerging market. Many are losers and folded until finally switch

professions into labour or other professions. There is even a stress almost suicide due to this condition. Then this also resulted in internal conflicts to traders.

In the implementation, according to Disperindag and the statements from the district government that the delay is the fault of the contractor who cannot complete the project on time. In that development, there is a supervisory contractor who works to oversee the execution of the project. Disperindag claimed to have tried to do coordination or evaluation meetings in the process of monitoring the development of the project. And also provide suggestions related to the problems.

While the contractor, the problems that become the root of the cessation of market development was already from the beginning and also from the aspect of own planning so that the impact on the abandonment of development. According to PT Ampuh Sejahtera, the contractor in the project, that the district government turned out in the revitalization project can be said to be less budget, whereas the budget. In addition, there is a discrepancy in the size of the image in the design with the availability of land. So in this process, there is an addendum or a contract change. Then, it is stated that the contract of PT. Powerful with Regency for market revitalization if this contract is completed it is indeed the market is not in a state so 100% according to PT Ampuh. For the budget in this revitalization project originally planned budgeting 32 M then HPS to 27 M then auctioned to 24 M. In 2013 PT Ampuh filed a lawsuit demanding the payment of the last terminology and feel what is done has been in accordance with the contract. But the lawsuit is not granted by the court. Then in 2017 the appeal is done and won by PT. Ampuh Sejahtera.

Meanwhile, according to dispersing, the plan is fine, the problem is from the side of the project executor. Based on the BPK audit report, it is stated that the contractor cannot complete the construction work of the market until the expiry of the contract. BPK also recommends sanctioning SKPD officials and supervising contractors.

In the proposed development projects that worth over two hundred million done in an

open auction. It also conducted the auction by Disperindag in market revitalization Ir. Soekarno from the side of planning, implementation and supervision. In the proposed development projects worth over two hundred million done in an open auction. It also conducted the auction by Disperindag in market revitalization Ir. Soekarno from the side of planning, implementation and supervision.

In that case, the cessation of project work can occur for several reasons. According to one employee DPU as the field who know the work is physically apart because of the abandonment of Ir Soekarno market, several reasons for the problem of a project, among others, contractors and from the planning side.

The things above are true plus see the conclusion from LHP BPK which shows that Sukoharjo City Market development is not supported by the adequate budget. In addition, the offer document submitted by PT Ampuh Sejahtera in the auction is not in accordance with the actual conditions. Then the contractor cannot complete the work until the deadline and there are quality defects in some work items. Then from the side of planning with the addendum and some changes and see the budget side of the planning from the government or concerned is not yet mature.

In the midst of the cessation of market development which turned out to be a dispute between the district government and PT Ampuh, on the other hand, the merchant's fate feels disadvantaged in the problem. With the emergency market conditions that are not representative and complaints of discomfort, and the spillover of merchants in the area rather than the emergency market leads to an erratic and disadvantaged merchant's fate. This is in accordance with the testimony of the expert witness from UGM which states that there is a significant difference in the turnover of traders when before and after occupying the emergency market. This significant distinction leads to reinforcing traders' claims that they are losers after the implementation of this policy. Here HPPKS together with Sukoharjo community in various circles in a container named APS (Aliansi Perbaiki Sukoharjo) that also supported

by college students, NGOs and other people who care about the fate of traders take some actions and other efforts that demand and urged the district government to immediately settle the abandoned market.

In the process of development of this market revitalization can be classified the parties in conflict (Ambarwati, 2015), among others:

1). **Conflicts between Merchants and Merchants.**

The conflict between traders is realised since the division of traders outside the emerging market with traders in the emerging market. In addition, the association among traders is also divided with previously existing HPPKS and then emerged HPPI (Market Traders Association Ir Soekarno).

2). **Conflict between Trader and Government**

This conflict occurs because traders receive the promise of the market from the government. The six-month promise is over but it stops for 2 years and the free appointment is in place, but in reality, the merchant has to pay back the name and assertiveness of the rules of the merchant from the zoning and the provision of an unrepresentative emergency marketplace. Here traders find that the government's lack of seriousness in building the market Ir. Soekarno thus causing many problems. Therefore, the merchant filed a civil lawsuit against the regency over this revitalization policy.

3). **Conflict between the Government and PT Ampuh Sejahtera**

District government views that unorganized market revitalization Ir. Soekarno is due to the mistakes of the unfinished contractor working on the project. Then PT Ampuh Sejahterahas another view that the cause of the problem is the planning and seriousness of the government. The conflict between the district government and PT Ampuh happens to blame each other for the cause of the cessation of market revitalization development. Until PT. Ampuh filed a lawsuit to the district court Semarang but this lawsuit was rejected because the court cannot hear from LHP BPK. After the dispute, now PT Ampuh in blacklist of problems abandoned market Ir. Sukarno.

4). Conflicts between Traders and the Government and PT Ampuh

On the other hand, the merchant filed a lawsuit to the district government and PT. Powerful because the district government promised to traders and PT. Powerful working on the project. Due to the neglect of its development, traders feel disadvantaged with the condition so that traders cast a lawsuit to the parties involved in market revitalization Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo.

DISCUSSION

Public policy discipline has struggled to adjust to how we can understand 'policy failure'. Policy failures can be assessed by examining the gap between government goals and outcomes (Mc Connell, 2015, Sugiyono, 2004). This can be seen from the effectiveness of a policy by comparing the conformity between earning the result and the agreed vision or objectives. While the revitalization of & Lumbanraja, 2016). In terms of market revitalization, traditional markets are to succeed if people become loyal to traditional markets. This gap is in the form of inaccuracy in the completion of development time. Then the fewer loner buyers from the market is a gap of the objective of the substance related to market revitalization in order to more crowded buyers. The first gap is a real policy failure that can be measured from a government perspective and a community or merchant perspective, while the second gap is a policy failure from a community perspective.

Upon the failure of this policy, the merchant has filed a civil suit to the court to appeal to the district government and the contractor implementing this policy. This can be done because public policy can be sued (Nugroho, 2011), regardless of the end of the lawsuit whether it is won by the public as the plaintiff or the government as the public policy maker.

Hogwood and Gunn (1986) argue that objectively the implementation of a country's policy actually contains the risk of failure. Public policy failures can be categorised into two major parts: 1) Non-Implementation 2). Unsuccessful Implementation, In this case, the failure of the traditional market revitalization policy is in the category of unsuccessful implementation.

This policy is actually implemented, but in the implementation process has experienced problems. The real failure of this policy does not mean an absolute failure to fail. The existing failure is in the matter of the implementation process.

For the most part, the city centre revitalization strategy focuses on physical or functional improvements (Lederer, 2007). Dupont (2001) in questioning the same success between central-level policy and local-level policy. Other findings include the fact that small towns need to take a holistic approach to revitalization. (Snyder, 2002) There is no successful revitalization strategy everywhere. Much of the literature that addresses such revitalization efforts focuses on larger urban areas or small rural municipalities-largely based on anecdotal evidence drawn from very limited observations (Filion, et al., 2004; Gratz and Mintz, 1998; Leinberger, 2005; Robertson, 1995, 1999). Very minimal market research before the policy was rolled out. Nugroho (2015) reveals that policies undertaken in developing countries differ from policies in developed countries. In this traditional market revitalization policy, although the market is becoming more modern but becoming quieter, traditional markets with existing styles have their own bargaining power.

In the failure of the policy can be seen the factors that influence it. These factors are both within and outside the policy subsystem, especially the nature of the political system and its influence on decision making. The capacity of governance and the impact of its limitations on the likelihood of policy success, and the degree of uncertainty in policy knowledge and practice continues to disrupt decision-making and decision-making (Howlett, Ramesh & Wu, 2015). From the above results can be seen the factors that affect in this market revitalization policy. External factors include resources and government commitment, While external factors in the form of support or community participation and socio-cultural. Translation of these factors includes:

A). Resources

Lederer (2007) revealed that generally, the city centre revitalization strategy focuses on physical or functional improvements. Factors that are significantly related to this are financial

resources. The limitation of financial resources affects the implementation of this policy. This is tangible from the existence of mismatch between the planning with the capability possessed District government from the budget side. This is evident from the planning that menggaman 32 M then HPS to 27 M until finally auctioned to 24 M.

No less important is the role of human resources involved. The degree of compliance with the statute, the success rate of policy implementation can be measured by looking at the compliance level of the policy implementers (Ripley & Franklin, 1986). If the government and contractors are able to comply with a jointly agreed contract of employment, there will be no breakthrough in the physical market development.

B). Government Commitment

The failure theory provides a framework for understanding the role played by community-based organisations in the development of the people's economy in response to the needs gap created from the lack of government and market intervention (Mauldin, 2013). The commitment and consistency of district government when dealing with the community needs to be considered because the community when given a pledge let alone touch with things where people earn a living will always be remembered and discussed and prosecuted. In addition to the seriousness or commitment of the district government and each stakeholder whether from planning, implementation and supervision each need correction. Because the policy is complex and all of them affect each other.

C). Community support

Community support in terms of community participation plays an important role in a revitalization policy plan (Marek, 2014). One of the weaknesses in many revitalization reports is the failure to link economic approaches with political analysis of state policies and community mobilization (Sites, 1994; Mark, Taylor & Crawford, 2008). Most approaches in traditional market Revitalization Ir. Soekarno Sukoharjo comes from the top (top down.). About market revitalization, zoning and other decisions that

less involving relevant stakeholders. The impact of the policy in question there is a problem because traders as the policy connoisseurs who know the field feel less in line with their expectations.

D). Socio-cultural conditions

Chang (2011) research indicates that the capacity to achieve full program implementation is strongly influenced by the socio-economic conditions of the surrounding environment. Grittell (1989) reveals that locally based coordinative efforts have the potential to contribute to the revitalization of society. Socio-cultural conditions of market traders are also greatly influenced the course of this implementation. The backgrounds of various merchants' association boards such as retired public officials, former 1998 activists and former urban village heads. Around the market, there is a strong campus to the student movement. So that when the revitalization policy is perceived to be problematic, the reactive response from demonstrations, hearings to litigation efforts colouring in the process of an implication of this policy. Conflicts between the parties during this time existing communication are top down and unidirectional. A cultural and equally active approach is needed to reduce conflict between parties. Therefore socio-cultural conditions around cannot be ignored in policy implementation.

CONCLUSION

In this article, it can be seen that the failure of the policy can be demanded by the public, but this is despite the victory of the demands of the community or the policymaker itself. The Failure of Ir. Soekarno traditional market revitalization policy is the inaccuracy in the completion of development time and also the loneliness of buyers from the market after the revitalization process. The success of a policy somewhere is not necessarily successful elsewhere, there are environmental factors that affect the failure and success of the policy. The policy failure factors discussed in this article are broadly divided into two factors, external and internal factors. Internal factors include government commitment and resource constraints. While external factors this

is related to the support of society and socio-cultural conditions. The recommendation of this research is that market research should be conducted first before the revitalization policy is actually done, so as to be able to measure the need of market revitalization itself. In addition, the commitment from the government becomes a press point in the implementation of the policy. Then to address the issue between conflicting parties a cultural approach is needed.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF PUBLIC INFOMRATION DISCLOSURE ACT (PIDA) IN BANTEN PROVINCE: WHO GETS WHAT, WHEN, AND HOW

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Abstract

Law No. 14 of 2008 on Public Information Disclosure Act (PIDA) has been effectively implemented in Indonesia since 2010. This law guarantees right of citizens to access information from the public organisation. If the public organisation rejected citizens' request to obtain certain information, they can apply for public information disputes to the Information Commission. Public information disclosure is also one of the important features of democracy to ensure implementation of government transparency and accountability as well as to increase public participation. The aim of this study is to understand the implementation of the Law No. 14 of 2008 at the local level, Banten Province, not only procedurally but also substantially. This study finds the that implementation of public information disclosure in Banten is on the right track according to institutionalism and mechanism. However, only certain group benefit. Case in Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Provincial Office in Banten showed that no farmer of farmer groups asked the public information about agriculture to the office. In fact, some individuals and groups who asked the public information didn't have any relations to agriculture activities. They requested grant and procurement information for the sake of their own benefits: blackmailing public officers; selling the information to third parties and using the information to bid on government projects. It seems that implementation of the law misses the target. Therefore it is necessary to educate public that they can use the right to information as tools to control government as well as enhance the quality of democracy.

Keywords: public information disclosure, right to information, transparency, and participation

INTRODUCTION

Freedom of access to public information is an integral part of the process of democratisation passed by Indonesia. Following the 1998 reformism, there were several political changes in Indonesia including freedom in many aspects: the establishment of political parties, freedom of the press and opinion, more free and fair elections and the implementation of regional autonomy. Later, the freedom of public information fills the space of democracy to make it more qualified. Increased public access to public information promotes transparency and accountability as a pillar of governance (Gingras, 2012).

This is also clearly stated in the (amended) Constitution of Republic of Indonesia. In article 28 F stated that:

"Every person shall have the right to communicate and obtain information to develop his / her personal and social environment and shall have the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey information by all kinds of channels available. "

Freedom of communication and obtaining public information are part of the constitutional rights of citizens. Hence, it means that state must fulfil kind of rights.

Openness is also fundamental for government accountability. If government operates in secrecy, citizens would not have knowledge of how their public resources used and not be able to monitor impacts as well as potential misuse of public funds. The fight against poverty is largely dependent on the growth of an informed citizenry demanding public services and holding their leaders to account. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art or through any media of his

choice (Faisol, Suryani, Amy, and Hanggoro, 2010).

The main purpose of the freedom to obtain public information is to realise clean and good governance which of course can be created through the following ways (Zulkarnain, Sirajuddin, and Widiarto, 2006):

1. Enforcing and ensuring the realisation of the exercise of the rights of the public, in particular, the right to obtain public information.
2. Achieving transparency and accountability of government both central and regional.
3. Increasing public participation in monitoring the running of government.
4. Providing guarantees on the rights of the community, among others: (1) right to know (right to know); (2) Right to inspect; (3) Right to obtain copy or document or passive access (right to obtain the copy); (4) Right to be informed; And (5) Right to disseminate information (Right to disseminate)

The importance of the regulation governing the freedom to obtain public information stated by Sudibyo (in Zulkarnain, Sirajuddin, and Widiarto, 2006), namely:

1. Information is a part of Human Rights;
2. Public information is the constitutional right of citizens;
3. Public information disclosure is part of accountability for the implementation of the state's mandate:
4. Without disclosure of information citizens cannot participate in the administration;
5. With borders, bureaucracy will be a source of corruption, bureaucratic malpractice and human rights abuses;
6. Information disclosure is a necessary condition for the eradication of corruption, the embodiment of clean and transparent government.

The right to information now has become the international trend in governance practices. At present, over 90 countries representing nearly five billion people have now adopted laws or national regulations on the right to information indicating the increasing recognition of a right to information as a universal human right and an essential component of a democratic system for ensuring accountability and fighting corruption. It has also been widely accepted as a determining factor in the fight against poverty worldwide (Faisol, Suryani, Amy, and Hanggoro, 2010).

Indonesian effort to adopt wider access to freedom of information has passed through a long and winding road. Following the transition from authoritarian regime to democracy in 1998, the freedom of information approach started by enabling the political environment by adopting the new law directly related to public information disclosure (Rahman, 2014).

The Public Information Disclosure Act (Law no. 14 of 2008, hereafter PIDA) was originally called Freedom of Public Information (KMIP). This law was one of the national legislation programs of the 1999-2004 1999-2004 House of Representatives (DPR) Initiative has been discussed since 1999. After a nine-year process, due to the demand for good governance that requires accountability, transparency, and public participation in every process of public policy implementation, the PIDA Law was passed by the House of Representatives on April 3, 2008, and enacted on 30 April 2008. It is granted two years to enforce this Law. As of April 30, 2010, Law No. 14 of 2008 on Public Information Disclosure Act has been effective throughout Indonesia (PPID DPR, 2016).

Article 1 (2) of the PIDA Law defines Public Information as "... information that is produced, stored, managed, sent and/or received by a Public Agency relating to the organiser and the organising of the state and/or the organiser and the organising of other Public Agencies pursuant to this law and other information pertaining to the interest of the public".

The purpose of the public information disclosure is stated in Article 3 of the PIDA:

a. To secure the right of the citizens to know the plan to make public policies, public policy programs, and the process to make public decisions, as well as the reason of making a public decision.
b. To encourage the participation of the society in the process of making a public policy;

c. To increase the active role of the people in making public policies and to manage the Public Agencies properly;

d. To materialize good governance, such as transparent, effective and efficient, accountable and responsible.

e. To know the rationale of a public policy that affects the life of the people;

f. To develop sciences and to sharpen the mind of the nation; and/or

g. To enhance the information management and service at Public Agency circles.

h. To produce good quality information service.

This paper aims to understand how the implementation of the PIDA law at the local level is, with the case study in Banten Province. This paper will focus on actors involved in the law implementation.

METHODS

The research is a qualitative research because it aims to understand a phenomenon in depth. Qualitative research is an approach to exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engaged in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honours an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation. (Cresswell, 2014)

The type of research is the case study. Case studies are the design of inquiry found in many fields, especially evaluation, in which the researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case, often a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Stake and Yin in Creswell, 2014)

Data collection methods are documentation study and in-depth interview. Research location in Banten Province.

ANALYSIS

Although it was only legalised in 2008, the spirit of openness extended in various regions. Some regions took the initiative to issue local regulations with the spirit of freedom of information and transparency. In 2005 the West Kalimantan regional government issued Local Regulation (Perda) No. 4 of 2005 on Transparency of Provincial Government of West Kalimantan Province. According to this regulation, the Public Agency of West Kalimantan Province is obliged to provide public information to the public. Previously, the government of Gorontalo City, on March 13, 2002, has stipulated Local Regulation No. 3 of 2002 concerning Transparency of the Implementation of Gorontalo City Government (Zen in Zulkarnain, Sirajuddin, and Widiarto, 2006).

In Banten, freedom of obtaining public information was actually traceable in 2004 when Lebak Regency ratified Local Regulation Number 6 of 2004 on Transparency and Participation in the Implementation of Governance and Regional Development. Article 21 of the regulation states that to implement the provisions of this regional regulation, the Transparency and Participation Commission has been established. The presence of Transparency and Participation Commission in Lebak Regency opened opportunities to obtain information of what public agencies have done so far, in order to prevent the causes of corruption, collusion and nepotism in local government. The alignment of transparency in governance is judged to be correlated with poor apparatus performance, and the rise of information manipulation can lead to social, economic, cultural and legal disparities in society (Samsuri in Dimyati, 2004: 19).

The birth of Transparency and Participation Commission Lebak marks a new era in Banten where public agencies are encouraged to apply transparency practices with the supervising agency. After the PIDA was enacted in 2008 and fully implemented in 2010, the Banten Provincial Information Commission (Komisi Informasi, hereafter IC) was formed in Banten. On February 24, 2011, IC Banten was officially established with the inauguration of five commissioners. IC Banten is the fifth IC formed in Indonesia (Setyawan in Jahran, 2015).

IC is an independent institute that function to implement this Law and its implementing

regulation(s), to provide the standard technical directives for Public Information service and to settle Public Information Disputes through Mediation and/or non-litigation adjudication (PIDA). According to article 26 of PIDA, IC tasks are:

a. Receiving, checking, and deciding on a request for the settlement of a Public Information Dispute through Mediation and/or non-litigation Adjudication that is submitted by every Public Information Applicant based on the reason as referred to in this Law;
b. Determining the general policy of the Public Information service; and
c. Determining the implementing directives and the technical directives.

IC in Provincial level should be established in each Province. Obligations are to address information disputes in the local provinces, provincial vertical institutions, and public agencies that exist only at the provincial level (Dipopramono, 2016).

Another actor in PIDA implementation is Public Agency. PIDA defines Public Agency as "an executive, legislative, judicative and other agencies whose function and main duties are related to the organizing of the state, where part or all of its funds originate from the state budget and/or the regional budget, or a non-governmental organizations that part or all of its fund originate from the state budget and/or the regional budget, the contribution from the people and/or from overseas sources."

In the provincial level, the largest number of public agencies are offices under the Banten provincial government. They comply their obligation in PIDA by providing public information on the website and also appointing Information and Documentation Officers (Pejabat Pengelola Informasi dan Dokumentasi, hereafter IDO). This IDO is in charge if there are parties who request public information. All of the IDO in all provincial offices coordinating by main IDO (PPID Utama) who works directly under Regional Secretary. They have regular meeting monthly to coordinate and share about the management of public information. The special and hot issues in every meeting are how to comply with the applicant of public

information. (Interview with Taufik, IDO in one Provincial Office, 30 March 2017)

In the PIDA article 1 point, 9 stated that IDO is the official who responsible in the field of storage, documentation, provision, fund or information service in a public PIDA. PIDA is implementor for the public agency to fulfil its obligation based on PIDA (Art.7):

1. A Public Agency is obliged to supply, provide and/or publish the Public Information under its authority to the Public Information Applicant, except information that is classified in accordance with the provision.
2. A Public Agency is obliged to provide the Public Information accurately, correctly and not deceptive.
3. To implement the obligation as referred to in paragraph (2), the Public Agency shall establish and develop an information and documentation system to manage the Public Information properly and efficiently, so that it is easily accessible.
4. A Public Agency is obliged to write down its reasoning for every policy that it takes to comply with the right of every person to get Public Information.
5. The reasoning as referred to in paragraph (4) contains among other things political, economic, social, cultural considerations and/or state defence and security.
6. In the framework of complying with the obligations in paragraphs (1) up to (4), a Public Agency may utilise the electronic and non-electronic media and/or facilities.

The last and main actor in the implementation of PIDA is the user of public information. They are communities that use information from public agencies. If public information users need more public information they can be public information applicant, an Indonesian citizen, either an individual, a group of persons, or a legal institution applying for public information to a public agency with a procedure in law.

Users of public information may not necessarily be applicants of public information if the person concerned is sufficient in obtaining public information through websites, flyers, leaflets, books, magazines or other channels of public agencies, electronic or non-electronic.

Users of public information become applicants for public information if the required information is not available or provided by the Public PIDA through the available channels. Well, the request for public information is submitted to the Public PIDA through the IDO, with forms provided either through the website or through the office.

If the request for public information is not fulfilled by the Public PIDA, then the applicant for public information may become a public information applicant dispute and apply for a dispute through the IC.

If the application of the dispute is eligible, then the information commission will offer mediation. The dispute ends if the mediation is agreed upon by both parties. If the mediation is rejected or fails to reach an agreement, a non-litigation adjudication session will be held. After the trial process examines the various information, the information commission will make a decision whether the dispute submission is entirely accepted, partially or rejected.

Based on Article five of PIDA, there are several obligations for public information user:

(1) The Public Information User is obliged to use Public Information in accordance with the provisions and regulations of the laws.

(2) The Public Information User is obliged to state the source of his Public Information that is used in his/her own interest as well as for publication purposes, pursuant to the provision and regulations of the laws.

In its journey, it turns out quite a lot of public information dispute submitted through IC Banten. In 2011 there were 28 disputes, in 2012 there were 117, the year 2013 jumped to 450 disputes, and in 2014 as many as 218 disputes, while in 2015 there were 387 disputes.

Table 1
The Number of Information Dispute in 2011 – 2015

No	Year	The Number of Disputes
1	2011	28
2	2012	117
3	2013	450
4	2014	218
5	2015	387
6	2016	89

Source: Jahran, 2016

The above data indicates that public agencies in Banten have not been transparent enough in providing public information. But it also indicates that there is awareness among the public that they have room to obtain public information through dispute at IC. Although the important note is, those who are disputants are the same people/institutions.

For example, in 2015, out of 182 requests for information to Banten Province Government, a local Non-Government Organization (NGO) named JP3B submitted a public information request 50 times to various government agencies, TB. Irfan Taufan and Badru Tamam 39 times, and Haerudin as many as 20 times and other names that filed in sufficient quantities as well

Table 2.
Public Information Dispute Applicants in 2015

No	Applicants	The number of Dispute Applications
1	ABDUROHMAN	7
2	Asep Wahyuningrat	3
3	Heri Sulardi	1
4	Haerudin	18
5	JP3B	88
6	Iman Fauzi	1
7	LP3KPB	7
8	LSM AMMINDO	64
9	LSM BAPEKA	10
10	LSM PASOPATI	5
11	NGO TOPAN-AD	47
12	Puji Iman Jarkasih	3
13	PT. AMALIA ARRAFAH UTAMA	1
14	SUBHAN	1
15	TB. AGUS KHOIRONI	1
16	TB. Azhi Adha Okta Yana	16
17	TB. Delly Suhendar	97
18	TB. IRFAN TAUFAN	1
19	Tb. Irfan Taufan dan Badru Tamami	14
21	Wastana	2
JUMLAH		**387**

Source: IC Banten, 2016

One institution/ individual submitted multiple requests for public information to various public institutions. For example, JP3B filed a dispute against five agencies, most of which was the Office of Marine and Fisheries (Dinas Kelautan dan Perikanan) of 32. The (formal) reason for the submission was to develop knowledge and studying the policy. TB. Irfan Taufan and Badru Tamam applied for the most public information to the Education Office as much as 10 and the rest to other agencies. The reason for the request for information was to monitor every policy and public agency budget. While Haerudin applied to 17 different Government Offices Banten Province for the purpose of study.

In 2016, the number of dispute was decreasing to 89. Notice the table 3.

Jahran (2016) explained that the decrease can be explained because IC Banten stipulated that only institutions those have legal entities may be applicants. As results, there were changes, not only decreasing of total dispute applications, but most applicants in 2016 were individuals. Individuals were easier to become applicants because their legal standings were only proved by Citizenship Identity Cards (*KTP*). The decrease could also be seen as the increase of public agency transparency to provide data.

In the Office of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry of Banten Province, by 2015 there were 14 requests for public information, both from institutions and individuals. Notice the table 4.

Table 3.
Public Information Dispute Applicants in 2016

No	Applicants	**Number of Dispute Application**
1	Abdul Syukur and friends	5
2	Ahmad Priatna and Oki AS	2
3	Arif Hartanto	1
4	Asep Wahyuningrat	1
5	Burhanudin	14
6	Drs. H. Dindin S	13
7	Haerudin	3
8	Hendrik, SH	3
9	Iman Fauzi	1
10	JPKI NGO	6
11	Moch. Ojat Sudrajat	1
12	TOPAN-AD NGO	8
13	Panji bahari Noor	1
14	Perkumpulan perangkap	2
15	Puji Iman jarkasih	3
16	Rendy Yanuar and friends	6
17	Taufik Hidayat	1
18	Tan Ong Cuan	3
19	Tb. Azhi Adha Okta Yana	21
20	Tohas Sihotang	1
21	Zainal Abidin, SH	1
22	Tubagus Irfan taufan and Badru Tamami	2
	Total	89

Source: IC Banten, 2017

Table 4

The Applicants and The Information Requested in the Office of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry of Banten Province in 2015

No	Applicants	Requested Information
1	JAPATI NGO	Request for Information on Government Procurement of Goods and Services at the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Office of Banten Province
2	Central Committee of Banten United Network	Request for Information on Government Procurement of Goods and Services at the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Office of Banten Province
3	Central Committee of KOMPAK Banten Province	Request information. Procurement Process of Government Goods and Services at Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Office of Banten Province
4	Head of AMMINDO NGO Banten Province	Requests for data requested consist of procurement of facilities (12 items of activities) with Budget APBN Year 2013 and 2014 (process until adjudication and PTUN)
5	TOPAN-AD NGO	Requested data requests consist of copies of 2012, 2013 and FY 2012 budget realization (APBN, APBD), Allocation of budget per activity, Budget Allocation Plan 2015 and Asset transfer
6	Central Committee of Galaksi NGO	Application of LPJ Implementation Swakelola fiscal year 2013, 2014
7	Rakyat Banten NGO	Request for Information on Buffalo Buffalo Activity in Pandeglang District and Buffalo Buffalo Buffer in Kabupaten Lebak
8	Representative of Sinar Pagi Newspaper Banten	Requested data request consists of PT Pupuk Sriwijaya palembang, sourced from APBN funds in 2015. 2.506.237.500 with the winner of PT. Agrindo Hartha Mekar, berumsber funds APBN Year 2015. 3.888.000.000 an winner of PT. Sang Hyang Sri (Persero) sourced from APBN Year 2015.
9	Cakra Buana NGO	Requests for information on the flow of funds for activities in the project amounting to Rp 100,356,353,841 with Total Provider procurement package and self-managed package 490
10	SOMASI NGO	Application for Information on Domestic Marketing Development (Facility for Livestock Market Facility in order to facilitate the marketing of livestock products in Pandeglang Regency), Development of Agricultural Processing Facility (Facilitation of Milk Processing Facility in the Facility of Milk Processing Agro-industry in Serang City) and Agricultural Product Processing Development (Facility of Animal Feed Processing Facility In Kabupaten Lebak) activities have not been implemented.
11	SOMASI	Request for Information on budget (APBD Banten FY 2015)
12	Haerudin	Requests for data requested consist of decree of grant recipients to Community by 2015 and Grantee Proposal 2015
13	Khutbi	Requested data request is about General Plan of Procurement (RUP) at work unit of Agriculture and Livestock Office of Banten Province consist of Activity in Safe and Halal Safe Food Guarantee and fulfillment of Non Animal Product Requirement and Development Activity of domestic marketing with source of APBD fund Year 2014.
14	Observation Director TOPAN-AD	A. Procurement of slaughterhouses (Rumah Pemotongan Hewan) equipment of Serang City by the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry of Banten Province in 2013 local budget.

		B.	Procurement of RPH equipment of Tangerang City by the Agriculture and Livestock Service of Banten Province at APBD in 2013.
		C.	Activities of Ruminants Cutting Facility (RPH-R) in Serang City by the Agriculture and Livestock Service Office of Banten Province in APBD in 2013.
		D.	Activities of Ruminants Cutting Facility (RPH-R) in Tangerang City by the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Office of Banten Province in APBD in 2013.
		E.	Procurement of Goods Facilitation of Animal Cutting Equipment In the city of Tangerang by the Agriculture and Livestock Service of Banten Province in APBD in 2013

Source: IDO Agriculture and Husbandry Office, Banten Province

There were some interesting things from the above data. Firstly, there was no one related to agriculture applying for public information to the Office of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry of Banten Province. Most of the information applicants were non-governmental organisations not active in the field of agriculture. Meanwhile, no farmer and peasant organisations submitted requests for public information. Secondly, most applications were related to budget, procurement and assistance programs at the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Service.

Ade Jahran, Information Commissioner of Banten stated that there were free-riders took advantage of PIDA. He said that there were those who utilised or benefited from the issuance of PIDA and its derivative regulations, including the objectives referred to in Article 3 of the PIDA. For example, using PIDA to blackmail the head of public agencies financially. Or to intimidate personnel of public agencies with other motives such as political motives (Jahran, 2016).

This fact was confirmed by Head of Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Office in Banten Province, Tauhid (interviewed 2017). He stated that many submissions of information disputes by various institutions or individuals can lead to situations that were not conducive and intimidating. If the head of the office was indicated on problems as seen in the requested data, then there might be the possibility of extortion by the public information dispute applicants. He informed that the scary officer tended to give money to keep the information from reaching the media or law enforcement office.

Moreover, a Non-Government Organisation activist confirmed that the practice of taking profit from public information submission was true. The mode was asking for as many disputes as possible and hope to get benefit from some disputes. Attempts to blackmail were usually beginning when they went through the mediation process. If they got what they ask for, they would agree to the mediation process. If it did not meet then they will go through the process up to the adjudication session.

"Why raised a lot of disputes if you do not get a profit? Government offices usually have mistakes. If they are cowards, they will give us money to shut our mouth," said an NGO activist NGO, BT (confidential interview with BT, 2017).

However, if they got information, it became another tool for blackmailing, especially if they found government office's mistakes, especially about government budget. That was why the information that becomes public disputes usually related with government's budget, projects and assistance to the community.

Taufik, an IDO officer in one government office said that if the leader was firm enough and followed procedures, then there would be no problem. What often happened was negotiation outside the rule, so there was extortion.

Another mode was to use information about the grant to request money to the beneficiaries of government assistance. For example, there was a grant for farmer's community, then the individual/group who already had information would come to the community and said that they will get help the farmer's community to get the grant if they are given some money. Another applicant utilised information to bid on the government project or grant (Tauhid, 2017).

It was ironic, the law that aims to guarantee of the right to information and has a potential

as a tool to eradicate corruption can be a tool of a new corruption. Actually, IC has a tool to prevent the abuse of the public information, namely information usability examination. The information usability examination is primarily applied to requests for large, repetitive information, or the degree of relevance to the applicant's profession is not strong or clear. In this examination, at the trial, the applicant is asked to explain the purpose of the application and the plan to use the requested information if it has been obtained, as well as the relationship with their profession. The information commission also examines the seriousness of the applicant. In the Information Commission Regulation no. 1 of 2013, stipulated that the Information Commission is not obliged to respond to applications that are not serous and vivacious interest. (Dipopramono, 2016)

However, it is difficult to measure the seriousness and to examine the usability of the information. If the applicant meet the legal standing and offer logic reason such as control the government or for studying the policy, they can pass the adjudication process (Interview with Ade Jahran, IC Banten Commissioner, 10 March 2017)

In the case of Banten, clear that (some of) the user of public information didn`t comply their obligation under the PIDA. On the other side, the public that really needs information has not really understood the rules and procedures in obtaining public information.

CONCLUSION

Procedurally, the implementation of Law No. 20 2008 on Public Information Disclosure in Banten goes well. Banten Province Government abides by the law with providing IDO at all offices they have. They also provide the immediate data on their website and other materials. Substantially, the problem came from who got benefits of the law. Even though the PIDA guarantees the right of information of the people, there were only certain people or group benefited.

The PIDA open the opportunity to free riders to get the financial and political benefit. They allegedly misused the information for their own benefit through blackmailing public officers, selling the information to certain people, and utilising information to bid on the government project or grant. Seems like the implementation

of the law missing the target. So, it is necessary to educate the public that public information is part of their right of information that can be used as a tool to control the government as well as enhance the quality of democracy. Also to prevent the abuse of information, the law enforcement against blackmailing is necessary..

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ON THE RELEVANCE OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF RIGHTSIZING POLICY IN INDONESIAN STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES

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Abstract

This study is aimed to examine the philosophical background of the current rightsizing policy applied to Indonesian state-owned enterprises (SOEs) as all of them are driven to transform into the most favourable type of legal and business entity, namely Perusahaan Perseroan (limited liability company). Such policy can be assumed antithetical to the philosophical background of the initial three different entities as determined since 1969, e.g. Perusahaan Jawatan (public-service company), Perusahaan Umum (public-utility company), and Perusahaan Perseroan. Simply stated that a service company fully serves the public interests without seeking any profits and for that, it is available to the fully subsidised by the state. The opposite happens to the limited liability company, which is designed specifically to garner incomes for the state. The position of the public company is in the between. The philosophical background among the three actually does not lie in the quest for profit, but rather in another spirit seen from the business area which is run by respective types of company. Of those entities, the public-service company is the only one that had been entirely eliminated and transformed into Badan Layanan Umum (public-service agency) although the two have different philosophical foundations. The question posed by the author is whether such a philosophical background is still relevant to be applied to the rightsizing policy in Indonesian SOEs. By using several models of the development of SOE as inspired by the Washington Consensus, Beijing Consensus, and Soekarno's Trisakti concept as the analytical frameworks, this study comes to the conclusion that there is a disagreement between such a philosophy and the spirit of SOEs in term of the current rightsizing policy. This study also shows that due to the different philosophical background, the existence of public-service agency not exactly able to replace the role of the public service company. This means it is still relevant to reappoint this philosophical background as a foundation for the role of the public-service agency so that it can grow without having to worry about being perceived as a financial burden for the states.

Keywords: state-owned enterprise, rightsizing, washington consensus, Beijing consensus, Trisakti concept

INTRODUCTION

The philosophy of a state enterprise is inseparable from the passion *rasion d'etret* of a country such as to protect all the people or to create a welfare state. In Indonesian constitution, at least there are two articles, i.e. Articles 33 and 34, connecting between social welfare and the function of the state to promote the social welfare. Technically, state as the highest political entity will be unable to run all day-to-day businesses in accordance with the constitution. The state should create special business agencies to do this job on behalf of the state. Such agencies are familiarly called "state-owned enterprises" (SOEs).

According to the positive law in Indonesia, SOE is any form of the company wholly or partly of capital derived from the wealth of the Republic of Indonesia, unless certain laws regulate it differently. Thus, there is a business entity whose capital is owned by the state, and a business entity that is not fully owned by the state but whose status is equated with SOE.

Historically, there were three types of SOE that had been available from the era of New Order, i.e. *Perusahaan Jawatan* (Perjan; public-service company), *Perusahaan Umum* (Perum; public-utility company), and *Perusahaan Perseroan* (Persero; limited liability company). Philosophically, every type of SOE has its own characteristics. *Perjean* is an SOE that strives in the field of providing services to the public, whose capital is part of a state budget managed

by a particular ministry, and the status of this business entity relates to public law. *Perum* is a form of SOE that is engaged in providing services for the public benefit with the aim also to gain profit. The entire capital of SOE is owned by the state, through the separation of state budgets. Its existence shall be established by law. *Persero* aims to foster profits and strive in areas that can encourage the development of private and/or cooperative sectors outside the *Perjan* and *Perum* business areas. All or part of the capital is derived from state assets that have been separated and divided into shares. *Persero* is a private legal entity, known in Indonesia as the term Perseroan Terbatas (limited liability company). If these three kinds of SOE are summarised, the illustrations are as follows:

Table 1: Kinds of SOE

		Perjan	*Perum*	*Persero*
1	Func-tion	To serve people (public service)	To serve for general utility (public utilities)	To gain profit and to encourge private sector/ cooperative in doing businesses.
2	Business motive	Not for profit	Also for profit	Fully profit oriented
3	Capital	State budget under a certain ministry	Separated capital from state budget	Separated capital from state budget
		No private capital	No private capital	Private investors can be minority share-holders
4	Legal status	Public legal entity	Public legal entity	Private legal entity

Since 2014 the government has introduced a new form of business entity, the *Badan Layanan Umum* (BLU; public-service agency). BLU is regulated in Law No. 1 the year 2004 on State Treasury. Article 1 point 23 of this law defines BLU as governmental institutions established to serve the public by selling goods and/or services without generating profit preference and by doing activities based on the principles of efficiency and productivity. Thus, nowadays what really can be called SOE refers only to one form of business

entity, namely *Persero*. Although BLU can be considered a transformation of *Perjan*, it is not categorised as SOE.

The act of simplifying the forms of these entities is part of a policy widely known as 'rightsizing'. Rightsizing is defined as "The process of a corporation reorganising or restructuring their business by cost-cutting, reduction of workforce, or reorganising upper-level management" (Business dictionary, 2017). Accordingly, the goal is to get the company moulded properly to achieve the maximum profit. The term rightsizing is often used by companies instead of downsizing because it sounds less drastic. Rightsizing is impressed to have made SOE management more efficient and effective. It can be seen from the increasing number of SOE in Indonesia. Up to June 2014, there were 141 SOEs that took place below the Ministry of SOE. In 2016, there were 119 SOEs working under the control of the SOE Ministry and that number will continue to be reduced, so that by 2019 will be about 85 (Anonymous, 2014; Metronews.com, 2016).

This rightsizing policy should be run on a clear philosophical basis (Bouckaert, Peters, & Verhoest, 2010; Lægreid & Verhoest, 2010). This paper specifically highlights what the philosophical foundation of the rightsizing policy is by asking several questions. Is the philosophical foundation originally used to distinguish three types of SOEs still relevant to be implemented today? Is the philosophical foundation currently applied to a business entity called BLU (public-service agency), compatible with the philosophical foundation of *Perjan*? These questions are interesting because these philosophical changes can be considered one of the causes of the phenomenon of privatisation on some SOEs. There are also criticisms on the development of BLU which are slow and unpopular (Choi, 2015; Verhoest et al., 2010).

Some well-known SOE development models, such as the Washington consensus and the Beijing consensus, can be used as an analytical framework to assess the relevance of the philosophical background to this rightsizing policy. Another model can be obtained from the jargon ever expressed by then President Soekarno in 1964, known as "Trisakti" concept,

which is also currently re-used by President Joko Widodo. It is interesting to know whether this Trisakti model can be an alternative that presents a new philosophical foundation and has its own characteristics or just a variant of the now widely known model.

RIGHTSIZING ON INDONESIAN SOES

As one of the former colonies, Indonesia inherited a number of SOEs established by the Dutch colonial administration. These SOEs operated in various business areas, such as mining, transportation, and pawnshops. After Indonesia gained independence, these companies underwent nationalisation and in the Old Order regime under President Soekarno's government, served as the primary means of development and economic growth. The reference to SOE structuring at this time, according to Robert Fabrikan was the SOE in Yugoslavia that was considered to have achieved tremendous success, applying a compromise between capitalism and communism (Lubis & Buxbaum, 1986; Diah, 2003).

Until the first decade of its independence, Indonesian economic condition was getting worse and sent a bad signal for the regime. At the same time, the political situation was also extremely tense as Indonesia and the Netherlands failed to terminate the conflict over West Papua. Indonesia ended the diplomacy and decided to face her ex-colonial power in a battleground. The situation once again ignited nationalistic and anti-Dutch sentiments among Indonesian people. The nationalistic sentiment did not miss the moment to nationalise most of the Dutch owned business enterprises. Unfortunately, Indonesian military involved and got into a mess in this business and from that moment on, the military businesses began. Owing to the absence of management skills, most of the 'trial and error' businesses run by the military had ended in failure. Coupled with an internal insurgency that put Indonesia's economy on hold, with hyperinflation rates, it is reaching 175 percent when the country entered the twenty-year-old of its independence.

Soekarno was not an economist. When the Indonesian constitution was drafted in 1945, Soekarno was not much involved in formulating the country's economic landscape.

The more prominent figure was Mohammad Hatta, a Dutch graduate economist. Hatta was a drafter of Article 33 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution. Initially, before amendment, Article 33 consists of only three paragraphs, which states as follows: (1) The economy shall be organized as a common endeavour based upon the principles of the kinship system; (2) Sectors of production which are important for the country and affect the life of the people shall be under the powers of the State; and (3) The land, the waters and the natural resources within shall be under the powers of the State and shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people. Hatta argues that the state does not need to fully intervention in controlling the economy. Only business areas concerning the livelihood of the people are managed by the state (Kusuma, 2009).

There are two verses added after this Constitution was reviewed, which states: (4) The organisation of the national economy shall be conducted on the basis of economic democracy upholding the principles of togetherness, efficiency with justice, continuity, environmental perspective, self-sufficiency, and keeping a balance in the progress and unity of the national economy; and (5) Further provisions relating to the implementation of this article shall be regulated by law.

There is a debate about understanding the concept of management by the state, i.e. whether it should be taken over by SOE, or may be by private business actors, as long as it is still under state control. Hatta used to give more space to private enterprises, but it should be run through the spirit of kinship. The most appropriate form of business and in line with that spirit, according to Hatta, is a cooperative. This is the way to the welfare states that Hatta coveted. Hatta's idea was never fully practised until he resigned as vice president in 1956. Four years later, the Presidential Regulation No. 19 of 1960 was issued. In this regulation, SOE was declared as a production unit that should: (1) provide services, (2) organise public benefit, and (3) foster income. That is, all SOEs should have these three characteristics at once because herein lies the peculiarities of SOE compared to the private sector and cooperatives.

The spirit to build SOE as the motor of the national economy went hand in hand with Soekarno's wishes with his political sphere. In the eyes of Sukarno, the state's economy should be subject to political control. In 1964, when President Soekarno was about to close his tenure, he introduced a concept called "Trisakti" or the three basic strategies consisting of the sovereignty in politics, self-determination in an economy, and self-character in culture. The concept of "Trisakti" spurred a sense of nationalism in managing the newly established country, being incorporated into the area of the economy. This Trisakti concept will be elaborated later in this paper.

The New Order regime who took power in 1967 soon switched the political orientation from East to West. Then President Soeharto welcomed all investors, mostly from the US and European countries to invest. Law No. 1 of 1967 on Foreign Investment says that potential economic resources are found abundantly which have not yet been transformed into real economic strength because of among other things, a lack of capital, experience, and technology. The effort to overcome economic decline and further develop Indonesian economic potential should be based on the capabilities and capacities of the Indonesian people themselves, but nevertheless this principle of relying on their own capability and capacity should not lead to reluctance to make us of foreign capital technology and skill, so long as these are truly devoted to serving the economic interests of the people without causing dependence on foreign countries. Foreign capital should be utilised to maximum advantage in order to accelerate the economic development of Indonesia, as well as utilised in other fields and sectors, where Indonesian capital, for the time being, is not yet being employed.

The philosophy set in the Law No. 1 the year 1967 has never fully implemented since from the beginning, the Indonesian government has an inadequate bargaining position to negotiate with its foreign investors. In 1967, an international conference to raise the level of investment took place in Switzerland. An American scholar who studies about Indonesian economy Jeffry Winters once told the story about this conference. In the interview in the film entitled "The New Rulers of the World" he says: "I never ever heard such a situation like this [happened] for any country where a global capital essentially hold a meeting with state and hammer out the condition of their own interests in the country…. and [the foreign investors at that time] basically designed the legal infrastructure for Indonesia" (Pilger, 2001).

With the support of enough foreign capital, Soeharto dramatically changed Indonesia and brought it being one of the impressive developing countries in the world. He could continue Indonesia's fairly rapid paces of economic growth in almost two decades afterwards. He was the one who introduced the trilogy of development that resembles his passion for putting the economy as the commander. The trilogy consists of (1) creating a dynamic national stability. (2) reaching the highest economic growth, and (3) spreading evenly the benefits of development.

During Soekarno's presidency, all SOEs were granted the status of Perusahaan Negara (PN or state enterprise). In 1969, Suharto's administration issued Law no. 9 of 1969 which divides all *Perusahaan Negara* into three forms of business entities as has been mentioned above, namely *Perjan*, *Perum*, and *Persero*. Interestingly, the three characteristics of SOE that were originally incorporated in each SOE according to Presidential Regulation no. 19 In 1960, it was split into three different forms of SOE.

Thus, it appears that the philosophy of this grouping is, in fact, the nature of the SOE related to the field of business. In *Perjan*, there is a public service character in it, so there are areas of business that should be run by this type of business entity only, not other forms of SOE. For example, the business area of postal services is purely functioning for public service. SOE in the postal service sector should not be required to benefit from the work undertaken. To ensure the SOE in the postal sector remains durable, the state must provide a monopoly for this SOE. In competition law, such monopolies are called natural monopolies, which are often also reinforced into the statutory monopoly. The philosophy brought by the Foreign Investment Law encourages tighter business competition because foreign private business actors are also active in the business sectors originally run

by SOEs that are *Perjan* and *Perum*. The inability of the state to manage SOE is overcome by a more pragmatic rightsizing policy, which is to encourage all Perjan and Perum to transform into a single SOE entity, i.e. Persero.

Philosophy of development as adopted in the context of SOE "rightsizing" obviously represents the tendency of profit making. It is the rationale to transform almost all SOE into the type of *Persero*. The assumption is crystal clear that *Persero* is the highest level as should be achieved by any SOE with no exception. One of success indicators for the board of directors is the case that whether they can manage the enterprise as a self-funded company. SOE is also driven to accumulate capital as much as possible, especially by using the stock exchange. Unfortunately, to do public offerings at the stock exchange, the SOE should change the status becoming *Persero*. It means that *Persero* has been labelled as the best choice and the highest priority.

The most noticeable change in philosophy occurs in *Perjan*. At first glance, this form of business entity has been replaced by BLU, which is an alternative to replace the government-led public service delivery in a more efficient and effective way. Until 2016, there are 182 BLUs, and 170 of them are engaged in procurement of goods and services. Only a few of the BLUs operate in other fields, namely in the management of special funds and management of certain business areas, such as in health care (hospital) and higher education areas.

Something interesting actually happened to the emergence of BLU in many local governments and ministries. The illustrations can be seen in the following table:

Table 2: Numbers of BLU

	Year					
	2011	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
A	119	132	131	131	147	170
B	2	3	4	4	4	4
C	5	6	6	6	7	8
Notes: A: in goods and services procurement B: in management of certain areas C: in management of special funds Source: Ministry of Finance, 2017						

Many have highlighted that BLUs in Indonesia show the story of unsuccessfulness although BLUs are granted with a high level of autonomy and flexibility, which are congruent with the principles of the public-service agency (PSA) system. By contrast, BLUs are criticised because their service quality has not been improved in so much as increased privileges (Damhuri, 2011). According to Jin-Wook Choi (2016), the cause of this failure is due to weak accountability. He states that adopting the public-service agency system allows a wide range of flexibility and autonomy in managing personnel and financial affairs, while the accountability mechanism in Indonesia is weak. That is the reason why the performance management system has not been placed strongly in Indonesia. Under these circumstances, there are more government agencies which want to transform into a BLU in Indonesia owing to a greater managerial flexibility with minimal accountability. Failure at the implementation level as said by Choi (2016) can certainly be traced also to the obscure philosophy underlying it.

The ambiguity of the philosophical foundation also applies to the most favoured form of business entity, *Persero*. If it refers to the philosophy of the establishment of *Persero*, its existence should encourage the emergence of private business actors and cooperatives, rather than shutting down their businesses. The way of thinking of urge every SOE becoming profitable business companies inevitably invites allegation that neoliberalism has been deeply infiltrating SOE's development philosophy. The presence of SOE in the business sectors that can actually be done by the private sector has created unfair competition for example, in infrastructure development. A report states that the Indonesian Builders Association (Gapensi) has criticised the pervasive presence of SOEs in infrastructure construction, saying that there was a wide gap in the number of projects tackled by state-owned developers and the 67,000 contractors grouped under the Association. Furthermore, the former does not hesitate to grab minor projects worth less than IDR100 billion, which should be reserved for small and medium contractors (Susanty, 2017).

The weaknesses of the accountability mechanisms claimed under the BLU actually occur in other forms of business besides BLU. Some of the corruption cases that happened to PT Garuda Indonesia, PT PAL Indonesia, PT Garam, PT Pertamina Trans Continental in 2017 are evidence of that (Batu & Sapiie, 2017). Here it is necessary to consider the possibility of a more fundamental cause of all this, in the form of a lack of clarity of the philosophical foundation of the rightsizing policies that take place in these companies.

THE CONSENSUSES

SOE developments in a number of developing countries, including Indonesia, are linked to the model of economic development adopted in the country. Of this, there are two major consensuses that are widely known in the economic development of a country, namely the Washington Consensus and Beijing Consensus. Both have relevance to be associated with the SOEs philosophy.

The Washington Consensus is a term introduced by John Williamson since 1989 when he described the economic reform policies aimed at Latin America. This policy is influenced by the United States Government together with a number of international financial institutions based in Washington, in particular, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. This consensus essentially wants to shift the initial policy of relying on the state as an economic motor, shifting to market-oriented policies. This consensus changes the way of the view of economic development using internal (domestic) perspectives.

Williamson (2002) believed that if the Washington Consensus formula worked well, then the economic crisis in Latin American countries in the 1980s would end. There are ten axioms of Washington Consensus presented by Williamson, namely as follows:

1. The implementation of a balanced fiscal policy with tightening of expenditures;
2. Transfer of subsidies to limited targets (the poor, health insurance, basic education, infrastructure development);
3. Tax reforms by expanding the tax base and moderate tax rates.

4. A moderate interest rate determined under the laws of the market;
5. Competitive currency exchange rates;
6. Trade liberalisation (e.g. by opening imported faucets and eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers);
7. Expansion of foreign investment, among others by allowing foreigners to buy companies and conduct mergers/acquisitions;
8. Privatisation of state-owned enterprises;
9. Deregulation by eliminating rules that result in unfair business competition, by promoting consumer protection and environmental conservation, and applying prudential principles by financial institutions;
10. Legal certainty for the protection of intellectual property rights.

The Washington Consensus formula was also offered to cure Indonesia's economic crisis in 1997-1998. A number of SOEs were recommended for sale to foreign investors or privatised. For the sake of financial restructuring of SOEs, the government reduced subsidies the community enjoyed, so the community then had to pay more for the goods and services produced by SOEs. Indonesia's failure to adopt the Washington Consensus formula followed what happened to Latin American countries. However, there was also an exception for two countries in East Asia, namely South Korea and Taiwan (Adelman, 1999). The two countries had not completely swallowed the recommendations of the Washington Consensus. The governments of both countries played an important role in preparing their business actors to compete in the global market. Both countries seemed to be able to get out of the Washington Consensus trap by preparing themselves for infrastructure development, such as airports and seaports, warehouses, telecommunications and roads. Also, they prepared a good legal system to support economic stretching. This is what Bert F. Hoselitz (1957) has suggested in his article "Economic Growth and Development Noneconomic Factors in Economic Development."

Outside the Washington Consensus, there is another reference to the Beijing Consensus. This Chinese-style economic development model actually began in 1976 after the death of Mao. Deng Xiaoping's reform figure then experimented with a down-to-earth strategy for modernization model

in China. It was not until 2004 that Joshua Cooper Ramo introduced the term "Beijing Consensus", with the aim of providing an alternative model outside the Washington Consensus. Amrita Jash (2015) states that the Beijing Consensus is a model of development based on China's model for economic growth and political principles of non-interference and self-determination. The essential elements of the Beijing Consensus are financial support for the state sector, restrictions on private sector development, and tight political controls, which form the core of China's development. Beijing Consensus, or sometimes called 'China Model' has several indicators, namely:

1. Strict control of political power to ensure state stability (gradual reform);
2. The application of state capitalism by not letting the market move freely, but still exercising control in the hands of the state;
3. Population limitation;
4. The provision of special facilities for innovative works through continuous experiments (starting on a small scale and growing ever larger); and
5. Exporting to as many countries as possible (Halpher, 2010).

A scientist from Tsinghua University and Fudan University named Zhang Weiwei (2006) in his article entitled "The Allure of the Chinese Model" states that the Beijing Consensus title is actually false. He states: He states, "It is inaccurate to describe the Chinese model as the Beijing Consensus versus the Washington consensus. What makes the Chinese experience unique is that Beijing has safeguarded its own policy space as to when, where and how to adopt foreign ideas." Zhang calls this strategy as selective learning. This, he argues, has become part of a long tradition in China of that culture from the outside can be used as a reference or to borrow other cultures selectively (selective cultural borrowing). China does not prohibit neoliberal ideology, but not all of the ideology are taken, except for adjusting it first to the local culture. In his writings, Zhang recalls when Deng Xiaoping received the visit of then President of Ghana, Jerry Rawlings in 1985. At that time, Deng advised Rawlings as follows: "Please don't copy our model. If there is any experience on our part, it is to formulate policies in light of

one's own national conditions." He gives an interesting difference between the American model (Washington Consensus) and the model of China (Beijing Consensus). He says:

The American model is largely ideology driven, with a focus on mass democratization. With little regard to local conditions, it treats sub-Saharan Africa or other less developed countries as mature societies in which Western institutions will automatically take root. It imposed liberalization before safety nets were set up; privatization before regulatory frameworks were put in place, and democratization before a culture of political tolerance and rule of law was established. The end result has often been discouraging or even devastating. … Perhaps attitude makes all the difference. China is viewed by others as modest, America as arrogant; China leads by example, America by lectures and sanctions, if not missiles.

After not being able to apply the Washington model, Indonesia began to glance at one's own model. In 2014, when Joko Widodo stepped into the presidency, he repeated the Trisakti concept once voiced by Soekarno. The initial concept of Trisakti was introduced by Soekarno, starting from the condition of the impoverished Indonesia that just escaped from the Dutch and Japanese colonisation. The nation's mentality that many regarded as the "coolie mentality", was believed to be internalised in most of the population. Such mentality was what Soekarno wanted to improve, so he called the goal of the Indonesian revolution "a nation and character building".

Soekarno's approach underlines the development of this nation's mentality, in line with Max Weber's thoughts when he speaks of Protestant ethics as a factor that led to the emergence of capitalist success in Western Europe and the United States. Social psychologist David McClelland underscores Weber's thesis by calling it "the need for achievement" (n-Ach). In essence, in a society that is under a high n-Ach value, surely the country will achieve high economic growth as well. McClelland once carried on historical research of literary documents from Ancient Greece, such as poetry, drama, burial speeches, letters written by shipwrecks, and epic tales. The works show high optimism, the courage to change the fate of life, and the spirit of perseverance. Thus, the

conclusion is that a very high economic growth is always preceded by the high value of n-Ach as seen in the literary works circulating at that time (McClelland, 1961; Budiman, 1995).

Soekarno's Trisakti concept Trisakti's concept of Soekarno has never been experimented until he died in 1970. The Soeharto government, which replaced the old-order regime, was not interested in realizing the idea. Instead of continuing the Trisakti concept, Soeharto took a model of development that tended toward the Washington model. But, as the philosophy of national development, the Trisakti concept is indeed an interesting idea because it has some similarities to the Beijing Consensus, which emerged ten years later. Soekarno's Guided Democracy has also similar characteristics to Beijing model of gradual reform. Although Soekarno used the term 'revolution' but what he meant was actually controlled and stable changes in society. His ideas about economic development based on domestic sectors as well as self-confidence as a great and respected nation, again are very similar to the Chinese model. In the speech on the anniversary of the Proclamation of 17 August 1959, Soekarno cited the philosophy of Confucius that no nation can stand upright without self-confidence.

DISCUSSION

Based on the above description, we can explore the relevance of all the above consensus with the foundation of SOE philosophy in Indonesia. It is to be noted that the development of SOE in Indonesia has indeed been seriously influenced by the Washington model, and it started and developed massively after the Suharto government came to power. The impact of SOE privatisation that has been complained by scholars, should be an alarm to the Washington model was soon abandoned (Nugraha, 2004; Ilmar, 2012). Another implication of this model is that the formulation contained in Law Number 19 of 1969, which mandates the division of SOE into three forms of business entity, is no longer really noticed.

Meanwhile, taking over the Chinese model is also not entirely wise because there are many political traps that are not fully compatible with the current situation in Indonesia. At the end of his article, Jash (2015) concludes:

From the above analysis, it can, therefore, be construed that the "Beijing Consensus" is an alternative idea of growth and development that is de-void of set neo-liberal norms and regulations. This new thinking process has gradually emerged more as a tool for expanding China's soft power throughout the world. There is veracity in the uniqueness of this thinking process, which lies in its distinctive character of providing economic growth without political democratisation. It can, therefore, be argued that, since there is no common or agreed upon understanding of the Beijing Consen- sus, this concept is still in the phase of becoming more concrete in terms of providing an alternative growth and development model. As a result, the Beijing Consensus needs to adopt a more structured framework in terms of its applicability.

Thus, it is high time that Indonesia to use its own internal consensus by elaborating the philosophical foundations of its economic development. As Article 33 of the Constitution is temporarily held up, it should be legal, this constitutional basis to be the bridge to the philosophical foundation. The Trisakti concept ever conveyed by Soekarno is very similar to what is envisaged under Article 33 of the Constitution. Although the President of Indonesia now wants to revive this concept, his own government has not been fully able to define the role of SOEs in Indonesia today as the driving force of the national economy taken from article 33.

The author of this paper considers that the philosophical foundation of SOEs in Indonesia should be returned to the primary functions of SOEs, which are reflected in Law No. 9 of 1969. It is a great mistake if the three forms of SOE are directed at all, without any left, into a profit-seeking entity. At first, all Perjan becomes *Perum*. Then, all the *Perum* changed to *Persero*. When it becomes a *Persero*, the business conduct of this *Persero* is the same as a private business actor because the functions of public-service and public-utilities are never again used as the philosophical foundation of their existence. No wonder if then corrupt behaviour and unfair competition become a common sight and practised by the SOE's high officials.

The rightsizing policy to convert all SOEs into *Persero* is still believed and accepted as the right solution to address the inefficiencies of SOE management over the years. That is, many economists may believe that to maintain the existence of three divided-type of SOE is irrelevant within the contemporary condition. If the idea of establishing an SOE is for the pursuit of profit, then the state loses its role to carry out the constitutional mandate as required by Article 33. The constitution would prohibit the development of economic systems in the form of free fight liberalism, etatism, and a concentration of economic power in a group of businesses in the form of monopolies that harm the public interest. The state is obliged to create a climate of fair competition for all business players. SOEs are representatives of the country which have the function to not only work for themselves, but also to empower non-state business actors.

If SOE is stuck down to try to pursue maximum profit, then there is an atmosphere of merging between economic and political power (Himawan, 2006: 140-145). In such an atmosphere, the political power of the state will be used to open up economic access. SOE becomes only a tool for the state to seek profit in a way that is contrary to the philosophy of democratic governance. The unbalanced competition to seize business opportunities that occur between the Indonesian Builders Association (Gapensi) and SOEs in infrastructure construction as mentioned above, is a strong proof of the failure of SOEs to perform its function of empowering non-state business actors. The widespread opportunity to share this larger economic cake does not necessarily make SOEs healthier. Under weak conditions of accountability that SOEs are currently experiencing in Indonesia, a wider opportunity in that endeavour will only foster corrupt practices.

In 2017 alone, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) has been investigating seven corruption cases involving SOEs and local administration-owned enterprises (Badan Usaha Milik Daerah), making those enterprises the entities most probed into by the KPK. The non-governmental organisation Transparency International Indonesia also said that SOEs plagued by corruption were mostly firm playing a significant role in supporting the government's infrastructure programs as the corruption in these firms have already had deep roots (Batu & Sapiie, 2017: 1). What was once feared by the former president of the United States F.D. Roosevelt on the dangers of private firms when incorporated is also true of SOEs if they are empowered with excessive economic opportunities. During the 1932 presidential campaign, he asserted that private utilities had selfish purposes. "Never shall the federal government part with its sovereignty or with its control of its power resources while I'm president of the United States," he pledged (Glass, 2017).

Another important thing to look at is the possibility of losing focus due to SOEs diverting or expanding the area out of their core-businesses. The most obvious example is seen in SOE in postal service, PT Pos Indonesia. The business nature of the company was public-service (in the form of PN in 1965), then changed to public-utilities (later in 1978) and then profit-oriented (1995). The Core business of PT Pos Indonesia from time to time changes and increases. Currently, its core-business is as a courier company, financial services, and logistics. However, there is a strong desire for PT Pos Indonesia to trade new products, in the form of postal savings. It was allowed to open banking-like services, such as opening savings for community fund management. This fund is managed by PT Pos Indonesia for long-term development program (Sandi, 2016).

The ambiguity of this philosophical foundation also occurs in the BLU. By definition, BLU is an agency within the government to provide services to the public by providing goods and/or services sold without prioritising profit and in carrying out its activities based on the principles of efficiency and productivity. In reality, the financial management pattern that originally wanted to provide that flexibility then tends to emphasise the efficiency aspect only. Finally, managers of the BLU changed their attitude to be more pragmatic. Rather than having to play the role of the business actor in the public-service area, it is better for them to seek profit, or at least be economically independent.

Thus, BLU can never really replace the role that once held by Perjan.

Statistical data from the Ministry of Finance as shown in Table 2 shows that the procurement of goods and services dominates the BLU task area. Outside procurement of goods and services, BLU growth is insignificant. Fields of business such as education and hospital services, not many are interested in using BLU as a form of business entity. If they use a BLU entity, the cost of services to be borne by the community is often more expensive. Here it is seen that the philosophical foundation of the BLU does not put forward the public-service function. The areas of business undertaken by the BLU are largely unrelated to those previously handled by Perjan. Non-profit educational institutions and hospitals are, in reality, encouraged to be financially self-sustaining, so that even if these institutions choose BLU, their business motives are not to perform the public-service function but to gain flexibility in financial management.

Indonesia has not been able to meet BLUs requirements. There are three conditions recommended by R. Laking (2005), namely: (1) establish a public-service agency with a clear justification; (2) place external oversight and control over a public-service agency based on right rules and systems; (3) design a system that enables a public-service agency to manage itself properly (Choi, 2016). What is called by Laking with "clear justification" is once again departing from the clarity of the philosophical foundation.

CLOSING

The philosophical foundations once used to distinguish three types of SOEs are still relevant to date. The constitutional foundation of the existence of SOEs in Indonesia still requires that certain SOEs should not solely seek profit, but there are social functions that are essential to run public-service and public-utilities. Thus, it is not true that all SOEs are directed to pursue profits by turning them all into Persero or requiring BLU to bear the social function without the clarity of its philosophical foundation. The reason that the existence of Perjan and Perum should be removed because they are unlikely to be efficient and effective proves not to be entirely correct.

The philosophical foundation currently applied to a business entity called BLU (public-service agency) is not compatible with the philosophical foundation of Perjan. The establishment of BLU is directed to gain flexibility in the management of financial and human resources, while the social functions mandated to run by BLU are not of primary concern. It appears that there is a public-service function that is simply ignored.

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SELFIE CULTURE:
INVESTIGATING THE PATTERNS AND VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS OF DANGEROUS SELFIES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT'S INTERVENTION

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Abstract

Selfie culture has become global phenomenon and its manifestation has shifted from the mainstreams to peculiar, unique, extreme and even hazardous ways. Dangerous selfie is estimated to have strong appeal toindividualsto performsimilar or more extreme actions. Casualties due to selfies show significant increase in the last few years. Thus, the state has to intervene public sphere to protect more lives. This article discusses about 1)the patterns of dangerous selfies available onInstagram, 2) the kinds of expressions delivered by dangerous-selfie takers through the hashtags, 3) possible interventionsmade by the government regarding dangerous selfies. The data were obtained from 33 respondents who were chosen purposively and the statistic number of dangerous selfies based on the hashtags classifications leading to dangerous selfie.The research result shows that (1) Based on the data documentation, the patterns of dangerous selfies on social media can be classified into seven categories, namely height-related selfies, water-related selfies, height and water-related selfies, road-related selfies, vehicles-related selfies, animal-related selfies, weapons-related selfies. (2) The hashtags used by dangerous selfie-takers vary. (3) The government can intervene by making a public policy regulating selfies in terms of ways, situation and places of selfies.It can be concluded that many selfie-takers commit dangerous selfies and post them on social media (Instagram) with various hasthtags, which represent their self-expressions.

Keywords: dangerous selfies, government's intervention,hashtags, selfie-takers

INTRODUCTION

Within the last two decades, social media is no longer a novelty. Boosted with the ease and less costly mobile internet connection social media such as WhatsApp, Instagram and Facebook have seemed tobethe must-install applications in nearly everyone's smartphone. Due to the ease of sharing nearly any kind of files and the more and more advanced integrated smartphone cameras, individuals are getting more and more enthusiastic about taking photographs, especially selfies and upload them to social media websites.

Selfie or self-portrait is a term, which becomes very popular in the world in the present day. Even it was named Oxford Dictionaries Word of the year 2013, which means a photograph that one has taken with a smartphone or webcam and uploaded to a social media website (Oxford, 2013). While taking selfie one can view how he/

she looks like in the picture and decide what they want to show in the picture. Millions of selfies have been posted on various social networking sites (Unmetric, 2014). They have become a new medium for having communication. Although having been widely used, *selfie* is a buzzword and its origin remains unclear. Mazza et al. (2014) and Krause (2005) define selfies as self-shot pictures and usually holding a camera in front of a mirror, or even more frequently pointing to it to the subject grasping it with single hand. Heydeman (2014) claims that selfies date back to Rembrandt and Van Gogh because people have long been able to portrait themselves. Sbarai (2013) argues that selfies originated in 5 B.C. when Phidias sculpted his first self-portrait. Nevertheless, the first ever-recorded use of the word *selfie* was in 2002 in ABC online (forum posting) 13 September:

Um, drunk at a mates 21st, I tripped ofer [sic] and landed lip first (with front teeth coming a very close second) on a set of steps. I had a hole about 1cm long right through my bottom lip. And sorry about the focus, it was a selfie (Wallop, 2013).

Ever since, the word selfie became more widely known and extensively used by people from around the world no matter what their mother-tongue language is.*Selfie* remains the popular word.

Along with the development of social media, the term selfie has becomemore and more popular sincesocial media provide selfie-takers with vast opportunity to upload their selfies and share them with others. For example, the Google statistics in 2014 (Brandt, 2014) reported about 93 billion selfies taken per day – counting only Android phone users. According to a poll with 3,000 people, among those aged 18–24, every third picture taken is a selfie (Hall, 2013). Today, selfie is no longer a picture taken by oneself posing the style of the mainstreams, but selfie has undergone various changes in terms of the number of the participants, the locations and the way of taking selfies. Common places for taking selfies such as in houses, at parties, or in the parks are probably no longer attractive and considered unfashionable. But taking selfies on top of mountains or hills, on top of waterfalls, next to a lion/tiger or in front of an incoming train are considered more attractive,

more challenging and more adventurous. More and more people take selfies with their more innovative ways and frequently they don't think of the risks endangering their safety. Leary et al.(1994) argues that in extreme situation individuals behavein such a way to depict them to look adventurous although they have risked their well-being.

There have been many reports of death and injuries due to having dangerous selfies. The number of the casualties has increased significantly in the last few years. In the US in 2014, 15 people were reported dead due to taking selfies, whilst in 2015 the number increased to 39 (VOA, 2016).In Bali, Indonesia a Singaporean tourist died, falling from a cliff, because of taking selfie (Gani, 2015). Moreover, a number of selfie accidents took place in India and all of them occurred at dangerous locations (Willis, 2016). In Russia for instance because of high-risk poses of selfies resulted in about 100 injuries and dozens of deaths until July 2015. Therefore the Russian police launched a campaign for safer selfie selfie warning by issuing brochures (The Guardian, 2015& Basu, 2016). In India, Mumbai local government has issuedprohibition to anyone taking selfies at dangerous locations which can potentially harm themselves and penalized anyone breaking the off-limits area with a fine of 1,200 rupees (Willis, 2016). An Indian cricketer, Ravindra Jadeja, was let off by Gujarat forest department after he paid a fine of Rs. 20,000 for a taking selfie with lions at Gir Wildlife Sanctuary at Sasan in Junagadh, an act strictly prohibited by law (NDTV,2016). A research conducted by Lamba et al. (2017) reports that selfies have entailed 137 lives around the world since March 2014 until December 2016. It was supported by Rocheleau (2016) and Manning (2016) that until September 2016, there were 127 people died because of selfie. Height-related selfie deaths were the most common, closely followed by both water-related and a combination height/water-related incidents (Manning, 2016).

This article firstly investigates and classifies dangerous selfies in terms of their locations and situation, secondly describes the kinds of self-expression of selfie-takersconveyed through selfies, which are observed from the hashtags

used and thirdly gives recommendationto the local government to create policies to warn or forbid people from committing dangerous selfies.

METHODS

The primary data were obtained fromthirty-two respondents through the questionnaires distributed online. Then the statistic figures of dangerous selfies existing in Instagram collected on June 16, 2017 byusing hashtags (#) connected with dangerous selfies, which were then classified in accordance with the locations and ways of the selfie-taking. The secondary data are the articles from newspapers regarding government's intervention to regulating selfies.

The primary data of the research are the figures of selfies having certain hasthtags which pose dangerous acts, endangering the well-being of the selfie takers, collected from Instagram and then classified based on the location and situation of the selfies.

RESULT

Data from the questionnaires

Table 1: Sex

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	18	58,1%
Female	13	41,9%
Total	31	100%

The table above shows that from 31 respondents 18(58,1%) are male and 13 respondents (41,9%) are female.

Table 2: Age

Age	Number	Percentage
14	1	3,2%
15	1	3,2%
16	4	12,9%
17	1	3,2%
20	5	16,1%
21	2	6,5%
22	3	9,7%
23	7	22,6%
24	3	9,7%
26	2	6,5%
35	1	3,2%
40	1	3,2%
Total	31	100%

Table 2 indicates that the most selfie-takers are aged 23 (7 people/22,6%), followed by those aged 20 (5 people/16,1%) and those aged 16, i.e. 4 people (12,9%).

Table 3: Reasons of taking selfie

Reason	Number	Percentage
While getting bored, in free time, good moment	5	16,1%
As TV journalist sometimes I took few selfies	1	3,2%
When the shyness has gone (self-confident)	3	9,7%
Moment with family	6	19,4%
With friends	5	16,1%
On vacations	10	32,3%
Never having selfies	1	3,2%
Total	31	100%

It can be seen that 32,3% of the respondents state that they do selfie while having vacations. Moreover 19,4% of the respondents take selfies with their family, 16,1% state when they are with their friends. The same percentage of respondents (16,1%) take selfie when they have good moments. The other reason is when they have strong self-confidence (9,7%). The other two reasons, each 3,2%, argue that they take selfie because it is the part of his job and the other respondent claims that he has never taken selfies.

From the survey, it is found out that all of the respondents have at least one social media account.

Table 4: social-media account ownership

Social Media	Number	Percentage
Instagram	23/32	71,9%
Facebook	13/32	40,6%
Whatsapp	7/32	21,8%
BBM	4/32	12,5%
Line	2/32	6,3%
Path	1/32	3,1%
Twitter	1/32	3,1%
Other	1/32	3,1%

Based on Table 4 it can be seen that the first three social media possessed by the respondents and mostly used to upload selfies are Instagram (71,9%), then followed by Facebook (40,6%) and WhatsApp (21,8%).

Table 5: damgerous locations according to respondents

Location	Number	Category
Roof top	5	Height
Volcano crater/ top of mountain	5	Height
Top of tower	1	Height
Top of tree	1	Height
Bridge	2	Height
Edge of canyon	9	Height and water
Old building	1	
Disaster location	2	Disaster
Railway	3	Train
On the road	7	Road
In the sea/lake with sharks or crocodiles	2	Water and animal
In the mouth of wild animals	3	Animal
With ex-girl/boyfriend	2	

Acoording to the category of taking dangerous selfie, the most dangerous according to the respondentsare those related to height, diikuti dengan tempat yang berhubungan dengan ketinggian dan air, tempat-tempat yang berhubungan dengan lalulintas, kemudian berfoto selfie dengan hewan buas juga termasuk membahayakan meskipun dengan pengawasan seorang pawang.

Of 32 respondents, 4 of them claim to have ever taken selfie at dangerous place. In addition, 4 respondents also state that they took selfie at places with probably "No selfie" notice. Thirty respondents claim that they have ever seen individuals taking selfies at dangerous place either directly or indirectly (thriugh social media). From the number merely 3 respondents give positive responses to individuals taking dangerous selfies. The rest give negative responses and or do not care.

In the searching phase of dangerous selfie categories from the hashtags used by the uploaders while uploading them to instagram, the researdher begin searching by using hashtag #dangerousselfie. The result can be seen in table 6.

Table 6. Dangerous selfie

Hashtag	Number
#dangerousselfie	2.023
#dangerousselfies	557
#dangerousselfieswhiledriving	6
#dangerousselfiegame	7
#dangerousselfiez	2

#dangerousselfietaker	1
#dangerousselfiegang	1
#dangerousselfietook	1
#dangerousselfie2013	1
#dangerousselfiewhiledrivinggame-crazy	1
#dangerousselfiesoverwater	1
#dangerousselfiesareawesome	1
#dangerousselfiewhiledrivingastick-withadoginthecar	1
#dangerousselfiestick	2
#dangerousselfierun	3
#dangerousselfiesunday	3
#dangerousselfietaking	1
#dangerousselfieoftheday	2
#dangerousselfielol	1
#dangerousselfie(emoticonsmile)	1
#dangerousselfies(emoticonpeace)	1
#dangerousselfiewithalion	1
#dangerousselfiewithwildanimals	1
#dangerousselfieever(emopeace)	1
#dangerousselfiearethebest	1
#dangerousselfieplace	1

The hashtags used by selfie-takers collected from selfies in Intstagram related to dangerous selfie can be classified as follows:

Table 7: Height-related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#heightselfie	29
#heightselfies	3
#heightselfieproblem	1
#heightselfiee	1
#heightselfie(emoticon)	2

Table 8: Water-related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#waterselfie	6.407
#waterselfies	1.213
#waterselfiee	4
#waterselfiesarehard	5
#waterselfiestick	1
#waterselfie(wave)	2
#waterselfieattempt	2
#waterselfieftw	2
#waterselfie(cry-smile)	2
#waterselfie(wave-dolphin)	1
#waterselfiecc	1
#waterselfie(whale-water drop-wave)	1
#waterselfie(check sign)	1
#waterselfiecampaign	1
#waterselfiez	2

#waterselfiewednesday	5
#waterselfieee	4
#waterselfiechallenge	3
#waterselfie(two water drop)	2
#waterselfie(water drop)	2
#waterselfies(smile)	1
#waterselfie(tongue stickout)	1
#waterselfie(tongue-stick-wink)	1
#waterselfiesg	1
#waterselfiemc	1
#waterselfiebro	1
#waterselfiethursday	1
#waterselfiebomb	1

Table 9: Height and water related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#heightandwaterselfie	1
#waterfallselfie	10.264
#waterfallselfies	436
#waterfallselfiewave	10
#waterfallselfiez	2
#waterfallselfiefail	5
#waterfallselfie2	1
#waterfallselfiesunday	1
#waterfallselfie(princess-swag)	1
#waterfallselfie(waterry emoticon)	1
#waterfallselfie(love-eyes)	1
#waterfallselfieee	1
#waterfallselfielife	4
#waterfallselfiewednesday	1
#waterfallselfiegamestrong	3
#waterfallselfiesgetmoarlikes	2
#waterfallselfies(waterry emoticon)	2
#waterfallselfiewankers	1
#waterfallselfiesforthewin	1
#waterfallselfiezz	1
#waterfallselfiein	1
#waterfallselfie(check-sign)	1
#waterfallselfiegameonpoint	1
#waterfallselfieeee	1
#waterfallselfiegang	1
#waterfallselfie(smile)	1
#waterfallselfiegame	1
#waterfallselfieswag	1
#waterfallselfie2017	2
#waterfallselfiesarecool	1
#waterfallselfie(waterdrop)	1
#waterfallselfiesarelame	1
#waterfallselfiewithsquad	1
#waterfallselfiesarelegit	1
#waterfallselfiesaturdays	1

Table 10: Road-related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#roadselfie	8.396
#roadselfie	1.482
#roadselfiee	11
#roadselfie(camera)	13
#roadselfiez	1
#roadselfieee	7
#roadselfie2	1
#roadselfie(crysmile)	2
#roadselfies(crysmile)	2
#roadselfiesfordays	3
#roadselfiess	1
#roadselfiesunday	1
#roadselfie4	1
#roadselfie3	1
#roadselfieeee	1
#roadselfie(no-man)	1
#roadselfie(crysmile-loveeyes-kiss)	2
#roadselfiesonpoint	2
#roadselfie(crysmile-tonguestick)	1
#roadselfietourist	3
#roadselfie(emoticon smiley)	5
#roadselfienoshame	2
#roadselfiegame	1

Table 11: Vehicle-related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#vehicleselfie	306
#vehicleselfies	35
#vehicleselfiesarethebestselfies	1
#vehicleselfie(two-tonguestick)	1
#vehicleselfiestrong	1
#vehicleselfie2014	1

Table 12: Animal-related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#wildanimalselfie	32
#wildanimalselfies	38
#selfiewithwildanimal	3
#selfiewithwildanimals	6

Table 13: Weapon-related selfies

Hashtag	Number
#weaponselfie	17
#weaponselfiestick	1

The data are the results of searching of popular hashtags adhered to the selfie picture. Then the hashtags are classified based on the responses given by the respondents in relation to places which are considered dangerous for

taking selfies. Even although not all the hashtags are directly correlated with dangerous selfies, most of pictures show dangerous selfies.

DISCUSSION

Selfie phenomenon seems to have become a global culture.From the data that the respondents give, it is known that most of the selfie-takers are aged between sixteen to twentythree years old. Therefore, it can be concluded that most of the selfie- takers are those in the late teens and early twenties. The respondents also give dangerous criteria to the selfie pictures, such as taking selfies on the rooftop, on the canyon edge, on the highways, on the railways, and with wild animals. The research result shows that based on the data documentation, the patterns of dangerous selfies on social media can be classified into seven categories, namely (1) height-related selfies; (2) water-related selfies; (3) height and water-related selfies; (4) road-related selfies; (5) vehicles-related selfies; (6) animal-related selfies; and (7) weapon-related selfies.

Dangerous places even attract selfie takers to take selfies, social media influence them to share their selfies with others that can potentially influence other people to take dangerous selfies. The aims of taking dangerous selfies are to show self existence, to have more *likes* and or just testing self bravery. For the research to investigate the motif of taking dangerous selfies is still required. This research can be a preliminary one to embody for further research. Up to this far, the reasons to be known why people take dangerous selfies are showing their self existence by following the trend developing on social media. This can be seen from the large varieties of hashtags adhered to the selfie pictures, especially dangerous selfies. By creating a unique and complicatedhashtag, which is the one and only, shows an effort to be known by wide communities.

Althoughfurther research about selfie is still needed, governments can do some interventions for preventing selfie-takers from taking dangerous selfies. In addition, from the documentation it can be seen that most of the respondents do not care so much about the impacts occurring to individuals taking selfies at dangerous places. Accordingly the governments' intervention to issue regulations about how and where common selfies should be committed is necessary. Such these have been conducted by the governments of the following countries:

1. Russia

   In Russia many people taking selfies ended in death. This endorses the Russian Government to issue a regulation about the way how to take safe selfies. The Russian Ministry of Domestic Affairs issued the regulation by distributing posters containing pictures of selfie prohibition at dangerous places. Such as while carrying a gun, snapping a photo while halfway up an electricity pylon, standing in front of an oncoming train, or while in the company of a wild animal (Tech, 2015).

   Both Russian Government and police feel necessary to issue the regulation since the number of dangerous selfie kept increasing. Through BBC News ("Russia", 2015) it was reported that there are one hundred people in Russia who got wounded or killed due to careless selfie at improper places. That made the Russian Government do a campaign about how to take safe selfies. The campaign motto is "Even a million 'likes' on social media are not worth your life and well-being"("Russia", 2015)

2. Mumbai, India

   India became a country with the most death of selfie victims. For anticipating the future incidents, Mumbai local government formed a special division to war against dangerous selfie for preventing more silly death (Nugraha, 2016). The local police has determined sixteen selfie-forbidden zones in a number of locations in Mumbai. A police officer Dhananjay Kulkarni states that after the death of a woman in January 2016 the police conducted a survey to identify dangerous locations. The city government attempted very hard to run the campaign. Although there has been no-selfies signs, a number of people still intruded the location, such as approaching the edge or standing on the edge to obtain the most thrilling picture (Larocha, 2016).

3. Mecca, Arab

   Younger generations taking "selfies" on their annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca known

as The Hajj, have come under scrutiny by Islamic clerks and scholars. Interestingly enough camera phones were banned in the holy mosques up until the last few years but are now considered a normal part of this journey (Quraishi, 2014). Although a number of Arabs' Islamic scholars have issued "*unlawful fatwa*" on taking selfie, the prohibition is still breached by the pilgrims. The more-and-more popular phenomenon has caused controversy among conservative Muslims.Some of the societies disagree by writing their opinions on social media. The pros and cons on the pilgrimages in Mecca is still a debate until now.

There has been regulation or prohibition correlating with selfies in Indonesia. The regulation is specified to the Indonesian Armed Forces, especially the Air Forces and the Army. The regulation covers the prohibition of posting military operational secrets, posting selfies in military uniform in inappropriate occasions or places. Soldiers will also be forbidden to use social media to reveal a belief or insight on religion which is offensive against the others (Sucipto, 2016).

Social media observer, Nukman Luthfie, mentions that the regulation about using social media is obligatory to Indonesian Armed Forces and Police, as it has become requirement or additional requirement in large companies (Ginanjar, 2016). The problem of social media among the security officers and soldiers became a big attention after terror attacks happening in Jakarta in 2016, in relation to police officer who gave bad comments to Indonesian Armed Forceson his Facebook account while stating his pride of his corps.

To civilians, regulation and prohibition about selfies have not been issued officially by the Indonesian Government, especially the one related to dangerous location or dangerous selfies. Indonesian society who care about the danger of taking dangerous selfies just traditionallygive warning about selfie prohibition on certain locations and moments, such as putting on a sign reading "Selfie Forbidden" on tourism resorts which are vulnerable from having accidents, on volcano craters or other extreme places.

Regulation and prohibition about selfie in Indonesia become more important considering that there have been many incidents due to selfies. In 2016 there were at least 7 cases of death due to dangerous selfies, among others there was one who died a moment after taking selfies on the beach, in the river, at the dam and striken by lightning (Damarjati, 2016). However, in Indonesia there are many people approaching a location when there is an incident or accident, and they take selfies instead of helping the victims. Therefore the government should seriously respond the problem.

Policies on selfies should be explained based on the way how it is conducted, including the supporting selfie equipment, such as selfie by carrying sharp weapons, selfie while driving, or others. Moreover, selfie must also be adjusted to the situation. Individuals may not take selfies as they wish especially when a disaster is happening. So we do not know when the disaster is no longer threatening, so that we should stay alert. Finally the most prominent is regulation regarding common locations to take selfies. A clear regulation is strongly needed where individual may not take selfies. The places are like seven categories of dangerous locations to take selfies.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion, it is obvious that there are seven categories of dangerous selfies based on their locations and situation, i.e. (1) height-related selfies; (2) water-related selfies; (3) height and water-related selfies; (4) road-related selfies; (5) vehicles-related selfies; (6) animal-related selfies; and (7) weapon-related selfies. The hashtags used by sefie takers are more various, since each of the selfies uploaded mostly use more than one hashtag, and every hashtag does not necessarily correlate directly with dangerous selfie.

In preventing further negative impacts of dangerous selfie, a policy regulating about taking selfies is required. So far, the regulation is norms given by the society or just signs/notices in certain places and moments. Accordingly official government policy with obvious regulation and sanction to prevent more victims of dangerous selfies in the future is required.

The government can intervene by making a public policy regulating selfies in terms of ways, situation and places of selfies like what other countries have done to protect their citizens from getting injured or killed due to taking dangerous selfies. The regulation must apply to all community members.

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POLICY ANALYSIS OF BUS RAPID TRANSIT (BRT) MAMMINASATA

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Abstract

The stage-by-stage of implementation of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Mamminasata by the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi has taken a long time. The agenda setting began in 2011 while the construction began in 2015. Until now, the policy of BRT Mamminasata is not fully operational because of managerial, procedural and technical problems. Therefore, the policy analysis of content and its implementation are necessary to explore the problems that occurred. The method used in this study is the mixed method with a parallel approach. Data were collected through interview, observation, documentation and open survey to corroborate the data obtained. The results showed that core issue of the policy of BRT Mamminasata is with its institutional structures. In addition, the problematic situations are manipulation of passenger data by employees, frequent traffic jams, operational expenses higher than income, lack of public support toward mass transit services. Procedural and technical issues included the cleanliness of facilities, availability of bus stops, long waiting periods, conventional payment systems and information media. In general, the policy of BRT Mamminasata has a complex policy issues and various procedural-technical issues.

Keywords: policy analysis, bus rapid transit

INTRODUCTION

Systems of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) and Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) are more and more developed its implementation in big cities. According to Matsumoto (2007), policy makers in some of the large cities in Asia (Beijing, Seoul and Jakarta) have recently started to consider BRT as an option for their urban transport.

In addition, Bazley, Vink, & Blankenship (2014) have understood BRT as a trend of developing transportation. The first example of a BRT in Indonesia was Jakarta's 2004 implementation 'Trans Jakarta'. In 2014, system of BRT has been launched around the 'Mamminasata' metropolitan region in Makassar, Maros, Sungguminasa and Takalar. The BRT is named Trans Mamminasata, or, more popularly BRT Mamminasata.

Unfortunately, its application still has many problems. Service of BRT Mamminasata is less than satisfactory (Tribun Timur, 2015b). Based on observation of the researcher in October 2016, service of BRT Mamminasata is not yet fully operational according to its original plan. There are problematic situation and procedural matter happened, like loss of operation (Pojok Sulsel, 2015). and technical problems have arisen (Tribun Timur, 2015a).

Implementing of BRT system is not easy. Local conditions in Makassar city and its surroundings are very complex. There is a unique characteristic in the operation of BRT Mamminasata that is different from other cities in Indonesia. Therefore, a policy analysis is important so that its scope can be understood in depth, started from agenda setting until policy implementation. We anticipate the presence of BRT as a solution has not created more problems. A policy analysis focus on identifying the cause and effect of a policy or intervention on one or more outcomes of interest (Carlson, 2011). According to Coveney (2010), policy analysis is very important because the policy has been the instrument and the central concept of modern society. Moreover, elements of the public policy established a relationship of mutual influence on each other (Fandaru, 2016).

In this research, public policy analysis is conducted to assess a government's actions using a variety of theories and methods in order to produce and to transform the information on related issues of BRT Mamminasata. Policy analysis is meant by

researchers that is the sub-system approaches and institutionalism (Parsons, 2005). To understand together that BRT is a mode that provides greater frequencies and number of lines in all cases, which implies shorter waiting time for users (Tirachini, Hensher & Jara-Díaz, 2010: 240). Meanwhile, Levinson, et all (Matsumoto, 2007) understand BRT as a flexible, rubber-tired rapid-transit mode that combines stations, vehicles, services, running ways, and Intelligent Transportation System (ITS) elements into an integrated system with a strong positive identity that evokes a unique image.

In principle, a policy analysis related to the examination process of governance and public policy advocacy (Coveney, 2010: 515). The important domains in analysis of policy implementation of local context are policy implementation capacity and accountability of governance (Werts & Brewer, 2015). Simple implementation structures, intensive communication between governments, intergovernmental cooperation and capacity building and commitments are referred by May (2015) as the points that is affect. Matters are related to policy implementation context by Rice (2013) namely the economic environment, cultural environment, social and political environment. Approaches of implementation according to Wahab (2012) are structural approach, procedural and managerial approach, behavioral approach and political approach.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a mixed method with research approach of policy analysis. Design of method used is parallel. Researcher conducted simultaneously qualitative and quantitative method. Researcher did some activities for instance 1) depth-interviewed with 4 key informants, 2) directly field observations to monitor BRT Mamminasata for 2 weeks, 3) documentation study related with policy reports and literatures from 2011 to 2016, 4) open survey to passengers as many as 200 people accidentally.

This method is used to reinforce result of policy analysis of Bus Rapid Transit Mamminasata. Data analysis was done both qualitative (descriptive) and quantitative approach (descriptive) with integrated manner. Obtained data were processed by triangulation. Furthermore, research findings are described in narrative and tabulation form.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Mamminasata

Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Mamminasata is an urban rapid transit in the Province of South Sulawesi - Indonesia crossing city of Makassar, Maros, Gowa and Takalar. Mamminasata is an abbreviation of Makassar (the capital of Makassar city), Maros (the capital of Maros regency), Sungguminasa (the capital of Gowa regency) and Takalar (the capital Takalar regency). Basically, BRT Mamminasata transport service is created to support the Regulation of the Minister of Public Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia (Permenhub RI) No. KM.49 of 2005 on the National Transportation System (Sistranas) and Regulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Perpres RI) No. 5 of 2011 on Spatial Planning Urban Area of Makassar, Maros, Sungguminasa and Takalar.

BRT Mamminasata was operated the first time in 2014, especially on corridor 2. Bus type is Mini Bus as many as 7 units with capacity of 33 passengers. In 2015, the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi as core stakeholder changed Mini Bus to Mercedez Benz Bus 6000 cc. The Mercedez Benz Bus is larger than Mini Bus. Its capacity is 64 passengers with details of 38 seating and 24 standing. Currently, the number of BRT Mamminasata provided 30 units where there are 15 units in 2015 and 15 units in 2016. All BRT Mamminasata is a grant or aid from the Ministry of Public Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia.

The number of bus stops has been built as many as 36 locations. In 2016, the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi targeted bus stops 40 - 100 locations in Makassar, Maros and Gowa area. Until final semester 2017, bus stops have been built by developers. BRT Mamminasata operates at 7 am until 7 pm every day. Ticket fee of 1 passenger in one trip for one corridor (go or return) is Rp. 4.500. Each bus consists of 1 driver and 1 bus conductor. Route has passed primary arterial road networks, secondary arterial road networks, primary collector road networks and freeway. BRT Mamminasata has already operated in 3 corridors of 11 corridors planned and developed by local government. Beyond, short description of its route and picture can be seen in Table 2 and Figure 1 below:

Table. 2

Route of BRT Mamminasata

No	Coridors	Routes	Distance (km)	Information
1	I	Bandara - Tol Reformasi - Jln Nusantara - Jln Ahmad Yani - Jln Jenderal Sudirman - Jln Haji Bau - Jln Metro Tanjung Bunga - Mall GTC	25,2 km	not operated
		Mall GTC - Trans Studio - Jln Metro Tanjung Bunga - Jln Penghibur - Jln Pasar Ikan - Jln Ujung Pandang - Jln Nusantara - Jln Tol Reformasi – Bandara	24,7 km	
2	II	Mall GTC - Trans Studio - Jln Metro Tanjung Bunga - Jln Penghibur - Jln Pasar Ikan - Jln Ujung Pandang - Jln Ahmad Yani - Jln Bulusaraung - Jln Masjid Raya - Jln Urip Sumoharjo - Jln AP Pettarani - Jln Boulevard - Mall Panakukkang.	13,5 km	operating (in 2014)
		Mall Panakukkang - Jln Boulevard - Jln AP Pettarani - Jln Urip Sumoharjo - Jln Bawakaraeng - Jln Jenderal Sudirman - Jln Sam Ratulangi (Mall Ratu Indah) - Jln Kakatua -Jln Gagak - Jln Nuri - Jln Rajawali - Jln Metro Tanjung Bunga - Trans Studio - Mall GTC.	14,9 km	
3	III	Terminal Daya - Jln Perintis Kemerdekaan - Jln Urip Sumoharjo - Jln AP Pettarani – Jln Sultan Alaudin – Terminal Malengkeri - Jln Gowa Raya -Terminal Pallangga.	21,8 km	operating (in 2015)
		Terminal Pallangga - Jln Gowa Raya - Terminal Malengkeri - Jln Sultan Alauddin - Jln AP Pettarani - Jln Urip Sumoharjo - Jln Perintis Kemerdekaan - Terminal Daya.	21,8 km	
4	IV	Terminal Daya - Jln Perintis Kemerdekaan - Bandara - Jln Poros Makassar Maros - Terminal Maros.	19,2 km	operating (in 2015)
		Terminal Maros - Jln Poros Makassar Maros - Bandara - Jln Perintis Kemerdekaan - Terminal Daya.	19,2 km	
5	V	Untia - Terminal Panampu - Jln Tinumbu - Jln Ujung - Jln Bandang - Jln Veteran Utara - Jln Veteran Selatan – Jln Sultan Alaudin – Terminal Malengkeri - Jln Gowa Raya - Terminal Pallangga.	10,6 km	not operated
		Terminal Pallangga - Jln Gowa Raya - Terminal Malengkeri - Jln Sultan Alauddin - Jln Veteran Selatan - Jln Veteran Utara - Jln Bandang - Jln Ujung - Jln Tinumbu - Terminal Pannampu - Untia.	10,6 km	
6	VI	Terminal Pallangga – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Jln Poros Bontomanai Barombong – Jln Tanjung Bayam – Mall GTC – Trans Studio.	16,3 km	not operated
		Trans Studio – Mall GTC – Jln Poros Barombong Bontomanai – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Terminal Pallangga.	16,3 km	
7	VII	Terminal Pallangga – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Terminal Takalar.	25 km	not operated
		Terminal Takalar – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Terminal Palangga.	25 km	
8	VIII	Terminal Takalar – Jln Galesong Selatan – Jln Galesong Utara – Barombong.	30 km	not operated
		Barombong – Jln Galesong Utara – Jln Galesong Selatan – Terminal Takalar.	30 km	
9	IX	Terminal Daya – Jln Lingkar Tengah – Bontomanai – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Terminal Palangga.	25,4 km	development area
		Terminal Pallangga – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Bontomanai – Jln Lingkar Tengah – Terminal Daya	25,4 km	

10	X	Terminal Daya – Jln Lingkar Luar – Bontomanai – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Terminal Pallangga.	25 km	development area
		Terminal Palangga – Jln Poros Gowa Takalar – Bontomanai – Jln Lingkar Luar – Terminal Daya.	25 km	
11	XI	Terminal Maros – Jln By Pass Mamminasata – Bontomanai – Barombong.	47 km	development area
		Barombong – Bontomanai – Jln By Pass Mamminasata – Terminal Maros.	47 km	

Source: Results of research.

Structure of Institutional Actor

Policy of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Mamminasata was initiated by the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi, especially the Department of Information, Communication and Transportation (Dishubkominfo). Initiation was begun with a study of Macro Transportation Pattern (PTM) by PT. Wahana Citra in 2011 and a study of Detailed Engineering Design (DED) of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Mamminasata by PT. Tranadi Tatautami in 2012.

Opportunities to use bus rapid transit from central government are utilized by the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi to make proposal. Finally, its proposal is accepted by the Minister of Public Transport. All conceptual and technical feasibilities are fulfilled by the provincial government. On receipt of the proposal, central government and provincial government agreed to entrust Perum DAMRI Makassar as operator of BRT Mamminasata. In order to realize policy, provincial government also established Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with all local governments (city and regency) in metropolitan area to facilitate licensing administration of transportation services and bus stops land acquisition. Besides, inter government also done mutual coordinating to maintain related files and documents. Because of many administrative arrangements handled by local governments (city and regency), researcher name directly supporting group. Thus, existence of BRT Mamminasata depends on related various groups. Here are results of researcher analysis concerning structure of institutional actor:
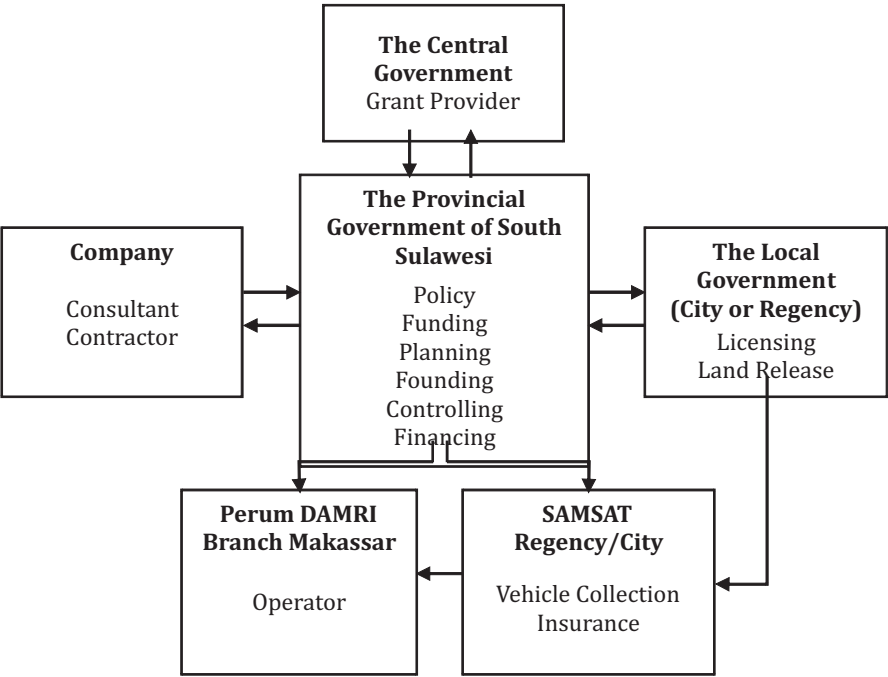

Figure 1.
Institutional Actors of BRT Mamminasata
Source: Analysis of Researcher

Structure describes a complex institution. Involved parties are the Minister of Public Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia, the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi, The Government of Makassar City, the Government of Maros regency, the Government of Gowa regency, the Government of Takalar regency, the Police, the Jasa Raharja, the Perum DAMRI Makassar, the PT Wahana Citra and the PT Tranadi Tatautami. According to researcher, the number of institutional actors can strengthen capacity and existence of bus rapid transit. Image of structure indicates collaboration between governmental organizations with non-governmental organizations. Governmental organizations include central government, provincial government, local government, local police and state-owned enterprises (Perum Jasa DAMRI and Jasa Rajarja). Non-governmental organizations include PT Citra Wahana and PT Tranadi Tatautami.

In addition to a supporting group, there is a pressure group as well. Local Transportation Organization (Organda) of South Sulawesi and driver of car pete'-pete' (local public transportation) is categorized as a pressure group. They often protested presence of BRT Mamminasata from 2014 until 2015. Protest actions were carried out them because pressure group worries about lack of income. Having held a mediation between representation of government, local transportation organization and driver of car pete'-pete', protest actions are seldom done again. Mediation created mutual understandings for instance 1) prohibiting illegal transport or unauthorized operated, 2) establishing cooperation in transport of passengers with down-haul-fit principle, 3) trusting car of pete'-pete' to carry passengers of short distance.

In general, structure of institutional actors in BRT Mamminasata is still weak so that power of pressure groups is difficult to unstoppable by supporting group. Thus, it is necessary to set up City Transportation Council as a forum for consultation and coordination between community and local government. The City Transportation Council tasks to conduct procedural considerations and to analyze service quality. Presence of council can reinforce supporting group. At the same time, presence of council can suppress presence of pressure groups. Local transportation organization and driver of car pete'-pete' as a pressure group own powers if there is no continually worked forum. Provincial government should not overly trust fully private sector in assessment and development of BRT Mamminasata. At least, existence of City Transportation Council hinted that BRT Mamminasata belong public of South Sulawesi. All things can be discussed by member of council directly.

Problematic Situations

Implementation of bus rapid transit (BRT) in Mamminasata region has many significant problems. Problems that are founded in this case implicate for operational success of BRT Mamminasata. Therefore it is important to be resolved by solution that is appropriate soon. On the whole, the problems are named as problematic situations. Points of problematic situation are below:

1. Employees Behavior

   Drivers and bus conductors often manipulated field data. Passenger data reported to at office do not based on real conditions. Drivers and bus conductors usually take a few income of BRT Mamminasata in one rit (go and return). The number of passengers that are not been reported are relatively every day. If the number of passengers increases in one day, the number of passengers that are not reported increases as well, or vice versa. They usually do not report more than 5 tickets in one rit. They usually averaged 7 times rit every day. Therefore number of passengers that are not reported every day approximate 45 people. In addition, bus conductors should participate in trip of BRT Mamminasata, but they often wait in bus stop. Moreover, tickets are sometimes not given to passengers after paying. Excess of passengers' money is sometimes not refunded because of nothing small money. Bus conductors rarely provide small money previously to anticipate excess of passengers' money. Passengers often pay Rp. 5.000 even though ticket is only Rp.

4.500 each passenger for one trip. Several payment results are divided by drivers and bus conductors. The situations should not happen because it disserves company. Certainly, Perum DAMRI Makassar as operator of BRT Mamminasata has continual losses due to systematic bad behavior by any employees.

2. Low Income

Since operating BRT Mamminasata 3 years ago, Perum DAMRI Makassar has losses because its income is often low. Average income is not balanced with operational expenditure every month. Based on report of operational results of Perum DAMRI Makassar in 2016, average incomes of one bus in one day are Rp. 296.500 in July 2016, Rp. 301.300 in August 2016, Rp. 287.479 in September 2016. Whereas operation's cost of one bus in one day is Rp. 300.000. At least 3 months in 2016's middle semester, we can conclude that company did not get more income from operation of BRT Mamminasata. This is can be categorized disadvantage. Operational services of BRT Mamminasata are often subsidized from other incomes of Perum DAMRI Makassar for instance income of inter-city transportation in South Sulawesi area by other buses. Perum DAMRI Makassar should be encouraged to make a profit from operation of BRT Mamminasata in order to maintain company's existence.

3. Traffic Jams

Traffic jams often occur in route of BRT Mamminasata. The number of vehicles with various types is lots of. Furthermore, less extensive road triggers traffic jams at various locations. BRT Mamminasata has no special line so that traffic jams affects speed of bus. BRT Mamminasata is often trapped traffic jams, particularly in Makassar and Sungguminasa city. Makassar city is listed as a city that has the largest number of vehicles in South Sulawesi. The second order is Gowa regency. In South Sulawesi Figure 2015 is reported that city of Makassar has a number of vehicles including 1) passenger car 172.803 units, 2) bus 17.080 units, 3) goods mobile 62.445 units, 4) motorcycle more 1 million

units. Meanwhile, Gowa regency has a number of vehicles including 1) passenger car 14.212 units, 2), bus 193 units, 3) goods mobile 7.237 units, 4) motorcycles 192.851 units. The number continues to grow each year. Surely, this has become one of problematic situations for BRT Mamminasata existence. Meanwhile, bus' type of BRT Mamminasata is Mercedes Benz 6000 cc which has very large body. Size of Mercedes Benz body that is large can affect traffic jams indirectly. Rate of BRT Mamminasata is not fast so that car that is its behind cannot go fast as well.

4. Public Support

Public support for presence of BRT Mamminasata is still low. Their paradigm still tend to want riding by car pete'-pete'. According to their, it is more quick and more simple. Low of passenger number to use public transport is as evidence concrete. Perum DAMRI Makassar reports that the number of passengers during January - September 2016 period as many as 151.447 passengers. So, average number of passengers each month is only as many as 16.827 people. Whereas passenger targets each month is at least 50.000 passengers. Gap is too long. BRT Mamminasata is often passenger less or empty every round trip (go and return) in the weekday. More passengers are only in the weekend. Commonly, the passengers are people who want to vacation at mall or other tourist destinations in Makassar city and its vicinity.

Technical and Operational Problems.

About implementing of BRT Mamminasata, researcher found and concluded some technical and operational problems that occurred since operating BRT in Mamminasata region. Technical and operational problems that are shown in following table are issues considered as problematic by more than 50 % respondents. Problems that are considered less than 50 % respondents are not included as technical and operational problems by researcher. Researcher just included problem chosen by majority of passengers to avoid bias data. Item of technical and operational problems include in the following diagram:
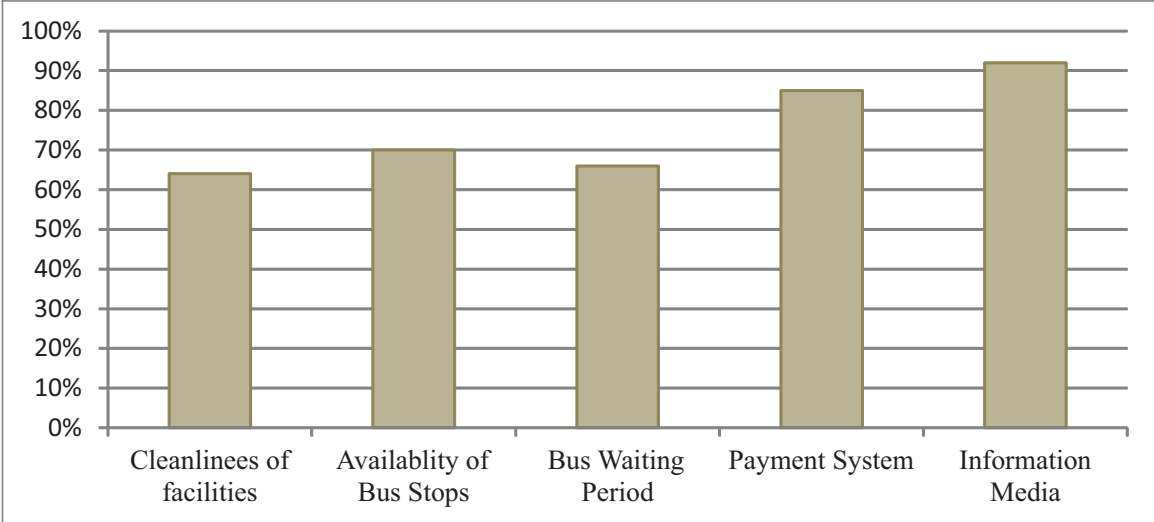
Diagram 1.
Technical and Operational Problems

Technical and operational problems above are described further in the following points:

1. Facilities Cleanliness

    Provider of BRT Mamminasata seemed less attention to hygiene buses and bus stops. Trash can and other sanitary facilities are not available, either in buses or at bus stops. Ticket garbage, food wrappers, bottles and tissues were scattered without full attention from provider of public transportation service. This fact contradicts with vision of BRT services promoting environmentally friendly aspect.

2. Bus Stops Availability

    Availability of bus stops are still less and far. Some strategic locations have not been made bus stop by provider. People become lazy to walk towards bus stop because of difficult to access it. Ironically, several bus stops have not been used to operate bus rapid transit. Because of lack of bus stops availability, drivers sometime stop BRT Mamminasata according to passengers demand. It is not based on bus stop locations.

3. Waiting Period

    Waiting period of BRT Mamminasata is always unpredictable. BRT Mamminasata often is late than fast to bus stops. Passengers wait more than 30 minutes. When traffic jams happen, waiting bus rapid is up to 1 hour. Its effect, passengers who want to leave early and quickly do not use BRT Mamminasata. One of other reasons waiting period too long is the number of limited BRT Mamminasata. Though the number of buses is 30 units but operated bus is only about 6 to 11 units every day. Determination of the number of units operated every day depends on analysis of Perum DAMRI Makassar as provider.

4. Payment System

    Payment system of BRT Mamminasata is still conventional manner. Passengers pay a ticket in bus. Payment transaction is done before or after leaving bus stops. Electronic payment system is not used on BRT Mamminasata like Trans Jakarta in Jakarta city and Trans Jogja in Yogyakarta city. Conventional payment system is vulnerable to corruption. Conventional system is not transparent as well.

5. Media Information

    Media information such as pamphlet, brochure and other media about departures and arrivals are less available. Likewise, information about route is less available each bus corridors. For new passengers, it is difficult to know schedules and routes of BRT Mamminasata. In addition, if BRT Mamminasata will stop in bus stops, information is just announced by drivers or bus conductors orally. There is no automatic information through speaker in bus rapid transit. Even though, core component of bus rapid system is clear information wherever and whenever.

CONCLUSION

Operating of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) in Mamminasata region has many problems during planning until its implementation. Its operation has not been maximized because of some aspects namely institutional structure, problematic situation, procedural and technical problems. Institutional structures include network structure and administrative affairs structure. Network structure is about relation among stakeholder in decision making. Administrative affairs structure is about task of government in accomplishment of bus rapid documents. Problematic situations in implementing BRT Mammianasata are bad behavior of some drivers and bus conductors when they transport passengers, regularly happened traffic jams in special locations and certain times, operated expenses higher than companies' income, lack of public support to use bus transit services as alternative transportation in Mamminasata region. About procedural and technical issues, researcher found some problems namely cleanliness of bus facilities, availability of bus stops, long-time in bus waiting period, conventional payment systems and lack of information media as guide for passengers.

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INTERMESTIC LEARNING IN INDONESIA DECENTRALISATION POLICY CHANGE

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Abstract

This paper offers a different explanation of the decentralisation policy change process in the Transition Era of Indonesia. That's an intermestic learning process that's an alternative approach in public policy study. As we know, in 1999 the decentralisation policy of Indonesia has changed fundamentally and called "big bang" because the government system has changed from centralistic to decentralisation. In previous studies, the decentralization policy change understood as a domestic matter, such as response to separatism movement (Turner and Podger, 2003), the result of local capitalist class struggle (Lane, 2013), response to dissatisfaction with local government (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003), and decentralization as reducing the central state burden (Rasyid, 2004; Haris, 2007, Simanjuntak, 2004, Shah et al, 1994). In another way, it is also seen as international pressure or debt trap (Schmidt, 1989; Abrahamsen, 2000; Hadiz, 2004; Said, 2005). But in globalisation era as a borderless world, there are many similarity time and characters of policy change in the world then resulting from a wave of decentralisation (Conyers, 2000; Rondinelly, 2007). So, there is a theoretical challenge to the policy study in the term of the process of policy change. Global discourse on decentralisation influence can not be ignored as it can enter through academic forums and cooperation more massive well held by the epistemic community at the international, national, even down to the local level. Therefore the notion of territorial isolation in the policy process is an illusion. Thus, the process of decentralisation policy should be seen as an intermestic phenomenon. The author uses advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier and Jenkin-Smith, 1993) to understand the mapping of the pro-cons of the decentralisation idea in the domestic and international sphere as the basis concept. The second is the epistemic community that has the main role to strengthen the ideas to influence the policy change process. The explanation will be managed in three parts; fundamental policy change in 1999, the debate of decentralisation idea in Indonesia, and the intermestic learning process of policy change in Indonesia decentralisation policy.

Keywords: policy change process, intermestic learning, epistemic community, advocacy coalitions, decentralization.

INTRODUCTION

In the policy study, policy change process tends to be studied as a domestic matter (Hudson & Lowe, 2011). It's all about domestic orientation, by domestic actors and in a domestic scope. But there are many similarity time and characters of policy change in the world, such as democratisation waves (Huntington) and decentralisation waves (Conyers, 1983; Rondinelly, 2007), etc, moreover in globalisation era as a borderless world. So, there is a theoretical challenge to the policy study in the term of the process of policy change.

As well as in examines, the problem of Indonesian decentralization policy change process in 1999, it often studied as respond to domestic political dynamic: response to separatism movement (Turner and Podger, 2003), the result

of local capitalist class struggle (Lane, 2013), response to dissatisfaction of local government (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003), and decentralization as reducing the central state burden (Rasyid, 2004; Haris, 2007, Simanjuntak, 2004, Shah et al, 1994). In another way, decentralisation policy change in Indonesia seen as international pressure (debt trap): Schmidt, 1989; Abrahamsen, 2000; Hadiz, 2004; Said, 2005.

Thus the paradigm of local government system changed fundamentally and called "big bang" (The World Bank Report, 1999). The government system has changed from hierarchical to participatory (Una, 2004) and from executive heavy to legislative heavy (Sarundajang, 2005). Actually, the idea of decentralisation has been existing in Indonesia indeed since its

independence. There was a debate in formatting state system, between decentralisation vs centralization. Therefore some regulations of local government tend to decentralisation (UU 22/1948, UU 1/1957). But, in the New Order era, Indonesia become a centralistic state in more than 30 years for stabilising development. Even in the early 1990s there are some efforts supported by academicians, NGOs/INGOs activists, and donors to ask participation room and division of authority between central and local government to reduce the desire of separatism. Interestingly. In that decade decentralisation has become a trending global idea because most developed and developing countries changed to be more decentralised. The question is, "How the interplay of international and domestic influence in the Indonesian decentralisation policy change in 1999?"

MATERIAL AND METHOD

1. Literature Review

Theoretically, there are three approaches in the policy change process: domestic, international, and transnational. In the domestic approach, policy change is about domestic interest, domestic actors, and in domestic scope. As examples of this approach are the Institutional model which institutional interest base, the rational model which individual interest base, pluralist model which group interest base, and advocacy coalition model which belief system base. Slightly different with other models in domestic approaches, advocacy coalition model describes policy change process as continuous learning among two or more advocacy coalitions in the domestic sub-system who have different policy idea base on their policy belief. They try to influence the process of policy change to fit their policy belief and with their resources. So the process of policy change is not only political but also the cognitive process. In the international approach, policy change described as external interest and involving international actors, i.e more developed countries, international donors, and international organisations. As examples of this approaches are neorealism (systemic) model, global preferences (liberal) model, and structural model. And last but not least, in the intermestic approach, discourse/idea/knowledge and transnational actors have the main role in the policy change process. As examples of this approach are network models

such as epistemic community model, constructive model, and deliberative model. In the globalisation era, the intermestic approach is more valuable to explain the complexity of the borderless world. However, some models in intermestic approach are not clear enough to explain how the interplay of international and domestic influence in the process of policy change. Therefore author will use an alternative model to analysis the borderless phenomenon in the process of policy change. The position of the alternative model can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. Approaches in the policy change process

Variables Model	Actors/ Level of Analysis (Who)	Policy Change Process (How)	Influencing Factors (Why)
Domestic Approach			
Institutionalis	State/ Institution	Black Box/ Decision Making	National/ Institution Interest
Rational Actor	Individual	Cost and Benefit Calculation	Individual Interest
Pluralis	Groups	Bargaining/ Policy Making	Group Interest
Advocacy Coalition	Advocacy Coalitions in the Domestic Subsystem	Political and Cognitive Process/ Learning	Believe System/ Discourse/ Idea/ Knowledge
International Approach			
Neorealis (systemic)	Great Countries	Conflict	Great Countries Interest
Global Preferences (Liberalis)	International Organizations	Cooperation/ Consensus	International Organization Interest
Structuralis	Global Class	Conflict (Exploitation)	Hegemonic Class
Intermestic Approach			
Network	Domestic and International Actors	Conflict or Cooperation	Network interest
Constructivis	Domestic and International Actors	Contruction or Deconstruction	Global Norms
Deliberative	Domestic and International Actors	Deliberative or Social Communication	Discourse or Counter Discourse

Processed by author

1. Analitical Framework: Intermestic Learning Model

As consequence of globalisation, the movement of ideas and actors which increasingly cross-border have the main role in the policy change process and provide opportunities for the establishment of the networks of actors who

have the same policy beliefs. Domestic advocacy coalitions who fought the decentralisation policy idea will be more easy to make networks with international donors or international NGOs who support the same idea and make a transnational advocacy coalitions networks. With their resources and policy beliefs, they influence the process of policy change in a way to social learning that intermestic. Social learning entails lessons about the social construction of policy problems, the scope of the policy, or policy goals (May 1992).

Thus, to explain the Indonesian decentralisation policy change process in 1999 that's borderless, the author uses an alternative framework that consists of two main concepts; the modified of Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier and Jenkins Smith, 1993) and Epistemic Community (Haas, 2002). The modification of advocacy coalition framework help author to understand the mapping of the pro cons of the decentralisation discourse in the domestic and international sphere as well as their networks and the social learning that they did. While the epistemic community has the main role to strengthen the discourse/ideas that the networks brought to influence the policy change process. It describes in this chart bellow.

In this study, the author uses qualitative method and build argumentations by discourse analysis. The explanation of result and discussion will be managed in some parts:

- Part one, decentralisation as a global discourse.
- Part two, the intermestic learning process of policy change in Indonesian decentralisation policy.
- Part three, the policy change process.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As a discourse, decentralisation inevitably raises a variety of interpretations, perspectives, approaches, etc. which can lead to the seizure of a claim on the authority in a discursive process. Generally, there are 3 interpretations of decentralisation discourse, i.e administrative decentralisation, political decentralisation, and economic decentralisation. Administrative decentralisation is often called deconcentration that based on the efficiency of public services. Decentralisation in this form was seen just rhetoric and closer to centralization. While political decentralisation is often called devolution. In this form, decentralization is in line with democratic principles, so participation and delegation of power from central to local government is more
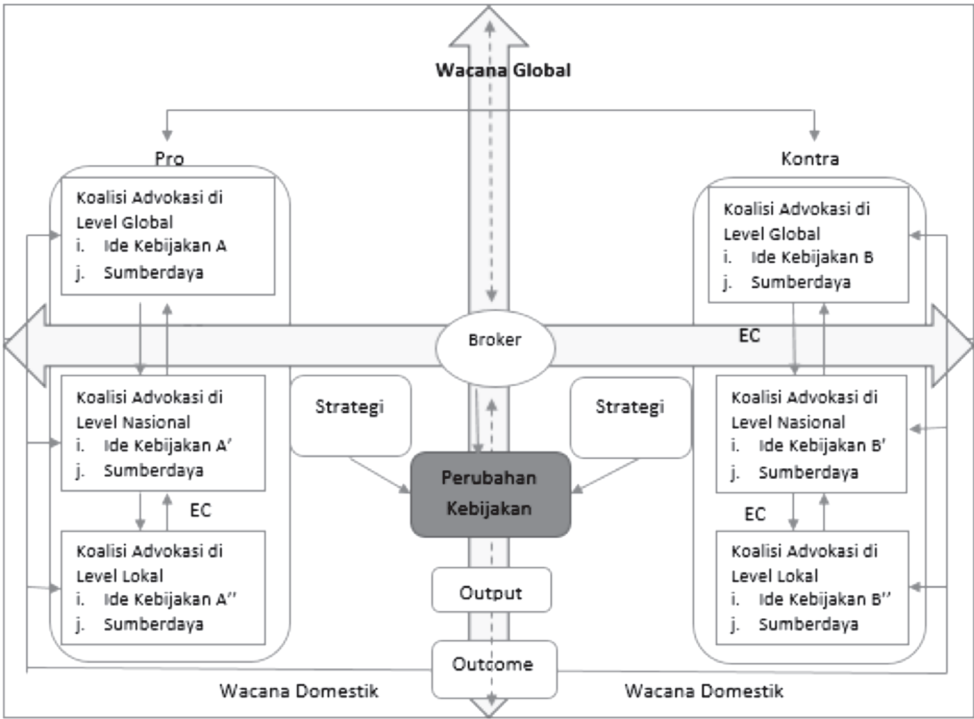
Bagan 1. *Model Kapilaritas Intermestik*

Source: Modification of the subsystem of Advocacy Coalition Framework from Sabatier, Paul A & Jenkins-Smith.1993. Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach. Boulder: Westview Press.

important. Then economic decentralisation describes the importance of the market economy, so the government has the role in realising market efficiency.

In Indonesia, centralization vs decentralisation is one of the great debates of the colonial era [8]. The Dutch has introduced decentralisation idea in 1903 and 1922. From the historical experience of Indonesia since the independence era, although the character of governance policy is decentralisation, in its implementation the portion of the decentralisation policy has never been greater than centralization. Moreover in the New Order, although the idea of governance as outlined in Law No. 5 of 1974 is intended to accommodate the principal of democracy for development as a global trending idea in the 1970s [9], practically the central and local government relations are very centralistic because the priority only in administrative decentralisation.

In the New Order era, the position of the central government is very strong. This is not only because the government has been succeeding to quell separatism movements in some regions that arose, but also because of the oil boom that strengthens the financial resources of the State. So, the central government role in the development was not only as a facilitator of development, even organise, finance and control throughout the planning and implementation of development in the national and regional levels. The central government seemed to be "Santa Claus" for the regions because the regions can only meet 30% -40% of the overall expenditure needs of local or regional routine. This situation assessed by a group of pro-decentralization makes it very inefficient because subsidies larger centre than the region's own local revenues and the area became more helpless.

In the late 1980s, the debate of centralism vs decentralism in Indonesia became a hot issue because although political stability can be maintained by the central government the stability of the economy began to falter due to falling oil and gas prices on the international market. This phenomenon ends the oil boom that affects the modality of the development process in Indonesia. Therefore, the idea of the

need for decentralisation in the management of national development amid global changes that reduce the sources of state revenue from oil and gas sector while the debt burden increased sharply by Mafia Berkeley (Nasution, 1989). This idea was brought and shared by economist, scientists administration, as well as political and government scientist, either individually and through their professional organisation such as ISEI, PERSADI, MIPI, etc. The sharing idea was through seminars, workshops, and assistance to the governments until the mid of the 1990s. Moreover, there was a global trend idea about reinventing government from the new of public management (David Osborne and Peter Plastrik, 1997). So, because of declining government revenues from the oil sector affect the government's ability to finance the development and the popularity idea of reinventing government in that time make the government began to accept the idea of participation in the development process from the private sectors.

At the same time, donors provide aid and funds directly to INGOs / NGOs in Indonesia as well as promoting the involvement of NGOs in the implementation of development, particularly programs aimed at the poor. As a result, hundreds of NGO-oriented development in the 1980s was formed, not only in Jakarta but also in the provincial capital and district (Ibrahim, 1991). It is called as the "decade of advocacy and networking" (Mahasin, 1989). The NGOs in the 1980s also did intensive interaction with the international NGO to form networks and coalitions to improve the bargaining position of the government. The networks formed at the national or local level, even internationally as INGI (International NGO Forum on Indonesian) which in 1992 was changed to INFID (International NGO Form on Indonesian Development), and PDF (Participatory Development Forum) (Suharko, 2005).

Although in the mid of 1990s there is consensus that decentralisation is important to be realised in Indonesia, the next debate is what decentralisation form? Administrative, political, or economic as decentralisation priority? Each discourse supported by intermestic advocacy

coalitions and epistemic communities that have scientific argumentations base. Beside Mafia Berkeley, there is Chicago Boys who become important actors who bring new discourse of neoliberal decentralisation. For this network, a minimalizing state is a priority and decentralisation is the one of the platforms to implement this idea.

In 1997, Indonesia hit by the economic and political crisis. The crisis dropped the New Order regime and presented the reform regime with all its fundamental changes, including the decentralisation policy in 1999. Decentralisation law No. 22/1999 contains 134 articles and replaced the previous Law No. 5/1974 was found no longer suitable for the present situation. It also includes 19 articles regarding village government regulation as n amendment to village law No. 5/1979. The government also established Law No. 25/1999 on Fiscal Balance contains 33 articles dealing with the fundamentals of new local government financing. In 2000 the central government set up four stages of the implementation of decentralisation, such as initiation stage in 1999-2001; Installation stage in 2001-2003; consolidation stage 2003-2007; and application stage on 2007-onward.

The crisis and fall of the centralization New Order appeared the opportunity of strengthening of political decentralisation as a solution for Indonesia in the reform era. MPR in the last session brought in the issue just a few days after Soeharto's resignation. The Assembly decided that implementation of the previous decentralisation program did not reflect the essence of local autonomy policy as mandated in the Basic Constitution, UUD 1945, especially article 18. The previous government failed to meet decentralisation agenda. The MPR urged the new government of Habibie to begin with the new system. And then Habibie formed Team 7, which consists of political scientists that most graduates the US to form a system of local governance. contents of this policy are very different because it leads to participation and the division of authority between the central and local government as the priority.

Although the political process of policy change started in 1998, according to author the learning process of the policy change which engaged some advisers including international donors and INGOs actually has been persisted, even since the late 1980s as described previously. They were urging the government to end centralised policies, insisting that the dependency of local government created by centralization and uni formalism had resulted in poor service delivery to the people and neglecting of the regions. In more a decade, the idea of decentralisation has been shared in many forums and assistances among liberal epistemic which supporting decentralisation idea (Djojosoekarto, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The policy change of decentralisation policy in Indonesia consists of two processes, not only political but also intermestic learning. The Intermestic learning involving epistemic communities and intermestic advocacy coalition who struggle their belief systems in the policy change process. The prospects for decentralisation policy in Indonesia could only be bright if the central government is willing to strengthen its endorsement to decentralisation discourse, maintaining the commitment to supervise implementation, and correcting some of its unnecessary and improper decisions and consistently preparing all regulations and technical guidelines for local governance. By all means, the role of International donors, INGOs, NGOs, academicians, politicians, and journalist are very important in guarding the decentralisation policy in Indonesia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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REGIONAL BENEFIT PERFORMANCE (TKD) AND EFFORTS TO IMPROVE EMPLOYEE'S PERFORMANCE IN DKI JAKARTA PROVINCE

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Abstract

Performance allowance is a refinement of existing benefits and will be the specific benefits to boost the performance and guaranteeing fairness in the provision of benefits stipulated in the Governor Regulation No. 108 2016 Jakarta Province. Giving performance benefits of this area is one of the concrete steps undertaken by the local government of Jakarta, in order to conduct bureaucratic reform in the form of remuneration to the staff of the local government of Jakarta. Where the purpose of granting allowance are to improve the quality of public services, Discipline civil servants and civil servant, civil servants and civil servant performance, Justice and welfare of civil servants and civil servant, civil servants and civil servant Integrity and orderly financial administers area. Jakarta's civil servants must meet the 6 points that have been set in the regulation. Note that, the component of income in the form of a fixed salary of civil servants and the Regional Benefit Performance (TKD). TKD has become one of the factors that encourages civil servants to remain enthusiastic and committed in their work. This article aims to investigate and asses the influence of allowance granted by the Government of DKI Jakarta Province to improve the performance of civil servants. One way to monitor the performance of DKI provincial government work units (SKPD) and control the budgets of salaries of civil servants in order to remain effective and efficient, is through the implementation of the Key Performance Index (KPI) as one component of TKD. KPIs will be reflected in the monthly report card each SKPD. Implementation of the system Key Performance Index (KPI) is an important indicator of measuring and ensuring the mission of a program implemented optimally and in sustainable manner. Given the large number of projects and SKPD located in Jakarta, determination indicator of this work itself is one of the main challenges of the government. The second challenge which is equally important is the process of collecting valid data capable of reflecting the performance of each SKPD and every civil servant.

Keyword: Regional Benefit Performance (TKD), Performance, Regional Work Units

BACKGROUND

Every local government competes to advance its region by referring to the vision and mission of the local government, especially with the regional autonomy the government is entitled to take care of their own households by using the budget is large enough there is no reason the government does not use the funds they have, let alone DKI Jakarta is one of the regions with the largest budget from other regions with APBD of 67.16 trillion, with an activity budget of 34.3 trillion, non-activity budget of 25.5 trillion and financing of 7.22 trillion. This is a big step for the government to advance And welfare of the people, where one of the government's efforts to improve services to the community, one with the policy

of giving TKD to civil servants for maximum performance in serving the community. One of the policy commitments that developed due to decentralization or granting autonomy to the wider region since the implementation of Law No. 32 of 2004 which was subsequently revised by Act No. 23 of 2014, where the system of local government gives full authority to local governments to manage and manage finances Both for the welfare of its employees in order to realize the service to the community.

Civil servants of DKI Jakarta receive take home pay with a considerable amount of civil servants in other areas, which exist in every region of Indonesia and get them outside of their basic salary is the performance allowance area (Tunjangan Kinerja Daerah/TKD). Where

In 2015 Jakarta Governor issued a disgust about the increase of TKD PNS DKI Jakarta which strengthened with Governor regulation No 108 no 2016, it became the center of attention in other areas because of the benefits received by employees is quite large. Regional performance allowance (TKD) is divided into two namely TKD Static and TKD Dynamic. What is the difference between the two TKD is Static TKD that is related to civil servant absenteeism in DKI Jakarta while TKD Dynamic relates to performance based on duty job and function as public servant.

DKI Jakarta Provincial Government began to implement the Key Performance Indicator system. The KPI system aims to measure the performance of Civil Servants, so that their regional performance allowances can be maximized. The Key Performance Indicator (KPI) is designed to improve the quality of community services, improve discipline, performance, equity and well-being, and orderly administration of local financial management. With KPI-based measurements, targets and achievements will be more easily monitored for future development in Jakarta. Achievement of KPI is calculated based on comparison between realization and target achievement every month in percentage rate. Achievement of KPI, activity and work behavior, speed and accuracy of follow-up, until the absorption of the budget will affect the amount of Regional Performance Allowance (TKD). Measurement of working standards of civil servants with KPI has been regulated in Gubernatorial Regulation 108/2016 on TKD.

With this appraisal, of course, civil servants in the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta can receive different salaries, where the more diligent a civil servant the greater the income they receive. The mechanism of performance appraisal of civil servants is through daily reports in the input with E-TKD system, where the data will be entered at the latest 3 days later. Because the E-TKD system is automatically closed automatically, so that employees can be considered not working and do not receive allowances E-TKD system can be done anywhere by using Hand pone or computer in which there is an E-TKD application where the input data can be every day starting at 15.00 am

to 08.00 am, thus if the data coverage has been completed civil servants can focus back to work as usual according to their respective duties. From some of these descriptions then this paper discusses the provision of local allowance (TKD) in an effort to improve the performance of government officials of DKI Jakarta.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Employee Performance

Based on the Decision of the State Administration Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Number 598 / XI / 5/1998 on Guidelines for Reporting Performance Accountability of Government Agencies, defines performance as the level of achievement of the implementation of an activity / program / policy in realizing the organization's goals, mission and vision. Many theories discuss about employee performance. Performance becomes the main discussion in the organization because any form of organizational performance is an indicator of the effectiveness or success of an organization, how a person is required to perform well in order to what he is doing to produce good results also in accordance with the demands that exist in the world of work. An effective and successful organization is an organization that has employees with good performance as well.

A person's performance is very influential in creating good organizational performance as well. Performance measurements are performed to determine whether they can be done on a predetermined schedule and time, or whether performance results have been achieved as expected beforehand to achieve the performance we had previously desired. Performance is a description of the level of achievement of the organization's goals, mission and vision as set forth in the formulation of an organization's strategic plan. Can be interpreted that the performance is closely related to strategic objectives and customer satisfaction in an organization to meet the goals of the organization, Indra Bastian in Fahmi (2011: 2).

Employee performance is one measure that is often used in determining organizational effectiveness. If the optimum and effective employee performance with what is done will be a plus in the organization so no wonder

when employees are given rewards to motivate employees in work more than ever.

An organization or company will not be able to grow if the performance of its employees also does not increase, especially with the increasing levels of competition in the business world, thus making the organization or company focused in improving supervision to see the performance of employees whether their performance is in accordance with the procedures Set by the company or vice versa.

Talking about performance will always be related to size or performance standards. If the employee or employee does not meet the standards in the size of a job, it is stated that the work achievement has not been maximized. Where the Company will look at the performance of employees by performing performance measurements whether good or bad in achieving the performance that has been determined, many experts who argue about the performance standards that can be used, but most opinions that vary. Measuring performance standards cannot be separated from the aspects of performance appraisal that can be used.

According Dwiyanto (2008: 50-51) there are performance indicators, namely:

1. Productivity

The concept of productivity not only measures the level of efficiency, but also the effectiveness of the service. Productivity is generally understood as the ratio between input and output. The concept of productivity is too narrow and then General Accounting Office (GOA) tries to develop a broader productivity measure by including how much public service has the expected results as one of the important performance indicators.

2. Quality of Service

Many of the negative views formed about public organizations arise because of public dissatisfaction with the quality of service received from public organizations. Thus the satisfaction of society can be a parameter assessing the performance of public organizations

3. Responsiveness

The ability of organizations to recognize and meet the needs of the community. Responsiveness needs to be incorporated into performance

indicators because it directly illustrates the ability of government organizations to carry out their missions and objectives.

4. Responsibility

Responsibility describes whether the implementation of the activities of the public organization is carried out in accordance with the principles of administration that are true or in accordance with the policy of the organization, both explicit and implicit.

5. Accountability

Responsibilities explain whether the implementation of the activities of the public organization was conducted in accordance with the principles of the correct administration or in accordance with the organization's policy, both explicit and implicit. In this context, the concept of public accountability can be used to look at some of the policies and activities of public organizations that are consistent with the will of many communities. In this context, the concept of public accountability can be used to look at some of the policies and activities of public organizations that are consistent with the will of many communities.

The Success of Government Bureaucracy Performance In the apparatus resource dimension, personnel-based personnel management cycles are a strategic choice. That is, since the stage of determination of formation, recruitment, selection, placement, and promotion, all must place competence as a key consideration (competency based). Similarly, in the preparation of personnel instruments such as job analysis, workload analysis, training needs analysis, to career patterns, all must be based on competence.

The success of the government bureaucracy, starting with the formulation of vision towards the development of HR Apparatus / civil servants is to realize the human resources Apparatus professional, neutral, and prosperous. Professionals are characterized by civil servants who have broad insight to see the future, have competence in their field, have competitive / competitive spirit honestly and sportily, and uphold the professional ethics. While the neutrality of civil servants is intended that the civil servants should be neutral from the

influence of all groups and political parties and not discriminatory in providing services to the public, therefore civil servants are prohibited from becoming members / administrators of political parties. The Prosperous is realized with civil servants who earn a fair and decent salary according to workload and responsibility, here the Government should establish a fair and decent pay system in accordance with workload, responsibility, and performance. In addition, the Government needs to establish a good pensions system as a retirement benefit to retirees for the services and services that have been provided to the pensions for the services and services that have been provided to the government/ community.

The competence base as a strategy to realize the success of civil servant management is supported by the increase of professionalism and discipline of Human Resource (SDM) PNS as one element of bureaucracy, so that in carrying out its duties and functions civil servants can provide the best service to the community and further increase the productivity. Competency-based personnel management will also encourage a neutral and solid government bureaucracy, since government bureaucracy in running government and development tasks is not limited in time (long-term) and in doing service to the community should not happen discrimination treatment. The professionalism, discipline, and neutrality of civil servants based on these competencies are then embodied in the code of ethics and soul of the corps inherent and awakened in order that the image of a civil servant as a state apparatus and public servant can be maintained.

Through competency-based personnel management, the increase in income and welfare of civil servants is a factor of its inclusion. That is, if the competent civil servants need to be rewarded with adequate welfare and income. Increased income and welfare of civil servants are based on job analysis, performance standards and work results, and competency standards through the implementation of reward and punishment system. Thus, the competition will create a civil servant to compete to show the best performance and optimal for the organization.

a.   Local Performance Allowance

In order to improve the performance of civil servants of State Apparatus and civil servant apparatus candidates in the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta, it is necessary to improve the welfare of employees in the form of local performance allowances. Based on Government Regulation No. 58/2005 on Regional Financial Management and Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 13/2006 concerning Guidelines on Regional Financial Management as amended several times, the latest by Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 21 Year 2011, states that local governments may provide additional income to Employees The Regional Civil Affairs in the form of regional performance allowances based on objective considerations with due regard to the financial capacity of the region. TKD is a form of reward or compensation given to the performance of its employees / employees. Compensation is one of the execution of the function of MSDM which is related to all kinds of awarding individual awards as exchange in performing organizational tasks.

In accordance with the Regulation of the Governor of DKI Jakarta Number 108 of 2016 Regional Performance Allowance is Allowance given to the employees to improve the welfare of civil servant apparatus of State and candidate employees of State Civil Apparatus in Environmental Government of DKI Jakarta Province. Regional performance allowances are given to ASN employees and ASN employee candidates grouped according to structural positions and group ladder groups, whereas certain functional Officials are grouped into groups based on rank/ class groups.

Where the purpose of provision of TKD is according to Governor Regulation no 108 of 2016 is to improve the quality of public services, Discipline of civil servants and CPNS, Performance of civil servants and CPNS, Justice and welfare of civil servants and CPNS Integrity civil servant and CPNS and orderly administration of local finance. Where the civil servants of DKI Jakarta must meet the 6 points that have been set in PERGUB. Please note that, components of civil servant income in the form of fixed salary and Working Benefits Region. TKD is one of the factors of encouragement of civil servants to remain enthusiastic and committed in work. Post aims to see how big the influence of

TKD provided by the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta to improve the performance of civil servants.

In public management, performance benefits are typically associated with the concept of pay-forperformance as opposed to a pay as entitlement allowance that the pay as entitlement is actually a conventional concept because the allowance is given because a person has graduated or fulfilled the requirement to occupy a particular position within organization. The quantity is thus fixed, or if its basic variation is merely strata in organization, seniority, or period of work, Milkovich and Newman (1999: 296), in Eko Prasojo & Kumorotomo (2009). Conversely, the concept of performance allowance (payfor-performance) is a more modern and progressive concept, is expected to improve the performance of civil servants significantly. Performance allowances are not fixed and the quantities can vary greatly. The criteria used to provide certain performance benefits are the use of in-depth knowledge or expertise, specific skills, the magnitude of the risks to be faced, and the things that are technically directly related to the scope of one's work.

One of the efforts that has been implemented by the government is to provide Performance Allowance (Tukin) to the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in it. Performance allowances are an effort to improve employee performance and productivity. Performance allowances are given to Personnel who have certain duties / jobs / occupations within DKI Jakarta government. Based on the Performance Benefit Guidance for employees in the provincial government starting from the amount of allowances, the amount of reduction, as well as monitoring and evaluation. Each employee is assigned the Class of Position with the decision of the Head of each UPT. With different positions the amount of benefits received is also different. This difference is determined based on job analysis and workload of each employee. Employees with more workload and responsibilities will receive a larger class of positions

b.   Public Service

According to Kotler (Sinambela, 2006: 4), service is any beneficial activity in a set or unity, and offers satisfaction even if the result is not tied to a product physically. While public understanding according to ministerial decree No.63 / KEP /

M.PAN / 7/2003 (Sinambela, 2006: 4), public is any service activities undertaken by public service providers as an effort to meet the needs of service recipients as well as the implementation of the provisions of legislation. Thus, public service is the fulfillment of the wishes and needs of society by the state of the host. The state is established by the public (the community), of course, in order to improve the welfare of the community. In essence the state in this case the government (bureaucrat) must be able to meet the needs of the community. The need for this is not individually but the actual needs are expected by society. Meanwhile, according to AG. Subarsono (Dwiyanto, 2006: 147), a good public servant can be seen in terms of efficiency, responsiveness, and non-participants. Efficiency can be defined as the best comparison between input and output. Thus, if an output can be achieved with minimal input then it is considered efficient. Efficiency can be seen from the perspective of service providers and service users of the service provider's perspective, service provider organizations should make efforts to ensure low-priced services and no waste of public resources. Public services should involve the least possible Employees and be provided in a short time. Likewise from the perspective of service users, they want public services to be achieved at a low cost, a short time, and not much waste of energy.

Responsiveness is the organization's ability to identify community needs, prioritize needs, and develop them into various service programs. Responsiveness measures the organizational capability of expectations, desires and aspirations, as well as the demands of citizens of service users. Non-partisan public service is a service system that enforces all users of service fairly without discriminating based on socioeconomic, ethnic, religious, party, and so on status. Non-partisan public services can be seen from: (1) equal access for all to obtain services; (2) the provision of public services to customers based on serial number; (3) non-application of service dispensation to the customer. To fulfill it all, there must be a bureaucratic neutrality in providing public services. In addition, another force that can encourage bureaucratic apparatus to act non-discriminatory against the service user is the existence of a bureaucratic code of ethics. This code of conduct

regulates permissible and unauthorized behavior patterns and various forms of sanctions that can be imposed on offenders.

c. Quality of Public Services

Quality is everything that is able to meet the needs or needs of customers (meeting the needs of customers). Theoretically, the purpose of public service is to satisfy the public. Public service delivery is a very strategic process because there is intensive interaction between citizens and government. The quality of products and processes of public service delivery can be observed, felt and judged directly by the citizens. Because public service is the responsibility of the government, the quality of public services organized by the government becomes one of the indicators of the quality of a government.

According to Levine, the indicators for assessing the quality of public services are:

1. Responsiveness or responsiveness is the responsiveness of service providers to the expectations, desires, aspirations and demands of service users.
2. Responsibility or responsibilities is a measure that indicates how far the process of public service delivery is done in accordance with the principles or provisions of the administration and organization is correct and has been established
3. Accountability or accountability is a measure that shows how big the process of service delivery in accordance with the interests of stakeholders and the norms that developed in the community.

The quality of public services can be seen in terms of service process aspect or from output or service result. In the view of Albrecht and Zemke, the quality of public services is the result of interaction from various aspects, namely service system, human resources, service providers, strategic and customers. A good public service system will produce good quality public services as well. A good system has and implements clear and defined service procedures and built in control mechanisms.

According to (Sinambela, 2006: 6) to achieve satisfaction in service then the quality of service is demanded to prime, which is reflected from:

1. Transparency, services that are open, easy and accessible to all parties who impose and provided adequately and easily understood
2. Accountability, services that can be accounted for in accordance with the provisions of legislation
3. Conditional, that is the service in accordance with the condition and the ability of the giver and the recipient of the service by sticking to the principle of efficiency and effectiveness
4. Participatory, services that can encourage public participation in the implementation of public services with attention to aspirations, needs, and expectations of society
5. Equality of rights, services that do not discriminate seen from any aspect, especially tribe, race, religion, class, social status, and others
6. The balance of rights and obligations, services that consider the aspects of justice between the giver and the recipient of public services

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The type of research used is a qualitative descriptive type that studies the existing problems and work procedures in force. This qualitative descriptive study aims to describe what is currently applicable about a phenomenon in detail and focus on the actual problem, which ultimately provides a clearer understanding of the phenomena studied. Data in this study obtained from primary data and Secondary. This study discusses the provision of regional allowances (TKD) in an effort to improve the performance of Jakarta provincial government employees. Data analysis techniques are used with data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing.

DISCUSSION

a. Effectiveness of Provision of Regional Performance Allowance (TKD) on Employee Performance

Effectiveness is a fundamental element to achieve the goals or targets that have been determined in every organization of activities or programs, so that everything is planned from the beginning in order to be achieved. Called effective when achieved goals or targets as predetermined. Where Steers (2005: 53) in his book "Organizational Effectiveness"

Said about the size of effectiveness, as follows:

1. Achievement of Goals is the overall goal achievement effort should be viewed as a process.

Therefore, for the achievement of the ultimate goal is guaranteed, necessary phasing, both in the sense of phasing the achievement of its parts and phasing in the sense of its periodization. Goal achievement consists of several Factors, namely: Time and target which is the target concrete.

Where in the Provision of Regional Performance Benefits (TKD) to the performance of Jakarta provincial employees become the center of attention in other areas throughout Indonesia, because TKD received by civil servants of DKI Jakarta quite a lot from other areas, so no wonder when the government of DKI Jakarta demands its employees to improve good performance in serving the community to achieve the goals set by the government of DKI Jakarta to all employees who have received TKD that the number is quite a lot.

Besides, it is in the Governor regulation. 108 Year 2016 DKI Jakarta Province where the purpose of providing TKD to improve the quality of public services, Discipline of civil servants and CPNS, Performance of civil servants and CPNS, Justice and welfare of civil servants and CPNS Integrates PNS and CPNS and orderly local financial administration. Where the civil servants of DKI Jakarta must meet the 6 points that have been set in PERGUB. Please note that, components of civil servant income in the form of fixed salary and Working Allocation Area (TKD) is one of the factors of encouragement of civil servants to remain enthusiastic and committed in work.

With the provision of TKD to the civil servants of DKI Jakarta, the performance level of civil servants in Jakarta increased from the previous year, the same thing felt the level of implementing / functional, where before this TKD appeared there was a smart jumbo stupid same income, and now with the scroll policy of local performance (TKD) is dynamic by the leadership (Governor of DKI) means to motivate employees who previously did not want to perform and just come absent and wandered in

working hours and now with TKD motivated more performance, proven government service from each year has increased, because motivated to receive Allowances because if they cannot account for their performance automatic payments will not be obtained because the provincial government of DKI Jakarta began implementing the Key Performance Indicator system to measure the performance of Civil Servants.

So their regional performance allowances can be maximized. The Key Performance Indicator (KPI) is designed to improve the quality of community services, improve discipline, performance, equity and well-being, and orderly administration of local financial management. With KPI-based measurements, targets and achievements will be more easily monitored for future development in Jakarta. Achievement of KPI is calculated based on comparison between realization and target achievement every month in percentage rate. Achievement of KPI, activity and work behavior, speed and accuracy of follow-up, until the absorption of the budget will affect the amount of Regional Performance Allowance (TKD). Measurement of working standards of civil servants with KPI has been regulated in Gubernatorial Regulation 108/2016 on TKD.

Where during this civil servants in the government DKI Jakarta confused casually do not know what to do because no one motivates them in carrying out their work and improve discipline them, so they just read the newspaper wandering out so that people who need service is not served well, but with the Dynamic TKD, with it would like the civil servants Jakarta DKI now minute seek activities or make activities so that productive. Despite the phenomenal rise, the new regulation does not increase the burden of the Jakarta government budget and even savings, because honor and technical supervision in DKI Jakarta is not in use anymore by Jakarta government, where the DKI Jakarta civil servants compete in terms of performance, where civil servants DKI Jakarta highly appreciates this policy, so there is fair treatment in which this policy makes people work seriously, sincerely and calmly, because every motion pen, mind, body that he did there is a reward that he can receive.

2. Integration is a measure of the level of ability of an organization to hold socialization, consensus development and communication with various other organizations.

Integration concerning the socialization process, integration is needed for public servants especially the civil servants of DKI Jakarta for the work they do Civil servants in DKI Jakarta have enjoyed a great and extraordinary salary, civil servant more responsible in improving the performance according to their duties and functions, this is one of the assessment of the future for the priority program, the flagship and the 5 T program commonly buzzed by the Governor of DKI Jakarta One of them, orderly waste disposal, orderly traffic, orderly occupancy, orderly sales, and to orderly oration. With the 5 T program is expected that the government can oversee this program in order to run properly should be the purpose for the common good.

Especially with the increase in the performance allowance of the performance area of employee performance continues to grow in accordance with the duties and functions of each. The more diligent civil servants the greater the dynamic TKD. In addition to the views of the many jobs done every day, civil servants are also assessed from its presence called TKD static. Static TKD, according to him, is corrected by presence. Civil servants who arrived late at the office, go home, alpha, permit, and sick, his TKD will be cut. The amount, alpha 5 percent, 3 percent per minute, 2.5 percent pain, came late and quickly returned home cumulative calculation of about 3 percent. So the presence of government employees must be timely so that the static allowance that they get in accordance with the expect

3. Adaptation is the organization's ability to adapt to its environment.

For that used benchmark procurement process and charging labor. Where the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta giving TKD is not solely to improve the welfare of civil servants, where the provision of TKD based on performance optimization is expected to motivate the apparatus to work as well as possible, especially in terms of serving the community, thereby TKD in the intention to go to good government And clean government, so DKI Jakarta employees must be paid well in the past. Where with this policy, the civil servants of DKI are no longer allowed to perform percentage games in all projects, both physical and non-physical. If the civil servants of DKI Jakarta do so will get sanction in the form of dismissal, so far the civil servant of DKI Jakarta is consistent with the regulation that has been set by the government so that if they violate the regulation the government especially the Governor of DKI Jakarta will give heavy sanctions in the form of reduction of allowance, Thus making employees in the government of DKI Jakarta always wary in performing their duties and functions as public servants.

DKI Jakarta government wants to go to clean government or good and clean Government, where employees must be well paid first, so he did not make any request to the community related to the services provided, allowances given based on employee performance, if the employee received TKD The same, the diligent or not diligent TKD same, then honorarium it piled on regional work unit (SKPD) who have activities, where the civil servant each month can get honorarium because they have activities, but there is also SKPD not get honorarium activities. There is an unequal distribution between SKPD so that the target of TKD allowance policy in accordance with the regulation no 108 of 2016 DKI Jakarta in order that each SKPD has initiative to create activities for the public interest so that the performance of employees can be measured by working program every SKPD so that it has activities and can get incentives Which is desired based on the level of performance satisfaction. So that the performance appraisal mechanism of civil servants seen through daily reports in the input with E-TKD system, where the data is entered the longest no later than 3 days after. This E-TKD system is automatically closed by itself, so that employees can be considered not working and not receive allowances, E-TKD system can be done anywhere by using phone or computer in which there is an E-TKD application Where the input data can be every day starting at 15.00 am to 08.00 am, thus if the data coverage has been completed civil servants can focus back to work as usual according to their tasks. With this the government can always supervise the

performance of Jakarta government civil servants, see who deserves the benefits in accordance with the level of performance and employee discipline through E-TKD and Key Performance Indicator systems so that it can transparency in the provision of local performance benefits both TKD dynamic and Static TKD for all civil servants in DKI Jakarta.

b. The Effect of Regional Performance Allowance (TKD) Based on Employee Discipline

With the provision of TKD to the civil servants of DKI Jakarta, the performance of civil servants in Jakarta increased from the previous year, as evidenced by the inclusion of civil servants in the number of attendance that each month increased, because included in Static TKD is related to absent civil servants in Jakarta. DKI Jakarta Provincial Government began to implement the Key Performance Indicator system. The KPI system aims to measure the performance of Civil Servants. So that their regional performance allowances can be maximized. The Key Performance Indicator (KPI) is designed to improve the quality of community services, improve discipline, performance, equity and well-being,

and orderly administration of local financial management. With KPI-based measurements, targets and achievements will be more easily monitored for the future development of Jakarta, Jakarta DKI Jakarta's discipline is very good because Static TKD is related to civil employment absenteeism in DKI Jakarta while TKD Dynamic relates to performance based on duties as duties Community, therefore the Jakarta DKI is required to follow the existing procedures if they want to get the maximum allowances that have been set. The thing to be noticed is that KPI achievement is calculated based on comparison between realization and target achievement every month in percentage rate. Achievement of KPI, activity and work behavior, speed and accuracy of follow-up, until the absorption of the budget will affect the amount of Regional Performance Allowance (TKD). Measurement of working standards of civil servants with KPI has been regulated in Gubernatorial Regulation 108/2016 on TKD. Where the table below describes the allowances in Jakarta city structural officials who are large enough from other areas, so do not be surprised when the public demanded the government to provide the best service to the people of Jakarta.

Table 1. Giving TKD based on Structural Position Demands

Information	Take Home Pay	Basic salary	Positional allowance	TKD Statis	TKD Dinamis	Transportation Allowances
Lurah	Rp 33.730.000	Rp 2.082.000	Rp 1.480.000	Rp 13.085.000	Rp 13.085.000	Rp 4.000.000
Camat	Rp 44.284.000	Rp 3.064.000	Rp 1.260.000	Rp 19.008.000	Rp 19.008.000	Rp 6.500.000
Wali Kota	Rp 75.642.000	Rp 3.542.000	Rp 3.250.000	Rp 29.925.000	Rp 29.925.000	Rp 9.000.000
Kepala Biro	Rp 70.367.00	Rp 3.542.000	Rp 2.025.000	Rp 27.900.000	Rp 27.900.000	Rp 9.000.000
Kepala Dinas	Rp 75.642.000	Rp 3.542.000	Rp 3.250.000	Rp 29.925.000	Rp 29.925.000	Rp 9.000.000
Kepala Badan	Rp 78.702.000	Rp 3.542.000	Rp 3.250.000	Rp 31.455.000	Rp 31.455.000	Rp 9.000.000

Source: Governor Regulation DKI Jakarta No.108 / 2016

From the table above shows the amount of TKD received by structural officials in DKI Jakarta TKD Scale to the lower functional officials as well as also shows that the concept of giving allowance (allowance) is still using the emphasis on structural positions and subordinate functional positions. As a result, with the development of TKD like this cannot be avoided the tendency of civil servants who only pursue structural positions and override functional positions. While in principle functional positions are more expected to develop professionalism, the policy direction of the payroll system does not seem to have changed much. This is not only true in DKI Jakarta but also in almost all levels of central government and local government in Indonesia (Kumorotomo, 2009). It is hoped that there will be a development in order for TKD to side with high dedication employees, in high risk type of work, which require special skills, or directly facing public service is in the provisions of the Governor of DKI Jakarta No.108 / 2016 as shown in Table 1. However, considering the scale and scale of benefits used in TKD schemes that rose considerably from the previous year ranging from 20 million rupiah to 40 million rupiah for structural officials, it appears that quite a large number of structural TKD recipients are compared with functional officials.

Work discipline is the attitude reflected in the actions or behavior of employees, in the form of compliance or adherence to rules and regulations set. In reality the current quality of human resources is still very less that can be seen from various problems found one of them is, employees who lack discipline that result in less optimal employee performance and affect the integrity of civil servants.

In order to improve the discipline of civil servants, the government has provided a policy with the issuance of Government Regulation No.53 of 2010 which is about the discipline of Civil Servants. Civil servants as government officials and public servants are expected to be ready to carry out their duties that have become their responsibilities well. However, it often happens in a government agency that employees violate discipline such as coming late, returning prematurely, working while chatting and other irregularities that cause less effective employees concerned. Although there are still things like

that but with the TKD provided by the civil servants of DKI Jakarta the level of employees discipline significantly increased from the previous year especially with the existence of static allowance is quite large equivalent to dynamic allowances, so the performance and discipline of employees is the main goal The government in providing the best service to the community in managing their needs in Jakarta government, so that people feel comfortable and secure especially now all the services integrated one door so that no longer need to go back and forth from one other department service.

c. Impact of Local Regional Performance Allowances (TKD) on Public Services

The Governor of DKI has applied the substance of the State Civil Apparatus Act (ASN) Number 5 of 2015 with the holding of dynamic performance allowance in the study system of Jakarta Civil Servants. Dynamic TKD is the allowance given to civil servants and civil servants based on work performance. (Article 1 number 22 governor regulation 207 Year 2014). Dynamic TKD is given to all Civil Servants as well as Candidates for Civil Servants within the Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. So anyone who has a good performance will get the maximum income through TKD.

Providing TKD to the employees of DKI Jakarta Province will improve performance and bring a good impact for the smoothness of public services, especially the province of DKI Jakarta. Poor performance of civil servants is still inherent, the quality of public services provided by civil servants is still stereotyped by slow service, convoluted, complex structure, full of corruption, and no definite standards. Public services should be more responsive to public interests and needs. In principle, every service provided by public institutions must always be improved quality in accordance with the wishes of the client or community service users. To improve the quality of public services one way is to fix what the complaints of the community. Many of the individuals in the organization misinterpret where customer complaints about the quality of service are a problem, when in fact this is actually an opportunity to improve the state from the less perfect to perfect.

The quality of public services is the expected benefit of the service provider to meet all the demands of society. If the service received / perceived as expected, then the quality of service is perceived as good and satisfactory, on the contrary if the service received is lower than expected, the service quality is perceived poorly. So, whether or not the quality of service, it depends on the ability of service providers to meet the expectations/ demands of society.

Provision of TKD to the civil servants of DKI Jakarta is expected to implement the implementation of bureaucracy reform in providing public services to the public. Required commitment of service providers in providing quality public services as responsibility for the amount of TKD received. The need for direct supervision

CONCLUSION

The policy of giving TKD to the civil servants of DKI Jakarta according to Governor Regulation no. 108 Year 2016, where the provision of TKD is divided into two, namely static TKD based on the absence of civil servants and dynamic TKD based on performance and duties as community servants. The Government of DKI Jakarta has implemented Key Performance Indicator (KPI) to assess the performance of civil servants so that TKD is able to function maximally in accordance with civil servant performance indicators. Civil servants of DKI Jakarta must fulfill 6 points in TKD acceptance related to income component of civil servant in the form of fixed salary and TKD, that is to improve the quality of public service, civil servant and civil servant, civil servant and civil servant, civil servant and civil servant integrity civil servant and CPNS and Orderly administration of regional finance.

The provision of TKD is an improvement in the performance-based recitation system, but most importantly the provision of TKD must be in accordance with clear performance, the provision of TKD will not change the improvement in public service delivery if the performance indicator in TKD is unclear, and the performance indicators must follow every need and Community development.

SUGGESTION

1. The provision of TKD to the civil servants of DKI Jakarta needs to be reviewed selectively by taking into account the performance indicators (dynamic TKD) not only based on attendance (TKD static), so the TKD acceptance by civil servants in accordance with the performance that has been done, and giving TKD on target to the employee with Good performance.

2. Strong commitment by civil servants is required as a public service provider in providing quality services to the community as a consequence of TKD they have received, and necessary supervision in terms of public service delivery by the community. The community must also be given space in direct control in the process of organizing a good public service.

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Chapter 6
Region and Activism

Street or Senayan? FPI between Contentious Politics and Transformation into Party

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Abstract

The transformation of a social movement into a party is interesting in the realm of political science since it joins two theories, namely party theory and social movement theory. It is also interesting because there are some social movements that turns into party while the other does not. This paper tries to figure out why FPI as a social movement organization does not transform into a party, even though FPI met preconditions of a transformation. The author uses four preconditions of transformation previously employed in examining a successful transformation of Five Star Movement (FSM) into a party in Italy. This paper shows that those four preconditions does not works since they did not consider one factor that is the capacity of the state in enforcing regulations toward the violation that have been done by social movements. The low capacity of the state eventually influences the option of FPI in maintaining their traditional ways as a social movement. From a rational choice point of view FPI feels that the incentive structure to be a party is much smaller than remaining to be a social movement organization. For FPI, street is more promising compared to *Senayan*.

Keywords: FPI, transformation, social movement, political party, contentious politics, low state capacity

INTRODUCTION

The speech of Jakarta Governor, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (known also as Ahok), in *Kepulauan Seribu* on September 27th 2016, which was considered to be a religious blasphemy seemed to have given blessing to various movements previously opposed to him. One of those movements is the *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI) or Islamic Defenders Front, an Islamic mass organization under the leadership of Al-Habib M. Rizieq bin Husein Syihab or Habib Rizieq, which is labeled as a radical movement and often uses naked means of violence in achieving its ends. Ahok's remarks became a momentum for FPI to reposition its image in the midst of society. Allegations of blasphemy that intertwined with the momentum of elections in Jakarta Special Region where the incumbent Ahok ran for the governor position immediately bear demands "*Penjarakan Ahok*" or "Imprison Ahok" which manifested into various mass movements led by several Islamic organizations including FPI.

There were at least two great movements which do have the support and extraordinary public sympathy as mass demands to imprison Ahok, those are the Action 411 that held in November 4th 2016 and Action 212 that held in December 2nd, 2016. Both actions are considered important in Islamic politics in Indonesia for at least two reasons. First, those actions successfully attracted so many masses to join in, both individually and organizationally. That was interesting since Indonesian Muslims in many cases tend to split into many streams and interests. Secondly, not only unite Indonesian Muslims in one movement and command, both actions seemed to be a turning point of FPI position and image in the eyes of society. Many sympathizers and members of large Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah participated in these actions, by choosing not to comply with the appeal of the leaders of those mass organizations who prevent the involvement of their members into the movements. They even opted to follow the command of FPI as one of the leading organizations in those movements.

The slogan of "Super Damai" or "Super-Peace" smartly attributed to those actions has considerably changed the image of FPI which has previously been identified as an intolerant

and vigilant mass organization. FPI which previously only been on the periphery of the Indonesian political stage with its actions which by most people is categorized as radical and even anarchist suddenly seemed to be one of the center of resistance movement in opposing the attitude of government which positioned as not firmly, partial, and even impressed protecting Ahok, the blasphemy actor of Holy Qur'an, by spearheading the National Movement of Fatwa Guards of the Indonesian 'Ulama Council (GNPF-MUI) which are at the forefront of those acts. The FPI, suddenly got a very important role (Wildan, 2017). Even in the survey finding of the Alvara Research Center in four provinces in early November 2016 and with 1,626 respondents, FPI was ranked as the third most recognized Islamic organization known by Indonesians after Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah (Kompas, 2017).

Despite the frequent acts of anarchy in the noble mission of "*Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*", the *Qur'anic* edict means "enjoining the good and forbidding evil", but in fact so far it is not clear the benefits of those violent acts carried out by FPI to this organization itself, except the controversies and criticism from various parties, in which some of those even lead to demands for the dissolution of FPI by rival groups. Moreover, there has been no research that systematically examines the relationship between violent acts committed by FPI with the diminishing of "*kemunkaran*" or evil in Indonesia. The FPI leader, Habib Rizieq, was even repeatedly imprisoned for his actions in organizing violence for carrying out their collective actions.

Some criticisms suggested that FPI actions and vigilantism should not be allowed since they endanger the basic values of Indonesian diversity. The FPI is also accused of being an elite tool to beat political rivals. On the other hand, FPI supporters insist that FPI should still exist because even if people do not agree with its violent actions, Islamic society must have a representation of a movement that promotes the mission of "*nahi munkar*", or "forbidding evil" a mission that had been left behind by many religious organizations, especially Islamic organization, in Indonesia. Moreover FPI also actively enjoins the *ma'ruf*, such as conducting

humanitarian actions for disaster victims (CRSC, 2017).

In this paper, the author considered FPI as a social movement organization (SMO). In social movement theory, SMO is perceived as an organized element of a social movement. SMO is usually only one part of a social movement. In other word, a social movement usually consists of many SMOs, namely social organizations that have a common goal (Zald & McCarthy, 1997: 21). If it is traced from the definition of a social movement, FPI clearly meets the criteria as an organization that is part of the social movement. For example the definition presented by Macionis (1999: 607) which states that social movement is an organized activity intended to encourage or impede a social change (encourages or discourages social change). From the definition given by Macionis, a social movement at least has two main characteristics, namely: (1) organized activities; and (2) the purpose associated with a social change.

According to Wilson (2008: 201), FPI made its first public appearance during the politica lturmoil of 1998 as part of the pro-Habibie Pam Swakarsa militia established by General Wiranto to curtail the pro-reform student movement. Soon after, the group was involved in a bloody confrontation against Ambonese gangsters in Ketapang that left 15 dead. Unlike any other Islamic radical movements, FPI does not call for an Islamic state. Rizieq argued that prophet Muhammad never discussed the specifics of an Islamic state and was concerned only with the creation of a society based on Sharia (Wilson, 2008: 200). Instead, it demands the change in Indonesia's constitution to include adherence to Shariah law. The FPI's primary objective is to implement the principles of *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar* in all aspects of life (Jerard, 2014: 92). Syihab (2008) also claims that FPI is a traditional, moderate Islamic organization. Traditional means that FPI is respectful of local culture, not anti-*mazhab* (Islamic schools) and honors classical and modern Ulama (Muslim scholars). Moderate means that FPI does not only focus on Islamic rituals, or follow a certain *sufi* order, but also it emphasizes the balance between the "world" and the "hereafter."

By citing Tarrow, Klandermans (Sukmana, 2016: 4) defines social movement as a collective opposition by people who share the same solidarity and goals in a process of continuous interaction with the elite, the opponent, and the authorities. FPI's actions, both in order to discipline nightclubs, gambling arena, and some other places considered as evil venues are a form of mistrust and opposition of the FPI against legal regulations and government apparatus which are deemed not to be strict in prohibiting the operation of those places. Referring to these definitions, and juxtaposed with FPI organizational movement patterns, it can be concluded that FPI is a social movement organization.

Interestingly, the FPI is a social movement organization that still chooses to be in the form of a social movement organization through an extra-parliamentary means rather than intra-parliamentary mechanism by shaping or transforming into a political party, precisely when incentives for it are widely available as well as political opportunity for it to be widely opened in post-Soeharto era. FPI is interesting to observe because, *firstly*, in an era of party democracy that spoils political parties with a lot of privileges, FPI actually enjoys its role as a vigilante that places its members in many acts of violence that compel them face to face, physically with many elements of society. By turning into a party, the locus of the FPI activities and struggle will be mostly done through electoral politics as a consequence of party democracy. The energy that FPI has used to commit acts of violence and vigilantism could be minimized and transformed into actions that are more accountable and positively correlated to the institutionalization of the democratic system in Indonesia. *Secondly*, this possibility is largely opened, since FPI never reject the party or forbade its cadres to enter the party as long as it has similar purposes with the FPI.

According to Zollner (2016: 1), a systematic research that tries to explain the transition from social movement has not been much discussed in various literatures, both successful and moreover the "failure" to be a party. However, the authors found there was at least a small amount of writing that focused on the success

of transformation abroad such as green parties and new-left libertarians in the United States (Schwarz, 2016), or FJP (Freedom and Justice Party) in Egypt, Harakat an-Nahda in Tunisia, (Pickard, 2013: Tavana, 2013), MVR in Bolivia as well as domestic transformation phenomena such as the Democratic People's Party (PRD) (Argenti, 2016) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia. As for, systematic research in terms of to what extent social movement does not turn into a party is a field work that is still widely open since there is not much availability of literatures or the foundation of sufficient theory. From this point of view, the author will try to elaborate why in a party democracy, there is still a social movement that not transform itself into a political party. Therefore, this article seeks to explain why FPI not transform itself into a political party.

DISCUSSION

1. Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front)

a. The Birth of FPI

According to Munajat (2012: 66), there were at least two major conditions that facilitated and shaped the emergence of FPI. The first one was the fall of Suharto's military authoritarian regime and the second one was the emergence of new conflicts and chaos across Indonesia that specifically victimized the Muslim community. The Ketapang riots, Madura-Dayak conflict in Kalimantan, Ambon conflict, are among those conflicts put Islam as victim. For FPI, the fall of Suharto was an opportunity for Habaib (*Hadrami* Family), 'ulama and Muslim preachers to form an Islamist movement called FPI. The conflicts that victimized Muslims united these Muslim leaders on the importance of the establishment of an organization defending Islam and Muslim interests. Syihab, in Munajat (2012:67) argues that FPI should function itselff as a group that pressures the government to actively improve morality and to develop a social, political and legal structure that obeys the values of *shari'a*. In doing so, the Islamic concept is adopted to achieve *Amar Ma`ruf Nahi Munkar* (AMNM), or Enjoining the Good and Forbidding the Evil (Syihab 2008:126).

Syihab, co-founder and leader of FPI stated in his book that the background of the establishment of FPI was motivated by: 1)

the suffers of Muslim in Indonesia caused the weaknesses of the civil and military government, and in turn they also committed several human right violations and injustice, and 2) the Islamic obligation to take care and defend the dignity of Islam and Muslims (Syihab, 2008: 589). These FPI's concerns are also reflected in the name of FPI (*Front Pembela Islam*) itself. The word *Front* means that FPI is expected to be the front line of society in the struggle against injustice and immorality. Therefore, the orientation of FPI is to do things that are real or physically obvious in implementing *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*; the term *Pembela*, or defenders, means that FPI will always defend the values of righteousness as well as justice; and *Islam* means that FPI organization is based solely on Islamic tenets. By combining all of these, Syihab claimed that FPI will be ready on the front line to defend and struggle for the application of Islamic *shari`a* in Indonesia (Syihab, 2008:129).

Based on these reasons, some Muslims leaders –led by Habib Muhammad Rizieq Syihab–or well-known as Habib Rizieq-declared the establishment of *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI) or Islamic Defenders Front in the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) of al-Umm, located in Kampung Utan, Ciputat, somewhere in southern Jakarta on August 17th, 1998. Among those Muslim leaders contributed in declaring the establishment of FPI were K.H. Cecep Bustomi, Habib Idrus Jamalullail, K.H. Damanhuri, Habib Muhammad Rizieq Syihab and K.H. Misbahul Anam. Initially, members of FPI were the only followers of these FPI founders. According to Jahroni (2008), FPI's founders are well-known charismatic Muslim leaders in their community. Some of them also ran Islamic boarding houses and schools. The amount of their followers varies from hundreds to thousands of people.

Jahroni subsequently explained that in general, what FPI means by the application of *shari`a* is the application of law which is based on God's laws to substitute the men-made law such as those in the Indonesian constitution (Jahroni, 2008). What has been promoted by FPI is exactly the same idea to the Islamist faction and Islamist movements during the Sukarno and Suharto regimes. The position of

Islamist movements during those two regimes which stretched from 1945 to 1998 was always politically marginal, in opposition to the state, and was mostly radical. In other word, it can be said that over the past 53 years the position of the movements that demanded the application of *shari'a* was marginal and in opposition to the government. FPI apparently situated itself in conditions that made it likely to play the same role as the older Islamist movements that had adopted radical strategies and maintained opposition with the nationalist government. Thus, FPI became less likely to cooperate with the nationalist government (Jahroni, 2008). Similarly, the government was likely to find it more difficult to co-opt FPI. Therefore, even though FPI deemed to receive considerable support from several military elites, FPI still maintained its distance from the government. Nevertheless, it should be noted that different to the other Islamic movements in Indonesia that has connection with transnational Islamic movements, Jahroni in his book believed that there is no middle-eastern connection or influence behind FPI existence. In accordance to his former argument, Jahroni stated that its *rationale* is authentically Indonesian, in that it was founded to respond to local issues in Indonesian public sphere. (Jahroni, 2008: 23).

b. FPI Activities

The shifting of political system from authoritarian to democratic order after the fall of Soeharto created a new pattern of relation between the state and society. The shifting gives opportunities to societal elements such as FPI to freely act and even to put pressure on the government, although initially the appearance of FPI cannot be separated from military elite support in the frame of state-supported paramilitary groups called Pam Swakarsa in the very end of Soeharto's regime. This support was both logistical and financial (Wilson, 2008:201). In couple of months of its emergence, FPI utilized moderate means to achieve their goals. They sent a humanitarian mission to help Muslim victims in the Ambon conflict. They also established an independent group to investigate the case of "Ninja Killing" that victimized many Muslim leaders in eastern part of Java. FPI also

provided recommendations to the government in order to resolve the problems and give quick and proper responses to the problems that victimized Muslims (Jahroni, 2008).

But that moderate means did not last long as their way of achieving their objectives. After the Ketapang Jakarta incident in October 1998, FPI started to use violent means. Jahroni counted that from 1998 to 2010, FPI has been involved in more than 64 cases of violent activities, especially around the capital city of Jakarta. They targeted night clubs, brothels, churches, Ahmadiyah group, the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) community, the American embassy and consulates on the grounds of defending Islam and Islamic moral values (Jahroni, 2008). Meanwhile between 2010 and 2014, Tempo (2004) noted there were nine cases of violence conducted by FPI in five Indonesian provinces.

Nevertheless, FPI has kept using moderate even humanitarian means. For instance, most of activities that are associated with the demand for the application of *shari`a* have been carried out peacefully by conducting a rally. Another illustration could be seen as FPI and GNPF MUI held a series of peaceful actions demanding the Ahok case to be processed by the authority. It should be noted that FPI has also been involved in many social activities, such as sending humanitarian aids to the victims of Tsunami in Aceh in 2005 and the victims of the Merapi volcano eruption in Yogyakarta-Central Java in 2010. In its routine activism, FPI also has regularly conducted some social activities, especially around the capital city of Jakarta, like helping the victims of annual flood in Jakarta (Jahroni, 2008). FPI also cooperates with the Ministry of Social Affairs to build descent houses to the poor. Unfortunately, those social and humanitarian activities were likely uncovered by media.

FPI registered its organization to Indonesia's Ministry of Home Affairs on November 14, 1998. FPI also declared that its organization was legal and that it fulfilled all requirements for such organizations. This implies that FPI formally supports the Indonesian foundation of Pancasila (the Five Principles). Even though FPI has routinely adopted violent strategies and has been threatened with dissolution several times, it has been able to maintain itself as a legal organization. The statement of the Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahyo Kumolo, in January 2017 also strengthen the legality of FPI. Commenting some demands constitutes the dissolution of FPI recently, Kumolo said that FPI is legally registered in the ministry and it last to 2019. One of the Ministry of internal Affairs officials, Dodi Riatmadji, said that the dissolution process is not simple. There are some steps according the Laws of 17/2013 about mass organization that should be followed before a mass organization could be dissolved (kompas.com, 2017).

c.   **Organizational Structure of FPI**

Similar to other modern organizations, especially modern Islamic groups, the organizational structure of FPI generally consists of two parts: a consultative assembly (*majelis syura*) and an executive committee (*majelis tanfidzi*). The consultative assembly is the highest position in the organization that its task is giving advises to the executive committee concerning general policies and activities. This consultative assembly consists of five boards: the Syari`ah, Honorary, Supervisory, Advisory and Supervisory Boards. Since *majelis syura* is a structure that should be respected and obeyed by the executive committee, Syihab stated that all of these positions are usually held by the older respected members or founders of FPI (Syihab 2008:195).

The executive committee is the body of the organization that runs daily activities of FPI. Since its establishment, the executive committee has been chaired by Habib Rizieq. The chairman of the executive committee is assisted by several deputies, such as a secretary general and treasurer. In order to run its programs, FPI formed departments, specialized agencies, autonomous bodies, and also organizational wings, as explained in Table 1 (Syihab, 2008: 194-202).

Table 1

Divisions of Organizational Structure of FPI

No	Department	Specialized Agencies	Autonomous Body	Organizational Wings
1.	Religion	the Investigation Front	the Immorality Watch Front	The Paramilitary Islamic Defenders
2.	Foreign Affairs	the Anti-terror Front	the Propagation Front	the Women's Paramilitary of Islam Defenders
3.	Internal Affairs	the Recruitment Front	Economics Front	the Labor Union Front
4.	State Defense and Jihad	the Expert Front	the Advocacy Front	the Islamic Students Front
5.	Socio Politics Law and Human Rights			
6.	Education and Culture			
7.	Economics			
8.	Research and Technology			

Source: Adopted from Syihab (2008).

Munajat stated that among these divisions of organizational structure, only the Paramilitary Islamic Defenders, or LPI (*Laskar Pembela Islam*), is the most visible in relation to FPI's violent activities (Munajat, 2012). Based on previous studies by Jahroni (2008) and Ngatawi (2006), the organizational structure of FPI is traditional and its scope is limited, especially in comparison to NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah which have a bigger and more complex structure. Although the divisions in the organizational structure seemed to follow the standard format and the trends of a modern organization, Munajat asserted that its activities are still centralized by a few elite leaders, like Habib Rizieq Syihab, Ahmad Sobri Lubis, Munarman, KH. Misbahul Anam and Habib Salim Bin Umar Al-Attos (Munajat, 2012).

According to Jahroni (2008), the development of FPI has been much determined by the networks of its leaders, namely the *hadrami* or *habaib* networks. Some of FPI top leaders are from *hadrami* or *habaib* families. Many leaders of FPI local branches also come from the *hadrami* families, such as branches in some cities and districts like Brebes, Tegal, Pemalang, Bogor, Depok and Sukabumi. According to Jacobsen, *hadrami* refers to the community of Muslims in Indonesia who are descendants of Muslim Arab who migrated to Indonesia from Hadramawt (Yemen) approximately two to three centuries ago. There are two classifications of *Hadrami*, those are the *sayyid* or *habib* and the common *Hadrami*. *Sayyid* or *Habib* are the *Hadrami* who has direct

descendants with the Prophet Muhammad, therefore they usually enjoyed special status among Indonesian Muslims (Jacobsen, 2009) .However, Syihab rejected the idea that FPI is dominated by the persons from *habaib's* family because they only made up five percent of FPI's committee members (Syihab 2008).

Despite of the clear hierarchical structure of the organization, communication and coordination in FPI tend to be loose and open. Syihab argues that, financially, all FPI's branches are independent from each other and from the central committee. The central committee gives freedom to the FPI branches to establish their own policies (Syihab 2008). Syihab's claim is proven by the FPI branch in Surakarta, Central Java. Although FPI in Surakarta have been involved and has similar concerns such as supporting *shari'a*, anti-communism, and anti-immorality, it have claimed to be completely independent from the central board of FPI in Jakarta (Jahroni, 2008).

d. Membership Structure and Characteristic

In an interview with the CNN Indonesia around October 2014, one of the FPI leaders, Muchsin Alatas claimed that the number of FPI members are approximately seven million, stretched from Aceh to Papua (CNNIndonesia.com, 2014). Similar to the organizational structure, the membership of FPI is also open and loose. Any Muslims can become a member of FPI without going through specific rituals (*bai`at*) and formal organizational procedures. Therefore, if someone joins the activities of FPI and shows his or her

enthusiasm, he or she can be regarded as a FPI member. According to Al-Zastrouw, FPI does not systematically recruit potential members. Many Muslims joined FPI because their religious leaders joined FPI. The loyalty of members towards their religious leader binds them to FPI (Al-Zastrouw, 2002). Syihab acknowledged what had been claimed by Al-Zastrouw that initially members of FPI were only followers of FPI leaders, or the members of Islamic circle led by FPI leaders. After the incident of Ketapang Jakarta, Munajat argued that FPI started to formally recruit its membership. By citing Jampanx, Munajat (2012) also stated that FPI even recruited former '*preman*' (hoodlums); they often became the front line during AMNM operations that targeted immoral places. Apparently, Wilson's work in 'As Long as it's Halal': Islamic Premanin Jakarta supported Munajat statement by featuring an interview in 2005 with a *preman* convert to FPI (Wilson, 2008:193).

Al-Zastrouw divides FPI members into four social characteristics: *awam* (ordinary people) are followers of FPI leaders (*ulama* and *habaaib*); *intelektual-akademisi* (higher educated people) are members consisted of students or faculty members of a university; most of them are from secular universities; *mantan preman* (former hoodlums) are former hoodlums who usually take part in violent activities; and the *habaib* and the ulama who become some kinds of think tanks of the organization and mostly hold important positions in the organization (Al-Zastrouw 2006). It seemed that *awam* and *intelektual-akademisi* joined to FPI since FPI has a mission: *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. They have not gone through formal initiation in FPI prayer sessions at local mosque. They constitute a big part of FPI called *jama'ah* division. Meanwhile, the bulk of the membership consist of *preman*, street kids, and unemployed youth who have been recruited into the FPI militia, *Laskar Pembela Islam* (Wilson, 2008:201).

2. Party, Social Movement, and Democracy

In the debate of the theory of democracy, social movements and political parties equally occupy a crucial position, although both are in different theoretical spaces. A political party is an organization aimed at gaining government posts through competitive elections (Sartori, 1976: 64). Through the election, the fate of party will be determined. If the party wins the election, the party will fill the available government positions in a political system. The party is thus assumed to work in a procedural and institutionalized polity. Therefore, political parties become so relevant when associated with theories of electoral, procedural, liberal, or representative democracy.

The social movement is a form of collective action that has relative durability, and aims to strengthen or resist social change. Social movement can survive because of the very high commitment of its supporters who are interested in the purpose of a movement. If the party works in an institutionalized polity, the social movements operate outside the arena by using strike actions, demonstrations, street protests, along with other more conventional forms of political activity to offer a challenge to power holders. Social movement thus becomes relevant when elaborated using the theory of communitarian democracy. Due to working in two different domains, having different reason and methods, it is natural that the emergence of social movements in developed countries in the 1950-60s decade such as the new left-libertarian social movement is often thought to revive communitarian democracy theory and challenge the practice of competitive contemporary elite democracy that mainstreamed and provided privileges to political parties.

While in post-authoritarian countries, the existence of social movement is often judged to play a crucial role in democratic transition for at least two reasons. First, they are a decisive force in opposing authoritarianism. Second, social movement is also considered important in the transition of democracy because they are the embryo or foundation of the emergence of political parties (Zollner, 2016). Being in a different theoretical space, with different reason and method, it becomes a very interesting phenomenon when social movement transformed into a political party. As O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) argue, the establishment of political parties and the holding of elections as a result are a positive indication of a willingness to move towards democratic governance.

3. The Transformation of Social Movement into Party

The transformation of social movement into party took place in various parts of the world. In

America, the emergence of Green Parties derived from mainly environmental movements is the most frequently presented example to display this phenomenon. In the European region, in addition to ecological parties, radical new right-wing parties are also born out of transformation. In the Asian region, the phenomenon of Arab Spring left a legacy of transformation of social movements into parties, for instance in Egypt and Tunisia.

In Indonesia too, history also noted some social movements that transformed into a political party. One example of this phenomenon is that of the *Sarekat Islam* (SI) which was previously called *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (SDI). The *Sarekat Islam* was transformed from a religious and economic social organization as a form of resistance front from the indigenous traders of the Muslims to Chinese merchants and colonial government policies that marginalized indigenous and economic powers into political parties around 1916 and then sent their representatives into the *Volksraad* in the year 1917. Despite its status was party, the nomenclature of party was officially adopted in 1923 when the Seventh Congress of the *Sarekat Islam* in Madiun agreed that *Central Sarekat Islam* was renamed the *Partai Sarekat Islam* (PSI). In 1927 the name of *Partai Sarekat Islam* was later changed to *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* (PSII). Nonetheless, the nomenclature of this party was fully achieved by the PSII in 1955 when it first entered electoral politics following elections.

During the New Order period, the transformation of the social movement organizations into political parties also occurred. One illustration of this phenomenon was one experienced by the pro-democratic elements that previously challenging the authoritarian New Order. This anti-Soeharto movement transformed into the Democratic People's Party (PRD) at its first congress, April 15, 1996. Despite it had become a political party at the end of the New Order, PRD did not have an opportunity to participate in the 1999 election, due to the restriction of the regime. After all, the age of the party was not long, because after the July 27, 1996 incident at the PDI office in Diponegoro Street (*kudatuli incident*), this organization was declared as a banned organization by the New Order government and many of its main figures were subsequently taken away by the authorities. It was not until Soeharto's fall that the reformed government began to open the tap for political liberalization in Indonesia. The PRD after experiencing an intense internal debate process ultimately chose to move from the street social-political movement to the election-fighting party in which its post-reform debut began in the 1999 elections.

PKS is another example of the transformation from social movement to political party. The origin of this organization can be traced down from various campus propagation movements spread across universities in Indonesia in the decade of the 80s led by members of *Jamaah Tarbiyah*, which used an Ikhwanul Muslimin-style cell system to recruit cadres. (Dijk, 1981). The campus propagation movement in 1986 agreed to establish a Forum of Fellowship of Campus Da'wah Institution (FSLDK), which later gave birth to KAMMI, one of the most vocal institutions voicing the demands of reforms to fight Soeharto. After the decline of Soeharto, KAMMI leaders agreed to form *Partai Keadilan* (PK) or Justice Party which was declared on July 20, 1998 in Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta. Due to the failure to meet the electoral threshold in the 2004 election, PK was later officially renamed itself into the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in 2003.

From some literatures on the transformation of social movement into political parties, there are at least three perspectives on how to explain this phenomenon. First, a perspective that seeks to see transformation from the perspective of transformation methods and the type of party resulting from transformation. From this perspective, at least two patterns appear, namely the pattern in which the party then undergoes a perfect metamorphosis process. The social movement as the parent organization then turns into a party and stops its informal political activism. The party will usually stop its "out-of-space" activism and become an "obedient" political party to the institutionalized rules of democracy. While the second pattern, the pattern in which the metamorphosis is not perfectly occurred. This pattern produces a party that still has the characteristics of a thick movement. One of the highlights here is the writings of Schwarz (2016) who wrote about the party movement in America, which has attributes both as a party and as a social movement. Like a political party, the party movement wants seats in the legislature. While as

a social movement they often use non-institutional means to express their messages. They are emerged to fill the gap between social movements and political parties to merely represent their interests and achieve their goals. Transformation in this way occurs because a social movement wants to express their interests by walking in two paths, namely the institutional political path that becomes the party domain and the non-institutional political path that becomes the arena of social movement. The breath of the movement did not stop when it transformed into a political party.

The second perspective, is the writings that try to see how the transformation takes place from the aspect of the relationship between the social movement that is the parent of the party with the political party that formed, for example what Zollner wrote about the transformation of social movement into the party in Egypt and Tunisia (Zollner, 2016). There are two patterns that can be elaborated in this perspective. The first pattern is when a political party does not have independence from its parent organization. For example, the FJP is only the electoral wing and lobbying tool of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The second pattern, occurs when the party generated from the metamorphosis process has independence from the organization of its origin. The second example is Harakat an-Nahda in Tunisia, also of Muslim Brotherhood, but is able to mobilize its capacity to reconcile different interests, rather than merely being the mouthpiece or political wing of its parent organization.

Third, perspectives that try to see the factors that cause a social movement transformed into a political party. One of the writings that can be an example of this perspective is the writings of Anria (2013) who observed the transformation process that took place in the body of MAS, the political party that became the political vehicle of Evo Morales who managed to escort him to the presidency of Bolivia. MAS is one of the movement-based parties that gradually abandons the remnants of the nature of its movement when it is in power. Interestingly, this organization according to Anria is hybrid because it works using different organizational logic when operating in rural and urban areas (Anria, 2013: 20). In his writings Anria says that there are at least four elements that influence MAS change from social movement to "political instrument", namely (1) implementation and continued crisis of neoliberalism; (2) resistance to the abolition of coca farmers and state violence; (3) a permissive institutional environment that provides opportunities for all social movements and political parties to flourish, and (4) crisis of party system and acute state institutions (Anria, 2013: 25).

The next article that takes this perspective comes from Mikecz which highlights how the formation of party structures by a social movement is a strategic choice as a manifestation of the internal dynamics of a social movement (Mikecz, 2015: 102). Mikecz focuses his research on the structural changes occurring in two parties in Hungary, namely the right radical Jobbik party and the LMP ecological party, both from social movement. Mikecz concludes that there are three factors that drive a social movement to take the form of a party, namely (1) an open opportunity in the electoral sphere; (2) lack of political consultation; And (3) the lack of a strong ally.

Table 2

Perspectives on Social Movement Transformation into Party

Perspectives	Author	Cases	Conclusion
Method of transformationand party typeresulted from the transformation.	Schwarz, 2007	Interactions Between Social Movements and US Political Parties	There are two pattern of transformations: perfect transformation and imperfect transformation
	Argenti, 2016.	Transformation of PRD (Democratic People Party) in Indonesia	By using Schwarz tipology, PRD experienced an imperfect transformation
Relation betweenpartyandits mother organization(*social movement*)	Zollner, 2016	FJP in Egypt and Harakat An-Nahda in Tunisia	There are twotypes of this perspective: independent party and dependent party

Factors/preconditions of transformation	Finn, 2009	Transformation of Rebel Movement in El Salvador and Zimbabwe	There are three factors influencing decision to transform: a) nature and influence of international to the rebel movement; b) the level of society support to the rebel; c) the types of electoral system
	Kirdic. 2011	Kirdic conducted his research to five Islamic movement in three in three states: Turkey, Morocco, and Jordan	Kirdic perceived there is a connection between the strategy employed by a social movement and its transformation into party
	Anria, 2013	MAS, a movement based-party in Bolivia	Preconditions of transformation:1) implementation and crises ofneoliberalism; (2) struggle against coca farmer abolition; (3) institutional environment; (4) acute party system and state institutions crises
	Halkjelsvik, 2016	Transformation of Five Star Movement of Italy	There are four proporitions encouraging transformation:(1) social media; (2) charismatic leader; (3) neglected topics; and (4) thelackof trust toward existing parties

Source: processed from many sources

Although those three perspectives have several dimensions of difference, they represent a same transformation typology. First, those patterns of transformation are in a political space that does provides a structure of incentive and a political opportunity for a social movement to metamorphose into a political party (Nasiwan, 2015) that happens in advanced democracy as well as in post-authoritarian countries. Secondly, all of these works represent the success of the transformation process from social movement to a political party, apart from the problem of durability or sustainability of the transformation. In fact, not all social movements move into political parties, although there is an incentive structure or a political opportunity. There are also some social movements that remain stand still, faithful to its original form. One of the social movements does not change into political parties is the FPI.

4.   FPI and the Preconditions of Transformation

According to Zollner (2016: 1), a systematic research that tries to explain the transition from social movement has not been much discussed in literatures. However, the authors found there were at least a small amount of writing that focused on the success of transformation such as green parties and new-left libertarians in the United States (Schwarz, 2016), or FJP (Freedom and Justice Party) in Egypt, *Harakat an-Nahda* in Tunisia, (Pickard, 2013: Tavana, 2013), MVR in Bolivia as well as the Democratic People's Party (PRD) (Argenti, 2016) and the Justice Party Prosperous (PKS) in Indonesia. As for, the systematic research on in terms of what a social movement does not turn into a party is a field work that is still open very wide because there is not much availability of literature or the foundation of sufficient theory.

Since talking about how social movement transformed into a political party, the researchers will use a combination of two theories, namely the theory of social movement and the theory of political party formation. Therefore this study will depart from the writings of Halkjelsvik (2016) on FSM (the Five Star Movement) in Italy. Halkjelsvik's writing has provided a theoretical foundation that is able to describe the pre-conditions that cause a social movement to transform into a political party. He described

how a successful social movement transformed into a political party. There are four factors in her thesis that facilitate the transformation, namely: (1) Social media that facilitated the transition from an anti-establishment social movement to a successful political party; (2) The charismatic leader that was the main reason for the smooth transition for a new anti-establishment social movement to become a political party; (3) Focus on seemingly neglected topics that facilitates the transition from an anti-establishment social movement to a successful political party, and (4) The lack of trust in established institutions and the political parties made way for a new anti-establishment/anti-party movement. Anyway, those four propositions relatively fail to explain why social movement does not transform into party, at least in the case of FPI.

According to Halkjelsvik (2016), the fundamental basis of the Resource Mobilization Theory is that social movements developfrom a significant increase in the level of resources available to support an emergence. Those resources could be in the form of solidarity, organization, as well as external support. If we consider their use of thesocial media as a resource in itself, it has had a great influence on themovements formation cost, and therefore its successful transition. Theory on political parties also talks about formation costs. Formation costs are somethingconcrete that can stagnate a potential party's progress. A potential party needs resources to beable to maintain their goal of becoming a fully-fledged political party (Hug 2001, 56-57,99).In traditional politics, it takes a lot of funds to run for office. In recent years however, someparties have begun taking advantage of new methods of mobilization that do not involveexpensive electoral campaigns. Social media has opened the electoral arena to those whoknow how to take advantage. In the case of Five Star Movement in Italy, the use of social media succeeded in transform the consciousness of a large segment in the Italian population, and get so many people to actually vote for them.

In the case of FPI, social media is unable to facilitateFPI to transform into political party. As any other social movements, the Central Board of FPI also actually uses social media as well as an effort for making fresh and uncontaminated image organization as well as a method of mobilization. FPI uses many popular media social such as website, twitter, facebook, and also instagram. FPI official website is fpi.or.id. PI use this website to upload recent activities of FPI. Three accounts related to FPI was @DPP-FPI, @syihabrizieq, and @HumasFPI. FPI's official facebook account is frontpembelaislam. Meanwhile, instagram account of FPI is dpp_fpi. In one occasion they use twitter as a form of resistance toward public negative sentiment in Fitsa Hats case with a hashtag #KoplakAdalahMereka. Fitsa Hats case is a BAP of Police while examined an FPI elite, Habib Novel, in which in that BAP Habib Novel had been written as worked instead of a Pizza Hut, but "Fitza Hats" precisely. But according to CNN Indonesia, those three twitter accounts right now had been suspended by twitter (CNN Indonesia, 2017).Since FPI's instagram account had been permanently suspended, therefore FPI creates their new instagram account, frontpembelaislam_fpi. In many occasions, the effort of FPI to give a positive image through the social mediahas been massively battled by other accounts. There is a cyber-war in the cyber-world that put FPI under massive attacks. FPI's use of organized violence in maintaining *Amar Ma"ruf Nahu Munkar* also prevent large part of Indonesian element to give sympathy and joint into FPI agenda. Although FPI has use almost all of social media, but eventually the social media fail to facilitate FPI to transform into party. From this point, it raises a question for further research, to what extent social media facilitate the transformation and to what extent social media does not facilitate the transformation?

In addition to social media, Halkjelsvik (2016) also proposed that the other factor facilitate a smooth transformation of movement into party is a charismatic leader. An example of political scientists who support this argument are Aldon D. Morris and Staggenborg (2008, 171). They describe leaders as critical to social movements for many reasons. Leaders inspire, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies and frame demands. In sum, we can say that they are the very essence of the social movement. Leaders

of social movements can be defined as strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in their form of organization. When we consider the this issue in relation to theory surrounding political parties there is a similar argument to be made. Several political scientists have underlined the importance aleader can have for the establishment of a political party. Hug says (2001, 14-15) that a party can originate as an idea from an individual who present candidates to office based on this person beliefs. For example, the Anders Lange's Party in Norway, which today is a one of the parties in government. Another example is the FSM in Italy with its charismatic leader Beppe Grillo. The notion of charismatic leadership involves assigning a key role to the followers in imputing charisma to leaders. There will be an emotional character of the community and the appointment of officials will be based on the loyalty to the charismatic leader (Morris and Staggenborg. 2008, 172). A charismatic party, or leadership-dominated parties, are usually created top-down by an individual or a small elite (Bolleyer 2013, 63).

Similar to Beppe Grillo of FSM in Italy, FPI also has Habib Rizieq as its charismatic leader. As a head of *tanfidzi* board of FPI, Rizieq is responsible for almost all of FPI activities. Rizieq was born in Jakarta in 1965, of a mixed Hadhrami Arab-Betawi heritage. His status as habib, in particular one who studied in Saudi Arabia, Rizieq commanded a certain reverential authority amongst traditional Betawi society in particular. So charismatic he is, even FPI members often stated that they considered Rizieq as reflecting characteristic of the Prophet Muhammad (Teik, Hadiz, Nakanishi, 2014). Anyway, the charismatic leader has no impact on the transformation of FPI into party. From this point, it raises a question for further research, to what extent charismatic leader facilitate the transformation and to what extent charismatic leader does not facilitate the transformation?

The third factor facilitating the transformation according to Halksjevik (2016) is the focus on seemingly neglected topics. In the realm of Social Movement Theory, social movements develop when a feeling of dissatisfaction spreads and the existing institutions are unable to respond (Porta and M. Diani, 2006:13). Halksjevik argued that the dissatisfaction people feel is because of a mismatch with their desires and the actual policies that are being fronted by other parties. Therefore when a new social movement manage to represent new issues they sauté the dissatisfaction people have with the existing institutions.Meanwhile in the realm of party theory, new issues or unresolved political problems should therefore lead to the emergence of new parties (Hug 2001, 54, Bolleyer 2013, 28-29). One example of this is that problems with *immigration* increase the chance that new right-wing parties manage to consolidate and be successful. Another example is the discussion on *nuclear energy* that has said to have paved the way for green- and left-libertarian parties (Hug 2001, 3). A third example is a focus on environmental issues. There is a general thrust of a larger part of the literature that suggest that new parties are primarily the consequence of new issues or values ignored by other existing political parties (Harmel and Robertson 1985, 502). That the poor representation of peoples anxieties and urgent demands by the other parties, favored the electoral emergence of this new party (Conti and Memoli 2015, 531).

In the context of FPI, the focus of this organization on neglected topics can be traced down from the socio-political background of this SMO emergence and its goals. The background of socio-political situation of FPI establishment, among others; *First*, the long suffering experienced by Indonesian Muslims as a result of human rights violations committed by the authorities. *Secondly*, the failure of state apparatus to enforce the law and ensure public order; *third*, the obligation of every Muslim to maintain the dignity of Islam; and *fourth*, the obligation for every Muslim to be able to uphold the *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. Apparently, FPI background of birth can not be separated from the reform event as the momentum of social and political change in Indonesia. (Al Zatrouw, 2006: 90). The purpose of the FPI establishment, as written in the FPI doctrinal documents and lines of struggle, is to conduct *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*, and to assist the government in eliminating social problems such as prostitution, gambling, and alcohol and drug

transactions. According to FPI activists, one of the efforts that can be taken to overcome the moral crisis that plagued this nation is by doing harmonious cooperation from all elements of society, which includes the 'ulama (moslem scholars), umaro' (government leaders), and all Muslims (Syaefuddin, 2014: 262). From the socio-political background and the goals of this SMO, it could be concluded that some topics in which become the focus of FPI are neglected by the state.Anyway, it was not proven to be effective in facilitating FPI to transforminto party.

The last preconditions of transformation according to Halksjevik is the lack of trust in established institutions and the political parties that made way for a new anti-establishment/anti-party movement.FPI has become well-known for its controversial acts since 1998, particularly those that had been conducted by its paramilitary wing, Laskar Pembela Islam. Rizieq as chairman of the FPI often said that the FPI's assertive actions are a reflection of the principles and attitudes. According to Rizieq, what is done by FPI is the impact of infertility law enforcement system. What had been stated by Rizieq means that there is a distrust of FPI toward the state. Nevertheless, the lack of trust toward established institutions still unable to facilitate the transformation of this movement into party.

5. Untransformed FPI, Contentious Politics, and Low State Capacity

The elaboration toward four preconditions of transformation has proven as fail in explaining the FPI option which still chose to be a social movement instead of transform into a political party. The author will try to argue why those preconditions are failed to provide an appropriate explanation by using a state capacity approach and a contentious politics approach. The state capacity is the extent to which the government or the state controls resources, activities and citizens. Low capacity of the state tends to promote violence. Since the collapse of the Suharto authoritarian regime in mid-1998, Indonesia has experienced a new phase of democracy. The fundamental rights of democracy, such as freedom to speak and

to form an association have become available since that time. Individuals and groups have been able to express their views without being scrutinized by the government. Benefitting this opportunity, the number of political and social movements emerged and reemerged. Most of these movements used conventional nonviolent means to pursue their goals because democracy is inherently nonviolent, which allows movements to use a number of reasonable tactics. Ironically, in the new Indonesian democracy, an Islamist movement, FPI (Front Pembela Islam or Islamic Defenders' Front) emerged and adopted disruptive and violent strategies to pursue their goals. Using the symbols of Islam, FPI committed at least 64 cases of conspicuous violent collective actions from 1998 to 2010.

Meanwhile, contentious politics is a theory that is often used to explain conflict dynamics related to social changes in responding formal and informal political institutional restructuring. The motive behind the dispute refers more to the goals or political interests of certain parties who identify themselves as groups or organizations based on an identity entity. Contentious politics consists of public, collective making of consequential claims by connected clusters of persons on other clusters of persons or on major political actors, when at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a third party to the claims. Thus, defined, contentious politics is a causally coherent domain with distinctive properties. It is causally coherent in the sense that similar cause-effect relationships apply throughout the domain. It is distinctive in the sense that some features of contentious politics appear nowhere else in social life (McAdam, Tarrow, Tilly, 2007: 2). Later, Tilly defines contentious politics as "interactions in which actors make claims bearing on someone else's interest, in which governments appear either as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties (Tilly, 2008: 5).

What had been done by FPI can be observed from the contentious politics approach. Conflict and violence using Islamic symbols are used as means to pursue its goals and to obtain the government attention. Contentious politics surrounding vigilantism and FPI-style violence can continue to occur due to low state capacity. This

low capacity of the state cannot be separated from the reality that usually behind those violent groups there are parties and security apparatus who give back up to their activities. There is a mutualism symbiosis patron-client relation between those violent groups and certain officials. Thus, the capacity of the state should be a factor that be considered in elaborating transformation process from a social movement to a political party. The low state capacity tends to let social movements to continue their old ways, including FPI which eventually is not stimulated to transform into a party since FPI's interest is relatively secured, achievable and affordable, although basically FPI met all preconditions of transformation suggested by Halkjelsvik.

CONCLUSION

Although democratic political system in Indonesia's post-New Order offers political opportunities and structure of incentive for social movements to transform into parties, and FPI internally is supported by a complete organizational structure and a large number of members that enables it to transform into a party, but FPI still chooses to become a social movement. The theory of social movement transformation into party suggested by Halksjevik who successfully explained the transformation of Five Star Movement case in Italy failed to operate in the case of Indonesia's FPI. According to the authors, it is because Halksjevik ignores the state capacity factor in enforcing the rule of law for existing community organizations and operating in its political system. Low state capacity in enforcing regulations leads to radical organizations such as FPI to feel free to carry out their vigilant actions. Therefore, from a rational choice point of view FPI feels that the incentive structure to be a party is much smaller than it is to remain a social movement. For FPI, street is more promising compared to *Senayan*.

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LEADERSHIP OF REGIONAL HEAD IN REALIZING TRANSPARENCY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION
(case study: leadership of YoyokRiyoSudibyo in Batang Regency in period 2012-2017)

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Abstract

Based on several innovations and breakthroughs that have been implemented, one of them is the Budget Festival becomes a trend mark for Batang Regency and become an example for other areas such as Tegal regency who want to create events like Festival Budget conducted by Batang Regency. This shows the success of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo as head of the region or Regent in Batang Regency. The Government of Batang Regency, Central Java is in the spotlight of a number of institutions, especially regarding human rights-based development practices, due to the few cases of corruption in this area. The research question in this paper is How Leadership Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo in Realising Transparency of Local Government Implementation in Batang Regency at 2012-2017 period. The aims of this research are to explain the style of Leadership of Regional Head in Realising Transparency of Local Government Implementation of Batang Regency in 2012 2017 period. The type of research used is descriptive qualitative, explaining that qualitative research method is a research method based on the philosophy of positivism, used to examine the condition of natural objects, (as opposed to experimenting). The results of this study indicate that the style of leadership Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo has several innovations that can straighten the bureaucracy that is almost said to be crooked. Some innovations and breakthroughs made by the head of Batang Regency make some other areas participate motivated by the innovations of programs that are considered positively by the community. Some of the innovations made by Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo has created a transparency image for the community because it has been concerned with the interests of the community and involves the community in all aspects of government and has been regarded as a transformational leader.

Some of the conclusion of this research is Transformational leaders provide change, able to move the community, not only to accommodate the aspirations of the community but can provide a good solution for the people and have charisma and visionary. Transparency of Batang Regency Government Period 2012-2017 implemented to realise good governance and clean Government in Batang Regency. One of the principles of good governance is transparency that aims to create an openness to all actions and policies taken by the government

Keyword: Transformational Leader, Transparency, Head of Regency, Batang Regency.

INTRODUCTION

The Leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo in his tenure in the Regency is very innovative by the recognition of its citizens and society in general. Yoyok made a new breakthrough in Batang regency which was initially slumped by corruption problems carried out by Head of Batang Regency in the previous period. In keeping with his promise at the time of the campaign, Yoyok voiced "Clean Bureaucracy, Rising Economy". One of the efforts made is a festival held the Festival of Budget as a direct communication effort with the public related to the use of Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD).

According to Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo, the public is entitled to obtain accurate, precise and accountable public information. The nature of public communication that has been built is intended to meet the people's rights regarding the right to communicate to obtain public information as part of human rights. This is stipulated in the fourth amendment of the 1945

Constitution of 2002 article 28 F (Firmanzah, 2007: 18). One of the characteristics of the Head of the Region is the responsiveness to political conditions, both within government organisations and within the community, as well as providing answers or responses to criticism, suggestions, and perhaps also the supervision that comes from the community and responsive to the expectations and needs of the community. A government leader must be responsive to institutional conditions in the sense of giving attention and responses to various operational needs in government organisations for the sake of the life of government organisations. A government leader must always pay attention to the needs and interests of society and the needs and interests of government organisations. The Government of Batang Regency, Central Java is in the spotlight of a number of institutions, especially regarding human rights-based development practices, due to the few cases of corruption that occurred in this area.

Batang Regency holds a transparent government, especially concerning finance in carrying out development. Batang regency became one the implementation of the best local government in Indonesia. The success of regional development is the ultimate goal of all work done by the government of Batang Regency because for them the ultimate goal of development is to improve the welfare of the people. Based on several innovations and breakthroughs that have been implemented, one of them is the Budget Festival becomes a trend mark for Batang Regency and become an example for other areas such as Tegal regency who want to create events such as Festival Budget conducted by Batang Regency. This shows the success of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo as the head of the region or the Bupati in Batang RegencyBased on the above description, the authors feel interested in conducting research on "Leadership Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo in Realising Transparency of Local Government Implementation in Batang Regency in the period 2012-2017".

RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the background of the problems described above, that the authors can formulate the subject matter as follows: How Leadership Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo in Realising Transparency of Local Government Implementation in Batang Regency at 2012-2017 period?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Leadership

According to Rivai, leadership is a capable person Influence others to move and achieve the intended purpose, leadership as a tool means or The process of persuading people to be willing to do something in the first place Voluntary (Rivai, 2006: 30). Meanwhile, according to Wahjosumijo, Leadership is an activity Or art to influence others to cooperate Based on the person's ability to guide people Others in achieving the desired goals together (Wahjosumidjo, 2003: 83). According Siagian Leadership is a person's ability to affect others so that others will do the will of leaders to achieve common goals (Siagian P, 1985:62).

Leadership is sometimes understood as the power to move and influence people. As a means of means or process to persuade people to be willing to do something voluntary or joy. In leadership there are three important things in leadership, namely:

a. Leadership involves others either subordinates or followers

b. Leadership involves a balanced distribution of power between leaders and group members

c. The ability to use various forms of power Different to influence the behaviour of followers Be a good leader and responsible and qualified

In a leadership, it must have a leadership function that deals directly with the social situation in the life of each group or organisation, which implies that every leader is inside and not outside of the situation. The function of leadership is a social phenomenon because it must be manifested in the interaction between individuals within the social situation of a group or organisation (Rivai, 2006: 53-55). There are five leadership functions:

a. Instruction Function

This function is a one-way communication, the leader as a communicator is a party who determines what, how, when, and where the order is done so that decisions can be implemented effectively.

b. Consultation function

This function serves a two-way communication, in the first stage in the effort to determine the decision, the leader often requires

consideration, which requires consultation with the people he leads who are judged to have various information materials needed in decision making.

c. Function of Participation

In explaining this function the leader seeks to activate the people he leads, whether in participation or in doing so.

d. Delegate Function

This function is carried out by delegating authority to make or make decisions, either through approval or without the consent of the leader.

e. Control Functions

Control functions mean that leadership is successful or effective or regulates the activities of its members in a direction and ineffective coordination, so as to enable the achievement of the maximum goal together. Control functions can be realised through guidance, direction, coordination, and supervision.

This leadership theory has a leadership sense that seeks to change where leadership brings the organisation to a new, larger, and unprecedented goal by giving members the mental and confident strength to move them seriously toward that common goal by putting aside the interest or Personal circumstances. Transformational leadership has four characteristics, can be explained as follows:

1) Idealised Influence

Idealised Influence means that a transformational leader must be charismatic that can inspire subordinates to react to follow the leadership. In other words, transformational leaders become role models that are admired, valued, and followed by their subordinates. The behavioural framework of idealised Influence is:

    a. Exemplary
    b. Honest
    c. Authoritative
    d. Have a passion

2) Intellectual Stimulation
    (Intellectual Stimulation)

Intellectual Stimulation The character of a transformational leader who can encourage his subordinates to solve problems carefully and rationally. The behavioural framework of Intellectual Stimulation is:

    a. Innovative
    b. Professional
    c. Be a leader that involves subordinates
    d. Creative

3) Individualized Consideration

Individualised Consideration a capable leader Understanding the individual differences of his subordinates can act as coach and advisor to his subordinates. In this case, Transformational leaders are able to hear aspirations, Educate, and train subordinates. Also a leader Transformational able to see the potential achievements and needs Developed subordinates and facilitate it. In other words, Transformational leaders are able to understand and appreciate Subordinates in the work. Behavioural Framework of Individualised Consideration is:

    a. Tolerance
    b. Fair
    c. Employee empowerment
    d. Give awards

4) Inspirational Motivation

Inspirational Motivation is a capable leader Applying high standards and simultaneously encouraging Subordinates to achieve the standard. Such characters are capable Awaken optimism and high enthusiasm. Other than that Leaders can motivate all their subordinates to have Commitment to the company vision and support team spirit in achieving company goals. The behavioural framework of Inspirational Motivation is:

    a. Provide motivation
    b. Inspire followers
    c. Confidence
    d. Increasing optimism.

2. Good Governance

Understanding Good Governance by (Mardiasmo, 1999: 18) is a concept approach oriented to the development of the public sector by good governance. Furthermore according to (Wahab, 2002: 34) mentions Good Governance is a concept in the implementation of solid and responsible development management in line with democracy and efficient market, avoidance of misallocation and investment and prevention of corruption both politically and administratively, run Budget discipline and the creation of legal

and political framework for the growth of entrepreneurial activity. In addition, the World Bank also defines Good Governance as a synergistic and constructive relationship between countries, sectors and communities (Effendi, 1996:47). According to the UNDP and LAN quoted (Tangkilisan, 2005: 115) states that the existence of synergistic and constructive relationships between state, a private sector, and society are prepared nine characteristics of Good Governance:

a. Participation (participation)
b. Application of Law (Justice)
c. Transparency (Transparency)
d. Responsiveness (Responsiveness)
e. Orientation (Consensus Orientation)
f. Fairness (Equity)
g. Effectiveness
h. Accountability
i. Vision Strategy (Strategic Vision)

The above principles are a characteristic which must be fulfilled in the implementation of good governance Relating to control and control, that is, a control Good governance for the way and the use of true means Really achieve the desired results of stakeholders.

3. Transparency

In the context of good governance, transparency is one of the important conditions for creating a good governance system. With the transparency in every policy and decision in the environment of organisation and government, then fairness can be grown. Thus transparency means the government's openness in providing information relating to public resource management activities to those in need of information. Because good governance does not allow closed methods, it suggests that there are eight aspects of state budget management mechanism that must be done transparently (Rosyada in Gaffar, 2003: 184) as follows:

a. Determination of positions or positions;
b. The wealth of public officials;
c. Awarding;
d. Determination of policies related to the enlightenment of life;
e. Health;
f. Morality of officials and the public servant apparatus;
g. Security and order;
h. Strategic policy for the enlightenment of people's lives.

On the other hand, in the journal Criticism of Transparency in Local Government System (Smith in Arifin Tahir, 2004: 66), argues that the transparency process includes:

a. Standard procedural requirements, that the regulatory process should involve participation and attention to the needs of the community.
b. Consultation processes, dialogue between government and community
c. Appeal rights are the primary protector in the process of setting up. Standard and non-convoluted, transparent to avoid corruption

Transparency means the public should be able to obtain information freely and easily about the process and implementation of the decisions taken (Hidayat, 2007: 23). In general, public accountability will not occur without the support of transparency and clarity of the rule of law. In good governance (Nugroho, 2004: 128), transparency is one of the principles of good governance. This means that transparency here is all decisions taken and its implementation is made and implemented in accordance with legal corridors and regulations. It also includes the notion that information is available free of charge and can be accessed easily and directly.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method of research is a way of conducting research level scientific knowledge that sums up facts or principles to achieve certainty about a problem. The type of research used is descriptive qualitative, explaining that qualitative research method is a research method based on the philosophy of positivism, used to examine the condition of natural objects, (as opposed to experimenting). Descriptive method is a method in examining the status of a group of people, an object, and condition, system of thought or events in the present (Sugiono, 2010: 15).

This study aims to provide a clear picture of a phenomenon or social reality with respect to the issues studied, especially about the role of heads of regional leadership in realising transparency of local government of Batang Regency period 2012-2017. Qualitative research aims to reveal qualitative information so that more emphasis

on process and meaning problems by describing a problem (Sugiono, 2010: 289). In data collection techniques used by the author in finding the required information is Interview from each institution in Batang Regency and documentation to make sure the transparency that implies in Batang Regency.

DISCUSSION

The vision of Batang Regency is Realising Effective, Clean, Professional Governance, for Strengthening Local Economy, and Achieving the Prosperity of Batang's Citizen. To realise the vision, Batang Regency has several innovations that are realised to build a stem city that. Some of the innovations possessed by stem districts are among others:

a. Make a circular Regent to the Head of Service in Batang Regency, which aims to reduce acts of corruption or other forms of cheating;

b. Development of Integrity Zone Free of Corruption (WBK), aimed to Batang Regency can improve the image of Batang into a clean government and free from corrupt practices;

c. Open dialogue event Model BBM (Regent Batang Hearing), To listen directly to complaints, input and criticism of the community on the performance or any problems that exist in Batang Regency, and immediately responded by the Regent or head SKPD concerned;

d. The establishment of UPKP2 (Unit for Improving the Quality of Public Service), In order to bridge and accommodate all forms of aspirations, complaints, input, and criticism of the community

e. Organising the Festival, aimed to Budget As a form of budget transparency to the general public related to the use of APBD in Kabupaten Batang

f. Carry out the agreement in accordance with Integrity Pact between Regent and provider of goods/services (partners) project implementer Provider or winning partner must do the work according to technical Batang regency government.

g. Cooperate with State University of Semarang (UNNES) in the case of the implementation of laboratory test on the result of construction work, after construction work carried out, In order to know the quality of the projector work or the partners then from The government will Pay accordingly Quality of work and Construction so will not There is cheating or Misappropriation of allocations Construction Fund at Regency of Batang.

1. **Leadership of the Head of Region in Achieving Transparency Implementation of Local Government**

The concept of power is always related to leadership because it is part of the process of influence. Power is the capacity or potential for influence. People have power when they have the ability to influence the beliefs, attitudes, and actions of others. Just as a local head should be able to influence his staff or his subordinates and his community to do better to build a good government. Good leadership is leadership that can improve the performance of its officers and able to invite the community to participate actively in regional development. It takes the spirit and cooperation between the leader and his subordinates and the community to synergize and produce something positive for everyone.

As explained that leadership alone is not enough to only have the ability to lead, today's leaders must be able to provide change, be able to move the community, not only accommodate the aspirations of the community but can provide a good solution for the community. Innovative leaders are needed in this Batang regency because with the existing resources Batang is able to become a more advanced district than before and now. During the fifth year of leadership in Batang Regency by Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo (2012-2017), there are many policies, speeches, actions and innovations made by him to improve and build stems from all aspects of education, community welfare and several other things. Even the things that he did this to the attention of the general public, the spotlight of the people of Indonesia because of

his innovation at the time to lead an area that still many people have not known about Batang Regency as well.

Look forward the performance of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo in trying to always take sides and listen to the aspirations of the community Batang even his efforts to develop what is in Batang can be a society of Batang become independent of what they have their own in their area. The potential of each village can not be underestimated because actually if the village government and the community are able to manage it well, they can make income for their own village so they can be independent without having to just expect budget funds for their village From the government. It's one of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo's deep efforts Developing Batang, this is a good breakthrough from the government Previously because here Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo able to move Society to be resilient and creative. By using transformational leadership indicators, the researchers found findings from the interviews with several stakeholders related to the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo as Batang Regency Regent in the period 2012-2017 with the following explanation:

a. Idealized Influence

The first indicator in explaining the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo is Idealised Influence which is interpreted as an ideal influence or also referred to as charisma. How he as the Bupati in Batang Regency became a leader who acted as a strong example for followers. Ideal influencing factors are measured by two components: a recognition component that refers to the recognition of followers to a leader based on the perceptions they have over their leader, and a behavioural component that refers to followers' observation of leader behaviour (Northouse, 2013: 181). These factors can be elaborated in the points below:

1) Exemplary

Efforts in assessing the success or failure of a leader, among others, can be done by observing the nature and quality of the behaviour. One of the qualities that must be possessed by a leader according to Ordway Tead in a theory called the theory of leadership suggests 10 traits one of which is the teaching skill in which it is mentioned that the good leader is A teacher who is able to guide, educate, encourage, and be an example for his men to move well (Kartini Kartono, 2016: 47).

Yoyok is one of the heads of regions that directly provide examples and behaviors related to government management is mainly related to two things namely one commitment and the second is consistency in words and deeds he did to establish a clean governance will be a good governance or good governance and clean government that's the theory of government is expected. Not fully Yoyok is perfect in being an example for his employees but appreciation is due to his courage in improving the slow government structure to increase the quick structure. Based on the above data can be concluded that the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo can be said to be an example for the ranks, staff and even the community with all the behaviour that he tried to teach to others either directly or indirectly.

2) Honestly

A leader must have the ability and nature of the ideal and good. Because a leader will be a role model for staff and society. Just as Earl Nightingale and Whitt Schult have pointed out about leaders' abilities and requirements such as multitudes, high adaptation, honesty, optimism, and so forth (Kartono, 2016: 37). Being a leader must have some advantages over the members or community he or she will lead. The good leader must have a high degree of honesty, which is honest with oneself and with others (especially his subordinates). He always keeps promises, does not "cheat" or is hypocritical, trustworthy, and fair to everyone. Including having to have the honesty to avoid corruption in his leadership which is Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo tried in budget transparency to the community formed Budget Festival activities.

3) Authority

A leader is a person who has the skills and strengths in some areas so that he is able to influence others to jointly perform certain activities for the achievement of one or several purposes. Yoyok already has the authority to see that he has a military education background so he has good authority for me as a regent, so

with his staff, he is able to work together well in building Batang ... "(Interview with Mr Abdul Wahid UPKP2 Chairman in Batang Regency 21 November 2016).

Furthermore, an explanation from one of the staff at DPPKAD Area of Batang Regency Budget because he has a good integrity as a head of a region in my opinion because there are several things, namely: he has the authority so that he is able to direct and guide the ranks or staff in repair what is in the trunk and create something new. He also likes to do an inspection in the regencys to see the progress of their work not only to find mistakes but he also likes to give advice, advice and motivation to his subordinates to be cheerful in completing his work ... "(Interview with Mr Abu Huraeroh one of the staff in the field of Budget DPPKAD of Batang Regency, 24 November 2016).

"…karena beliau ini memiliki integritas yang baik sebagai bupati menurut saya karena ada beberapa hal yaitu: beliau ini memiliki wibawa sehingga beliau mampu mengarahkan dan membimbing jajaran ataupun stafnya dalam mempebaiki apa yang sudah ada di Batang maupun menciptakan sesuatu yang baru. Beliau juga suka melakukan sidak di dinas-dinas untuk melihat perkembangan pekerjaan mereka tidak hanya untuk menemukan kesalahan namunbeliau juga suka memberikan wejangan, nasehat dan motivasi kepada bawahannya agar semangat dalam menyelesaikan pekerjaannya..." (Wawancara dengan Bapak Abu Huraeroh salah satu staf bidang Anggaran DPPKAD Kabupaten Batang, 24 November 2016).

4) Have an Enthusiasm

In running the wheel of leadership, it takes a good spirit to improve or change a region. Spirit becomes one of the capital to work for both the leader and his subordinates. It takes the spirit for a desired goal to be achieved. From this first indicator that Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo does have characteristics as a leader. Kharisma he obeyed by his subordinates and can work well with his subordinates.

The exemplary that he has also able to direct his subordinates to keep working for the community and build Batang Regency. The honesty of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo able to make a new breakthrough in Batang even in Indonesia with the Festival of Budget that everyone can see the use of APBD in Batang Regency. Authority is not separated because of his charisma so that Mr. Yoyok can move his

subordinates to work in accordance with existing rules, even he also worked and never tired of encouraging his subordinates and motivate them to be able to make things new to Batang Regency.

b. Intellectual Stimulation

The second indicator in explaining the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo is Intellectual Stimulation which is defined as stimulation stimulation. How he as Bupati in Batang Regency is able to stimulate followers to be categorical and innovative and stimulate their own beliefs and values, as well as the values and beliefs of leaders and organizations. This type of leadership supports followers when trying new approaches and developing innovative ways of dealing with organizational problems. It encourages followers to think things through independently and engage in careful decision making (Northouse, 2013: 182). These factors can be spelled out in the following points:

1) Innovation

Leaders in this era of globalization demand a leader to be innovative in view of the increasingly tightness of the competition. Innovative leaders will bring in an organization they lead to survive and excel in outside competition. Just as Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo did in his leadership in Batang Regency as regent in the period 2012-2017 described by the Head of Population and Civil Registration Agency that Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo can influence his staff to participate in innovative thinking for the progress of Batang Regency. The leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo gave a good enough innovation in Batang Regency with a period of about 5 years. The innovations that try to be applied in Batang area provide new and able to develop the existing potentials in Batang Regency. As with the new Linida village program, he packed this development program very innovatively and appealing to villages already incorporated in Linida Village.

2) Professional

Efforts made by a regional leader is for the welfare of its people. This is already the moral responsibility and consequence of the elected regional head. Here a professional leader will be accountable for the smooth progress of any programs or decisions that will be taken or executed by a leader. In his leadership Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo became head of a professional

head of region who worked for the benefit of society, not for self-interest, family, or a group. What he has applied from the beginning. He served as a regent in Batang Regency in 2012 by providing a leaflet whose content is that every SKPD or offices under the auspices of the Batang Regency Government may not approve or accept projects on behalf of his family, relatives or friends. This is a form of professional example that he applied during his tenure, all of which have the procedure to accept the project by way of an online auction in Batang Regency.

3) Become a leader that involves subordinates

In a governance not only consists of a regional head with his staff and staff. But there are communities that are the responsibility and focus of government. The existence of this community is needed a good leader to be able to overcome the problems in a wide scope in an area. As well as issues of community welfare, service problems, educational issues, health problems, and so forth. So in making a decision or policy a leader does not always decide for himself. It takes input or suggestion and criticism from subordinates and communities as the target who feel the impact of every decision to be made. Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo during his leadership does not always make his own decisions, he also sometimes involves his staff and / or his subordinates if its with community issues or with related SKPD.

4) Creation

The leader of the era of globalization is a leader that must have more creative power because of the development of the world today, almost every leader is required to be creative in order to develop the region or its own organization to follow the development of an increasingly of the globalization. The program addressed to the community was packed with something that had not existed before in the previous leadership. The existence of new buzz in Batang Regency is even included to be something innovative and creative in Indonesia as the Budget Festival highlighted as a successful innovation from Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo. While in the structural he also did not become the head of the arbitrary area in deciding everything. Although he has a decision maker as a leader but he invites his staff or SKPD related to policies that require immediate decisions and held joint meetings.

c. Individualized Consideration

The third indicator in explaining leadership, Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo is Individualized Consideration which is defined as a leader who is able to understand individual differences of his subordinates and can act as a coach and advisor to his subordinates. This factor represents a leader who provides support, where a leader can listen carefully to the needs of his followers. In other words transformational leaders are able to understand and appreciate their subordinates in working (Northouse, 2013: 183). These factors can be spelled out in the following points:

1) Tolerance

Based on interviews with the Head of Population and Civil Registration Agency and one of the staff of DPPKAD Batang Regency said that Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo has become a leader who has a sense of tolerance to everyone. Nothing has changed the nature of a human being even though he has been a regent in Batang Regency. Especially in the face of problems or obstacles in the wheels of leadership. He keeps measuring and looking at everything in order to avoid mistakes and mistakes.

2) Justice

Based on the Interview with Head of Control sub-section at the Regional Secretariat and Kecepak Village Head, Batang Sub-district, Batang Regency Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo during his tenure in Batang Regency as the Bupati has been trying to be a fair leader both for his subordinates and society. He has strived to be a good leader for his community and strives Siding with the people in need of particularity.

3) Staff Empowerment

Yoyok Riyo sudibyo also keep paying attention for the employees. Because a good leader give an Attention to the performance and needs of subordinates. Although in fact it has become the main duty and function of the Regional Personnel Agency. Proven Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo not ignore it as a leader with the freedom of opinion and creative for each employee in the local government of Batang Regency.

4) Give an Appreciation

Reward and punishment is indeed in the running of the leadership Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo as well as done by the Regional Head.

d. Inspirational Motivation

The fourth indicator in explaining the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo is Inspirational Motivation is defined as motivation that inspires or called in other words a leader is able to communicate high expectations to followers, inspire followers through motivation to be faithful, and be part of a shared vision within the organization. Team spirit is enhanced by this type of leadership (Northouse, 2013: 181). These factors can be spelled out in the following points:

1) Give a Motivation
2) As an Inspiring Leaders
3) Confidence
4) Increasingly Optimism

2. Transparency of Batang Regency Government Implementation in 2012-2017 Period

Basically, good governance is a concept that refers to the process of achieving decisions and their implementation that can be accounted for collectively. One of the principles of good governance is transparency which aims to create an openness to all actions and policies taken by the government. As is the case that began to be implemented in Batang Regency during the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo in the period 2012-2017 on the principle of good governance that is transparency in governance. The form of transparency that wants to be realized by Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo through innovations and breakthrough during his leadership. Indicators used in measuring transparency include:

a. Standard Procedural Requirements
1) Programming based on community aspiration

During the leadership of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo, as a form of commitment he became head of the region working for the community. Thus, as one of the manifestations of his vision of the welfare of the community by creating government programs that refers to the needs and inputs of the Batang community. The form of work program whose target is the community, among others:

First, The establishment of UPKP2 (Unit Enhancement Quality of Public Service) in Batang Regency. Improving the quality of public services is also a concern of the Government of Batang Regency by issuing Regulation No. 90 of 2012 on Improving the Quality of Public Service in Batang Regency Government. Unit Improving the Quality of Public Service (UPKP2) is the implementer of daily activities of Public Service Quality Improvement Team (TPKP2). This institution is formed based on the vision and mission of Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head of Batang Regency for the period 2012-2017 to realize clean bureaucracy, service and economy rise up. This rationale then initiates Batang Regent to cooperate with Transparency International Indonesia (TII), Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW).

Second, the establishment of LINIDA Village (Lumbung Information and Village Innovation) in Batang Regency. With the existence of Law No. 6 of 2014 on the Village provides an opportunity for the village to build itself. Village resources should be prepared. The village government should not hesitate to involve community participation, from the start of the planning process to the implementation level even Supervision. In that context, the Government of Batang Regency developed the "Village Movement of LINIDA (Village Information and Village Innovation)". LINIDA village is a village that has a village database and innovates the potential of the village. The village database is sought by the villagers themselves under the coordination of the village Linida Facilitator Team. The team has members of local villagers.

2) Programming involves community participation

In an effort of Batang Regency government to create a program involving community participation, the government created one of the programs of the Budget Festival. This program involves community participation as a benchmark for its success. Budget Festival Activities is a concrete form of how the Open Government process in governance in Batang Regency. After the Batang Regency Government made several innovations related to budget transparency, the result changes were obtained as follows:

1. Increased public participation in the involvement of the people in the Budget Management Plan (APBD)

2. Based on the research results of FITRA (Forum Indonesia for Budget Transparency) Batang Regency is included in the category of budget usage with the lowest deviation for District and City Government in Central Java.
3. Budget absorption rate reached ± 90%.
4. The budget efficiency of all procurements conducted on average amounted to 10% of the budget ceiling reached 21.4 M in 2015, the year 2014 reached 11.5 M and in 2013 reached 10.4 M.
5. Obtained ISO 27001 awards on Information Security Management System in the organisation of Auctions.
6. Improved performance appraisal of the Batang Regency from D, to C, and to CC in 2014.
7. The Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia shall assess to the Government of Batang Regency entering the Yellow Zone Criteria,
8. Batang regency is ranked 1st level in Central Java in the implementation of public information disclosure.
9. In 2015 Batang Regency apart from poor districts, leaving 15 other districts/cities in Central Java.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research and discussion that has been raised in the previous chapter then the researchers can draw the following conclusions:

1. Transformational leaders provide change, able to move the community, not only to accommodate the aspirations of the community but can provide a good solution for the people and have charisma and visionary.
2. Idealised Influence describes the example of Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo is exemplary. Such an effort gives an example of good behaviour and discipline to his subordinates. Working for the community not for personal gain or a group only with one of the efforts applied is the existence of integrity pact in every form of activity as a form of responsibility

will run a program with the rules that apply. Associated with the authority possessed by Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo with his background as a military, his firmness was able to direct subordinates to work well proves his authority.
3. Intellectual Stimulation discusses the innovation possessed by Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo, very clearly evidenced by the breakthrough that he applied in Batang Regency such as the holding of the Budget Festival. Associated with his professionalism, he is a very professional leader. It can be seen from his consistency in running the program, and he made a circular letter from the circular letter explaining the absence of acts of KKN. He also became a leader involving his subordinates, Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo during his leadership did not always make his own decisions.
4. Individualised Consideration Discusses Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo has become a leader who has a sense of tolerance for everyone. Especially in the face of problems or obstacles in the wheels of leadership.
5. Inspirational Motivation explains that a transformational leader must be capable. He gives positive inspiration to his subordinates and makes it a valuable lesson for those who work as his staff. As a leader, it has become a leader's duty increase or foster optimism of staff or staff.
6. Transparency of Batang Regency Government Period 2012-2017 implemented to realise good governance and clean Government in Batang Regency. One of the principles of good governance is transparency that aims to create an openness to all actions and policies taken by the government.
7. Standard Procedural Requirements can be explained by a work program based on community aspirations and participation. Work program based on community aspirations is the establishment of UPKP2 in Batang Regency which aims to accommodate the aspirations of the community. Then LINIDA Village, which was developed based on Batang community

aspiration to process the data in each village that is processed to find the potential of the village. The programs involving the participation of the community is a budget festival that explains to the public the use of APBD funds in Batang Regency by describing the budget used.

8. Consultation Processes (Consultation Process) is realised by holding a dialogue between the government and the community. In Batang Regency it has been done with the name of the program is the fuel that is done every Friday Kliwon in the courtyard of the regent's office. This is presented by all SKPD heads and people who want to submit a complaint, Suggestions, or criticism of the government.

9. Appeal Rights is explained by the existence of legal basis in transparency process of administration in Batang Regency mentioned in the previous chapter

SUGGESTION

1. Local governments in implementing the values of good governance include the value of transparency in the discussion of this thesis to be able to modify the programs that have been running well. This is driven by the technological sophistication of society is able and understand the use of technology well. Every agency in the District Stems needs to build a system to be more integrated into local government to establish an online "one door service" that can take the form of a "website" to integrate the openness information carried out in accordance with applicable regulations. In order for the local government of Batang Regency to follow the development of the current bureaucratic paradigm is open government.

2. As readers and the public in this study, of course, they will better understand the value of transparency that has been done by local government and its leaders in Batang Regency. The success of a program and activity created by the government also involves the participation of the underlying community. With the system and the value of transparency that is easily understood

and accepted by the community, the local government has successfully carried out its duties and obligations as a public facility in the state.

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DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE MODEL
TO SATISFY THE PUBLIC INTEREST

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Abstract

This study aims to find a model of proper public service from any public service institutions tosatisfy the public interest.This study used quantitative and qualitative methods (mixed methods). Data were collected through observations, interviews, Focus Group Discussion, documentary study and questionnaires in some regional units (Satua Kerja Perangkat Daerah/SKPD) in Padang Pariaman Regency. In quantitative methods, Simple Random Sampling was used and the data were analyzed through statistical descriptive in frequent and percentages form. In qualitative methods, Snowball Sampling was used and the data were analyzed through interactive model of analysis.The results show that the models of the current public service implemented by SKPD, state-owned enterprises (Badan Usaha Milik Negara/BUMN), and region-owned enterprises (Badan Usaha Milik Daerah/BUMD) are functional model,centralized model and integrated model.This finding is expected to offersolution for the local administrationsin making policiesfor excellent services. The implementation is expected toprovide public services the key to improve social welfare.

Keywords: model development,public service, Padang Pariaman, local administration

INTRODUTION

Public service is the most important factor in improving the quality of social life in any communities. Ideally, the purpose of government is to improve the welfare of the community it governs. The welfare of the society is achieved through many ways and determined by many factors. The more complex the factors, the more complex the way to welfare.

In the context of public service, there are several practical models to maximize the quality of service. In regional units(SKPD) in Padang Pariaman Regency, the public service model implementedis the functional, centered, and integrated ones. However, the service is inadequate as there are still many complaints from the communities, both directly and through the mass media. Padang Pariaman Regency, among all cities/regencies, in 2014 was reported to have the second highest public complaints on public services, including complicated procedures, the lack of standard service time, no standard fees, untransparent requirements, as well as impolite, unfriendly, discriminative, and unresponsive staff—leaving negative impression about public services in some regional units of Padang Pariaman Regency.

This condition needs proper measures through continuous and sustainable operation to rebuild public trust by delivering service excellent, particularly discovering a public service model that fulfills the need of the public interest. Therefore, a fundamental review of the public service performance is needed.Since the enactment of Act No. 22 of 1999—amended by Act No. 32 of 2004, public service is widely discussed to measure the success of regional autonomy implementation (Hardiyansyah, 2011).The quality of regional public service determines the success of the implementation of regional autonomy.

In 2009, Act No. 25 on Public Service was enacted to protect the rights of the public to get a more qualified and equitable service. The problem now is that there is almost no indication that Padang Pariaman administration will implement responsibly the Public Service Act. The act had been enacted seven years ago, but discrimination and commercialization of public service that leads to the neglect of the public's right is still continuing.

Based on the problem and the reality mentioned above, it is presumed that the problem of developing public service model in Padang

Pariaman Regency needs to be reviewed sustainably to find patterns and model or new method in public service that fulfillsthe public interest.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used qualitative and quantitative (mixed) method as developed by Creswell (2015). The data was collected by interview, observation, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), documentary study, and questionnaires. The mixed method here is connected, meaning both data, qualitative and quantitative,are separated but connected and support each other. The research schedule in establishing policy is shown in the following figure.
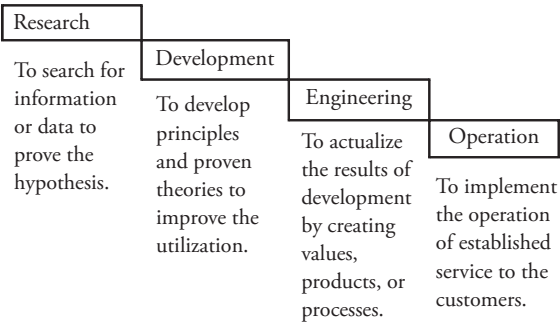
Figure 1. Research Schedule in Establishing Policy
Source: Act No. 18 of 2002

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

During the field research, it was found that Padang Pariaman Regency has 9regional offices, 5 boards, 4 offices, and 9 technical units (UPTD). The duties and functions of those SKPD regional units indicate that the Padang Pariaman administration has implemented a model of functional, centered, and integrated public services. It is compatible with the Administrative Reform Ministerial Decree No. 63 of 2003 about the Guidelines of Public Service. Based on the decree, there are four models or patterns of public service; (1) functional, meaning the services are delivered by the service providing units based on their duties, functions, and responsibilities; (2) centered, meaning the service is delivered solely by a unit that isdelegated responsibilities by other units associated with the service; (3) integrated, meaning one stop service, which consists of two types; (a) integrated under one roof (PTSA), where many services that have unrelated processes are served through many doors. Services that are already close to the

communities are not included; (b) integrated through one door (PTSP), where many services that have related processes are delivered through one door, (4) work group, meaning the civil servants individually or in groups are assigned in certain service providing units or locations.

Besides the abovementioned service models, the providing units can also develop their own patterns or models in discovering and creating innovation in order to improve public service. The development of public service model must be compatible with the principles applied in Administrative Reform Ministerial Decree No. 63 of 2003. All the models mentioned above are basically developed from one method; integrating the sustainable perfection to initiate qualified service excellent.

From the formal juridical perspective, the effort to improve the quality of public service was initiated by the enactment of the Home Affairs Minister Memo No. 503/125/PUOD-1997, dated January 16th 1997 and the Home Affairs Minister Instruction No. 25 of 1998 about the Establishment of the Integrated One Stop Service, and supported by the Administrative Reform Ministerial Decree No. 63/Kep/M.PAN/7/2003 about the General Guidelines on the Implementation of Public Service. The government also encourages fast, accurate, easy, economical, and transparent public service with the enactment of Home Affairs Ministerial Decree No. 24 of 2006 about the Guidelines on the Implementation of Integrated One Stop Service. The services have developed to vary widely and have many different names, including joined services, integrated service under one roof (PTSA) or integrated service through one door (PTSP). In the implementation, there are basic differences between the PTSP and PTSA systems.

First, the PTSP is almost similar to the system in fast-food restaurant, meaning a package of fast service in ordering various foods which are paid at once. Meanwhile, the PTSA is almost similar to a food court system. An order of one type of meal does not have to be related with the orders of other meals and drinks. The customers choose their preferred meals and drinks or services, which they pay separately.

Second, in PTSP system, there are 'associated function,' which means besides being in one building, the all the processes are related, starting from the queue entering the building to the way outside of the building. A series of processes starts with first one to first out, which is used for any service regardless the requirements, the standard service time, and the fees charged in a non-partially integrated system.

Meanwhile, in PTSA system, the process of delivering services is conducted separately and each service is unrelated with others. Basically the PTSA means a 'joined service' system and each subject of service is not related functionally with other subjects. It can be inferred that the system has various units of services that operate under one roof.

Third, in PTSP system, the responsibility of delivering all the services rest only in the head of PTSP unit, and no longer shared with other regional units. The responsibility is now under the authority of the PTSP leaders.

Meanwhile, in PTSA system, there are still many serving posts. PTSA is only a site for the center of service distribution, which may cause troubles for customers; applicants most of the times have to deal with regional units also. As a result, they have to go back and forth between PTSA building and regional offices. This is not because the low quality of PTSA, but the system is only designed as a joined service that has partial character, although being in one building like PTSP. This is one of the weaknesses of PTSA system that is easily abused. This bureaucratic procedure needs leadership to control a single managerial system, unless the condition will easily lead to the tendency of collusion among the staff or customers for their own interest.

After observing of some facts and the practice of public service in Padang Pariaman SKPD, it was found that public complaints in maladministration are mostly about procedural breach, reaching 54 (22.98%), followed by lack of service at 52 (22.13%) continuing postpone of service at 45 (19.15%), unprofessional handling at 24 (10.21%), abuse of authority at 19 (8.09%), and improper behavior at 15 (6.38%) as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 1. Number of Public Complaints of Maladministration in 2014-2015

No	Reports	Number	%
1	Procedural breach	54	22,98
2	Lack of service	52	22,13
3	Continuing postpone of service	45	19,15
4	Unprofessional handling	24	10,21
5	Abuse of authority	19	8,09
6	Improper behavior	15	6.38

Source: Dt. Maani (2015).

Previous research by Dwiyanto, et al (2006) on evaluation of public services in West Sumatra found that 90.9% of the bureaucracy of public service in West Sumatra is not accountable. This might include public services in Padang Pariaman Regency. It was also revealed that in terms of responsiveness (ability to recognize the needs of the community), 47.4% of them did not respond to community's complaints and 44.3% of them refusedto serve, and many of them (65.5%) worked outside their job descriptions. 51.4% of the staff even let people wait for service, and 36.7% left the customers when dealing with problems. Their work efficiency was also indicated bad. The work was finished slowly and almost always had to be stimulated by bribes fromcustomers. Available data also indicated that 61.4% of them admitted to receive money from the customersin completing their serving job.

The development of public service model at the Padang Pariaman administration is very important and necessary because, based on data obtained,there have not been any comprehensive studies that specifically examine the problem of public service model. Besides, researches on the public service model in Indonesia have not been able to offer the right solutions and models in the development of public service model for service providers. Some regions, however, have operated patterns or models of public services in an integrated one stop service either under one roof or through one door for the units of public service (Lukman and Sutopo, 2003; Ratminto and Winarsi, 2006).

Other studies also prove that uncertainty in public service is still inherent in virtually every public service in Indonesia (Dwiyanto, 2010). Another characteristic, among others,

that reflects the painful performance of public service providers is the tendency to serve the interests of the officialsinstead of the public (Rashid, 1997). The work culture is not of serving, but the culture of power. The principle of distrust, instead of trust,is dominant in service, therefore the procedures are set to control the behavior, not to facilitate better service. The overlapping authorities in many bureaucratic units also deteriorate service delivery. Complex bureaucracy is one factor that makes Indonesia's public service inadequate. This condition implies the need for implementable solutions as an effort to develop a model, quality and performance improvement, as well as the need for a strong commitment from all stakeholders in public service, as shown in the figure below.

Be served	To serve
Process oriented	Result oriented
Wait for assignment	Fetch for assignment
Incompetent staff	Competent staff
Complicated process	Simple process
Corruptive	Clean
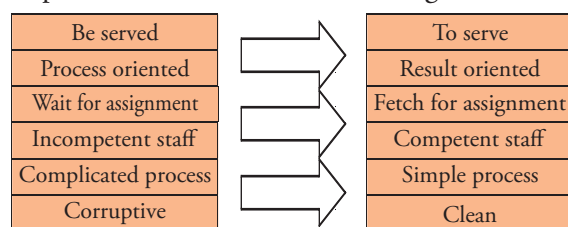
Figure 2. Mindset Change in Public Service Innovation
Source: Sudjono (2015).

The development of a public service model as 'mental revolution' effort should be made to change the mindset of the civil servants (Dt. Maani, 2010; 2014). Public service providers should no longer emphasize authority, but prioritize serving the communities, which is manifested in the behavior of "to serve and not be served"; "encourage, not hamper"; "make it easier, not harder"; "simple, not complicated" (Puspitosari and Kurniawan, 2011). However, the primary key in good governance is a public service that meets the needs of the public (Denhartdt, 2007). Similarly, Saifullah (2008) also stated that in order to provide a better public service, an effort to comprehend behaviors and changes of the public interest.

CONCLUSION

Ideally, the implementation of regional autonomy will improve the public service delivered by local administrations. A decade after the implementation of regional autonomy, however, the public service has not improved significantly. The government and local administrations continue to find new models and methods to improve the quality of public service.

Various efforts to develop public service model by the government and local administrations have not yet satisfy public interest. Several factors responsible for the low quality of public service are the lack of human resources, there is no valid parameter in serving units' performance indicators, as well as external factors of bureaucracy such as the low level of public adherence to the rules and procedures. The government as the main service provider is expected to fundamentallyand sustainably review the performance of civil servants in order to create the best value in public service that fulfills the public interest.

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Chapter 7
Regional Studies

THE IMPLICATION OF PEACE AND ORDER IN THE ECONOMIC STABILITY OF TAGUIG CITY: AN ASSESSMENT

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INTRODUCTION

A stable national security environment is crucial to achieving development, human security and general welfare. Stability can be threatened, however, by internal security concerns such as recurring armed conflict and criminality, together with new global security threats such as terrorism, human trafficking, illegal arms trade, and drug trafficking. The challenge, therefore, is for the country to achieve national stability through an appropriate and adequate response to internal conflicts and external threats, so that it may become a responsible partner in promoting peace and good relations among nations. All these must occur within the irreducible framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

However, in the Philippines to achieve development the government passed the Republic Act 7160 otherwise known as the Local Government Code of 1991, The LGC paved the way for the transformation of the highly centralized government to a decentralized one with the transfer of significant power, responsibilities and duties, authority, and resources from the national government to the local government units to focus on the basic needs of the local residents.

The municipality is responsible for promoting and advancing the common welfare of constituents and to improve the socio- economic conditions of the whole community.

This role is derived from the view that local governments are considered to be the most proximate to the people and perform the function of linking national government with local concerns (Ocampo- Salvador, 2000). This proximity ‖enhances preference matching for public services ‖ and affords LGUs a ‖better location to perceive the preferences of their communities and respond to their needs (DAP, 2005).

Further, in the passage of Republic Act 7160, in Article 2, Section 28 stated that," authorizes local government executives to have operational control over police and policing in their respective local jurisdictions. Specifically, it defines the extensive powers that local elected executive officials, such as provincial governors or city and municipal mayors, exercise over PNP officers and personnel assigned to their jurisdictions. Chapter III, Section 51 of RA 6975 empowers provincial governors to select and appoint their police provincial directors, oversee the implementation of their respective provincial public safety plans and preside over their respective provincial peace and order councils. In other words, city and municipal mayors are given even more powers over PNP personnel assigned to their respective towns or cities. They include the power of operational supervision and control over policing, which means mayors of towns and cities could direct, superintend, oversee and inspect Philippine National Police units or forces.

Moreover, based on the Local Government Code of 1991, Section 17, such basic services and facilities devolved to them covered the following: (1) Agricultural support services which include planting materials distribution system and operation of farm produce collection and buying stations; (2) Health and social welfare services which include maintenance of barangay health center and day- care center; (3) Services and facilities related to general hygiene and sanitation, beautification, and solid waste collection; (4) Maintenance of katarungang pambarangay; (5) Maintenance of Barangay roads and bridges and water supply system; (6) Infrastructure facilities such as multi- purpose hall, multi- purpose pavement, plaza, sports center, and other similar facilities; (7) Satellite or public market, where viable. The Code also lays the foundation for the development and evolution

of more entrepreneurial oriented local government. For instance, it allows local governments to enter into build – operate – transfer (BOT) arrangements with the private sector, float bonds, obtain loans from local private institutions, etc., all these are intended to encourage them to ̄more businesslike ‖ and competitive in their operations compared to ̄ traditional government norms and operations. It also encourages and institutionalizes active citizen participation in local governance by providing the institutional framework for the direct participation of the private sector, NGOs and POs in the process of governance.

In addition, the role of Local Chief Executive (LCE) as a local leader under Local Government Unit (LGUs) has the power and authority to effect changes in the local bureaucracy that would bring economic, social and political development. Thus, leadership has an important role to play in creating innovative ways under local government. Leadership is the most concerning issue in the process of good governance at the local level. The term leadership can be viewed through multiple angles and concepts. Bass (1990), refer to leadership as, variously, a group process, a combination of special traits or characteristics, an act or behavior, a power relationship, and an instrument of goal attainment. As a group process, leadership centers on the role of the leader in facilitating group change and in representing ̄ the will of the group. As a combination of special traits and characteristics, leadership implies that attributes of personality influence others to respond and do what needs to be done. It can also be defined as the ability not only to deliver services efficiently and effectively with scarce resources, but also to expand public interest in programs locally administered and to obtain financial and technical support from other sources. It is also a provision of clear and strategic long term vision. Vision and mission are owned by all and are arrived at consensually and in a participatory manner. As a power relationship, leadership distinguishes the leader's role in influencing follower behavior and in using that influence to achieve common goals. As an instrument to achieve goals, leadership is seen in the way the leader shapes the direction of the group through ̄vision setting, role modeling, and individualized attention (Northouse, 2004, p. 2). In short, leadership and political will play a key role in managing and leading under local government.

Taguig City used as the locale of the study to analyze the important role of leadership in the success of good governance at the local level. After 11 years became a city on December 8, 2004, it has been considered as one of the fastest growing cities in Metro Manila which will soon rival Makati City, and considered to be the Philippine's financial capital. At present, high density areas are emerging in the central part of the city, driven by rapid population growth in the areas of C5, as the center of population continues to move south. It is one of the largest contiguous properties still available in Metro Manila. Taguig has a land area of 4,521 hectares and is presently comprised of 28 barangays divided into two districts. The first district are Bagumbayan, Bambang, Calzada, Hagonoy, Ibayo- Tipaz, Ligid- Tipaz, Lower Bicutan, New Lower Bicutan, Napindan, Palingon, San Miguel, Santa Ana, Tuktukan, Ususan, Wawa. The second district include Central Bicutan, Central Signal Village, Fort Bonifacio, Katuparan, Maharlika Village, North DaangHari, North Signal Village, Pinagsama, South DaangHari, South Signal Village, Tanyag, Upper Bicutan and Western Bicutan. Due to exemplary performance of the Local Chief Executive of Taguig City they received several awards, namely: Outstanding Nutrition Program Implementation and Management, 2014; Galing Pook 2009 and recognized for the National Ranking on Local Governance Performance Management System (LGPMS), DILG-NCR LGUs which Taguig City considered as the 9th place. In the World Bank's latest Ease of Doing Business report, Taguig City ranked first among the cities in Metro Manila to have the least number of procedures in putting up a business.

Today, Taguig is proximate to business districts, airports and major highways. The City serves as host to embassies and consulates, a state-of-the-art hospital, key agencies of the national government, the best international schools, and more than 8,000 commercial and industrial establishments. It has a relatively young population base (40% below 30 years old) which supports the development of a talent pool and entrepreneurs for ancillary services, both of which are crucial to sustainable industry growth. The leadership play an important role in local governance, the first things that Taguig City Local Chief Executive did upon assuming office was to launch a sustained campaign against illegal drugs and crime.

The Taguig City police have made significant headway in fighting the scourge of illegal drugs. They have arrested half of the Top 10 Most Wanted Illegal Drugs Target Personalities in the city. The most wanted drug suspects nabbed by the police are Jackie Abone (No. 2); Richard Silvestre (No. 4); Rawie Castro (No. 5); Isidro Llagas (No. 7); and MardieTalampas (No. 8). The intensified war against traffickers in illegal drugs and other criminals who had given the city a very bad reputation in the past has turned the situation around and restored law and order in the city. The stable peace and order situation in Taguig City is the very reason it is now a thriving business hub. With higher income from the vibrant and dynamic business environment, top corporations are flocking to Bonifacio Global City (BGC). Among those that have relocated to Taguig City are the Philippine offices of Coca-Cola Bottlers, General Electric, Hewlett-Packard and Sony. Several banks—Chinatrust Commercial Bank Corp., Eastwest Bank, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corp.—are also there now. The technology provider Smartmatic and Manila Water Co. (MWC) have also established their offices at BGC.

CRIME STATISTICS PER BARANGAY 2014- 2015

PCP	BARANGAY	MUR	HOM	RAPE	PHY INJ	ROBBERY	THEFT	CARNAPPING	INDEX CRIME	NON-INDEX	TOTAL
1	Bagumbayan	4	3	2	34	18	15	5	81	41	122
2	Bambang	0	0	0	4	4	7	1	16	23	39
3	Calzada	0	1	0	5	4	6	1	17	20	37
4	Hagonoy	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	7	7	14
5	Ibayo - Tipaz	3	0	0	7	6	15	3	34	7	41
6	Ligid – Tipaz	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	5	10	15
7	Western Bicutan	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	6	3	9
8	New Lower Bicutan	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3
9	Upper Bicutan	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	18	20
10	Tanyag	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	9	12
11	South Signal Village	0	0	0	2	2	4	4	12	12	24
12	South Daang Hari	0	0	0	1	0	5	1	7	3	10
13	Pinagsama	3	1	0	22	38	30	6	100	40	140
14	North Signal Village	0	0	0	5	5	6	3	19	18	37
15	North daang Hari	0	0	0	0	2	4	4	10	14	24
16	Maharlika Village	1	0	0	6	10	22	4	43	8	51

17	Katuparan	0	2	0	13	2	5	2	24	14	38
18	Fort Bonifacio	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	4
19	Central Signal Village	0	0	0	2	3	1	3	9	1	10
20	Central Bicutan	0	0	0	2	1	1	4	8	2	10
21	Usukan	0	0	0	8	1	6	3	18	15	33
22	Wawa	0	1	0	7	8	31	20	67	36	103
23	Napindan	0	1	0	5	10	9	3	28	5	33
24	Palingon	0	0	0	3	3	9	1	16	14	30
25	Tuktukan	0	0	0	2	2	10	2	16	5	21
26	San Miguel	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	5	3	8
27	Fort Bonifacio	0	1	0	20	18	126	6	171	47	218

COMPARATIVE CRIME STATISTICS

Period Covered: 2014- 2015

Period	INDEX CRIMES											NON- INDEX CRIMES			TOTAL CRIME VOLUME	TOTAL CRIME SOLVED
	AGAISNT PERSON					AGAISNT PROPERTY			TOTAL INDEX	TOTAL SOLVED	SOL'N EFF.	TOTAL VOLUME	TOTAL SOLVED	SOL'N EFF.		
	MUR	HOM	PHY INJ	RAPE	TOTAL	ROB	THEFT	TOTAL								
Jan '15	0	1	22	1	24	18	37	55	79	62	78.48	55	42	76.36	134	104
Feb	2	0	12	0	14	19	42	61	75	53	70.67	51	43	84.31	126	96
Mar	1	0	23	1	25	19	36	55	80	50	62.50	72	60	83.33	152	110
Apr	0	1	18	0	19	15	38	53	72	50	69.44	84	74	88.10	156	124
May	1	0	14	0	15	23	47	70	85	58	68.24	50	48	96.00	135	106
June	2	0	15	0	17	10	36	46	63	48	76.19	63	46	73.02	126	94
July	0	1	21	0	22	26	46	72	94	49	52.13	80	59	73.75	174	108
Aug	2	2	50	3	57	24	65	89	146	92	63.01	93	69	74.19	239	161
Sept	0	9	43	2	54	33	82	115	169	106	62.72	78	65	83.33	247	171
Oct	0	1	40	7	48	32	87	119	167	114	68.26	92	66	71.74	259	180
Nov	0	2	36	3	41	31	46	77	118	77	65.25	84	58	69.05	202	135
Dec	2	2	46	3	53	37	84	121	174	99	56.90	109	94	86.24	283	193
TOTAL	10	19	340	20	389	287	646	933	1322	858	64.90	911	724	79.47	2233	1582
Jan'14	1	0	18	2	21	11	16	27	48	42	87.50	54	38	70.37	102	80
Feb	0	1	23	3	27	16	17	33	60	55	91.67	59	51	86.44	119	106
Mar	0	1	32	0	33	14	26	40	73	58	79.45	78	73	93.59	151	131
Apr	0	0	42	2	44	11	32	43	87	57	65.52	73	55	75.34	160	112
May	0	0	35	0	35	31	39	70	105	61	58.10	57	45	78.95	162	106
June	1	1	16	0	18	19	26	45	63	39	61.90	43	35	81.40	106	74
July	2	0	36	3	41	23	36	59	100	66	66.00	74	54	72.97	174	120
Aug	1	0	24	2	27	26	35	61	88	61	69.32	63	52	82.54	151	113
Sept	0	1	25	0	26	12	45	57	83	58	69.88	67	52	77.61	150	110
Oct	0	1	22	4	27	15	35	50	77	63	81.82	83	74	89.16	160	137
Nov	0	2	36	3	41	31	46	77	118	77	65.25	84	58	69.05	202	135
Dec	1	1	27	1	30	24	52	76	106	63	59.43	67	57	85.07	173	120
TOTAL	6	8	336	20	370	233	405	638	1008	700	69.44	802	644	80.30	1810	1344

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

On the basis of the foregoing theories culled from the review of various related literature and studies, the research paradigm that serves as guide to the study is the system approach or Input – Process – Output model devised by Stoner, Freeman and Gilbert, Jr. (1995). Given the foregoing systems model, the research paradigm of the study is presented in Figure 1 for clearer understanding and appreciation.
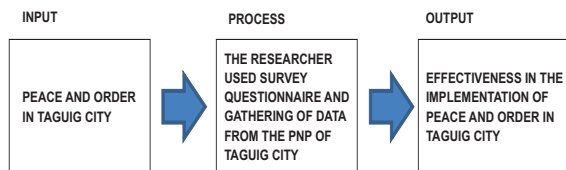
The input variables in this study the peace and order program in Taguig City. The process box includes a critical analysis, qualitative analysis and documentary evidences gathered in the Philippine National Police, enacted ordinances in the Municipal Office of Taguig City and interview to the PNP Chief and Local Public Officials. The expected output of the study would be stakeholders assessment in the enacted ordinances of the City and policing programs implemented as provided by the Philippine National Police.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It was the purpose of this study to delve into the implication of peace and order in the economic stability of Taguig City for 2014-2015. The Objective of the study is to answer the following questions:

1. What are the peace and order programs for the security and economic stability of Taguig City?

2. How effective the peace and order programs in the local businesses and investors in Taguig City?

3. What problems have been encountered by the Taguig Officials in the implementation of peace and order programs in the community?

4. What intervention programs may be developed for an effective implementation of the policies?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Results of this investigation will enable the local officials to know and confront themselves thereby providing reinforcement for their weaknesses and enrichment for their strong points. For the constituents of the public official included in this study, informative facts about the people they have chosen to govern them will be the eye- opener in the wisest choice of public servants in the subsequent coming opportunities. To the local elected and appointive officials, the findings of this study will provide insights of how to address the demands and needs of their constituents, thus, giving the means of improving and uplifting their performance as local area managers and internalizing their accountability to the people.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents a review of related literature and thematic outline adopted for this study. These were derived through extensive research from books, journals, theses and other published and unpublished papers which cover the approaches to restore peace and order in local government Units

INTRODUCTION

In the Philippine setting, Philippine National Police is responsible in peace and order of the country. Based on the Constitution, the PNP is the national in scope and civilian in character, administered by the National Police Commission (NAPOLCOM) the ratio is about one policeman in every 689 to 700 people nationwide. On the other hand, the Philippine National Police work closely with other government institution such as the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), The Department of Justice (DOJ), and network with other public and private institutions in the resolutions of crimes. Likewise, it supports the efforts of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) to fight against communist insurgency and Muslim recession in the country.

In the Philippine Air Force the training starts upon recruitment. For the military officers, the Philippine Military Academy serves as the hallmark for breeding men who would

later become commanders of their own brigades. Hence, the National Defense College of the Philippines offers a Master's Degree in National Security Administration upon completion, and an opportunity for military officers to earn the star rank. Each branch of the AFP, namely the Army, the Navy and the Marines, and the Air Force provide continuing learning opportunities through the General Staff College and the Joint Course Staff College. In addition, crime prevention is not only responsible to the law enforcement agencies but also with the involvement of the citizens of the community. At the Baranggay level, Barangay Tanod is trained to assist the local police in intelligence work, as well as monitoring and maintaining peace and order. (Philippine Delegation from the Civil Service Commission, 2013) Further, Full Service Policing (FSP) the police shall directly prevent and control crime by simultaneously undertaking five anti-crime drives to eliminate (or at least minimize), the Motives (or desires/intents), the Instrumentalities (or capacities/abilities), and the Opportunities (or accesses) for the commission of crimes.

These drives are the following: (i) Crime Prevention Crime prevention include all measures and efforts undertaken by the police, with the participation and support of the community, to eliminate, or minimize, the magnitudes of motives, instrumentalities, and opportunities for the commission of crimes. The following are some illustrative examples: initiating the amicable settlement of disputes among neighbors; minimizing drug addiction and drunkenness with the aim of reducing the motives; campaigning against unlicensed firearms; regulating and checking on the carrying of licensed firearms and other deadly weapons outside of one's residence to reduce instrumentalities; launching a crime prevention consciousness drive, including the observance of National Crime Prevention Week; dissemination of the crime groups' modus operandi, installation of light at night, and clearing of crime-prone areas and many others to reduce the opportunities for crime. All of these measures and efforts should result many crimes being prevented; (ii) Crime Suppression Crime suppression is based on the

cardinal principle that a crime will only happen if all three (3) correlated ingredients (motives, instrumentalities, and opportunities) converge at the same time and place. This drive thus encompasses all of the measures and efforts undertaken by the police with the participation and support of the community, to suppress the motives and/or instrumentalities of potential criminals, and reduce the opportunities to commit crimes. Illustrative examples on the part of the police include conducting mobile or foot patrols, fielding secret marshals in passenger buses and jeepneys in crime-prone areas, setting up mobile checkpoints in crime-prone areas, and many more. On the part of the community, especially those at higher risk of victimization, security measures ranging from passive to active measures, including resistance or self-defense, will be initiated; (iii) Crime Intervention, Crime Intervention consists of measures and efforts on the part of the police, with the participation and support of the community, to immediately detect and respond to crime as quickly as possible, even as it is occurring, to minimize potential damage to life, limb and/or property. It is good to arrest the perpetrator/s at the crime scene on a "flagrante delicto", or red-handed basis.

The effectiveness and success of this drive shall depend on the capability of the police to be immediately contacted by the public and respond to such calls, as well as the sense of civic duty in the community. This is exemplified by the 911 system in the US and many other developed countries. The Philippines has a 117 service, which is a joint project of the government and an NGO. Admittedly, we have a lot more to do and spend, before we could catch up and be at par with those in the developed countries. The community, especially potential victims, may use this time to activate and effectively use the self-defense measures that have prepared them for this eventuality. They should also know and be able to perform the doctrines of citizen's arrest, self-defense, and defense to stranger; (iv) Crime Attrition Crime Attrition includes all measures and efforts on the part of the police, with the participation and support of the community, to identify, secure warrant of arrest, ferret out, and isolate

criminals, including fugitives, from the rest of the society to prevent them from committing further crimes and/or becoming victims of reprisals by their victims and their loved ones. It is in this drive that the police and the community interact and collaborate with the other pillars of the Criminal Justice System for the prosecution, conviction, and rehabilitation of criminals so that they become fit and law-abiding citizens once they reintegrate into society. Community members should learn how to observe and describe what they have seen when they witness a crime, in order to better serve as the eyes and ears of the police. They should also know how to preserve the crime scene and handle the evidence and helping in the protection of, and support for, the victims and witnesses, etc; (v) Crime Deterrence Crime Deterrence consists of the measures and extra efforts on the part of the police, with the participation and support of the community and with all the other pillars of the Criminal Justice System, to convincingly prove that "crime does not pay" to deter potential offenders, thereby forcing them to cease and desist from committing crimes. The effectiveness of this drive depends on the capability and efficiency of the entire Criminal Justice System. This drive should be successful with the consistently effective and efficient performances of the police in Crime Intervention and Crime Attrition Drives, leading to the sure and expeditious conviction of almost, if not all, guilty offenders. Furthermore, the success and effectiveness of this drive depends on the willingness and determination of almost, if not all, victims and witnesses to file and pursue appropriate charges in court, up to conviction of almost, if not, all guilty offenders. Approaches in Effective Policing Several strategies in reducing criminality Dr. Jacqui Karn, 2013: Traditional approaches a policing allocating enforcement that covers their jurisdiction such as random patrol response, stop and search, Investigation and detection, Intensive enforcement. Random patrol and response, a considerable body of early research on police effectiveness in reducing crime was devoted to exploring the effectiveness of random patrol in preventing and detecting crime, either as a general deterrent or by answering calls in

the shortest possible time (Skogan and Frydl, 2004). Investigation and detection this was done through gathering evidences, such as witness statements, fingerprints or CCTV images, which could be used in court to secure a conviction. Intensive enforcement, Commonly referred to as either a „zero tolerance" (see Weatheritt, 1998) or „broken windows" (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) approach to law enforcement, intensive forms of law enforcement are often associated with tough crime-fighting rhetoric. In practice, however, these approaches are based on the idea that responding immediately and consequentially to incivilities such as vandalism, street drinking and prostitution, will avert a downward spiral of Disorder, which occurs when communities, in fear of more serious offending, start to withdraw their willingness to intervene (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Targeted policing, the limited impact of random patrol, reactive and intensive enforcement on crime rates led to attempts to improve the effectiveness of the police in reducing crime by concentrating resources on specific crimes, criminals, victims and places. This led to the development of much more focused resource allocation through, in particular, hotspots policing, tackling repeat victimization and focused deterrence. Hotspots policing, Initiatives that take account of the uneven distribution of crime between and within Neighborhoods and target resources on micro-locations (a small number of streets, a block of flats or even two or three addresses) are commonly referred to as „hotspots" policing (Weisburd and Braga, 2006). The influential Minneapolis Hot Spots Experiment, for example, found that 50 per cent of calls for service came from only 3.3 per cent of locations and advocated focusing interventions (in this case increased patrol) on such micro-locations rather than whole neighborhood. It delivered clear, if modest, general deterrent effects as measured by reductions in crime calls and observations of disorder (Sherman et al, 1989), as have other similar initiatives (Sherman and Weisburd, 1995). While there is evidence that focusing resources in hotspots reduces crime, initiatives that simply rely on using patrol and law enforcement in these hotspots tend to be less effective (Taylor et al, 2011), the impact tending

to be small and short-lived (Koper, 1995). The effectiveness of hotspots policing clearly varies according to the approaches and tactics that are used; it is rarely sufficient simply to concentrate police patrol resources in specific locations (Rosenbaum, 2006). A frequent component of hotspots policing initiatives is the introduction of measures that reduce the opportunities for committing crime. Commonly known as „situational crime prevention , such measures include installing better locks on doors and windows (target hardening), increasing surveillance through for example installing CCTV cameras and looking after or altering the environment by for example cleaning up graffiti, removing abandoned cars or improving street lighting. There is now considerable evidence to support the effectiveness of situational crime prevention (which cannot be reviewed here), which included partially helps to explain the convincing body of evidence that broadly supports the strategic targeting of micro-locations.

On the other hand, according to Rosenbaum (2006) based on a detailed understanding of the multiple and persistent problems commonly found in Communities. Such problems include: High concentrations of poverty and ill-health; a poor physical environment; Low-income families; Poor performing schools; Limited neighborhood resources and informal control; Active drug markets; Barriers to offender resettlement. Although often characterized as polarized approaches, researchers have begun to highlight the potential for a more integrated approach that takes greater account of the social context of hotspots, in particular the need for greater recognition that it is the social characteristics of hotspots that account for their longevity.

This suggests that there may be some potential for more targeted Socio-economic interventions in micro-locations. As yet little is known about why hotspots are attractive targets to offenders and what role, if any, residents "collective efficacy plays in this. The term „collective efficacy is used to describe the degree to which neighbors know and trust one another and are willing to intervene (together or individually) to protect their neighborhood

from crime and related problems. It acts as a protective factor in Neighborhoods that might otherwise experience high levels of crime (Sampson and Raudenbusch, 1999). Moreover, in United Kingdom there were four intelligence products are created: strategic assessments, tactical assessments, target profiles and problem profiles. Regular meetings of Tasking and Control Groups (TCGs) are held to decide how to best target resources to priority people (e.g. prolific offenders), places (e.g. crime hotspots) and activities (e.g. night time economy). Intelligence-led policing was first pioneered in the UK by Kent Police Service in the early 1990s. In practice however, cultural resistance and the significant reorganization of officer roles and functions meant that Kent s embracing of intelligence-led policing remained an exception to the rule until the introduction of the National Intelligence Model (NIM) a decade later (Maguire, 2008). NIM is the major vehicle for delivering intelligence-led policing, variations of which are now being used in all forces. Introduced in part as a response to the increasingly sophisticated, transnational and mobile nature of criminality, the NIM has institutionalized intelligence-led policing.

Based on strategic assessments of current and predicted crime threats and tactical assessments of targets and problems, its aim is to develop Policing and Crime Reduction solutions to crime problems outside the criminal justice system, such as disrupting criminal markets and the criminal networks that control them. With less than a quarter of all recorded crime leading to detection and a sanction, finding alternative ways to fight crime outside the criminal justice system should be a key priority. But although the NIM is seen by most officers as successful in tackling the main problems in an area (Maguire and John, 1995), it has, like intelligence-led policing, not been independently evaluated in terms of its impact on crime (Maguire, 2008) let alone how relevant it might be in tackling new, emerging crime patterns. Embracing partners who focus on risks and problems identified through the analysis of multiple sources of data relating to patterns of crime, as piloted in Greater Manchester (known as Greater Manchester against Crime), would help to shift the NIM

towards a more problem-oriented approach. Problem-oriented policing, A recent review of hotspots policing initiatives by the Campbell Collaboration provides convincing evidence that while, overall, hotspots policing strategies can be effective in reducing crime, they are more likely to do so where interventions alter the characteristics and dynamics of hotspots through problem-oriented policing interventions. Problem-oriented policing emerged as a more proactive alternative to traditional response policing and more effective than simply focusing enforcement approaches on hotspots. While still identifying problem hotspots, problem-oriented policing places more emphasis on understanding the connections between problems and why they are occurring, tackling problems identified by local communities that have been resistant to other, more conventional responses (Goldstein, 1990). To an extent a problem-solving approach is embedded in the National Intelligence Model (and potentially in some investigation practice), and is evident, in particular, in the way analysis is intended to inform multi-agency tasking meetings (Maguire and John, 2003), so problem-solving has become part of policing practice. Problem-oriented policing requires a thorough understanding of the problems and the effectiveness of strategies to address them. This involves an analysis of their causes, identifying strategies for intervention (beyond law enforcement) and involving other agencies and the community in delivering them. It also requires checking whether the intended benefits have accrued (Tilley, 2010). The main intention is to reduce crime and disorder proactively and sustainably by dealing with recurrent or connected problems, rather than responding incident by incident, and improving community confidence in the effectiveness of agencies by responding to their immediate and most pressing Concerns. The capacity for problem-solving approaches to reduce local crime rates in hotspots is now widely accepted, especially when driven by community concerns (Tuffin, 2006), although their effectiveness has in the past suffered from implementation failure (Quinton and Morris, 2008) and a tendency for the police to rush to solution before securing a full understanding of the problem and how best

to resolve it (Myhill, 2006). A recent systematic review concluded that problem-oriented policing initiatives built on sound data analysis and research have had „Community policing, the concept of community policing first emerged in the 1970s, and has subsequently built up widespread support. Problem-oriented policing and community engagement is both central to effective community policing, which is built around the idea of enhanced local accountability. Community policing tends to mean different things to different people and lacks a clear definition, while the term community is itself „notoriously slippery (Tilley, 2008). And as with other models of policing, there is considerable overlap. As Fielding (2009) argues, to some community policing is simply an alternative to an enforcement-based approach whereas to others it is an approach that actively involves the public in crime control and improves communication between the public and the police. Despite this, the principles underpinning community policing have been widely adopted and community policing has become, in the US at least, „a new orthodoxy for cops (Dr. Jacqui Karn, 2013)

In 1993-1994, then Senior Inspector Francisco Baraquel worked on his thesis entitled "Toward the Development of a Community – Based Crime Prevention and Control Program: A Model for the Philippine National Police, he researched and made a comparative study of "BAC UP" (started in June 1986) in the Visayas, "KAUBAN" in Mindanao (started in October 1991), "Pulis Patrol-Lingkod Bayan" in Metro-Manila (started in early 1992), and Sectoral Organizing in Luzon (started in 1991). Baraquel's 174-page thesis came to the conclusion that: "BAC-UP can be considered as the most successful implementation of a community-based crime prevention program for the following reasons: It was able to sustain its objective of minimizing the levels of crime incidence, notwithstanding the fact that the commander who initiated the project was already transferred; It presented a concrete example of committed private sector involvement manifested in the joint undertakings of the Rotary Club of Bacolod City-East and Negros Occidental PC/INP Command. (Note: BAC

UP should get the credit, where Rotary Club of Bacolod City-East Rotarians is also members); It was undertaken at no cost to the government while completely overhauling the deployment structure of the Bacolod City Police and providing it with the needed administrative, communications and mobility requirement; It emphasized the need for building awareness and eliciting response through social marketing; It provided for the recruitment, training and integration of the "barangay tanods" in the community police structure; It also provided for livelihood projects and the provision of soft loans for the police officers". "Evaluating the level of crime incidence in Bacolod City, the available statistics showed that the total crime volume in the city considerably went down from a high of 3,500 crime incidents in 1989 to a low of 607 crime incidents last year. This goes to show that BAC UP has been able to sustain the gains that it has achieved in 1986 up to today, as far as keeping the level of crime incidence at minimal levels. The dramatic decrease in crime incidence in the city is mainly attributed to the institutionalization of the "BAC UP" within the communities of Bacolod City". Effective policing remains the strategy of choice among local government unit to gain trust and confidence of the general public. On the other hand, restoring peace and order there is also a collaborative partnership between the police and other government agencies. The abovementioned literature and studies it serves as a basis of the researcher in the present study.

METHODOLOGY

The topic discussed in this chapter includes the method of research or research design, sampling procedure techniques and instruments used, and the statistical treatment of data.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher used descriptive research method. According to Ardales (2001) descriptive research involves description of the nature and situation as it exists at the time of the study and explores the causes of particular phenomenon and the interpretation of the condition exist. He further emphasizes that descriptive research involves the collection of data in order to answer questions concerning the current status of the subject under study. This design is considered appropriate for this study because the aim is to assess the crime prevention approaches as provided by the Philippine National Police and programs implemented by the Local Chief Executive in Taguig City. The approaches used are qualitative analysis on the data generated from documents and accomplishment reports particularly the ordinances, programs and strategies of the Philippine National Police during the of 2013-2015 under the City of Taguig.

Table 1

Extent of Effectiveness in implementing programs of the Local Chief Executive For Peace and Order as assessed by Business Sector

PEACE AND ORDER	BUSINESS SECTOR	
	Mean	Rank
Prohibiting Sidewalk vendors	3.19	4
Deployment of Police Patrol	2.88	6
Prohibiting vandalism	3.60	2
Curfew hours Beyond 10PM	3.17	5
Taguig Anti- Drug Council	4.06	1
Anti- mendicancy or vagrancy	3.38	3

Legend: Verbal interpretation	(VI) scale of the computed mean:
Very Effective (VE)	4.50-5.00
Slightly Effective (SE)	1.50-2.49
Effective (E)	3.50-4.49
Not Effective (NE)	1.00 - 1.49
Moderately Effective (ME)	2.50- 3.49

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Based on the results and discussion, the following summary of findings is drawn:

1. The peace and order programs were implemented by the Local Chief Executive to promote peace and order in Taguig City.

The enacted ordinances supportive of the barangay on the implementation of and delivery of programs related to Peace and Order were as follows: To maintain peace and order in each barangay Circular no. 305,S-2005, dated 30 May 2005 granting authority to the City government of Taguig to extrajudicially abate legal easements and nuisances and impose fees to service providers making use of such easement and/or servitude of public property and Circular 293,S-2004 dated 1, September 2004 provided for the creation and composition of the Taguig City Anti-Drug Abuse Council (MADAC), the institutionalization of MADAC secretariat, and for other purposes.

2. Assessment of the business sector in the extent of effectiveness in the implemented peace and order programs in Taguig City.

Based on the assessment of Business sector in the effectiveness of peace and order programs in Taguig City are the following: Taguig Anti- Drug Council (4.06) rank 1, Prohibiting vandalism (3.60) rank 2, Anti- mendicancy or vagrancy (3.38) rank 3, Prohibiting Sidewalk vendors (3.19) rank 4, Curfew hours Beyond 10PM (3.17) rank 5, Deployment of Police Patrol (2.88) rank 6.

3. The challenges faced in peace and order in Taguig City.

The following challenges faced in peace and order in Taguig City is the following: Shortage of Philippine National Police in Taguig City, lack of awareness in the PNP programs of the community.

CONCLUSIONS

Based from the findings, the following conclusions are forwarded:

1. Taguig City has several peace and order programs in their community.

2. The overall mean rating of 3.38 indicates that the respondents from the business sectors assessed as moderately effective the implementation of the Programs for peace and order by their Local Chief Executive (LCE).

3. The challenges faced in policing crime reduction in Taguig City are the following: Shortage of Philippine National Police in Taguig City, lack of awareness in the PNP programs of the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the findings and conclusions, the following are the recommendations:

1. The PNP should provide and additional police forces in Taguig City to provide security in the community.

2. A continuous effective monitoring on the programs as provided by PNP and Local Chief Executive in Taguig City.

3. The PNP should provide an additional budget to implement effectively the programs in Taguig City.

4. PNP should conduct seminar in the community to discuss their program for the security of the local resident and additional budget for Philippine National Police.

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THE IMPACT OF MINANGKABAU ETHNIC'S *EXCESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM* IN FISHER POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN PADANG CITY'S COASTAL AREA

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Abstract

One of the goals of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is to alleviate poverty and "end poverty in all its forms everywhere." Fishing community is one of the groups in the community who continuously suffer from poverty, even their lives are often identified with poverty. The government has responded to the omnipresence of poverty among fishing labor and small-scale fishermen by initiating a program by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries called Community's Direct Aid-Development of Rural Fisheries (BLM-PUMP). This program provides capital stimulant for business and aims to improve the sources of income expected to improve the economic condition of the small-scale fishermen through business group called *Kelompok Usaha Bersama* (KUB). This paper is based on research funded by Kemenristek Dikti's Implementation Product Scheme for year 2017 titled "The Effectivity of the Society's Direct Aid-Development of Rural Fisheries (BLM-PUMP) Implementation through Fisher Business Group in Padang City's Coastal Area." Preliminary research reveals that although this program has been implemented from 2011 to 2016 at 67 KUB groups in Padang City's coastal area, it has not succeeded in alleviating fisher poverty; their income is decreasing instead. The research found that the financial aid program concerns less of the pre-existing conditions or work habits of the fishermen groups. For example, the program is designed for group work, but working in group has not become a habit of the local fishermen. The fishermen usually work alone or with two or three people from their households. Fishermen working in large groups, such as the 10-member KUB group, is rare or almost none. Therefore, the jointly economic activities in the groups are difficult to do. Besides that, the excessive individualism character of most Minangkabau fishermen is one of the constraining factors in group dynamics and impacts the unsuccessfulness of group activities.

Keywords: poverty alleviation, fishermen, excessive individualism, Minangkabau

INTRODUCTION

Fishing community is one of the social groups that intensively suffers from poverty. Their lives are always poverty-stricken, even their lives are identified with poverty (Kusnadi, 2009). According to Dahuri (2010), the fishermen's economic level is below labors in other sectors, including agriculture. Fishermen (particularly traditional fishermen) are members of the community who are classified as the poorest among social groups in the agricultural sector.

The striking poverty of fishermen, particularly the small-scale ones, has been responded by the government through implementing various programs, including the Society's Direct Aid-Development of Rural Fisheries (BLM-PUMP). The BLM-PUMP is part of the National Program of Self-Supporting Society that provides capital stimulant for fishing business which is based on potential fishery resources. The purpose of the program is to improve the fishers' income expected to improve the economic condition of small-scale fishermen in the Joint Business Group (KUB), to encourage the advancement of fishing economic institutional function to ease access to capital. The BLM-PUMP is a policy aims to alleviate poverty based on fishing assets.

The BLM-PUMP policy allows the growth of productive assets as an incentive for the growth and development of fishers' economic activities, as can be seen from the Joint Business Plan (RUB) that is created based on the fishers' needs of catching tool assets. In the BLM-PUMP plan, the productive capital aid is the Rp100,000,000-fishing-tools as an incentive for organizing fishermen. Therefore, the program

aims groups instead of a person. The challenges, constraints, and problems in economic activities are discussed in KUB's monthly meeting. In KUB mechanism, the RUB joint plan is guided by trainers from the local Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Agency. Basically, the RUB becomes a memorandum of understanding (MoU) for fishermen in KUB in developing fishery potentials in the region, as well as the agreement of KUB fishers as BLM-PUMP beneficiaries to pay installment from the fishing revenue (Bab IV.B.4 Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Perikanan Tangkap Nomor 32/Kep JPT/2014).

The BLM-PUMP implementation in Padang City, however, shows a tendency of institutional failure. The majority of KUB groups failed to activate KUB organizational activities, whereas the main purpose of the program is to encourage fisherman to organize independently in solving various problems and develop their joint potential. Ironically, not only the KUB failed as a fishery economic institution, it mostly stopped working after the aid was given. This article discusses the causes of BLM-PUMP failure from the aspect of, as beneficiaries, Padang fishermen—who are mostly Minangkabau ethnic—particularly concerning their attitudes, personalities, and characters.

LITERARY REVIEW

Community Driven Development Theory in Eradicating Poverty

BLM-PUMP's poverty alleviation process, based on community driven development (CDD) theory, is expected to stimulate the community to be self-propelling or can develop independently without help from others. When the aid is successful, it is no longer needed with the assumption that the community can continue the development with their own ability and strength (Edstrom, 2002:62-64).

CDD is associated with the concepts of social capital and trust. Social capital is defined as a procedure or institution that allows the acquisition of resources or the greater possibility of decision making. The concept of trust refers to people's willingness to lose early to gain profit in the future. Trust can accumulate, so

there will be more chances of profit. In this context, it refers to the community's ability to independently choose the resources for its own purpose and function. Trust specifically refers to a social interaction, where a person's potential loss would be covered by the potential future profit. In the CDD context, this means a demand for the poor (fishermen) to sacrifice early for a benefit in the future (Putnam, 1993; Sztompka, 2000).

BLM-PUMP's policy that requires fishermen to create, work in, and develop groups to improve fishers' income and self-reliance is highly relevant with the CDD theory in the fisher poverty eradication program. In the groups, fishermen initially arrange business plans according to their needs and capacities. After obtaining the aid to implement the plan, the group activities continue by collecting dues whose frequency and amount has been decided earlier. The dues will be used as a capital for their future business or to repair their fishing tools.

CDD is a logical consequence of the rational choice theory (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The theory was built as an analogy of neo-classical economy into sociology (Coleman, 1994). This theory explains an actor's action in his relations with the social system around him. The system influences the action. In his individual action, the actor plays a rational role. The combination of actions in a social institution affects the system. Moreover, actors are humans who are driven by purpose. Once the purpose is identified, men will achieve it in the most efficient way. Therefore, stratified purpose is required. Similarly, the rules, ways, or paths to achieve the goal are hierarchical. Preferences between the two hierarchies lead to economic or efficient actions (Polanyi, 2003). In rational choice theory, optimization takes place in the interaction from the systemic to individual level and from the individual to the social system level.

A classic example of rational choice theory is the dilemma of two prisoners. One of them is interrogated. If he does not plead guilty, these two men will be sentenced. If he pleads guilty, but his friend does not, he will be the only one sentenced. This is also the case if only his

partner confesses. If both confess, the sentence is commuted. The latter benefits the two most, so this is the most possible action they will take.

Beside the analogy from neo-classical economy, rational choice theory also adopts four elements from sociology. First, achieving benefits by delegating control to another actor. Resources attract attention and can be controlled by actors. In a condition where information is scarce, the certainty of an action's outcome becomes minimal. Therefore, actors entrust others with the controlling action. The moment he entrusts or create trust of others, it changes of authority. The effectivity of norms depends on the ability to fulfill the consensus. Inter-actor consensus and the implementation prevent the signs of imbalanced collective behavior. However, if there are many authorities (who acquire controls), the social system becomes unstable. The mass will eventually choose who acquires control concerning the biggest benefit it will gain.

Second, the social capital. Social capital is an informal aspect of social organization that supports an actor or his/her group to acquire productive resources. The presence of social capital depends on the proximity among dwellers, the endurance of pre-existing social relations and relation variations (when a person who has various statuses and roles interact with another person who also has various roles, he will indirectly gain various or multiple benefits).

Third, the emergence of rights from the society. The rationality of an action in a social context depends on the distribution of rights in certain community. Therefore, the rights derive from further social processes, as an outcome of an action that benefits someone's or his/her group's interest. Hence, there will also be hierarchy of actions, meaning how far the action will result in more rights. If the right distribution is unequal, the social process to achieve the rights might lead to conflict.

Forth, institutions, who play two roles. Institutions aggregate individual actions to form social system. Besides, institutions also interpret the needs of social system into individual actions, so the CDD approach will be found to have the opportunity to change the cooperative based communal activities into individual activities or interest-laden cooperation. Rational choice theory allows accumulation of act mechanism in order to be able to be implemented by many people, for example in the collective action concept. In daily lives this can be seen from the hesitation of the poor community to cooperate. They used to work alone.

Sociological Perspective of Fisher Poverty Alleviation

Sociologically, poverty is a complex issue. The complexity is not only rooted in the diversity of economic point of views, but also a manifestation of interaction that involves almost all aspects of human life. The low level of education and unproductive geographical condition are often blamed for poverty, although in fact there are many contributing factors of fisher poverty (Myrdal, 1971; Turner, 1994; Cernea, 1988; Suparlan, 1995; Sastrawidjaya, 2002; Kusnadi, 2003).

From a sociological perspective, Salman (2014) argued there are three important aspects called capacity layers in fisher poverty alleviation. First, individual level, such as individual skills and requirements, knowledge, behavior, job divisions and motivations from the people who work within the organization. Second, institutional or the entire unit level, for example organizational structure, decision-making processes within the organization, work procedures and mechanisms, facility and infrastructure arrangements, organizational relationships and networks. Third, systemic level, such as the framework for orders, basic policies and conditions that support the achievement of certain policies' objectivity.

This means that enhancing the institutional capacity of fisher groups should start strengthening from individual to group or community institution capacities. To ensure the utilization of fishery resources, a social system or order that enables the fishers to meet their needs without obstacles is needed.

In a sociological perspective, organizational groups are viewed as a permanent system of interactional unity, and are oriented towards shared goals. The group's analytical unit is expected to comprehend deeply the various conditions of

infrastructure, (personal, communal and systemic) capacities, and economic networks that affect the dynamics of the utilization of BLM-PUMP by the fishing members of KUB group. As a community living in coastal areas, fishing communities have distinct social characteristics from those living inland.

In general, Kusnadi (2003) identifies a number of complex political, social and economic problems faced by the fishing communities. The problems include: 1) poverty, social inequality, and frequent economic pressures; 2) limited access to capital, technologies and markets, therefore affecting the dynamics of business; 3) functional flaws of the social economic institutions; 4) low quality of human resources due to the limited access to education, health and public services, 5) degradation of environmental resources in coastal areas, at sea, as well as around islets, and 6) weak maritime-oriented policies as the main pillars of national development.

Hence, Kusnadi (2009) warned particularly policy makers about the importance of socio-cultural approach as the basis or instrument of fisher poverty alleviation; given, sociologically, the characteristics of coastal communities (fishermen) are different from the rural communities (farmers). Moreover, the resource and geographical characteristics vary widely among regions. Kusnadi also emphasized that failure of a fisher poverty alleviation program could break the socio-economic institutions after the program implementation ended, and the fisher socio-economic condition or welfare might not increase, and in the end, the poverty alleviation activities halt in the middle. The program fails because its application is often not framed by the local socio-cultural structure, in terms of both institutional and the division of labor problems. As a result, the programs are alien to the local fishing communities, and ironically, new institutions from the program are often confronted with the local institutions antagonistically. Therefore, the community is apathetic towards the strategy of fisher poverty alleviation program.

From the social justice aspect, as stated by John Rawls (Daniels, 1975), fisher empowerment and development aims to fulfill the three principles of justice; equality in basic freedom, equality in opportunity for progress,

and positive discrimination for the disadvantaged to guarantee equality (in individual context). Institutional reformist perspective emphasizes on the solution of social problems. Fisher empowerment structural perspective identifies the oppressive structures that are detrimental to fishermen. Post-structural perspective emphasizes the use of language, the delivery of meaning, the formation and accumulation of knowledge, and the means used to control and dominate through the definition of things deemed appropriate, acceptable behavior, etc.

From a sociological perspective, the BLM-PUMP program for fishing members of KUB groups should be able to alleviate fisher poverty. This is possible because the program aims to improve the fishers' economic condition and individual capacities, as well as encouraging fishermen to cooperate in the organization, particularly those within the same KUB group.

Minangkabau Ethnic Characters That Inhibits Fisher Poverty Alleviation

The Community Driven Development (CDD) theory emphasizes the importance of teamwork. However, teamwork has not become a Minangkabau ethnic—particularly fishermen—culture. Based on research data, 95% of Padang city's coastal fishermen are Minangkabau ethnic. They come from several regencies in West Sumatra province, including Pesisisr Selatan, Padang Pariaman, Solok and Pasaman Barat.

Saanin (1980) describes a Minangkabau as an individualist, sometimes even super individualist (excessive individualism). As an individualist, he/she is not willing to ally with others. Therefore, among Minangkabau people well-maintained cooperative enterprise and limited liability company (PT) are not possible because it demands good cooperation, honesty, and mutual trust. Firms and individual or family businesses like restaurant are more possible.

Amir MS (2011) also stated that often there are divisions in Minangkabau society. They are difficult to unite, unruly, and imperious. They suffer from "*pantang terhimpit*" (literally, taboo of beeing squeezed) disease, meaning they want to surpass others, and are not willing to be underestimated. Most Minangkabau people

cannot adapt to the tapered pyramidal structure of modern organizations. Such structure forces people in stratified formation, where there are superiors and subordinates, some commands and others are commanded. In such structure, when the superior is a fellow Minangkabau, particularly a relative, they apply byword: *iyokan kato inyo, lakukan kato awak* (accept their words, but do as we please), which means a deceptive obedient to the superiors.

Beside the super individualist character (excessive individualism), other negative traits of Minangkabau people are *caliah* and *galia*. *Caliah* person does anything as he wishes; he avoids hard work and tells other people to work hard, but wants the greatest result for himself. Meanwhile, *galia* is a cunning trait to use all the ability, intelligence, experience, and artfulness to circumvent the possibility of failure and achieve the goals (Amir, 1997; Amir, 2010; Navis, 1984; Saanin, 1980). Based on his research on Minangkabau ethnic, Latief (2002: 59-60) reveals that the Minangkabau ethnic is 'cunning'. This is also revealed from the proverbs "*kok takuruang nak in lua, kok taimpik nak di ateh*" (if confined, we want to be outside, if squeezed, we want to be above), which means they just want the good course and avoid risk and accountability. Most Minangkabau ethnic work on their own. This ethnic group is known to never succeed in sharing and always breaks up in the middle. If he occupies a position he will think a hundred times before helping his colleagues or relatives.

The negative traits of the Minangkabau ethnic fishermen is contradictory to the nature of BLM-PUMP program. This is because the BLM-PUMP policy that was initiated by the national government and implemented by the local Marine and Fisheries Agency requires the fishermen to work collectively in groups (KUB).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research took place in Padang city's coastal areas, including Koto Tangah, Padang Utara, Padang Barat, Padang Selatan, Lubuk Begalung, and Bungus Teluk Kabung districts. It was conducted from March to May. Data includes primary and secondary ones. Preliminary survey at the location documented the number of fishermen KUB groups. Primary data was collected by in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD), and participatory rural appraisal (PRA) to obtain in-depth information about the government-initiated fisher empowerment to improve their economic condition (Moeliono, 1996). We also interview Padang's Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Agency as the policy maker in empowering fishermen. Secondary data was collected by reviewing literatures, reports, and statistical data from concerning institutions. Data was analyzed using qualitative descriptive method by Miles and Huberman (1984). For the first year, researchers only identified pre-existing problems and programs in Padang City's coastal fishing communities. In the second year, the program's effectivity was evaluated. The evaluation can be used to formulate methods for fisher empowerment and to recommend to Padang's Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Agency and the city's local administration.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Description of Padang City's Coastal Area

Geographically, Padang city's coastal area covers Koto Tangah, Padang Utara, Padang Barat, Padang Selatan, Lubuk Begalung and Bungus Teluk Kabung districts from north to south. Koto Tangah, Padang's northernmost coastal district, is adjacent to Padang Pariaman regency. The district's coastal area is suitable for fishery due to its wide stretched coast that allows fishermen to dock, repair fishing tools, and market their products, thanks to the *pasar kaget* (temporary traditional market) crowded by buyers including fish sellers and housewives from various areas of Padang, particularly in holidays.

Bungus Teluk Kabung district is the southernmost district of Padang city which is adjacent to Pesisir Selatan regency. Although its coastal area is not as large as Koto Tangah's, this area is potential for fishery due to the small waves and surrounding islets with well-preserved reeves that are suitable to catch or net the fish. The fish, usually *karang* fish, were sold to restaurants around Bungus Teluk Kabung. When they get many more fish, they sell it to the vendors who usually come from 8 to 9 AM.

Padang Utara coastal area is adjacent to Koto Tangah district and Padang Barat district coastal areas. This area has less fishery business, due

to the narrow beach and limited area to repair fishing tools, let alone to dry or process fish. The fish are usually sold to sellers who already waits at the beach. The area is densely packed by houses and boarding houses for students. Not far from the beach, there are campuses whose students amount to 70,000, such as Universitas Negeri Padang, Universitas Bung Hatta, and Academy of Finance and Banking. The three campuses stimulate the growth of boarding houses that stretch toward the beach.

Padang Barat coastal area is located at the city center. The local administration's policy to develop the area into tourist and recreational area, and the proximity to beach hotels cause the fishermen in the area to have less space to repair fishing tools, let alone to dry or process the fish. They usually sell the fish to sellers who set up stalls at the beach.

Padang Selatan district is geographically located in Gunung Padang hill, where there are many stores, warehouses, and offices. At the foot of the hill lies Batang Arau river that flows to the Indian Ocean. During the Dutch colonial period, this area was used for port, and is still used now for small ships of Padang-Mentawai route. Hillside settlement and the narrow beach cause fishery ineffective. Besides, the polluted Batang Arau river is unsuitable for fishing.

Lubuk Begalung district has narrower beach and hilly terrain. This is the location of Teluk Bayur port, which challenges fishermen in netting fish. Only small-scale fishermen fish there.

Padang City's Poor Fishermen Profile

Padang is a city with large coastal areas. Padang fishermen consists of full-time fishermen, main part-time fishermen, additional part-time fishermen. Full-time fishermen are those who work and gain income totally from fishing. The number of full-time fishermen exceeds the number other categories. Three quarters of full-time fishermen are small-scale and considered poor, which is indicated by their houses with wooden walls and floors. Most of the houses are built on beach sand because they do not own land to build house on.

Research reveals that Padang coastal fishermen's monthly income is approximately

Rp1,500,000. The amount is below Padang city's 2016 regional minimum wage of Rp1,800,725 a month (BPS Kota Padang, 2016). The regional minimum wage is one of the main criteria in indicating the fisher poverty; their income is below the local minimum wage.

Most small-scale fishermen who inhabits Padang coastal area are already included in KUB groups and have received BLM-PUMP aid, as seen in the following table.

Table 1. Padang BLM-PUMP Recipients 2011-2016

No	Districts	Number of KUB Groups
1	Koto Tangah	23
2	Padang Utara	9
3	Padang Barat	8
4	Padang Selatan	7
5	Lubuk Begalung	4
6	Bungus Teluk Kabung	16
Total		67

According to Table 1, there are 67 KUB groups in Padang. However, data clarification during this research revealed that many groups are inactive, only the names remain. For example, among recipients in Koto Tangah, which received most aid, only three groups are active (based on interview with managers and members of KUB). In Bungus Teluk Kabung; among 16 groups of BLM-PUMP recipients, only one—who just received the aid in 2016—remains active. The case is almost the same in Padang Utara, Padang Barat, Padang Selatan, and Lubuk Begalung.

One of the contributing factors of the inactivity is the circulating information among fishermen that they will be given financial aid if they create groups (KUB). This happened to be the only reason they create groups. After the aid was received, one by one the groups broke up and stopped activities, whereas the BLM-PUMP is a sustainable program instead of one-time direct aid.

Poverty Alleviation Program for Padang City's Coastal Fishermen

One of the efforts to alleviate fisher poverty, particularly in Padang city, is implementing BLM-PUMP since 2011. BLM-PUMP is a program created by Indonesia's Ministry

of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries which is distributed through Padang City's Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Agency. This program aims to improve fishermen's empowerment through group aid. This aid is usually paid back by the debtors in two ways. First, group members pay back to the group leaders and the leaders pay to the program managers. Second, group members pay back to the group leaders, and group leaders redistribute the payment to group members.

Business planning, aid identification and procurement of capital infrastructure, expenses of revenues collected from fishing are decided collectively in groups. To promote group cohesion, each group is expected to pay the dues—parted from revenues after each sail—to managers every day. The money collected will be used by members in turn to repair or buy new fishing tools to increase revenues.

However, 98% of the groups break up after receiving aid, and the members do not pay the dues for various reasons. Therefore, the program fails to achieve the goal and the fishermen cannot increase their capital. 35% of the BLM-PUMP recipients even sell their capital. Although the group managers and trainers has warned them not to sell the capital from BLM-PUMP aid, the fishermen obstinated. They considered BLM-PUMP a free aid that they can use as they wish, including selling the capital. Some fishermen even rudely disregarded the warning and said that the aid did not belong to the KUB trainers or managers that they can sell the capital as they wish (interview with KUB managers and trainers). This is one of the contributing factors of the failure of Padang city's fisher poverty alleviation.

The Impact of Excessive Individualism Character in Fishermen's Poverty Alleviation

This part explains the relation and impact of excessive individualism character of Minangkabau ethnic fishermen toward BLM-PUMP poverty alleviation. There are Minangkabau ethnics in each of the KUB group beneficiaries. In the groups, they plan collective business and create agreements on the sustainability of the groups' activities by collecting fees. The dues, amounting to 10% of the fishing revenues for each sailing trip, are paid to the group leaders. When they cannot sail due

to weather condition or full moon, they agree to hold group meetings to discuss about problems on fishing, marketing the fish, and repairing fishing tools together.

However, after receiving the BLM-PUMP aid they seemed to forget the agreement they made and not need KUB groups to sustain and develop their business. If reparation is needed for the tools gained from the BLM-PUMP aid, they tried to fix it themselves. If they are unable to repair it, they would let it unrepaired so it would be unusable.

The agreement to pay dues to collect stimulating fund for the sustainability and development of capital usually lasted one to two months. Entering the third and following month, more and more fishermen stopped paying. The fact that the cash had to be delivered to group leaders—not collected by leaders—made them avoid the leaders.

When the leaders reminded and asked them for payment, they lied, saying they had less fish and the revenues were only enough for their family's necessities. They frequently said rudely and discourteously that they receive the aid from the government instead of lent by the leaders so they do not need to pay the money back to the leaders.

In the fishermen's perception, the aid from the government was their fortune, without the need to be accounted for. About 15% of BLM-PUMP beneficiaries sold fishing tools they had received, such as boats and outboard motors. As a result, they lack fishing equipment. It certainly affects their catch and reduces their income.

The attitudes, characters, and natures of the fishermen is attributed to the influence of excessive individualism character and nature of the Minangkabau ethnic fishermen, as stated by Amir MS (2011) that most Minangkabau people cannot adapt with the modern pyramidal organizational structure. Such structure forces people in stratified conditions, where there are superiors and subordinates, those who directs and are directed.

From a psychological perspective, Saanin (1980) described a Minangkabau as an individualist, sometimes even super individualist (excessive individualism). As an individualist, he/

she is not willing to ally with others, they prefer to work separately. There are often divisions among Minangkabau people. They are difficult to unite, unruly, and imperious. This ethnic group is known to never succeed in sharing and always breaks up in the middle. The excessive individualism character is exacerbated by the natures of *caliah* and *galia*. *Caliah* person does anything as he wishes; he avoids hard work and tells other people to work hard, but wants the greatest result for himself. Meanwhile, *galia* is a cunning trait to use all the ability, intelligence, experience, and artfulness to circumvent the possibility of failure and achieve the goals (Amir, 2010; Amir, 1997; Navis, 1984; Saanin, 1980).

From the sociological aspect, the Minangkabau fishermen also has temperamental trait as stated by Keesing (1989: 68-69). Boelaars (1984: 62) described the fishermen's temperamental trait as follows:

Coastal people have a strong orientation to seize and enhance their dignity or social status. They themselves admit their quick-temper, irritability, quick use of violence, and retaliating tendency that might lead to murder. Coastal people have a high sense of dignity and very sensitive. The nature stems from their awareness that coastal lifestyle deserves appreciation.

Furthermore, Boelaars argued that the fishing community is a society that has no or lacks investment vision in their daily lives. They seem to have the belief that the sea provides everything, therefore there is no need for saving. As a result, when they then get more fish, they almost always spend immediately either the selling revenue or the fish for small parties at home.

Boelaars' description can also be seen in small-scale fishermen along the Padang coastal area. In fact, it has become the fisherman's culture, which is supported by Hofstede's view (1980: 15) who argued that culture functions as a mental program that mostly influence someone's mindset, attitude and behavior.

Hofstede also revealed that there are four cultures in a society; 1) the culture of inequality in society manifested in the form of power distance, 2) the culture of individualism, 3) the role of gender in a society manifested in the form of masculinity culture, and 4) the culture of avoidance uncertainly.

With reference to the levels of mental program, Hofstede confirmed that culture is learnable and not genetical but derived from the social environment, organization or other groups. This culture distinguishes human nature and individual personality. Human nature is everything owned by humans such as the nature of love, sadness, social needs, where the natures' expression is influenced by the culture adopted in the community. Meanwhile, individual personality is a unique set of personal mental programs that cannot be shared with others.

Specifically, Hofstede explained individualism as a social condition where the association among individuals in the community is loose; each person considers it is more important to maintain their and their family's interest. Hofstede's definition described individualism as a cultural dimension that can influence mindset, attitude, as well as the behavior of a community member.

Referring to the definition of individualism as a cultural dimension, excessive individualism of the Minangkabau ethnic fishermen impacts the government's BLM-PUMP poverty alleviation program. The failure is also attributed to the program's flaws. The program is designed with the groups, but research has shown that most KUB groups do not work well. Beside distributing aid, KUB managers must do administrative works such as collecting and recording group payments, making group profiles, and reporting groups' monthly improvements to the trainers. However, most KUB managers cannot do their job well due to their low level of education.

On the other hand, the BLM-PUMP program is gradual, short-term and unsustainable, implying orientation for project only. Moreover, local institutions and leaders do not act to continue or ensure that the program works. They do not consider it as their business and they have no responsibility in it. Local officials and community leaders are often used to legitimize the program only, but are not actively involved in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the program. Therefore, this program has not been successful to free fishermen from poverty.

CONCLUSION

The government, through the local agencies, has provided group assistance to stimulate small-scale fishing businesses in Padang city's coastal area. Research result shows that fishermen have not been able to optimally use the aid as intended. They are not used to work in groups, due to the excessive individualism character of the majority Minangkabau fishermen. As long as the fishermen have those characters and behaviors, they will find it difficult to improve their living standard and self-reliance. This drives the fishermen to be caught in the complex cycle of poverty.

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THE EFFECT OF WORK CULTURE AND SERVICE QUALITY ON TRAIN SERVICE USeR'S SATISFACTION IN WEST SUMATERA

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Abstract

The aim of this research was to see the effect of work culture and service quality on train service users' satisfaction in West Sumatera. The development of train in the earlier age in West Sumatera was marked by the discovery of coal resources in Sawahlunto. The discovery compelled the development of transportation to transport the coal. As time goes by, coal transport activities decreased sharply. Thus, Indonesian Railways decided to use the vehicle as human transportation, and it competed with other four and six-wheel vehicles in the same route. This situation forced customers to choose between two options, using the train or other public transportation. According to the high assumption of the train service users, we proposed few problems in this research; was there significant effect of work culture on customer satisfaction, was there significant effect of service quality on customer satisfaction. Quantitative-observation method was used in this research to see the effect of work culture and service quality on train service users' satisfaction. All 150 samples in this research were counted by using Slovin formula and taken by stratified random sampling technique. The data were collected by using a valid and a reliable questionnaire and were analyzed by using anova and regression. The results showed that there were significant effect of work culture on customer satisfaction for 6.8%, and so did service quality for 77.6%. Those results showed that the citizen of West Sumatera were still interested in using train as one of daily public transportation vehicles.

Keywords: Work Culture, Service Quality, Customer Satisfaction, Train, West Sumatera

INTRODUCTION

Basically national development is an effort in order to realize a just and prosperous Indonesian society based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. Every effort to realize the national development is a goal achievement in improving the economic aspects of the State. National development can not be separated from development activities that can facilitate and accelerate the implementation of community economic activities in order to achieve higher economic value. One of the activities that can grow the economy today is the activity of land transportation services, one of which is rail transport.

Governments in various parts of the world pay enormous attention to restructuring State-owned railways. The underlying reason is the global transportation policy, so the transport network must be optimized along with cost-effectiveness and efficiency. A weakness in the national transport system may jeopardize the economic position of a State. The railways should be able to contribute sustainably to the community with high quality of service and operational reliability. Based on Article 34 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the fourth amendment provides that "the State is responsible for the provision of health service facilities and appropriate public service facilities". In this case of course the government has responsibility for public service facilities to the community as referred to in the regulation. Such responsibilities

may be undertaken by the government through special assignments to the National Enterprise (State-Owned Enterprises, Private-Owned Enterprises and Regional-Owned Enterprises).

Kereta Api as one of the State-Owned Enterprises is also built in West Sumatra. Initially the construction of railroads in West Sumatra was only used for the distribution of coffee from the interior (Bukittinggi, Payakumbuh, Tanah Datar, Pasaman) to the trading center in Padang. However, this plan changed with the addition of a lane to a coal mine in the Lawah Sawah area. This plan came to light after the discovery of the Dutch East Indies government in the mining and transport of coal because of its high quality with a very large number. Therefore, the Government of the Dutch East Indies sent Ir. Cluseaner JV. Izzermen, Raj Shnaghkage, Anj Vaan Hoos were accompanied by eight pioneering officers and investigated the possibility of constructing railroads for coal distribution. In the investigation, two proposed paths will be established. First, pass the area between Solo, Sitinjau Laut and end in Padang. And the second is Teluk Bayur Harbor to Sawahlunto through Padang Panjang. So in the end the path is built through Padang Panjang and meet the rail network from Bukittinggi and ends at Teluk Bayur Harbor.

The development of the Minang Land Line after independence has been hampered. One of the reasons is the number of railway facilities damaged by the Asia Pacific war, plus the many dismantling of the Japanese railways used to build railroads in Burma.

The year 1950 became the starting point of the railway awakening in Indonesia as Indonesia gained recognition of the sovereignty of the Kingdom of the Netherlands so as to give effect to the security in Indonesia. In the area of West Sumatra, rail transport became normal again post-independence after achieving the glory of the development of trains in the Dutch colonial period. In 1950 this train in West Sumatra started a new chapter. This year, the railroads return to function as mass transportation and goods advice. Since it was inaugurated until 1950 the development of the railroad was so perceived, because of the stability of socio-political life conditions in western Sumatra.

This is seen in rice production in West Sumatra in 1950-1951 reached 530,549 tons because of the scarcity of fertilizer imported from Padang by train. In addition, trains also transport the traders who bring the crops from Bukittinggi, Padang Panjang and Solok to Padang, from Pariaman also transported copra and gambir from Payakumbuh. Utilization of rail services supports the economy in West Sumatra.

In the late 1950s trains, again disturbed because the conditions in the area of West Sumatra churned out with the PRRI movement. The condition of West Sumatra which is hit by regional upheaval so as not to allow the economic activity to run smoothly before before the upheaval. This event had a fatal impact on rail operationalization, many residents were evacuated. Displacement of these residents using trains to transport the population and transport food supplies to the interior. The condition of the area that is still stricken by the turbulence causes the public to be afraid to travel, this is caused by the number of interception, sabotage of the means of transportation. As a result of the inaccessibility of the railway, it has caused a decrease in the volume of transport both from the provincial capital, Padang City to the inland areas of West Sumatra and vice versa so that its operations stop for 27 days. Even the central government advised to stop the train operation as public transportation for a while so as not to happen things - things are not desirable.

In addition, Indonesia was then hit by G 30 S rebellion that occurred in 1965. Indirect impact is also felt in West Sumatra. In addition, the increasingly sophisticated and efficient motor vehicle development has the effect of reducing the function of railways as an economic support for the inland areas of West Sumatra. The destruction of the West Sumatra railway is worsened by PT Kereta Api's internal situation such as the decline in corporate revenue from both freight and passenger freight, and also due to the increase in the number of Buses which ultimately narrow the space for rail activity as a transport.

Researchers also made preliminary observations about the decline in the number of train enthusiasts in western Sumatra. Based on the results of interviews that researchers do, researchers summarize it into several important

points, that the decline in the number of train enthusiasts in western Sumatra due to the length of travel time required to reach a destination. For example, the distance of Padang to pariaman, can be reached by time of three hours with a distance not so far away. The next problem is the lack of rejuvenation of trains in western Sumatra. This indicates that the service quality provided by the train is very bad in terms of Tangible or physical evidence. Though this aspect is also one of the important aspects as a driver of satisfaction from the community. The least number of routes cause the community is also reluctant to use rail transportation as it is considered inefficient. This causes the customer can only get a limited schedule for rail transport to the destination. The unreliable railway officers to customers caused them to switch to other land transportation such as two-wheeled or four-wheeled transport. How to behave and serve with all my heart is a work culture and organizational culture that must be owned by every employee who works at PT. Train. Because the quality of a service is also determined by how a company is reflected through its members.

Improvements continue to be done by PT. Railway by reducing temporary time, adding operational time, adding routes and rejuvenating locomotives. This change also had an impact on the start of the switch of customers who used to leave the train to re-use the train as a means of transportation of land transportation in the daily activities. The more people who use private vehicles, both two-wheel and four-wheel and bus, causing the streets to become stuck and travel time longer. Therefore, the community began to switch back to the railway freight.

This research appears to see how far the work culture owned by employees of PT. Train and quality of services provided have an effect on creating customer satisfaction of railway users in West Sumatra.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS FORMULATION

Customer Satisfaction

There is lack of consensus among researches on the subject matter of customer satisfaction. This is because several researches have looked the concepts from different perspectives. Rust and Oliver (1994) suggest that customer satisfaction or dissatisfaction – a "cognitive or affective reaction" – emerges as a response to a single or prolonged set of service encounters. In the words of Giese and Cote (2000), consumer satisfaction comprises three basics components including the type of response (cognitive, affective or conative); the center of interest or the subject on which the response is focused; and the moment in time at which the evaluation is made. But Anderson and Fornell (1994) are of the view that the literature is not very clear about the distinction berween quality and satisfaction. Satisfaction is a "post consumption" experience which compares perceived quality with expected quality, wheras service quality refers to a global evaluation of a fimr;s service delivery system (Anderson & Fornell, 1994; Parasuraman et al, 1985).

On the other hand, Ryzin (2006) reported that Miller and Miller said, "Satisfaction is the consumers' or citizens' summary judgment about the product or service". Then, Giese dan Cote said that customer satisfaction is an emotional or cognitive response related to something that happens in a certain time (Tjiptono & Gregorius, 2007). An overall satisfaction question is often asked as part of the typical public or citizen survey and has been used as a key dependent variable of interest in research of service delivery (Ryzin, 2006). Previous studies proved that service quality has a positive relation with customer satisfaction (Wang & Shied, 2006; Ismail, Ridzuan, Ranlan, Bin, Rahman, & Francis, 2013; Vu & Huan, 2016). Furthermore, service quality significantly influenced customer satisfaction. Thus it can be used as the predictor of customer satisfaction (Mokhlis, 2012; Krishnamurthy, Sivakumar & Sellamuthu, 2010; Selvakumar, 2016)

Work Culture

The concept of culture has been borrowed from anthropology where its meaning lacks consesnsus. From a cognitive perspective, culture is viewed as "a system of knowledge, of satndards for perceiving, evaluating, and acting" but from an ecological-adaptationist perception, culture consists of "a system of

socially transmitted behaviour patterns that relate human communities to their ecological settings" (Allaire and Firsirotou, 1984). Every organization has its own way of doing things (culture) that shapes virtually every aspects of working environtment – from dressing conservatively to customer – clientele relations. Thus, most theorits agree that organozational culture exists, and that it has definite effects, but an explicit definition of its true nature eludes capture. Lewis (2002) addressed that, though a universal definition of organizational culture has proven elusive, it is generally considered to be the shared values and beliefs that exist among employees that help guide and coordinate behaviour. While there is no single widely accepted definition, there appears to be some agreement that every definition should place emphasis on a range of social phenomena, including a common pattern of values, beliefs, symbols, meanings, and assumptions held by organizational members) Aycan et al, 2000; Ogbonna and harris, 2002; Scott et al, 2003; Chow and Liu, 2009; Ngo and Loi, 2008).

Schein (1985) maintains that culture has to be examined at the level of deeply held basic assumptions that members of a group share, and they are historically established structures, stored,in the organizational member's almost unconscious realm, and which offer direction and meaning for man's relations with nature, with reality an in human relationships, while the artifacts are regarded as materialized expressions of the values and basic assumptions. Schein proposes that the structure of organizational culture could be best thought of as consisting of different layers.

Therefore, Work culture is one of notable aspect in developing service quality and increasing customer satisfaction simultaneously. Work culture imbued in activity and employee's behavior determine the result of work achievement (Hofstede, 1984). Moreover, Davis (1984) explained that working culture practised by staff in an organization caan b viewed by using two components namely guiding beliefs, is a set of value served as guidance in an organization to adapt externally and obtain internal integration. Secondly, daily beliefs, is a set of value practiced daily within organization and subsequently

turned into a distinctive work custom in the organization. Furthermore, according to Aldri (2011; 2014; 2015; 2017); Aldri and Muhamad Ali (2011; 2012), a work culture custom reflects a positive value and negative value perspective in understanding a working method, norm, paradigm, and also an individual and group behaviour in executing their work

H_1 : Work culture has a significant influence towards Train Service User's satisfaction

Service Quality

Service quality depends on how customers perceive the actual service performace and the context of what they expected (Zeithaml, Parasuraman & Berry, 1990). Service quality is defined as the outcome of an evaluation process where the consumer compares his expectations with the service he perceived he has received (Gronroos, 1982). Customer expectations about the service is influenced b their own experience, formal and informal recommendation from service provider and other people, price, need, and the image of service provider (Stašys dan Malikovas, 2010).

Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry (1985; 1990) introduced five determinants of service quality: (1) Tangible. Tangible is the appearance of physical facilities, equipment, personnel, and communication materials. Using modern equipment in delivering service, well-dresses officials, representative building and appealing information board are parts of the tangibility of a service (Naik, Gantasala & Prabhakar, 2010; Aftab, Sanwar, Sultan, & Qadeer, 2016); (2) Reliability. Reliability is the ability to perform the promised service dependably and accurately. Reliability in delivering a service demonstrates the ability of service provider to deliver an adjusted service correctly (Omar, Saadan & Seman, 2015); (3) Responsiveness. Responsiveness is the willingness to help customers and provide prompt service. Strong determination from the provider to help and provide a prompt and an on-time service to the customer is part of the responsiveness (Amstrong, Adam, Denize & Kotler, 2012). The ability of the provider to deliver a prompt service is always appreciated by the customers (Aftab, Sarwar, Sultan & Qadeer, 2016); (4) Assurance. Assurance is

the knowledge and courtesy of employees and their ability to convey trust and confidence. In various kinds of service, assurance plays a significant role and receives the most attention from the customers, because it is related to trust and transparency between the customer and the provider (Chen and Chang, 2005; De & Du, 2007); and (5) Emptahy. Empathy is the caring and individualized attention provided to its customer. Service providers have to concern on customer situation and perspective as a form of empathy (Toosi & Kohonali, 2011).

Perceived quality, customer expectation, and perceived value were already proved as the antecedents of customer satisfaction (Cronin, Brady & Hult, 2000; Lee, Lee & Yoo, 2000; Chen, 2008). Meanwhile customer loyalty and complaint were influenced by satisfaction (Wu, Chan & Lau, 2008). Studies related to the influence of service quality on customer satisfaction assessed by national satisfaction index have been done by many researches and they proved that service quality positively influenced customer satisfaction (Baker & Crompton, 2000; O'Loughlin & Coenders, 2004; Ciavolino & Dahlgaard, 2007; Park Heo & Rim, 2008).

Although service quality has been proved as the antecedent of customer satisfaction, we were sure that service quality also influenced public satisfaction. Therefore, we hypothesize the following:

H_2: Service quality has a significant influence towards Train Service User's satisfaction

RESEARCH METHOD

Quantitative method was used in this research to uncover the effect of work culture and service quality on train service user's satisfaction. In this research, there were two exogeneous variables and one endogeneous variable. The exogeneous variables were work cultue (X1) and service quality (X2); and the endogeneous variable was train service user's satisfaction. This research was done in West Sumatera. The sample was taken by using stratified random sampling technique. The characteristics of the sample were user's who using the train transportation more three times. The sample was counted

by using Slovin formula. The number of the sample in this research was 150 respondents. The data were collected by using a valid and a reliable questionnaires and analyzed with Anova and regression.

RESULT
Characteristic of Sample
Characteristic of Gender Research Sample

Table 1. Gender of Research Sample

No	Options	Frequency	Percent
1	Man	54	36
2	Woman	96	64
	Total	**150**	**100**

From table 1, we could see that 64% of the respondents were woman and 36% were a man. The data above inidicated that women were the dominant user of train's transportation in west sumatera.

Characteristic of Marital Status of Research Sample

Table 2. Marital Status of Research Sample

No	Options	Frequency	Percent
1	Married	45	30
2	Not Married	105	70
	Total	**150**	**100**

From table 2, we could see that 70% of the respondents were not married and 30% were married. The data above inidicated Not Married were the dominant of user's train transportation in west sumatera.

The Effects of Work Culture on Train Service User's Satisfaction

The result of the regression test work culture on train service user's satisfaction is presented in the table below:

Table 3. Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.339[a]	.115	.109	5.603	1.638

a. Predictors: (Constant), work culture

b. Dependent Variable: Customer Satisfaction

Based on Table 4 above, it can be known that the contribution of Work Culture (X1) on train

service user's satisfaction (Y) is 0.109 meaning work culture only contributed bt 10.9% and 89.1% was influenced by other factors.

The effects of variable work culture on customer satisfaction analyzed by using F-test with comparing F count and F-table on level significance ☐ = 0.05. F-test has significant influence if F-count > F-table or the probability of error is less than 5% (P< 0.05). If significance value of F-test is less than 5%, then independent variable is influencing the dependent variable.

Table 4. ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	601.927	1	601.927	19.175	.000ᵃ
	Residual	4645.947	148	31.392		
	Total	5247.873	149			

a. Predictors: (Constant) Work Culture

b. Dependent Variable: Customer Satisfaction

Based on ANOVA or statistical F Test, work culture showed a significant value of 0.000 < 0.05 which means that work culture 10.9% had a confidence level of 100%. Then it can be concluded that independent variables (work culture) in this research is influenced the dependent variable.

Furthermore, T-Test or regression coefficient test is partially used to determine whether independent variables are partially giving significant influence toward dependent variable by focusing value of t-count from regression result with level of significance 95% or ☐ = 0.05. Independent variable significantly influenced the dependent variable if t-count is bigger than value in t-table.

Table 5. Coeffisien

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	36.182	2.120		17.066	.000
	Work Culture	.274	0.062	.339	4.379	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Customer Satisfaction

T-Test above showed that a significance value of 0.000 < 0.05, so it can be concluded that H01 was rejected and there was a significant

effects between work culture on train service user's satisfaction in Sumatera Barat. It means that Ha1 was accepted and Work culture has a significant influence towards Train Service User's satisfaction

The Effects of Service Quality on Train Service User's Satisfaction

The result of the regression test service quality on train service user's satisfaction is presented in the table below:

Table 6. Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.739ᵃ	.546	.543	4.012	1.794

a. Predictors: (Constant), service quality

b. Dependent Variable: Customer Satisfaction

Based on Table 6 above, it can be known that the contribution of service quality (X2) on train service user's satisfaction (Y) is 0.543 meaning service quality only contributed by 54.3% and 45.7% was influenced by other factors.

The effects of variable service quality on customer satisfaction analyzed by using F-test with comparing F count and F-table on level significance ☐ = 0.05. F-test has significant influence if F-count > F-table or the probability of error is less than 5% (P< 0.05). If significance value of F-test is less than 5%, then independent variable is influencing the dependent variable.

Table 7. ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2866.174	1	2866.174	178.106	.000ᵃ
	Residual	2381.699	148	16.093		
	Total	5247.873	149			

a. Predictors: (Constant) Service Quality

b. Dependent Variable: Customer Satisfaction

Based on ANOVA or statistical F Test, service quality showed a significant value of 0.000 < 0.05 which means that work culture 54.3% had a confidence level of 100%. Then it can be concluded that independent variables (service quality) in this research is influenced the dependent variable.

Furthermore, T-Test or regression coefficient test is partially used to determine

whether independent variables are partially giving significant influence toward dependent variable by focusing value of t-count from regression result with level of significance 95% or □ = 0.05. Independent variable significantly influenced the dependent variable if t-count is bigger than value in t-table.

Table 8. Coeffisien

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	14.070	2.359		5.965	.000
Service Quality	.824	.062	.739	13.346	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Customer Satisfaction

T-Test above showed that a significance value of 0.000 < 0.05, so it can be concluded that H02 was rejected and there was a significant effects between service quality on train service user's satisfaction in Sumatera Barat. It means that Ha2 was accepted and service quality has a significant influence towards Train Service User's satisfaction in Sumatera barat

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATION

In general, this research tried to compare the analysis result of data in questionnaire against result of observation by researcher starting from Januari until March 2017. However, the observations is limited to the days when the researcher distributing and collecting the questionnaire.

The Effect of Work Culture on Train Service User's Satisfaction in Sumatera Barat

Based on the above data, there is an influence between work culture and customer satisfaction of railway users in west sumatera. The magnitude of influence is 10.9% with 100% confidence level.

This is because the value of culture is the moral values and ethics that are considered good and positive, including the relevant positive social cultural values, norms or rules, ethics and value of productive performance derived from the development of science and technology. Value is guided by individuals or groups that can increase high productivity through the development of a work culture that shapes attitude and behavior change and work motivation in performing services to the community.

The work culture within the organization not only affects the organizational climate, but also affects customer satisfaction as a service user. The relationship of work culture that has the power in realizing customer satisfaction "a responsive work climate towards customers will create customer satisfaction".

The same explanation was given by Sikorska and Elzbieta that "The application, appreciation, and practice of value systems, beliefs and assumptions, have a strong influence on employees related to work attitudes, such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment, which ultimately relate to organizational effectiveness The end result will be able to meet customer expectations in the form of customer satisfaction".

Internalization of work culture in the ministry is an application, appreciation and practice of values and belief systems that have a strong influence on employees. The effect is related to the work attitude that will meet customer expectations in the form of customer satisfaction.

The Effect of Service Quality on Train Service User's Satisfaction in Sumatera Barat

Based on the above data, there is an influence between service quality and customer satisfaction of railway users in west sumatera. The magnitude of influence is 54.3% with 100% confidence level. The results of several empirical studies demonstrate that service quality has a major contribution to customer satisfaction. Quality of service has an important role in realizing customer satisfaction. Good service quality will cause satisfaction for customers and the better quality of service provided the satisfaction is felt by the customers will be higher.

The relationship of service quality that has the power in realizing customer satisfaction: "identified that strong relationships exist between service quality and customer satisfaction overall emphasizing that these two are conceptually distinct constructs from the customer's point of view".

Customer satisfaction is a stand-alone construct and is influenced by the quality of service. Zeithml et al in Wahyuni (2014) states that service quality is one of the variables that determines customer satisfaction in addition to price, situation and personal factors".

Quality of service has a strong relationship and affect customer satisfaction. Both concepts will be formed from the point of view of the customer, in this case the quality of service is used as a reflection of customer satisfaction. Poor service quality results in greater customer satisfaction and otherwise the quality of service that is categorized as good will have an impact on increasing customer satisfaction

Theoretical Implication

The findings of this research contribute to the work culture, service quality and customer satisfaction.

This study shows that the work culture also affects customer satisfaction. This is implemented in the form of responsiveness provided by the service provider. By making responsiveness as a cultural guideline in working in the service, the customer will receive the service with a sense of satisfaction.

So is the quality of service that can not be separated from customer satisfaction. The better the quality of service provided, the satisfaction felt by the customer will also increase and vice versa, if the quality of service provided worsened, eat customer satisfaction will also be bad.

Practical Implication

Practically, the results can be used by the user's of train to receive a good service form the provider. With good service, satisfaction will be created. This will be an input for improvements in rail services in western Sumatra

CONCLUSION

Based on all findings and discussion above, we concluded that work culture and serive quality influenced on railway customer satisfaction in Sumatera Barat as shown by the effect of work culture on Train Service User's satisfaction for 10.9% and 89.1% from other factors; dan service quality on train service user's satisfaction for 54.3% dan 45.7% from other factors.

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FACTORS AFFECTING IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STRUCTURAL OFFICIAL RECRUITMENT THROUGH AUCTION MODEL POSITIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract

The begin of the reform era of the current government are required to realize the human resources of competent and professional. One of it is how to implement the reform of the bureaucracy by increasing the capacity of officers of apparatus. In additon, the staffing problem that often happens in bureaucracy of government is concerning employee recruitment process or the placement of employe which is not transparent and tend to still use the mechanism confidential career system. Moreover, a lot of these the processes are determined based on the political, economic, and family that makes the occurrence of practices of corruption, collusion, nepotism which does not reflect the values of appointment of officials. This study used qualitative approach to get understanding of factors that influence the implementation of recruitment of officials through the auction model structural position in the government of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Province. Key informants in this research are the Head of Mutation Office Section, The Head of Section the measurement and Testing, Selection Committee Of The Auction Office, and Officials the structural position through an auction process. The technique data collection was done with do the in-depth interview and research documents. The result of this research shows the factors that influence the implementation of recruitment of officials through the auction model structural position in the government of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta province divided into 2 factors. First is Successful factor, which are competence, achievement, rank level of assigned, and assessment objective. Then second factor is obstacle, which are times, budget, bureaucrcay culture, and mental.

Keywords: Position auction, recruitment process, assessment, and bureaucracy.

INTRODUCTION

As a civilian civil servant, the state should have a responsibility in occupying a strategic position to improve governance and development. This should be followed by qualified human resources with high spirit and integrity. With the start of the current era of reform, the government is required to realize competent and professional human resources to gain clear direction of development and governance. One way is by applying bureaucratic reforms by increasing the capacity of its apparatus resources.

Discussing about Indonesia itself in order to realize bureaucratic reform, the number of civil servants in Indonesia quite a lot. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) the number of civil servants in 2014 recorded there are 4,455,303 employees with the division of 2,288,631 male and 2,166,672 female. However, from the large number of employees it can still be said not been able to optimize well and not able to provide a significant impact (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2014).

In order to realize the quality of civil servants as regulation that overshadow this is Law No. 43 of 1999 on the Principles of Personnel with the aim of forming the figure of civil servants capable of carrying out tasks professionally and responsible in carrying out governmental and development tasks and free from corruption, Collusion, and nepotism. Then the Civil Service Law was changed to Law No. 5 of 2014 on the Civil State Apparatus this is none other than to be the bureaucracy of strengthening the bureaucracy in the scope of governance. With this regulation is expected to change the image of bureaucracy that has been stigmatized negative to improve the quality of apparatus quality.

The problems in the staffing that became the main focus at this time, which concerns the process of recruitment of employees or filling position of officials/government officials who are not transparent and tend to still use closed office mechanism (closed career system) which prefers the role of superior officers in the appointment of officials With positions under it. Such a process is largely determined on the basis of political, familial, and economic relations which are heavily condensed with the charge of corruption, collusion, nepotism, etc. that do not reflect the noble values of the appointment of the official himself.

Various practices deviate in the process of occupying structural positions in private leads to doubts about the effectiveness of the filling mechanism, because in the end it only prioritizes the political aspects of the appointment of the official, but excludes the qualities and qualities required to fill a structural position. Therefore, many officials who occupy a structural position that is not in accordance with his qualifications, which will ultimately worsen the performance of the agency officials.

Recruitment of employees through official auctions is one way of government in filling open structural positions with the aim of the apparatus resource selection based on competence and work performance. According to the Regulation of the Minister of Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform (Menpan-RB) no. 13 Year 2014 on Procedures for Filling Position Openly

Open Structural Position in the Environment Government Agency which is also the basis of the regulation related to the auction of office explains the auction of office or the selection and promotion of public office openly is a system of mechanisms implemented in implementing the appointment of civil servants in a Structural position based on the principle of professionalism in accordance with the competence, work performance, and rank rank assigned to the position and other objective conditions without distinguishing gender, ethnicity, religion, race, or class then this law is reinforced by Law No . 5 Year 2014 on the State Civil Apparatus in article 72 paragraph 2 which reads "Every civil servant who has the right to have the same rights to be promoted to a higher level of office" this explains that the promotion system should be open and competitive.

Eko Prasojo (2016) explained that the recruitment of employees through the auction of office becomes the biggest lever of bureaucratic change. In addition to fostering healthy, fair, objective competition, it is also free from KKN. With this open promotion benefits the regional head, minister, and head of LPNK, because in this way will be able to get the candidates leaders of the regional work unit (SKPD), and the best officials (JPNN, 2013).

Implementation of auction selection based on merit system that has been arranged in ASN Act has been assumed will give birth competent officer so give positive impact to organizational performance. According to the ASN Act merit system is a policy and human resource management that prioritizes integrity, qualification of competence, performance and service culture in the selection, mutation, promotion, payroll and dismissal of employees. Merit system guarantees objective, fair, reasonable treatment, and does not distinguish between political background, race, color, religion, ususl origin, gender, marital status, age, and disability conditions.

With the merit system, the selection process will be well implemented and guaranteed because the apparatus resource selection can be seen from the competence of the occupants and the performance quality of the employees. This

is a solutive step to realize bureaucracy reform which now gets negative response from the society in the matter of service. In addition to merit system as for selecting employees using the assessment center method. Assessment center is a method used to determine the competence of the candidate. Local Government of DIY is the first government to apply the method of assessment center in the fission of structural positions (Yahya, 2015).

Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta is one of the provinces that have begun to implement auctioning system of position in recruitment of employees. This is an effort of local government in recruiting qualified employees. Procedures of promotion of DIY local government position is similar to the auction system position in the company. The bodies or agencies that have authority in the recruitment process are the Regional Personnel Board *(BKD)* and the Position and Balance Consideration Board *(BAPERJAKAT)* but there are some provinces that have not placed Baperjakat in the recruitment process such as East Kalimantan Province. Implementation of recruitment of DIY government employees is itself regulated in the Provincial Governor Regulation No. 18 of 2003 on Technical Guidelines Procurement Prospective Regional Civil Servants.

Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X explained in the year 2014 for the Province of Yogyakarta itself is still using *Baperjakat* for the recruitment process officials. This is because the State Civil Regulatory Commission (CASN) has not yet established the task of selecting office and overseeing the stages of the recruitment process, evaluating the application of basic principles, values, and codes of conduct of Civil State Apparatus (ASN). However, the recruitment process through *Baperjakat* and KASN systems is not much different. Both ways, together produce the best structural officials on the basis of meritocracy. He further mentioned that both methods also set the same requirements in the recruitment process (Oktarinda, 2014).

Auction of office is considered to be a dilemma among the government of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta because the auction of office opened to the public will damage the

regeneration system that has been built for a long time. The regeneration system implemented by an agency is none other than to promote someone who has been recommended by an internal agreement. This is considered important because someone who has been recommended by internal agreement based on experience and performance capability is expected to be able to lead an organization well but if the auction of office in open It is generally feared that many apparatuses, elected candidates still require longer adaptation of the auction and do not have the experience requirement to be more familiar with the dynamics within the agency.

Then the auction of positions to be held did not deny will open the way nepotism for interest groups who want to occupy positions of structural because of the history of the Government of DIY itself is still not enough experience in terms of open auction for placement of office formation, although it can be said DIY government A long time using the auction system position but the auction of positions applied only to the auction of positions in a mufakat this is disclosed by Agus Supriyanto as Head of Regional Personnel Agency (Harian Jogja, 2015). Therefore it is very necessary supervision and regulation is bound to the selection committee because the selection committee also imported from the agency external party can be said that this can bring nepotisme potential.

In addition, the cost to be issued by the government of DIY is not small because it requires the relevant parties for the smooth implementation of the auction office. Therefore, no doubt that the doubt in applying the auction system of positions in the local government of DIY needs further observation and supervision by looking at every point of view because bureaucratic pathology practices allow to emerge in the recruitment process in the local government of DIY today, in line with the development of reform Bureaucracy that is currently deemed necessary supervision in its development. Thus, of course it becomes interesting to see how the pattern and flow of official auction that has been done by the government of DIY. As one of the local governments that implement the auction system of positions that prioritize competence as the main consideration, the researchers are

interested to focus this research by looking at how the implementation and performance of the recruitment of structural officials through the position auction in the provincial government of Yogyakarta.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses qualitative method, that is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of the people and behavior that can be observed. According to them, this approach is directed to the background and the individual is holistic (whole), therefore in this case it should not isolate individuals or organizations into variables or hypotheses, but need to view them as part of a wholeness. In this study, the party used as a data source is an official who is considered to have key information (key-informant). More details of the key information of this research are officials of the Regional Personnel Board of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Then, the data was collection by primer data and sekunder data.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Open Selection

According to the Regulation of the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucracy Reform No.13 of 2014 concerning Procedures for Filling Open Position Openly Open Structural Positions in Government Institutions, public office auction or selection and promotion of public office is a system of mechanisms implemented in implementing the appointment of civil servants Civilians in a structural position based on professionalism in accordance with the competence, work performance, and rank of rank assigned to the position and other objective conditions without distinction of sex, ethnicity, religion, race or class. According to the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucracy Reform No.13 of 2014 on the Procedures of Filling Open Position Openly Open Structural Positions in Government Institutions, open position auction or selection and promotion of public office is a system of mechanisms implemented in implementing And the appointment of civil servants in a structural position based on professionalism in accordance

with the competence, work performance, and rank level assigned to the position and other objective conditions without distinction of sex, ethnicity, religion, race or class.

The auction of this position provides an equal opportunity to the civil servants of the state to be able to sit in certain positions fairly. Through the auction of this position civil servants of the state no longer have to wait or queue to be able to hold high office of government. One example of the result of this auction of office is the election of Susan as Lenteng Agung urban village, South Jakarta. Susan, who now serves as Lenteng Agung urban village, was elected through an office auction. Through this auction even Susan rose three levels of position. This means that with the auction of this position candidates who have competence will be able to compete with others (Noviansyah in Yahya, 2015).

The auction of this position also intends to avoid the elements of patronage, spoil system, nepotism and political intervention in the pattern of recruitment. So the result of the recruitment of the auction of this position gave birth to accountable structural officials and occupy a position in accordance with its competence. Rosyadi's research on the promotion process of civil state apparatus office said there are still many traditional recruitment patterns and the interference of officials to produce less qualified and corrupt employees (Rosyadi in Yahya, 2015).

2. Assasment Center

Based on the Regulation of the Head of the State Personnel Agency Number 23 Year 2011 on Guidelines for Competency Assessment of Civil Servants, the Assessment Center is a standardized method conducted to assess / measure the competence and prediction of success of civil servants in a position by using simulation measuring tools at least 2 (two) Measure psychotes, competency questionnaires, and competency interviews based on competency requirements and performed by several Assessor. The human resource Assessor of the apparatus hereinafter referred to as the Assessor is a civil servant who meets certain conditions, has attended the Assessor's training, and has

technical expertise to conduct competency assessment. If the person to be assessed is called Assessee.

The purpose of the assessment formation is to select competent candidates for managers who are ready to face tasks in a higher position. In addition, the Assessment Center aims to identify development needs to be ready to face the tasks that will be forwarded and used for the selection and placement of employees so that the Assessment Center can be used in human resource development strategy of the company (Adiawaty, 2016).

Principles of Assessment of Managerial Competencies Using Assessment Center Method

Based on the Regulation of the Head of the State Personnel Agency Number 23 Year 2011 on Guidelines for Competency Assessment of Civil Servants, the principles of competency assessment are as follows:

a) Objective: The results of the competence study describe the true potential and competence of Civil Servants.

b) Valid: The results of the assessment should ensure the accuracy of the competencies to be assessed.

c) Reliable: The results of the assessment should reflect the consistency of the competencies of the Civil Service for a certain period of time.

d) Transparent: The results of competency assessment that describes the potential and competence of civil servants can be known by the civil servants are assessed and authorized officials.

FINDINGS AND DUSCUSSION

Begin from the problems and bureaucratic pathologies faced by the local government of DIY, DIY local government is required to provide solutive steps in overcoming the problem. One of them is to conduct human resource recruitment or recruitment process strictly and systematically with elements of important elements in the process which aims to obtain human resources with quality and capability. Filling vacant positions usually the government to fill position mechanisms through promotion

but with the development of bureaucracy and according to the demands of the needs, the government of DIY made a breakthrough in filling the position of filling vacant positions through open selection mechanism known as the auction office.

The term of office auction is still new among the government. The term auction is usually used in the process of procurement of goods or services of government not in the use of filling position. So it is not surprising if the community and within the government itself is still unfamiliar with the term of office auction. Simple office auctions can be interpreted as filling vacant positions with open selection mechanisms or in the sense of openness to civil state apparatus in government that will fill vacant positions with certain conditions established by authorized officers fairly and based on certain principles .

The method of office auction is considered as one of the solutive steps for the government in addressing the problems that exist in the bureaucracy at this time the part of the government is dieluh by the community has poor service quality or other bureaucratic pathology. Therefore, the public expectation by the open office auction or selection is the quality of government performance can be increased and done accountable because the auction of office captures qualified employees to occupy strategic position positions through the processes and assessed objectively by the elements -unsur in each selection so that later position placement position is done in a compatible to basic owned by participants who pass through the auction office.

Although the auction of office has been done by the government of Yogyakarta before but with the Law on the State Civil Apparatus as well as the spirit of system merit then this became a reference in reinforcement how the holding of office auctions in the government of DIY with a more systematic and directed mechanism then clarified again how the ordinance And the implementation process through SE Menpan RB number 16 in 2012 then changed to Permenpan RB number 13 of 2014 on Procedures for Filling Position of Structural Lowongan Openly in Government Institution

Environments so that this reference makes it easier for local government in organizing the process of open selection or with Term auction office.

Auction of office is done with the selection process openly different from the previous filling office through BAPERJAKAT done in a closed but from the auction process of this position there are things that need not be submitted to a wide audience and there is still confidentiality made by the selection committee and related institutions such as related With personal employees such as employee health and personal experience of employees because it is included as a secret category that does not need to see in general.

Chart of Open Selection Position Implementation in DIY Local Government

In filling the position through the process of open office auction or selection by DIY local government, of course, have a different path with the flow of open selection that was applied earlier or the flow selection by other regions. The flow done by the local government of DIY can be said long enough and takes a long time from the start of the formation of selection committee by the governor and BKD DIY to set and inaugurated the candidates as officials who pass the selection. With a fairly long flow and mechanisms are systematically expected to be able to get maximum results. From this flow will provide an overview of the selection process that occurred from the formation of the selection committee to the set and the inauguration of bidders by the governor. Here the step:

1) The Governor as a coaching officer coordinates with BKD DIY to form a team of selection committee and secretary of the selection committee in the implementation of open selection / office auction.

2) Selection committees that have been formed to conduct a trial to determine the terms and announcement plans whose contents in the form of information about the formation of positions to be at auction.

3) Then the plan of this planning document is consulted to the KASN to be reviewed whether there is any record that need to be repaired or not if there are deficiencies

will be returned and repaired if deemed appropriate, KASN gives recommendation letter of implementation of JPT Pratama Local Government of Yogyakarta.

4) Furthermore, announce the existence of open selection and conducted the registration of bidders with a period of 15 working days.

5) After the announcement and the end of registration time, administrative selection will be conducted whether the terms and conditions are complete or not.

6) Then issued the results of administered selection in the form of announcement letter from the selection committee that contains the passing of the participants, all listed on the contents of the letter.

7) After the announcement of administrative selection results, participants follow competency test / assessment center in the form of psychotest, leaderless group discussion, in basketball, problem analysis, and presentation.

8) Then follow medical tests that include written tests, physical tests, drug tests, and psychometrics at Ghrasia DIY Hospital.

9) Afterwards the participants submit the papers that have been made and compiled as material to follow the test ideas in the secretariat of the pansel and follow the interviews in a predetermined time.

10) Further traceability of candidates from officers who have been determined to explore the experience of candidates through the place of origin of work including to superiors, peers and subordinates and other related environments.

11) The results of each exam will be the final value as a matter of consideration to determine three candidates per position to the governor.

12) After determining the three candidates for the auction of office, the governor will hold a dialogue if the candidate is still deemed to cast doubt on the Governor.

13) Then the governor assigns one of the three candidates if it is appropriate and then issued a decree.

14) Afterwards the result of the selection is reported to KASN that the open selection process conducted by the local government of DIY has been running and according to

the procedure which then KASN issued a recommendation letter of open selection result of JPT Pratama Pemda DIY.

15) The Governor shall determine and inaugurate the elected candidate through open selection.

Factors Affecting the Success Implementation of Auctions

Competence

Human resources is one important element in supporting the quality of every job today. Good bad his job will be determined from how a person's ability in doing his job well. This will also affect the standardization of public services, one of which becomes an important element of a country and region is the government as a public servant. The government is required to capture competent human resources to be able to run the bureaucracy better.

The civil servant Act mandated in every civil apparatus as well as civil servants must meet the qualified requirement. It aims to shape the character of employees to be disciplined and more professional as one of the actions taken by the government to further reinforce the position of civil servants and civil state apparatus in government affairs. Employee competence is an absolute prerequisite that must be had in the auction of office auction how competence should be seen from the ability of candidates in analytical thinking, cooperation, organizing planning, leadership, commitment to the organization, and innovation.

DIY Local Government as one of the areas that are conducting bureaucratic reform through the auction of office to see competence as one of the requirements that must be owned by employees to improve the quality of bureaucracy in serving the community. Then, to measure the professionalism of employees in the auction office in DIY can be seen from two things namely the first of the assessment center. Assessment center is a method conducted by DIY local government to measure the extent of competence possessed by employees in performing tasks according to the field by providing some simulation and some ways such as interviews, psychology and competency questionnaires. This is to find out how employees in analytical thinking,

teamwork, planning organizing, leadership and employee commitment (Interviewed with Poniran, 2016).

And the interviews and test ideas usually the committee selection measure more from where the employees judged about his ability in conveying ideas related positions that employees previously selected. Employees are required to have a broad knowledge of current strategic issues as well as all related matters according to the chosen field of employment such as what occupations in the field then any regulations related to the field of office so that it is able to shape how the character of a professionalism Employees.

Assessment of competence in the implementation of open selection is emphasized should be done as one of the methods of employee appraisal in the placement of positions of structural positions this is aimed to know the competence of employees either the competence of manjerial or field competence. Competency test is usually done by the assessment center method conducted by several assessors and simulations to find out more about the assessment of competence contained in the *Perka BKN No. 23 of 2011.*

Although the test method is not always required to use the assessment center and then the policy that is given for an area that has not been able to apply the assessment center emblazoned in Permenpan RB No.13 of 2014 chapter II letter a number (2) which reads for regions that have not been able to use Complete assessment center method can use psychometric method, competency interview, case analysis or presentation.

In applying employee competencies one of them can be applied in the form of teamwork, as a leader should have the ability to make better situation in cooperation. A leader must be able to unify every component of an agency so that the bureaucratic wheel goes well. One of them through communication and then see the condition of an institution as a leader of the leader's ability must be tested how a leader to create a conducive working atmosphere with the creation of synergistic coordination of each component under the leadership of a leader

so that later will form a comfortable working environment and have The trust of a subordinate to a leader then oriented and see the situation to know the condition of the agency exactly then this can bring an agency to a better direction if it has established a good working relationship and a conducive working environment.

Work Performance

Employee appraisal can not be separated from work achievement factor during employee career. In the case of the selection of human resources of work performance as a form of consideration in the assessment of employees what has been done during the employee career to ensure the employee is qualified and have qualified employee requirements. Potential employees will be assessed from the achievements both in national and international scale because basically achievement in performance is a form of appreciation and reward / reward for the performance that has been achieved this is also as one of the factors triggering the spirit in the career.

One of them DIY local government in capturing its human resources through the auction of office. Employee performance is an influencing factor for consideration in terms of escapes, as well as a general requirement in the Announcement no. 001 / Pansel JPT DIY / 2016 on Open Selection of Position of High Leader of Primary on the subject of general provision number 2 letter g states all elements of performance appraisal at least must be good value in the last 2 (two) years (Inerviewed with Poniran, 2016).

Work performance can be assessed employees through two things, namely from employee performance and discipline of employees. Two things is a requirement to obtain rewards or rewards as achievement of employee's work performance. he form of reward can be in the form of nominal rupiah as well as matters relating to appreciation such as bonuses and good names that carried. DIY local government itself will provide rewards or rewards for employees who excel in performance this is considered more effective to spur achievement than with punishment then this is a step to further increase employee productivity (Interviewed with Tri Sofyana, 2016).

Work Position

Work position is something that many expected by everyone, with a desire to have one's position in realizing its objectives. In the recruitment of human resources to occupy a position models sometimes have different auctions are conducted by government departments DIY. In this specification an open selection is in need of structural positions in the ladder up to the participant to register need to understand what is needed by the government's DIY to occupy a structural position that is vacant. Confirmation of the specification in terms of the administrative department for the given power level is an effort to attract competent employees. Then, elevated levels can influence employees when it is appropriate for him to enter the auction. Elevated levels of the later candidate will understand the skills and education of what is needed to fill the positions of the governments DIY then expect the right man and the right posisition.

Objective Assessment

Assessment of an employee must have a purpose to know how much ability and competence or whether to know about how much the ability and competence or whether to know about how his personality. Objective assessment must be based on clarity of purpose and referring to rules and order. Assessment objectively should be able to create harmony, harmony, and harmony in each element.

Auction of open position or selection requires that the assessment of the participants must be based on the objectivity of this is done to minimize the level of subjectivity that is perceived to be detrimental and injurious the auction process of office that has a competitive and open spirit. The DIY's government tries to do the assessment by involving the elements of each of its selection to assess the participants objectively so the organizers do some testing and from each element will give different views.

The assessment undertaken by the assessment team is based on a clear reference principle and basis so that the assessment will be able to shape the target process and outcomes accordingly. This is done as a form of responsibility to create trust as an appraiser by banning the intervention of various unauthorized parties. Output that will be generated

from the competency test is recommendation and then the report of assessment recapitulation which will be calculated with the assessment of idea test, interview, tracking track record to determine three candidates per position to governor. This shows the assessment of some instruments will be able to create an objective assessment because of each instrument will provide different assessments and views.

Factors Inhibiting the Implementation of Open selection through Auction Model Position

Implementation of open selection conducted by the local government of DIY is in the value is quite effective, obstacles or obstacles traversed by the organizers also felt did not find obstacles that can be said urgent or emergency because it is in the sense already in the design and in a systematic arrangement for Minimizing the obstacles that may be faced later but the best of implementation will still bring barriers even though it's a small thing though.

Obstacles that until now in the sense by the selection committee only related candidate personal in the time change for rescheduling because the time of the candidate is not so possible if it must be done together then the scheduling set by the committee sometimes not appropriate, this is the basis of preparation Re-schedule by the committee to adjust the time of the candidate to the time of the selection process held, although the committee prepares the rescheduling but the re-arranged schedule is still within the time period determined by the committee.

Implementation and selection process of the auction office requires a fairly long stage, the problem of time into problems that arise in the implementation. Adjusting the selection time to the time of the candidate creates an obstacle for the organizers. Candidates feel the time needed to be done balancing so that it will have a significant impact on the implementation. Last, The time required in the selection process is quite long because the process is done not only once but there are several stages such as competency tests in the assessment center, field testing and test ideas and health tests that require several days in the selection. However, by taking a long time like this the government

is able to indicate that it will provide success in the selection of potential employees because the implementation of the auction office held by the local government of DIY is one of the solutive steps to reform the bureaucracy in the institution.

Budget

If the implementation of the committee did not find significant obstacles but there is one constraint that may be quite significant ie the implementation financing. These constraints can be perceived by taking into account of each budget implementation of the auction process position itself the implementation of the implementation carried out by the local government of DIY is draining the cost is quite expensive because the open selection process or the auction of office takes a long process and involve interested parties and costs -the supporting cost in it so that the required budget is charged from APBD.

The difference of the budget aspect in the implementation of the previous system with the current system. If the selection system before selection through the BAPERJAKAT closely does not cost too much as the open selection system or job auction is done now the selection process through the BAPERJAKAT budget is only charged for financing internal meetings and the cost of the team BAPERJAKAT for the selection process but for the budget In the process of open auction or open selection, it needs to involve such as academics, figures, experts and various tests such as competence test, interview, idea test and health test and other cost expenses such as the need for consultation with KASN, the cost of committee meetings up to support costs.

The following costs are the financing details of the implementation process of open selection in DIY local government. The cost is charged from the regional expenditure budget or APBD DIY which will be required to smooth and successful every procession in the selection implementation in accordance with the implementation needs. Below are the details of the budget in the open selection process or official auction in the local government of DIY in 2016.

Table 1. Budget detail for open selection through the auction

No	Kegiatan	Biaya	Jumlah Orang	Waktu	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Panitia Seleksi	2.500.000/ bln	9 org	3 bln	67.500.000
2	Sekretariat	1.000.000/ bln	10 org	3 bln	30.000.000
3	Konsultasi (KASN)	10.000.000	-	2 kali	20.000.000
4	Quasi Assessment Center	3.000.000	47 org	1 kali	141.000.000
5	Uji Kesehatan	800.000	47 org	1 kali	37.600.000
6	Sidang	15.000.000	-	1 kali	15.000.000
7	Biaya Pendukung ATK	10.000.000	-	-	10.000.000
	Total				**321.100.000**

Source: Kasubid Mutasi Jabatan BKD DIY 2016.

From the budget details above table that we can see the total cost required for the implementation of the auction of office ranges from Rp 321.100.000.- from the use of funds APBD with cost breakdown of the cost of the pansel of 2.5 million per month with the number of members 9 people for 3 months, Financing the secretary of the selection committee in carrying out its duties in the secretariat of 1 million per month with the number of members 10 people for 3 months, consultation to the KASN of 10 million conducted 2 times consultation, 3 million for the competency test or the use of assessment center to 47 participants as much as 1 Time, 800 thousand for the health test of 47 participants once, then the cost of the trial is carried out as much as 1 time by 15 million, and the cost of supporting the ATK of 10 million.

This is signaled by the organizers of BKD DIY that the costs incurred exceed the recruitment of employees before the cost of so much to spend each element of selection is different from the recruitment of previous employees who only finance the committee in the BAPERJAKAT and the cost of the trial which is conducted.

Bureaucratic Cultural Behavior

Open selection or official auction provides an opportunity opportunity for potential employees to follow the open selection process in occupying structural positions in the DIY government. DIY Local Government indicated to all qualified and qualified employees to participate in open selection to be appealed to register as a candidate. Based on a merit system that refers to the qualifications, competence and performance fairly and equitably without discriminating against the political background, race, color, religion, origin, sex, marital status, age, or disability conditions may encourage employees to enroll. But different things with DIY, may be viewed carefully open selection will foster a competent spirit in the process but the bureaucratic cultural behavior in DIY still feels in an agency one of them is *pekiwuh cultural behavior.*

The reality in the field shows the existence of one of the inhibiting factors that are not known by the wider community that is the behavior of employee culture in the dynamics of bureaucracy in the local government of DIY at this time. It seems clear that the *pekiwuh cultural behavior* is still bound in the hearts of employees, it is not known how long this *pekiwuh culture* became the descendent culture down in DIY local government article most of them have their own perception that the quality of the self can not necessarily be in value by each

person - they believe and consider judgments from others' point of view need to ensure that they are qualified and competent. This is where the element of merit is considered by many employees to follow open selection.

Assessment from other people's point of view is usually from a co-worker or a leader. A leader has an influence on the employee in the personal assessment of the employee's clerks have a sense of uncomfortable or *pekiwuh* to register as a candidate to jump over a leader as one candidate structural officials without any proposal or recommendation of a leader then the employee will not register despite having a chance The opportunity to register because of the view of this element of propriety is the inhibiting factor that is not known to many people from open selection. So here the influence of a leader to propose or recommend employees to register themselves as candidates in open selection is very high because with this new thing the employee began to have a desire in following the open auction.

Mental Block

Following the implementation of open selection conducted first by the local government of DIY gives a significant influence on the attitude and mental of the employees who follow the selection. In the absence of prior experience will usually give a different feeling to the candidate. Feelings that arise are usually feelings of fear, no confidence or any other feelings that can affect from the spirit of the candidate to less maximum ability that is issued so that it can become an obstacle for candidates in following the implementation of the auction office in DIY local government.

No denying the existence of a mental block of the personality of this candidate is able to become a separate obstacle for the implementation of the auction positions conducted by DIY local government because it is able to make less maximally from the implementation of open selection by the DIY local government because DIY local government itself is the first time to apply the selection Open after the effectiveness of ASN Law that requires implementation based on openness and competitive but employees who have never had

previous experience will find different feelings such as the mental block is different from the employee who previously had experience in appointing employees through promotion so that to follow The transition in subsequent filling process can be done as usual.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of open selection or official auction in DIY Local Government has been conducted effectively, fairly, openly and competitively by taking into account the requirements of competence, qualifications, rank, education and training, job track record and integrity and other requirements required referring to the Law Civil State Apparatus Act and Permenpan-RB No.13 of 2014 and based on merit system. Additional, Implementation of the open position or open auction has aspects in the assessment that become factors in influencing the success of open office auction or open selection in DIY local government that includes the assessment of competence, job performance, rank level, and objective assessment.

Cultural behavior of *"pekiwuh"* which became one of the obstacles in the implementation of the article element of merit becomes an important capital for some employees to follow the auction office. The influence of a leader in recommending an employee as a candidate is so high that most employees will enroll if a leader has proposed. At least the pekiwuh cultural behavior like this has long been attached to the level of bureaucracy in the local government of Yogyakarta.

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E-BUDGETING: BANDUNG CITY GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS IN THE TRANSPARENCY AND EFFICIENCY OF BUDGET MANAGEMENT

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Abstract

Implementation of regional autonomy has increased and continuous improvement in governance and bureaucratic reform. The advances in information technology very supports governance improvement in Indonesia. A commitment of the Indonesian government in realizing the bureaucratic reform and good governance by promoting the principles of transparency, accountability and efficiency. In realizing the bureaucratic reform and good governance, the government began to implement e-government in any implementation of government affairs. In Bandung, the implementation of e-government has become one of the work program of the Mayor in order to realize the Bandung smart city. One of the programs of information technology utilization that has been realized is the application of e-budgeting. E-budgeting program regulates the allocation of the government budget, so that budget allocations can be arranged as needed, effective, efficient, and right on target. Either the budget allocation through e-musrenbang (online development planning forum) so that it can accommodate the aspirations of people in Bandung. Although, The Bandung City Government has been using the budget management application, Implementation of e-budgeting had a chance to meet the constraints. This study intends to find out what the cause of the constraint in the implementation of e-budgeting and how their impact.This study used a qualitative method in order to gain an understanding of the factors that influence the effectiveness of the relationship of authority of local government. This study uses the primary data and secondary data. The primary data is obtained through observations and interviews. Sources of secondary data is obtained from government archives and publication of government activities. The results of this study indicate that barriers to the e-budgeting implementation caused by the transition after the preparation of the organizational structure and promotion and transfer the apparatus, unprepared sets of rules, as well as e-budgeting is not yet integrated with the previous budget management system (SIMDA). Implementation of e-budgeting is considered to be too hasty so that could hamper the administration of services and development in Bandung.

Keywords: E-Budgeting, transparency, efficiency, budget management

INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of information technology has brought a new style of governance. Almost all countries in the world use this information technology to facilitate their work in organizing government administration. The governance perspective using such information technology evolves with the concept of e-government. The concept of e-government is organized almost in all areas of governance, Begin from procurement of goods and services, assessment anda recruitment the apparatus, tax administration, Services and administration conducted online system, as well as budget management. Utilization of E-government aims to improve efficiency in governance, So as to create a better public services. There are three models of e-government development namely government to citizen (G2C), government to bussiness (G2B), and government to government (G2G)

The city of Bandung since its headed by Mayor Ridwan Kamil has made many radical changes related to governance. In order to realize his idealism to build Bandung as a smart city, Ridwan Kamil began to integrate government administration through a system that supported by the information technology.

Ridwan Kamil uses the three models of e-government development, both government to citizen, government to business, and government to government. Many programs have been implemented including Information Systems of Planning and Budgeting (Bandung City Government called it with SIRA), SIRA is an electronic budgeting information system that integrated with the development planning system. The main issue of implementation of e-budgeting (through the SIRA program) in Bandung, because there has been no instrument of appraisal of budget usage by regional apparatus so far. Therefore, Bandung City Government implements e-budgeting since 2016, With the aim of realizing transparency and efficiency in the use of local budgets.

In this effort, Bandung city government adopted e-budgeting system from DKI Jakarta Province by making various modifications according to the needs of the region. However, although the implementation of e-budgeting has entered the second year in 2017, The implementation of e-budgeting is not perceived as expected. There was a little ''chaos' between the TAPD (Local Government Budget Team) and the regional apparatus Which is caused because the regional apparatus have not understood correctly about the philosophy of a good budget allocation planning, So the budget rationalization that has been done by TAPD (Local Government Budget Team) until June 2017 is very tough and takes a long time.

This study was conducted with the aim to know About the implementation of e-budgeting through the program Information System Planning and Budget (SIRA) that can ensure the efficiency of governance in the city of Bandung.

THEORITICAL REVIEW

The use of information technology in governance is known as e-government concept. According to Mustopadidjaja (2003), e-government is the definition to reveal the process of governance Which adopts web-based technology (network), communication via the Internet, So as to improve government programs and services. Through the utilization of this information technology, The government expands public access to easily obtain information on government performance and services So that the administration of government becomes more efficient, effective, transparent and accountable.

In principle, e-government is a concept of governance by utilizing the application of information technology And communicate as an effort to build better organization and government management, So that the main tasks and functions can be performed in a prime and improve the quality of public services. There are three models of e-government development, namely (a) management of electronic public services connecting government to citizen (G2C), application of development cooperation and electronic public service connecting between government and business group (government to Bussiness / G2B), as well as the e-government development model that facilitates cooperation and coordination of governmental administration between government institutions both national and international (Government to government / G2G).

According to Indrajit (2005), the utilization of e-government can improve the quality of service, transparency and accountability of government performance to the society. The implementation of e-government is also aimed at realizing government reform that more open, accessible, responsive, and accountable. Dalam hal anggaran, pemanfaatan e-government hanyalah sebuah sistem yang In terms of budget, e-government utilization is only a system that can facilitate government work in planning and budget allocation. However, the success of budget management based on information technology is very much determined by budget management, which is the human being as the main actor.

According to Freeman dan Craig (2003: 27), *budgeting is the process of allocating resources to unlimited demands*. Budgeting is a process that undertaken by the government in allocating its resources to meet unlimited needs. Through the budget system reflects how the policy choices and priorities of the government (Jones, 1991: 108).

Mardiasmo (2005: 62-63) mentions several important reasons for budgeting:

1. Budgeting is required to maintain a balance of community needs with the government.
2. A budgeting is required to meet the needs of the community.

The benchmark in regional budgeting planning is *value for money*, Which is in accordance with the principles of effectiveness, efficiency, and economics. Budgeting performance based on value for money view, Does not mean that the allocation of costs should be as low and as cheap as possible. The cheapest cost does not always show the best results. Therefore the principle of value for money in budgeting should be consistent with those principles, Thus it is expected that the administration, service and welfare of society can be realized optimally. The principle of effectively measuring the extent to which the budget allocation can achieve the targets and outputs that have been set. Efficiently measure the extent to which the proposed budget is spared the swelling of budget submissions. While economical, is effort fulfillment requirement Or purchase of goods / services at the best price.

In preparing the budget, the government must be able to determine when and what needs to be met immediately by considering the amount of money available. Therefore, in the preparation of budgets related to clarity of planning, both short-term, medium-term, and long-term planning. Planning and budgeting must be accompanied by the target to be achieved. The budget should be based on realistic estimates, by determining priorities and which needs can be delayed (Basjir, 2002: 10-12).

The growth of public sector management has an impact on the budgeting system, there are several types of budgeting as follows:

1. *Line-Item Budgeting.* This model is a traditional budgeting model that is considered to be no longer appropriate with the needs of the era. The budgeting line item budgeting model prepares tax and non-tax revenue, grants and so on. While expenditure is arranged based on expenditure types such as employees, goods, maintenance costs, official travel, interest payments and central and regional fiscal balances, other transfers and development expenditures as capital outlay. The disadvantages of this line-item budgeting system can not know the amount allocated to each unit as a responsibility center. In addition, this model can not measure the success rate and benefits of planned and prioritized activities.

2. *Incremental Budgeting.* Jones and Pendlebury (1996: 27) States three reasons why this method is widely used. First, many activities to achieve government goals that have been implemented last year that need to be continued in this year. Second, this method is easy to do and avoid conflicts between government units. Third, this method is very conservative with relatively small or limited changes based on adequate consideration. Meanwhile, this way according to Wildavsky (1975: 81) used by rich countries and in a relatively stable economic and political situation. The advantages of this method is easy and fast because it only based on the incremental and budget the previous year. The disadvantage, however, is to allow for incomes and out-of-pocket expenditures.

3. *Revenue Budgeting.* Budgeting with this method is done on the basis of a country's ability to earn revenue. Furthermore, the government compiled a shopping list according to that ability. If the budget is prepared in accordance with the ability of state income, the budget is said to be balanced (balance budget). However, if it exceeds the state revenue, the budget is called the spending budget. Wildavsky (1975: 84) states that this method will be relatively used by a country with very limited income, but the economic and political situation is relatively stable.

4. *Repetitive Budgeting.* The method of budgeting by repeating budgeting from previous years. Due to the unstable conditions in the field of economy and politics. Consideration of using this method because it does not allow it to compile with other methods because of

unstable situations and conditions. In Indonesia this method is accommodated in the 1945 Constitution with a note if the DPR RI does not approve the draft budget submitted by the government.

5. *Supplemental Budgeting.* This method is used by creating an open budget, the opportunity to make extensive revisions. This method is done if the condition of the country, there is no difficulty of state revenues, but has administrative constraints. The advantage of this method is to adjust the budget with the current real conditions. However, the disadvantages of this method are ambiguity in the often-changing budget and the ambiguity of the priority direction of the state expenditure.

6. *Performance Budgeting.* With this method the budget is based on measurable performance of various activities. However, this method also uses object-based classifications such as line-item budgeting. The decisive factor in this method is the efficiency of various activities that exist by setting the standard cost. The advantage of this method is that the activity is based on efficiency in the presence of a standard cost based on past activities. The weakness is the difficulty of measuring the performance of every government activity, in addition to the readiness of the state apparatus in implementing the method well.

7. *Planning Programming Budgeting System* (PPBS). The PPBS model was developed to enable decision makers to make decisions based on the calculations or scientific approaches of existing management models. In this model use cost and benefit analysis. This is done because of the limitations of income and the amount of spending into consideration of cost and benefits analysis. To that end, the choices that produce great benefits will be taken first. In other words, a list of priorities will be made based on the program that has the greatest benefit. Preparation of the budget by this method, carried out the following steps, first, formulate organizational goals and work units under it. Without the formulation of clear objectives of the organization or unit,

the program can not be developed. Second, arrange the program based on the same goals of each unit. Third, the program has been compiled, broken down into activities (program elements). Fourth, each element is made cost and benefit analysis. Fifth, calculate costs and benefits at the program level. The disadvantage of this method is that it takes a long time and is technically difficult to practice by the budgeting apparatus. This is because measuring benefits with value for money is not easy.

8. *Zero Based Budgeting.* As the name implies, the budget is composed of zero although in the previous year the budgeting process has been carried out. The budget does not depend on the previous year so this is the opposite of incremental budgeting which is often found to be ineffective, but the budget increases. Whereas in practice it is possible to incremental the decision package used in the preparation of this method. Decision Package is a requirement to develop this model. Decision Package is a document that describes information related to the effects of various alternative activities. The process is first, identifying decision units. Second, the development of decision packages. This package of decisions is a planned program. Third, create a decision package ranking. This rating is made up of programs that require low funds to those who require substantial funds. The advantage of this method is to remove the ineffectiveness of a program, enabling a new program, in every activity there is a clear goal and involves all levels. (Quoted from Moenek, 2014: 66-70).

According to Hagen et.al (1996: 42), public sector budgeting is a bargaining process between leaders (program implementers with the highest authority in decision-making). Rubin (1993) in Shukri and Asmara (2006: 167) argues that public sector budgeting is a reflection of the relative strength of various budget actors with different interests and preferences for budget outcomes. Preferences of budget actors are viewed from the assumption (behavioural assumptions) and the theory of public choice. The behavioral assumptions view budget actors as having interests for benefits and enjoyment,

derived from the use of facilities at work (Von Hagen, 2002: 267). While the theory of public choice looks at the extent to which budget actors preferences to propose the budget to improve public services and community satisfaction so as to have prospects to gain public support. The budget actors' preferences during the budgeting process make a fundamental difference between what is planned and what will be done.

The government's budget management has a redistribution of income, the provision of public goods, and the implementation of social protection (Gramlich, 1990: 27). Therefore, effective and efficient budget management requires the ability of the government apparatus to be creative and initiative in budget management so that rapid economic growth and the quality of public services can be achieved. Eric Chetwynd, Frances Chetwynd, and Bertram Spector (2003: 11) point out that low government capacity causes the available budget to be misaligned, and the government can not provide quality public services.

METHOD

This research uses descriptive qualitative method. Descriptive qualitative method is a type of research that aims to provide an overview of the occurrence of a phenomenon or social reality as it is, and describes the factors that cause the occurrence of a social event / reality. In this study, the analysis is supported by two types of primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained directly from field research results. This data is usually obtained through observations and interviews. While secondary data is data owned by institutions or data belonging to institutions that have been processed. Secondary data used are data relevant to the main subject of research.

Processing and data analysis is done through the following stages:

1. Categorization, namely the process of grouping data based on predetermined categories, such as information technology systems, adherence to budgeting principles, and budget actors preferences.
2. Selection, ie the process of selecting data relevant to the research problem.

3. Reduction, ie the process of reducing the data that is considered not necessary for the purposes of research analysis.
4. Interpretation is the process of interpreting the data research to then be used as material analysis and solve answers to questions and research problems.
5. Withdrawal of conclusions, namely the process of drawing conclusions from the results of interpretation and analysis of research data.

Validity and reliability of qualitative research can be tested through triangulation of both source triangulation, data, and methods. Triangulation of sources is a test of the truth of research data obtained from various sources (informants). To ensure the correctness of the data sourced from the informant, the researcher uses member check technique, which is the effort to confirm the result of the research data obtained to the informant, to test whether the interpretation done by the researcher is in accordance with the information from the informant. Triangulation of data is done by conducting fit croscect test between primary data and secondary data. While triangulation method that is used that is compare between data acquisition method field with library method. The above validity and reliability test is believed to guarantee the analysis and report of the research results in an objective and in-depth manner.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

E-budgeting implemented by the Government of Bandung has been started since 2016. Before the e-budgeting system is implemented, the government of Bandung first conduct TOT (training of trainers) among teams TAPD (Local Government Budget Team) are the Bandung City Government Assistant Consisting of Government Assistant, Administrative Assistant, and Assistant for Economy and Development, BPKA (Regional Finance and Asset Management Agency responsible for managing local finances and assets), Bappelitbang (Development Planning, Research and Development Agency), Orpad Section (Organization and Empowerment of Apparatus Regional) Regional Secretariat of Bandung, as well as technical socialization to all units of regional devices.

Although socialization has been done, but the preparation of the budget by the regional apparatus has not been as expected. Submission of budgets by regional devices still causes budget deficits. For the year 2017, local budget revenue plan (PAD) Bandung only amounted to 5.8 trillion rupiah, but the budget submission by the regional apparatus reaches more than 8 trillion rupiah, meaning if the proposed use of this budget is accepted then Bandung City Government will experience budget deficit About 3 trillion rupiah. Therefore, TAPD feels the need to rationalize the budget submitted by the regional apparatus. If the budget submission by regional apparatus is not rationalized, then the Government of Bandung City will always experience a considerable budget deficit.

Based on the results of rationalization conducted by TAPD, in fact not all proposed budget proposals of regional apparatus refers to the output and target activities to be achieved. At the stage of budgetary rationalization, TAPD finds that the discrepancies between the nomenclature of programs and activities, outputs and targets, and programs / activities do not lead to the achievement of regional development objectives as outlined in development planning documents (either the annual development plan of RKPD or the five year plan Regional Devices and RPJMD).

In order for budget planning by regional apparatus to have a match between objectives, outputs and development targets, TAPD undertakes the assistance of regional budgeting. Assistance was undertaken by Bappelitbang, BPKA, Orpad Section, Legal Section, and Assistant of the Regional Secretariat. Assistance is done in two ways: online assistance and offline assistance. Assistance is done by rationalizing starting from the nomenclature of programs / activities, the types of programs and activities, the suitability of programs / activities with the main tasks and functions of regional devices. This is done in order to avoid duplication of programs / activities among regional devices that are not in accordance with the main tasks and functions, and for programs / activities planned in accordance with the output and targets to be achieved. Especially the adjustment between program / activity output, program / activity targets with the amount of expenditure required to implement the programs and activities.

The process of budget rationalization by TAPD spends a long time, wasting time and effort. In the process of rationalization, TAPD provides input to regional devices. Although the rationalization has been carried out, the process has been very long and protracted, because although regional tools have been warned, the decision to amend and rationalize the budget is given entirely to the regional apparatus. Conditions that occurred after TAPD conducted assistance and provided inputs to regional apparatus to remove expenditure items that were deemed irrelevant, but then there was a regional device that added shopping items in other activities, so that budget submissions remained swollen and potentially in the budget deficit.

The rationalization policy carried out by the regional apparatus after obtaining assistance from TAPD, in fact, aims to educate local authorities in order to be able to plan their budget usage well and wisely. This expectation, however, does not seem to be fully realized, as much awareness is required from the head of the regional apparatus as Budget User, that budget is not the moment of dividing 'development cake' and budget. Rather it should be used optimally for development, improving service quality, smooth administration administration, so as to increase public confidence, improve public welfare and accelerate the progress of regional development.

Although the budget rationalization was tough, TAPD managed to realize the rationalization of the budget, by comparison between PAD and total expenditure as follows:

➢ Direct shopping Rp2.245.905.358.727
➢ Indirect spending Rp2.615.346.997.611
➢ PAD Rp5.812.029.158.954

Based on the results of budget rationalization above, it appears that the budget submission by the local area of Bandung has been seen balanced between regional income with local spending plans (both direct expenditure and indirect spending).

Based on the results of the implementation of e-budgeting in Bandung in 2017, as described above, it is still found some obstacles, namely:

The Budgeting System

During the process of implementing e-budgeting in Bandung, there are technical

problems, which BPKA has been steadily using the application of Simda (Regional Financial Information System), because the issuance of SPM (Pay Order), SPPD, etc. can all be done in simda. In terms of implementation of e-budgeting, it seems there is a tug of interest where the BPKA feel more comfortable with using the simda. SIMDA usage is considered to have deficiencies because monitoring and evaluation of budget usage can only be done by BPKA. Unlike the case with e-budgeting (through the SIRA application), through this system, the entire TAPD Team can monitor the budget submission of regional devices. With the implementation of this e-budgeting system, then all budget proposals can be monitored entirely by TAPD, so it will be easy to find discrepancies in the proposed budget. During the transition period, the implementation of e-budgeting experienced a technical problem where between Simda and e-budgeting experienced problems of the budgeting system integration.

In the e-budgeting system, every item of the program / activity is not limited by the budget ceiling. The purpose of not creating a budget ceiling, so that regional devices can plan budgets according to needs, not fixated on the assigned ceiling. The absence of budget ceilings indicates that the budgeting system in the city of Bandung through e-budgeting (SIRA) based on Supplemental Budgeting System. This method makes the budget open, budget revision opportunities can be widely implemented. With this method, the budget can be adjusted to the actual ongoing conditions. Only, this method has a weakness, because the budget becomes unclear and often change. Thus, the apparatus has difficulty in determining the priority direction of government spending. In addition, the method of supplemental budgeting system can be done if the financial condition of the government does not have difficulty in obtaining regional income. The use of supplemental budgeting method with open budget system is done on e-budgeting system applied by DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. The e-budgeting system in the Province of Jakarta with the supplemental budgeting system method is relatively unproblematic, since the city's original revenue (PAD) is very large, in addition to strong regional leadership that always monitor the progress of budget submission, so that regional and politicians in the province DKI Jakarta can

not play a budget for its own sake. Therefore, the supplemental budgeting system is not suitable to be applied in Bandung City, due to limited local revenue and lack of apparatus ability to assess budget needs objectively and realistically.

Indeed, the implementation of e-budgeting in Bandung does not fully adopt the budgeting system as applied in DKI Jakarta. Therefore, the implementation of e-budgeting in the city of Bandung, also apply the budget system based on Performance Budgeting system. Through this budgeting system, regional apparatus is required to formulate budgets based on measurable and proven performance of various activities. The decisive factor, the success of this budget system, is the efficiency of various existing activities by setting cost standards. The advantage of this method is that the activities are based on efficiency and the existence of activity cost standards. However, this system demands the ability of the apparatus to measure the performance of any government activity. The government's performance shows how far the conformity between the budget spent and the output generated, and how the activities carried out are able to achieve the desired target in a timely manner. The ability to measure the performance of this activity is generally not owned most of the regional apparatus in Bandung. `

Compliance with The Budgeting Principles

In the preparation of the budget, at least regional devices are required to adhere to the principles of budgeting that is effective, efficient, and economical (3E). Principle 3E shows that the budget allocation of activities is able to achieve predetermined targets and outputs, avoiding budget swelling. But still able to meet the needs of goods / services with the best price and high quality.

Through this E-Budgeting, the result of TAPD rationalization to budget activities proposed by regional apparatus in Bandung in 2017, is not oriented towards achieving output and development targets. Some of the proposals that are considered inappropriate are:

- There are still many regional devices that charge official travel expenses (which have no direct correlation to output and activity targets).
- The existence of non-urgent capital

expenditure application (capital expenditure proposal is permitted only for new regional apparatus), even if other regional devices want to apply for capital expenditure, the appraiser is done very selectively.
- There is still a budget submission that hides / inserts honor component (even though with remuneration system, honor component has been abolished).
- Proposed supporting expenditures that are not directly related to output achievements such as office stationery, official travel, honorarium, and drinking meals are far greater than the main expenditures (which directly relate to output achievement).

In relation to budget proposal activities, the regional apparatus still seems to stick to the old way of view, where the budget submission is a venue for the budget and competition for budget absorption as big as possible which is a shopping list, which the preparation of activity shopping list does not pay attention to the urgency of service needs to Community and regional development and the availability of local budgets. This old paradigm, never thinking about the surplus or budget deficit, assumes that the budget deficit will be covered by central fund transfers as it did in the pre-reform era. Whereas in the era of autonomy, local governments are required to be able to manage their own financial resources independently, and reduce dependence on transfers of funds from the central government by increasing local own revenues. So that the financing of government affairs that have been submitted to the region, as well as development costs as much as possible cultivated come from local financial resources.

Therefore, adherence to effective, efficient and economic principles in the management of local budgets is needed so that local governments are able to finance all public service and development needs from their own regional income and expenditure budgets.

Budget Actors (The assertiveness of TAPD, the preference and competence of the Regional Leadership and Apparatus, and the Commitment of the Supreme Leader)

Budget actors from the implementation of e-budgeting are the Local Government Budget Team (TAPD), regional apparatus and officials, regional heads, deputy regional heads and political elites at Bandung regional representatives.

So far the results of socialization on e-budgeting has been assessed has succeeded in providing an understanding to all regional apparatus of Bandung City Government, both leaders and apparatuses that exist in the agencies, agencies and in the canton (kecamatan and kelurahan level) on the ways of using and utilizing e- Budgeting. Although technically well understood, but philosophically the purpose of applying e-budgeting has not been accepted / understood by most of the leaders and apparatus of Bandung area. Implementation of e-budgeting is not yet agreed upon so as to cause resistance in the bureaucracy of Bandung. That is why, the implementation of e-budgeting even though it has been going on for two years, but the implementation of this system has not run well. This is due to the still strong old paradigm and bureaucratic culture. The old paradigm and bureaucratic culture show the budget actor's preference among regional bureaucracies that assume budget use is an opportunity to absorb the budget as much as possible, by enjoying the facilities obtained from the state, thus benefiting private economic interests and a group of influential people. The budget submission is mostly aimed at capital expenditures, as well as the filing of honorariums for official activities and travel, which the use of these activities does not deal directly with development and public services. In addition, some regional devices do not yet have the ability to budget well. The preparation of activity budget is more incremental, ie adjustment or budget increase from the previous year. The local area equipment has not been able to arrange budgets based on program planning and development activities (planning budgeting system program), much less the ability to predict the correlation between costs and benefits derived from the implementation of activities (budgeting based on cost and benefit analysis). The preparation of budgets by the regional apparatus is still using the old approach or the traditional approach that compiles shopping lists based on in-line system and incremental system, meaning that the budget is based on the adjustment and increase of budget requirements from the previous year without any basic reasons and needs analysis about the proposed budget size.

Through this e-budgeting, the government of Bandung City made changes to the budgeting system that seeks to suppress leakage and waste of budget proposed by each regional device. In the implementation of e-budgeting there are educational efforts conducted TAPD, so that the mindset of regional apparatus on the use of the budget no longer use the old paradigm. TAPD requires that after budget assistance activities are organized, the regional devices can rationalize their own budgets. However, these educational efforts are considered inefficient, because in reality, the regional apparatus does not rationalize but it is actually going through the budget proposal of the activity, by removing the budget component based on the TAPD assistance result, but then shifting the lost budget by hiding in the another budget component. In the framework of education, it takes the firmness of TAPD to the regional apparatus to no longer outsmart the budget, so that the proposed activity budget is really aimed at improving the quality of service and regional development for the fulfillment of the needs and welfare of the people of Bandung. TAPD must be assertive, if the regional device is still trying to get around the budget of the activity, if necessary TAPD call the leaders of regional devices (as budget users). The leaders of regional apparatus, both to the agencies, heads of bodies, heads of offices, and sub-district heads who have full power in the proposed budget activities in their respective institutions, are given understanding and explanation of the intent and purpose of e-budgeting so that the leaders no longer stand In the old paradigm who thinks that government finances as his own must be absorbed as much as possible to be spent and benefit himself. Budget revolution in Bandung through e-budgeting is implemented so that the management of local government budget is more aimed at achieving development goals and fulfillment of community needs for goods / services provided by the government optimally. The assertiveness of TAPD in the e-budgeting process is very necessary to awaken to the leaders of the regional apparatus that the activity budget is a mandate from the people that must be managed properly and responsibly. This TAPD's firmness can shorten

the rationalization process that runs very hard for several months backward, thus spending time and energy TAPD itself. Though time and energy wasted can be used to do other things that are more important and urgent for the smooth implementation of government affairs, public services and development implementation in the city of Bandung. During the planning and budgeting process through e-budgeting, it is necessary to have enough additional time for TAPD to rationalize the activity budget that proposed by each regional apparatus.

Philosophically, the implementation of e-budgeting is very prospective in realizing the efficiency and effectiveness of local budgets. It's just that the implementation of e-budgeting is very dependent on the ability of the apparatus in preparing the budget plan of activities and culture of the government apparatus in budget management. The continued implementation of e-budgeting in the future also depends heavily on the leadership policy (after Mayor Ridwan Kamil), whether this system will be continued or discontinued. The implementation of e-budgeting was initiated by Mayor Ridwan Kamil. But Ridwan kamil has stated will not lead Bandung again but he will intend to advance to compete in the election of the governor of West Java in 2018. The sustainability of e-budgeting depends on the political will of the new leadership of Bandung and the political elite, which we are aware of, many of the interests of budget actors disturbed by this system.

Implementation of e-budgeting can be said as the Mayor's efforts to make changes that are revolutionary in the field of budget management. Through the e-budgeting system, officials and apparatus can no longer enjoy the state's financial facilities and waste the budget by carrying out activities that can benefit their private economic interests. Through the e-budgeting system, local officials and politicians can no longer steal the state finances to restore political capital that used up during the election period. Through e-budgeting, all budget proposals are aimed to achieve the activities that relate significantly to the fulfillment of public services and development.

In order to realize bureaucratic reform and good governance, in fact e-budgeting system in

Bandung City can be continuously implemented and performed maintenance, repair, and improvement of better system so as to achieve the goal of efficiency, effectiveness, and transparency of budget management in Bandung.

In order for the e-budgeting system to be well implemented, it is necessary to increase the capacity of apparatus resources through the improvement of understanding and ability in planning and budgeting so that it can analyze the budget needs to finance inputs and processes of activities, and outputs, in accordance with the targets and objectives to be achieved.

The ability of the apparatus in preparing the budget activities can be realized if the regional leaders of Bandung do placement of employees in each unit of regional devices that have a special competence to analyze the needs of a rational and proportional budget.

CONCLUSION

The financial limitation of the Government is the reason for budget management as the most important mechanism in the policy of allocating financial resources. However, government budget management has the function of redistribution of income, provision of public goods, implementing social welfare protection and fulfillment. Therefore, effectiveness and efficiency of budget management requires the ability of government apparatus to be creative and initiative in managing activity budget so that the fast economic growth, acceleration of development in region and improvement of public service quality can be achieved. The low capacity and culture of budget wastage by the government apparatus can cause the available budget to be inadequately targeted, and the government can not provide the quality public services.

The use of information technology in budget management can at least help the government to suppress the behavior of officials, political elites and bureaucracies to wastage budgets, minimize budget misuse and corruption behavior. Thus, the use of information technology, can realize the management of the budget effectively and efficiently so that the goal of government and regional autonomy in improving the welfare of society and the progress of regional development can be achieved.

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Chapter 8
Sustainable Development

COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA: THE CASE OF DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA PROVINCE

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Abstract

The sustainable development agenda of the United Nations stresses governance and partnerships involving public and private actors as key elements for achieving the sustainable development goals. This paper is the analysis of Indonesia's growing engagement for sustainable development to the concept of collaborative governance. Based on the literature analysis, policy document, participation in the conference as well as interviews with the expert, it proposes five factors to explain the promising developments of collaborative governance for sustainable development in Indonesia: political leadership, discourse, in-country expertise, institutional density and international cooperation. Against the backdrop of a strong government and lightened political supervision in many policy areas under the Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono administration, it is an opportunity for Indonesian academics, business communities, think tanks and universities and non-profit organisations to implement the sustainable development.

Keywords: Collaborative governance, SDGs, ecological civilisation, green development

INTRODUCTION

Sustainable Development (SD) defined in 1987 by Brundtland Report as "the development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UN, 1987), seeks social happiness based on the eco-efficient economy. Through the age of SD, the human element has always been its core interest, targeted by the MDGs, being one of three SD-capitals, and deeply considered during discussions and workshops for the post-2015 SDGs (ESCWA, 2013).

It seems that the there pillars of SD; Environment, community and Economy are becoming insufficient to secure this kind of development. Some argue that "Good Governance" (UN, 2013) should be added as the fourth, and others believe that "peace" (Bruntland, 1987) is essential to secure the development and ensure its sustainability. In every case, the debate is expected to ever.

Collaboration means joint working or working in conjunction with others. It implies actors—individuals, groups or organisations—cooperating in some endeavours. The participants are 'co-labouring' with others on terms and conditions that, as we know, can vary enormously. The word 'collaboration' originally came into use in the nineteenth century as industrialisation developed, more complex organisations emerged and the division of labour and tasks increased. It was a fundamental norm of utilitarianism, social liberalism, collectivism, mutual aid and, later, scientific management and human relations organisational theory.

Progress goal of 1 the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) is:

a) More than half the world's population lives in cities. By 2030, it is projected that 6 out of 10 people will be urban dwellers. Despite numerous planning challenges, well-managed cities and other human settlements can be incubators for innovation

and ingenuity and key drivers of sustainable development.

b) However, as more people migrate to cities in search of a better life and urban populations grow, housing issues intensify. Already in 2014, 30 percent of the urban population lived in slum-like conditions; in sub-Saharan Africa, the proportion was 55 percent, the highest of any region. Globally, more than 880 million people were living in slums in 2014. This estimate does not include people in the inadequate or unaffordable housing (defined as costing more than 30 percent of total monthly household income).

c) As population growth outpaces available land, cities expand far beyond their formal administrative boundaries. This urban sprawl can be seen in many cities around the world, and not only in developing regions. From 2000 to 2015, the ratio of the land consumption rate to the population growth rate in Eastern Asia and the Oceania was the highest in the world, with developed regions second. Other regions, such as South-Eastern Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean, showed a decrease in that indicator over the same time period. Unfortunately, a low value for this ratio is not necessarily an indication that urban dwellers are faring well, as this can indicate a prevalence of overcrowded slums. Unplanned urban sprawl undermines other determinants of sustainable development. For example, for every 10 percent increase in sprawl, there is a 5.7 percent increase in per capita carbon dioxide emissions and a 9.6 percent increase in per capita hazardous pollution. This illustrates the important interlinkages across the goals and targets.

d) Likewise, managing solid waste is often problematic in densely populated areas. In fact, in many developing regions, less than half of solid waste is safely disposed of. As per capita waste generation continues to rise, the collection and safe disposal of solid waste will continue to require serious attention.

e) Urban air pollution also challenged cities around the world, causing illness and millions of premature deaths annually. In 2014, around half the global urban population was exposed to air pollution levels at least 2.5 times higher than maximum standards set by the World Health Organization.

f) The quest for sustainable and coordinated urban development starts with national policies and regional development plans. As of 2015, 142 countries had a national urban policy in place or under development. Those countries are home to 75 percent of the world's urban population. Source: Report of the Secretary-General, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals".

When talking about sustainable development in Indonesia, we must see the vision of *Nawa Cita* which is presented by Indonesian President Joko Widodo which has a strategic side of national development although Nawa Cita and SDGs come from the different perspective. The *Nawa Cita* begins with the President's vision of the nation's sovereignty in the political, economic and cultural arena, deriving from the judgment that the nation faces three problems: (1) inability to ensure the safety of all citizens, (2) poverty, inequalities, environmental degradation, and excessive exploitation of natural resources, and (3) intolerance and crisis of national character. Meanwhile, SDGs see poverty, inequalities and environmental degradation and excessive exploitation of natural resources as global issues that need to be addressed by all countries in the next 15 years (Harry, 2015).

In addition, *Nawa Cita*, as reflected in the RPJMN, encompasses sectoral and regional (spatial) objectives, whereas SDGs focus on sectoral issues. Differences also arise in the categorization of issues between the global and national agendas. For example, good governance in *Nawa Cita* and RPJMN is considered a specific target to be achieved and the overall theme for mainstreaming, while in good governance SDGs is a goal with a specific target to achieve.

The sustainable development in Indonesia has a 2 (two) indicators, first is the environment indicator and second is the social-economic indicator. As two indicators (BPS: 2016) speaking of sustainable development in DIY, the

two sectors that become indicators of SDGs have been well worked out by the government. Both from the environmental and socio-economic side of society. As a city of education and culture, Yogyakarta is a province in Indonesia that is able to implement public services that facilitate the beneficiaries of services.

Pollution of water, air and soil are also still not been handled appropriately, because of the more rapid activity less attention to aspects of preservation of the environment. Environmental management policies appropriately will encourage commuting to apply the principles of sustainable development in order to avoid crises of natural resources, especially water crisis, food crisis and energy crisis.

The rate of environmental degradation and environmental pollution that occurs both in urban and rural areas continue to occur. Damage to natural resources and environmental degradation drastically causes changes in structure and function of the environment. This causes the emergence of global threats such as global climate change, destruction of biodiversity and increased greenhouse gas production (LKIP DIY, 2014).

In the field of population, smaller families embodiment of quality is an important step to achieve sustainable development. This can be done by controlling the quantity of the population and improving the quality of human resources. Based on the Human Development Index (HDI), which is a composite index of index component life expectancy, the index literacy rate, an index of the average old school and the index of real spending per capita, from all provinces in Indonesia, DIY ranks HDI good that is in a group of big four.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis of literature and policy document, interaction and interview with experts are an important source of information to track recent policy orientations and assess potential and limitations of new governance arrangements. Given the many recent developments in the field of sustainable development, including the focus on green development in the RPJMD 2012-2017 Yogyakarta Province.

In this study, researchers used descriptive research type and qualitative approach. The focus of this research is four which include: (1) RPJMD 2012-2017; (2) DIY Sustainable Development Policy Strategy; (3) the commitment of the Provincial Government of DIY in realising sustainable development and (4) Supporting factors and inhibiting government collaboration in realising sustainable development.

In accordance with the focus of the research, the selected location of the study is the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the site of research is BAPPEDA and related agencies that handle sustainable development. The source of data in this research comes from primary and secondary data. The techniques of data collection using observation, interviews, and documentation. Research instruments in this qualitative research include researchers, interview guides, documentation guides, and media or supporting devices.

Based on the collected data, the researchers then conducted data analysis using interactive models from Miles, Huberman and Saldana. Data analysis consists of four flows of activity: data collection, data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion. The purpose of using interactive data model analysis is to describe systematically, factually, and accurately.

Development Administration Bureau gets a very important and strategic mandate in determining the successful development of Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY). Amanah carried as an institution that prepares policy formulation materials, coordinates the implementation of policies, and monitors and evaluates the implementation of policies in the field of transportation, public works, energy and mineral resources, culture and tourism, deconcentration and facilitation of research and development. This supposition shows that the Development Administration Bureau has a central role in guarding the policy process against the formulation stage to the evaluation. The strategic value of the policy field that he receives is also very high because it affects other fields. This establishes the Development Administration Bureau as one of the DIY development think tanks.

The group of interviewed experts included academics and practitioners working for think tanks, universities, NGOs and business groups in Yogyakarta. The decisive factor for selecting the expert with known or demonstrable experience and expertise was mainly their availability for a meeting or an interview in Yogyakarta. The methodology was not based on probability sample involving random selection but on non-probability expert sampling which may be considered a subcase of purposive sampling. The interviewed female and male experts were of different age, institutional affiliations and disciplinary background. most of them were working in Yogyakarta, at think tanks or universities, in business or non-government, other in political or environmental sciences. Most of them have long-standing experience in research, policy advisory service and/or project management. It was relatively easy to discuss Yogyakarta's growing commitment to sustainability development with the experts. Their preparedness to discuss governance issues, however, varied. Some perceive governance concepts as strongly rooted in western theories and normatively loaded. Some of the experts preferred to remain unidentified while others, mainly researchers and experts from independent NGOs, agreed that their names and affiliations could be mentioned, in particular in connection with their publications and public presentations.

1. Yogyakarta's Growing Engagement for Sustainable Development

The strategic objective of Yogyakarta as a city of culture, a city of student, and a city of tourism would need to create a sustainable strategic plan with the involvement of citizen and businesses as a destination to go forward together. Yogyakarta develops sustainable tourism development program. The program is implemented in cooperation with various stakeholders such as communities, societies and universities.

Positioning itself as a city of culture and tourism, make Yogyakarta as a promising place to invest, some of the reason, among others:

a) Political Stability
   Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning the Privileges of Jogja has allowed the appointment of the head of the region without an election, so as to minimise the potential for conflict. This has guaranteed political stability in the province and support positive investment climate.

b) Geostrategic Position
   Jogja has a strategic position in the middle of Java Island and facilitates connectivity with other regions in Indonesia through facilities and infrastructure support which makes Yogyakarta plays an important role as the growth and service centre in the south and central Java.

c) Rich of Cultural Heritage
   A cultural city in which Javanese traditional heritage perfectly blends with modern culture, Jogja becomes a strategic place for the rapid development of tourism, education, and cultural sectors.

d) Quality Human Resources
   More than 100 universities in Jogja support the abundant availability of educated and skilled human resources that mostly have high computer literacy.

e) Ease for Investment Climates
   The government has provided the One-Stop Integrated Licensing Services Office (KP2TSP) and Incentives Provision and Ease for Investment for domestic and foreign investors.

f) High Competitiveness
   Jogja is ranked sixth in Indonesia for competitiveness based on the survey conducted by Asia Competitiveness Institute, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy National University of Singapore in 2013.

The commitment of stakeholders in collaboration is an important factor in the success of the collaborative process, although in carrying out this commitment is sometimes a dilemma. For example, stakeholders must comply with the outcome of the deliberation as a form of commitment even though the decision requires joining different stakeholder views. This commitment, therefore, requires trust that the responsibilities of each stakeholder can be well executed. In this context, commitment to the process is a consequence of each member's involvement in a sustainable development forum and creates an attachment requiring the parties committed to following the process of collaboration in accordance with the specified.

2. The Concept of Collaborative Governance

Processes that emphasise contributions of state and non-state stakeholders for consensus-oriented decision-making and policy implementation constitute the concept of collaborative governance. Collaborative governance brings public and private stakeholders together in collective forums with public agencies to engage in consensus-oriented decision making (Ansell & Gash, 2007). Collaborative governance arrangements have the potential to tap knowledge from a greater variety of sources and provide wider access to people and institutions. Thus, they provide opportunities to enhance the legitimacy of policy and project implementation.

According to Ansell and Gash in Sudarmo (2011: 101), collaboration can generally be divided into two meanings: collaboration in the sense of process, and collaboration in the normative sense.

a) Collaboration in the sense of process

Collaboration in the sense of a process is a series of activities or how to organise/manage or govern institutionally. There are several institutions involved both government agencies, non-governmental organisations, including communities and some communities in it. Such engagement usually corresponds to the portion of interests and objectives of each institution. The portion of the engagement is not always the same, some are only involved in some activities and may be involved in the whole as well. Understanding collaboration in the sense of the process is in accordance with the purpose of making this article. In this context agencies / institutions involved in cooperation come from government agencies ie some ministries related to road safety, and some ministries in other fields, including police agencies, SOEs that conduct business in the field of traffic and road transport, as well as communities or associations Such as associations of public transport companies, and others from academia, university representatives, to experts in the field of traffic and road transport, as well as non-governmental organizations whose activities in the field of traffic and road transport, and traffic observers And road transport. All of these institutions are included in a formal forum that is deliberately organised to coordinate the inter-agency of national, provincial, and district/city road transport operators.

b) Collaboration in the normative sense

Collaboration in this sense is linked to government goals or aspirations in interacting with partners or partners. Collaborative governance, in this case, is not only a formal institution but it can also be a way of behaving (non-government behaviour) of larger institutions in involving themselves in public management in a period.

Collaborative governance is one of the paradigms in public administration. The term governance itself appears to replace the term government in the Old Public Administration (OPA) paradigm and the NPM paradigm. The shifting of the term aims to democratise the public administration ie Government more emphasis on government institutions, while Governance emphasises the involvement of Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), interest groups, and society. According to Richard and Smith in Syafri (2012: 196), the concept of governance takes into account all actors and policy areas outside the "core government/executives" involved in the policy-making process. According to Ansell and Gash (2007), collaborative governance is a way of governance that directly involves stakeholders outside the state, consensus-oriented, and deliberative in collective decision-making processes, which have the objective to create or implement public policies and programs. In this case, the emphasis is on achieving a degree of consensus among stakeholders. O'Leary, Bingham, and, Gerard (2006) in Emerson define governance as a process affecting decisions and actions in the private, public, and public sectors. More specifically, governance is a set of coordination and monitoring activities that enable the survival of collaborative partnerships or institutions (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone in Emerson). Wider than Ansell's proposed definition of Agrawan and Lemos (2007) in Emerson, the collaborative government includes multi partner governance that includes interstate partnerships, the private sector, civil society and the merging of government with additional rules such as government with private and private

sector Social institutions, and the management of shared regimes. Basically, Governance not only emphasises the involvement of Non-Governmental Organization only. However, the concept contains a very complex meaning that is not merely the involvement of public institutions in the formulation and implementation of policies but the linkage of various organisations to implement public goals (Keban, 2004: 121-122).

From several definitions that have been put forward it can be concluded that collaborative governance is a way of multi-partner governance management involving various stakeholders either directly or indirectly, consensus-oriented, and there "musyawarah" in the process of collective decision-making, but collaborative governance is not only a formal institution but Can be a way of behaving (how to behave).

Government collaboration takes place political will governments (regions) to expand internal decentralisation and develop cooperation with the public and private will have an impact directly or indirectly on the format of public service agencies. This is logical, given that any reduction in the role/function of the government on the one hand, and the strengthening of the role/function of the private sector or society on the other, automatically demands the institutional restructuring. Thus, the institutional or conventional regional apparatus that we know so far under articles 60 - 68 of Law Number 22 year 1999, may become less relevant to the real demands on the ground.

c) The concept of government collaboration

The current SDGs need to be translated and integrated into national and even regional development agendas. In the case of Indonesia, this raises the question of the extent to which Nawa Cita convergence, RPJMN and SDGs occur and how new global objectives can support Indonesia's national development. This paper analyses whether this convergence exists. This paper seeks to review the extent to which SDGs have been reflected in the national development agenda and identify opportunities to integrate them wholly when necessary. This is done in more detail in four areas that are the main focus of UNDP and the Government

of Indonesia, namely gaps, environment and energy, governance and global partnerships. In order not to be technical, this paper does not review the global and national agenda at the indicator level but on the level of objectives. (Harry, 2015).

Collaborative practices replace hierarchical climatic approaches with approaches that encourage interaction among peers. The hierarchical model emphasises one-way communication, there is a dominant figure. The collaborative practice model emphasises two-way communication, but still, places one of the leaders in the main position of the government. The circular model emphasises continuity, mutual conditions with each other and no one stakeholder member who collaborates continuously dominates.

Why it is necessary for a government collaboration, the reasons for (1) building understanding through sharing of ideas, information, between various parties, providing mechanisms for resolving uncertainty, (2) establishing effective decision-making mechanisms through a process that focuses on joint problems and builds support; 3) produce effective work tools through cross-border coordination, joint management, and mobilization of ideas, and (4) develop multi-stakeholder capacity to face future challenges.

3. Potentials of Collaborative Governance in Yogyakarta

The point of potential collaborative governance in Yogyakarta is still strong values of Gotong-Royong, so this local wisdom in Yogyakarta into locomotive collaborative governance with business sector, community development, universities and another sector, so not need to worry again when the process of sustainable development will be easy to implement for the people of Yogyakarta

Sustainability development is a UN program to reduce inequality between developed and developing countries. In drawing sustainable development, there need to be government collaboration efforts with various parties including stakeholder as well as private sector which is also the user of development itself.

Indonesian tourism is tourism derived from the people, by the people and for the people. Based on the concept, then the concept that should be used as a foundation is Community-based tourism (community-based tourism) and Sustainable Tourism.

A sense of belonging (Handarbeni) needs to be grown by instilling an understanding of the importance of tourism as one of the sectors relied upon by the DIY Government that can encourage the growth and strength of the local economy so as to accelerate the welfare of the people of Yogyakarta.

Integrated, integrated planning that emerges from sharp analysis and agreed by stakeholders needs to be implemented in an integrated, gradual and sustainable (sustainable tourism development). All implementation of the activities carried out should be oriented on fair and equitable principles and as much as possible create job opportunities without leaving the rules, ethics, independence and professionalism.

Improving the quality of life in a sustainable environment is an effort that needs to be done because it is one of the important pillars in realising sustainable development, namely pro-poor, pro-growth, pro-environment, and pro gender. The indicators used in environmental development in the province is the percentage increase in the quality of the environment, as stated in the document of RPJMD DIY 2012-2017. For calculations used indicator of ambient air quality improvement and enhancement of water quality. For ambient air quality based on the measurement results of five districts/cities, with the key parameters used hydrocarbon (HC) and carbon monoxide (CO). (P. P. DIY, 2015)

4. Limitations of Collaborative Governance in DIY

Government collaboration has been an idea to achieve a common goal by involving each work process as well as working together in achieving that common goal. The main motivation is usually to obtain collective results that are impossible to achieve if each party works independently. As well as in cooperation, the parties collaborate in the hope of achieving innovative, breakthrough, and privileged results and satisfying collective achievements.

In the application of government collaboration with stakeholder certainly, have a wide enough obstacle even though have common goal sometimes collaboration have different importance.

Collaboration does not just happen. Like operating within the city hierarchy, collaboration must be managed, albeit in a different way. Such processes of collaboration are examined in this study of cities and their officials. In economic development in general, as in the many specific policy areas that constitute economic developmental, critical policymaking resources—finances, information, labor, knowledge, legal authority, and expertise—do not reside exclusively in the public agency but with other levels of govern- mental, counties, water districts, utilities, chambers of commerce, and development corporations. The complex inter-organisational, intersectoral, and intergovernmental policy context of cities provides an opportunity for a city to strategically and collaboratively pursue its political and economic objectives—an opportunity exploited by some but not all cities. (Agranoff & McGuire, 2003)

Collaboration barriers according to Gray there are 7 (seven), among others:

1) Commitment contrary to collaboration
2) The history of hostilities based on ideological differences for a long time
3) Conditions in which policy does not pay attention to the allocation of resources
4) Different perceptions of risk
5) Complexity is technical
6) Institutional and political culture / no legitimacy
7) Unilateral action (one party has power in unilateral action.

5. Factor Facilitating Collaborative Governance for Sustainable Development

a. Political Leadership

Yogyakarta Special Region is a very interesting area, where Yogyakarta is the only area that still strong to maintain the customs and ancestral culture until the system of local government that runs on the basis of the royal system or the palace.

Before explaining about Yogya's political culture, it is better to explain at glance about Yogyakarta Regional Privilege which is the privilege that gives great influence in the formation of Yogyakarta's political culture. The reasons that make Yogya as a Special Region include; 1) the culture of the royal system that has been inherent since the occupation of the region of Yogyakarta is an area that has a government system based on a very good kingdom and recognised by the Dutch. 2) the mandate of the Sultan, then called the September 5th Mandate is a form of support of the Kingdom of Ngayogyakarto Hadiningrat against the Republic of Indonesia, with its support to NKRI Sultan provides the condition that the district of Yogyakarta is a special area with its royal system and the power is held entirely by the kingdom. 3) Paku Alam VIII mandate, which is essentially the same as Sri Sultan's message about the privilege of Yogyakarta. And 4) historical factors, considering all the contributions of Yogyakarta to the Republic of Indonesia before independence and a few years after Indonesia became independent. From that explanation, we can understand why Yogyakarta is a Special Region under the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and indirectly can describe how the condition of Yogyakarta as a Special Region distinguishes it from conditions in other regions in NKRI.

With the privilege of Yogyakarta, consciously or unconsciously has formed a political culture in the area of Yogyakarta both the political culture that developed in the community or the government of Yogyakarta itself. To illustrate how the culture of Yogyakarta, the author firstly describes how people's belief in the ruling authority, and how the legitimacy of the political elite in Yogyakarta. The political elite here is Sultan Yogyakarta who is also the Governor, according to the Java concept of the power of Sultan is Absolute / Absolute. In the concept of Javanese power, the granting of great power to the king is balanced with the provision that the king should be wise. But a ruling king, not yet fully convinced that his people will obey his commandments. Therefore it is necessary to need things that can support the noble position and the great power it holds. The things that

support power and legitimacy can be various forms, such as miracles that occur, for example, lightning on a sunny day or by showing an heirloom to the people of Yogyakarta. Heritage has an important value in the legitimacy of power and the process of power succession in the Sultan's Palace because the culture of the people of Yogyakarta who still believe in the mystical things that can arise from the heritage.

With the legitimacy owned by Sultan who is also as Governor, then how the pattern of social relationships with the people of Sultan who formed? In the social relations of Javanese society with its leader is known the term "Manunggaling kawula-gusti" relationship between the people who "kawula" with the king who became "just". In the patrimonial political system in Yogyakarta, the relationship between people and the king is likened to the relationship between man and God, which is also called "gusti". The people's obedience to the king must be similar to human obedience to God. In other words, the social relationship between the leader and the people in Yogya happens is vertical.

b. Discourses

Provincial Government of Yogyakarta with a strong leadership will certainly be more economically conducive. It will be easier to collaborate with other sectors in realising sustainable development. The location of Yogyakarta is quite strategic existence of Mount Merapi is very active to give advantage to the fertility of DIY soil in the northern region although it can not be denied at any time the most active volcano in Indonesia is issued its volcanic material, creative economic growth by the youth make a potential for DIY of course development Sustainable for DIY community starting from young people.

From the environment, with the area that is not too large and very high population growth will have an impact on the reduction of green areas not to mention the increase in motor vehicles that each year increases with no increase in the number of roads that will impact on more extreme congestion is excess gas exhaust Will certainly have an impact on air quality. Reduced green areas due to reduced water infiltration, especially in Sleman Regency and Yogyakarta

City resulted in soil, water and air quality in DIY become alarming.

Measurements made by the Center for Population and Policy Studies of Gadjah Mada University (PSKK UGM) show that Yogyakarta Special Region is ranked first in the Population-Based Development Index (IPBK) in Indonesia, with an index value of 0.61. PSKK UGM mentioned that this IPBK measurement involves five dimensions. The first is the dimension of participation. This dimension departs from one of the principles of population-oriented development that the population is the subject or the agent of development. The second is the dimension of sustainability. This dimension is abstracted from the principle of sustainable development. The third dimension is the dimension of taking the side (pro-people). The variable measured in this dimension is the percentage of Regional Expenditure Budget (APBD) for education and health.

The fourth dimension is the integration dimension. This dimension represents the principle that population data are the primary basis for population planning and should be an integral part of development planning. The last dimension, the dimension of equality. This dimension is used to see whether development has been of interest to both men and women.

c. **Institutions**

The institutional system is one of the most important factors and has a huge influence on the successful implementation of government collaboration in realising sustainability development. By taking into account the objective conditions and real potential and development experience in the past, a development agenda was devised as a translation of mission implementation in order to realise the vision of regional development that has been agreed upon.

These interrelated issues require synergic, coordinated, focused attention to the careful agenda of development. Therefore, the direction of the development Po areas icy includes, Achieving Good Local Government, Recovery and Resilience of Regional Economy, Building People's Welfare and Cultural Resilience,

and Community Empowerment, with each agenda implemented, will be supported by the implementation data in sequence (time series) is expected to Shows an increase from year to year.

1) Realising good and clean local government

This development agenda is aimed at increasing public trust on the performance of professional, productive, effective, efficient, transparent and accountable government apparatus in order to improve service to the community. To realize the agenda, it is pursued through the enforcement of the rule of law, increasing awareness and legal obedience by empowering law enforcement officers, as well as implementing institutional arrangements and management, increasing the supervision of government apparatus and improving human resources in the framework of improving public services by stipulating minimum service standards in the community. In the framework of transparency effort, the increase of dissemination and even distribution of information and improvement of the quality of information is needed. This step can also support the increasing awareness, participation, ethics and political independence in order to realise the democratic political life in the region.

2) Restoring the resilience of the regional economy

The recovery and resilience of the regional economy in order to strengthen the foundation of sustainable economic development is realised through the development of a populist economic system by utilising sustainable natural resources and other optimal development resources, supported by the development of labour utilisation and increasing the mastery of science and technology. Short-term efforts in economic recovery are maintaining economic stability, creating a conducive environment for the business world and reallocating development resources.

To strengthen the foundation of sustainable economic development on the basis of economic democratisation, measures are taken to improve the effectiveness of local financial management, reduce poverty, strengthen market institutions, improve food security, develop agribusiness,

improve marine potential management, and develop industries based on competitive advantage. Utilisation of natural resources that are managed optimally and sustainably, in addition to restoring and stabilising economic resilience that affects the improvement of people's welfare, managed by the principle of preserving the environment.

3) Building People's Welfare and Cultural Resilience

Efforts to build people's welfare and cultural endurance as well as a goal as well as a means to build a prosperous, healthy, educated, faithful and devoted people, culture and mastered science and technology in a safe and orderly life. The steps to be taken are:

a) Formulating and institutionalising population policies that lead to quality improvement, quantity control and direction of distribution and mobility of the population, improvement of welfare and family resilience in meeting basic needs, and the availability of qualified data, information and population administration.

b) Supporting the realization of Healthy Yogyakarta 2005 with a healthy paradigm (preventive and repressive rather than curative), that is empowering individuals and society in health, by realizing the quality of healthy environment, improving equality and quality of health service and good nutrition quality of society, so that human resource factor is reliable In global competition.

c) Enhance and strengthen the implementation of religious teachings towards the creation of noble character, foster and realise the quality of faith and devotion to God Almighty, improve the service of religious life, and realise a harmonious life in a conducive atmosphere amid religious, cultural and ethnic diversity.

d) Achieving social resilience by and for the community by upholding human rights, the availability of a robust social problem-handling mechanism, and the establishment of opportunities to participate in social welfare enterprises. Creating an educated society so as to compete in the life of a progressive nation, realising equitable education for all levels of society in all regions in various

levels of education, improving the quality of education, provision of educational facilities and infrastructure, and improving education services with the improvement of management education system. Developing and utilising science and technology to support the improvement of business activities, aligning the development of science and technology with local cultural values, improving efficiency and effectiveness of science and technology application to improve people's lives.

e) Increase the cultural awareness and history of the nation in order to preserve the cultural heritage of the region as a relic of the ancestors of the nation who have noble values and able to ward off the influence of foreign culture in order to realise the national identity.

f) Improving institutional capacity among the community, providing assistance to the poor, providing support and encouraging the implementation of social security systems, developing self-help institutions in the community.

g) Improve security, order and peace, and foster awareness of the state for the community to maintain unity and unity of citizens, enhance the active role of youth in development, realise youth with national insight and master science and technology, facilitation of sports activities, Physical and spiritual, and the development of sports.

4) Empowering Society

The policy of community empowerment is directed to improve the community's capability and create a conducive atmosphere in accordance with the demands of regional autonomy which will be achieved through the following efforts:

a) Increasing the capacity of Regional Development to develop regional and regional economies is implemented through a regional development approach based on the comparative and competitive advantages of each region, as well as solving the main problems faced by the region, by always involving the community directly and actively from the planning process , Implementation, supervision and utilization.

b) The manifestation of quality management of cities and villages, creating a

habitable, just and cultured area, so as to increase the productivity of the community as well as realising the socio-economic service centre of society and central government according to the aspirations of the community.

c) Increased availability of houses and settlements that are affordable to low income but livable, cultured, environmentally friendly people, built in accordance with the will and capability of the user community, by realising a fair land use policy.

d) Implementation of orderly land administration services, and develop the performance of land management institutions, supported by the implementation of spatial planning activities, preparation of the master plan system and the design of areas that are effective, transparent and participatory. Improve control of space utilisation to ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of sustainable development activities.

d. In Province Expertise

the policy of strategy Yogyakarta Province in cultural, tourism, and studies city. At every region in Yogyakarta as the cultural centre of javanism, tourism culture and natural tourism and studies centre.

1. Potential in Cultural

Yogyakarta culture can be defined as a culture that grows and develops in DIY, which entrusts old culture of the original fund and as a result of an interaction of other cultures as a complement, enrichment, and perfection. The cultural assets owned by the Special Region of Yogyakarta include a culture that is tangible (physical) and intangible (non-physical).

a. Tangible Cultural Condition (Physical)

1) History and Antiquities

Yogyakarta Special Region has the potential of physical culture "Tangible Culture" consists of Cultural Heritage Area. Heritage objects move and immobile, museums and other cultural heritage (Saujana).

The Cultural Heritage Area that has been established with the Decree of Governor 326 / KPYS / 1995 covers 7 Cultural Heritage Areas (Kraton, Puro Pakualaman, Prambanan, Ambar

Binangun, Ambar Ketawang and Parangtritis and Kotagede) while at present there have reached 13 Protected Cultural Areas In 4 districts and cities consisting of 6 KCBs in urban areas (Kraton, Tamansari, Puro Pakualaman, Kotabaru, Malioboro, Kotagede) 3 KCB in suburban areas (Prambanan, Ambar Ketawang, Ambar Binangun) and 4 KCB in Rural area (Parangtritis, Sukoliman, Pleret, Imogiri). In DIY there are 78 sub-districts with a total of 365 pieces of Cultural Heritage possessed with details as follows: Kraton 4 pieces, Kraton 9 facilities, custom house 103, temple 76, colonial building 27, tomb 27, megalithic 20, mosque 18, Pasanggrahan 14, prehistoric cave 11, historical cave 9, church 7, Struggle Building 5, Fort 5, site without building 3, Pagoda 2, town site 2, and other buildings 33 pieces.

Most cultural heritage objects do not have "Buffer Space". Space Buffer is the minimum space requirement that surrounds the site of the cultural heritage object serves as the minimal viewing space on the site and the monitor room from fire hazard and destruction by irresponsible people. In addition to that, the lack of spatial use for conservation and protection and space for socio-cultural activities and community tourism, conservation and security of endangered assets of Kawasan Hagar Budaya such as the Plered Area which is the site of the Mataram kingdom (Sultan Agung) and Has a very important value relating to the background of the existence of the Palace Ngayogyokarto Hadiningrat.

The absence of buffer space and density of settlements in cultural preservation areas or sites resulted in land conversion and land grabbing and diversion of land and building functions as well as grinding / attachment to cultural heritage assets by settlement or building houses on cultural heritage artifacts eg over debris Beteng Plaza in Kotagede area and at Tamansari artifacts. In the absence of buffer space also result in no room to secure and control themselves from the dangers of fire, collapse and destruction. This is a counter-production condition that can destroy and eliminate the value of beauty and beauty of high-value cultural heritage assets so that in the next 15-25 years there will be extinction and loss of important assets for history, science, education and social culture.

The above mentioned occurred in almost all sites or KCB but except Sites that have been handled properly such as Prambanan Temple, Boko Temple and Sultan's Palace.

2) Condition of Museum Presence

One of the cultural assets is the number of potential museums owned by DIY both public museums and private museums of 30 pieces of museum consisting of Museum of Heritage and Art, 7 Museum of Education and Science and 9 Museum of struggle, when grouped consist of 26 public museums and Special Museum 4 pieces spread across five districts / cities. The existence of the Museum is the city of Yogyakarta 18 fruit, Sleman 9 districts, Bantul Regency 2, and Gunung Kidul District 1 fruit with a total number of 6,152 collections, especially in the Museum Sonobudoyo approximately 42,589 with the number of visitors reached 1.900.000 people consisting of students and Public as well as foreign tourists.

Of the total number of museums that are experiencing many obstacles are good care that is preventive and curative due to a large number of collections in various types not comparable with laboratory facilities and infrastructure preparation workshop, experts and fees.

Some of these museums also do not meet the minimum quality standards in terms of: Institutional, product and service, service, management system, guiding pattern, quality of human resources, publication and promotion (customer selection method, sales method), low level of diversification Efforts and alternatives of network development and supporting activities are still a almost physical constraint of the conditions of exhibition collection, space lighting, air circulation and space control system, exterior order, interior design, landscape, and other visual physical appearance all in order Service to visitors who will ultimately give satisfaction to customers has not been fully implemented.

b. Intangible Cultural Condition (Non-Physical)

In DIY there is the potential of art, language and literature, cultural values and traditions in the form of people's cultural values, people's games, traditional ceremonies and cultural systems, community systems, economic systems, religious systems and knowledge, traditional technology systems and the environment, intercultural.

1) Art Condition

The potential of non-physical culture of "intangible culture" of Yogyakarta Special Region includes artistry in various types and visual arts, dance, music, theater, film / documentation both modern and traditional arts, in terms of number of organizations and DIY arts groups are 2863 pieces Which spread in four regencies and cities respectively, Yogyakarta City 451 organizations, Bantul Regency 558 organizations, Sleman Regency 505 organization, Kulon Progo Regency 8458 organizations and Gunung Kidul Regency 501 organizations, with art types of more than 46 species.

Human resources in the field of art conservation both modern, traditional almost stagnated in creativity caused by lack of appreciation and management post creations, including low levels of regeneration.

2) Traditional and Traditional Conditions

Traditional ceremony as one of the cultural activities is still done by the community with the number in the city of Yogyakarta 5 traditional ceremonies, Sleman regency there are 11 custom ceremonies in 9 districts, Bantul regency there are 24 custom ceremonies in 14 districts, Kulon progo regency there are 10 custom ceremonies in 6 subdistricts , Gunung Kidul District 16 traditional ceremonies in 9 sub-districts.

The potential of traditional ceremonies that grow and develop in a society that is very closely in social life, if not managed or supported by the presence of managers who have good management will experience a decrease in quality and quantity.

3) Language and Literature

Yogyakarta is the centre of Javanese language and literature that includes language (literary parama, language variety, bausastra, dialect, dispute etc.) and oral achieving in forms (fairy tales, japamantra, pawukon etc.) and Javanese script.

Potentials mentioned above if not getting good management/handling over time will experience a decrease in quality and quantity such as reduced number of speakers of language and language media and Javanese Literature.

c. Cultural Infrastructure

Cultural infrastructure as a support to the sustainability and development of artist's creativity has been there as many as 130 pieces in various forms (stage, pendopo, showroom, showroom, village hall music studio, auditorium, studio, field) while the traditional cultural preservation centers called the village Culture in the province of Yogyakarta there are approximately 60 cultural villages and 22 tourist villages with the potential of both physical and non-physical.

The potential of cultural infrastructure is not yet an ideal number with the potential of traditional arts and traditions. In terms of quality, no one has a minimum international standard.

Cultural Institutions to develop the above-mentioned potential can not be separated from the role of many cultural institutions in Yogyakarta, consisting of 178 institutions consisting of foundations, organizations, educational institutions, government agencies (Yogyakarta City 90 institutions, Sleman Regency 44 institutions, Gunung Kidul Regency 4 Institutions, and Kulon Progo district 1 institution) as well as trust trust organizations that preserve the cultural values of the region as many as 84 organizations spread over 4 districts / cities. The potential of cultural institutions has not become a network (networking) capable of organising and managing all cultural activities in DIY.

2. Potential in Tourism

Tourism becomes a human need, especially after a dense activity, humans tend to require entertainment to refresh the body condition. Tourism in DI. Yogyakarta is more dominated by artificial tourism, although there are still many natural tourism potentials, especially in Gunungkidul and Kulonprogo regencies that have not been explored more in the existence of tourism.

To realise the ideal conditions of tourism in the area of DI Yogyakarta would require a strong strategy and planning in addition to the provision of infrastructure facilities and promotional efforts are more intensive. Despite the popularity of DI tourism. Yogyakarta has been well known for the first promotional efforts become one of the important things in the success of the target set of tourists.

The concept of tourism that accentuates the ecotourism side is also one of the efforts of the Yogyakarta Provincial Government to make tourism as a positive icon for the development of sustainability in togetherness in the frame of culture and knowledge of tourism.

Sustainable tourism management is also a serious program developed by DIY, aware of the importance of sustainable tourism as the future of Yogyakarta tourism. The concept of urban tourism may be a commonplace option for the development of sustainable tourism conditions to face the saturation that could have killed existing and explicit tourism. The application of innovation and technology can also be another part of DIY tourism potential because of the richness of the creative industry that coloured the life of the people of Yogyakarta.

Any kind of tourism and its name should be developed and developed based on the principles of sustainable development. According to the United Nations (2005) these principles are a unity of principles that must be comprehended and implemented holistically for the sustainable development of tourism including for the development of the city as a tourist attraction or the development of a tourist city. These principles are:

The first principle is the development of city tourism should be built by involving local communities, should the vision of tourism development is designed based on the idea of local communities and for the welfare of local communities as well. Tourism management that has been built should also involve local communities so that local people will feel a sense of belonging to care for tourism sustainability. Local people should be actors rather than spectators.

The second principle is the development of city tourism should create a balance between the

needs of tourists and the public. The interest of community economic empowerment is a goal based on the willingness to shape the quality of tourism destinations expected by tourists. The balance will be realised if all parties can work together in one goal as a solid community. The communities in question are local communities, local government, tourism industry, and community organisations that grow and develop in the communities where tourism destinations are developed.

The third principle is that urban tourism development should involve stakeholders, and involving more parties will get better input. Stakeholder engagement should be able to accommodate the opinions of local CSOs, involving marginal or poor communities, involving women, involving tourism associations, and other groups in communities that have the potential to influence the course of development in harmony. In sociology or sociology, there are several influential groups in society, and if they want tourism development in a sustainable region, ask all groups within the community to be involved in accommodating all their inputs and suggestions for development. It must be realised, at all times, that influential groups in society can increase or decrease in number as democracy freedom grows and there should be a regular reevaluation of the course of tourism development. Community involvement in development is a desirable condition and may be the most important element of an ideal development program. Developing appropriate mechanisms for incorporating different views is crucial to successful development that adjusts the interests of people and tourists altogether. Each community group has very different needs in terms of housing facilities and services.

The fourth principle is, the development of city tourism should provide convenience to local entrepreneurs in small, medium and medium. Educational programs relating to tourism should give priority to the local population and the industries developing in the region should be able to accommodate as many local workers as possible.

The fifth principle is that urban tourism development should be conditioned for the purpose of generating other business "multiplier effects" either directly or indirectly in the community means that tourism should have multiplier effects on other sectors, both new businesses and businesses that have grown today.

An area is said to have the potential as a place of tourism is determined by natural factors, culture, or a combination of both: nature and culture. Its growth is determined by the creativity of the surrounding community. There are sights that are naturally very interesting to visit as a recreational destination. So it takes a little effort from the community to develop it. There is also a place that was originally nothing but because the creative intervention of the community turned into a highly desirable recreational destination.

DIY province has many creative tourism places. Kota Yogyakarta, Sleman Regency, Bantul Regency, Kulonprogo Regency, and Gunungkidul Regency each have their own creative tourism spots. Kalibiru Natural Tourism, Mangunan Fruit Farm, Kedung Pedut, Becici Peak Pinnacle Forest, Puncak Kosa-kora, and beach beaches on the southern coast are some examples of creative attractions owned by DIY Province. All contain the creative elements of the surrounding community.

The growth of tourist attractions will bring the economic impact of the community. Activities that generate new sources of income for communities are emerging. Starting from trading, guiding tourists, providing lodging services, to mock anything was done.

People around Kedung Pedut Kulonprogo for example. Never would have thought if a small river that was previously hidden no one knows is now a busy visit. Kedung Pedut began to be developed by the community to be a decent place to be a recreational destination in early 2015. Now this place becomes a spring of public income source.

Another example is Pantai Timang. Located on the south coast. This beach belongs to Gunungkidul Regency provides a vehicle of adrenaline triggers. Visitors can cross to the coral island through simple gondola rides made by the community. Made from a series of wood, rope, and simple pulleys with human power as the

driving energy. This gondola can bring visitors to the coral island is located approximately 200 meters from land. Initially, the gondola was a tool for fishermen to catch trapped lobsters on coral islands. However, this time the gondola also functioned as a tourist attraction.

The concept of city tour and ecotourism being developed DI. Yogyakarta in addition to aims to develop a sustainable tourism course, of course, should be able to lift the existing poverty in Yogyakarta society is still quite high. Sustainable development efforts certainly accommodate these conditions.

3. Potential in Studies

Education potential DI. Yogyakarta need not be doubted, with many universities in Yogyakarta, not only become an icon with the nickname as the city of education but must be able to make DI. Yogyakarta is not only smart but also intelligent in a way to be a driver of sustainable development in Yogyakarta.

With the support of information technology that is already seated infrastructure and support the provincial government continues to be pursued would be another potential that needs to be the attention of the central government in conducting a more in-depth study of sustainability development.

Collaboration between the central government with local governments and collaboration between governments in the field of education should continue to be done so that mutual knowledge transfer between regions occurs mainly in the IT field.

DIY has three basic potentials namely education, tourism, and culture. The potential is spread evenly in the district/city of Yogyakarta. The regional development priority program launched by DIY local government focuses on infrastructure development, business hall management, and creative economy movement. "The creative economy based on the mindset must be moved. Jogja actually has stock for it, but need development in order to compete in the era of MEA now.

The local government of DIY also has a special program. Through cooperation with related ministries in the Central Government and districts/municipalities in Yogyakarta, the local government of DIY provides public education to the public. In addition, the local government of DIY is also trying to encourage economic actors to improve the competitiveness of international standard. This is in line with the subsequent program of export training from the production. "Yogyakarta known as Kota Pelajar can also synergize education and economic development. Every student is educated to become a creative entrepreneur with Yogya cultural treasures. It seems that this will be a powerful weapon for DIY in order to compete in the international arena.

e. International Cooperation

One of the main focuses of Indonesia's involvement in both domestic and international SDGs is the South-South and Triangle (SSTC) cooperation. Since the Asian-African Conference, Indonesia has been actively participating in cooperation with other developing countries. In the framework of the 50th anniversary of the conference, the government reaffirmed the importance of South-South cooperation in several dimensions. The RPJMN includes the development of incentives for Government-to-Government, People-to-People, and Business-to-Business relationships under the SSTC. The Government has also been involved in the South-South Cooperation (SSC) initiative with UNDP and its bilateral partners.

While not a substitute for foreign aid from Northern countries, the SSTC will have an increasingly important role in the implementation of SDGs. With regard to the United Nations, in particular, Indonesia has significant opportunities to increase its involvement in the SSTC in poverty and inequality, environment and energy, and governance and anti-corruption, including other areas for the benefit of Indonesia and partner countries. (Harry, 2015)

International cooperation conducted by the provincial government of DIY both with the International Government (G2G), with the Company (G2B) and sister provincial programs in the agenda of DIY has been aimed to carry out sustainable development.

CONCLUSION

Whatever the form of sustainable development and its other variants, the main objective is of course to the welfare of society, this nation already has the concept from the beginning of the establishment of this country which is in the fifth principle of Pancasila.

DI. Yogyakarta with a base of development that is located on the pillars of tourism and culture in hats with the presence of universities and other educational components would be a bright opportunity internally, but could also be a boomerang if it is not managed properly.

The social gap is Yogyakarta is high and there must be an effort to overcome the problem. In addition, the a tremendous potency of creative induestries should get more intensive monitors in order to become a weapon in the face of global competition that continues to erode the existence of DIY society if not faced with a positive.

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INITIATING THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ECOFEMINISM PERPECTIVE : TRACING THE CASE OF JAKARTA GULF REKLAMATION

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Abstract

This paper will discuss about how the concept of sustainable development through Ecofeminism perspective to understand the reclamation of the Bay of Jakarta policy. The research method used here is qualitative descriptive The result of this study shows that when viewed from the Ecofeminism perspective then the construction for the reclamation of the Bay of Jakarta is still bound to patriarchy. the nature is still sacrificed to gain economic interests which in turn destroying the productivity of women, management and control of the land, the water, damaging the ecological system, vegetation, as well as lowering productivity and natural resources to recover itself. Therefore, it takes the concept of sustainable development by incorporating elements of ecology and feminism (ecofeminism) so that the construction of the Bay of Jakarta can raise the quality of life of the people. As for the idea of sustainable development is in accordance with the ecofeminism perspective by looking at the issues of the reclamation, which are 1) Construction should apply multi- track apply, not only pursuing economic interests but also paying attention to aspects of economic, social, gender, and environment; 2) there should be a change in seeing "constraint" of development which was originally just "economic capital" to the consideration of the main constraint i.e. "ecology and power that support the environment and feminism; 3) approach to development should be more participative and involve all stakeholders associated (multi-stakeholder participation), with an increase in the role of citizens and the public in the process, implementation, and development results obtained. Base on the above explanation, then the output of this research may be able to provide input to the provincial Government of DKI Jakarta in the reclamation policy making.

Keywords: ecofeminism Perspective, sustainable development, reclamation

INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss about how to initiate the concept of sustainable development through the perspective of ecofeminism by looking at the issue of reclamation of the bay of Jakarta. The reason the authors raised this issue is because of the need to emphasize the environmental aspect juxtaposed with ecofeminism in development programs that have been done especially the development. The importance of this research is to see the issue of Jakarta Bay reclamation due to the authors want to provide information and input related to Jakarta bay reclamation policy, it is aimed so that the development should not only concentrated on the economic problem alone.

In looking at the problem of Jakarta bay, the writer tries to give an idea of the concept of sustainable development as what should be done in the local context namely in Jakarta by looking at the case of Jakarta bay reclamation through the perspective of ecofeminism. Why does the author see the problem of Jakarta bay with the perspective of ecofeminism? This is because from the perspective of ecofeminism we will get an overall picture of how the impact of the reclamation of the bay of Jakarta is good for women, the environment, and the relationships between policymakers and stakeholders and the community

The perspective of ecofeminism is used in looking at the issue of Jakarta Bay reclamation because there is a tendency in the policy of reclamation development of Jakarta bay is patriarchy. Patriarchal culture leads to domination of nature, women and places them as subordinate under

men who have superior, neutral, legal "earthly" managers and their Its contents (Jehuru, 1997: 5). Therefore, a perspective must be used that can ultimately provide answers to the patriarchal policy issue. The perspective of ecofeminism emphasizes the dependence of all elements of the natural ecosystem. It is intended that of all the organisms of this earth man can with his heart to act without rules. Humans as absolute biological creatures require a variety of minerals, water, air, and other substances to support life. Therefore, ecofeminism emphasizes the dependence of all elements in the natural ecosystem so that sustainable development (sustainability development) can be realized.

Referring to the above explanation, the manifestation of human acts at will without regard to the impact on the environment and women and the natural ecosystem is evident from the development of reclamation bay of Jakarta. Why reclaim Jakarta bay? This can be seen based on the data obtained that the controversy over the construction of reclamation project of 17 islands in Jakarta Bay is increasingly fierce. Construction of artificial islands of 5.113 hectares (ha) is suspected to have a major impact on the sustainability of marine ecosystems in the vicinity. But the most severe threat to the disappearance of several islands that belong to the cluster of Kepulauan Seribu and Banten. Balitbang Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries has conducted analysis and observation using optical image, satellite radar and satellite AIS recently. The Jakarta Bay reclamation work plan will form and produce 17 new islands in North Jakarta from A to Q. Balitbang Researcher of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Aulia Riza

Farhan said the results of the analysis show that reclamation construction has been going on for C, D, L, N, and P.

Aulia revealed that the violation in executing the development of C and D island from previously separated into one could be fatal, especially for the life of mangrove-protected forests around the reclaimed island. "If the river is to be built, the current pattern of the river will be closed, there should be a current pattern for mangroves, because the mangrove will need water, so if the sea becomes shallow due to the amount of sand, mangrove plants can die," he said. If built connect, the pattern of river flow will be closed. There should be a current pattern for mangrove, because the mangrove does need water. Well if the sea became shallow due to a lot of sand, mangrove plants can die. So it is clear that this threatens the protected forest, "he said. It is worse, he said the development of this artificial island requires the sand of the sea as raw material for reclamation. The sand is transported by large ships measuring more than 1,000 Gross Ton (GT) with the volume of suctioning hundreds Thousand cubic of sand, for example, D island that has been commenced in 2012 with the help of SAGAR MANTHAN sand transport vessels, VOLVOX ASIA and VOX MAXIMA, and assisted by DN 30 utility boats.

The reclamation of G island belonging to the Ministry of Transportation begins in 2015 with the assistance of ORION WB2 shipbuilding vessel and using the VOX MAXIMA sand shipping vessel. Its progress has reached 3.9 square kilometers (km2). Island L is built from 2012, the island of N in 2013 and P island began[1].

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[1] liputan6.com.(http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2500527/ada-reklamasi-teluk-jakarta-4-pulau-terancam-hilang) Accessed on January 19, 2017 at 16:12

Based on the data presented above, this paper will try to raise the issue 1) How is the perspective ecofeminism see reclamation bay of Jakarta? And 2) What is the concept of sustainable development from the perspective of ecofeminism by looking at the reclamation of the bay of Jakarta?

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Sustainable Development

Development aims to improve the level of life and welfare of the people. It can also be said that development aims to raise the quality of people's lives. Due to the quality of life can be interpreted as the degree of fulfillment of basic needs, then the development is defined as an effort to meet the basic needs of the people better[2]. Therefore, in order to realize it, the development must be sustainable.

Sustainable development is defined by the World Commission for Environment and Development as development that meets our needs now without diminishing the ability of future generations to meet their needs[3]. The commission's report was announced in 1987 and is titled Our Common Future. This definition has long-term insight among generations.

An important notion in the concept of sustainable development is the idea of "need" that is essential needs that sustain human life and short dominate the minds of economic decision makers[4]. The process of change that is inevitable towards sustainable forms of development will determine the future direction of human civilization. The process shapes our lifestyle and therefore determines the way we do business. Those who do not care about the future of nature and humanity will not be interested in grappling and understanding the challenges that confront us all.

2. The Perspective of Ecofeminism

The perspective of ecofeminism is a perspective that places men (men and women) as part of nature. Nature, as a mother (woman)

has been instrumental in giving life to nature. Therefore, nature is not to be conquered, but must be preserved for the benefit of man himself.[5] Ecofeminism is one of the third wave of feminist branches that try to explain the relation of nature and woman. The focus of the study of ecofeminism is the destruction of nature that has direct relevance to the oppression of women[6].

Ecofeminism was first introduced by French feminist Francoise d'Eaubonne 1974 in his book Le Feminism au La Morte. Ecofeminism emerged as a new world phenomenon, since women make a new movement concerned about the increasing destruction of the environment. In this case, feminists display a rescue movement against the earth, because the dominance of women and nature is perceived as "twin brothers". In addition, feminists focus on the consequences of the dominance and exploitation of nature and women resulting from the development of overly maleistic technology and culture, which emphasize and rely on the ability of ratios[7]

According to Vandana Shiva in his article entitled "Development, ecology, and women" the notion of ecofeminism is a pressure or destruction of the environment (ecology) and women due to misplaced development (maldevelopment). The exploitative and environmentally intolerant patriarchal principles have destroyed women's productivity, management and control of land, water and forests, and damaged the ecology of land, water and vegetation systems, degrading the productivity and natural resources to recover. Therefore, in this case nature is symbolized as the embodiment of the feminine principle.

This then causes the destruction of nature is death for the feminine principle. Ecofeminism at the ecological level means an environmental ethical theory and movement that wants to break the ethics in general, that is anthropocentrism. In

[2] Soemawoto, Otto. 2004. Ekologi, *Lingkungan hidup dan Pembangunan*. Jakarta. Djambatan. Hal : 158

[3] Op.Cit hal:162

[4] T. Djajadiningrat, Surna dkk. 2004. Kawasan Industri Berwawasan Lingkungan (Eco-Industrial Park). Bandung. Rekayasa Sains. Hal : 21-22

[5] Shiva, Vandana. 1997. *Bebas dari Pembangunan, Perempuan, Ekologi dan Perjuangan Hidup di India*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta. Hal 193

[6] Jehuru, Johanes. 1997. *Perempuan dan Lingkungan Hidup Mengelola Lingkungan Lestari dengan Demokratis*. Dalam Majalah Sadhana Vol. 25. Edisi September-Oktober 1997. Semarang.

[7] Jehuru, Johanes. 1997. *Perempuan dan Lingkungan Hidup Mengelola Lingkungan Lestari dengan Demokratis*. Dalam Majalah Sadhana Vol. 25. Edisi September-Oktober 1997. Semarang. Hal: 2

the perspective of human ecophysicism is the only moral and ethical consideration. Furthermore, ecofeminism criticizes androsentrisme, a male-centered ethical theory of environment. Because J. Warren argues that the conceptual logic of androsentrism is oppressive and has three main characteristics, namely: 1) think about values hierarchically; 2) Value dualism that carries out moral judgment in a dualistic framework (men are opposed to women, people with nature); And 3) the dominant logic of structure and way of thinking that tends to justify domination and subordination. Therefore, ecofeminism illustrates how femininity energy has the potential to preserve the environment, the sustainability of the planet, and the preservation of the planet in which humans (male and female) live.

Ecofeminism very well also explains how hyperhazulinism also contributes to ecosystem damage. Based on that, the perspective of ecofeminism is a combination of ecology and feminism. The variety that exists in ecology and feminism is mixed into one thought and writing that calls itself ecofeminism.

Therefore, the perspective of ecofeminism is inclusive rather than exclusive because ecofeminism refers to ecologists who are concerned and concerned about struggling for the betterment of the environment, the freedom of nature and women of oppression. Feminist efforts are more concerned with: 1) women and nature; 2) the root of domination and exploitation of nature and women; And 3) the efforts of ecophysicists to improve the situation.

Ecofeminism is one of the third branch of feminist branch which tries to explain the relation of nature and woman especially its focal point is nature destruction which has direct relation with woman oppression. In this case, women are placed as "other figures" parallel to other figures who are ignored in the patriarchal system such as colored race, children, poor and natural groups, and place them as subordinates under men of superior character.[8]

In this ecofeminism movement, there are four basic assumptions underlying various thoughts and writings on ecofeminism, namely:

a. Holistic approach to life means looking at everything in the universe interacting as an ecosystem in its life. Every component on earth affects one another.

b. Ecofeminism emphasizes the dependence of all elements forming the natural ecosystem.

c. Equality of degrees means that when all the components of this earth can be affected and influenced, then everything will be able to emphasize their respective interests. Thus, the entire ecosystem has the same degree. In this case, ecofeminism emphasizes the role and function of each component.

d. The process intended by ecophysicists in this case is that if in ecology and feminism emphasize interaction and relationships, it is not surprising that the process becomes very important because the process is a central part that should not be ignored and become an absolute in the sustainability of the earth's ecosystem

The ecofeminist effort of feminists is a new appeal and movement in the world that shows that the basic idea of this movement is the blessing of the unity of the feminists themselves with nature. Therefore, the movement of ecofeminism thinking and doing real action in order to save and maintain the continuity of the environment due to technological developments that are malleable and have deeply rooted in society.

3. Public Policy

In recent years, the problems facing the Indonesian government are so complex as globalization[9]. Information technology and electronic media are perceived as pioneering symbols that have integrated the entire world system, both in social, cultural, economic, and financial aspects. From small local and national systems, the process of globalization in recent years is moving quickly, even too rapidly toward an integration of all these small systems into one, the global system. This situation certainly requires great attention and fast government handling so that the problems caused by globalization will not cause negative impact for Indonesia. Conditions ultimately

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[8] Op cit hal 5

[9] Budi Winarno, *Kebijakan Publik Teori dan Proses*. 2007, Yogyakarta, MedPress, hlm 15

place governments and other high-ranking state institutions on difficult policy choices. Thus, in today's modern life we can't be separated from the so-called public policy.

The term public policy has in fact often been heard in everyday life and in academic activities. According to Charles O. Jones[10] the term policy (policy term) is used to replace activities or decisions that are very different. This term is often exchanged for purposes, programs, decisions, standards, proposals, and grand design. While public policy by Robert Eyestone is the relationship of a government unit with its environment. Another restriction on public policy is given by Thomas R. Dye who says that "public policy is whatever the government chooses to do and does not do". Although the limits given by Dye[11] are considered rather precise, these limits are not enough to give a clear distinction between what the government decided to do and what the government actually did. Another political science expert, Richard Rose says that policy is a rather small series of activities and their consequences for those concerned rather than as a separate decision. This definition is useful because the policy is understood as a direction or pattern of activity rather than a decision to do something[12]

Public policy is a policy created by a state administrator, or public administrator. So, public policy is everything that is done and that is not done by the government. Public policy with regard to every rule of the game in the life of the community, whether related to relations between citizens and between citizens and government. So what makes public policy is the state government. The state government in question is if at the national level the legislative, executive, and judiciary. At the municipal level, the public administrator's institution is the Municipal Government and the City Council. But in particular public policy is often understood as a government or executive decision[13]

Public policy is also a policy that regulates collective life or political life, not the life of a person or group. Public policies govern all that is in the domain of public administrative institutions. Public policy regulates common issues, or personal or group issues, which have become a common problem of all the people in the area[14]. So, if it is contacted with the case then the problem of streets in the city streets is a common problem is no longer the problem of car owners or those who use the road only, therefore only public policy that can solve the problem. In addition, public policy is said to be beneficial if people who are not direct users of the products generated benefit more from their direct users. This is called the concept of externality or externalities.

Public policy making process is a complex process because it involves many processes and variables that must be studied. The stages of public policy are as follows[15]: 1) Stage of agenda preparation; 2) the formulation stage of the policy; 3) policy adoption phase 4) policy implementation stage; 5) policy implementation stage; 6) the policy evaluation stage.

4. Reclamation

Coastal and marine reclamation activities by hoarding coastal and marine areas are newly known in Indonesia, particularly in coastal reclamation areas, in the last twenty years. Literally, reclamation (Ingg:reclamation) is "the procces of reclaiming something from loss or from a less useful condition[16]." In the positive law of Indonesia, the term reclamation is found in Law Number 27 Year 2007 on the Management of Coastal Zones and Islands, Small Island (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2007 Number 84, Supplement to the State Gazette Number 4739), in point 23 provides the definition that reclamation is an activity undertaken by People in order to increase the benefits of land resources in terms of environmental and socioeconomic circumstances by way of extraction, Land drainage or drainage.

[10] Lihat Charles O. Jones, *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy.* Third Edition, 1984, Monterey:

[11] Thomas R. Dye, *Understanding Public Policy. Second Edition.* Engelwood Cliff, 1975, NJ Prentice-Hall, hal 1

[12] Richard Rose (ed), *Policy Making in Great Britain*, 1969, London, MacMillan, hal 79

[13] Riant Nugroho D. *Kebijakan Publik untuk Negara-negara*

Berkembang". 2006, Jakarta, Gramedia

[14] Ibid hal 26

[15] William Dunn, *Analisa Kebijakan Publik*, 1999, Yogyakarta, Gadjah Mada Press hal 24-25

[16] Flora Pricilla Kalalo, Op. Cit, Hlm. 1

In Indonesia, mining reclamation is regulated in the Decree of the Minister of Mines and Energy No. 1211.K / 008 / M.PE / 1995 and Decision of the Director General of General Mining Number: 336.k Year 1996 on Reclamation Guarantee, 38 where the reclamation process, (Article 4 paragraph [2] a.2.b.) and the regulation of the land surface (Article 4 paragraph [2] a.2.c.) 39 Besides the terminology it is also known as some other term , Such as coastal reclamation. The term coastal reclamation is used in Presidential Decree No. 52 of 1995 on the North Coast Reclamation of Jakarta and Presidential Decree No. 73 of 1995 on Kapuknaga Beach Reclamation, Tangerang. Since the term beach reclamation was used in two Presidential Decrees in 1995, the term coastal reclamation is more often used for coastal or marine landfilling activities[17].

Coastal Reclamation in Indonesia has been done since 1979 and continues to this day. The existence of coastal reclamation agency has been recognized in Indonesia's positive legal sphere since 1995 with the emergence of two Presidential Decrees, namely Presidential Decree no. 52 of 1995 on the North Coast Reclamation of Jakarta and Presidential Decree no. 73 of 1995 on Kapuknaga Beach Reclamation, Tangerang. In general, these two Presidential Decrees (KEPPRES) are the beginning of the emergence of a juridical foundation for coastal reclamation[18]. It's just that this Presidential Decree can't apply in general. This is indicated in the recall portion of both the Decree on the mention of several laws and regulations. In Article 1 letter b Decision of the Director General of General Mining no. 336.k. Year 1996 provides the definition that reclamation is an activity aimed at improving or managing the use of disturbed land as a result of general mining business activities in order to function and efficient according to its allocation.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses descriptive qualitative research method. The targets of this research are the people around Jakarta bay reclamation covering mothers and children, Head of

Environment Agency, Walhi, North Jakarta Mayor, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Ministry of Environment and Forestry. This research takes place in Jakarta Bay. In order to obtain information from resource persons in accordance with the problems to be studied, the researchers used purposive sampling to take the selection of informants. Purposive sampling is done by taking the subject and not based on strata, random or area, but based on a particular purpose.[19]

Methods of data collection is by way of in-depth interviews, observation and documentation. Then the conclusion is made based on the results of research conducted by observing the results of interviews, observations, documentation, data presentation and data reduction so that in the withdrawal can be withdrawn with directives and data reduction that we make so that in the conclusion of the process of interpretation of the meaning of the results of data presentation By noting its regularity, and its patterns[20]

1. Reclamation Policy Jakarta Bay

In a note of Kompas.com coverage PT Pembangunan Jaya reclaimed Ancol north side for industrial and recreation area around 1981[21]. Ten years later, turn of mangrove reclaimed mangrove for residential area of luxury which is now known as Pantai Indah Kapuk. In 1995, following the reclamation used for industry, the Marunda bonded area.

Wiyogo Atmodarminto, Governor of DKI Jakarta, stated that reclamation to North Jakarta was chosen because the expansion towards the south is no longer possible. The 2,700 hectares reclamation plan was first presented to President Suharto in March 1995. In addition, to overcome the scarcity of land in Jakarta, the reclamation project is also to develop the remaining North Jakarta area compared to the other four areas in Jakarta. In order to realize this matter, it was ratified by Presidential Decree No.

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[17] Opcit Hlm 40
[18] Op.Cit Hlm 23

[19] Moleong, 2002. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif.* PT Rosdakarya, Bandung. Hal 7
[20] B. Mattey Miles and Michael Huberman. 2004. *Analisis Data Kualitatif.* Universitas Indonesia Press, Jakarta
[21] http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2016/04/04/10050401/jalan.panjang.reklamasi.di.teluk.jakarta.dari.era.Soeharto.sampai.Ahok#page1

52/1995 on North Jakarta Beach Reclamation and Local Regulation No. 8/1995. However, the emergence of these two policies "crashed" Jakarta Spatial Plan (RUTR) 1985-2005. In the document RUTR is not mentioned about the reclamation plan.

Since 1995, there has been a "war" of the rule between the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta and the Ministry of Environment in its policies that reclamation is not feasible because it will damage the environment. Meanwhile, Jakarta Provincial Government insists that reclamation will be done. In 2003, the Ministry of Environment stated that the reclamation project can not be done because the city government is unable to fulfill the spatial regulation and the availability of environmental impact control technology. The impropriety was conveyed by the Decree of the Minister of Environment No. 14 of 2003 on the improbability of the North Coast Reclamation and Revitalization Plan.

The decree did not stop Jakarta Provincial Government's steps in 2007, six developers who received the right of reclamation sued the Minister of Environment to the State Administrative Court (Administrative Court). They reasoned that they had completed all the requirements for reclamation, including regional environmental impact analysis permits and other licenses. The PTUN won the company's sixth lawsuit. The Ministry of Environment then appealed against the decision, but the PTUN still won the sixth company's suit. The Ministry of Environment then appealed to the Supreme Court. On July 28, 2009, the Supreme Court decided to grant the appeal and declared the reclamation to violate the environmental impact analysis.

In 2011, the situation turned. MA issued a new verdict (No. 12 / PK / TUN / 2011) stating the reclamation at the Jakarta Legal Beach. However, the Supreme Court's decision does not necessarily smooth the reclamation plan. To carry out the reclamation, the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta must make a new environmental impact analysis study to update the environmental impact analysis filed in 2003. Also with the creation of a Strategic Environmental Assessment (KLHS) document

involving local governments around the bay of Jakarta.

When the reclamation plan is stranded by the various rules that confront it, in 2012 President SBY issued Presidential Regulation no. 122 of 2012 The Perpres concerning the reclamation of coastal areas and small islands approved the practice of small coastal areas and small islands in the Jakarta Bay. In 2014, the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta under the leadership of Fauzi Bowo re-confirmed the reclamation plan. Decree of the Governor of DKI Number 2238 Year 2013 out December 2014 with the granting of permission for reclamation of Island G to PT Muara Wisesa Samudra.

However, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries considered that the policy violated because the authority to grant permits in the strategic marine area is in the hands of the ministry even though the location is in the area of DKI Jakarta. Not only that, the Coordinating Ministry of Maritime Affairs also asked developers and Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta to make scientific study of reclamation plan of Island G in North Jakarta. The Scientific Review needs to be explained to the public so that the public knows the details of the planning and can oversee the reclamation project.

At the end of September 2015, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries reviewed the temporary moratorium (reclamation). Reclamation is proposed only for ports, airports, and electricity. Beyond that, there can be no reclamation for hotels, apartments, malls, and so on. The moratorium which is still in the form of the study does not stop Jakarta Provincial Government's steps to keep reclamation.

2. The Perspectives of Ecofeminism in the Jakarta Bay Reclamation Policy

Gulf Reclamation Jakarta is a development project that refers to Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 206/2010 on City Reclamation Island Design Guidelines C, D, and E. The perspective of ecofeminism is a perspective that puts men (men and women) as part of nature. Nature, as a mother (woman) has been instrumental in giving life to nature. Therefore, nature is not to

be conquered, but must be preserved for the benefit of man himself. Matters reflecting the reconstruction of the bay of Jakarta are not in line with the perspective of ecofeminism.

a. Natural ecosystems are not addressed
b. Not involving the community in the early stages of the Jakarta bay reclamation development plan
c. No water reservoirs exist
d. The sinking of a number of islands due to the removal of sand in the Thousand Islands
e. Disrupt the life of coral reefs, benthos, and mangrove forests
f. Lowering the soil surface
g. Women and children are especially disadvantaged in the reclamation-affected areas of Muara Angke and Kepulauan Seribu
h. Loss of Mangrove Tree species in Muara Angke
i. Extinction of thousands of fish such as crabs, shellfish and biodiversity
j. Fishermen harmed because of reclamation Pantura Jakarta caused 125,000 fishermen displaced from the source of life so that the poor have become poorer.
k. Causing flooding for the area around Jakarta Bay due to changes in the landscape (geomorphology) and water flow (hydrology) in North Jakarta.
l. Changes in level of cleverness, river sediment composition, tidal patterns, patterns of ocean currents along the coast
m. Damage to the water system

The reasons are incompatible with the perspective of ecofeminism because the patriarchy principle has destroyed women's productivity, management and control of land, water, ecological destruction of land systems, vegetation, thus reducing the productivity and natural resources to recover.

This is evidenced by seeing the negative impact of the development of reclamation bay of Jakarta that is not in accordance with the perspective ecofeminisme, it can be seen that the issue of ecology is a global problem. Development as a distinctive social dynamism in developing countries actually poses a threat to the natural environment, at a global level.[22]

The pattern of development that excessively exploits nature will result in the death of natural feminine principles such as peace, compassion, and collapsed unity resulting from patriarchal epistemology that dominates, distorts and reduces reality.[23]

The feminine viewpoint sees that this vast earth is not merely a stretch. However, in this earth there are elements of the environment around humans and can sustain human life such as water, air, land, plants, animals, rivers, oceans, and natural wealth contained therein. Therefore, human life is actually sourced from the environment and fully supported by the environment.[24]

Referring to that, then humans should safeguard, protect, cherish, and preserve this nature from damage and extinction. Do not let the environment be targeted and claim as the property of a person or the property of a group of people, or even the property rights of a particular country.

Thus, to support the sustainable use of natural resources, a reclamation development must be in accordance with the perspective of ecofeminism, namely that this nature is a woman who must be respected, preserved and conserved for the benefit of man himself in order to have integration in all aspects of life.

3. Initiating the Concept Of Sustainable Development Through The Perspective of Ecofeminism

Based on the current development mechanism, the authors see that the prevailing development paradigm while in Indonesia is still a single track development process that is the "economy only" path, the development orientation only prioritizes the short-term goals, the treatment of the only development of economy and capital, And the conventional pattern of development that pursues material / economic income through private / individual enterprises.

[22] Salim, Agus. 2006. *Teori dan Paradigma Penelitian Sosial* hal: 99 Tiara Wacana, Yogyakarta
[23] Shiva, Vandana. 1997. Bebas Dari Pembangunan, Perempuan, Ekologi, dan Perjuangan Hidup di India. Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta. Hal 25-26
[24] Kusumaatmadja, Sarwono. 2007. Politik dan Lingkungan. Koekoesan, Depok. Hal: 10

Then, the concept of embedded development is that development can be implemented by relying on government apparatus and private role so that the development approach tends to be top down. Therefore, in order to anticipate the consequences of development that harm society and the environment it is needed the concept of sustainable development through the perspective of ecofeminism.

Why go through perspectives of ecofeminism? Because the concept of sustainable development with the perspective of ecofeminism will provide an inseparable development concept of local and global ecosystems, and make ecology as a basic principle to maintain the natural environment in a development process. With reference to the current development paradigm in Indonesia then should every development process should be based on the concept of sustainable development that refers to the perspective of ecofeminism embodied as follows:

1. Development must apply multi track not only economic interest but also must pay attention to economic aspect, social, gender, and environment. Each of these earthly ecosystems affects each other. Development orientation should also not only be short-term targets but must achieve long targets through the application of economic, social and environmental sustainability principles.
2. There must be a change of "constraint" of development from the former only "economy and capital" is now growing with the consideration of the main obstacle that is "ecological / environmental carrying capacity and feminism". This is because, the dependence of all elements forming this nature such as humans require minerals, water, air, and other substances to support life.
3. The pattern of development must also be a pattern of sustainable development that pursue balance and fairness. Then, the assumption that development only relies on government apparatus and private role must only change, because it is realized the need to realize partnership through equality of work between government, private business, and citizen society.

4. The development approach becomes more participatory and involves all multi stakeholder participation (multi-stakeholder participation), by increasing the participation of the community in the process, implementation, and development result obtained.

The concept of sustainable development with the perspective of ecofeminism is also in line with the concept of Green Constitution which according to US Environmental Protection Agency (2010) is an effort to produce buildings using environmentally friendly processes, efficient use of resources during the life cycle of the building since planning, , Maintenance, renovation even up to demolition. The green construction aspect includes a process of development that does not produce waste above the tolerance threshold, the method of implementation that does not disturb the balance of the natural environment, and the implementation of development that does not pollute the environment.

Looking at the issue of Jakarta Bay Reclamation with reference to the concept of sustainable development through the perspective of ecofeminism, the reclamation of the bay of Jakarta is still far from the concept of sustainable development with ecofeminism perspective.

Ideally, the development of Jakarta Bay should not be exploitative but should always pay attention to present and future generations to achieve their needs. Therefore, things to consider when going to build a reclamation are issues of green design, infrastructure, planning, natural ecosystems, and relationships with communities that create protection against natural ecosystems. However, when the reclamation of Jakarta Bay did not contain the principles of sustainable development that refer to the perspective of ecofeminism, the Jakarta Provincial Government should rethink how the continuation of the development of the Jakarta Bay Reclamation.

Creation of environmental carrying capacity should be considered as well as possible, such as river deepening, making integrated water set, must create a dam for shelter of water abundance. In addition, developers should also

pay attention and make sure that about 40% of the land must be accessible to the public, not until the construction of 5,100 hectares of new land in the public area is entirely private property, there must be open space at sea. Thus, in essence the developer must meet the aspects of the carrying capacity of ecosystems, socio-economic fishermen, public space required in reclamation work.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above explanation, in essence, the Jakarta Bay reclamation policy has not been in accordance with the perspective of ecofeminism. This is reflected in the reconstruction of the patriarchal Jakarta Bay reclamation as it destroys women's productivity, management and control of land, water, ecological destruction of land systems, vegetation, thus reducing the productivity and natural resources to recover in the affected areas Reclamation.

Questioning the issue, a perspective is needed that can reduce the negative impact of reclamation and integrate with the development scheme. Referring to that, then the need to initiate the concept of sustainable development with ecofeminism perspective in order to answer the problem.

The sustainable development with the perspective of ecofeminism includes development must apply multi track not only economic interests but also must pay attention to economic, social, gender, and environment aspects; Each of these earthly ecosystems affects each other; The pattern of development must also be a pattern of sustainable development that pursue balance and fairness; And Development approaches must be more participatory and involve all multi stakeholder participation (multi-stakeholder participation), with the increased participation of the community in the process, implementation, and development results obtained.

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DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN CREATIVE ECONOMIC INDUSTRY IN TANJUNGPINANG

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Abstract

Tanjungpinang is a city that is culture-based development pattern and one Indonesian city as a strategic position near to the State of Singapore. As the strategic city, one of the challenges faced is the Asian Economic Community (MEA), therefore, it would need a creative economic development in supporting regional development and economics. This research was conducted with the aim of uncovering the potential of the creative economy in the city of Tanjungpinang. The method used in this research is by way of in-depth interviews with entrepreneurs in the creative economy Tanjungpinang. Results from this research is the resulting kind of creative economy that has the potential developed in Tanjungpinang, and the results of this study will be a recommendation for the government in constructing and developing the potential creative industry in Tanjungpinang.

Keywords: Development Strategic, Creative Economic, Creative Industry

INTRODUCTION

The creative economy is a concept in a new economic era that intensifies information and creativity by relying on the idea and knowledge of human resources as the main factor of production. This concept will usually be supported by the existence of the creative industry that became manifestation. Over time, economic development to the level of creative economy after some time before, the world is faced with the concept of information economy in which information becomes the main thing in economic development. There are some things that characterize the creative economy:

1. The Collaboration between the various actors involved in the creative industries, the intellectuals, the business community and the government, is a fundamental prerequisite.
2. Based on ideas.
3. Unlimited development in various business fields
4. constructed concept is relative.

The development of science, information and communication technology, and innovation has spawned a form of creative economic activity. In line with this, Indonesia has a great opportunity to transform and strengthen the economic structure through the development of creative economy that became one of the potential and wealth of this nation.

Local potential as part of regional wealth identity becomes the key word in creative city development. Creative city is not just a city branding, but rather a commitment to lift and develop the potential of local wealth. Therefore, the government's vision and commitment as well as the involvement of creative forums are crucial in sustainable urban development.

Grouping Creative Industries based on dominant substance & resource intensity, among others:

1. Television and radio
2. Advertising
3. Publishing and printing
4. Movies, videos, and photography
5. Music
6. performing Arts
7. Art goods market
8. Culinary
9. Craft
10. Architecture
11. Design

12. Fashion
13. information Technology
14. Interactive games
15. research and development

In Indonesia, the creative economy is now starting to grow and develop into an economic sector that has an important role for the economy. In 2014, the creative economy is estimated to have contributed 7.1% to the national GDP, providing 12 million workers, and contributing 5.8% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. In the next five years, this sector is targeted to contribute to national GDP of 12%, 13 million workforce, and export contribution reach 10%.

The development of the national creative economy still faces several problems that cause the development of the sector is not optimal, among others are (1) the lack of facilitation of accommodative policies and regulations, including the incentives that are still very minimal; (2) inadequate availability of infrastructure; (3) support and regional initiatives that are not yet optimal; And (4) non-inclusive institutions.

One effort to address these challenges and problems is to form spaces that can become centers of activity and interaction for creative economic actors, both government, business / industry, academia, and creative community / forum. On the upstream side, creative space must be able to accommodate and inspire the emergence of a sense of creativity. On the downstream side, the space should be able to integrate creative creation-production-distribution and marketing processes of creative economic potential. Thus, the creative space should be designed to create a comprehensive, conducive, participatory and inclusive creative and creative economic climate and ecosystem.

To encourage the development of creative economy can be used the concept of "creative city" based on local potential. In addition to forming creative space, the development of creative city based on local potential is also intended to improve local economic development directed to promote economic equity and national competitiveness.

The important role of the industrial sector in Riau Islands Province is seen from the large contribution in the formation of Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) without oil and gas

with average contribution per quarter almost reaching half of the component of GRDP. In the second quarter of 2014 the role of manufacturing industry sector reached 47.24 percent. By 2015, the Industrial Computers, Electronics and Optics Industry dominates the industrial population of Riau Islands Province compared to other industries, which are 52 companies or 16.35 percent of the total Large and Medium Manufacturing Industry in Riau Islands Province. Other Transport Equipment Industry occupies the second position in terms of domination of large medium industry population with a percentage of 12.89 percent. Followed by Industrial Printing and Reproduction Media as much as 12.58 percent and Metal Goods Industry, Not Machinery as much as 10.69 percent.

Large and Medium Manufacturing Industry that is still active in the Regency / City of Riau Islands Province, it can be seen that of the 313 Large and Medium Manufacturing Industries that are still active, more than half or about 83.7 percent are concentrated in Batam City. Large and Medium Manufacturing Industry Companies that are still active in Batam City are not only foreign companies but also domestic companies. Bintan regency is in the next order with 20 industries, and Tanjungpinang City in the next largest number with 17 companies.

In Tanjungpinang City, the potential of creative industry is 10 food industries, 14 garments industries, 18 printing and reproduction industries, 22 rubber, rubber stuff and plastic industries, and 23 non-research industries (Directory of Large Manufacturing Companies and the Riau Islands Province 2015). Therefore, a study is particularly useful for the local government of Tanjungpinang City as a government area to develop a concept of creative urban development in the Study of Creative Economic Development in Tanjungpinang City so as to respond to the development of the era, especially about creative economy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. **The concept of creative industry**

The definition of Creative Industry, which is currently widely used by the creative industry, is a definition based on the UK DCMS Task force (Ministry of Trade of the Republic Indonesia, 2007)

"Creatives Industries as those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill & talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property and content"

The creative industry mapping study conducted by the Ministry of Trade of the Republic Indonesia (2007) uses the same definition of creative industry, so that the creative industries in Indonesia can be defined as follows:

"Industries derived from the utilization of creativity, skills and individual talents to create welfare and employment through the creation and utilization of the creative power and creativity of the individual"

Sub Sector which is creativity-based industry as described in Creative Industry Mapping Study (2007) is:

1. Advertising: creative activities related to advertising services (one way communication using a particular medium), which includes the creation, production and distribution of the resulting advertising, for example: market research, advertising communication planning, outdoor advertising, production of advertising materials, promotions, Public relations campaigns, advertising display in print media (newspapers, magazines) and electronics (television and radio), installation of various posters and drawings, distributing leaflets, pamphlets, circulars, brochures and similar advertisements, distribution and delivery of advertising materials or samples, Column rental for advertising.

2. Architecture: creative activities related to building design services, construction cost planning, conservation of heritage buildings, construction supervision either thoroughly from macro level (Town planning, urban design, landscape architecture) to micro level (details of construction, eg garden architecture, interior design).

3. Art Goods Market: creative activities related to the trade of authentic, unique and rare items and high aesthetic value of art through auctions, galleries, shops, supermarkets and the internet, for example: musical instruments, printing, crafts, automobile, film , Fine arts and paintings.

4. Handicrafts: creative activities related to the creation, production and distribution of products made by craftsmen originating from initial design to completion of their products, including handicrafts made from: precious stones, natural or artificial fibers, leather, rattan , Bamboo, wood, metal (gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron) wood, glass, porcelain, fabric, marble, clay, and lime. Handicraft products are generally only produced in relatively small quantities (not mass production).

5. Design: creative activities related to the creation of graphic design, interior design, product design, industrial design, corporate identity consulting and marketing research services as well as packaging production and packing services.

6. Fashion: creative activities related to the creation of clothing design, footwear design, and other fashion accessories design, fashion clothing production and accessories, fashion product line consultancy, and fashion product distribution.

7. Video, Film and Photography: creative activities related to the creation of video production, film and photography services, as well as the distribution of video and film footage. These include script writing, movie dubbing, cinematography, soap operas, and film exhibitions.

8. Interactive games: creative activities related to the creation, production and distribution of computer games and videos of entertainment, dexterity and education. The interactive game subsector is not dominated as a mere entertainment but also as a learning or educational tool.

9. Music: creative activities related to the creation / composition, performance, reproduction, and distribution of sound recordings.

10. Performing Arts: creative activities related to content development, show production (eg ballet performances, traditional dance, contemporary dance, drama, traditional music, theater music, opera, including ethnic music tours), design and fashion show, stage, and lighting arrangement.

11. Publishing and Printing: creative activities related to the writing of content and publishing of books, journals, newspapers, magazines,

tabloids, and digital content and the activities of news agencies and news searchers. This subsector also includes the issuance of stamps, stamps, banknotes, check forms, checking accounts, letters of share, stock certificates, other securities, passports, airline tickets, and other special publications. Also includes the issuance of photographs, engraving and postcards, forms, posters, reproductions, painting printing, and other printed materials, including micro movie footage.

12. Computer and Software Services: creative activities related to the development of information technology including computer services, data processing, database development, software development, system integration, system design and analysis, software architecture design, software and hardware infrastructure design, As well as portal design including maintenance.

13. Television and Radio: creative activities related to the creation, production and packaging of television shows (such as games, quizzes, reality shows, infotainment, etc.), broadcasting and transmitting television and radio show content, including station relay activities, Radio and television broadcasts.

14. Research and Development: creative activities associated with innovative businesses that offer the discovery of science and technology and the application of such knowledge and knowledge to product improvement and creation of new products, new processes, new materials, new tools, new methods, and new technologies that meet the needs market; Including those relating to humanities such as research and development of language, literature, and the arts; As well as business and management consultancy services.

2. The concept economic development of creative industries

According to Richard Florida (2002), creative individuals have strata called creative strata. Individuals in this creative strata engage in work that has the function of creating meaningful new forms. In his book, "The Rise of Creative Class", Richard Florida (2002) states that this creative strata consists of two main components, namely:

1. Super Creative Core This creative stratum consists of scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and storytellers, artists & artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, nonfiction story authors, editors, cultural figures, researchers, analysts, filmmakers and other creative workers Who are intensively involved in the creative process. The main thing that should result in creative work is to produce a new form or design that is ready for widespread use, for example: the design of a product that can be made widely, sold and eventually used; Theories and strategies that can be applied in various cases; Or composing music that can be displayed repeatedly. Individuals in this strata will be involved in the above activity samples on a regular basis.

2. Professional Creative Worker (Creative Professional). Individuals in this strata generally work in industries that possess the following characteristics: knowledge-intensive such as high tech, tech-based, financial-based services, law-based, health and technical practitioners, and business management. These individuals engage in creative problem solving to create a picture of a complex knowledge structure to solve specific problems. In order to do this, it will generally require a fairly high level of education and the individuals in this strata often apply or combine a standard method in a unique way so as to fit the problem or situation. Doctors, lawyers, or managers often do this to solve the case / problems it faces. Individuals in this strata may be individuals in the super creative core strata, if this individual is involved in the process of creating something new.

In the creative economy development model there are 5 pillars that need to be continuously strengthened so that creative industry can grow and develop achieve the vision and mission of creative economy of Indonesia. The five pillars of creative economy can be described as follows in the Book of Creative Industry Development of Indonesia (2008) namely.

1. Industry. Industry is part of the community's activities related to the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of products or services of a particular country or area. Industries

of concern in these pillars in particular are the creative industries to be analyzed based on Porter's model (2001). The analysis with Porter (2001) as a framework is done to strive for the creation of a creative industry market structure with perfect competition that facilitates the creative industry to do business in the sector. This Industrial Pillar is incorporated into the creative economic development model, based on the approach of Howkins (2002) which says creativity alone cannot be counted. Which can be counted is a creative product. Creative products are the result of a creativity multiplied by a transaction. This indicates the creation and originalization factor which has the potential of capital and / or produced in such a way to be commercialized.

2. Technology. Technology can be defined as an entity both material and non-material, which is the application of the creation of a mental or physical process to achieve a certain value. In other words, technology is not just a tangible machine or tool, but it includes a collection of techniques or methods, or activities that shape and change culture (www.wikipedia.com). This technology will be an enabler to realize individual creativity in real work. Richard Florida (2002) says there are three main modules to build a creativity-based economy that is (1) Human Resources Talent, (2) Technology, (3) and Social Tolerance. Technology is incorporated into the pillar because of its function as a vehicle and tools (tools) for the development of the foundation of science. Technology can be used in creating, producing, collaborating, seeking information, distribution and means of socializing.

3. Resources. The resources intended here are the inputs needed in the process of creating added value, in addition to the idea or creativity possessed by the human resources which is the foundation of this creative industry. Natural resources as well as the availability of land that becomes a supporting input in the creative industry. Indonesia's unique material resources such as rattan are one of the uniqueness of the Indonesian nation. The intensification of these unique resources into physical products such as design, craft and fashion provides the national identity needed

to compete in the global marketplace. The creative economy era also gained a legacy of the adverse effects of the industrialization era. Global warming around the world awakens the collective consciousness of the citizens of the world and generates a political consensus on saving the earth, which is manifested in the form of carbon trade. Thus, in building the creative industries based on physical products, must also be accompanied by environmental polarity. The growth of carbon trading is very rapid and the role of Asian countries as a producer is very strategic. This opportunity should be utilized also by creative industries.

4. Institution. Institution in the pillars of creative industry development can be defined as a social order which includes customs, norms, customs, rules, and applicable laws. This social order can be informal, such as the value system, customs, or norms - as well as formally in the form of legislation. The creative industry promotes ideas that can be exploited into economic potential. Thus the role of law in protecting ideas is very important. The protection of ideas runs with the mechanics of Intellectual Property Rights. However, it should be emphasized that Intellectual Property Rights are not the main points of the creative industry; more important is how Indonesians use the creative process in everyday life, both scientifically, industrially and commercially. Therefore, the registration of Intellectual Property Rights on the products there are certain proportions. The now popular intellectual property rights regime is still highly individualized westernized nuances. As much as possible creative industries in Indonesia are also able to build a strong intellectual property base, because Intellectual Property Rights in the eastern world are many of the values of local cultural wisdom that is togetherness and sharing.

5. Financial Intermediary. Financial intermediation institutions are institutions that deliver funding to industry players in need, either in the form of capital / equity or loan / credit. The financial intermediary institution is an important element for bridging the financial needs of actors in the creative industries. The creative industry has many subsectors. There are creations in the

form of physical objects, some are creations of non-physical products (intangible). The perception of financial institutions is still traditional, just want to channel loans to industries that have physical results and have physical land as a place of production. With the development of ICT technology, today many non-physical products that utilize the virtual world (cyberspace) so that the form of digital. Financial institution must create financial tools that support this era. Creative industry players are currently dominated by young people and sometimes the business or industry is still non-formal. But the creation of young people is often very creative, becoming a profitable industry and business potential. A conducive atmosphere should be created to motivate the young generation in starting a business and to provide impartial financial access.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is a research with type of qualitative research. With data collection techniques done by interviewing techniques, observation and documentation. The sample technique used in this research is using the purposed sample by visiting the location of 4 (four) sub-districts, Tanjungpinang Kota Sub-district, Tanjungpinang Barat Sub-district, Bukit Bestasi Sub-district, TanjungpinangTimur Sub-district. This location was chosen because it wanted to see how the potential of the creative economy sector excels in each district, and want to see which district has the greatest potential creative economy. Then the location of the research is also conducted in the Department of Industry and Trade Tanjungpinang City, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in the area of Tanjungpinang City, Agency for Assessment and Application of Technology and Tanjungpinang City Investment, Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Indonesia Tanjungpinang City, Real Estate Indonesia Tanjungpinang City.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Mapping the creative industry of Tanjungpinang city

Periodically the Central Bureau of Statistics conducts the Survey of Large and Medium Manufacturing Enterprises. This activity is carried out at the beginning of each year by visiting all the existing Large and Medium Industry companies. Categorized as Large Industry companies are industries that employ 100 or more people, and medium Industry companies are industries employing 20-99 workers. The results of data collection revealed that in 2014 there are 13 companies of Large and Medium Industries in Tanjungpinang City that is able to absorb 1442 workers. Compared to 2012, the number of companies increased by one company and the absorbed workforce increased by 405 people.

Table 1. Number of Large / Medium Industries by Sub-District in Tanjungpinang City

Sub District	2014	
	Establish-ment	Man Power
Bukit Bestari	2	446
Tanjungpinang Timur	8	869
Tanjungpinang Kota	3	127
Tanjungpinang Barat	-	-
2014	13	1 442
2013	14	1 552
2012	13	1 147
2011	16	1 099
2010	17	1 262

Source: *Tanjungpinang in figures, 2015*

Based on the data, the largest number of firms and labor is in TanjungpinangTimur Sub-district. With the figures listed in the table above, concluded that the economic turnaround will be more prevalent in TanjungpinangTimur Sub-district than other districts. Because the tendency of the workers will be domiciled adjacent to where their territory works. Therefore, TanjungpinangTimur Sub-district will become a densely populated area or it can be said that in this region there will be more economic transactions.

Table 2. Number of Small Industry by Sub-District in Tanjungpinang City

Sub District	Kind of Comodity		Total
	Food	No Food	
Bukit Bestari	45	1	46
Tanjungpinang Timur	111	57	168
Tanjungpinang Kota	23	2	25
Tanjungpinang Barat	32	4	36
2014	211	64	275
2013	207	275	482
2012	195	258	453
2011	209	192	401
2010	77	513	590

Source: *Tanjungpinang in figures, 2015*

Based on the above table, shows that the food industry in Tanjungpinang City is still superior to non-food. Because data shows that in 2014 the small food industry figures are higher than non-food items. If viewed by sub-district, then small food industry in TanjungpinangTimur sub-district also still dominate. This is logical with previous data where in the TanjungpinangTimur Sub-district as well as companies and manpower amounted to the most. With the smallest industry in TanjungpinangTimur Sub-district, it can be concluded that in this region, the potential of creative economic development with the type of food can be further developed because it has more quantity than non-food. The leading sector of creative economic development can be concentrated on small food industry.

Table 3. Number of Small Industriesaccording to Urban Villages inTanjungpinangCity

| Urban Villages | Kind of Comodity | | Total |
	Food	No Food	
Dompak	16	-	16
Tanjungpinang Timur	3	1	4
TanjungAyunSakti	3	-	3
Sei Jang	23	-	23
TanjungUnggat	3	-	3
Batu Sembilan	18	14	32
Melayu Kota Piring	74	19	93
Air Raja	2	16	18
Pinang Kencana	7	5	12
KampungBulang	10	3	13
Tanjungpinang Kota	6	2	8
Penyengat	7	-	7
KampungBugis	-	-	-
Senggarang	10	-	10
Tanjungpinang Barat	14	4	18
Kemboja	-	-	-
KampungBaru	3	-	3
Bukit Cermin	12	-	12

Source: *Tanjungpinang in figures, 2015*

Based on the table, it shows that small industry with food type is more dominant than non-food, and the area that has the greatest potential of small food and non-food industries is in Melayu Kota Piring Urban Village, it means that the development of small industry can be

optimized in that area, but The region with the next largest number of numbers, can also be the target of the development of small industries both food and non-food.

Table 4. Number of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises by District in Tanjungpinang City

| Sub District | Kind of Comodity | | Total |
	Food	Non food	
Bukit Bestari	898	561	1 459
Tanjungpinang Timur	769	608	1 377
Tanjungpinang Kota	1 000	563	1 563
Tanjungpinang Barat	705	378	1 083
2014	3 372	2 110	5 482
2013	2 914	2 010	4 924
2012	2 585	1 814	4 399
2011	2 534	1 730	4 264
2010	1 222	1 661	2 883

Source: *Tanjungpinang in figures, 2015*

Based on the table, it shows that the potential of micro, small and medium enterprises in food type still dominate with the amount of 3,372 and non-food only 2,110. That means the development of creative economy that is likely to be developed further is in the field of food business. But also did not close the possibility in the field of non-food. However, the type of food is still the potential of superior creative economy in Tanjungpinang City. From the table above also shows that the areas that have the potential to develop the creative economy of the most food types exist in Tanjungpinang City area. If we look at the next table is table 5, urban village area in Tanjungpinang Kota also has the most number of micro, small and medium enterprises with food type, that is as many as 558 business. It is indeed capable of being rationally assessed, because this area is dominated by traders in the market area located on JalanMerdeka, Bintan Street, Post Road, PasarBaru Street, Gambir Road, Mawar Street, Tambak Street, Temiang Street, Teuku UmarStreet. This region is indeed a large trading area including micro, small and medium enterprises. So this region also became one of the target of creative economic development in Tanjungpinang City. Culinary or food is still a potential of superior creative economy that needs to be developed.

Table 5. Number of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises by Uban villages in Tanjungpinang City

Urban Villages	Kindof Comodity		
	Food	No Food	Total
Dompak	125	39	164
Tanjungpinang Timur	224	184	408
TanjungAyun Sakti	260	222	482
Sei Jang	162	51	213
Tanjung Unggat	127	65	192
Batu Sembilan	293	228	521
Melayu Kota Piring	87	49	136
Air Raja	100	129	229
Pinang Kencana	177	142	319
KampungBulang	112	60	172
Tanjungpinang Kota	558	290	848
Penyengat	43	49	92
KampungBugis	168	125	293
Senggarang	231	99	330
Tanjungpinang Barat	225	126	351
Kemboja	130	87	217
KampungBaru	184	93	277
Bukit Cermin	166	72	238
TOTAL	3.372	2.110	5.482

Source: *Tanjungpinang in figures, 2015*

Furthermore, to see the potential of creative economy in Tanjungpinang City it is necessary to also see the general picture of the export through the City of Tanjungpinang according to its Commodities. By looking at the general description of export, it can be known the creative economic potential in Tanjungpinang City other than food type.

Table 6. Exports through Tanjungpinang by Commodities in Tanjungpinang City

Comodity	Volume (kg)	Value (US$)
Rubber and Rubber Stuff	2 268 000	3 585 318
non-knitted garments	128 895	2 818 849
Ores, Crust And Metal Ash	140 235 000	2 814 142
Ship	287 500	1 667 550
Fish and Shirmp	2 253 598	1 285 108
Furniture, Lighting House	97 899	373 371

Mineral Fuel	280 000	278 600
Pulp	1 261 300	157 812
Knitted Stuff	8 327	146 237
Sugar and Confectionery	6 497	52 731
Machinery/ Electrical Appliance	184	14 260
Machineries/ Aircraft Mechanic	342	9 787
Adhesives, Enzymes	8	1 052
Plastic and Plastic Articles	70	729
2014	**146 827 620**	**13 205 546**
2013	**5 031 624 069**	**149 236 898**
2012	**3 333 852 997**	**79 373 591**
2011	**4 755 419 461**	**201 034 854**
2010	**7 103 841 951**	**191 619 422**

Source: *Tanjungpinang in figures, 2015*

The most exported export commodities in Tanjungpinang City are rubber and rubber stuff with the largest percentage, followed by non-knitted garments, ores, crust and metal ash, ships and fish and shrimp. It illustrates that these are the four major creative economic potentials that make it possible to develop. In addition, based on the Central Statistics Agency data of Riau Islands Province on the Directory of Large and Medium Industries Riau Islands Year 2014 describes the potential of large and medium industries in Tanjungpinang as follows:

Table 7. Directory of Large and Medium Industries Tanjungpinang City Year 2014

TYPE OF INDUSTRY	TOTAL
Manufacturing Industry	31
Transportation equipment industry	30
Metal Goods Industry, Except Machinery and Equipment	25
Manufacture of Non-Metal Products	23
Rubber Industry, Rubber and Plastic Stuffs	22
Printing and Reproduction Recording Industry	18
Garments Industry	14
Food industry	10

Source: Directory of Large and Medium Industries Riau Islands, 2014

B. **Analysis of development direction of creative economy sector potential to be developed in Tanjungpinang city**

Based on the explanation in the previous discussion it can be seen the types of sub-sector of creative industries in Tanjungpinang. From these data, some of which can be identified as creative economic ventures are as follows:

Table 8. Table of Industry Type Identification classified as Creative Economy

TYPE OF INDUSTRY	Type of Business Creative Economy	Subsector of Creative Economy
Rubber Industry, Rubber and Plastic Stuffs	Art goods market	Design
	craft	
Printing and Reproduction Recording Industry	Publishing and printing	Media
	Movies, videos, and photography	
Garments Industry	Fashion	Design
Food Industry	Culinary	Art and culture

Source: secondary data processing, 2016

From the data based on the above table, then the next will be analyzed with SWOT Analysis. SWOT Analysis Theory is a theory used to plan something done with SWOT. SWOT is an abbreviation of, S is Strength or Strength, W is Weakness or Weakness, O is Oppurtunity or Opportunity, and T is Threat or Threat. SWOT is commonly used to analyze a condition where a plan will be made to do something. Here is an analysis matrix of creative economic development in Tanjungpinang City:

Table 9. SWOT Analysis of Potential Economic Development Potential in Tanjungpinang City

Type of Industry	Type of Business Creative Economy	SWOT Analisys
Rubber Industry, Rubber and Plastic Stuffs	1. Art goods market 2. Craft	**Strength** 1. Raw material resources can be easily found 2. Human resources have more long-term certainty 3. resources are more assured certainty 4. There are still a number of companies operating
		Weakness 1. Industrial waste will become an environmental problem in the future 2. Competition with modern goods will reduce sales 3. Weak consumption of people to these kinds of goods
		Opportunities 1. The existence of Tanjungpinang City as a cultural city will be a sales opportunity 2. Increasing tourism will be an opportunity
		Threat 1. The possibility of mastering raw materials by foreign companies 2. Modern goods that are more interested buyers
Printing and Reproduction Recording Industry	1. Publishing and printing 2. Movies, videos, and photography	**Strength** 1. There is still a lot of publishing needs of writers of Tanjungpinang City 2. Still a lot of printing materials needs activities in the city of Tanjungpinang 3. There are still many talented talents who are able to develop a video or film of local and national scale 4. The emergence of creative small industries that move in video filming and broadcasting
		Weakness 1. The world of publishing and printing will be more easily defeated by the world of broadcasting through social media and television 2. Raw materials that will easily run out 3. Weak appreciation film, local video 4. The popularity of local films and videos that are inferior to national or international films and videos 5. Supporting places show little and a bit looks hard

Type of Industry	Subsector	SWOT	Analysis

Left column table (continued):

Type of Industry	Subsector	SWOT Analysis
		Opportunities 1. The development of creative industries in the form of media is still scarce and will become a new business unit 2. There are still many creative young generation who want to develop this industry
		Threat 1. The limitations of talent, technology and financing will be able to be resisted by similar creative industries from outside Tanjungpinang 2. Will be easily hijacked if it is immediately strengthened Intellectual Property Rights
Garments Industry	Fashion	**Strength** 1. Local conditions are strategic so that sales will be easy, 2. Human resources are easy and inexpensive to be recruited, 3. The development of clothing styles in the city of Tanjungpinang and surrounding areas are increasingly advanced
		Weakness 1. Difficulty has strong trademark rights and sells 2. Strong competition with established and well-known apparel industry 3. Branding costs will be more expensive
		Opportunities 1. Easy access to overseas sales such as Malaysia and Singpura 2. A lot of tourists
		Threat The popularity of famous clothing brand that is better known and liked by the community

Right column table:

Type of Industry	Subsector	SWOT Analysis
Food Industry	Culinary	**Strength** 1. The number of small industries that are widely spread 2. The needs and culture of Tanjungpinang people who like to gather and like to eat 3. Raw materials are numerous 4. The peculiarity of food in Tanjungpinang City 5. The food was diverse
		Weakness 1. Compete with food that is an outdoor product 2. Stacking food
		Opportunities 1. With the culture of people who like to eat, it will be easier to find the market 2. The peculiarity of food will be the attraction of foreign tourists 3. The presence of food that does not exist in other areas would be an attraction
		Threat Outside products that people are interested in

Source: primary data preparation, 2016

Further analysis, some of the sub-sectors of creative economy will be seen from the support of the pillars of creative economy as the analysis in the following table:

Table 10. Potential Sub-sectoral Economy Sub-sector Analysis in Tanjungpinang City with Pilar of Creative Economy

Type of Industry	Analysis of Potential Creative Economy in Tanjungpinang City with Pilar of Creative Economy
Rubber Industry, Rubber and Plastic Stuffs	**Human Resources** The need for labor will be overwhelming, Tanjungpinang city such as water and electricity with a load that is also large
	Industry The establishment of the industry will depend on the infrastructure

	Technology
	The need for machinery and technology will be needed
	Institutional
	1. The existence of consumer guarantee institutions,
	2. Must be strong regulation from the government related licensing of industrial plants
	Financial Resources
	The operational costs will be large so affect the price of the goods
Printing and Reproduction Recording Industry	**Human Resources**
	The need for energy is not very much, can embrace some creative talents to develop this industry
	Industry
	This industry will be well established when supported by means and personnel who understand about this business
	Technology
	Highly dependent on high technology
	Institutional
	The government can establish a legal community to manage this business
	Financial Resources
	Financing will be influenced by using technology machines
Garments Industry	**Human Resources**
	The need for labor will be overwhelming
	Industry
	The establishment of the industry will depend on the infrastructure in Tanjungpinang City such as water and electricity with a large load
	Technology
	The need for machinery and technology will be needed
	Institutional
	1. The existence of consumer guarantee institutions,
	2. Must be strong regulation from the government related licensing of industrial plants
	3. Must be reinforced by a guarantee of Intellectual Property Rights so that products are not copied by other products.
	Financial Resources
	The operational costs will be large so affect the price of the goods

Food Industry	**Human Resources**
	Workforce is easier to find
	Industry
	The establishment of the industry is not so much influenced by infrastructure, only the certainty of capital and business consistency
	Technology
	Not so dependent on technology, but can develop innovation with technology
	Institutional
	There should be legality related to the trade stalls that are cultivated by the public
	Financial Resources
	The financing is not so great, and the capital turnover is relatively faster.

Source: primary data preparation, 2016

Furthermore, it can be analyzed that there are two industries of creative economy that are potential to be developed. First Industrial Printing and Reproduction Recording Media and second is Culinary Industry. From the mapping results of this study appeared some business name printing, and Reproduction Media Recordings in Tanjungpinang City which will be selected as a pioneer of creative economic development in Tanjungpinang City, the following names are:

Table 11. Some of the Recording Media and Reproduction Industries in Tanjungpinang City are potential

COMPANY NAME	TYPE OF BUSINESS	BUSINESS AREABASED ON SUB-DISTRICT
Kacel	Small Industry Printing	Tanjungpinang Timur
Pinang Advertising	Small Industry Printing	Tanjungpinang Timur
Delta Advertising	Small Industry Printing	Bukit Bestari
MilazGrafika	Small Industry Printing	Tanjungpinang Timur
Melayu Dot Com	Small Industry Reproduction Media Recordings	Bukit Bestasi
Wid Eye Production	Small Industry Reproduction Media Recordings	Bukit Bestari

Source: primary data preparation, 2016

Some of the companies described in the table above, are some of the existing companies in Tanjungpinang City that have potential in the creative industries in the sector of Publishing, Printing, Film, Video and Photography. Some of these companies are considered to have contributed a lot in developing the creative economy in Tanjungpinang, so that business in this sector can become one of the sectors of creative economy that has the potential to be developed.

The next creative economic sector that has the potential to be developed is the culinary sub-sector. This sector is selected and considered potential because based on Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) data in Tanjungpinang City In Figures 2015 as discussed in the previous discussion, large or medium industry data, small and medium enterprises and micro businesses have shown that businesses with more food types Much more than non-food businesses. Data of Tanjungpinang City In Figures 2015 indicates Small Industry with type of eating amounted to 211 while non-food only 64 in Year 2014 (Table 2) and at most in TanjungpinangTimur sub-district. Further data of Tanjungpinang City In Figures 2015 shows Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in more food types than non-food, as many as 3372 and non-feeding as many as 2110, and the most number of businesses in Tanjungpinang Kota (Table 4) . Creative Economy Enterprises in this culinary sector is many, because the raw materials are relatively easy to find, not much use of labor and labor are not expensive, the use of technology that is not much and complex, the capital is not too big, the certainty of the market more secure. In the following table are some of culinary creative economic business which have the potential to be developed in Tanjungpinang City.

Table 12. Potential Culinary Economic Effort in Tanjungpinang City

COMPANY NAME	BUSINESS AREA BASED ON SUB-DISTRICT
Melayu Square	Tanjungpinang Kota
KompleksAnjungCahaya	Tanjungpinang Kota
Bezzo Street Cafe	Tanjungpinang Kota
Kedai Kopi RiaBintan	Tanjungpinang Kota
AkauPotongLembu	Tanjungpinang Barat
Café Cisangkuy Roti PisangBakar	Tanjungpinang Barat
MejaTujuh	Tanjungpinang Barat
Sate KambingAdemAyam	Tanjungpinang Barat
AyamTaliwang	Tanjungpinang Barat
RumahMakan Pak Copa	Tanjungpinang Barat
DapurMelayu	Bukit Bestari
BaksoPamedan	Bukit Bestari
PecelLeleBasukiRahmat	Bukit Bestari
SinggahSelalu	Bukit Bestari
Bofet Pak Haji	Bukit Bestari
Bakso Wong Solo	Bukit Bestari
WarungPapadaan	TanjungpinangTimur
Prata Roy	TanjungpinangTimur
AlaBlitar	TanjungpinangTimur

Source: primary data preparation, 2016

CONCLUSION

1. Conclusion

Potential creative economic sector developed in Tanjungpinang City is in the sub-sector of Publishing Printing, Film, Video and Photography with the type of industry that is Industrial Printing Industry and Reproduction Media Recordings. This subsector was chosen because it is still potentially the emergence of creative talent such as writer, movie man, photographer, cinematographer. Tanjungpinang City as a city based on culture and tourism, there are still many unexplored resources to the wider community. With talent creative that still has a lot of potential, the printing business in the form of books, and media business such as film, videography and photography are still very selling and have new and promising market opportunities in the future.

The potential creative economic sector developed next is Culinary sector. This sub-sector is chosen because the type of Creative Economy Enterprises in this culinary sector are numerous in the City of Tanjungpinang, because the raw materials are relatively easy to find, not much use of labor and labor is not expensive, the use of technology that is not much and complex, not large capital, Market certainty is more assured.

2. Recommendation

The government must provide easy licensing regulations but strict discipline, capital and

legal certainty such as supervision and control over potential creative economic enterprises in Tanjungpinang City. With regulation, capital assistance and legal certainty, the creative economy will get a definite place in business law, so it can run its activities and expand its business. And not afraid of losing capital and business continuity. Provide an easy container and media for creative economy enterprises to be able to introduce their business, so that the business can be known to the public at large, such as providing websites, and or the completeness of advertising that is easy and cheap. A growing creative economy business is rewarded in the economic field as it has become one of the sectors that contribute revenue to the region.

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The Role of the EU Development Assistance to address Deforestation issue in Indonesia

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Abstract

Deforestation is considered as one of the serious environmental problem in Indonesia. Furthermore the development of forestry sector, such as illegal logging, also created serious environmental degradation. Annual forest fires already became chronic disease. Natural factors and man-made factors have been alleged to trigger the long-term cause of deforestation. Forest fires and illegal logging created big loss & disturbance for Indonesia because the Forestry sector gave a quite significant contribution to Indonesian economy. It also affected the global biodiversity since Indonesian forest area is one of the largest world biodiversity sources. Unfortunately, Indonesian government's capability is still limited to handle the forest fires issue due to the lack of funding, technical and political support. The neighbouring countries in Southeast Asian region have been socially and economically affected by the forest fires, while the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution worked less effectively than expected. Due to the scale of forest fires and its significant impact to the regional and global biodiversity, international support is essentially in need. Besides Japan and Australia, European Union (EU) has been the major aid contributor to resolve Indonesian deforestation issue. EU support the Indonesian government in its fight against illegal logging in accordance with the European Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade Policy (FLEGT) or Timber Pact. [1] The Timber Pact is one kind arrangement to minimize the impact of deforestation. Therefore, international supports are not only for emergency condition aid but also for improving Indonesian government capacity to manage the issue.

Keywords: Deforestation, forest fires, illegal logging, Development Assistance, ASEAN, European Union, FLEGT VPA

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, the largest archipelagic state in Southeast Asia, is a tropical country with very huge natural resources. Indonesia has more than 133 million hectares of forest, which is the third largest forested area behind Brazil and the Democratic Republic of Congo.[2] Their atmospheric carbon sequestration and biodiversity are globally significant. Forestry sector is also an important contributor in Indonesian economy. Around 46 per cent of the forest is destined for production purpose.[3] Timber, paper products and plywood are regarded as Indonesia reliable export commodities.

However, the development of forestry sector also created serious environmental degradation. Annual forest fires already became chronic disease. Natural factors and man-made factors have been alleged to trigger the long-term cause of deforestation. Furthermore, the rapid development of the population, rapid industrialisation, the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-1998, and the poor management of key sectors, such as natural resources or urban transport also worsened this issue.[4]

Forest fires created big loss & disturbance for Indonesia. Unfortunately, Indonesian government lack of sufficient capability to handle the forest fires issue due to the lack of funding, technical and political support. The neighbouring countries in Southeast Asian region have been socially and economically

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[1] Manuel Schmitz (2016), Strengthening the rule of law in Indonesia: the EU and the combat against illegal logging, *Asia Europe Journal*, 14: 79-93

[2] http://www.efi.int/files/attachments/euflegt/fact_sheet_indopacific.pdf

[3] Ibid

[4] Country Environmental Profile of Indonesia, Final Report, July 2005, pp. 6accessed at: *www.delidn.ec.europa.eu/.../references_2_4_environmentalprofile2005.pdf*

affected by the forest fire, while the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution worked slower than expected.

Due to the scale of forest fires and its significant impact to the regional and global biodiversity, international support is essentially in need. Besides Japan and Australia, European Union has been the major aid contributor to resolve Indonesian deforestation issue. The EC-Indonesia Forest Programme (ECIFP) has helped to strengthen Indonesian capacity building (Indonesia-European Community Strategy Paper 2007-2013). The recent signature of EU – Indonesia FLEGT VPA is considered to resolve deforestation issue in Indonesia. This VPA strengthens Indonesia's commitment to solve deforestation issue

The EU initiativesto help Indonesia to resolve deforestation issue will be explained through the perspective of neoliberal institutionalism. Economic interests, the role of global institutions, and Indonesia internal condition are the essential factors to manage the issue.

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

Deforestation issue is a borderless issue that means it is impossible to be solved only by one country. It becomes a triggering factor to establish and to enhance cooperation because two things: (1) the impact of deforestation to other countries and (2) the forest products itself and the initiatives on how to manage this issue has economic value.

Neoliberal institutionalis memphasises cooperation and the role of institution in the international system.

Neoliberal institutionalism also put states as rational and utilitarian. They only want to cooperate with other states, which shared common interests.

Institutions are formed by states in order to standardise and legitimate behaviour and the more they are seen function in the interests of all states, removing the fear of unequal gains from cooperation, then the more predictable international relations becomes, and the more pacific and prosperous (Keohane and Martin, 1995: 42)

Institutions make international cooperation more efficient, transparent and profitable. The

existence and strengthening of these institutions, it is argued, leads states to reconsider their behaviour in order to achieve maximum gains (Ruggie, 1992 and Mearsheimer, 1995)

THE BACKGROUND DEFORESTATION ISSUES IN INDONESIA

Forest fires in Indonesia are triggered by two factors: climatic and anthropogenic. Climatic factor mostly refers to El Nino Southern Oscillation (ENSO), which creates dry season rainfall less than half of normal, and also caused one of the droughts of the country across Southeast Asia. The climate in Indonesia is strongly influenced by the ENSO. The Indonesian Forest Fires of 1997-1998 was also triggered by ENSO. However, Tacconi (2003) argued that the forest fires in Indonesia are not always because of ENSO and not all fires are the same, although they are a problem in the tropical countries, like Indonesia.[5]He Further said that fires can be seen as component of land management process.[6] Therefore, forest fires are not completely negative.

Furthermore, anthropogenic factors triggered forest fires in Indonesia. Harrison, Page and Limin, (2009) revealed land clearing and resources extraction and other purposes triggered forest fires. The previous studies mentioned land clearing and resources extraction was not handled properly, because of several reasons: the conflict of interests in this issue (Aiken, 2004), and bad governance and economic interests (Tacconi, 2003). Forestry sectors are one of the reliable income sources for Indonesian government, since the era of (former) President Suharto's administration (1967-1997) (Dauvergne, 1998; Hidayat, 1998). The One Million Hectare Rice Project in Central Kalimantan is presented as an example. Although this project was not feasible but it was continued under the personal support of the current government at that time. As a result, in the more recent years, the area has come under increasing settlement pressure and smallholder land clearing fires. Indonesian government officials mentioned this incident as a "natural disaster", implying that they had occurred

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[5] L. Tacconi, P.F Moore, D. Kaimovitz, "Fires in Tropical Forest – What is really the problem?Lesson from Indonesia,"*Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*, 12, No. 1 (2007): 55-66

[6] Ibid

spontaneously. Actually, it was the result of mismanagement, over logging, and the deliberate attempt to clear land for palm oil and other crops. The clear satellite evidences from Meteorological Service Singapore (MSS) in 1997 showed that the fires were not the work of individual farmers, but large land-holding companies. Later on it was admitted that 90% of the fires were caused by large companies or projects associated with transmigration. Non-technical aspects are more dominant, makes the management of fires is more complicated.

Illegal logging related to timber, also another issue triggered forest fires and deforestation. Indonesia is one of the world's top exporters of tropical timber. Legal timber harvest impact roughly 2,700 – 3000 mi2 of forest land a year, but moderate estimate taking illegal logging into account indicate that 4,633 to 5,405 mi2.[7] Illegal timber harvest and trade cost the Indonesian government at least $2 billion per year due to corruption, uncollected taxes, unacknowledged subsidies, and general poor management of resources. [8] These calculations exclude smuggling and unreported activities and lost funding for health, education and development of local communities. As mentioned before, extensive corruption because of bad governance has challenged the Indonesian legal system.

Forest fires bring about two impacts: firstly, Smoke haze pollution, including carbon emissions, and; secondly, forest degradation and deforestation, including the loss of products and services, including timber, non-timber forest products. Actually Smoke haze pollution has been affecting Indonesia and Southeast Asia since at least the late 1800s. However, in recent years, peat land fires have been identified as the major source smoke haze pollution. Indonesian peat land fires may have contributed between 60% and 90% of the emission resulting in smoke haze in 1997-1998 and were also the major source of carbon emission.[9] In 1997-1998 the total area of peat and swamp forest burnt amounted at least to 624,000

ha in Sumatra, 1,100,000 ha in Kalimantan and 400.000 ha in West Papua.[10] These forest fires are considered as a natural factor - disaster. However, Tacconi also mentioned about peatlands fires are found in peri-urban areas. They are lit on annual basis for agricultural purposes on shallow peat land that has already been converted to agriculture.[11] These fires cause local smoke haze problems that can negatively affect health and disrupt transportation, business, and schooling.

Secondly, forest fires causes forest degradation and deforestation. According to Myers (1989), deforestation is a complete destruction of cover through clearing for the agriculture of whatever sort. It means that not a tree remains, and the land is given over non-forest purposes.[12] FAO and UNEP defines deforestation as a change in a land use from forest to non-forest purposes and degradation as changes in the site, or the tree stands, or both, but not amounting to an overall land use change.[13]Those two definitions interpreted deforestation as a conversion of land because of land clearing for the agriculture and other purposes. Historically, shifting agriculture did not have a major effect forest quality. However, when it becomes more widespread, or the recovery time under fallow is too short, the area begins to degrade. Slash and burn method and land clearing for oil palm plantation fall in to this category and create forest degradation.

THE ECONOMICS BENEFITS OF FORESTRY SECTOR IN INDONESIA

Forestry sector is an important contributor in Indonesia economy. In general, the forest based industries-comprising forestry and logging, wood and wood product manufacturing, and pulp and paper production, makes a significant contribution to Indonesia economy, as it described in the tables below:[14][15]

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[7] Illegal Logging in Indonesia: The Environmental, Economic, and Social Costs, https://www.bluegreenalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/BGA-IndonesiaLogRpt.pdf

[8] Ibid

[9] L. Taconi, Fires in Indonesia: Causes, Costs and Policy Implications, CIFOR Occasional Paper, No.38, http://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/OccPapers/OP-038.pdf

[10] Ibid

[11] Ibid

[12] Caroline Thomas, *The Environment in International Relations*, (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1992): 6.

[13] Ibid

[14] The Economic Contribution of Indonesia's Forest-Based Industries, September 2011, accessed at http://itsglobal.net/sites/default/files/itsglobal/ITS_Indoforest_Economic_Report.pdf

[15] Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2016, accessed at

Table.3.1. Gross Domestic Product by sector (percentage share)

Sector	1990	2000	2009	2016
Agriculture	**19**	**16**	**15**	**13.5**
Manufacturing	21	28	26	20.8
Mining	12	12	11	7.6

Due to the significant contribution from this sector for Indonesian economy, Indonesia made some efforts to solve the development of forestry sector that lead to deforestation

1. Indonesian efforts to combat forest fires

Unfortunately, Indonesian government has limited capacity to solve the problems. 1995 Forestry Ministry decree banned burning to clear forest land. [16] Fire management reforms also focused on improving technical capacity for fire suppression and monitoring. However, Dermawan and Reksosudarmo said, in the post- 1998, "regional autonomy" reforms and a revamped forestry law (1999-2001), suddenly shifted decisions, activities, and revenue sources crucial to fire management away from central government authority to provincial and district agencies.[17]Therefore, fire management was under the responsibility of the provincial government.

Furthermore, the Forestry Law 1999 and the 2001 National fire management set the comprehensive cooperation between the central government and the provincial government to handle forest fires issue. The problem lays on implementation, with the lack of coordination among government agencies and the lack of human resources and financial capability, became the crucial obstacles to make those system worked as it expected.

https://www.adb.org/publications/key-indicators-asia-and-pacific-2016

[16] Forestry Ministerial Decree No. 260/Kpts-II/1995 on Guidelines for Forest Fire Prevention and Suppression Efforts, cited by Judith Meyer, "Transboundary Perspectives on Managing Indonesia's Fires," *The Journal of Environment Development*, 15 (2006)

[17] Dermawan, A., &Resosudarmo, I. A. P. (2002)," Forest and regional autonomy: The Challenge of sharing the profits and pains," in C.J.P. Colfer& I.A.P Resosudarmo (Eds.), *Which Way forward? People, forests and policymaking in Indonesia* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future), cited by Judith Meyer, "Transboundary Perspectives on Managing Indonesia's Fires," *The Journal of Environment Development*, 15 (2006)

2. the neighbouring countries help combating Indonesian forest fires.

Singapore and Malaysia are the two countries, which are strongly socially and economically suffered from the haze of Indonesian fires. However, they are refrained from diplomatic claims for compensation against Indonesia government, in keeping with ASEAN tradition of non-interference in neighbours' domestic affairs. These two countries rather gave significant contribution to Indonesia and ASEAN efforts on combating haze. Since 2002, bilaterally, Singapore provided fire management and suppression assistance to Riau, adjacent to Singapore and source of Singapore's worst pollution, through the Indonesia- Singapore Environmental Partnership (ASEAN, 2006; Singapore Ministry of Environment and Water Resources, 2005). Singapore also contributed to ASEAN Haze Agreement initiatives, by highlighting advanced technology for monitoring and modelling regional fire – and haze related conditions and communications with ASEAN partners. The Meteorological Service Singapore houses the ASEAN Specialised Meteorological Centre (ASMC). However, ASMC's analyses move debates about transboundary pollution sources beyond technical quibbling into a more political realm.

Malaysia's position is interesting. Malaysia also have been suffered from this fires, but they are alleged to 'export fire to Indonesia with Malaysians' direct investment in, and management of, Indonesian palm oil companies, using practices that include burning or tacit approval of burning that would be clearly illegal in Malaysia and imported Indonesian timber, legally and illegally logged. It made members of the Malaysian Palm Oil Association (along with Indonesian corporations having heavy Malaysian investment and the Indonesian Palm Oil Commission) initiated the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), referred to ASEAN guidelines, prohibited burning to establish or replant oil plantations (RSPO, 2006). In addition, Malaysia emphasized opportunities to share expertise with Indonesia in reducing fire risks in peat lands, leading ASEAN's development of a Peat land Management Strategy (2004). The peat land strategy is one of the only initiatives

that unambiguously endorse forest and wetland conversation and preservation to reduce fire risks. Besides, Malaysian NGOs co-operated with Indonesian and international environmental NGOs to monitor activities of Malaysian-based oil palm and timber conglomerates, including fire and smoke impacts and investment patterns, in Malaysia and abroad.

3. Asean regime on transboundary haze pollution

Meanwhile, ASEAN showed reluctantly to discuss the Indonesian forest fires, although several ASEAN member states were affected. ASEAN consideration on environmental issues already started in 1977, with ASEAN Environment Program 1977. In June 1990, the ASEAN Ministers on the Environment endorsed "the Kuala Lumpur Accord on the Environment and Development", which discussed the relationship between these two issues. Issue of transboundary pollution has been mentioned here. Due to the Indonesian forest fires, it has been formalised in the form of the ASEAN Cooperation Plan on Transboundary Pollution, in ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on the Environment in Kuching in 1994. This programme identified regional haze incidents, emphasized fire fighting capabilities and the prohibition of burning during dry periods. Longer term, "zero burning practices" and "awareness building efforts to eliminate the use of fire in land clearing activities through economically sound and environmentally friendly methods in agriculture". But this document did not mention about the forest conservation or protection as a means of minimising the generation of smoke. Following this agreement, a "Haze Technical Task Force" was established in 1995, to share information on fire prevention and containment, including making available satellite data on actual fires.

During the Forest Fires 1997-1998, the Task Force did not work enough. ASEAN Ministerial Meeting 1997 adopted a "Regional Haze Action Plan", (RHAP) which focused squarely on the problem. It has three objectives – to develop better management and enforcement so as to prevent fires, to establish cooperative mechanisms to monitor fires, and to build fire fighting. This

Action Plan produces a formulation of a RHAP. RHAP was being operated, however the result was far from expected.

Furthermore, Hanoi Plan of Action 1998 said that ASEAN agreed to take all necessary steps to protect the environment, implement the ASEAN Cooperation Plan on Transboundary Pollution with particular emphasis on the Regional Haze Action Plan by the year 2001. Furthermore, ASEAN finally produced the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution, signed by all member governments in June 2002. This agreement came into force in November 2003, after being ratified by six members of ASEAN.

ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution discusses about the prevention and monitoring transboundary haze pollution, as a result of land and forest fires and urged the international cooperation in the context of sustainable development. Besides, it is necessary for ASEAN member states to have collaboration in developing and implementing measures to prevent and monitor haze pollution, providing information and having consultation on the transboundary nature of the problem, and for national governments to take legislative, administrative and other relevant measure to implement the Agreement (Article 4). ASEAN Transboubdary Haze Pollution Fund is established and designed to support the implementation of implementation of the Agreement (Article 20). The parties to the Agreement are expected voluntarily to contribute to the Fund in accordance with the decisions of the Conference of the Parties and where necessary, to mobilise additional resources from relevant international organisations. The fund was established in November 2006 with U.S. $ 100.000 as an initial funding. Besides ASEAN member states, multilateral donors (Asian Development Bank, UN Environment Program, and European Union), the United States, Japan, and Australia contributed to this initiative.ASEAN Environment Ministers have sought to set up an ASEAN Environment Fund to support haze reduction (ASEAN 2005), but donors apparently prefer direct support for specific activities.

ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution also established ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Transboundary Haze Pollution Control (at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta) to facilitate cooperation for fire and haze-related work. However,Meyer revealed, the centre's location in Indonesia does not meanthat it has direct role in Indonesian fire related reforms or anti-burning enforcement. ASEAN itself was reluctantly took action on the ground.[18] Simon Tay observedthat ASEAN inability to supplement failures by Indonesia to address the Southeast Asian fires.[19] Apparently, the problem lies on the political will among each ASEAN member states. Due to national security concern, Indonesia was hesitantly ratified the ASEAN Haze Agreement, and was therefore not legally bound to adhere to the agreement , which requires signatories to develop and implement "measures' to prevent and monitor transboundary haze pollution, and control sources of fires by developing early warning systems" among other things. Finally in 2014, Indonesian parliament voted to ratify the treaty, writing into law its commitment to work with its Aseanneighbours to tackle the region's haze problem.[20]Heilman (2015) said the ratification will not be an immediate game changer because it is too weak to contribute much to a reduction of haze pollution in the region.[21] However, Indonesia's commitment is significant to deal with prevention of forest fires and cooperation with other ASEAN countries.

THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN UNION INITIATIVES TO ADDRESS DEFORESTATION ISSUE IN INDONESIA

EU participation in the global environmental forum is quite late, but its contributions to the development of global environmental issues are valuable. These efforts are implemented into the participation in the global forum and coordinate the development assistance.

EU is the largest development assistance contributor to Indonesia. It is initiated in 1980s under the EC – ASEAN Cooperation Agreement. The EC contribution to development aid in Indonesia during the last 25 years has been about € 300 million, over one third of which (€ 160 million in the last ten years) was related to the forestry sector.[22]At the begining, the European Commission's development cooperation programme focused on support for the Indonesian government's effort to maintain self-sufficient in rice. In mid-1990s, direct development co-operation between European Commission and Indonesia has started to focus on the following priority areas: forestry, water and support to the social safety network. This mechanism was funded through Asia and Latin America (ALA) scheme. Among those areas, forestry was the main concern because the level pollution and the exploitation of natural resources were high. Those are the negative impacts of Indonesia economic growth for the last two decades. Pollution levels were high and natural resources are being exploited. The degradation of environment affected some part of Indonesia and its neighbouring countries.

EU has reasonable concern to deforestation issues in Indonesia. The forest of Indonesia represent 10% of the world's remaining tropical forests and are considered to be amongst the richest in biodiversity and being home to a great number of species found nowhere else in the world.[23]EU is also one of the significant consumers of Indonesian forest products (timbers).The 1999 Communication already mentioned illegal logging and land clearing areas as the triggering factors of forest degradation and deforestation in Indonesia. Although logging was good to boost Indonesian economy, it created a problem the sustainability of land management. On the other hand, land clearing areas was actually needed to sustain the forest condition but it triggered forest fires, since it is

[18] Judith Meyer, "Transboundary Perspectives on Managing Indonesia's Fires," *The Journal of Environment Development*, 15 (2006)

[19] Tay, Simon, "What Should be Done about the Haze, ", *The Indonesian Quarterly*, 26, No. 2 (1998)

[20] Indonesia finally ratifies Asean haze treaty, 17 September 2014, http://www.eco-business.com/news/indonesia-finally-ratifies-asean-haze-treaty/

[21] Daniel Heilmann, After Indonesia's Ratification: The ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution and Its Effectiveness As a Regional Environmental Governance Tool, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 3/2015: 95–121

[22] INDONESIA COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER 2002-2006 http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/indonesia/csp/02_06_en.pdf

[23] Communication from the Commission to the Council and to the European Parliament, 'Developing Closer Relations between Indonesia and the European Union (2000), pp. 15 accessed at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52000DC0050:EN:NOT

done excessively. And they are also a symptom of deficiencies forest management and in the implementation of policies.

The 1997-1998 Forest fires were considered critical, because it were estimated to have caused more emissions of CO_2. At the same time, Indonesia had the economic crisis, followed by a political turbulence. This condition affected their priority on environmental issues, while uncontrollable fires have caused severe damage (haze, loss of timber, decline of tourism). And they are also a symptom of deficiencies forest management and in the implementation of policies. EU could not wait for Indonesia to address its environmental problems until Indonesian economic and financial conditions get better.[24]

In the post 1998, the new Indonesian government committed to reform and offered its different approaches, EU saw some opportunities to contribute. Forest sector became one of its top priorities for support and made 60% of development assistance to the country's forest sector was provided through Commission projects. EC Forestry Programme allocated €160 million to work on a series of six coherent projects that address major issues: forest fires, forest management, sustainable harvesting and the preservation of an ecological balance. [25]

The 1997-1998 Indonesian forest fires were considered as one of the great natural disasters. This gave a good opportunity for the EU to implement its commitment on environmental issues, for the sake of securing their economic interests. The EC Cooperation to Indonesian forestry is coordinated under the European Commission – Indonesia Forestry Programme (ECIFP), aimed to preserve Indonesian forest, because Indonesian forest are significant, not only to Indonesia, but also to the global community. Deforestation in the tropical countries (including Indonesia) generally contributed to 17% total greenhouse gas emissions – third largest contribution after energy supply (26%) and industry (19%).[26] Besides, deforestation

reduces global biodiversity. Tropical forest cover decreased by 13 million hectares annually between 2000 and 2005 (FAO 2006).

Here EU and Indonesia considered the importance of Indonesia's forestry sector and its products. Indonesia sees forestry sector including its products as one of the state's source of income or in other words, a trade commodity. Therefore it has an economic value and the forestry sector would be more useful if it is also managed by a proper management.

The forest problem (deforestation) in Indonesia becomes a borderless issue, since the impact of deforestation affected its neighbours. Indonesia limited capacity to tackle this problem affect the forest sustainability.

Furthermore, Sustainable forest management has been a long standing international concern for the EU who supported the development of a legally binding agreement on forests.[27]

Therefore, deforestation issue creates an opportunity to strengthen cooperation between EU and Indonesia. Through ECIFP, EU is to also recognise the economic value of Indonesian forest, because Indonesian forest products became one of the reliable sources of government income. Besides, ECFIP also help Indonesia to avoid the greater risk of deforestation, in order to improve the quality of Indonesian forest and its product.[28]

Globally, deforestation creates negative impacts such as (1) greenhouse gas emissions and; (2) the emerging market of illegal forest products. Such regulations have to be created to make minimise the impacts and make market works effectively. Regarding to climate change, EU has worked closely with Indonesia on the

[24] Ibid

[25] Ibid

[26] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2007, as it cited by Stephen McCarthy and Luca Taconi, The Political

Economy of tropical deforestation: assessing models and motives, *Environmental Politics*, 20, No. 1 (2011): 115-132

[27] G Reischel, 'The EU and the UN Forest Negotiations: A Case Failed International Environmental Governance?' (Paper presented to Marie Curie European Summer School on Earth System Governance, VrijeUniversiteit, Amsterdam, 24 May – 6 June 2007) at www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/07SummerSchool%20-%20Reischel.pdf

[28] Projects included underthe ECIFP included: (1)The South and Central Kalimantan Production Forest Project; (2) The Leuser Ecosystem Management Project; (3) The Illegal Logging Response Centre ; (4) Participative Management of Natural Resources in Berau and Bulungan (in Kalimantan) (5)The South Sumatra Forest Fire Management Project;(6) The Forest Liaison Bureau

United Nations Framework Convention Climate Change (UNFCC) as a strategic partner in the negotiation of a post-Kyoto Agreement. The European Trading Scheme (ETS) in particular is closely monitored by local stakeholders interested in exploring the potential of carbon markets to control emission levels.

Furthermore, EU policies on tropical deforestation and legal timber trade (FLEGT action Plan, Timber regulation, 2008 EC Communication on Tropical Deforestation) and on bio fuels promotion and sustainability (Renewable Energy Directive) are of particular relevance for Indonesia as 80% of the country emissions come from land-use change due to forest and agriculture sectors.FLEGT (Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade)is the EU initiative to exclude illegal products from its imports and to build markets for verifiably legal products.[29]

Indonesia's deforestation rate is the highest in the world, at an annual average of 2%, which means that it lost 1, 8 million hectares every year, from 2000 to 2005.[30] A joint study Forest Watch Indonesia and Global Forest Watch reveals that Indonesia loss no less than 2 million hectares of its forest every year, a deforestation rate twice as high as that in the 1980s.[31] This condition already made Indonesia as one of the world largest emitters. In addition, deforestation is also caused by illegal logging, especially from timber and pulp.

A study conducted by WWF Germany, between 16 to 19% of the timber imports into the EU derives from illegal or suspicious sources.[32] Between 2003 to 2006 EU imports of products from wood and paper from the People's Republic of China almost tripled (from 4 million m[3] to 11.5 million m3) but China itself imported those products from the

other countries (like Indonesia) with a high probability of illegal origin.[33]

Another initiative is EU Timber Regulation (2010) is to combat trade in illegally harvested timber.[34] This regulation has fourth points:

- The illegally harvested timber and products derived from such timber are prohibited placing in the EU market
- EU traders who placed timber products on EU market for the first time to exercise 'due diligence'
- The Traders are obliged to keep records of their suppliers and customers
- Timber and timber products should be referred to FLEGT or CITES

In May, 4th 2011 The Government of Indonesia and the EU issued a joint statement to conclude negotiation on a Voluntary Partnership Agreement (VPA) to end the trade in illegally-source wood.[35]This agreement means that only legally verified timber is exported from Indonesia to the EU. EU companies will only be able to import timber that is certified as complying with Indonesian environmental laws. According to EU trade commissioner, Karel de Gucht, "Not only is Indonesia the first Asian country to conclude VPA negotiations withthe EU, it is also by far the largest timber exporter to enter into such an agreement,"[36]

Under VPA, Indonesia has an Indonesian Timber Legality Assurance System (TLAS) that works under operator based licensing approach. [37]The implementation of TLAS or Sistem Verifikasi Legalisasi Kayu (SVLK) will be

[29] Duncan Barack, Controlling Illegal Logging and the Trade in Illegally Harvested Timber: The EU's Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade Initiative, *RECIEL* 14, No.1 (2005).

[30] Clara Rondonuwu, Kerusakan Hutan di Indonesia Tercepat di Dunia, http://www.media-indonesia.com/berita.asp?id=132103,3 Mei 2007

[31] http://www.dephut.go.id/intranet/INVENT/R_GFW02.htm

[32] "Illegal wood for the European market: An analysis of the EU import and export of illegal wood and related products," World Wildlife Fund Germany (2008), accessed at *wwf-ue-2008.org/download/4/ -* ,

[33] Ibid

[34] EU Timber Regulation applicable from 3 March 2013, accessed at http://ec.europa.eu/environment/forests/pdf/EUTR_Leaflet_EN.pdf

[35] EU FLEGT Facility, accessed at http://www.euflegt.efi.int/portal/news/?bid=214, see also "Conclusion of Negotiation for a Voluntary Partnership Agreement (VPA) between Indonesia and the European Union (EU) on Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade (FLEGT), Press Release, 4 May 2011, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/indonesia/documents/press_corner/news20110504_02_en.pdf

[36] "EU and Indonesia sign deal on illegal timber", 4 May, 2011, accessed http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-13272393

[37] Indonesia Timber legality Assurance System, accessed at http://www.efi.int/files/attachments/euflegt/efi_newsroom_indonesia_legality_assurance_system_ed.pdf

followed by the establishment of A Conformity Assessment Bodies or LembagaVerifikasi. This institution will audit the legality of operations of timber producers, timber traders, processors and exporters, and their compliance with the system and monitoring function. The European Investment Bank (EIB) will also be involved in this initiative, in the area of climate change mitigation and cleaner energies in the years to come, which could offer opportunities for complementary intervention.[38]

In September 2013, finally Brussels and Jakarta signed a FLEGT Voluntary Partnership Agreement (FLEGT – VPA) or Timber Pact.[39] The FLEGT – VPA is established to identify the products and to regulate the market activities. FLEGT – VPA and EU Timber Regulation (2010) or EUTR givesan opportunity for the state to have partnership with the private sector, to develop and manage natural resources.

Indonesian government saw VPA is essential for tackling the problem of illegal logging, although combating illegal logging will be effective if such initiatives addressed both supply and demand side.[40] An Indonesian environment group, Telapak, also welcomed this decision as a result of their long-time worked hard with other stakeholders to design a system that will involve independent auditing and independent monitoring by civil society.[41]Furthermore, The influence of the new legislation in the US and EU preventing the entry of illegal timber has also played a big role in convincing industry to consider timber harvested in Indonesia.[42]A European Commission official revealed, although VPA's export coverage only to Europe, It will hopefully help Indonesia curb illegal logging and illegal exports across the board. Besides, by having cooperation with Indonesia at the legislative framework and identify the gaps, we hope to help them improve the whole

situation."[43] Here, EU is unilaterally imposing ban on illegal timber, under the principle of voluntary action. Through VPA, EU will have a bilateral partnership with an exporting country and control the trade activities among both sides.

Some companies see this as a restriction to their business, because their activities will be controlled by a new system. The other will see it as good opportunity because that responsible practice are not penalised and the supply of raw materials will be safeguarded. Faith Doherty, leader of the Environmental Investigation Agency's (EIA) forest campaign, reminded that the core issue at the heart of illegal logging and the illegal trade has always been corruption, and credible transparency is the key to this VPA's success.[44] On the other hand, Andre de Boer, secretary-general of the European Timber Trade Federation, saw VPA will raise their bargaining position in the market, encourage buyers to purchase legal and sustainable timber, and therefore support producers who act responsibly.[45]

On November 15, 2016, the FLEGT licensing scheme for legal timber products from Indonesia is fully operational.[46]It means, Indonesia is able to export its FLEGT licensed-timber to the EU countries and Indonesia's capacity to improve its product is recognisable.

From the EU side, Indonesia's FLEGT-VPA is considered a result of EU development assistance given to Indonesia, for many years. It also represents EU commitment to continue to workon sustainable forest management, which is implemented in giving support to the establishment TLAS/SVLK, to improve forest management in Indonesia.

Apart from that, Deforestation issuebecome an opportunity to establish and to enhance cooperation because the forest products itself and the initiatives on how to manage this issue has economic value. It means better forest management is needed.

[38] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:22014A0520(02)&from=EN

[39] Manuel Schmitz (2016), Strengthening the rule of law in Indonesia: the EU and the combat against illegal logging, Asia Europe Journal, 14: 79-93

[40] "EU and Indonesia sign deal on illegal timber", 4 May, 2011, accessed http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-13272393

[41] Ibid

[42] Ibid

[43] Ibid

[44] Ms. Doherty was kidnapped in Indonesia a decade ago during a mission to uncover forest crime.

[45] Ibid

[46] EU and Indonesia celebrate cooperation milestone in sustainable management of forests, Press Release, 28 November 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/environment/pdf/28_11_16_news_en.pdf

ECFIP has not been enough to assist Indonesia managing the deforestation issue, because there are still some problems on Indonesia side. Meanwhile Indonesia thinks the deforestation issue has a big effect on obtaining opportunity to export the forest products to Europe. Therefore, Indonesia has been working hard to solve deforestation issue.

The existence of FLEGT – VPA and TLAS (or SVLK) is a breakthrough to meet EU interests on sustainable forest management and to solve Indonesia's problem. Both are concerned about the impact of deforestation for each side, and shared coomon interests on how improve the situation. Indonesia will loss opportunity to export its timber product to Europe, while EU timber import from Indonesia would not work smoothly because of the standardization issue and EU strong commitment on sustainable management policy.

Therefore FLEGT – VPA is a kind of international cooperation to make the management of forest problem more efficient, transparent and profitable. TLAS (or SVLK) is to make Indonesia improve their capacity in order to achieve maximum gains, bigger profit for indonesian timber in EU market.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Deforestation issue gave an opportunity for the EU to accomplish its role in the global environment. Deforestation issue in Indonesia became an arena for the EU promote its capacity as a leading international actor in environmental issues. EU also has an opportunity to strengthen collaboration with Indonesiaon forestry sectors.

Indonesia's participation in FLEGT – VPA and the establishment of SVLK/TLAS represent EU – Indonesia shared interests on forestry issues. FLEGT – VPA and SVLK/TLAShelped Indonesia to resolve this chronic problem. Those initiatives pursue Indonesia to upgrade its capacity as a timber exporter. At same time, giving that Indonesia is the first Asian countries to sign VPA, SVLK gives Indonesia possibility to raise its profile in the EU VPA's signature countries

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SUPPORTING ECOFEMINISM: WHO PLAYS THE ROLE IN EMPOWERING THE LIVING-ENVIRONMENT CARETAKERS' FEMALE COMMUNITY IN SURAKARTA?

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Abstract

Living environment conservation has become the attention of government, society and household. All of these parties have important role in conserving the living environment. Women who constitute important element within households haven't frequently been awarded opportunity to actively participate in environment conservation activities since theyare marginalized. Meanwhile women have basic characteristics that can make them stay closeto nature through domestic roles they undertake, such as gathering food and firewood, getting some water and looking after their children. Therefore, women frequently form groups in the society to empower themselves through conserving the living environment (eco-feminismmovement), such as *Kelompok Perempuan Joyosuran* (Joyosuran Female Group) and *Komunitas Perempuan Kelurahan Kemlayan* (Kemlayan sub-district Female Community). The research identifies the roles of Surakarta local government, SPEK-HAM non-government organization (NGO) and families in empowering Kemlayan sub-district Female Community and Joyosuran Female Group regarding the living-environment maintenance in Surakarta. The primary data were collected through interviews with Joyosuran Female Group and Kemlayan sub-district Female Community members, Surakarta local government, SPEK HAM NGO and the families of the community members. The secondary data were collected through library studies. The analysis technique employed is Naila Kabeer's model to identify to what extent is the role of the local government's institutions, society and families in the process of women empowerment. The research result shows that 1) Surakarta local government plays the role in budgetary, regulations and supporting programs; 2) families has a role to provide support; 3) SPEK-HAM NGO has a role in forming the living-environment caretakers' female community, providing fund and infrastructure of the program, becoming the intermediary between the society and the local government, conducting workshops and discussions, and also conducting programs such as trees planting, river reservation, trash sorting and recycling.The research concludes that SPEK HAM NGO has more dominant role in reinforcing Kemlayan sub-district Female Community and Joyosuran Female Group than that of Surakarta local government and families.

Keywords: *Ecofeminism, living-environment conservation, family's role, society role, government role*

INTRODUCTION

Since the emersion of Sustainable Development Goals, the importance of environment conservation for sustainable development has become the attention of government and non-governmental institutions such as society, business and household (Guiriba, 2016). One of the Sustainable Development Goals is to achieve gender equality by women empowerment on all areas of life, one of them is environment conservation area. Unfortunatelly, women who constitute important element within households have not frequently been given enough opportunity to actively participate in environment conservation activities since they are marginalized.

Marginalization of women goes hand in hand with the destruction of environtment itself (Shiva & Mies, 2005). Meanwhile, women have basic characteristics that can make them stay close to nature through domestic roles they undertake, such as gathering food and firewood, getting some water and looking after their children (Aditya, 2016). The connection between women and nature is also created by their role in public institutions such as Women Farmer Group. Therefore, women frequently create groups (self-help group) in society to empower themselves through conserving the environment. Self-help group is effective to empower women because it stimulates them to act according to conditions

and situations as well as urges them to be able to overcome all problems they face.

The relation between women and nature is usually known as ecofeminism. Ecofeminism is a concept which examines the connection between women and nature, so later on, they can be called as "mother of nature" (Guiriba, 2016). Ecofeminism likens women to the nature itself which is always destroyed, exploited and irresponsibly treated. Ecofeminism sees that the degradation of environment as equal to the degradation of women and the degradation of women is equal to the degradation of family (Guiriba, 2016). This point of view strikes out ecofeminist movement which contributes actively in prevention of environmental destruction. As stated by Shiva and Mies (2005) the ecofeminist assumes conservation action as "world re-assembling" or "scars healing" processes which have been suffered by nature.

Previous research found that ecofeminist movement and women empowerment in environment conservation should be supported by all stakeholders to achieve significant life-change (Kulkarni & Deshpande, 2013; Guiriba, 2016; Seema, 2014). Unfortunatelly, women empowerment is often performed by only one stakeholder. If this situation happens, the responsivity and public trust in another stakeholder will slowly decrease (Cook, Wright, & Andersson, 2016). For example, when the empowerment is undertaken by non-governmental organization (NGO), since NGOs could possibly mobilize the society especially who is marginalized, they can provide proper education and training, be accurate in alocating resources, represent and make sure women participation, avoid any political interest or profit orientation (Ahamad, Hemlata, & Narayana, 2015 ; Kilby, 2011). On the other hand, NGOs also have some limitations such as budgeting, that is why the programs and human resource of women empowerment also need government support. Anyhow, government often does not play a role directly which makes the empowerment does not work optimally. Government only performs program socialization without any further movement, so women does not get any benefit. As a result, public trust in government as a policy maker will slowly getting down. Meanwhile, the business sector also has integral role in empowerment by Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program (Kumar & Hitu, 2014; Abraham, 2013). So, another research suggests that women empowerment as a way to achieve sustainable development needs all stakeholders role including government, business, NGOs and even family or society (Guiriba, 2016; Kulkarni & Deshpande, 2013; Seema, 2014).

This article examines the empowerment of the environment caretakers' female community in Surakarta. They are *Kelompok Perempuan Joyosuran* (Joyosuran Female Group) and *Komunitas Perempuan Kelurahan Kemlayan* (Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community). Surakarta was chosen because the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community are located in sub-district of Surakarta and they actively participate in environment conservation to overcome environmental problems in each sub-district for almost seven years. The article aims at identifying the contribution of government, business, NGOs and family in supporting the empowerment of the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Ecofeminism

Ecofeminisme is a "new concept for an old idea" which grows from many social movement—feminist movement, peace and ecology—in the end of 1970 and in the early of 1980. This concept becomes popular in relation to many protests and activities against environment destruction, which are originally triggered by recurrent ecological disaster (Shiva & Mies, 2005). Ecofeminism is defined as a concept which belives that women have basic characteristics that can make them stay close to nature through domestic roles they undertake, such as gathering food and firewood, getting some water and looking after their children (Aditya, 2016). Ecofeminism also explains why women called by "mother of nature" because women as equal as nature itself which is always destructed, exploited, and irresponsibly treated (Guiriba, 2016). This point of view strikes out ecofeminist movement which actively contribute in prevention of environmental destruction.

In the other hand, this point of view gets some arguments from (Rao, 2012; Murphy, 2013) who asked doubtly, "Is that true that only women are closer to nature rather than men?" since the understanding of ecofeminism could vary in some areas from capitalism to patriachy social

structure. In addition, not all of women support what ecofeminist movements do. According to Shiva and Mies (2005), some parts of women society, especially the ones who live in urban areas and come from middle-class society, is still difficult to accept and to understand that there is a relation between women's freedom and nature. So, feminst environmentalist is proposed as a new concept which assumes the relation between women and nature depends on social and cultural background (Rao, 2012). In this article, the author uses the term ecofeminism as a concept which sees women as equal as nature itself which is always destructed, exploited, and irresponsibly treated. The researches about ecofeminism focus on many areas such as the role of ecofeminist movement in environmental conservation (Mukherjee, 2013), the role of ecofeminism in developing country such as Chipko Movement in India (Aditya, 2016) and ecofeminism as a resistant act towards gender inequality such as love canal movement in America (Candraningrum & Hunga, 2013).

Self help group

Self help group is a concept which plays an important role in empowerment especially in rural areas. Since self help group's majority member are women, the existance of this group increases the effectiveness of women empowerment program. Self help group usually consists of 10 to 20 women and has a regular meeting which is held to conduct experience sharing to overcome problems and issues they face. Self help group has a strong relation with some NGOs which provide education and training to build members' competence especially in socializing. Self help group is an important tool which helps the rural women to acquire power for their self-supportive life. Empowering women is not just for meeting their economics need, but also for getting more holistic social development which can increase women self confidence. If they have self confidence, the effect of women empowerment will stay longer than merely economic result (Saravanan, 2016). The researches about self help group usually focus on poverty allevation (Devi & Narasalah, 2017), and women social and economic capacity development (Saravanan, 2016).

Women empowerment

Empowerment means "giving authority" since power means not only "effort" but also "power—

control" so that "empower" is not only stands for "able" but also "having a power—control". Johnson and Redmod (in Wrihatnolo and Dwijowijoto, 2007) assume empowerment as an art "...at last empowerment is about art, it is about value we believe.." which means empowering can not define as an "interruption" or "uniforming" and we have to give some spaces to diversity of abilities development so that empowerment is defined as a natural process.

Wrihatnolo and Dwidjowijoto (2007) explain the importance of empowerment. First, empowerment is seen as an answer of the implementation of development program in 1970 to 1990 which tends to be sentralistic. This condition causes the dead of society inovation, creation and participation to understand and to fulfill their needs in the development process. Second, empowerment is an answer to public policies which tend to forget the interests of the grassroot level. Last, empowerment is an answer to society fate which is still dominated by the underdeveloped and the poor ones. So, if we see the empowerment concept from women perspective, it can be concluded that women empowerment is a process, step or even action done to give women not only power but also power—control in various fields such as politics, law, education and economics.

Sundstorm, Paxton, Wang and Linberg (2017) see empowerment as a multifaced concept which can be defined into some aspects, including rights, resources, options, perception, relation and power. Meanwhile, Janssens (2010) says that empowerment is identically defined as an possesing the capacity to make effective choices that is to translate one's choices into desired actions and outcomes. Regarding to the explanation, it can be drawn that women empowerment is a process to posses women's capacity to make them not only "able" but also "have power—control" so they can achieve equality between them and men (Janssens, 2010; Wrihatnolo & Dwidjowijoto, 2007; Sundstrom, Paxton, Wang, & Lindberg, 2017).

Longwe finds that women empowerment has five important aspects, such as 1) welfare; 2) access; 3) conciousness; 4) participation and 5) control (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010).

Stakeholder role

Role refers to someone's function or action in occupying position in society (Soekanto, 2002). Based on institutional perspective, role is seen as organizational actions towards an occasion. Stakeholder means people or a people or a group who have interest in a policy, program or project. So, it can be said that stakeholder role is an action and function of a person or a group which have interest in a project or program. The stakeholder role includes 1) regulatory role, which means stakeholder role is as a decision maker in form of regulation and law in program implementation; 2) dinamisatory role, which means stakeholder role is as a participation drivers and stability keepers in the program implementation; 3) facilitatory role, which means stakeholder role is as a communicator in the program implementation through provision of facilities and infrastructure (Labolo, 2006).

METHODS

This research uses descriptive qualitative method. The data collection used in this reasearch are interview and library study. Interview was conducted in community groups (RW) 8 Joyosuran Sub-District. The interviewees are the members of the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community, Departement of Environment of Surakarta, Departement of Women Empowerment and Children Protection of Surakarta, and SPEK-HAM Non-Govermental Organization (NGO). Meanwhile, the gender analysis uses Naila Kabeer's Social Relation Approach. Kabeer developes an analysis model which focuses on gender inequality including five concept, they are 1) development as increasing human well-being; 2) social relation; 3) institutional analysis; 4) institutional gender policies; and 5) immediate, underlying and structural causes. This article only uses third concept—institutional analysis to identify each stakeholder role contribution in empowerment process. The institutional analysis has five basic aspects, they are 1) rules, this may be official rule such as law and this may be unofficial and expressed through norms and values; 2) activities, can be regulative, productive and distributive; 3) resources, whether they are human, money or even information; 4) people, society component who is involved in empowerment process; 5) power, institutions embody relations of authority and control (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Ecofeminism in Surakarta

Some sub-districts in Surakarta have already female communities which actively takes part in conserving environment, such as the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community. Those female groups work in self help group form and conducts a regular meeting to overcome environmental problems at sub-district levels. The Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community is a women group in the Kemlayan Sub-District who actively participate in "Sumber Rejeki" Bank of Trash (*bank sampah*) management program. The idea of environment conservation comes from RW 2 PKK group who does some activities to keep the environment stay clean and healthy through trash sorting. The Kemlayan Sub-District is one of the areas which has littered problems. In 2014, "Sumber Rejeki" Bank of Trash was made to overcome that problems. Nowadays, there are already 25 members of "Sumber Rejeki" Bank of Trash who regulary collect household waste twice a month to be pondered. In the middle of the month, those members deposit anorganic trash such as bottle, paper, cans and plastic wrap to be exchanged with money. The bank activities increase the housewife income in the Kemlayan Sub-District and also supports 80 percent by Kemlayan Sub-District's gender aware a pre-cooperation.

The Joyosuran Female Group which was formed in 2009 comes from the alliance of many female groups in community societies (RW) Joyosuran Sub-District; Permata Group, Kenanga Group and Cempaka Group. Their environmental problem was appeared when people in the Joyosuran Sub-District used to litter which causes annual flood in Jenes river. Those problems got worse when by Putri Cempo landfill which made the Joyosuran Sub-District environment looked shabby. In 2009, the accompaniment and initiation of SPEK-HAM NGO made those female groups who used to work in community level moved to the female group at sub-district level called the Joyosuran Female Group. The Joyosuran Female Group does many activities to conserve environment such as trash sorting, river reservation, disaster and flood areas mapping, utilization of yard field for food crops,

household waste recycling, and tree planting in order to prevent the floods. The Joyosuran Female Group has some strategic roles in planning, implementing and evaluating in overcoming trash problems in Jenes river. First, the Joyosuran Female Group provides infrastructure in form of 60 trash bins and 20 extra bins from business help. Second, it shares their experiences about trash sorting and management. Third, it also socialize river planting program to people who live along the Jenes river. Nowadays, the Joyosuran Female Group already has 26 cadres with many members spread around nine community societies in the Joyosuran Sub-District.

Institutional analysis who takes a part in women empowerment

The institutional analysis which makes gender inequality can not be done in one institution only, but it also needs cross-institution such as household, family, society, government and business. This research identifies the institutions who take a part in empowerment of environment caretakers' female community in Surakarta as displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Institutional analysis who take a part in empowerment

No.	Roles	Facts
	Local Government	
1.	❖ As a regulator through Environment Departement, Women Empowerment and Children Protection Departement, and street level bureaucrat in each sub-district. ❖ Formulating environment conservation programs such as Integrated Waste Management Program (Pengelolaan Sampah Terpadu), Bank of Trash Program and Management of Open Living-Space Program. Local government also issued decree in sub-district level so that female groups have budget access.	Local government's role has not run optimally yet because they used to do program socialization only without any further actions. Even the socialization was only held once a year, so it made the society participation decreased day by day. In addition, local government tends to have complicated bureaucracy if it deals with budget and monetary thingies. The budget for empowerment is usually given in a small amount.
	Business	
2.	❖ As a facilitator to give budgetary support which local government cannot afford. The budgetary support often comes through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).	The budgetary support is given in a small amount so the female groups must take the initiative to obtain funds from the joint actions.
	Non-Governmental Organization	
3.	❖ SPEK-HAM NGO has double role as facilitator and dinamisator. Female groups could be formed through the initiative of SPEK-HAM NGO. NGO provides training and education in environment conservation field, such as trash sorting, river reservation, mapping of disaster and flood areas, utilization of yard field for food crops, household waste recycling, and tree planting. ❖ NGO also conducts a regular meeting once a month to discuss the upcoming program and the progress achieved. ❖ NGO provides budgetary support to run female groups' programs.	The capacity of the female groups is build through the activities that NGO provides. Anyhow, there is an authority delegation of local government to help NGO in technical thingies matter. By so, the local government works "behind the table" only and NGO takes part ini communicating with society. It is a fact that NGO can posibbly mobilize the participation of society in local level, but it cannot be run optimally when local government does not give budgetary support, because NGO also has some resource limitation.
	Family	
4.	❖ Family plays dinamisatory role which make sures women to take a part in female groups eventhough the gender ideology is entrenched in society. Family also provides support and motivation.	There are many husbands and children who support women to take an active part in every female groups' activities because they consider those activities as a good movement.

Five aspects of social relation shared by institution

Kabeer develops institutional relation framework towards program's effectiveness by analizing five aspects shared by institution, they are 1) rule; 2) activity; 3) resource; 4) people and 5) power (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010). The analysis is described as follows:

1. Supporting rules

It regards to "how things get done" which can be formed in institutional law and regulation or even unofficial rule such as norms, values, tradition and culture (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010). Local government in Surakarta through the departement of environment has a regulation about the bank of trash and environmental programs based on Law No. 28 Year 2008 about Waste Management. Another rule is stated in Mayoral Decree of Surakarta Municipality No. 4/2003 about Society Empowerment Sub-district Organization (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan*) which reffers to participation of society in every empowerment activities. *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan* motivates the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Communityto keep moving forward in empowerment process as their contribution for environment conservation. Besides, there is another rule called Local Regulation of Surakarta Municipality No. 11/2011 about Society Subdistrict Organization (*Lembaga Kemasyarakatan Kelurahan*). In addition, local governmen at sub-district level also sets a rule at a down level in form of decree. The Kemlayan Sub-District sets Head of Village Decree (*Surat Keputusan Lurah*) No 6/V1/2016 to optimize environment conservation through "Sumber Rejeki" Bank of Trash. Meanwhile, the Joyosuran Sub-district also does the same thing to give acknowledgement towards the Joyosuran Female Group.

2. Lack of activities distribution

All activities held by female groups in empowerment process is normatively stated in local government rules. Even though it seems like the local government of Surakarta is active in regulatory activities, but these activities are practically, productively, distributively and actively held by SPEK-HAM NGO. It is proved by their actions to intentionally create female groups, to provide training and education, workshop, regular discussion and initiative of program and activities such as waste management through 3R (Reuse, Reduce, Recycle), 1000 *Perempuan Menyapu* (a thousand females sweep), *Gerakan Cinta Bumi* (Earth Love Movement), production of organic fertilzer, and tree planting along the Jenes river. SPEK-HAM NGO can possibly coordinate empowerment activities through their capability to communicate, so it increases society participation at local level. SPEK-HAM NGO has more intecity in empowerment process. Therefore, SPEK-HAM NGO knows every problem faced bythe female groups and how to solve them, their upcoming programs and the reality in empowerment program. This fact is strengthen by (Saravanan, 2016) who states thatself help group has a strong relation with NGOs more than another stakeholder.

3. Limited resources

Eventhough SPEK-HAM NGO can possibly coordinate empowerment program at local level, it cannot be optimal without budgetary support from local government. Financially, the empowerment of the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community is already supported by local government through the budget provision (IDR 15 billions). Unfortunatelly, the funding is not sufficient enough to conduct all female groups' programs and activities. Based on the interview result, the local government budget is often allocated to the *Pos Pelayanan Terpadu* (PPT, Integrated Service Center) and another unperforming units, that is why the female groups should propose the budgetary support through CSR program.

Meanwhile, the female group empowerment also needs sufficient human resources. Local government has already provided it through all the environmental program socialization and counseling activities. Unfortunately, government staffs rarely have intention to take a direct part in those activities because all the technical thingies have already been given to NGO. SPEK-HAM NGO has Division of Sustainability Livelihood to undertake the empowerment activities, but it does not have sufficient personil to take a direct part in every activity.

4. Society conflict

These conflicts refer to class, gender and social inequality in society. Surakarta is a city which is dominated by Javanesse norms so that the empowerment of the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community often collides in those norms and values. Women are considered as a "konco wingking" who has to be "keep silent" in the house, doing domestic activities, taking after their children and cannot actively take a part in social or public activities. Fortunatelly, family shows up as a motivator who gives support. There are many husbands and children who support women take an active part in every female groups' activities because they consider those activities as a good movement.

On the other hand, society shows kind of denial action towards the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community. It causes an organizational conflict between the Joyosuran Female Group and PKK group at sub-district level. PKK group assumes that their position as a female group at sub-district level is taken by the Joyosuran Female Group. This is very serious conflict which makes those two female groups never can be sinergyzed.

5. Power and authority

These aspects refer to institutions embody the authority relations and control towards empowerment process. For about six years, the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community formulate programs and activities based on their own initiative, eventhough those programs and activities should be syncronized with local government programs. Practically, the power and authority in decision making is underlayed in each chairman of the female groups by considering the member's suggestion which is discussed in monthly meeting and comes democratically. It is formulated based on the problems and issues that they face such as tree planting to prevent annual flood. 70 percent members of female groups have already participated in government organizations whether at sub-district level, parliament, political parties and have actively involved in government development program such as *Kota Layak Anak* (Children-friendly City). Those are evidences that power and autority in empowerment process are underlayed in each member of female groups.

DISCUSSION

The result shows that ecofeminist movements in Surakarta (the Joyosuran Female Group and the Kemlayan Sub-district Female Community) reaches high participation level in environment conservation activities, especially in annual flood prevention and trash management activities. Those female groups overcome environmental problems in each sub-district through their own desire and initiative. This result strengthens Shiva and Mies (2005) who define conservational movement as a "healing process" on nature destruction. The Joyosuran Female Group tries their best to prevent annual flood by trash sorting, tree planting, producing organic fertilize and reserving the river. Those activities can be run dispite of defenciencies of resources. As stated by Longwe, the empowerment of female groups can be achieved through five aspects including welfare, access, conciousness, participation and control eventhough the result has not yet reached optimum state because of many obstacles, such as the entreched gender ideology in society.

The achievement of empowerment process cannot be separated from contribution of stakeholders' role, they are local government of Surakarta as a regulator, business as a facilitator, SPEK-HAM NGO as dinamisator and facilitator and also family as a dinamisator. Even though all the stakeholders contribute their role in supporting ecofeminist movement, SPEK-HAM NGO has a major role in empowerment itself. This result is strengthen by Saravanan (2017) who findsthat every self help group has an intimate relationship with NGO rather than another institution because NGO could accomodate and give women capacity building activities better through regular meeting. This result also supports the theories from Ahamad, Hemlata & Narayana (2015) and Kilby (2011) who state that NGO has a major role in women empowerment. Their actions affect women's trust in local government especially at sub-district level since they seemed like having less-participation in environmental conservation program. Meanwhile, in fact, they actually play

a dominant role in overcoming and preventing disasters at sub-district level. As stated by Cook, Wright, & Andersson (2016), this disease shows the decreasing government responsivity as a policy maker.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that local government, business, NGO and family has a different role contribution in empowering the environment caretakers' female community in Surakarta. Local government has dominant roles as a regulator through program and laws formulating. Business plays a facilitatory role through budgetary support in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). NGO has dominant role as facilitator and dinamisator through the initiation of female group forming, program and activities formulating, providing workshop, training, education and conducting a regular meeting or discussion. In addition, NGO also plays roles through fund provision. Meanwhile, family plays dominant roles as a dinamisator who makes sure women participation in ecofeminist movement through providing support and motivation eventhough the gender ideology is entreched in society. It can be said that those above mentioned stakeholders are supporting ecofeminism, but they have not worked maximally yet. The institutional relation in supporting ecofeminism have not reached shareholder level because each stakeholder plays their role separately without any cooperation and synergy. Therefore, the empowerment is dominated by one stakeholder; NGO, which has a strong relation with society and can possibly coordinate all the empowerment activities at local level (sub-district). This research suggests gender mainstreaming in every institution whether it is government or non-governmental organization such as business, NGO or even society. By strengthening gender mainstreaming, the gender awareness at central level and local level will increase, so the stakeholder can understand that the existance of women in environment conservation is an important matter and has to be supported by all stakeholders.

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