

The Role of Government on Sustainable Development

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Editor : @ Fadlurrahman, S.IP., M.P.A, Nike Mutiara Fauziah, S.A.P., M.A
Tata Letak : Irfany G.
Desain cover : Nafisah

Cetakan 1, Januari 2019
Tebal : vi + 263 hal ; 21 x 29 cm
ISBN : 978-602-0785-17-2

Penerbit Anom Pustaka
Perum Gowasari Blok 12 Yogyakarta
email: anompustaka@gmail.com

**2nd INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION
COMMUNITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

**“The Role of Government
on Sustainable Development”
Magelang, 16 – 17 November 2018**

Collaboration Conference :

3rd Borobudur Conference on Public Administration

3rd International Conference on Tourism Role in Sustainable Community Development

4th Conference on Social Transform

3rd International Social Science Tourism Research Conference

Editor :

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FOREWORD

Assalamu'alaikum Warahmatullah Wabarakatuh,

Finally, Second International Conference on Social Transformation, Community and Sustainable Development (2nd ICSTCSD) proceeding has been published. It is my great honour to say thank you to our Keynote Speaker Prof. Dr. Soffian Effendi and our Guest Speakers Prof. Dr. Rosazman, Teuku Afrizal, Ph.D, Dr. Karen M Fernandez, Assoc. Prof. Nursuhaily Abu Bakar, our invited audience, Rector of Tidar University, Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Science and our dear colleague in university.

On behalf of my colleagues in Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, we are deeply honoured to be hosting this conference. 2nd ICSTCSD 2018 is held as our response to Nawa Cita, the national development agenda who require the good governance principle in its implementation. In a good collaboration with government institution, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin, Imus Institute of Science and Technology, Diponegoro University, and Jenderal Soedirman University the conference will come up with recommendation within academic framework.

Through this highly valuable forum, I do hope many insights and enlightenment from the speaker and all participants for a better Social Transformation, Community and Sustainable Development.

Last but not least, thank you for all perpetual support from all lecturer, staff, and students in FISIPOL of Tidar University.

May Allah bless us.

Wassalamu'alaikum Warahmatullah Wabarakatuh.

Catur Wulandari, S.Sos., M.Si

2nd ICSTCSD 2018 Committee Chairman

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READING THE DIRECTION OF THE STUDY GOVERNING NEGATIVITY OF SEX WORKERS

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Abstract

The studies related to sex workers governance tend to use the positivist paradigm approach. This approach views the issue of sex worker as being more dominant from the point of view of implementing policies, controlling sexually transmitted diseases, and empowering the welfare economic dimensions. This article discusses the mapping of governing negativity studies related to sex workers carried out by the researchers and the positioning of these studies in the mainstream of the power. The methodology of this article is non-positive paradigm by compiling the research manuscripts, both journals and scientific publications related to sex worker. The manuscripts were analyzed using power theory with descriptions to review the literature. The conclusion is that the studies of sex worker did not treat the sex worker as the subjects, but the objects. The objectivity of sex worker is seen as a subaltern group. The subaltern group must inevitably be excluded from formal work, immoral and criminal tendencies and even accepts themselves as a group spreading sexually transmitted diseases, including their passivity in accepting various health policies on their bodies. The trap of sex worker studies has been positivistic in nature, even though contributive, but it has placed capacity for the casuistic and short-term understanding. It is not a long-term understanding leading to the new knowledge understanding that the sexuality service industry and its variants are capable of reproducing themselves.

Keywords: Study; Governing Negativity; Sex Workers

1. INTRODUCTION

The substance of Indonesia's political policy studies after authoritarianism laid the construction of the knowledge of the policy makers through a neo-liberal approach. In this approach, the policy actors take the protagonist role by spreading the idea that the policies they make are able to direct a better democracy (Kusman, 2017). The shift in study initially positioning citizens as mere the objects or subjects related to power becomes a study of citizens with all-new political activism (Klinken & Berenschot, 2014). Activism in the substance of Indonesian political policy studies leads to the study of political citizenship. Political dimensions are not only understood as the rights and responsibility, participation, status and certain access to policies, but also generated from the claims, struggles, or treatments constructed by the forces out of the the individual and even the rival groups.

This context contains binary. There are citizen classes possessing the access to compromise with policy-making elites, and on the other hand there are classes of citizens often experiencing the negativity. This class is managed by the State through the policy instruments. Negativity is rationality imposing something as the truth (Hardiman, 2011). The thought of negativity is latent and symbolic manifests in the structure of language, discussion, conversation, and rationality (Ricoeur, 1998), one of which is a

policy based on certain political morality. Following Ricoeur's terminology, language becomes a sense expression to negate others, while at the same time influencing and controlling the way people think to take an action to negate others as well. Through this language, people are "forced" to enter and accept certain meanings absolutely without any other possibility. Wagenaar (2012) said that morality arises from the consequences of the openness of liberal-conservative politics, so that there is always a discursive issue concerning the private lives of the citizens, such as abortion, contraceptive use, gambling, LGBTQ, drug use, pornography, death penalty, euthanasia (suicide attempt by the assistance of the doctors), and prostitution. In Anglo-Saxon countries, the dilemma of negativity governance is driven more by the enforcement of the equality and human solidarity. The choice includes policy controversy with the contesting debate subject.

This article highlights the prostitution subject. This subject was approached by the studies related to the process of formulation and implementation of the policies, especially at the local government level. For example, Semarang City Government discussed the Regional Regulation Draft on the governance of prostitution in Sunan Kuning prostitution area at the formulation stage in the regional house of representative, and it is similar to Pasuruan Regency Government. The researches in these two regions are difficult because it is not at the stage of policy legalization (ratification of local regulations) yet, so that the position of the policy entrepreneur is not visible yet. Whereas in the aspect of implementation, the closure of Dolly prostitution area in Surabaya City, followed by the policy of empowering the sex workers and pimps, had political implications for the local elections and the formation of a new city identity (Rappler.com 2015). Likewise, the closure of Kalijodo prostitution area in Jakarta Province, the idea of Ahok, the ruling governor that time, to certify the sex workers and special apartments for prostitution was rejected (Jawa Pos, March 30,

2016). It was noted that other implementations related to the prostitution control in Yogyakarta City referring to the regulations of the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province as well as Denpasar City in 2015.

The frames that are always targeted in the studies related to prostitution regulations are the discursive discourses on the mutually contested interests in the agenda setting process. Governing negativity refers to the concepts of governance by including the role of the public (state), private, and voluntary sectors. The governance of prostitution is a complex social problem including co-steering, collaboration, or even co-operation (Phoenix, 2009). This article discusses how the knowledge building related to the social policy on the prostitution governance has been carried out so far. The methodology of this article is non-positivist paradigm by compiling the research manuscripts, both journals and scientific publications related to sex worker. The manuscripts were analyzed using power theory with descriptions review the literature.

2. METHODS

The methodology of this article is non-positivist paradigm by compiling the research manuscripts, both journals and scientific publications related to sex worker. The manuscripts were analyzed using power theory with descriptions to review the literature.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Until now, the negativity governance through the instruments of prostitution social policy is dominated by the positivist paradigm. The researchers and the studied parties are distant and place the reality of understanding of power as the "first face" in which the state dominates the governance of the institution and sex worker activity. This study is manifested in a variety of dominant discourses on prostitution governance policies categorized as follows (adopted from Kurniawan, 2012):

	Ontology	Encouragement	Relationship Assumption	Goal	Strategy	Main Actor	Rhetoric
Prostitution to be made healthy	Sex workers as a profession at risk of sexually transmitted diseases	HIV/AIDS endemic	Sex workers are a threat to HIV/AIDS transmission	Suppressing the threat of the spreading of HIV/AIDS	Interventionist	The Ministry of Health and its staff, CSOs, military institutions as peacekeepers in conflict-prone countries	Public health, sex workers in the military regime
Prostitution to be eliminated	Sex workers as a threat to morality, destruction of Young Generation and threats to family harmony	Religious morality and value	Sex workers are subject to social sanctions and the state is required to close the localization	Community moral enforcement	Authoritative	Local Government Leaders (Mayors/Regents), Ministry of Social Affairs, Local Government (Civil Service Police Unit), and Morality institutions in the name of religion	Moral and cultural values
Prostitution service provider to be empowered	Sex workers as a Job choice for economic factors urgency	Economical	Alleviation of sex workers through economic empowerment efforts by providing labor intensive capital	Compliant Citizens and based on the useful productive enterprises for the State	Authoritative Empowerment	State, Local NGOs, Local Government (Social Service, Empowerment of Women & Children)	Women's empowerment program
Prostitution to be disciplined	Sex workers are a source of social and criminal illness	Juridical	Sex workers get criminal threats, especially on the cases of women trafficking	Reducing crime rates including the potential risk of women trafficking at local and global levels	Formal legal authorization	Police, international bodies (including the EU), media and academics	Global human and female trafficking and drug migration and violence in Children
Prostitution	Sex workers	Basic Human	Sex workers	Recognition	Affirmation	International	Citizenship

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service providers to be equated	as Work Options that are equivalent to other formal employment, so they need to be protected	Right	are recognized as legitimate occupational professions in the country, so they must guarantee the elimination of discrimination and violence	as citizens who have equal rights, so that they need to get protection in employment	of welfare state	and State NGOs	rights in politics and social affairs
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The table above shows the discourse of prostitution governance policies influenced by the context of knowledge networks of interests and their relationships. The social policy of negativity governance in society does not run in a single, but fragmented plot. Social pressure on policies written by Sauer (2004), for example, shows that the discussion of the prostitution governance is always confronted reality with discursive discussion about morals and public disturbances, so that any advocacy on behalf of the equality of civil rights for legalization in parliament is considered irrelevant and constantly rejected. Sauer said that the policy of managing prostitution in the Austrian parliament has always contested with the citizens' moral pressure in 1970-2000. Although the parliamentary configuration is controlled by the Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreich, SPÖ) in which there is a very strong women organization, the rejection is dominated by the proposal of Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) on behalf of the community morality and the dominance of mass media framing sex workers as the cause of public nuisance and traditional morality offender. The Austrian feminist advocacy movement has a limited role in decorating the discussions or debates of the discourse but is powerless.

Even in the same situation, Weitzer (2009), an international prostitution policy expert and researcher who is not dictated by a feminist perspective standing on an anti-positivity approach that rejects the positivists, always sees the

eradication of prostitution only in the aspect of empowerment. Weitzer called the oppressive viewpoint of most politicians to approve the legalization of prostitution which means that the government allows the acts of violence against women, organized crime in children and human trafficking. Politicians tend to accommodate the demands of moral panic voiced by the power of individual morality caller, the organizations acting on behalf of the public morality improvement movement to the mass media, so that the consideration for its rejection is far greater than the legalization.

The discourse fragmentation above also shows us the social policy intervention model of negativity governance of the prostitution in the countries with different political systems. European countries adhering to social democracy, for example, in social, political and economic policy must contest with a variety of forces, both the auxiliary state and the external forces of the country such as worker activist networks. The study of this model was examined, among others, by Mattson (2016), Hubbard, Matthews & Scoular (2008), by demonstrating the running of social policies on prostitution governance in European countries. They show the policies in each country with a different political system, dominant currents are played by the leaders of international NGOs and researchers from government-funded research institutions. It includes the presence of sex workers and sex worker activist network taking the initiative to transform prostitution policies on behalf of human rights in parlia-

mentary discussions in European countries (Banurea, 2013). Mattson categorized the countries with strong welfare state, agents formulating policies also known as policy entrepreneur by Kingdon, purely are the bureaucrats or independent institutions fully funded by the private sector dedicated to the interests of the citizen welfare.

This provides an explanation that the country's response to the prostitution governance policies is translated differently, such as, based on the banning in Sweden, abolition in the UK, full legalization in the Netherlands, or limited legalization in Greece. The legality of prostitution governance policy is related to the problem of how the state recognizes the rights of the social citizenship. The policy of prostitution governance in the countries with social democratic citizenship, corporatist social citizenship dan liberal-residual social citizenship is very dependent on a range of relationships to several aspects (Hernes, 1987), such as the lobbying capacity of liberal feminists advocating gender equality in employment, protection of women from the violence, anticipation of human trafficking, the position of the state as a fair referee for the welfare, including the choice of the citizens of the work and its social rights, to the issue of the legal protection of individual citizens' bodies. There are a number of studies criticizing prostitution governance policies mostly leading to the responsiveness of inequality to policy-maker accommodation (read: State) standing on the interests of social pressure and moral community on negativity, and on the other hand they must sacrifice the principle of equality of citizens' rights.

The studies of criticism or counter-policies have survived on the issue of equality of citizens' social rights in the job to be protected by the state. Sex workers are legal professions with a clear work standard, so that they have community rights in labor union including the various efforts to demand the elimination of criminalization of the profession (Meulen, 2011). The social policy of

prostitution governance such as sex workers empowerment program is also highlighted by the counter-policy group. Sagar (2009) criticized interventionist policies on the rehabilitation of sex workers in the form of housing assistance, independent business capital, and health insurance, which are only too authoritative experimental instruments and negate the participatory and emotional aspects. In the countries that have a policy instrument for prohibiting prostitution, the substance of criticism is directed at the ineffectiveness of the concerned policy because of its broad coverage and the absence of the specific regulations (Duarte, 2012), and even then creates a new hidden prostitution in the industrial areas (Kilvington 2001).

This does not mean that the countries with the prostitution legalization regulations are free from the essence of criticism or counter-policies. Verhoeven's study (2016) highlighted the dilemma position of Netherland local governments in maintaining the legalization of prostitution policies. The government reverses the direction to criminalize and victimize the sex workers selectively when facing anti-trafficking prevention demands without categorizing the indicators.

In Indonesia, the researchers are mostly still a positivist paradigm with the perspective of institutionalism and behavioralism. One of them is the hegemonic study by Jones, Sulistyaningsih, and Hull (1995) which discussed the sex worker welfare policies and the posed health risks. Abalahin, A.J. (2003) highlighted the variety of prostitution regulations in the colonial period, especially localizing the impact of the spread of sexual disease. Sedyaningsih (2010) examined the social factors of women becoming sex workers as well as the risk of contracting STIs and HIV/AIDS. These three works lead to the study of the risk of prostitution in the spread of diseases that must be healthy. This research study has the proximity to Utomo & McDonald's (2009) study which discussed the context of socio-political change influencing the sexual and reproductive

health policies of adolescents in Indonesia contesting with the strength of traditional Indonesian values, westernization, and fundamentalist Islamic views. This research displayed the actors or agents influencing the policy making process even though Utomo's research referred to the exploration of secondary data. The limitation of the research is it did not really display the discursive discourse of each agent and leads to the population, family planning, and the spread of HIV/AIDS theme.

If observed, the various studies move on the reality of understanding the workings of the second face of power by Bachrach and Baratz. Kingdon's policy theory said that on the second face of this power, more capacity is actualized to influence the agenda setting. This is reflected in the resistance or disapproval actions of those affected in the arena of decision making. The elements out of the state are powerful; insofar they can influence the reciprocity to the power. This element is powerless by authority, but it is powerful by the voice of the resistance or disapproval.

Power is defined as a decision causing stress, obstruction, latent rejection of the value or interest of the decision maker. Policy preference appears from the behavior in the form of closed or open complaints, but the articulation is carried out consciously and observable. Power is also a counter authority. Power is not understood only in the same direction, but also when the powerful owner exercises his power but those who are affected by powerless miners refuse, and this rejection already contains power.

An understanding of the prostitution negativity governance policies is also examined in the third dimensional view of power. According to Lukes, to know the use of power by a person or a group of political actors does not have to go through actual observable conflicts, but latent conflicts because power is a form of knowledge control or hidden power. Power relations on this

third face, both powerful and powerless are liquid, changeable, and not static.

The studies represent the three dimensional view of power including the studies by Mattson, Sanders, and Harrington. The methodology of the three studies is anti-positivist paradigm. At the beginning, Mattson positioned the epistemology discussion of his book chapter on the debate on the practice of European prostitution in the crossing of the Weberian perspective (emphasizing localization) versus Foucauldian (the reality of prostitution spreading on all networks and everywhere). This is also confirmed at the end of the paper mentioning the study of meaningful prostitution, there is no production of knowledge as a single truth. Mattson often displayed the study on the prostitution governance policy which is laden with ambivalence. As the feminist researchers, he faced a variety of cultural ambiguities, one of which is gender dominance in the prostitution governance. Finally, amid the debate between the two movements, Mattson framed prostitution in the fight for the meaning of identity politics, contesting the meaning of gender, market, and modernity in the welfare state ideology.

Mattson obtained the research data through a combined strategy. For the case study strategy, it was obtained through observation and interview data used to explain the comparability of several countries in the EU. In the place where he lives, Mattson used an ethnographic strategy with participant observer data collection, including in the prostitution network and partly used interview data collection techniques. The advocacy championed by Mattson actually presented a critique of the advocacy agenda of feminist activists including the NGO researchers and academics in approaching the prostitution issue in each EU country. This included the EU's human trafficking oppressive agenda.

Another article on this topic is Sanders' (2009). The methodology used by Sanders in his writing is anti-positivist paradigm with a feminist

perspective. Sanders put the reason for choosing his perspective on feminist standpoint epistemology emphasizing the constructive aspects and interpretations, among the two other schools of feminist criticism, namely, empirical feminists emphasizing the patriarchal bias and feminist postmodernism emphasizing the inseparable women's experience from the influence of globalization and modernism. Through these paradigms and perspectives, Sanders emphasized the link between prostitution and clients, work rights, and related criminalization by including advocacy opportunities in each chapter.

The data collection in Sanders' writing is qualitative, obtained through ethnographic research strategies with observation and interview techniques. In several other writings, Sanders used the Participatory Action Research (PAR) strategy, which had a participatory principle among community members in a lower community whose enthusiasm encouraged transformative action and community liberation from the shackles of the ideology and power relation. In this paper, Sanders referred to the feminist research, O'Neill (2001) and O'Neill (2007).

Harrington's study explained how the power of global knowledge networks activated by the UN peacekeeper forces through its militaristic regime finally "hijacked" the discourse of the violence against women to become the HIV/AIDS threat issue, so that through the governmentality of "self-health care efforts" promoted by the international CSOs to sex workers make them helpless over their own demands. In this research, Harrington used an anti-positivistic methodology with a critical interpretive perspective, and the data from policy documents, the program reports from the ministries and local agencies, the statements of the authorities, and media coverage regarding prostitution in Timor Leste.

The studies confirm that the approach to negativity governance is often shaped by a third face power knowledge network. Analyzing the existence of power in this research, I made use of

the second-tier analytic approach, namely discourse analysis theory in an interpretive perspective. According to this theory, the stakeholders articulate the production of the construction of their truth respectively towards the nodal point discourse through the hegemony concept. In this articulation, there is a power struggle in forming the discourse on prostitution governance policies. Social policy governance is an empty signifier or an empty marker that cannot be sensed as a matter. Prostitution is the form of sensing on matter, such as women, men, in certain locations, to the formation of elements of denotation of the empowerment, such as the meaning of alleviation manifested in increased expertise through training, health control, economic capital provision, to oppressive meanings such as human trafficking.

4. CONCLUSION

The studies related to sex workers have been dominated by the positivistic studies. Many studies were conducted not by treating sex workers as the subjects, but as the objects. The objectivity of sex workers is seen as a group that is always governed and not subalterns who actually have a capital capacity even though excluded from the formal work. The previous studies tend to position sex workers tendentiously as the immoral group and trigger the crime, even as a group spreading sexually transmitted diseases. Post-positive paradigm studies only put analytical traps which were casuistic with the short-term solution. It is not a long-term understanding leading to a new knowledge understanding that the sexuality service industry and its variants are capable of reproducing themselves.

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THE MODEL NETWORK OF ACTORS OF THE INTEGRATED SERVICE CENTERS FOR EMPOWERING WOMEN AND CHILDREN TEAM IN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT IN PALEMBANG CITY

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Abstract

This study aims to identify and analyze the network of actors in the Integrated Service Center for Empowering Women and Children (ISCEWC) Team in Palembang city. The research design in this study is descriptive explorative. Data sources used are primary data and secondary data. Data collection is done by interviews, observation, documentation, group discussion forums, and literature studies. The informants in the study were the actors involved as administrators of the ISCEWC of Palembang city. The results showed that the actors involved 38 actors including 30 human actors and 8 non-human actors in which there were two influential actors, called Actans, namely Mayor and Women's Empowerment and Children Protection (WE-CP) Office of Palembang city. The actor is connected by communication ties, formal ties, material ties, affective ties and cognitive bonds. Based on these five ties, the most dominant bond in the ISCEWC in Palembang city is a communication and cognitive bond. The implementation of the network of actors of the ISCEWC in Palembang city is not yet fully in accordance with the network pattern mandated in the Regional Regulation. These conditions are influenced by communication and coordination that do not work well and the

leadership's commitment to encourage the implementation of the duties and functions of each actor. So there are needs to have a review of the implementation of the ISCEWC in Palembang city.

Keywords: *Implementation; Network of Actors; Women and Children's Empowerment*

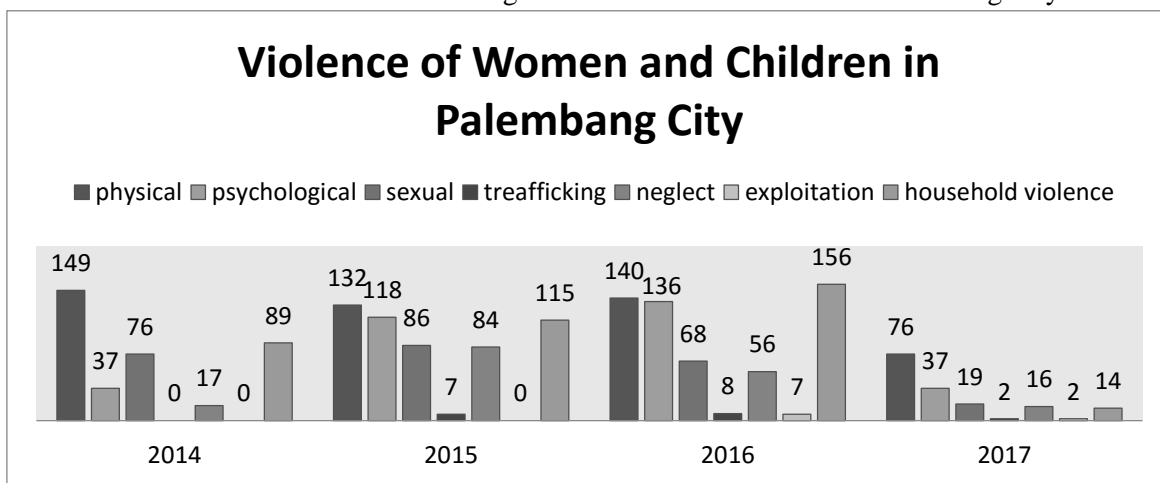
1. INTRODUCTION

The social environment with its various special characteristics has a large role in the formation of relations with the community. The social environment is one of the factors that can influence a person or group in carrying out an action and a change in the behavior of each individual. Mufidah (in Purwaningsih 2008: 30-31) states that social environmental factors influence the amount of violence against women and children. The influence of the social environment is closely related to the formation of community character in an interactionist perspective. Cases of violence against women are increasingly common with strengthening efforts related to gender equality and justice. The existence of women's subordination in a society with male domination and patriarchal culture. In the 1993 declaration of the abolition of violence against women by the United Nations organi-

zation, it was investigated that violence against women is any act based on gender-based differences that results in physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering for women, including the threat of such acts for example forced or arbitrary deprivation of freedom, both in the realm of public and private life. Another growing problem of violence is violence against children, which is seen as a weak object. The child is a responsibility that must be protected and maintained with dignity and self-esteem in a fair and proportionate manner, both legally, economically, politically, socially and culturally, and guaranteed the right of his life to grow and

develop according to his *fitrah* and nature. The phenomenon of violence against women and children is likened to an iceberg, where there are still many cases that have not appeared on the surface. Based on the recapitulation of the number of cases of violence against women and children in Palembang city, it is classified as having a high value, and significantly increasing each year, given the economic development that is not in harmony with the conditions of society. The following is shown in Figure 1.1, namely the number of cases of violence that occurred in the Palembang city.

FIG. I
Data on Cases of Violence against Women and Children of Palembang City



Source: The Integrated Service Center for Empowering Women and Children South Sumatra Province

Women's empowerment and children protection policies are a form of joy from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (WE-CP) of the Republic of Indonesia, which then delegated authority to regional services jointly managed by the Regional Leaders and the Office of Women's Empowerment and Regional Children Protection. As a research sample city, Palembang issued a Mayor's Decree No. 57 of 2013 concerning the Establishment of the ISCEWC in Palembang, involving a number of actors from various agencies. The ISCEWC of

Palembang city or is abbreviated ISCEWC is one form of service vehicle in an effort to fulfill the need to increase access to the prevention of acts of violence against women and child protection, as well as improving the position and condition of women in society. The ISCEWC can facilitate various community services including information, referral consultations, training, skills and other activities. Based on the data on the number of victims that have been handled by ISCEWC, follow in table 1.1.

TABLE I
Number of Victims of Violence against Women and Children that are handled by the ISCEWC

Categories of Victims of Violence	2013	2015	2016
Violence against Women	26	34	32
Violence against Children	15	25	53

Source: The ISCEWC of Palembang City

Based on table 1.1, there is an imbalance between the number of cases of violence against women and children in Palembang city with the number of cases of victims of violence against women and children in Palembang city whose victims can be handled and can obtain appropriate services from the ISCEWC in Palembang city. Sabatier (1986: 32) states that the success of a policy is very dependent on the skills of certain individuals in the structure of local implementation rather than the efforts of central government officials. According to Dunn (2003: 13), individuals or groups that the success of a policy is very dependent on the skills of certain individuals in the structure of local implementation rather than the efforts of central government officials. According to Dunn (2003: 13), individuals or groups that have a stake in a policy because they influence and are influenced by policy decisions are referred to as actors or policy actors. Supported by Nugroho's opinion (2014: 677), interactions between actors in the network will determine how implementation must be carried out, problems that must be put forward, and discretions that are expected to be an important part of them.

2. METHODS

Research Design Paradigm used in this study is the constructional paradigm. The research design in this study is descriptive exploratory. Descriptive research carried out by analyzing and presenting data systemically, so that it can be more easily understood and concluded. While exploratory research aims to find something new in the form of grouping a

particular phenomenon or fact. Data sources used are primary data and secondary data. Data collection is done by observation, interviews, documentation, group discussion forums, and literature studies. The informants in the study were the actors involved as administrators of the Integrated Service Center for Empowering Women and Children (ISCEWC) of Palembang city. The validity test of the data used is triangulation from Cresswell, namely by checking the data to the same source with different techniques. Then, the data is analyzed by managing data and interpreting data, reading the entire data, analyzing in more detail by coding data, describing coding and interpreting data.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Actors in the Team of Integrated Service Center for Empowering Women and Children of Palembang City

The scope of Women's Empowerment and Children Protection (WE-CP) policies as one of Indonesia's achievements ties the parties in the government system to both central services and regional services to implement the policy. The form of the process of achieving this joy is the establishment of an Integrated Service Center for Empowering Women and Children (ISCEWC) which involves a number of actors from various agencies, particularly agencies in regional services in Palembang city with the aim of preventing the development of violence against women and children. Broadly speaking, the ISCEWC Regional Regulation divides the implementation of policies on WE-CP in several stages, namely: (1) Planning; (2) Implementation;

(3) Reporting; and (4) Evaluation. The four stages then form a network that is interdependent with each other in the process of implementing ISCEWC Regional Regulation. In line with the mandate of the Regional Regulations for the management of the ISCEWC that WE-CP policies are carried out from planning to reporting so that they must be comprehensively understood by the actors involved in accordance with their duties and authority at each stage. The process of forming a network of actors begins with the interest that motivates network formation in implementation activities. The conceptualization of the formation of actor networks in the implementation of the WE-CP policy began with the existence of interest, namely the implementation of the ISCEWC as a regional service by the government. The Mayor's interest was actualized through the stipulation of the Regional Regulation on the establishment of ISCEWC as the legal basis for achieving WE-CP which was translated by establishing a service center involving a number of actor representatives, with a total of 38 actors including 30 human actors and 8 non-human actors.

The process of issuing the Mayor's Decree is a translational / translation form, namely the stage of translating motivation to actors who have an interest in supporting the achievement of the goals of the motivation. At this stage, these actors will move together and open opportunities for other parties to participate in realizing interest in accordance with their interests. In this translation phase, actants are produced namely the most influential actors in the network and can regulate other actors. The Acts are the Mayor and the Office of WE-CP. The first Actants are the Mayor. The mayor as the top leader in regional government became the actant who held the most important role. This role is based on his authority in the decision-making process, both concerning the implementation and technical policies concerning development and priorities in the region. The mayor as the highest regional service

leader should be able to implement policies consistently not only at the level of planning and stipulating a policy, in this case the ISCEWC policy through its implementation activities as a coach must direct members under it. With his authority, the Mayor can delegate his authority in the context of implementing the ISCEWC Regional Regulation to implementers in the field who are directly involved and related to other actors. The field findings indicate that the role and concrete actions of the Mayor through his intervention to his ranks in implementing ISCEWC Regional Regulation have not been implemented optimally. As seen from the Mayor who has not comprehensively encouraged and confirmed his tools to truly contribute to the implementation of this integrated service center. The mayor only plays a role in the formation of regulations as a precursor to the achievement of WE-CP policies in Palembang city, but follow-up regulation at the lower level has not been a major concern.

The next Actant is the Palembang Women's Empowerment and Children Protection (WE-CP) Office. In the planning stage, the WE-CP Office as an extension of the Ministry of WE-CP holds control of the discussion before the Regional Regulation is ratified, based on data and information related to acts of violence against women and children in Palembang city. WE-CP Office is the main work unit with a focus on women's empowerment and child protection, and also has a function to facilitate the ISCEWC, by delegating many actors to be involved in this ISCEWC. Based on the findings in the field, the WE-CP Office has not been able to carry out coordination and communication as well as organizing optimally to all members of the ISCEWC, thus making the implementation of ISCEWC unproductive, it intersects overlapping work the actors included in the ISCEWC management structure. The next phase, actants make translations that are forwarded to other actors involved in ISCEWC. Actors have a large

role as a task force that focuses on women's empowerment and children protection policies. The involvement of many parties in realizing this interest has resulted in other parties outside the Regional Work Unit that have the same interest, namely the women crisis center, Legal Entity Institution, and the Team for Family Empowerment and Welfare. The actor becomes another actor outside the actor from the Regional Work Unit which is then translated through the decree of the establishment by involving him as a participant or participant. This participant becomes a unity in realizing the interest of women's empowerment and child protection. The description illustrates how the initial process of forming an actor network in implementing ISCEWC Regional Regulation namely interest-translation-actor-translation. In the process of forming networks, these actors were born with five (5) ties that connect actors, namely the Communication Association, Formal Bonds, Material or workflow ties, Affective Bonds and Cognitive Bonds, and each of them cannot be formed properly and smoothly and consistent at each stage. The following is presented in the network scheme of actors in the ISCEWC of Palembang city, in figure 3.1.

3.2. Problems in ISCEWC Policy Implementation

In achieving a policy, of course there are many obstacles found in the implementation process. The constraints identified in the implementation of the ISCEWC include:

- a. Overlapping work carried out by the actors involved, ISCEWC as additional work is not often ruled out by the actors, because more important duties and obligations must be resolved, related to the workload of the organization.
- b. Understanding of actors related to applicable regulations or policies, outside the appropriate WE-CP Office has a mission to empower women and protect children, other

actors such as the Office of Communication and Information, Bappeda, Social Affairs, and Health Office are also likely not to comprehensively understand the purpose of these regulations and policies, due their main mission is different even though in the context of the appropriate work. This has an impact on the willingness and seriousness of the actor in implementing the policy mandate.

- c. The ISCEWC as a non-budgeter organization can also influence implementation ISCEWC itself.
- d. Clarity of Regional Regulations is not yet sufficient to be used as a basis for WE-CP Policies which are supported by implementing regulations, namely the Mayor's Regulation.

4. CONCLUSION

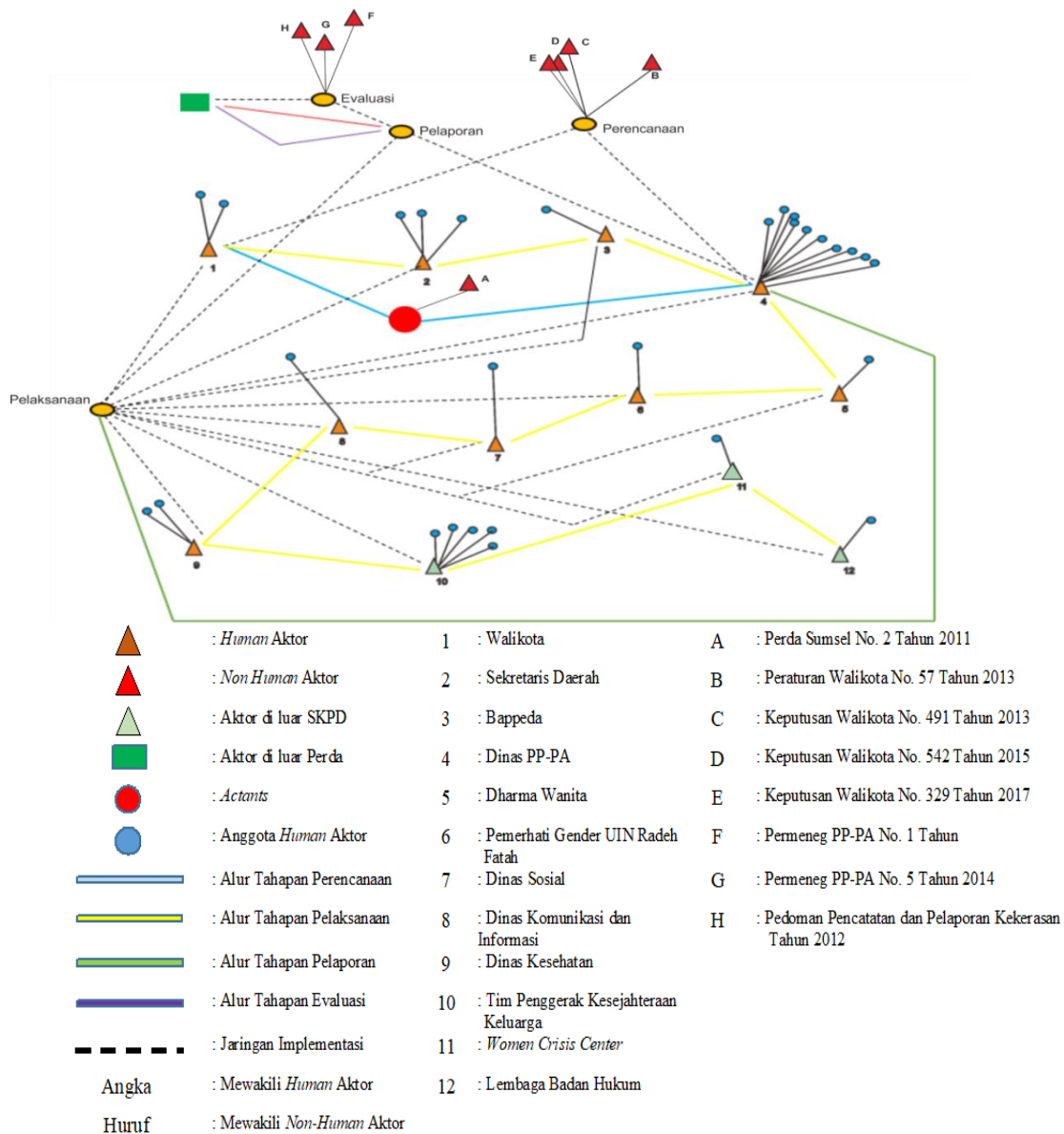
From the results of the research conducted, the network of actors in the implementation of the Integrated Service Center for Empowering Women and Children (ISCEWC) in field conditions is not yet in accordance with the mandate of the Ministry of WE-CP Nawacita and the applicable Regional Regulations. The number of actors involved were 38 actors with details of 30 human actors, 8 non-human actors, and 2 actants as executors in achieving the successful implementation of ISCEWC with the number of actors in accordance with ISCEWC Regional Regulation, only a few actors actually emerge and form networks in achieving policies that empower women and protect children. The policy is an interest which is then translated into ISCEWC Regional Regulation and becomes the basis for actants and actors to achieve that goal. Actants appear as a result of the translation process that is influenced according to the concept of network formation of actors proposed by Carroll.

The network of actors at the ISCEWC of Palembang city is connected by a number of ties

namely the bond of communication, material ties or workflow, formal ties, affective ties and cognitive bonds with the dominating bond is communication and cognitive. In implementation activities, the obstacles that arise are obstacles that are juridical in nature, cultural constraints and institutional constraints, namely the Implementation of ISCEWC Regional Regulation cannot be implemented by all actors involved and with a systematic workflow in accordance with

the mandate of Regional Regulation Number 57 of 2013 Actors, both human actors and non-human actors, have not synergistically moved together to form an ideal network as the plot in the ISCEWC Regional Regulation. The actor network has not been formed integrally and sustainably at each stage but is still partial as a form of implementation of the main tasks and function from the WE-CP Office of Palembang city.

FIG. II
Network Communication Flow Mapping of ISCEWC



Source: Secondary Data, 2018

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"LOCAL STRONGMEN" PHENOMENA IN INDONESIA : CASE STUDY OF SYAHRUL YASIN LIMPO'S DYNAMIC OF POWER IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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Abstract

This research aims to explore the phenomena of Syahrul Yasin Limpo as a "Local Strongmen" in South Sulawesi within the era of decentralization. The researcher deploys a qualitative method using in deep interview and document study approaches. Theories used in this research are "local strongmen", and "local bossism". In deep interviews and document study results showed Syahrul Yasin Limpo succeeds in emerging as a "local strongmen" in South Sulawesi during the era of decentralization. In controlling the political network in South Sulawesi, Yasin Limpo clan developed a political network family in positioning strategic of both political structures and bureaucracies at the regional and national levels. Political network Syahrul Yasin Limpo's family has been able to play an important role for Syahrul as Governor and gives him power to be a local strongmen on the political stage in South Sulawesi. Furthermore, Syahrul Yasin Limpo succeeds in using his position as the Governor of South Sulawesi in building a strong political and economical power. He managed to raise Golongan karya party into a strong party in South Sulawesi and his policies are strongly supported by the Regional Parliament of South Sulawesi Provinces. He also succeeds in using the bureaucracy to mobilize votes, acquire funds from the government's project, control bureaucrats that loyal to him and established

close relationship with the election body in South Sulawesi. His development programme is in his favor by granting him profits from natural resource exploration permit in South Sulawesi. Theoretical implications of this research show that Syahrul Yasin Limpo not entirely become as a "local strongmen" because the phenomena of Syahrul Yasin Limpo also meet the certain criteria of "local bossism". Findings of this research can also be found in other researches on "local strongmen" in other region or state such as the Philippines and Thailand.

Keyword : *Local Strongmen; Power; Decentralization; South Sulawesi*

1. INTRODUCTION

Political reform after the fall of Soeharto's regime did not automatically encourage the birth of democratization. The shift of power from centralism to decentralization actually gave rise to 'a lot of Soeharto' in Indonesia, especially in the local political arena. The emergence of kinship politics is characterized by the advancement of wives, children or relatives of incumbents both in the contestation of regional head elections and legislative elections. In the perspective of elite theory, the advancement of incumbent relatives causes elite circulation to occur only among ruling families and closes opportunities for alternative candidates outside

the ruling elite. Whereas the development of local democracy is largely determined by the political elite at the local level, where the democratic transition to a consolidated democracy is determined by the existence of democratic rules of the game and the submission of actors (elites) in the rules of the game. Decentralization and democratization carried out with general elections and direct regional elections turned out to give birth to kinship politics or dynastic politics (Purwaningsih, 2015).

The political era of the reform era resembles a situation of comparison like the term referred to by Mancur Olson (Agustinus and Yusoff, 2010, p.86-104), where political and economic control shifts from big bandits to small bandits. Joel S. Migdal (2004) sees the phenomenon above as a result of the persistence of the influence of "local strongmen" in the local political arena. The power of influence of "local strongmen" comes from the formation of an accommodation triangle built by "strong local" alliances with state bureaucracy officials at the local level and politicians at the local level. "Local strongmen" succeed in placing themselves among the people with vital resources such as land, credit, and work. "Local strongmen" have the ability to guarantee political stability at the local level and carry out social control over local people. "Local strongmen" also have the ability to mobilize people.

John Sidel then modified Joel Migdal's theory of local strongmen. According to him, local strongmen are local bossism who maintain a long-established political network to gain a monopoly of control over society through the control of economic resources and coercive power in their territorial jurisdiction in the era of democracy. Local bosses are in the form of Mayor, Governor, Members of Congress and Senate Members who become power brokers for their political patrons at the national level and become power brokers for their political clients at the regional level and become the most powerful

people in an area to exploit existing people and nature in their territory. These local bosses emerge through competitive and periodic electoral mechanisms and are followed by high political participation. They use various strategies from vote buying, manipulation to intimidation to the use of violence (Sidel, 1999, p.22). Decentralization does not automatically increase politics in a more democratic direction. Often decentralization is counterproductive to democracy. It takes a lot of effort so that a decentralized political system truly dedicates itself to the interests of the people and prevents the forces of the dominant group from physically manipulating the electoral process at the local level. Not surprisingly, there is a phenomenon of "mafia mafia" in local government that increasingly alienates people from the political process (Kothari, 1999).

The direct election of regional heads at the local level in Indonesia's decentralization era actually produces "local bosses" who have strong bases in the region. One that should be highlighted is the influence of Syahrul Yasin Limpo (Governor of South Sulawesi) and Yasin Daeng Limpo's family as "local bosses" in South Sulawesi. Through its strong influence in the military, SOKSI and Golkar, the descendants of Yasin Daeng Limpo succeeded in occupying various important positions in the decentralized era of South Sulawesi. Besides strong political influence, Syahrul Yasin Limpo and Yasin Daeng Limpo's family are known as wealthy families, many followers and supported by local groups of thugs. Research by Michael Buehler and Paige Tan who conducted research on the power of "local strong people" named Yasin Daeng Limpo and his descendants in South Sulawesi. According to them, Yasin Daeng Limpo bequeathed a strong economic and political network to his descendants. So it is not surprising that their offspring have mastered important political positions in South Sulawesi such as Regency DPRD Members, Regents, Members of

the Provincial DPRD, Regents, Governors, and Members of the Indonesian Parliament. Yasin Daeng Limpo also established relationships with national figures such as Surya Paloh and Edwin Kawilarang and descendant entrepreneurs such as Anton Obey and Peter Gozal. The Yasin Limpo family uses money politics and intimidation in every election momentum. They also had a strong influence in the SOKSI and FKPPi organizations and had militias named 9-11 Brigades and 02 Brigades which consisted of hundreds of thugs (Buehler and Tan, 2007).

In controlling political networks in South Sulawesi, Klan Yasin Limpo developed a family political network in strategic positions on political structures and bureaucracy both at the regional and national levels. The existing Yasin Limpo family political network has been able to provide an important role for Syahrul as Governor and will greatly influence Syahrul to be firm in his seat of power and freely Syahrul Yasin Limpo stride strongly on the political scene in the coming South Sulawesi.

This study will use a theoretical approach introduced by Joel Migdal (1988) provides a definition of "local strongmen" as non-formal leaders of countries such as landlords, middlemen, businessmen, tribal leaders, warlords, bosses, wealthy peasants, clan leaders, za'im, effendi, agha, cacique and kulaks, which builds its social organization in the form of networks in order to carry out social control over society to control the entire population that inhabits certain areas. The "local strongmen" carried out various activities such as granting credit, granting people's access to land, security protection, extortion, and other actions. They also apply gifts, punishments, and symbols as a form of social control over society. "Local strongmen" operate in the post-colonial countries of the Asian and African continents who are still weak in exercising social control over their communities, especially at the local level. Social control is mainly carried out to regulate social relations

within the community, penetrate within the community, take the resources that are in the community and use the resources that are in the community. In a local political arena, "local strongmen" together with local bureaucrats who run local government and politician policies consisting of political parties and formal leaders at the local level, form an accommodation triangle that is interrelated with each other. They build what is called Joel Migdal as a social economic and political exchange network.

John Sidel modified Joel Migdal's theory of "local strongmen". According to him, "local strongmen" are "local bossism" who maintain a long-standing political network to gain a monopoly of control over society through the mastery of economic resources and coercive power in the territorial jurisdiction of their power in the democratic era. "Local Bossism" is in the form of Mayor, Governor, Members of Congress and Senate Members who become power brokers for their political patrons at the national level and become power brokers for their political clients at the regional level and become the most powerful people in an area to exploit the people and nature that is in their territory. The "local bossism" arises through a competitive and periodic election mechanism and is followed by high political participation. They use various strategies from vote buying, manipulation to intimidation to the use of violence. (Sidel, 1999, p.1-22).

For Sidel, the country where the "local bossism" operations are not weakened as Joel Migdal imagined. Through its bureaucratic capitalism, the state actually accumulates capital through the help of "local bossism". State leaders at the local level, namely "local bossism" use the state apparatus to move the community to follow their will. So that "local bossism" as happened in the Philippines is a subordinate activity of the state apparatus in the power of the bosses to carry out capital accumulation for personal and family interests.

The network of "local bossism" controlled national politics and the leaders of "local bossism" became rulers of the state (president). "Local bossism" exists at every level, there are bosses who control the district (district /city), there are bosses who control the province and there is a boss who controls the center. Patron-client networks of bosses at every level in the Philippines form the rivalry tendency of the two main groups. The two large groups will compete and defeat each other. Their rivalry takes place at the level of Mayor elections, Governor elections, congressional / Senate elections and the peak of the Presidential election. The patron-client network of "local bossism" is not static and permanent but dynamic and very fluid. They can move between patrons at the central level, move clients at the local level and move between national political party affiliations. The "local bossism" conducts (transactional) exchange of voters with economic assistance, seeds, irrigation, debt repayment and other means of exchange. They are very understanding by providing health assistance, providing employment assistance, providing legal assistance, then later when the election day, they change the assistance they provide into political voice and support. John Sidel explained that economic growth, urbanization, and industrialization modernized "local strongmen" and their patron-client relations to become more sophisticated, more modern and more professional in the form of "local bossism" and its political machinery.

The durability of each "local bossism" varies from one that lasts only one generation to the one that survives multi-generations. Various strategies are carried out by "local bossism" to maintain economic domination and polity. The durability of each "local bossism" varies from one that lasts only one generation to the one that survives multi-generations. Various strategies are carried out by "local bossism" to maintain its economic and political domination. These strategies include: (1). Placing relatives and

cronies as mayors, deputy mayors and regional legislators. (2). Form a political machine as a sound broker. (3). Regulate the placement of local officials. (4). Regulate government projects and aspiration funds. (5). Regulate regional regulations. (6). Regulate tax breaks. (7). Arrange loans from the Regional Development Bank. (8). Provide mining, forestry and plantation concessions and contracts. (9). Intimidation and political violence. (10).

2. METHODS

This research is a descriptive qualitative research about Syahrul Yasin Limpo as a local strongman in South Sulawesi

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Syahrul Yasin Limpo as a Local Strongmen

Local politics understood as a series of political processes and democracy in the region surfaced long ago until democracy was finally formed in Indonesia, dynamic local politics increasingly highlighted itself in the elections. Various tempting resources and the emergence of local leaders in the region (local strongman) encouraged him as part of the political power which had the effect of strengthening the ruling political relations in the region.

The South Sulawesi Pemilukada with new nuances of local politics and community participation in the region was marked by the inauguration of Syahrul Yasin Limpo for the first time becoming governor in April 2008, beginning with echoes of a number of major programs in South Sulawesi. Among them is the Point of Indonesia Center built, IPDN for regional areas of East Indonesia centered in Makassar, free education programs inspire nationally, 500 doctoral candidates are given scholarships abroad, and entrepreneurs are facilitated to invest. The beginning of his leadership of the great programs was made as a foundation not only physically, but building civilization. That

sentence is most often echoed by Syahrul at the beginning of his term. Physical development programs are followed by character building. The first step was taken by changing the name of Hasanuddin Airport to Sultan Hasanuddin. Not a matter of name, the effort returned the spirit of heroism, nationalism, the reflection of regional culture as well as close cultural symbols in South Sulawesi. Developmental civilization in the modern era is the basis of all aspects of life. Make strong and great. That is why two accurate programs are always echoed with the deputy governor Agus Arifin Nu'mang. The Free education and free health. Two programs that touch the basic dimensions of human life as beings with identity.

The Incumbent who is also a son of the South Sulawesi region from several books and biographies that contain about him, a child born in Makassar, March 16, 1955, is the son of H.M. Yasin Limpo and Hj. Nurhayati. Father's education with a military background led him to grow as a tenacious leader. Nine years leading the Gowa district, Syahrul was later mandated by the people of South Sulawesi to become Governor. The second period of the election of the Governor of South Sulawesi, Syahrul Yasin Limpo again proved that he was a superior person, had an attitude, experienced in the bureaucracy, led him back to lead South Sulawesi in the 2013-2018 period, paired with Agus Arifin Nu'mang with the "tagline" (SAYANG Jilid II) able to gain 2,251,407 votes or 52.42% far from its rival Ilham Arief Sirajuddin-Abd. Aziz Qahhar Mudzakkar (IA) won 1,785,580 votes (41.57%) and Andi Rudiyanto Asapa-Andi Nawir Pasinringi (Garuda-Na) won 257,973 votes (6.07%). Of the 24 regencies /cities of SAYANG that are superior in 14 districts /cities, IA wins in 9 regencies /cities. While Garuda-Na is only superior in Sinjai, the district where Rudiyanto underwent his second period as regent (tribunnews.com, 2013).

The success that successfully catapulted Syahrul Yasin Limpo who is also the Chairperson of the Golkar Party's DPD I South Sulawesi. elected by acclamation to occupy the position through the 8th Regional Conference of the Golkar Party of South Sulawesi in Makassar. As a populist political vehicle, the Golkar party is a political party and is one of the 10 political parties participating in the 2014 elections, has many representative councils in Indonesia to the regions. Compared to other participants' political parties, the electability of the Golkar Party tended to be stable towards the 2014 Legislative Election of 17.1%.

His experience and achievements in pursuing his career in the government and bureaucracy led him as an influential person, and his modest rhetoric appeal in the political arena with various political career trips proved that he possessed high intellectual abilities. This is an important capital and sympathetic community towards the figure of Syahrul Yasin Limpo in supporting his power and victory at the local level.

3.2. Position as Governor / Incumbent

His position as governor has his own advantages, namely utilizing existing resources by utilizing the position of reaching the layers of society. Syahrul Yasin Limpo's social capital is capable of supporting it in addition to experience in government and in the process of his victory Syahrul Yasin Limpo is also considered by the people of South Sulawesi as a variety of ethnic representations in South Sulawesi. The leadership of Syahrul Yasin Limpo as the governor of South Sulawesi for the period 2008-2013 and the victory for the second period of the governor for the 2013-2018 period had its own advantages to the attention of the people of South Sulawesi Regency.

The first period of the leadership of Syahrul Yasin Limpo and Agus Arifin Nu'man, which were popular with SAYANG jargon, did

go well and there was almost no gap for criticism. Although there are still some shortcomings, Syahrul's expertise in rhetoric and politics seems to cover up the deficiency. This is one of the advantages and advantages of Syahrul. Another advantage that is owned by Syahrul is the political power map that carries it. Golkar as the largest political party in South Sulawesi, most likely recommended Syahrul in the 2013 South Sulawesi election. The indicator emerged after the arrival of Abu Rizal Bakrie, general chairman of Golkar, in Makassar a few days ago. (Kompas daily, 2015)

Syahrul Yasin Limpo's figure has extraordinary abilities in terms of leading someone / his followers. Obedience of a subordinate arises from full trust in him. It can be said that SYL has an extraordinary ability beyond the ability of ordinary people, as political officials have the advantage of personality traits affecting the mind, and the behavior of others because they are seen as special actors because of their authoritative nature. His personality is accepted and trusted as a respected, respected person, obeyed and obeyed willingly and sincerely. Able to move the surrounding attributes in carrying out their management. Behavioral aspects that arise as a consequence of his figure as governor, are able to adapt quickly in the face and overcome changes that occur. So that it can be categorized as a political actor who is capable of democratic spirit in leading South Sulawesi in the past period.

Syahrul Yasin Limpo's position as governor of South Sulawesi is a strength possessed in his political strategy, that with his position, Syahrul Yasin Limpo carries out the role of a political actor with social capital supported by economic capital in such a way that relations or relations occur so that they become in accordance with the wishes of individual actors who have power. This was expressed by one of the youth leaders in South Sulawesi who is also the chairman of the KNPI of South Sulawesi Imran Eka Saputra:

"Pak Syahrul is a magnet that is loved by the people and inspires many people as long as he serves as governor of South Sulawesi, and the programs run by him have been tested and the impact is felt directly by the community". (Interview)

Based on the understanding of the informant above, Syahrul Yasin Limpo's position as governor /incumbent strongly supports his victory and becomes social capital through work programs at the beginning of the period in the Election of Governors (Pilgub). This factor is in line with the support of political parties.

3.3. Chairman of Golkar DPD 1 South Sulawesi.

In addition to being the Governor of South Sulawesi, Syahrul Yasin Limpo is also the Chairman of the Golkar Party's DPD I South Sulawesi. This is symbolic capital, which includes status, authority, and legitimacy. The Golkar Party is a political party and is one of the 10 political parties participating in the 2014 elections, has many legislative councils in Indonesia to one of the regions in South Sulawesi. Compared to other participants' political parties, the electability of the Golkar Party tended to be stable towards the 2014 Legislative Election of 17.1%. (tribunnews.com, 2013). The Golkar Party is the sound machine that is considered the most potential to win the General Election. The ruling party since the Soeharto era was greatly appreciated especially in remote villages, where they considered this party to be a government party that could bring their local government in a better direction, such as during the Soeharto era.

3.4. Smart, Experienced and Considered to Be Makassar Local Ethnic Representation

Syahrul Yasin Limpo's cultural capital as a political actor has extraordinary abilities in terms of leading someone / his followers. Among his various experiences in the government of Syahrul Yasin Limpo who once led Gowa Regency for 9 years is considered as an ideal figure as a leader.

Obedience of a subordinate arises from full trust in him. It can be said Syahrul Yasin Limpo has an extraordinary ability beyond the ability of ordinary people, as political officials have the advantage of personality traits influence the mind, and the behavior of others, because they are seen as special actors because of their authoritative nature. His personality is accepted and trusted as a respected, respected person, obeyed and obeyed willingly and sincerely. Able to move the surrounding attributes in carrying out their management.

Behavioral aspects that arise as a consequence of his figure as governor, are able to adapt quickly in the face and overcome changes that occur. This is in line with the statement by Ian Latanro:

"Pak Syahrul is a Makassar native and popular, and with his experience in bureaucracy taking the community in a better direction, for example, his free education and health that he cares for the general public, there is no discrimination he is the ideal leader. That's what we expected. In addition, he was happy to create new innovations for the development of South Sulawesi in the future." (Interview)

Based on the understanding of the informant, Syahrul Yasin Limpo was considered very modest for the people of South Sulawesi, close to and mingling with the people of any community, able to establish communication in harmony with various components of society. The figure of Syahrul Yasin Limpo is a leader who has a democratic spirit which is reflected in the responsive nature of leaders who make society as a foundation in their political leadership.

Syahrul Yasin Limpo's power as a political official is a power he has in his political strategy, that with the power possessed by individual political actors are able to influence the behavior of actors collectively in such a way that there is a relationship between actors so that it becomes in accordance with the wishes of individual actors

who have power. Because power is always related to the social context, the social and political interactions and configurations that accompany it are very important, so it can be said that in fact, all social relations are power relations. The existence of Ichsan Yasin Limpo as Regent of Gowa Regency and also chairman of the Golkar Gowa's party Hj.Tenri Olle Yasin Limpo strongly supports Syahrul Yasin Limpo's political power in Gowa Regency. This was stated by the Head of KNPI South Sulawesi, also known as the Yasin Limpo clan loyalist:

"So far, the role of the family as the winning team is very important where they socialize to the village and an administrative village levels. Everywhere he mentioned that the winning team and party cadre must in the SYL. It could be said, the presence and hard work of the people around him greatly affected his success." (Interview)

Based on the understanding of the informants above, it can be concluded that the role of the family has a significant influence to support the political power of Syahrul Yasin Limpo in the district of South Sulawesi. The existence of these influences on the political power of Syahrul Yasin Limpo as the governor and chairman of the Golkar Party of South Sulawesi can be categorized that the community gives recognition and support to the leader because the leader gets authority according to the procedures set out in the legislation, so that a political leader or actor can form influence on the personality and actions of the political behavior of the community, including the ranks of Syahrul Yasin Limpo's subordinates (in this case the family clan acts as the ranks of Syahrul Yasin Limpo's subordinates).

3.5. Personality or Personal Charisma

As part of the symbolic capital of personality or personal charisma Syahrul Yasin Limpo with what he has achieved, the figure who becomes a candidate for the regional head is also

very decisive in the implementation of Pemilu-kada. In the post-conflict local election, most of the people voted not because the candidate's factor was supported by the Party. However, popularity and candidate figures also influence the election results. Victory in the regional head election also depends on the figure of the nominees who are promoted. If the candidate who is carried has charisma and is recognized by his figure, then the possibility of winning will be very large because it is liked and desired by the community.

As expressed by one of South Sulawesi political leaders Prof. Armin Arsyad that:

"You can say that he is a good person and wise, he always calls on his sympathizers to be wiser in responding to each problem. The character and charisma that are possessed are very strong and suitable for the people of South Sulawesi"

The statement of the informant can be said that his position as the Governor of South Sulawesi Syahrul Yasin Limpo has more appeal because of his experience as well as his personality. The form of charismatic authority refers to a quality inherent in the actor's personality, and the advantages he possesses are seen as inaccessible to ordinary people, even though Syahrul Yasin Limpo is special in the eyes of the public because of his position as a governor.

Based on the statement of the informant above it was stated that what was his superiority was his ability to actualize his personality as a person who had a great influence, both in the government structure and his figure as a regional son. The Golkar Party has broad access to villages because the election is mostly from the village. Although in some realities the field encountered by the writer that generally people know because these candidates are well-known figures, the majority of the Golkar party's presence in Gowa Regency.

4. CONCLUSION

This research show that Syahrul Yasin Limpo not entirely become as a "local strongmen" because the phenomena of Syahrul Yasin Limpo also meet the certain criteria of "local bossism" also. Findings of this research can also be found in other researches on "local strongmen" in other region or state such as the Philippines and Thailand.

As a result, the change of the political system from an authoritarian style to being democratic brings the consequences of changes to existing structures. If in the beginning, in the authoritarian era of the New Order, the existing structure was interpreted as a barrier or restraint for certain local political elites, so in the era of strong reformation the nuances of democracy, the existing structure was no longer interpreted as a barrier or restraint for the local political elite. The new structure that exists in a democratic political system can now be said to provide opportunities that are more or less 'spoiled' by local political elites who will play their part in the political arena of the era of decentralization.

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ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INCREASING THE ELECTORAL STRENGTH OF THE INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF STRUGGLE IN THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTION 2014

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Abstrack

The 2014 election put the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as the winning party with 18.95% of the vote. PDIP's electoral strength has increased by 4.92% compared to the 2009 Election. The achievement in the 2014 Election has also cut off the declining trend of votes experienced by the PDIP since the 2004 Election. The increase in electoral power was achieved amid increasing numbers of nationalist parties such as the PDIP. Departing from this phenomenon, this paper discusses two main questions, namely why PDIP's electoral power has increased in the 2014 election after the previous two elections have always experienced a downward trend and what factors caused it. The author argues that the cause of the increase in PDIP's electoral power is in two parts. First, the internal factors of the party which can be identified are: party institutionalization, strong party leadership and also Jokowi's character. The two external factors that can be identified are, internal competitor party conflict and the right party positioning strategy. In carrying out the analysis, this paper will use the theory of party institutionalization, retrospective voting theory, party id theory and character quality. This research uses qualitative research methods through basic study methods for data derived from various references such as books, party documents, and searches for sites that contain research results, and the performance of parties that are the object of study.

Keywords: Elections; Political Parties; PDIP.

1. INTRODUCTION

In several studies on PDIP, most of them discussed a lot about the history of PDIP, Megawati's leadership and PDIP's strategy in various electoral contestations in elections at the local level. This can be seen in Jonas Ricardo F. Sobaely's study entitled "The Victory of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in the 2014 Legislative Election in Depok City". His research only discusses PDIP victory factors on a local scale, so it does not adequately explain the phenomenon of PDIP victory in the 2014 General Election nationally.

In addition there is also a study of Aquinaldo Wirabuanaputera Kaligis's Retor entitled " *Marhaen dan Wong Cilik: Membedah Wacana dan Praktik Nasionalisme bagi rakyat kecil dari PNI sampai PDI-Perjuangan*" giving an idea of how the PDIP's identity as a party with a tried popular agenda was carried out PNI.¹

While the dynamics of elections in the Reformation era showed a high level of vitality. The party's vote continues to experience

¹ Read the book Aquinaldo Wirabuanaputera Kaligis with the title *Marhaen dan Wong Cilik: Membedah Wacana dan Praktik Nasionalisme bagi rakyat kecil dari PNI sampai PDI-Perjuangan*" published in Left Margin in 2014

significant changes from elections to elections. In this case PDIP together with the Golkar Party became a party capable of maintaining a double-digit voice in each election in the reform era. In the 2014 election the PDIP even managed to increase its electoral power and win the election. This phenomenon of achieving PDIP certainly requires a more contextual analysis framework.

However, from several examples of studies above, it does not pay attention to the combination of several important aspects of party success in elections such as the level of institutionalization of the party, the role of the figure and the positioning of the party as important factors in electoral power. So in that context this paper will specifically discuss how PDIP is able to increase its electoral strength in the 2014 election by a combination of several important factors.

This research aims to discuss the influence of PDIP's internal and external conditions on its performance and capabilities in competing in the 2014 Election.

2. METHODS

This research adopted qualitative research. The main method uses literature study to obtain the objective results. Literature study towards some journals, scientific papers, newspapers and other sources which are further analyzed by the researcher. This research use theory of party institutionalization and voting behavior to analyze of factors increasing the electoral strength of PDIP in the legislative election 2014.

3. DISCUSSION

PDIP which participated in the 1999 General Election (Surprise) surprisingly received extraordinary support with 33.73% at the national level. The results of the 1999 Election have changed the political configuration of the parliament, which since the New Order era was controlled by Golkar. In the 1999 Election, Golkar, which had changed its name to Golkar Party, won 22.43% of the national vote in the

second place under PDIP. In addition, new parties emerged that also received significant support such as the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB), National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN), Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang, PBB), Justice Party (Partai Keadilan, PK) and several other parties that had less than 10 seats in the DPR.

The success of the PDIP in winning the 1999 elections made it the highest-ranking party in the history of democratic elections in Indonesia.² PDIP, which is a continuation of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) in the 1997 General Election, only gained 3% of the vote, soaring many times with the power of 33.73% defeating Golkar which was dominant in the New Order era.

However, its achievements in the 1999 General Election failed to be maintained in the 2004 Election. Appearing as the ruling party, PDIP's electoral power dropped dramatically to 18.53% or a decrease of around 15.2%. The decline in PDIP's electoral strength is almost half of its acquisition in the 1999 elections. This downward trend continued in the 2009 elections. PDIP only gained 14.3% of the vote, down by around 4.5% from the 2004 elections.

Different from the previous two elections, in the 2014 Election PDIP emerged as the winner of the election with a vote of 18.95%. These results indicate there was an increase in votes from the 2009 Election of 4.92%. For the PDIP, the victory in the 2014 election will at the same time break the downward trend in votes experienced since the 2004 and 2009 elections as shown in the table below:

² Elections in the New Order Era won by Golkar with absolute votes were not categorized as democratic elections due to the involvement of the government and military in supporting Golkar.

TABLE I
Percentage of Electoral Strength of Five Big Parties in Post-New Order Elections

Party	Legislative Election 1999 (%)	Legislative Election 2004(%)	Legislative Election 2009(%)	Legislative Election 2014(%)
PDIP	33,7	18,53	14,03	18,95
Golkar Party	22,3	21,58	14,45	14,75
Gerindra Party	-	-	4,46	11,81
Demokratic of Party	-	7,45	20,85	10,19
National Awakening Party	12,6	10,57	4,94	9,04

There were two things that became the political setting of PDIP's victory in the 2014 election compared to the previous elections after the direct presidential election was held in 2004. First, for the first time in the 2014 election it was ensured that there was no incumbent going forward in the presidential election with the end of the second government period SBY. This situation relatively provides a more "balanced" contestation space between parties and key party figures in contesting elections. Second, even though the parliamentary threshold is getting bigger compared to the 2009 Election, the number of parties that qualify for the parliament actually increases in the 2014 election. This situation illustrates the increasingly competitive contestation map in the 2014 Election compared to the 2009 Election.

3.1. Institutionalization of the Party, Strong Party Leadership and Jokowi's Leadership

Increasing PDIP's electoral strength in the 2014 Election is inseparable from several internal factors. First is the factor of party institutionalization. Samuel P. Huntington said that survival political parties must have strong

institutionalization.³ The level of institutionalization of the party is measured by the level of adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence. According to him, the easier the party adjusts to, the higher the degree of institutionalization. Likewise, the more challenges that arise the older the party's age, the greater the ability to adapt to the environment (adapt). Meanwhile Vicky Randall and Lars Svasand said the institutionalization of parties was a process of strengthening political parties both structurally in order to pattern behavior and culturally in patterning attitudes or culture.⁴ This institutionalization process contains two aspects, namely internal-external aspects, and structural-cultural aspects. If these two aspects are crossed, a table of four cells will be produced, namely (1) degree of system (systemnes) as a result of the crossing of internal and structural aspects. (2) the degree of value infusion of a party as a result of crossing internal and cultural aspects. (3) the degree of autonomy of a party in decisionional autonomy as a result of crossing external and

³ Samuel P.Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1968), hal. 8-31.

⁴ Vicky Randall dan Lars Svasand, "Party Institutionalization In New Democracies", jurnal Party Politics, Vol. 8, no 1. January 2002, hal 12.

structural aspects. (4) the degree of knowledge or public image (reification) as a result of crossing external and cultural aspects.⁵

If the institutionalization of the PDIP is assessed based on the terminology of institutionalizing the party, several things can be explained. In terms of systemism, PDIP has succeeded in rooting its party in the community. The high age of PDIP is based on its history which is a historical continuation of the Indonesian Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, PDI) during the New Order and the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI) during the Old Order. This has become an important capital of the PDIP known by voters. In addition, the broad power of PDIP's reach was marked by party stewardship up to the branch level, indicating the good level of the PDIP system. In this case the PDIP is one of the parties that has a broad management reach. Meanwhile, in terms of organizational resources, PDIP has good potential human resources. PDIP's internal regeneration process is relatively good. PDIP also shows itself as a political party that recruits many activists who are certainly potential human resources in raising the party. Even most members of the DPR RI PDIP for the period 2009-2014 (64 out of 94, or 68%) are cadres with a long track record in party organizations. The footsteps of their activism can often be traced back to the Indonesian Nationalist Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia, GMNI). The existence of activists in the PDIP has played a significant role in the articulation and aggregation of political interests.⁶

Meanwhile, in terms of the degree of identity of values, PDIP is a party known as a party that has a secular-nationalist ideology. PDIP is also a fusion of five political parties namely

PNI, Murba, IPKI, Parkindo and the Catholic Party in the New Order era. The voters' base of the five sides is the traditional mass base of PDIP voters or also becomes the main constituent of PDIP. Their existence can be identified on the traditional PNI base in the 1955 elections in Java as well as electoral Hindu, Christian and Catholic voters in eastern Indonesia. The mass group is believed to have an emotional bond with PDIP which is infatuated with nationalism.⁷ It is undeniable that political support from this mass base in Central Java, East Java, DIY, Bali, North Sulawesi and NTT has become an important factor in PDIP's electoral increase in the 2014 election. PDIP's sectoral powers have increased significantly in this area which has implications for the percentage of electors nationally.

Then in terms of the degree of public knowledge about the existence of a political party, PDIP is included in a very high degree of recognition. Almost all survey reports confirm that the level of public recognition of PDIP is above 90%, which is always in the top two positions of the party that is most known to the public.⁸ The introduction of the public towards PDIP itself was very strong and some had also been built in the era before reform. PDIP which has genealogical relations with the PNI and is seen as a continuation of the PNI founded by Soekarno in the era of the independence movement. Although the pressure of the New Order regime through a "fusion" policy in 1973 had eliminated the PNI name, but the figures and factions of PNI supporters continued to survive in the PDI. In the era of the Megawati leadership "PNI attributes" increasingly thickened with personification of the continuation of the PNI Soekarno and its PDIP in various party attributes

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Marcus Mietzner, *Ideology, money and dynastic leadership: the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle 1998–2012*, Journal South East Asia Research, 2012, Vol 4, hal 524.

⁷ Litbang Kompas, *Partai Politik Indonesia 1999-2019: Konsentrasi dan Dekonsentrasi Kuasa*, Penerbit Kompas, 2016. hal 367.

⁸ Data was obtained in the Poltracking survey report, Indonesian Political Indicators, Indonesian Survey Circle and Indobarometer in a survey conducted several times in the range 2012-2014.

that regularly featured a young Sukarno as the founding father who towered from the party.

Three of the four measures of party institutionalization show PDIP as a party that has a fairly good degree of institutionalization compared to most other parties. The institutionalization of the party's capital is one of the internal factors which is the cause of the increasing electoral strength of PDIP in the 2014 election.

Second, a strong party leadership factor. It is undeniable that strong party leadership is the main key to organizational solidity. Meanwhile, the solidity of the organization becomes the party's important capital in facing the election. The ability to control the negative effects of elite factionalism is an important factor that makes PDIP a competitive party in electoral contestation. Although leading the PDIP for a very long time, the existence of Megawati as a charismatic leader in PDIP had a significant impact in maintaining party solidity. Kharisma owned by Megawati made the PDIP solid and able to minimize the adverse effects of party factionalism. Megawati is a symbol that unites party internal groups. So that party energy is more easily concentrated in the election winning agenda.

This situation is certainly different from the 2009 elections. At that time the solidity of the organization was disrupted by the release of several key PDIP cadres who later established a new party called the Democratic Renewal Party (Partai Demokrasi Pembaharuan, PDP). Initially this problem arose in the 2005 PDIP National Conference where several key cadres questioned Megawati's leadership in PDIP.⁹ Then the PDP then participated in the 2009 elections but did not make it to parliament. The conditions ahead of the 2009 election were different from the 2014 elections. Megawati's leadership was relatively

⁹ Marcus Mietzner, *The Soekarno dynasty in Indonesia: Between Institutionalisation, ideological continuity and crises of succession*, Journal South East Asia Research, 2016, Vol 1, hal 7.

stronger so that party organizations were more solid.

Third is Jokowi's character. It cannot be denied that Jokowi has increased the popularity and electability of PDIP among voters. Jokowi's character has become an attractive magnet for the party's voters and even the identity of the PDIP party. Jokowi has become a voter attraction amid the waning of Megawati's popularity. Jokowi's name always tops the results of the 2014 presidential candidate survey.¹⁰ Jokowi's popularity and electability are always the highest compared to other figures both from internal parties and from external parties.

The influence of leadership is still a very important factor in explaining voting behavior in Indonesia along with the declining Party Id in Indonesia. The strong influence of figures is not only happening in developing countries like Indonesia. In some developed countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, where political parties are relatively institutionalized, the character of party leaders still has a strong influence in increasing electoral power.¹¹

For PDIP, Jokowi's character became an important advantage to improve party identity in voters. So that the decision to nominate Jokowi during the legislative election campaign was an important strategy for the PDIP to strengthen voter support. Jokowi's nomination increasingly strengthens the identification of PDIP in voters in the 2014 election.

¹⁰ National surveys carried out by sharing survey institutions such as Poltracking, Indonesian Political Indicators, the Indonesian Survey Circle, Indobarometer and Kompas Research and Development in several surveys in the range 2013-2014 showed Jokowi excelled from names that had been known to the public such as Megawati, Prabowo, Aburizal Bakrie and others

¹¹ Saiful Mujani, S, Liddle, R. William, dan Ambardi. 2012. *Kuasa Rakyat: Analisis tentang Perilaku Memilih dalam Pemilihan Legislatif dan Presiden Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. Jakarta : Mizan Publika. hal 6

These internal factors have caused PDIP's electoral strength to increase in the 2014 elections. The three factors make the PDIP organization's institutions relatively better prepared to contend in the 2014 election compared to the 2009 elections.

3.2. Internal Conflict Competitor's Party and the Right Political Positioning Strategy

In addition to a number of internal factors, the strengthening of PDIP's electoral strength was also influenced by the external political situation and also the political challenges that PDIP had overcome. There are a number of external factors identified which also indirectly contribute to the strengthening of PDIP in the 2014 election.

First, internal conflicts that hit the competitor's party. In this case the Democratic Party and the Golkar Party which became the first and second party in the 2009 Election experienced internal conflicts which resulted in weakening party solidity in the face of the 2014 elections. In the case of the Democratic Party since the cessation of Anas Urbaningrum from his position as General Chair has escalated conflict escalation in the party between Anas Urbaningrum and SBY loyalists. The dynamics of the conflict that was so violent in the end also led to the release of several Anas Urbaningrum loyalists from the Democratic Party.¹²

Meanwhile in the case of the Golkar Party, the defeat of Surya Paloh of Aburizal Bakrie in the Pekanbaru National Conference in 2009 again has prompted the birth of the National Democratic Party (Nasional Demokrat, Nasdem) as a new party in the fraction of the Golkar Party. The party's infrastructure is much strengthened by Surya Paloh's "supporting carriages" in the Golkar Party. The Nasdem Party finally became the only new party that passed the KPU's verification to participate in the 2014 election. Even in this first election, the Nasdem Party managed to escape the parliamentary threshold

with a power of 6.72%. The political situation that befell the top two parties in the 2009 elections indirectly has benefited PDIP in the 2014 election. The weakening of the solidity of the main competitors has paved the way for the PDIP to poke the first place in the 2014 election. The 2009 elections experienced internal problems in the face of the 2014 elections.

Both political positioning factors. The political position of PDIP is in opposition to the SBY-Boediono government in 2009-2014, even since the first period of SBY's administration with JK. The decline in public satisfaction with the performance of SBY's government has provided political incentives for the PDIP which positions itself as an opposition party. Negative evaluation of voters on the performance of SBY's government has had a positive impact on the image of PDIP as an opposition party which is an alternative for voters.

This government performance evaluation is in the concept of voting behavior known as *retrospective voting*.¹³ Within the framework of retrospective voting, voters believe that society will reward successful governments by choosing them again and giving penalties to those who fail by leaving them in the next election. This means that if the results of the incumbent performance evaluation (also when compared to the predecessor) are positive, then they will be re-elected. If the results of the assessment are negative, then the government will not be re-elected or tends to choose opposition from the government.¹⁴

In this case the PDIP decided its political positioning as the government's opposition in the Decree of the Second PDIP Congress No.11 / 2005. In the decision, PDIP became an opposition party in the period 2005-2009. PDIP actually

¹³ Harrop, Martin dan William L. Miller. *Election And Voters:A Comperative Introduction*. London: Mc Millian. hal. 149

¹⁴ Roth, Dieter. 2008. *Studi Pemilu Empiris: Sumber, Teori-Teori, Instrumen dan Metode*. Jakarta: LSI . hal. 48.

¹² Litbang Kompas, Op.Cit. hal 367.

realizes that the choice of being an opposition party is not a popular choice because so far the opposition does not have a proper and respectable place in political concepts and practices in Indonesia, so the opposition is misinterpreted as a bully and a gatekeeper of the government. The PDIP wants to straighten out the bad view of opposition in the life of democracy and sound political education. Nationally the opposition PDIP was carried out ideologically based on the Pancasila of June 1, 1945. Furthermore, the determination of PDIP as an opposition party was reaffirmed by Megawati in a speech opening the PDIP III Congress in Bali on April 6-9 2010. Megawati stressed that PDIP would not be tempted to coalition with power.¹⁵

Meanwhile the public perception of the performance of the SBY government in the second period experienced a significant decline compared to the first period in the eyes of the public in various surveys conducted.¹⁶ When the performance of the SBY administration declined, at the same time the Democratic Party had to face corruption issues that afflicted its main elites such as Anas Urbaningrum (General Chair), Nazaruddin (General Treasurer), Angelina Sondakh (Wasekjen) and Andi Mallarangeng (High Council Secretary). The issue of corruption has been a major topic in most national media since the end of 2011 to 2014. Various reports in the media have placed the issue of corruption as an issue of public concern which has implications for increasing negative perceptions of the Democratic Party.

With the declining performance of the SBY government and the issue of corruption which plagued the elite of the Democratic Party, it has caused a negative public sentiment towards the Democratic Party. This can be seen from the electability of the "freefall" Democratic Party in various surveys conducted by various pollsters

ahead of the 2014 election. This situation again benefited PDIP as a competitor from the Democratic Party.

4. CONCLUSION

PDIP's electoral increase in the 2014 election by 4.92% compared to the 2009 elections cut the downward trend experienced by the PDIP since the 2004 election. Although the level of competition between parties was getting tougher, PDIP again succeeded in repeating its success as the 1999 election winner.

The success of PDIP in increasing its electoral strength in the 2014 election was identified by several factors divided into internal factors and external factors. Judging from its internal factors, the success of PDIP was caused by the relatively good institutionalization of the party, strong party leadership and also the figure of Jokowi. Meanwhile, judging by external factors, the success of PDIP was also caused by internal competitor party conflicts and the right party positioning strategy. This combination of various factors has led to an increase in PDIP's electoral strength in the 2014 election.

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BUILDING CONVERGENCE OF ETHNICITY IN THE UNITARY STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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Abstract.

This paper is the result of a literature review to examine ethnicity and threat of disintegration in plural society. Plural society is a society consisting of two or more communities and groups that are culturally and economically divided by having different institutional structures. The problem facing Indonesia as a pluralistic society is the relationship between the government or public administration system and the existing ethnic groups. And the origin and continuity of ethnicity that includes ethnic boundaries, the integration of ethnic populations, and the institutional relations of ethnicity, are generally concerned with competition for power positions and economic resources. Building of convergence in a plural society must be initiated by the consciousness of the ethnic groups of pluralism itself. In plural society, the government has an important role to aid the develop justice and equality. At last, the government plays the main role as a source of unity, and provides a focus for the common life of the whole community through various public policies.

Keywords: *convergence; ethnicity; role of government.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) in the past is one of the real examples of a pluralistic society, namely a society consisting of several groups or social systems that live side by side, but without mingling in one political unit (certain territorial

boundaries) (Furnivall, 2009). In a pluralistic society the most prominent feature is the absence of shared will at all. Cooperation is possible only on certain matters that are considered important as well as defense against external aggression. In the context of "country", a pluralistic society is usually divided into several provincial confederations that unite with an agreement or a formal constitution that regulates agreed matters, and the rest of them live their own lives.

The state have as a slogan 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (see Box 1. for detail) reflects the actual reality of the Indonesian people, that Indonesia is known as a plural society consisting of approximately 7000 ethnic groups, where each ethnic group retains its ethnic and cultural identity, and covers its own ethnic territories. Members of each ethnic group live in relatively homogeneous ethnic communities, with their own cultural identity and territorial boundaries, which are spread throughout the Indonesian archipelago. In his hometown, local ethnicity or indigenous culture is dominant, which serves as a reference system in selectively guiding the members of the community in carrying out their daily activities, as well as how they perceive their surroundings, where they are a small part of it.

In the past, mixing of different ethnic groups was probably only found in cities and urban centers. But at this time, almost all regions of ethnically Indonesia are fairly heterogeneous, along with the arrival of migrants and from different ethnic groups then living side by side

with local ethnic communities, not only in cities or urban centers, but also in villages and inland areas. Therefore, inter-ethnic relations become more interactive than in the past. But then this also often brings new problems in accommodating cultural differences between migrants and local communities, if later migrants are economically more established than local communities.

Box 1.

The sentence was taken from the philosophy of the *Nusantara* Archipelago which since the days of the *Majapahit* Kingdom has also been used as a motto of unifying the *Nusantara* archipelago, which was pledged by *Patih Gajah Mada* in *Kakawin Sutasoma*, the work of *Mpu Tantular*:

*Rwāneka dhātu winuwus wara Buddha Wiśwa,
Bhinnēki rakwa ring apan kēna parwanosēn,
Mangka ng Jinatwa kalawan Śiwatatwa
tunggal,
Bhinnēka tunggal ika tan hana dharmma
mangrwa* (Strophe.139: 5).

Conceptually, ethnic and cultural differences in Indonesia can be seen based on the level of economic development. As stated by Kennedy (1943), there are four categories of community culture. *First*, is the category of people living from the results of hunting and food gathering. People living in this culture are nomadic groups where hunting and collecting forest products in certain territorial areas are their top priority in life. They have also been able to grow crops using dry land farming techniques. *Second*, is a group that has achieved economic growth in the field of agriculture, but lacks an adequate portion of the political area at the village level. Communities that can be classified into this category include, among others, *Baduy*, *Tengger*, *Kalimantan Dayak*, *Mentawai* and most ethnic groups in Irian Jaya.

Third, it is grouped based on the level of advanced cultural complexity, such as artificial irrigation, agriculture with intensive rice farming techniques, written literature, religion from major traditions (mostly Islam, except Balinese and

Batak). In the past, this category of society was led by nobles who led their native countries (except Minangkabau and Batak). Communities classified into this category are Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Acehese, Malay, Minangkabau, Makassar-Bugis, and Batak. And fourth, it can be found in urban centers, and grouped according to the level of education and ethnic culture, as the center of the social and cultural system. In fact, it is this side that distinguishes this category of society from rural communities. These cultural differences further deepen ethnic differences, because the perpetrators use the ethnic culture as a reference, to identify their ethnicity. As stated by Barth (1969), ethnicity surfaced in times of social and geographical contacts intensified between members of different ethnic groups. This reality can be considered true especially in relation to economic interests and their usefulness in competition for certain resources.

Related to the concept of ethnicity, Oommen (2009) identify at least five different perspectives in which ethnic groups and ethnicities are conceptualized, namely: *first*, ethnic groups are conceptualized as small. The ethnic group shares the same culture with the culture of their ancestors as a basis. However, in today's world, society and groups are not limited by lineage and kinship. *Second*, ethnic groups are seen as groups that have the authority to define themselves. The authority of the ethnic group is based on subjective factors chosen by their members from past history or current conditions. The chosen cultural style helps in the creation and maintenance of socio-cultural ties in relation to ethnic groups interacting with each other.

Third, ethnic groups are seen as interest groups that compete to benefit from a welfare state. Groups such as race, religion, and language are included in this definition which sees ethnicity as a source used by marginalized migrant groups. *Fourth*, ethnicity is considered as an instrument of identity seeking by people with

diverse racial and cultural backgrounds in society. *Fifth*, ethnicity is conceptualized as a tool used by people to seek psychological unity which is often based on general similarity, namely blood equality, both real and fictitious.

The problem faced by Indonesia as a pluralistic society is centered on the relationship between the government or the national system and the ethnic groups. President Soekamo once supported a unification policy, ending with a rebellion, based on ethnicity, during his reign. During the Soeharto era, policies regarding unity and uniformity remained supported, even military forces were used to suppress aspects of ethnicity, religion and race as a means of mobilizing the masses so as not to oppose government policies. At the same time, the Soeharto government used ethnicity and religion politically to gain support and the community. President Habibie, who succeeded Soeharto, was caught up in Soeharto's ideas of democracy and the despotic and militaristic approach, which produced erratic and contradictory policies. In the end, this reality resulted in an inter-ethnic bloody conflict in most parts of Indonesia.

2. METHODS

The research methods used in this paper is a literature study. Literature study method is a series of activities related to library data collection methods, reading and recording, and managing research material (Creswell, 2010). Literature study conducted by collecting data or sources related to the topic raised in a study. This literature study uses various sources, journals, documentation books, internet and others literature.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Ethnicity in the Process of Social Interaction

In Stewart's view (2005) ethnicity is a separate phenomenon that arises in social interaction. The process of social interaction is

also diverse, depending on the types of relationships that influence each other between individuals and groups, with their social and natural environment. These environments include ethnic categories and cultural power systems that provide important authority over political, economic and social norms. These all function in inter-ethnic relations, which in turn direct and establish norms and positions, as determined or valued by members of ethnic groups who care about the environment. These environments also offer alternative opportunities as well as restricting individuals or groups who wish to manage available resources, while creating symbols used to achieve certain positions in social and ethnic relations.

According to Barth (1969), the categorization of certain ethnic groups is determined through their basis, general identity, background and origin. In this case, ethnic groups are seen as a social category that functions as a collection of reference systems to identify certain ethnic groups - in inter-ethnic relations. Because ethnic groups refer to a distinctive culture, attempts to define such important concepts are appropriate for the purposes of classification and methodology. Culture is seen as a "blue print" for life, as a collection of reference systems or forms created through taste and knowledge of something quite diverse. Many people use these forms selectively, along with their interest in these forms to produce meaningful understanding of certain situations, and at the same time to guide their actions in their environment, through their activities. Such actions may be seen as a directive to meet needs as well as a response to certain strength structures in their environment. Cultural and ethnic categories are used as a reference system for such interpretations and responses. Then, such an approach takes into consideration social power for actors in understanding their actions in certain structures of strength and interaction.

Awareness of being part of a specific ethnic community or social unit is a starting point for members of certain ethnic groups to understand their perspective on other social units, such as religious organizations, political parties, professions, or even countries, as an ethnic group and through their affiliation, mobilization and solidarity processes stated repeatedly that the social unit was an ethnic group. These processes always occur at certain times and places, and often relate to other ethnic groups in fighting for economic and political resources. The emergence of ethnic associations in cities or urban centers is basically politically nuanced and aims to claim safe areas in these cities as ethnic areas, both economically, socially and culturally. The same thing also happened in the case of affiliation with political parties, religious organizations, professions, even organizations of bad people and criminals. It is all seen as an ethnic and political group for resources and domination.

3.2 Ethnicity and Resource Issues

In the previous explanation, Barth (1964) has shown that the origin and continuity of ethnicity which includes ethnic boundaries, the incorporation of ethnic and institutional relations of ethnic relations, is generally related to competition for economic positions and resources. In a homogeneous local ethnic community, environmental resources and certain positions are allocated among its members, based on the official local environment (*ulayat rights*) and their customs (*adat*). Competition in fighting over resources and position can hardly be found in societies that are organized socially and culturally. If newcomers, such as migrant workers, are accepted into a particular community, they must obey the rules that apply in the community.

When migrants arrive and live in certain communal areas, the total population of the community will far exceed the available environmental resources. The structure of certain

power relations has changed, along with migrants who have begun to enter economic sectors which previously were exclusive land for local people or they created economic activities (new markets) that were different from traditional markets. The structure of inter-ethnic relations between migrants and members of local communities has also changed. Local ethnic communities suffer, because they lose their privileges in the economic and political fields. Finally, the symbiotic relationship between the two ethnic groups turned into a struggle for resources, including position and power. It was then that ethnicity was reaffirmed for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening ethnic boundaries to further distinguish "our" vis a vis "them".

Ethnicity is used as an instrument to uphold social cohesion and solidarity - from both sides to fight for the market. If the market struggle does not have certain rules that guarantee justice for competing ethnic groups, then finally all possible ways are done, such as efforts to mutually disable access to resources and position, and monopolize and control its allocation and distribution. Along with the passage of time, the results that will occur are division of labor and economic specialization based on ethnicity. If a stable competitive relationship has taken place, then the pattern of new inter-ethnic relations will follow. Therefore, a balance point in the environment can be established.

However, the point of balance may not last long. When high-value economic resources and office positions begin to become scarce, pressure to eliminate other ethnic groups, while dominating their allocation and distribution becomes urgent. These interests may be caused by greed or stimulated by political forces at the local and national levels, to benefit in the fields of autonomy, social or political. Because ethnic grouping is hierarchical, ethnic members rely on their leaders or certain patrons to direct their actions in inter-ethnic relations through their unity, society or social units in general. It is

ethnic leaders who have the right to urge to eliminate ethnic groups that disobey and dominate economic resources and take over positions in offices at local level politics, and this pressure is realized through other issues they develop by referring to the character of inter-relations ethnicity, where they are an integral part of it. For example, In the article Van Klinen. 2005. *Pelaku Baru, Identitas Baru: Kekerasan Antar Suku pada masa Pasca Soeharto*, explained that the Sambas Case, as well as the Ambon and Sampit cases, can be seen as examples of how competition for economic resources and positions can turn into inter-ethnic bloody conflicts. However, competition between ethnic groups does not always lead to bloody conflicts. This can be prevented if members of these ethnic groups comply with applicable law and maintain social order. The police, as law enforcers, should not take sides as long as the competition or conflict takes place, and there should be no outside political, economic and religious support to one or both ethnic groups that are competing and conflicting.

As long as ethnic conflict occurs, ethnicity becomes the main reference in identifying themselves and their groups. Ethnic conflict in Indonesia is basically often a conflict between local ethnic groups and migrants. The impact of the conflict included the loss of life, destruction of the immigrant community and its environment, and those who survived were forced to leave their homes. In the most extreme conditions, it becomes a bloody conflict, a total war with uncountable loss of life, mass dislocation, oppression, alienation and suffering caused by hunger and torture. All migrant ethnic populations were expelled from their environment. In the article of Alqadrie, Syarif Ibrahim. 2003. *Faktor Penyebab Konflik Etnis, Identitas dan Kesadaran Etnis, serta Indikasi ke arah Proses Disintegrasi di Kalimantan Barat*. In this article explained that ethnic conflict is basically a conflict that leads to the destruction of each

ethnicity through the destruction of ethnic symbols. Then, each party tries to destroy and eliminate the existence of other parties. In fact, babies and children resulting from cross-breeding (between ethnic groups) were also killed during the Singkawang and Sampit conflicts. This can be seen as an act of annihilation of the evidence and ethnic symbols of the opponent. In ethnic conflict, ethnicity shifts from individual phenomena to ethnic categories. Ethnic symbols are targets that must be destroyed, because they are seen as representations of hostile presence. These symbols include members of ethnic groups who are opponents, property and their properties.

3.3 Ethnicity and Threat of Disintegration

A social institution, with a set of norms, interrelated roles and predetermined behavior is a social entity that has a balance in the relations of strengths of its elements. When one of the elements changes, it will affect the other elements, which ultimately threaten the point of balance. Therefore, the social institutions of interrelated norms and roles must be defined to accommodate the changes that occur. This uncertain situation is a situation of social disorder.

When the whole system is not functioning properly to guarantee the production process, the system will experience social shocks and disintegration. Social disintegration refers to conditions, where certain power structures and their interactions with the environment do not function properly, thus disrupting the structure of agreement norms among members of different ethnic groups, and leadership, which results in the loss of one ethnic group in the ethnic conflict.

Ethnicity as a phenomenon that arises in social interaction is a social institution. The potential to organize the behavior of a particular ethnic group in a "social setting" is ascriptive and primordial. When they appear in social interactions, the differences between "me" and "you", and "us" and "them" are formed. The actors

involved organize themselves in social categories based on ascriptive attitudes and their symbols, with reference to culture and its own ascriptive ethnicity. In turn, this social category is transformed into groups, groups and communities as a group of organized activities, which are based on self-explanations and by others.

In a pluralistic society like Indonesia, where ethnicity is a social fact, ethnic competition in fighting over resources and position might create a kind of fragile false balance from these groups. They may develop ethnic communities that have interdependence, institutionalize cooperation and division of labor or position between them. However, on the other hand, pluralistic societies will also bring these ethnic groups from competition towards bloody ethnic conflict, while destroying the existing social order and social integration at the local and national level. Diverse societies can also be a problem if one ethnic group succeeds in dominating the other group, while simultaneously applying the group's rules to the other. All of these scenarios depend on several factors such as differences in political and economic ethos, population numbers and growth, and external support, both locally and nationally.

In Indonesia, where competition between ethnic groups is organized ascriptively, it will be seen that ascriptive loyalty is more dominant than economic loyalty. The ascriptive organization, namely ethnicity, is important in the competition process for resources that involve internal loyalty for social cohesion and political support and external funding. Kinship, ethnicity and regional networks can be created and activated to win the competition. When competition turns into conflict, political support and external funding are important to overcome the destruction, or restore the spirit of ethnicity in order to win the conflict. In inter-ethnic conflict, the target of destruction can include (up to) human lives, and ethnic culture represented by symbols and property.

Ethnic culture is a reference for ethnicity and a mechanism to maintain the boundaries of

one ethnic group. The existence of ethnicity and ethnic groups depends on ethnic culture. Ethnic culture is basically regarded as a root, or primordial culture, because members of an ethnic group learn and live their culture through the imposition of parents, elders and their communities. Ethnic culture is a set of values of orientation, norms, language, religion and other practical guidelines to be able to live in their environment. In competition and ethnic conflict, these cultures are activated and manipulated selectively by ethnic leaders to understand their changing environment and to understand dominant issues. Such issues usually demand the support and loyalty of group members, because they include relevant facts, even though they are distorted, for them, because they care about their existence and honor as an ethnic group. In article of Alqadrie, (2003) *Faktor Penyebab Konflik Etnis, Identitas dan Kesadaran Etnis, serta Indikasi ke arah Proses Disintegrasi di Kalimantan Barat*, obtained an illustration that the case of bloody ethnic conflict in Singkawang was triggered by a series of acts of violence committed by Madura criminals. The victims who came from ethnic Malays witnessed acts of violence committed by these criminals, as authentic evidence of the ideas (stereotypes) they had obtained about the Madurese community. Then, the issues that were further developed in this incident were that the Malays had organized their group into a fighting army, to fight the Madurese, to get rid of them from their homeland and cleanse their world of the evil Madurese. The police, who should prevent the conflict escalation, cannot act appropriately, because they are not trained to deal with such situations (but are trained as criminals), or they take sides (to one ethnic group) in the conflict.

3.4 Building Convergence of Ethnicity: A Role of Government

The basis of convergence in ethnic diversity according to Parekh (2008) can be seen

at least from the arguments of Montesquieu and Herder. For Montesquieu, cultural diversity is the nature of human life that develops slowly and absolutely. There are no two communities in common. Each society has different customs, practices, methods, legal systems, family structures and forms of government, and each encourages different desires, morals, goodness and behavior, forms of excellence and a good conception of life. Even when they have the same laws and customs, these things have different influences and play quite different roles. Although all human beings are shared with the general nature, Montesquieu thinks that each society also develops different human capabilities, desires, and so on, and gives rise to the second nature of 'nationalism'. Its members grow together, and feel home with socially acquired properties as well as biological and natural characteristics. Thanks to the diversity of national characteristics, it is 'a huge advantage if [the law] of one nation is suitable for the whole nation'. Although all societies as social entities pursue certain general objectives, each has its own 'unique goals'.

While for Herder (1969) each culture is uniquely associated with the experience of a community group, ancestors and historical descendants, and reveals the way in which members of the community group understand and imaginatively interpret these experiences. The natural environment of society plays an important role in shaping its culture, by structuring the world of its experiences in which it interprets and organizes the creative imagination of humans. For Herder, culture is a product of collective efforts that the public is not aware of, and like all creative actions there are always elements of mystery such as why culture develops in such a way and form. Intellectual and creative writers play an important role in the process, but they do come true when they provide a centralized and deepest expression of the community and articulation of expression.

Then in Herder's view, nature has placed a 'tendency for diversity in our hearts'. Every culture has an identity of 'single, very good, incomprehensible, identity that cannot be eliminated', attaching a different vision of human life, realizing different human capacities, instilling different goodness and behavior, and having a unique 'core of happiness', 'center of gravity', 'spirit', 'ethos', or 'atmosphere'. It is free unity integrated and moving according to its own internal principles (Herder, 1969). In metaphysical influences, Herder understands culture in the image of a beautiful entity as a microcosm. They are windowless and can be self-sufficient, who see the world in their own perspective and have the power in themselves and the vitality to oppose and refract external influences. Each has its own endpoint and develops in a direction that is ordered by it. 'The future' determines the present, and the present determines the past, as the purpose of determining the preparation of the facilities to be used.

In every society, the government has an important role in fostering justice and togetherness. In a pluralistic society, the government is a source of unity, provides a focus for the common life of citizens, and is expected to set an example to overcome narrow prejudices and communal views. Government institutions should (and must be seen) be fair in treating members of different communities. As the only legal source of justice in society, the government needs to convince its citizens to obtain equal treatment in all areas of life such as employment, justice in criminal acts, education and public services. In its negative form, Equality includes the absence of direct or intentional discrimination, and indirect or institutionalized discrimination. Direct discrimination occurs when the decision maker is directed by prejudices against certain groups, meanwhile, indirect discrimination occurs when the rules and procedures they undergo contain invisible discrimination bias and result in

systematic harm to certain communities or groups of people.

While in its positive form, Equality requires rights and obligations. All citizens must enjoy the same rights, and should include not only the fulfillment of civil, political, economic and other rights but also including cultural rights. The latter refers to the rights possessed by a person or community to express, maintain and instill their cultural identity. Because culture is an integral part of the feeling of individual identity and well-being, cultural rights are part of human rights, and a good society must guarantee the existence of cultural rights for all its citizens. In addition, in every society, the existing community usually determines its own cultural nature and is able to unequivocally assert and express its own cultural identity. equal opportunities should also be extended to minority communities.

By giving a "sense of security" to minorities to show identity and interact with the wider community, cultural rights also demand loyalty and goodwill and facilitate their unification. Principles of justice govern important things for a good life and relate to what is called Rawls (2011) the basic structure of society. The basic structure of society is not only about politics and economics (as explained by Rawls) but also culture, and therefore the principle of justice is not only related to freedom and material resources but also to cultural rights and opportunities. Thus, political recognition is a broader part of the justice and nuances of the theory of justice, with an important difference between freedom and material resources, recognition that cannot be enjoyed individually or distributed from the center and requires a more complicated concept of justice.

The most important thing in building convergence is decentralization of power. Decentralization of power has a very important role to ensure justice in a pluralistic society. Because different communities regularly face

each other in a normal life series at the local or regional level, respect for diversity in that level becomes a big problem and shapes perceptions between one and the other and with the government. It is easier for local and regional bodies to accommodate these differences (rather than the central government) because the necessary adjustments are more readily identified, on a limited scale, not too expensive, and usually free from public scrutiny. There is also more room for experimentation so mistakes can be easily corrected, and one area can learn from the success of other regions. Thus, it is important to build strong local and national government units and use them to strengthen the culture of civil society. In Varshney's (2001) explanation, recent research shows that tensions between community groups are less frequent and easier to control when there is a network of relationships between formal and informal community groups that maintain social capital trust and cooperation.

4. CONCLUSION

In the process of social interaction, ethnicity has the potential to organize solidarity in a descriptive manner, although competition for resources and position can lead to conflict and social disorganization. Then, ethnic conflict, which can be a form of conflict to eliminate others in a competition, can also lead to social disintegration. This is not caused by ethnicity itself. Social disintegration is the end result of various factors. Internal factors include the accumulation of hatred towards certain ethnic groups and also the role of ethnic leaders in the inter-ethnic warfare. While external factors include the deterioration of the general economic and political conditions and the ascriptive character of society.

Building ethnic convergence must be preceded by the awareness of ethnic groups on the awareness of pluralism itself. In a pluralistic society, the government has an important role in helping the development of justice and equality.

The government holds a key role as a source of unity, and provides a focus for the common life of all people. The government has a role in ensuring equality for cultural diversity that exists in society. Because the basic structure of society is not only about politics and economics but also culture.

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DEVELOPMENT OF CANDIREJO TOURIST VILLAGE TOWARDS SOCIAL ECONOMY

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Abstract

Candirejo Tourist Village is 3 km from Borobudur Temple, offering village excursion tours to see the atmosphere of rural society. In 2016, it earned revenue of IDR. 885.769.775.00. Indubitably, that capacity of revenue brings momentous potential benefit and significant impact for the local society's economy. The purpose of this research is to analyze the Impact of Candirejo Tourist Village Development towards the society's economy. This research employed descriptive qualitative research and the data collection techniques were observation, interviews, and documentation. Data analysis technique was comprised of: data reduction, data presentation, and inference. The results of this research indicate that the majority of Candirejo Village societies are fairly ready to play the role of tourism actors, assessed from education factor and their knowledge, as well as the society's participation in tourism. The impact of Candirejo Tourism Village development indicates an increase in the local society's economy, the emergence of job diversification, and the distribution of donations throughout the society. Opening multitude of

business opportunities. The ownership and control of Candirejo Tourism Village development belongs to the local society under the administration of Tourism Village Cooperative. The development of Candirejo Tourism Village brings positive impacts toward the development of village infrastructure, such as roads, mosques, security posts (Poskamling), and so on. In addition, it also increases village's revenue, hence being calculated in determining Local Government Budget (APBD).

Keywords: *Impact; Tourist Village; Society Economy.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's tourism, cultural, and natural, if managed properly, has the potential to be business concept for the local society. One of Indonesia's famed tourist destinations is Borobudur Temple situated in Magelang Regency, Central Java. The temple is the favorite destination of both domestic and international tourists. As one of world heritage site, Borobudur Temple experiences annual increase in number of tourists. This is an

opportunity for tourism development in Borobudur Area. One of them is tourist village, a rural area with unique and distinctive tourist attractions: physical, natural environment, or sociocultural life, that are managed in appealing and natural manner by developing supporting facilities. There are around 20 tourist villages that are currently under development around Borobudur area. Among all of tourist villages in Borobudur area, Candirejo Tourist Village is the most advanced, as it was the pioneer of tourist village development.

Candirejo Tourist Village is 3 km from Borobudur Temple, offering tour the village excursion to see the atmosphere of rural society. The visiting tourists will be offered a number of tour packages such as: excursion tour to see the village, the village's agriculture system, environmental education, homestay, and traditional art. In 2016, it earned revenue of IDR 885.769.775.00 (Accountability Report of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative Administrator Year 2016). Indubitably, that capacity of revenue brings momentous potential benefit and considerable impact for the local society's economy. Yet, is the revenue distributed evenly to the entirety of the society or solely to the tourist people? According to Pitana (2009), tourism development and building directly reach and involve the society, thus bringing a multitude of impacts toward the society, positive or negative. Based on that issue, we were interested to analyze "The Impact of Candirejo Tourist Village towards The Society's Economy".

Tourism is assorted tourist activities supported by various facilities and services provided by the society, business society, and the government (Law of Tourism No. 10 year 2009). Tourist Village is a form of integration of Candirejo's attraction, accommodation, and supporting facilities presented in a society life structure that merge with the etiquettes and prevailing traditions (Nuryanti, 1993).

Hadiwijoyo (2012) explains that there are 2 applicable approaches in planning and developing tourist village: (1) tourist village development market approach and (2) tourist village development physical approach.

According to Cohen in Gunawan (2016), the economic impact of tourism can be classified into seven main groups, i.e.: (1) Impact towards foreign exchange income; (2) Impact towards the society's income; (3) Impact towards employment opportunity; (4) Impact towards prices; (5) Impact towards benefit or profit distribution; (6) Impact towards ownership and control and; (7) Impact towards development in general.

2. METHODS

This research employed qualitative descriptive research, focusing on the impact of Candirejo Tourist Village development towards the economy of Candirejo Village's society. Improvement of economy is concentrated to the entirety of Candirejo Village, instead of solely to the cooperative members, seeing that not all of the society are cooperative members.

This research had been conducted in Candirejo Village, Borobudur Sub-Regency, Magelang Regency, which is one of tourist villages with the amount of total revenue of IDR 885.769.775.00 (Accountability Report of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative Administrator Year 2016). This research was conducted starting in March 24th 2017 to July 10th 2017 (4 months)

Data collection techniques used (Sugiono, 2015) were interview, observation, and documentation. The informants were Village Head of Candirejo Tourist Village, Candirejo Tourist Village apparatus, Head of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative, members of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative, the society of Candirejo Tourist Village who had been selected using purposive sampling technique.

Documentation was conducted by compiling village regulations (Mid-Term Development Plan of Village (RPJMDes), Village Development Action Plan (RKPDes)), village profile, tourist village profile, cooperative Annual Member Meeting (RAT), and other related documents. Observation was conducted directly in Candirejo Tourist Village. Research instruments used were interview guidelines, documentation guidelines. Three data analyzing techniques applied were based on Miles and Huberman model (1992), i.e.: data reduction, data presentation, and inference. This research applied triangulation method to verify data credibility, in form of technique triangulation and source triangulation.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Candirejo Tourist Village Development Efforts

The local society of Candirejo Tourist Village utilizes 54.98% of their land for agriculture and 31.41% for plantation, so that the majority of the society works as farmers (65.44%).

Either agriculture or plantation lands in Candirejo Tourist Area are managed with polyculture system (*sistem tumpang sari*), which means that the society plant several varieties of vegetables, tubers, and fruits in an agriculture or plantation land with varying harvest periods, that will result in the stability of the society's income as they will not depend on a single crop variety which is usually harvested several months post-plantation.

Based on population table of Candirejo Tourist Village written in RPJMDes, 69.84 % of the society are in productive age with percentage of female 50.27 % and male 49.73 %. This indicates that Candirejo Tourist Village has sufficient human resources capital to exercise the society's economic development.

3.2 Candirejo Tourist Village Development Efforts

Several tourism development efforts in Candirejo Village conducted by village administrator are:

- a. Developing the society's creativity in creating crafts that will be sold to tourists as well as tourist object by teaching them to create specific crafts.
- b. Developing supporting tourism infrastructure and various arts or local culture in Candirejo Tourist Village as well as realizing innovation towards several existing tourist objects and updating tourism information via Candirejo Tourist Village official website.
- c. Improving service quality towards tourists by performing various training programs for tourism actors both in foreign language and hospitality.
- d. Cooperating with various parties concerning with the development of Candirejo Tourist Village such as: Tourism Office, the Government of Magelang Regency, Borobudur Temple Management, and *Balkondes* (Village Conservation Office) in accordance to tourism providence and other concern parties.

Several development efforts are proven to be effective to increase the number of tourists over the years, as seen in the following table:

TABLE I
Tourists of Candirejo Tourist Village Year 2012-2016

Year	Tourists		Total (person)
	International	Domestic	
2012	3.936	1.015	4.951
2013	4.425	937	5.362
2014	6.276	1.365	7.641
2015	5.946	1.741	7.687
2016	5.371	1.864	7.235

Source: Accountability Report of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative Administrator Year 2016

3.3 Local Society Readiness as Tourism Actors in Candirejo Tourist Village

In developing tourist village as one of means to increase the society's economic, the society's readiness as tourism actors becomes an urgent matter. The local society's readiness, as the main actor, and tourism administrator in tourist village will determine the success of accomplishing the goal of Candirejo Village as tourist village. To understand the society's readiness as tourism actors, in accordance to the opinion of (Hermawan, 2016) about the procedures to understand the local society's readiness towards tourism development and growth, then the local society's readiness as tourism actors in Candirejo Tourist Village can be analyzed through several of the following factors:

1. The society's degree of education

Based on population data written in RPJMDes Candirejo Tourist Village year 2011-2015, most of Candirejo Tourist Village society are educated community with percentage of Primary School (SD) graduates 35.22 % (1,503 people), Junior High School (SMP) 24.00% (1,024 people), Senior High School (SMU) 18.33% (782 people) and university graduates approximately 6.40% (273 people). The 273 people of Candirejo Tourist Village who got to higher education, indicates that there has been plenty of academic circle in Candirejo Tourist Village that are able to become innovator, and empowerment figures that will support in various village development, particularly economic.

2. Level of the local society's knowledge in accordance to tourism development

Society's knowledge becomes a rather significant factor in continuity of tourism development efforts. Candirejo Tourist Village society's level of knowledge in accordance to tourism development can be deemed as sufficient. The majority of the

society, who are farmers have already possessed sufficient agricultural knowledge (cultivation methods, types of crops as well as their seeding and fertilization) that highly supports the success of one of tourist objects, which is agriculture education tourism that includes educating tourists about agriculture and other information concerning the crops they cultivate. The local society's level of knowledge aids the success of agriculture education tourism management as they are to educate the proper cultivating and harvesting methods to the tourist, especially to international tourists who usually request to be educated in cultivating and harvesting vegetables and fruits, as well as to accommodate the questions inquired by the tourists regarding the cultivated crops.

3. Local society's interaction with tourists and the society's participation.

In interaction and participation in tourism, Candirejo Tourist Village's is rather intensive, especially as tourism actors. Such intensive level of interaction is caused by the fact that the majority of Candirejo Tourist Village society are involved directly in the management of tourist village as tourism actors such as homestay owner, craft community member, horse carriage (*andong*), local guide, et cetera, that are also cooperating in conducting tourism activities.

Of the aforementioned explanations, it is inferable that Candirejo Tourist Village society is ready as tourism actors.

3.4 Society's Economy in Candirejo Tourist Village

Candirejo Tourist Village has fertile soil with abundant water availability for either agriculture or drinking water, supported by the existence of Tempuran River as main water provider for the village society. Possessing fertile geographic condition drives the locals to decide to utilize more than half of the village

area or 54.89% for agricultural purposes, 31.41% for plantation that significantly impacts the locals' livelihood of whom are mostly farmers (65.44%).

The entirety of Candirejo Tourist Village territory is not only comprised of lowlands, but also mountainous area with outstanding scenery which significantly supports tourism activities: natural and agricultural education by utilizing agriculture lands as tourist object. In managing agriculture or plantation land, the locals applied polyculture system that involves cultivating multiple varieties of vegetables, tubers, and fruits in a plantation land with various harvesting periods, so that the society will not solely depend on a single crop variety, and so that they are able to harvest different types of crops in almost every month. This results in the society's steady agricultural income as they will earn incomes from agriculture sector in every month.

Besides the natural resources that support the society's economy, the human resources in Candirejo Tourist Village are also quite abundant, based on Candirejo Tourist Village Population Table written in RPJMDes, that 69.84% of the locals are within productive age with females 50.27% and males 49.73% of the total productive people. This indicates that Candirejo Tourist Village has sufficient human resources capital to exercise the society's economic development.

3.5 Impact of Candirejo Tourist Village Development towards The Local Society's Economic.

- **Impact towards the society's income**

Development of tourism will result in positive impacts for the local societies in form of the increase of income because, directly or indirectly, will open plenty of business opportunities and new jobs that will increase their income. Thus, the development of Candirejo Tourist Village also results in positive impact

towards the local society's income, particularly, who are incorporated in the community and become tourism actors either as local guide, homestay owner, etc. The increase of income happens since the tourist village development is followed by job diversification.

Job diversification can be defined as a condition where a village society has more than one type of job, resulting in them having income sources other than their main job. In Candirejo Tourist Village which majority of the society are farmers, the job diversification is that aside from being farmers, they also can become tourism actors, for example, artists, homestay owners, cooperative administrator, and other works that can earn them additional incomes. These are in accordance with the opinion of Isnaeni and Mohammad (2015) that with the development of tourist village, society will have opportunities to earn additional income from homestay, shops, tour guides, and other tourism related businesses.

In addition to job diversification that increases the income of Candirejo Tourist Village's society, the increase of income also happens due to income distribution from tourism activities distributed annually by Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative as tourism administrators to cooperative members (village society who becomes tourism actors), thus, increasing the income of local society who become a cooperative member. For the locals who neither direct tourist actors nor cooperative members, additional income is also gained from sub-village donations given by cooperative to every sub-village in the tourist village, which is normally distributed evenly to every villager or utilized to fund the activities of sub-village society, so that they need not to pay dues when conducting said activities. In 2016, sub-village donation given by Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative was IDR 41.732.550.00, the existence of this donation indicates that the development of Candirejo Tourist Village does

not only increase the income of society who are cooperative members or tourism actors, but is also capable of increasing the income of the entirety of Candirejo Tourist Village society, despite not by marginal numbers.

- **Impact towards Working and Business Opportunities**

In line with the opinion of N, Fildzah A'inun, et al. (2014: 343) that the development of tourist village can bring positive impacts for the local society itself, i.e.: new working opportunities that will decrease the unemployment numbers, thus the development of Candirejo Tourist Village brings positive impact to increase of working and business opportunities in the local society. The existing tourism activity will open multitude of business opportunities and new jobs concerning tourism that currently are managed by the locals. Several types of the society's job concerning tourism are as seen below:

TABLE II

Total of Workers in Candirejo Tourist Village

No	Types of jobs that emerge after the development of tourist village	Total
1.	Cooperative Administrator	7 people
2.	Local Guide	11 people
3.	Homestay Owner	12 people
4.	Artist	5 groups
5.	Other tourism jobs	41 people

Source: *Accountability Report of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative Administrator in 2016 2016*

The numbers of visiting tourists have opened opportunities for a lot of people to start new business such as grocery shops, culinary business, or various craft products that primarily will be sold to tourists. This is in accordance to the opinion of Pamungkas and Mohammad (2015) that the development of Tourist Village impacts on the society's economic by opening new business opportunities and to the increase

of the society's income. New businesses opened by the society as impacts of the development of Candirejo Tourist Village include handicrafts (frames, decorative pencils, pandanus mat), culinary business (food and traditional snacks stalls), and other businesses as means to increase working and business opportunities in Candirejo Tourist Village.

- **Impact towards Prices**

Prices of daily needs in Candirejo are completely unaffected by the existence of tourist village development, because most the society members are farmers, which is international tourists' most favorable tourist attraction. The result of research shows that the existence of Candirejo Tourist Village increases the sales of local products such as handicrafts (pandanus mats) and Lego blocks as well as Candirejo Village typical foods: *slondok* and *mangut beong*.

- **Impact towards Ownership and Local Society's Control**

The development of Candirejo Tourist Village is basically society based, so that the ownership and control in its development is in the society's full entitlement. Tourism development in entirely under Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative, where all of its members are local villagers of Candirejo Village to empower its local human resources. Therefore, external society members are not permitted to be a cooperative member.

- **Development Impact in General**

The existence of Candirejo Tourist Village impacts on the village's infrastructure development. Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative's net income (*Sisa Hasil Usaha or SHU*) is specifically allocated for education funds, local development and growth, in amount of IDR. 5.997.497.00. Hence, village infrastructure development is perpetually performed to improve the convenience of Candirejo Village

society itself and visiting tourists. The infrastructure development is in forms of: the construction of *Balkondes* Candirejo, the development of hermitage area tourism, road works, mosque construction, and MCK (bathing, washing, and laundry facilities), security posts (*Poskamling*), etc.

- **Impact of Tourism Development in Candirejo Tourist Villagetowards Government Revenue**

The impact of Candirejo Tourist Village’s existence roundly increases the revenue of the village itself. The contribution of tourism development to the village government is considered in calculation to determine Local Government Budget (APBD). The following table is tourist village’s contribution towards village revenue in 2016.

TABLE III
Tourist Village’s Contribution Towards Village Revenue

Type of Income	Total (IDR)
Sub-Village Donation	41.732.550
Organizing local culture performance	5.000.000
Taxes	7.511.200
Tourist Activity Donation	40.030.000.
Total	94.273.750

Source: *Accountability Report of Candirejo Tourist Village Cooperative Administrator in 2016 2016*

4. CONCLUSION

The development of Candirejo Tourist Village is conducted by empowering local human resources at its disposal. Candirejo Village’s society is fairly ready to play the role of tourist actors, assessed from education factor and their knowledge, as well as their participation in tourism.

The impact of Candirejo Tourist Village development indicates an increase in economy of the local society, the emergence of job diversification, and distribution of donation

throughout the local society. Opening multitude of business opportunities as the result of Candirejo Tourist Village development, as well as the sales of local products such as handicrafts and foods in better prices.

The ownership and control over Candirejo Tourist Village development is the locals’ right under the administration of Tourist Village Cooperative. The existence of Candirejo Tourist Village development brings positive impacts to the village infrastructure development, such as roads, mosques, *Poskamling*, and so on. In addition, it also increases the village’s revenue so that it is calculated in determining APBD.

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DOMINATION TECHNOLOGY OF POWER IN INTERNAL CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION

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Abstract

Internal control in an organization always consists of formal and informal mechanism. Likewise, in government agencies, internal control that has been regulated through a government regulation requires all government agencies to carry out internal control. Internal control studies have mostly used management and auditing perspective. Almost all of the research discuss about how control can effectively govern its employees. There have not been many studies of organizational internal control seen from socio-political studies, mainly using critical social perspective. Through this understanding, internal control is viewed in terms of the use of power instruments used by elites to govern their employees. The instruments used encompass sovereignty, disciplinary power, and hegemony. All three are inseparable and coinciding in the bureaucracy. In some cases, the power instrument causes dehumanization and discrimination which can actually extinguish the potential of employees and lead disadvantage to bureaucracy. This research, that is conducted with ethnographic method, is needed so that the government bureaucracy can maintain the balance of its institution which consists of many human bodies.

Keywords: *Internal control; Governement bureaucracy; Technology of power; Domination*

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of internal control in bureaucracy is important for the public administration, both at the level of theoretical discourse and practice. Internal control becomes an interesting study because it is believed to be a solution to bureaucratic life that is expected to be able to increase accountability and shape a clean bureaucratic governance (Jones, 2008; Laura dan Page, 2003; Rendon, 2016).

The reason for internal control is in line with the rationality of modern bureaucracy, that the effectiveness of an internal control system is determined by how management is able to identify risks, create rules and procedures to minimize risk. If everyone in the organization performs the procedure according to the stipulation, it can make the organization run efficiently while achieving its goals (Ionescu, 2008). Likewise, the integrity and behavior of public officials and their apparatus will be able to be controlled and expected to minimize various irregularities (Decker, 2012).

Picket (1999) stated that many organizations carry out internal controls by designing standards, forming compliance teams equipped with a system of reward and punishment. The element of strict supervision and coercion in this way is considered to be able to prevent deviant behavior and inspire the compliance of all staff in the organization. However, according to Picket, this reasoning does not go as expected. Picket stated that even though the policies and standards had been designed and determined and the compliance team had been formed, the fact

was that the staff in the organization would not immediately be obedient and behave as desired by management.

In Indonesian government bureaucracy, internal control has been formally regulated by Government Regulation Number 60 year 2008 concerning the Government Internal Control System, called SPIP (*Sistem Pengendalian Intern Pemerintah*). That regulation states that all government agencies are obliged to carry out the government's internal control system. The problem in internal control is how the will to control can be accepted by all employees so that the behavior of the employees is controlled and obedient to jointly achieve organizational goals. Several previous studies have revealed the weaknesses of various forms of internal control which aim to obtain an effective internal control model. Individuals as controlled parties are always placed as controlling objects.

According to Simmons (1995) and Pfiester (2009), the notion of control are both through formal and informal mechanics, while the internal control system is a formal mechanism in the form of procedural routines, which are used by management to manage organizational activities. Informal internal control, which is intangible control, is not real as a formal rule, but instead nudges the individual members of the organization (Chitoui and Dubuisson, 2011), becoming a new requirement for internal control modernization (Stringer, 2002).

Various formal rules such as written rules, formal procedures, separation of functions, and also authorization, are not effective in reducing fraud in the organization. In fact, informal approaches such as organizational culture that promote ethical attitudes become very important and influence the behavior expected by the organization (Wilton, 1992). Rationalization that operates in this informal control is that the values that are internalized through organizational culture are directly related to the willingness to do things well in the organization (Rae,

2008), including in forming self-discipline and awareness of self-control (Stringer, 2002).

The huge narrative of previous internal control research is to place employees as the biggest source of risk, as objects that need to be controlled to achieve organizational goals. This understanding reduces internal control as a compliance, not as a cognition of practice for employees in their work. Under these conditions, control often engender dehumanization, discrimination and exploitation practices which can extinguish potential employees and also disserve the organization.

Through a technology of power point of view, I takes a critical stance to dismantle the veil of power in government internal control that is implemented in government agencies and see the edges of the boundaries. In this way, I hope to expand the critical thinking opportunities about what actually happened and what might happen in the implementation of internal control in government agencies.

2. METHODS

Many studies on internal control have been carried out, mostly referring to management and accounting sciences. The study of internal control with a new perspective on social and political science is found in a small part of the study. In Indonesia, interest in studying internal control in the public sector is still very low. For some existing studies, research still appears in the form of evaluations of internal control implementation from a formal perspective and using management and accounting science approaches. There is no research in Indonesia that studies internal control in the government bureaucracy seen from a social and political perspective using a critical social theory analysis approach.

In assembling all aspects, research uses a critical paradigm. Through this paradigm, reality is placed as a constructionist orientation through hidden power nets (Neuman, 2013). Thus, the

behavior of the people in the bureaucracy is understood as a form of construction through various understandings of the bureaucratic actors. The behavior of actors, both elites and employees in the bureaucracy, is motivated by subjectivity derived from various factors. Thus, research attempts to observe and capture the subjectivity and underlying factors by not keeping distance from the object of research. In conducting observations, researchers became observer participants, becoming part of the daily life of the bureaucracy which became the locus of research. The study took a locus on government agencies engaged in supervision in the Yogyakarta Special Region. Research on internal control in the supervisory agency is interesting to do because the agency is the leading sector in terms of internal control in the government bureaucracy.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Domination Technology of Power

Foucault (1998) introduces the term technology as a technique or a specific way of forming things. There are four types of technology that Foucault considers can be used to study human skills and behavior, those are: (1) production technology, in the form of techniques for producing, changing, or manipulating something, (2) sign system technology, namely techniques for using signs and symbols in interpreting something (3) domination technology, a technique used to determine human behavior to suit certain goals, and (4) self-technology, in the form of a mechanism within an individual or through the help of others to move his body, soul, mind in directing himself to achieve certain conditions related to his happiness, freedom, and awareness.

Foucault explained, the first and second technologies are commonly used to study sciences and linguistics, while the third and fourth are of particular concern in studying human behavior related to power. Domination

technology and self technology interact continuously and inseparably. Domination technology has the ability to influence the behavior of individuals to act on themselves and others. Likewise, self-technology is integrated into coercive and domination structures, an integral part of the individual to respond to domination.

According to Lemke (2000), domination technology is a technique used by someone or a group of elites who assume that subordinate objects have very limited choices of actions (Lemke, 2000). In fact, often these objects have no choice but to follow the will of the dominant group. This relationship is usually coercive and repressive. As explained by Marasco (2012), that the way to organize people as the Prince does in Machiavelli's book is not included as the art of government, because individuals are controlled through absolute power that is undeniable and does not provide an alternative space for other individuals. Individuals are forced with various sanctions and penalties to do what the Prince wants.

Internal control in government of Indonesian uses a system, namely Government Internal Control System, called SPIP (*Sistem Penngendalian Intern Pemerintah*), which adopts the COSO (1992), an internal control framework. SPIP design refers to the results of risk identification. The identified risks try to be prevented by making various types of control activities in the form of procedures and policies.

From the results of risks identification, it is known that the main risk factors is human resources. Thus, the main control that is carried out is monitoring, regulating, and improving human factors. In this control, the results of formal risk mapping and other informal control practices have been mixed in various domination power practices. All have one pretext, which is controlling or shaping human behavior to be effective in achieving organizational goals. Formation of behavior towards individuals determines the responsibilities of the parties that

shape it. Individuals as subjects do not need to feel responsible, but responsibility is defined as an absence of desire, loss of individual capacity, even a neglect because it is formed by outside forces. The dominating party immediately becomes a party who feels responsible for a group of individuals. Thus supervision and regulation become things that must be done to individuals.

Foucault observed the operation of the power practice by articulating the elements of sovereignty, disciplinary power, and governmentality (Lemke, 2000; Li, 2012). The three are not mutually exclusive, but always exist in every relation of human life, including in a closed institution such as an organization. Sovereignty and disciplinary power belong to the domain of domination technology because they operate dominantly and unilaterally. Both also limit the subject to having a choice of action. The difference between the two is that sovereign power is carried out by dominant parties in repressive and negative ways, while disciplinary power is carried out in more productive ways through normalization techniques (creating situations in which an individual's body can internalize submission and make it appear as a normal circumstances).

The power called governmentality is not categorized by Foucault (1991) as the dominant power. Governmentality considers that the subject or individual has a choice domain in taking actions that in the end the action will be appropriate and in line with what is desired by the dominant party. The aim of governmentality is to form individual awareness to act according to specific goals (Rose in Fogere, 2007). Governmentality is a form of self-control that shapes and produces the realm of possible choice of subject action (Mudhoffir, 2013), and is a new compliance mechanism based on awareness to control oneself (Clegg et al., 2006; Bifulco, 2010).

Governmentality is called by Lash (2007) as a post-hegemony. According to him, hegemony is a form of domination that is carried out through consensus as well as through coercive means. He is also referred to as the practice of power of domination through ideology without recognizing the capacity of dominated individual autonomy. As for governmentality, is a power relations practice that recognizes the existence of an agency (individual autonomous capacity) to consciously choose its actions. Hegemony in the perspective of Gramscian is based on power collected at one place, which is the dominant party, while governmentality through Foucauldian's perspective bases on the understanding that power is omnipresent, not held by one party, and productive. Thus, hegemony is still regarded as a power domination technique that is able to control the behavior of individuals to carry out their actions consciously and voluntarily through the cultivation of ideology.

From the explanation, I present various forms of domination power techniques that operate at the locus of research by dividing them into 3 types of power techniques, namely sovereignty, disciplinary power, and hegemony.

3.2. Practice of Sovereignty Power

The type of sovereignty power can be found in various written and unwritten rules that are practiced in daily life within the government agencies. Employees obedience, that they called as discipline, is considered to be the most important and fundamental thing in carrying out daily tasks in the office. Without discipline, the behavior of employees considered by the leaders will not meet the quality of performance that has been set. Various provisions regarding the discipline of these employees actually stem from the existence of formal provisions in the form of Government Regulation Number 53 of 2010 concerning employee discipline. That regulation found various levels of sanctions for disciplinary

violations that overshadow all types of employee disciplinary behavior. It is also from the regulation that various rules regarding disciplinary behavior were born. Various provisions of employee discipline have been tightly regulated with various sanctions, aiming for employees not to deviate from the provisions. Formation of behavior based on the threat of sanctions limits the movement of employees, as individuals, to actualize themselves.

In the government agency environment, that regulation has been strengthened by the existence of internal standard operating procedures (SOP) in terms of imposing employee discipline sanctions by their direct superiors. This reinforcement was marked by the existence of a mechanism for giving penalties to his direct superiors who behaved unequivocally towards his subordinates. The SOP further strengthens the power absolutism among the elite towards its employees. The implementation of hierarchical sanctions in the SOP illustrates the distribution of power among the elites, namely the policy-making elite with the policy implementing elite, but still employees are dominated by a group of elites.

According to Batters (2011), when a particular concept or rule is used for a particular population, often institutions use it as a truth to set standards and limits for individuals. Further, normal categories appear for those who are able to meet the standards, and classify as 'the others' for those who do not meet the standards. 'The others' as an abnormal group is often the target of discrimination for an institution, and influences relationships with other individuals. Foucault often refers to the condition as normativity, is the initial part of the formation of the subject (subjectivation).

The forming behavior towards individuals determines the responsibilities of the parties that shape it. Individuals as subjects, do not need to feel responsible, but responsibility is defined as

an absence of desire, loss of individual capacity, even a neglect because it is formed by outside power. The dominating party immediately becomes a party who feels responsible for a group of individuals. Thus supervision and regulation become things that must be done to individuals. On the other hand, experts contribute to the intervention of the formation of individual behavior through knowledge and expertise to educate and empower individual groups and immediately eliminate individual autonomy and freedom. (Rose, 1996).

As far, the type of informal sovereignty instruments are instructions or prohibitions from a leader accompanied by the threat of sanctions. Some elites often use their power to give orders or prohibitions related to how their employees work. These instructions and restrictions are accompanied by threats of reprimand or sanctions if the actions of employees are not suitable with the elite pretention. These instructions and prohibitions are usually carried out directly to the employees concerned or indirectly through the elite at the level below. In addition to instructions and prohibitions, the elite also conducts informal controls on the performance of employees. If there are employees who do not meet the expected performance, an elite can give a warning or sanction toward them.

Such reprimands or sanctions are personal and are based on subjective judgments of an elite. Reprimand and sanctions from each elite are not the same. Each elite has a different type of reprimand and sanction, but has the same purpose, that is to control employees in absolute terms. Absolutism of this type of instrument is marked by the number of employees who are afraid of their superiors, so that they have no choice but to follow instructions, restrictions, or targets to be achieved by their superiors. The types of reprimand and sanctions include: direct reprimand to the concerned employee in a closed manner, open warning in front of other

employees, sanctions not given an assignment, or sanctions to be transferred to other areas.

There are several elite reasons for controlling employees using this sovereignty power, including simple and easy reasons. Simple because it does not require a more complicated and troublesome control device, such as dialogue and negotiation. It is considered easy because it is still within its authority, the elite only uses its power to control its subordinate. In addition, there are other reasons, that is some employees are considered not to have a strong desire to act professionally, so there needs to be a threat to empower employees.

As a result, many employees responded to this sovereignty power with various kinds of resistance. The resistance shown was very diverse, including being opposed to frontal policies and leadership decisions. Some choose resistance by silence without doing anything the boss instructs. Some of them continue to order their superiors, while waiting for the right moment to get out of the system and confine their leaders.

3.3 Practice of Disciplinary Power

In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault showed a form of power called disciplinary power, which is a technology of power that operates through disciplining the body. Disciplinary power is a technology of power that is carried out to discipline the body and make it a submissive and useful body. The power of this model according to Foucault can be effective in closed institutions such as prisons, hospitals or rehabilitation centers, and in educational institutions or schools. The power of this model is essentially trying to create a situation where an individual's body can internalize submission and make it appear as a normal state (Muddhofir, 2013). This is what Foucault calls the practice of normalization of the ongoing power of the individual body. The concept of disciplinary

power is used to designate a form of power and the form of technology or the mechanism for the operation of that power.

This subjugation practice has three elements, those are hierarchical observation, normalization, and examination (Foucault, 1977). What is meant by hierarchical observation is the observation of a group of individuals carried out by parties who have a position above observed parties, or in other words as observations in an unequal position. Dominant parties who have a higher position are those who perceive they have the authority to control.

Normalization is a practice that seeks to create a situation where an individual's body can internalize subjugation and make it appear as a normal state. Normalization can be done through a series of knowledge, values, or standards that are applied to a particular society. The examination is a continuation of observation and normalization, that is in the form of individual determination that needs to be corrected. This determination seeks to separate individuals who are considered to fulfill the norms and those who do not. For those who have not met the standards or norms of discipline, the practice of improvement will be carried out.

Observations that made by certain parties to other parties become the beginning of the emergence of a disciplinary power. As Foucault said about panoptic supervision, efficient oversight is able to make a group of individuals obedient without feeling that the act of obedience is an act that must be done. This observation is hierarchical, it held by a party that dominates the other party, or in other words in an unequal position.

In everyday life in the office, leaders are always observe the staff below. Observation is hierarchical. The behaviors that are considered by their superiors can be in the form of ways of working, fulfillment of duties, or behavior related to the code of ethics of the organization.

The observation instrument mentioned above have the power for a person/group of employees to carry out various actions in accordance with the pretention of the observer. This desire, of course, has a foundation in the form of norms, standards, or knowledge that will be used as a basis for assessment. That is what is called the normalization instrument. Some of them are the existence of many standard operational procedures (SOP), employee compliance rules, organizational values, as well as strategic plans of government agencies (strategic plans). Various basic assessments are able to normalize the actions of employees. It can cause employees to feel that the observations carried out and the actions observed are normal and should be done.

In the end, observation and normalization of the practice of disciplinary power is examining employees in various forms. Examination is not interpreted in the form of threats and punishments, but rather a logical consequence of employee behavior. Employees who are considered not able to meet the standards of behavior will get various consequences. One form of this examination is that no staff member plays an assignment that is considered important or a priority for the organization. In addition to assignments, a staff member who has not met the performance standards was also not included in various prestigious activities in the office. In addition, some employees who have not fulfilled competency standards will be included in the training program that is available regularly. Employees who have fulfilled the behavioral and competency requirements can be proposed to receive reward such as promotion.

The assignment, transfer of work area, and promotion of employees becomes an elite authority at a certain level. With this authority, an elite often uses it as an instrument of power to place his trusted people in the execution of duties, and instead prohibits an employee from

carrying out duties because they are not in accordance with elite criteria. The elite criteria and beliefs are preceded by employee categorization. Employees are separated subjectively into diligent, clever-stupid, competent, and protracted employees. This employee categorization is referred by Foucault as normativity, that is the separation of individuals according to the norms and standards set by the elite (Foucault, 1990).

About the practice of disciplinary power, employees are seen trying to carry out their actions following the established pattern and sandarization. They are consciously observed, and tend to regard standardization, and examination is normal and needs to be done.

3.4 Practice of Hegemony Power

On the other hand, subjugation and control are not carried out through coercive or disciplinary methods, but hegemonic. That means, subjugation is not felt as a submission. The hegemonic power (Gramsci, 1975) operates at the level of consciousness embedded in individuals through conquest of common sense. Hegemony occurs when a group of individuals controlled by a dominant party agrees with the ideology, lifestyle and way of thinking of the dominant party.

The ongoing hegemonic power no longer presents external supervision of individuals because it has been internalized within the object. So, it is not easy to question a problem when it is considered given, taken for granted, and present as if it should be. Based on Gramsci's thinking, hegemony is a domination power over the values of life, culture, norms, which eventually transforms into doctrine against other community groups in which the dominated group consciously follows it (Daldal, 2014). Groups that are dominated do not feel controlled, but rather feel that is the thing that should be done.

Thus, people who are hegemonized never know that their social practices and the way they interpret their social world are something that the dominant group wants. One of the hegemonic efforts carried out by the leadership was through various speeches, directives, and remarks at various agency activities. The contents of the speech are about the strategic role of the supervisory agency as an internal audit of the government. This strategic role brings consequences to the demands of high dedication and increased professionalism to carry out the mission well. Through the contents of the speeches, which were then repeated on various occasions, the elites wanted to instill an understanding as well as arouse awareness that employees should carry out their activities and work with dedication, thoroughness, and professionalism, so that the trust given by stakeholders can be answered with good performance.

The elite's desire to change the mindset of its employees is not only through speeches and directions, but also manifests in organizational values and work principles. These organizational values and working principles are expected to always be implemented in the daily lives of employees both in the office, work partners, and in community life. To internalize the values of the organization and the working principle, various efforts were carried out, including socialization, role modeling, and campaigns using various media in the office environment.

Leaders who feel responsible for the organization and employees, need recognition so that employees can always respect with their direction. This will make it easier for leaders to provide direction/instruction aimed at managing and controlling employees. In this way, resistance is not expected to occur which will hamper the internalization of directives, values, and working principles set by the leadership. For this reason, elites are seen to strengthen the paternalistic culture, that is cultural practices in

the form of patterns of relations between leaders as patrons, with subordinates as clients (Dwiyanto, 2012). The relationship between the two tends to describe a superior-inferior (powerful-powerless) relationship, which is able to touch the awareness of employees as clients to adhere to their patrons. It was seen through various symbols, such as official inauguration events for leaders, the alignment of leaders in the front row while attending events, speak articulation, and the existence of various facilities for leaders.

Paternalistic culture in this institutions come under the benevolent type, it means that the boss (patron) has the awareness to pay attention to and prosper the subordinates (client) (Aycan, 2006). Thus, the client will obey and being loyal to his patron in voluntary relationships. The award given by the leadership to employees is also an instrument that strengthens the benevolent paternalistic culture. The awards are of various types and forms, both in the form of money up to awards in the form of special assignments and promotions. Various competitions were held to select the best employees.

The cultivation of ideology through ideas and knowledge is carried out through various kinds of education and training. This education and training activity, in addition to being an instrument of normalization in disciplinary power, also becomes an instrument for the practice of hegemony which serves to stimulate the awareness of employees to do various things desired by the leadership. The curriculum, materials, and methods of education and training that have been established by the leaders are indeed prepared to educate awareness and understanding and to train employee behavior. Thus, education and training is considered as a way for employees to have knowledge-based awareness.

Against the practice of hegemony, almost all employees did not resist. They consider the content of speech, organizational values, and

various knowledge to be something they must follow. They also behave as directed in those values and knowledge.

4. CONCLUSION

Management and accounting knowledge state that internal control in organizations is needed to regulate the behavior of employees to prevent irregularities, while at the same time aiming to achieve organizational goals. This understanding is used by the leaders of government agencies to practice their power. A domination practice that governs the behavior of a group of individuals who tend to place individuals as objects as well as subjects. Objects in the sense of the individual as the place for the practice of submission, and the subject means that the individual is considered to be able to act consciously following the wishes of the elite.

The practice of power in the form of sovereignty, disciplinary power and hegemony cannot be separated. All three exist and overlap in government agencies where research is conducted. Leaders need a disciplinary power in order that employees work productively. Hegemony takes place so that employees feel comfortable and aware to be loyal to their duties, leaders and organizations. The sovereignty power is needed as an initial control in order to employees understand the consequences of their behavior, as well as the final control when disciplinary power and hegemony look less effective.

The things that are done do not need to be interpreted as something that always means negative because the three are also provides values for the community as the main stakeholders of government institutions. However, all three need to be wary so as not to result in dehumanization practices, discrimination and excessive use of employees for the benefit of the elite. By understanding these practices clearly, the governance of institutions can be expected to

do reflection for what has happened and also to improve the bureaucracy so that more humanist and more valueable for society.

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JURIDICAL STUDY OF PERFORMANCE OF VILLAGE APPARATUS IN THE AGES OF INTEGRATED INTEGRATED SERVICE IN THE VILLAGE OF BALESARI KECAMATAN WINDUSARI KABUPATEN MAGELANG

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Abstract

The Integrated Service Post (Posyandu) has been more widely known to serve maternal and child health, even though in health services at the Puskesmas, there are also types of Posyandu elderly programs, which are specifically for the elderly. Older people also need special attention, considering their physical and mental development are vulnerable to various health problems. As a tangible manifestation of social and health services in this elderly group, the government has launched services for the elderly through the Elderly Integrated Service Post (Posyandu Lansia). Elderly Posyandu is an integrated container for the elderly in their old age because in old age like this, the condition of the elderly generally has a relatively weak physique. The benefits felt by the presence of the elderly posyandu are not only felt by the elderly but also by the family and the environment in which the elderly live. So from that the role of the government in this case the Village Apparatus is tasked together with medical personnel to give special attention to the health of the elderly so that they have more physical and mental conditions that are good and productive. This study aims to describe the juridical study of the performance of village officials in the provision of Integrated Service

Posts for elderly citizens in Balesari Village, Windusari District, Magelang Regency in accordance with Article 138 of Law Number 36 of 2009 concerning Health which states that the Government is obliged to guarantee the availability of facilities health services and facilitate the elderly to be able to live independently and productively socially and economically. The research method used is a qualitative research method with descriptive analysis techniques. Data collection is done through observation, interviews and documentation. Sources of research data are key informants, informants, research sites and documents.

Keywords: *Juridical; Elderly Integrated Service Post; Village Apparatus.*

1. INTRODUCTION

An increase in the elderly population can increase degenerative diseases in the community. Without being balanced with promotive and preventive efforts, the social burden incurred as well as the costs to be incurred for elderly health services will be quite large, one of the facilities for service for the elderly is carried out through the elderly posyandu. Elderly Posyandu is concerned with

improving facilities to maintain the health of the elderly, preventing health problems, treating diseases and rehabilitation efforts for the elderly with programs including measurements of height and weight, blood pressure checks, periodic examinations and mild treatment, physical exercise such as exercise and given health education. So that the elderly who are regular in utilizing the elderly posyandu will be controlled by their health. The role of the family is very important, but the role of the village apparatus in fostering is equally important in improving the health and quality of life of the elderly, these roles include fostering the role of family care, motivators, initiators, liaison families and breadwinners. In addition, there is guidance that is carried out through behavioral changes towards clean and healthy living behaviors in the family order, environmental improvements (physical, biological, socio-cultural, economic), assisting in organizing health (promotive, preventive, curative, rehabilitative), and participating in the process of control and evaluation of the implementation of services for the elderly. Therefore, the role of the family and the role of the village apparatus in caring for the elderly are very important to maintain the health and well-being of the elderly. with the role of the family through the guidance of a good and supportive village apparatus, it will motivate the elderly to maintain their health and regularly come to the posyandu for the elderly. Thus the health status of the elderly will increase so that a happy and prosperous old age is achieved. Based on the description of the background of the problem and identification of the problem above, the main problem in this study can be formulated as follows: "What is the juridical study of the performance of village officials in the provision of services for Elderly Integrated Service Posts (Posyandu Lansia) in Balesari Village, Windusari District, Magelang Regency. Has the performance of the village apparatus in the

village of Balesari already provided health insurance for the community in the village in accordance with what is expected by the country? "This study aims to describe the juridical study of the performance of village officials in the provision of Integrated Service Posts for elderly citizens in Balesari Village, Windusari District, Magelang Regency. The results of this study are expected to contribute to the wider community, especially the village community in terms of the delivery of health insurance services and can provide input to the government, central government, local government, village government and related institutions regarding health services for elderly citizens, and can also add insight scholarship in the field of law.

According to the Indonesian juridical dictionary, it means that according to law, legally, legal assistance (given by a lawyer to his client before the court). Based on the Indonesian dictionary can be drawn juridical definition is all things that have legal meaning and have been ratified by the government. Juridical contains things that must be obeyed. Juridical definition is anything that has legal meaning and is legally approved by the government. If this standard rule is violated, the violator will get sanctions. Juridical is compelling where one must obey. Juridical not only in the form of tertulus, but sometimes this rule can be in the form of lesions.

So, juridical is everything that has legal meaning, both written and oral. The written juridical of which is the Law while the juridical in the form of oral is customary law. Even though in oral form, the existence of the custom must be obeyed by the community. If someone or some person violates an oral law, he will still get sanctions. Juridical is a regulation that must be obeyed by the community and if they violate it, they will get sanctions. If the written law, the sanctions are from the government or the authorized party. But if the law is oral, sanctions

for violations can come from the community itself.

Bernardin and Russel provide understanding or performance as follows: "performance is defined as the record of outcomes produced on a specified job function or activity during time period." Performance or performance is a record of the results obtained from certain job functions or activities over a period of time. According to Gibson, job performance is the result of work related to organizational goals, efficiency and other performance effectiveness performance. While according to Ilyas, performance is the appearance of the work results of personnel and within an organization. The appearance of the work is not limited to personnel holding functional or structural positions but also to the entire ranks of personnel within the organization.

Another definition of performance is stated by Payaman Simanjuntak, who suggests performance is the level of achievement of results for the implementation of certain tasks. Company performance is the level of achievement of results in order to realize company goals. Performance management is the whole activity carried out to improve the performance of a company or organization, including the performance of each individual and working group in the company.

The village is a legal community unit that has regional boundaries which are authorized to regulate and manage the interests of the local community, based on local origins and customs that are recognized and respected in the system of government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Law No.32 of 2004) Villages are areas where people know each other, live together in mutual cooperation, have the same customs, and have their own procedures for managing the lives of their people. Besides that, a review of the village is also found in many laws and government regulations as contained in Law Number 6 of 2014

concerning Villages which provide an explanation of the definition of the village stated that:

Article 1 number 1 states that: "A village or another name, hereinafter referred to as a village, is a legal community unit that has regional boundaries that are authorized to regulate and manage the interests of the local community, based on local origins and customs that are recognized and respected in the Unitary Government system. Republic of Indonesia".

Article 1 number 2 states that:

"Village Government is the administration of government affairs and the interests of the local community in the system of government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia".

Article 1 number 3 states that: "The Village Government or what is referred to by another name is the Village Head and Village Apparatus as administrators of village administration".

The village government or what is called by another name is the village head and village apparatus as the organizer of the village administration. Law No. 32 of 2004 article 202 describes village government in more detail and firmly, namely that the government consists of Village Heads and Village Devices, while village officials here are Village Secretaries, field technical implementers, such as Head of Affairs, and regional elements such as Head of the Hamlet or with another designation.

Posyandu is the center of community activities in efforts to provide health and family planning services. Posyandu activities are a manifestation of community participation in maintaining and improving their health status. elderly posyandu is a forum for communication, transfer of technology and health services by the community and for communities that have strategic values for the development of human resources, especially the elderly (MOH, 2000).

The definition of elderly is a person who reaches the age of 60 (sixty) years and above (Law 13 of 1998). This Elderly Category

according to Hardywinoto (1999) consists of 3 categories, including:

- Young old (70 - 75 years old);
- Old (75 - 80 years old);
- Very old (over 80 years).

Whereas according to the WHO formula, the limitations of the elderly are as follows:

- Middle age (middle age) that is between the ages of 45 - 59 years
- Elderly (elderly), namely between the ages of 60 - 74 years
- Continue old age (old) that is between the ages of 75-90 years
- Very old, which is above the age of 90 years

Whereas the understanding of the Elderly Posyandu (Effendy, 1998), is the center of community activities in efforts to provide health and family planning services. Posyandu is a center for family planning and health services that are managed and organized for and by the community with technical support from health workers in order to achieve the Norms of the Happy Prosperous Family (NKKBS).

There are several categories of elderly posyandu organizers, which consist of activity implementers and Posyandu managers. Implementers of the activity are community members who have been trained as local health cadres under the guidance of the Puskesmas. Whereas the Posyandu management is a board formed by the RW head who comes from the PKK, formal and informal community leaders and health cadres in the area.

Broadly speaking, according to the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (2006), the purpose of establishing the elderly posyandu is as follows: (1) Increasing the reach of elderly health services in the community, so that health services are formed that are in accordance with the needs of the elderly. (2). Bringing services closer together and increasing the participation of the public and the private sector in health services while increasing communication between the elderly

The purpose of the establishment of elderly posyandu according to Azrul (1998), namely: (1) Maintaining health conditions with physical activity according to ability and supporting mental activities; (2) Maintain maximum independence; (3) Carry out early diagnosis appropriately and adequately; (4) Carry out appropriate treatment; (5) Fostering elderly people in the field of spiritual physical health; (6) As a means to channel the interests of the elderly; (7) Increase the sense of togetherness among the elderly; (8) Increasing the ability of the elderly to develop health activities and other supporting activities according to their needs.

Meanwhile the Elderly Posyandu Service mechanism only uses a 3-table service system, with the following activities:

1. Table I, covering the activities of registering the elderly, measuring height and weighing the body.
2. Table II, includes activities for recording weight, height, body mass index (BMI). Health services such as simple treatment and referral cases are also done at this table II.
3. Table III, covering counseling or counseling activities, here can also be done nutrition corner services.

The form of Elderly Posyandu Services, includes the examination of physical and mental emotional health that is recorded and monitored by the Health Towards Card (KMS) to find out earlier the illness (early detection) or the threat of health problems faced. Whereas the types of Health Services provided to the elderly at the Elderly Posyandu such as the examination of daily activities include basic activities in life, such as eating / drinking, walking, bathing, dressing, going up and down the bed, defecating / small etc. (1) Mental status examination. This examination is related to mental emotional using the method guideline 2 (two) minutes. (2) Examination of nutritional status through weighing body weight and measuring height was then recorded on the Body Mass Index

(BMI) graph. (3) Blood pressure measurements using tensimeter and stethoscope and pulse count for one minute. (4) Hemoglobin examination using talquist, sahli or cuprisulfat. (5) Examination of the presence of sugar in urine as an early detection of the presence of sugar (diabetes mellitus). (6) Examination of the presence of egg white (protein) in urine as an early detection of kidney disease. (7) Implementation of referral to the Puskesmas if there are complaints and / or abnormalities found in the examination of items 1 to 7. (8) Health education.

Other activities that can be carried out according to local needs and conditions such as Supplementary Food Delivery (PMT) by taking into account the health and nutritional aspects of the elderly and sports activities such as elderly gymnastics, relaxing walks to improve fitness. For the smooth implementation of activities in the Elderly Posyandu, supporting facilities and infrastructure are needed, namely: the place of activity (building, room or open space), tables and chairs, stationery, activity recording books, adult scales, height measurement meters, stethoscope, tension meters, simple laboratory equipment, thermometer, Elderly Health Card (KMS).

Based on location aspects, according to Effendi (1998). Location conditions that must be met include according to, among others: (1) Being in a place that is easily visited by the community. (2) Determined by the community itself. (3) Can be a local one. (4) If it is not possible, it can be carried out in homes, community centers, RT / RW or other posts. Benefits of Elderly Posyandu:

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Health (2000), the benefits of elderly posyandu are: (1) Elderly physical health can be maintained in shape; (2) Recreational health is maintained; (3) Can channel interests and talents to fill spare time.

2. METHODS

The study used a type or descriptive qualitative research method. According to Moleong descriptive research is research that seeks to express a problem and the situation as it is, for that researchers are limited to only disclosing facts and not using hypotheses. Descriptive research aims to describe precisely the characteristics of individuals and the social conditions that arise in society to be used as objects of research.

In qualitative research, researchers enter certain social situations, make observations and interviews with people who are seen to know about the social situation. Determination of data sources on the people interviewed was conducted purposively, which was chosen with specific considerations and objectives. The informants in this study were the Head of Balesari Village, Village Government Apparatus, members of Windusari Health Center, Balesari Polindes members and elderly residents of Balesari Village.

The research location is in Balesari Village, Windusari District, Magelang Regency. The data collection techniques used in this study are: observation, interview, documentation. In analyzing data, researchers will be guided by the following steps: data collection; editing; interpretation of data.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Research Result

The government has formulated various regulations and legislation, which are included in Law No. 36 of 2009 concerning Health. Article 138 states that:

- (1) Health care efforts for the elderly must be aimed at maintaining a healthy and productive life both socially and economically in accordance with human dignity;
- (2) The government must guarantee the availability of health service facilities and facilitate the elderly to be able to live

independently and productively socially and economically.

Along with the increasing population of the elderly, the government has formulated various policies on elderly health services aimed at improving the health and quality of life of the elderly to reach a happy and useful old age in the lives of families and communities in accordance with their existence. The activities of the Integrated Service Post (Posyandu), so far more commonly known to serve maternal and child health, even though in health services at Puskesmas, there are also types of Posyandu elderly programs, which are specifically for the elderly. Older people also need special attention, considering their physical and mental development are vulnerable to various health problems. As a tangible manifestation of social and health services in this advanced age group, the government has launched services for the elderly through the Elderly Integrated Service Post.

Based on the results of observations and interviews with informants that we have done in Balesari Village with the research title Juridical Assessment of Village Apparatus Performance in the Elderly Integrated Service Post in Balesari Village, Windusari Subdistrict, Magelang District, it illustrates the role of village officials in ensuring public health or residents. age. It is known, the number of heads of households (KK) in Balesari Village is based on 2017 data of 975 households. Where, the number of elderly people in Balesari Village is 122 people, with the distribution in Salakan hamlet 44 people; Jambean hamlet 25 people; Malangaten hamlet 25 people; and 28 Mojo hamlets.

Observations and interviews conducted in Balesari Village have taken place four times. Based on the observations and interviews that have been carried out, it has gotten a picture of the role of the village apparatus in the provision of health services, especially for the elderly. Based on the results of interviews with the

research team with the Secretary of the Village of Balesari and a number of other village apparatuses stated that initially Balesari Village consisted of 5 hamlets namely Malangaten Hamlet, Jambean Hamlet, Salakan Hamlet, Kembangsari Hamlet and Mojo Hamlet. However, due to administrative requirements stating that the number of family heads in 1 hamlet believed that at least 100 families and the number of households in Kembangsari hamlet did not reach that number, the Kembangsari Hamlet and Salakan Hamlet merged into 1 Dusun government and named Salakan Hamlet. So, currently Balesari Village consists of 4 hamlets namely Malangaten Hamlet, Jambean Hamlet, Salakan Hamlet and Mojo Hamlet.

The performance of the Balesari village apparatus in the provision of health services for the elderly has not been carried out in full because in the village of Balesari the old Posyandu institution has not been formed as usual. However, there are elderly posyandu activities that have been running since the beginning of 2018, namely in Jambean Hamlet which is held on the 11th of every month and the activity is in the form of Elderly Gymnastics. In addition to these activities, there have actually been village programs to pay attention to health and the provision of health services for the elderly, namely the Additional Food Program for toddlers and seniors. In the program the village apparatus distributes additional food for the elderly and toddlers. The additional food provided is in the form of milk, green beans, vitamins and eggs. Balesari Village Secretary said that the provision of supplementary food (PMT) is an important component of efforts to improve family nutrition (UPGK) and programs designed by the village government together with Windusari puskesmas and Balesari Polindes. PMT as a means of restoring nutrition in a curative sense, rehabilitative and as an extension tool is one form of Balesari village government program to provide nutrition in the

form of food from outside the family, in the context of the UPGK program. This program of supplementary feeding activities aims to improve the nutritional condition of the village community, both toddlers and the elderly who are vulnerable to nutrition and who suffer from malnutrition. In addition, it also controls the nutritional needs of the elderly.

The role of the village apparatus in the provision of health services for the elderly Balesari village, namely the village apparatus will launch several health service delivery programs for the elderly, one of which is through the visit of the village apparatus along with the Windusari Health Center with the Balesari Polindes to the homes of all elderly citizens. The provision of health services in the form of blood pressure checks, blood checks to control cholesterol levels, blood sugar levels, uric acid levels, etc. Where the program will begin in August 2018, while in 2019 the village government will begin to routinely hold the Lansia Desa Posesandu Balesari Program which is named "Healthy Holidays" and will be held on Sundays, every second week at Balesari Village Hall. The series of activities in the "Healthy Holiday" Program such as Elderly Gymnastics, Health Checks, Supplementary Food Delivery, and ended with socialization with the theme of maintaining and supporting health improvements for the elderly. Village apparatus in carrying out the programs and activities mentioned above in collaboration with the Windusari Health Center and Balesari Polindes.

3.2. Discussion

3.2.1 Constraints for the Implementation of Elderly Posyandu

Some of the obstacles faced by the elderly in participating in posyandu activities include: a) Knowledge of the elderly who are low about the benefits of posyandu. Knowledge of the elderly about the benefits of Posyandu can be obtained from personal experience in their daily

lives. By attending posyandu activities, the elderly will get counseling on how to live healthy with all the limitations or health problems that are attached to them. With this experience, the knowledge of the elderly is increasing, which is the basis for forming attitudes and can encourage their interest or motivation to always participate in the elderly posyandu activities. (b) Distance of the house with the location of the posyandu that is far or difficult to reach. The close distance of the Posyandu will make it easier for the elderly to reach Posyandu without having to experience fatigue or physical accidents due to a decrease in endurance or physical strength. The ease of reaching the posyandu location is related to safety or security factors for the elderly. If the elderly feel safe or find it easy to reach the posyandu location without having to cause fatigue or a more serious problem, then this can encourage the interest or motivation of the elderly to take part in the posyandu activities. Thus, this security is an external factor in the formation of motivation to attend the elderly posyandu. (c) Lack of family support to deliver or remind the elderly to come to the posyandu.

Family support plays an important role in encouraging the interest or willingness of the elderly to take part in the elderly posyandu activities. Families can be a powerful motivator for the elderly if they always provide themselves to accompany or take the elderly to the posyandu, remind the elderly if they forget the posyandu schedule, and try to help overcome all problems with the elderly. (d) Poor attitude towards posyandu officers. Personal assessment or good attitude towards officers is the basis for the readiness or willingness of the elderly to take part in the posyandu activities. With such a good attitude, the elderly tend to always be present or take part in activities held at the posyandu for the elderly. This can be understood because a person's attitude is a mirror of readiness to react to an object. Readiness is a

potential tendency to react in certain ways if an individual is faced with a stimulus that requires a response.

3.2.2 Types of Health Services provided to the elderly at the Elderly Posyandu are:

- Examination of daily activities includes basic activities in life, such as eating / drinking, walking, bathing, dressing, going up and down the bed, defecating / small and so on.
- Mental status check. This examination is related to mental emotional using the method guideline 2 (two) minutes.
- Examination of nutritional status through weighing body weight and height measurements and recorded on the body mass index (BMI) graph.
- Blood pressure measurement using tensimeter and stethoscope and pulse count for one minute.
- Hemoglobin examination using talquist, sahli or cuprisulfat.
- Examination of the presence of sugar in urine as an early detection of the presence of diabetes (diabetes mellitus)
- Examination of the presence of egg white (protein) in urine as an early detection of kidney disease.
- Implementation of referrals to the Puskesmas if there are complaints and / or abnormalities found in the examination of items 1 to 7. And
- Health Counseling.

Other activities that can be carried out according to local needs and conditions such as Supplementary Food Delivery (PMT) by taking into account the health and nutritional aspects of the elderly and sports activities such as elderly gymnastics, relaxing walks to improve fitness. For the smooth implementation of activities in the Elderly Posyandu, supporting facilities and infrastructure are needed, namely: the place of activity (building, room or open space), tables

and chairs, stationery, activity recording books, adult scales, height measurement meters, stethoscope, tension meters, simple laboratory equipment, thermometer, Elderly Health Card (KMS).

3.2.3 Strategies for Implementing Elderly Posyandu that will be carried out are:

1. Dissemination of posyandu for the elderly to the community and approaches to the elderly family.

The existence of this socialization is certainly very supportive in providing understanding to the public regarding the importance of this integrated service post for the elderly. As well as the approach in the elderly family, it is also influential so that the family also provides support for the elderly so that they can participate in the activities in this posyandu. In addition to support, of course there is an effort from the child to want to deliver the elderly to the service. Moreover, nowadays there are many children who do not pay attention to the situation of their parents (elderly), who they know provide food and clothing for the elderly is enough without giving a medical examination and psychological condition to the elderly.

2. Pick up the elderly or handle it at the place. If the distance between the house and the posyandu place is far and does not allow the elderly to go alone and there are no relatives to deliver, then the elderly will be picked up by the service officer for free. That way there is nothing more for the elderly to worry about how to get to the posyandu.

Whereas the handle at the place of intent is that the officers hold posyandu services in the elderly's house because the elderly cannot afford to walk in the sense that the elderly person is no longer able to do any activities. So, officers only checked blood pressure, hemoglobin, egg white content, sugar content in urine and health education.

3. Integrated services without levies Elderly Posyandu was established and moved without charging fees from the elderly because there was already a government budget for public health funds, especially for the elderly. Thus the elderly posyandu will be able to reach all levels of society, even the lower layers. The services provided are also equally not discriminating, because the elderly are classified as easily offended when they feel they are distinguished by officers and that will actually worsen the emotional state of the elderly.

4. A look at the elderly

In addition to special examinations at the posyandu or at the local health center, there is also a program to look at the activities of the elderly in the homes of the elderly. Windusari Puskesmas officers, Balesari Polindes and village officials came to the homes of senior citizens, examined what was done by the elderly and how their families treated them at home. To make it easier for officers to provide follow-up from the elderly.

4. CONCLUSION

Elderly Posyandu is an integrated container for the elderly in their old age because in old age like this, the condition of the elderly generally has a relatively weak physique. The benefits felt by the presence of the elderly posyandu are not only felt by the elderly but also by the family and the environment in which the elderly live. The role of the Balesari Village Government in the effort to provide health services through Integrated Service Posts to the elderly is quite good. This is evidenced by the plan of the village government to launch the Elderly Posyandu program by conducting a village apparatus visit together with the Windusari Health Center with the Balesari Polindes to the homes of all senior citizens. The provision of health services in the form of blood pressure checks, blood checks to control cholesterol levels, blood sugar levels, uric acid

levels, etc. Where the program will begin in August 2018, while in 2019 the village government will begin to routinely hold the Lansia Desa Posesandu Balesari Program which is named "Healthy Holidays" and will be held on Sundays, every second week at Balesari Village Hall.

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LAUGHTER GAME : ENHANCING THE CONFIDENCE AND SOCIALIZATION RELATED WITH VOCABULARY OF ISOLATED STUDENTS

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Abstract

Nowdays, education has a big problem related with it's elements, one of them is the problem about the isolated students. They need an appropriate way to help them in learning process since they have to get a special treatment in order to make them more confidence and have good socialization with other. The purpose of this study is to prove laughter game as an effective way for isolated students in enhancing their confidence, enlarging their socialization related with improving their vocabulary. The participants from students college are involved to investigate the influences of using laughter game in learning process. The study found that laughter game is an effective way for isolated students. Finally, laughter game can be used to improve the confidence, socialization related with increasing vocabulary of isolated students.

Keywords: *Isolated Students; Laughter Game; Confidence; Socialization, Vocabulary.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Education is very important and cannot be separated from human's life. Developing education has been done by all people such as educators, aligned with globalization. In global era, all people are forced to be smart and demanded to keep up with current development.

Education is very needed because there are some lessons that will give them insight and knowledge. One of the ways to obtain education is learning at school.

However, there are many problems related with education in several countries such as Indonesia. In 2018, Indonesia has 45.379.879 students in all over the country. It shows that there are many students are studying in this country. For instance, there are 354.781 students in Central Java. In Magelang, there are 10.826 students included primary, junior and senior high school. Unfortunately, it is not aligned with their quality. Many students do not have enough knowledge and confidence. For example, there are many students who only have limited vocabulary. It gives the influences in the learning process.

Participants who attend the class have known as students and a person who delivers the knowledge called teacher. As a figure that can change the world, students have big responsibility to this country. They build their character aligned with their knowledge. To reach this goal, students should have some capabilities. However, there are various kinds of students at school. Each of students' types has different characteristic. Certainly, it will influence their learning outcomes. Isolated students become an example of students' types. They have less confidence in classroom. These students never make a communication with the

teacher even with their peers. Furthermore, they are reluctant to ask something when they have some difficulties. If they never communicate with other people such as talking or making a conversation, they only have a few vocabularies. Certainly, it will give bad influence to their learning outcomes.

Actually the essential of education is to build students' character as agents of changes. In reverse, these students are not confident and they have a lack in socialization. It is necessary to help them to be real agents of changes as the country's expectancy.

Using laughter game can overcome the problem. It helps the students to enhance the confidence and socialization. Moreover, games proved to be an effective tool when devised to explain vocabularies and they make it easier to remember their meanings (Bakhsh, 2016). That is why, the study focus on how to prove that laughter game is an effective way to enhance the confidence and socialization related with improving the vocabulary of isolated students.

What is game? Bakhsh (2016, p. 122) explains that games are used to help students during their language learning. They make classes entertaining and sustain effort and interest. It is useful for the students.

Game for Enhancing Confidence, Dewi, Umami & Ari (2017, p. 64) point out that communicative game is a set of well fun-design activities can stimulate students' interaction in the classroom. In other word, it will build the students' confidence in the class. Then, their confidence will be automatically increased due to its concept in building habits of interaction. It shows that game is an effective tool to build the students' confidence.

Game for Enlarging Socialization, Game is an alternative way that can enhance the students' socialization. Kovačević and Siniša (2013, p. 96) said that students learn the skills of socialization and acquire rules of behavior which apply during play through the game. Not

only that, game usually consists of rules before it is played. It is necessary to the students because they need to absorb the rules and respect the agreements. By playing game, students learn quickly and absorb the rules easier.

Related with building the students' socialization, game can help the students to build their ability of communication and establish better relations with their peers. Kovačević and Siniša (2013, p. 97) clarify that by using game, we can know the positive growth and development of students who cooperate with their friends.

Game for Improving the Vocabulary, Derakhsan & Elham (2015, p. 40) reported that game is very beneficial and effective in learning vocabulary. Game also helps the students to learn the target language more easily. From the previous statement, we know that game is very advantageous for the students in order increasing their vocabulary. Learning vocabulary through game also had attained a lot of attention (Derakhsan & Elham, 2015, p. 39).

The Perceptions of Isolated Students, Everyone need to communicate and make an interaction with others in life. It is natural because we are social being. How if there are some people who do not have relation with others? It will give impact to them directly or indirectly. There are three kinds of social relation such as family, school and society (Effendi, Rosmawati, & Yakub, 2016) There is interaction between student and teacher in school interaction. Students who have a good interaction can solve their problem.

On the contrary, there are some students will avoid from others if they have difficulties in making interaction. We usually called them as isolated students. They hesitate to ask their teacher and do not communicate with their peers. They also do not have a confidence to share their opinion. In other words, isolated

students have some problems related with confidence and socialization.

The Problems of Isolated Students, Confidence as the main thing in a person like isolated students. It is very needed for isolated students for making a socialization with their teacher even their peers. Furthermore, it also affects their mind and behavior (Skinner, 2013). Unfortunately, isolated students have less confidence, they keep silent and avoid the interaction in classroom. This condition can be a barrier between isolated students and their success. They are reluctant to show their opinion with others. It makes they are difficult to make a socialization. Socialization is adaptation about the norms in society (Garibaldi & Josias, 2015).

Isolated students prefer to be alone than gather or work with other. It will give impact for their learning outcomes. They cannot get the maximal grades or results since the teacher usually give higher score to the active students than the isolated students. For example, active students have shown their performance in speaking class, certainly they have a confidence to do it. Besides the confidence, they also mastering many vocabularies. Vocabularies is an essential in all skill aspects to understand the instruction (Wasik & Hindman, 2011). Not only that, having a comprehension about vocabulary can be used to understand the meaning in English Foreign Language (Alqahtani, 2015). This condition is really different with isolated students that avoid interaction and less confidence. They never make an interaction with others, how can they show the best performance? It is also important to improve their vocabulary that affects in all skill set. Less vocabulary can be a serious problem and it must not be neglected (Hanifia, 2013). Therefore, seeking some ways to overcome these problems is necessary.

Overcome The Isolated Students' Problems, Nowadays, there are many innovations in learning process such as using some fresh

methods or strategies. Based on 21st century, it is needed to make some model of learning which is related with enhancing creativity and critical thinking (OECD, 2008). For example, using game in learning and teaching process. Game is adopted and it becomes a part of curriculum (Allsop & Jessel, 2015). Moreover, game can reduce the boredom of students when they are learning. In learning process, it is more effective than traditional teaching (Liua & Chen, 2013). Hence, many educators create many various kinds of model learning. The purposes of all models of learning is to attract the students and make them more understand with the material.

Isolated students also need some treatments such as game in order enhancing their confidence and enlarging the socialization. That is the basic of using game to overcome their problem. By using game in learning process, they can improve their vocabulary. There are many games in model of learning such as laughter game. This game consists of several components that can be useful for them.

Laughter Game, This is a simple game that has some benefits for isolated students. It can be used to improve their confidence because this game is done in group. Confidence is needed to collaborate and communicate with others in a group (Manilall & Rowe, 2016). They have become accustomed to collaboration and they increase their confidence unconsciously. Collaboration consist of some participants such as isolated students and their peers. In other words, it can build a socialization aligned with the initial goal.

This game can be applied only with providing some tools or utilities such as some papers and ballpoints. The essential of this game is playing with some words. Indirectly, isolated students also enhance their vocabulary. And below are the instructions for playing laughter game in learning process:

Make a big circle. Prepare a piece of paper and ballpoint for each students. Then, invite each of students to write his own name in the top left corner of the paper, then double fold the paper until the name is closed. After that, distribute the paper between the participants until they do not get their own paper. Students have to write in paper folds with a verb, fold then distribute it. Write an object word on the paper that is still blank, fold and distribute again. Then, write an adverb complete with place and time. Do not forget to fold it again. The teacher give an instruction to distribute the paper quickly and faster until the students scattered and the teacher shouted, “Stop”. Each student will be told to read the contents of the paper in front of his friends with a loud voice. Usually the contents of the paper will invite laughter, for example “Tania cooking a frog in the airport at night”.

These are some instructions to play laughter game in learning process. Furthermore, it is simple and only need some materials. It can be applied in some subjects such as speaking class. It can enhance some capabilities at once such as mastering vocabulary, improving confidence, and building socialization. The most essential thing is improving learning outcomes of isolated students.

2. METHODS

- *Design*

Observation was used in this study as the method. It was aimed to reveal the isolated students’ problem in enhancing their confidence and socialization related with improving vocabulary.

Besides the observation method, the reasearcher used the questionnaire research method. There were five questions in the questionnaire includes the issues about confidence, socialization and vocabulary. Each of the questions, there were four options that can be chosen by the test takers. Not only that, the

interview between the researcher and test takers were implemented in the questionnaire. In addition, the researcher could get the complete answer from the test takers that filled the reason in questionnaire. Therefore, the questionnaire was administrated to know the students’ responses about laughter game in English Foreign Learning.

- *Participants*

The participants of this study were 25 students from English Department at Tidar University especially from semester 4. They were randomly chosen.

- *Procedures*

The researcher used questionnaire for the participants. Before the participants filled the questionnaire, they should know about laughter game first. The researcher introduced about laughter game to the participants. After they recognised it, the researcher shared the questionnaire about the influences of using laughter game in learning process for isolated students. Then, they are invited to fill the questionnaire. Finally, the results of the questionnaire were analyzed by the researcher.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Results

The results showed the perceptions of students at English Department about laughter game for isolated students in enhancing the confidence and also the socialization related with improving the vocabulary.

Participants or the students responded to the questions or statements that were presented in sections along with a discussion of the responses.

- *Isolated students’ interest in learning using laughter game*

All participants were asked about isolated students’ interest in learning using laughter game. Three participants strongly agreed with the statement as follows:

‘... isolated students enjoy learning using laughter game.’

‘... it is not boring and make isolated students easily happy when they are happy.’

Eighteen participants agreed with the statement. They also have their own reason behind it.

Laughter game made the students interest to the learning because laughter game could be a combination that was used and more interesting than only encounter the materials in a book. Moreover, using laughter game could change the mindset about learning process of isolated students.

As seen in the example below, participants reported that everyone liked game especially laughter game:

‘... laughther game will enhance isolated students’ interest in learning.’

‘The isolated students will be active and enjoy the learning process.’

However, there are four participants disagreed with the statement. They suggested as the response below:

‘... not all isolated students are easy to be attracted to the kind of thing even their friends who still care about them.’

From all responses of the participants, we could say that most of them agreed with statements about isolated students’ interested in learning using laughter game because it gave some advantages.

• ***Isolated students become confident in speaking after being taught using laughter game***

There were four participants who strongly agreed that isolated students became confident in speaking after being taught using laughter game. They responded the statements as follows:

‘... using laughter game makes isolated students become confident.’

‘... because their confidence will increase and it will make them confident to speak.’

Then, there were fifteen participants who agree with the statements. They reported that laughter game made the students became relax and it could enhance their confidence as the responses below:

‘... laughter game can make the isolated students relax and help them in boosting their confidence.’

‘Using laughter game can build the confidence of isolated students in speaking.’

‘Laughter game also motivate the isolated students to speak, it is automatically make the students become confident.’

‘...laughter game will give a lot of opportunities for them in speaking.’

However, six participants had their own perceptions about the statement. They explained their responses as follows:

‘... laughter game make the isolated students feel more not confident when they are being watched by a lot of people.’

‘... isolated students prefer studying and trying themselves and they will not laugh even though learning process is fun enough.’

From all of the previous responses, we knew that most of participants agreed with the laughter game method that could enhance isolated students’ confidence in speaking.

• ***Increasing vocabulary of isolated students after being taught using laughter game***

Participants respond this question with some reasons. There were two participants who strongly agreed with this statement about increasing vocabulary of isolated students after being taught using laughter game. They responded as below:

‘... it can improve their vocabulary because there are some words that are involved in this game such as subject, verb and adverb.’

Then, there were eighteen participants who agreed and reported their responses as highlighted in the quotes below:

‘Laughter game make them relax and relaxed mind make them easier to get new vocabulary.’

‘... the isolated students learn new vocabulary because there are a lot of words in laughter game that are used. Many new words appear when we use laughter game.’

‘... the isolated students have communication with their peers, so it will enhance their vocabulary.’

In contrast, four participants disagreed with the statement and explained that improving vocabulary depended on isolated students:

‘... if they want to increase their vocabulary and enrich it, they will get it from the game.’

‘... not all students will make innovation in learning and there are still any students who write what they know and do not explore it more.’

Responded to this statement, there were one participants who strongly disagreed. He suggested that:

‘... using game cannot change and improve their vocabulary.’

Although there were some participants who disagreed with the statement, most of participants had positive responses to it. They agreed because there were many new words that appeared in laughter game, then it could make the isolated students increased their vocabulary.

- ***Giving opportunity for isolated students to socialize with their peers after being taught using laughter game***

There were nine participants strongly agreed with the statement. They also give positive response to this statement as below:

‘Laughter game gives big chance for isolated students to socialize with their peers.’

‘Isolated students become more active and have more interaction. Isolated student can enlarge their socialization through the game.’

Besides that, there were fourteen participants agreed that laughter game gave oppor-

tunity for isolated students to socialize with their peers as the responses below:

‘... by using laughter game, isolated students have opportunity to express their emotion and feeling. The most important thing is by using this game, they can socialize to the others.’

‘... laughter game makes the isolated students become active.’

‘Isolated students always socialize with others because teamwork is required.’

Meanwhile, there were two participants disagreed with the statement because it was not suitable for isolated students:

‘I disagree about laughter game gives opportunity to the isolated students.’

From all the responses, we can considered that laughter game gave opportunity for isolated students to socialize with their peers because the game required teamwork. It was automatically made the isolated students socialized with the others.

- ***Isolated students’ motivation to get used to speak.***

Five of the participants strongly agreed that isolated students’ had motivation to speak as follows:

‘... isolated students will more motivated by the other students.’

Then, there were seventeen participants agreed that laughter game could motivate the isolated students to speak. They responded as below:

‘Laughter game is an appropriate way to help the isolated students to speak up.’

‘... isolated students can socialize with the others then they will get motivated from them. After that, they try to speak confidently.’

‘The participants also said that their confidence already grown then they get used to speak.’

On the other hand, three participants disagreed with the statement. They reported as below:

‘Sometimes they feel motivated but also being forced.’

We knew that most of the participants agreed with the statements that isolated students motivated to speak up after being taught by using laughter game.

3.2 Discussion

The results of this study suggest that laughter game is an effective method for isolated students. This method can be used for enhancing the confidence, socialization and also increasing the vocabulary of isolated students.

The participants reported that laughter game were enjoyable and make the isolated student become relax when they used it in learning process. Not only that, the participants also said that by using laughter game, isolated students have big opportunity to express their emotion and feeling. It will influence their socialization with their peers. Besides that, there are many new words that appear in this game. This condition can increase the vocabulary of isolated students.

The data shows that 72% of the participants agree with the statement about isolated students interest in learning using laughter game. They said that using laughter game make the isolated students become relax in learning. However, there are 16% disagree with the statement because not all students easily attracted with the thing.

About 60% agree with the statement about isolated students become confident in speaking after being taught using laughter game and only about 24% disagree with the statement. Most participants said that when their mind are relax they can be confident in speaking.

After that, 72% also agree that isolated students increase their vocabulary after being taught by using laughter game because there are many new words that are used. In other hand, only 16% of participants disagree with the

statement because still any students who write and do not explore it more.

The next result shows that 56% of participants agree but 8% of them disagree with the statement. However, most of the participants agree that laughter game gives opportunity for isolated students to increase their socialization with their peers.

The last data shows that about 68% of participants agree. In other hand, 12% of them disagree with the statement. Most of them agree because isolated students get used to speak up. They said that using laughter game influences them to speak and it is the appropriate way for them.

There are no differences between the theory about using laughter game for isolated students and the result of the study in order to enhance their confidence, socialization and improving vocabulary in learning.

4. CONCLUSION

Using laughter game is appropriate to be used in order to overcome some isolated students' problem. Less confidence and feel reluctant will influence their learning outcomes. By using this game, their problem can be solved. They have to communicate with their peers in groups. They will have a behavior to communicate with others. Doing collaboration and interaction enhance their confidence. They will not feel afraid again but they will enjoy the classroom. This game also include playing of various vocabularies. In brief, laughter game can enhance some aspects such as confidence, socialization and also vocabulary. The most important thing is increasing their learning outcomes. It is essential of developing model of learning in english foreign language learning.

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STRATEGIC PLANNING MODEL ON MINAPOLITAN TOURISM AREA DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL FISHERY HARBOR OF KARANGANTU AT SERANG CITY

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Abstract

Strategic planning is a system developed with regard to the specific characteristics of the organization. Strategic planning is used as an instrument in compiling sustainable development that will help organizational leaders in managing and allocating all the resources they have to achieve organizational goals. But in reality there are still many problems found in strategic planning in an organization. The problem of this study is that strategic planning is not based on the results of previous program evaluations, besides in planning formulation, it does not involve all stakeholders, lack of coordination between Regional Device Organizations, besides the coastal and small island strategic plans and Detail Engineering Design (DED) as one of the requirements for developing the Minapolitan area is not already. The purpose of this study was to determine the strategic planning model of the development of the Minapolitan Tourism Area at the Karangantu Port of Nusantara Fisheries (PPN) in Serang City. The concepts of the strategic planning process underlie this research which include: (1) Scanning the environment; (2) Determination of the organization's vision and mission; (3) Determination of strategies; (4) Determination of goals; (5) Determination of Annual Plans; (6) Controlling and evaluation

steps that determine how well the strategic plan is carried out. The method used is descriptive method with a qualitative approach in the form of case studies that focus attention on a particular unit of various phenomena that aim to describe, summarize various conditions, various situations or various social realities of society. The results showed that the strategic planning of the development of the Minapolitan tourist area at the Serang Nusantara Fisheries (PPN) Port of Serang City was still not integrated because it was constrained by technical, consultative and coordinative problems. The recommendation of this study is to encourage program synergy between Minapolitan stakeholders and tourism stakeholders in the development zones of the Minapolitan Karangantu tourist area, Serang City on an ongoing basis.

Keywords: *Strategic Planning; Tourism Area; Development; Minapolitan.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Regional development is an important part of the development of a region in order to improve social, economic, cultural, educational and community life around it. For this reason, the involvement of various elements of the community and regional commitments is very necessary and determines the success of the area

to be developed. Therefore, in order to be able to carry out the development of controlled, integrated and sustainable tourism, strategic planning was made.

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world with an area of about 5.8 million km². According to World Resources data in 1998, the Indonesian sea has a coastline of 91,181 km. It contains fisheries and marine resources that have great potential to become the foundation of natural resource-based economic development. Karangantu Banten Province is one of 41 pilot Minapolitan Areas in Indonesia that are expected to be a driving force for marine and fisheries development region-based which is able to generate a multiplier effect of the regional economy. The stipulation of the Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN) as the core zone of the development of the Minapolitan area of Serang City, which is based on the Mayor's Decree No.523 / Kep.116-Org / 2011 concerning the Determination of Minapolitan Areas in Serang City. synergy between the central government and the regions. The synergy between the center and the regions must be done, at least, in three ways, namely synchronization of objectives, synergy in the pattern of financing and consistency of local governments in implementing government policy directives.

The Coastal Area has a large enough potential to be developed. The coastal region has rich and diverse natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable resources. In addition, this region also has excellent accessibility for various economic activities, such as transportation, port, industry, settlement and tourism. If coastal development is not well organized and without regard to all related aspects, especially the balance aspect between the level of development and the carrying capacity of the environment and the balance of development between regions, then the development will not achieve optimal and

sustainable results (Dahuri at al., 2008: 148). The potential of marine tourism in Karangantu include, Pulau Dua Tourism, Lima Island and Tunda Island, which still need further attention.

In order to support the potential of the region above, according to the Regional Regulation of Serang City Number 6 of 2011 concerning the Serang City Spatial Plan for 2010-2030 in Article 39 which contains that Banten Lama was designated as a strategic area for social cultural development and preservation of cultural heritage, and Regional Regulation Number 14 of 2014 concerning the Master Plan for Regional Tourism Development Number 14 of 2014 concerning the Master Plan for Regional Tourism Development for 2012-2015. The regional regulation explains the development and development of tourist areas or tourist destinations which are the priorities of regional tourism development.

Based on the results of interviews with one of the Head of Fields in Serang City Bappeda it is known that the development of the Minapolitan tourist area in Karangantu, Serang City has problems in terms of planning, which is not yet fulfilled one of the requirements for developing the Minapolitan Area, namely coastal and small islands strategic plans and Detail Engineering Design (DED).

In Law No. 27 of 2007 concerning Coastal Areas and Small Islands, the coastal and small island strategic plans must be prepared as one of the conditions in the form of coastal area planning. Then, DED became a guideline for the physical development plan in the Minapolitan area of Serang City and became an absolute requirement before entering the implementation phase of the development of the Minapolitan area in Serang City. The problem based on the results of the observation is that the plan was made not based on the results of previous program evaluations, besides the lack of involving stakeholders in formulating strategic planning in addition to lack of coordination in

planning the development of the Minapolitan tourism area at the research locus.

Based on the inequality of empirical conditions in the background of the research above, the formulation of the problem of this study is: "What is the strategic planning model of the development of the tourist area of Minapolitan at the Karangantu Port of Serang?"

The purpose of this research is to find out how the strategic planning model of the development of the Minapolitan tourist area in the Serang Karangantu Port of Nusantara Fisheries (PPN).

The urgency of this research is for the development of science in the field of public administration, especially about strategic planning in public organizations. From the applied aspects, the results of this study are expected to be useful for dealing with issues relating to effective strategic planning for the city government and to be used as material reflection of models for other public organizations about effective strategic planning.

- **Strategic Planning Process**

Any strategic planning process will be useful if the strategic planning process helps to think and act strategically on key decision-making people. Strategic planning is not a goal in strategic planning itself, but is merely a collection of concepts to help leaders make decisions avoid and do important actions. In fact, if a planning process raises difficulties in how to think and act strategically, the planning process must be ruled out rather than its thoughts and actions.

Bryson (2007: 55) suggests eight steps in the strategic planning process, this process is more orderly, prudent and participatory. These steps are:

- a. Initiate and agree on a strategic planning process. The aim of the first step is to negotiate an agreement with important decision makers (decision makers) and

internal and external opinion leaders about all the important strategic planning efforts and planning steps;

- b. Identifying organizational mandates. The formal and informal mandates that are placed on the organization are the necessities facing the organization;
- c. Clarify organizational mission and values. The organization's mission is closely related to its mandate, provides its *raison de'être*, social justification for its existence, reduces conflict, and plans for the future;
- d. Assessing the external environment: opportunities and threats. The planning team must explore the environment within the organization to identify opportunities and threats facing the organization.
- e. Assessing the internal environment: strengths and weaknesses. To know internal power and weaknesses, organizations can monitor resources (inputs), current strategies (processes), and performance (outputs).
- f. Identifying strategic issues facing the organization. The first five elements of the process simultaneously give birth to the sixth element, identifying strategic issues important policy issues that affect the mandate, mission, and values in the organization.
- g. Formulate strategies for managing issues. Strategy is defined as a pattern of goals, policies, programs, actions, decisions, or resource allocations that emphasize how the organization, what the organization does, why organizations must do that. Strategies can be different because of the level, function, and time frame.
- h. Creating an organizational vision in the planning process, the organization develops a description of how the organization should be so that it successfully implements its strategy and reaches

its full potential. This description is a vision of success.

These eight steps must lead to actions, results, and evaluations. It is also emphasized that actions, results, and evaluative assessments must appear at each step in the process. In other words, implementation and evaluation do not have to wait until the end, but must be an integral part of the process and continuously.

According to Ralston, B and Wilson, I (2006: 144) the elements in a strategy are: concepts, programs, resources, monitoring and response, and finally the next step. Based on this opinion it is known that a strategy must be comprehensive or holistic which includes elements of the organization's internal and external environment, monitoring and controlling it. Then it can be identified that the elements of the strategy above are important for achieving the goals and objectives of the organization.

Furthermore, Starling, G (2005: 254) argues that in strategic planning the most important strategy is able to be implemented and so that it can be implemented properly is the main "leadership" factor. This is because the leader must be able to influence subordinates to carry out the strategic plan itself. Influencing subordinates according to Starling, G (2005: 254) is done by being persuasive, motivating employees, understanding the work culture well, and values for the implementation of the strategy. This is in line with the function of an effective strategic plan that is as a work guide for members of the organization.

Then Mercer (1991) in Salusu (2005: 505) states the principles of effective strategic planning, namely: (1) Scanning the environment; (2) Determination of the organization's vision and mission; (3) Determination of strategies; (4) Determination of goals; (5) Determination of Annual Plans; (6) Controlling and evaluation steps that determine how well the strategic plan is carried out.

Strategic planning process according to Allison and Jude Keye (2005: 13-18):

- a. Get ready. Strategic planning is more useful if there are people who are right in the organization who are able to carry out the idea and the organization is ready, and agree on goals, objectives in preparing for the formulation of strategic plans, there are several conditions for success in an organization, namely:
 - 1) Commitment and support from top management or leaders, as well as sub-section heads who are in their respective fields.
 - 2) Commitment to explain the roles and expectations of all participants in the planning process, including who made the policy and who will be responsible for the proposal.
 - 3) At least sub-section heads and at least executors who are actively willing to make decisions.
 - 4) Commitment to sufficient organizational resources to complete the planning process.
- b. Reinforce the vision and mission. Vision and mission are long-term goals, and want to be brought where this organization in reaffirming the vision of this mission shows that every vision and mission must have a purpose, goals and values contained. Means why this organization exists and what it wants to achieve from this organization, what goals it wants to aim for and whether those objectives are relevant to the conditions on the ground, the values of principles or beliefs that guide organizational members as they pursue those goals and objectives.
- c. Assessing the environment (Internal and External). The definition of strategic planning given emphasizes the importance of focusing on the future in the context of a constantly changing environment, in addition to assessing within the organization

we also need to assess the external environment, because it analyzes the internal strengths and weaknesses as well as the opportunities that will occur. faced with.

- d. Agree on priorities. Broad approaches need to be taken on general and specific strategies and results that must be pursued, both short, medium and long term goals, strategies, goals and objectives can emerge from individuals, this process is a stage that assesses the environment and because dynamic in nature there must be a lot of understanding that makes it shaky from this priority setting.
- e. Monitor and evaluate. The strategic planning process is never completely completed, there are cycles and periods of activities that are more intensive or less intensive, but the process of being responsive to the changing environment continues, each organization must choose the right time in planning and evaluating.

- **Minapolitan Area Requirements**

The Minapolitan area is a regional development concept that has an important role in growing the economy of a region, especially in coastal areas. However, to become a minapolitan area there are various aspects that are considered by a kawasam to become a minapolitan area, therefore not all regions can become minapolitan areas. The Minapolitan area has various requirements including the completeness of planning documents such as the Regional Decree (SK), SK Working Group (Working Group), Master Plan, Long Term Investment Program Plan (RPIJM), and detailed engineering design (DED). The other requirements are based on The Decree of the Indonesian Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number KEP.18 / MEN / 2010 concerning Minapolitan General Guidelines includes:

- a. Conformity with the strategic plan, regional spatial plan (RT / RW) and / or zoning plan for coastal and small island management (RZWP3K) districts / cities, as well as predetermined regional mid-term investment development plans (RPIJMD).
- b. Having superior commodities
- c. Strategic geographical location
- d. There are units of production, processing and marketing
- e. Support facilities are available in the form of markets, capital, and so on
- f. Environmental feasibility
- g. Regional commitment
- h. The existence of responsible government institutions
- i. Limited data and information about regional conditions and potential.

Then with the Minapolitan concept, it is expected that the development of the maritime and fisheries sector can be implemented in an integrated, efficient, high-quality, and accelerating manner. The translation is, as follows:

- a. The principle of integration, is expected to encourage the allocation of development resources to be planned and carried out thoroughly or holistically by taking into account the interests and support of stakeholders, both sectoral agencies, central and regional governments, business circles and the community. These interests and support are needed so that accelerated production programs and activities are supported by means of production, capital, technology, human resources, adequate infrastructure, and good management systems.
- b. The principle of efficiency, the development of the marine and fisheries sector must be carried out efficiently so that development can be carried out at a low cost but high efficiency. With the Minapolitan concept, infrastructure development can be carried out efficiently and its utilization is expected

to be more optimal. In addition, the principle of efficiency is applied to encourage production systems to run at low cost, such as shortening the chain of production, efficiency, and supporting the existence of factors production as needed, so as to produce economically competitive products.

- c. Quality principles, the implementation of the development of the marine and fisheries sector must be oriented to quality, both the overall production system, production, technology and human resources. With the concept of Minapolitan, the quality of production systems and products can be fostered more intensively.
- d. The principle of high acceleration, acceleration is needed to encourage production targets to be achieved quickly, through innovation and breakthrough policies. The principle of acceleration is also needed to encourage the production target to be achieved quickly, through innovation and breakthrough policies. The principle of acceleration is also needed to catch up with competitor countries, through increasing the market share of world-class Indonesian marine and fisheries products.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the development of the Minapolitan area can include the development of tourism in the Minapolitan area, including the Minapolitan area which is located at the Serang Karangantu Port of Nusantara Fisheries (PPN). This is done to increase the production of marine and fisheries which has a direct impact on the welfare of fishing communities, and is expected to accelerate the pace of regional economic growth.

2. METHODS

This study uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach in the form of case studies that focus attention on a particular unit of various phenomena that aim to describe, summa-

ribose various conditions, various situations or various phenomena of social reality in society. The use of a qualitative descriptive approach in this study is based on the consideration that this approach is relevant and fits the research problem through the interpretation of processes and meanings in the strategic planning process. What is supported by Bungin (2008: 69) that the qualitative descriptive format is more appropriate when used to examine the problems of strategic planning in the development of the tourist area of Minapolitan in the Karangantu Fishery Port of Serang City. Furthermore, this approach is used to build understanding and provide explanations for the phenomenon under study. Therefore, the phenomenon of process and explanation of meaning is one of the dominant methods in this study.

The selection of a qualitative approach to research is to obtain sharp, accurate and in-depth information about how and why various variants can appear in the strategic planning of the development of the tourist area of Minapolitan at the Karangantu Port of Fisheries (PPN) in Serang City, and become a source of problems in it. By using a qualitative approach, it can be obtained reformulation and reconceptualization of Strategic Planning theory, both from the perspective of the object under study and the researcher's own perspective, through the integration of ethical and emotional approaches as well as the qualitative modern paradigm. In turn, a new hypothetical proposition will be produced through the interpretation of interactions between attributes and properties which are then used to construct categories and provide explanations of the phenomena under study.

The informants of this study were subjects who understood the information and research objects as the main actors and other people who understood the object of research (Bungin, 2009: 76). Informants in this study were elements of Serang City Bappeda, elements of Serang City

Agriculture Service, elements of the Karangantu Fisheries Port (PPN) Officer, elements of the Joint Business Group (KUB) of Karangantu Capture Fishermen, administrators of Fishermen Cooperatives, and City Fishermen Association (HNSI) City Serang, Elements of the Banten Village Apparatus, Fishing Boat Owners / Skipper.

The informant was obtained not based on the amount needed, but based on consideration of the function and role of the informant according to the focus of the research problem. The informant subject categories were those who were directly involved in the strategic planning process of developing the Minapolitan tourist area at the Serang Karangantu Port of Nusantara (PPN) Karangantu. While the indicators in the selection of informants in research are to look at social situations which include aspects: setting (actors), actors (events), events (events) and processes (processes). (Spradley in Sugiyono, 2005: 146, Garna, 2009: 67).

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Scanning the Environment

General Description of Karangantu City Port of Fisheries (PPN) in Serang City: The fact that Indonesia is a maritime country with an area of two-thirds of its land area, which is 5.8 million km², sets Indonesia as the third largest ocean country in the world (Lubis, 2012). This was taken into consideration in order to provide the best alternatives in making development planning and strategic policies in the future, including in finding a strategic planning model for the development of the Minapolitan tourist area at the Serang Karangantu Port of Nusantara Fisheries (PPN).

Improvement and development of good and adequate facilities is an absolute requirement for the creation of a business climate to develop, besides that it is necessary to improve the skills of individual fishermen such as the techniques of their capture, handling after their

capture and marketing. To support the smooth running of the marine fisheries business, a fishing port is needed that can support the smooth running of the fisheries business in marketing the catch and other supporting activities. Increasing fish production is an effort to support the development of the capture fisheries sector, the government through the Directorate General of Capture Fisheries, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) provides various facilities that can support the success of capture fisheries by developing various Fisheries Ports. Data on the number of fishing ports can be seen in the following table I:

TABLE I
Number of Fishing Ports in Indonesia

No.	Port Type	Amount (Unit)
1	Ocean Fishery Port (PPS)	6
2	Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN)	15
3	Coastal Fisheries Ports (PPP)	50
4	Fish Landing Base (PPI)	745
	Amount of	816

Source: Directorate General of Capture Fisheries, 2014

Karangantu Fishing Port is one of the important fishing fisheries centers in Serang City, located in Banten Village Kasemen District based on the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture No. 311 / Kpts / Org / 5/1978 dated May 25, 1978. Officially operational and becoming a Technical Implementation Unit (UPT) Directorate General of Capture Fisheries under the name Coastal Fisheries Port (PPP) Karangantu.

Karangantu is one of the areas designated as Minapolitan Area areas through Decree of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries No.KEP.32 / MEN / 2010.

The Minapolitan concept is the realization of a blue revolution paradigm and is one of the

national programs promoted by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia (KKP-RI) is a regional economic management-based concept of development with motors in the marine and fisheries sector. The Minapolitan Area Management System is based on the principle of integration, efficiency, quality and high acceleration. The concept that has been implemented by the government of the Republic of Indonesia since 2009 is an effort to revitalize fisheries and marine production centers with an increase in fishermen's income. As the implementation of the development of the marine and fisheries sector with the Minapolitan concept, the Minapolitan area is developed, namely a potential superior economic region. The Minapolitan area will be a superior economic area that can accelerate economic development in the regions for the welfare of local communities. Through this concept, not all commodities will be developed but will only prioritize superior commodities, so that the Minapolitan concept is implemented through the development of Minapolitan areas in potential superior regions (Decree of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries Number KEP. 18 / MEN / 2011 concerning General Guidelines Minapolitan).

Minapolitan is a new term in the concept of national development policy that refers to regional development based on fisheries and marine economic activities and their supporting services (Nugroho and Dahuri, 2012). The development and increase of port operations, then on December 30, 2010 through the Republic of Indonesia Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation Number: PER.29 / MEN / 2010 dated December 30, 2010 concerning the second amendment to the Regulation of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries Number PER.06 / MEN / 2007 concerning the Organization and Work Procedure of Fisheries Ports which was preceded by the issuance of the Letter of the Minister of State

for Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform of the Republic of Indonesia on December 2, 2010 Number B.36677 / M.PAN-RB / 12/2010 concerning Proposal for UPT Arrangement within the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries so that on December 30, 2010 the Pantai Fisheries Port (PPP) Karangantu has officially changed its name and increased its class to Karangantu Fisheries Port (PPN).

3.2 General Description of Serang City

Serang City is a division of the Serang Regency Region which was formed on August 10, 2007 based on Law No. 32 of 2007 with an area of 266.74 km² or about 3.08% of the total area of Banten Province. The city of Serang is the Capital of Banten Province, located in the northern part of Banten Province, its western, eastern and southern borders directly with Serang Regency, besides being directly connected to the Java Sea in its northern part.

In 2011 five regions in Banten Province were established to become Minapolitan areas in accordance with Decree of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries number 39 of 2011 concerning Determination of Minapolitan Areas. The five regions include the Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN) (Serang City), Pontang seaweed cultivation area (Serang Regency), the Cultivation area and the Kronjo (PPI) fish landing base area (Tangerang Regency), Labuan Fisheries Port (PPP) (Pandeglang Regency), Panimbang shellfish cultivation area and Binuangun fish landing (PPI) base (Lebak Regency).

The coastal area of Serang City stretches along the northern boundary of Serang City, namely in Banten Bay, Kasemen District, which is directly connected to the Java Sea. Topographically, most of the land in Serang City is flat land with a distinctive tropical climate that is like an area located around the north coast of the Java Sea, with air temperatures ranging from 23.30C-33.20C, the average evaporation rate is 4.1 mm and 84% air humidity and air pressure

between 1,010.8 hPa. Then the rainfall with the highest size in a month reaches 70 mm or the average rainfall ranges between 1500-2000 mm / year. Indeed the existence of coastal areas in Serang City has an economic strategic value since the era of the Islamic Sultanate of Banten in the 15th century until now Therefore, this region has a high historical value with the fact that there are a number of cultural heritage sites in the Old Banten region. Besides that in the west of the City Serang lies in the mountainous region, namely in the Taktakan Subdistrict area, which is directly adjacent to Pabuaran Subdistrict, Waringin Kurung Subdistrict and Kramatwatu District in Serang District.

Based on the characteristics of the two regions above, it can be seen that Serang City is a low-lying area with extensive, productive rice fields in addition to the potential aquaculture areas in its northern region. Some of the remaining areas have the characteristics of potential plantation and forestry areas. developed.

TABLE II
Area of Serang City by District

No.	Kecamatan	Jumlah Kelurahan	Luas (Km)	Persentase (%)
1	Curug	10	49,60	18,59
2	Walantaka	14	48,48	18,18
3	Cipocok Jaya	8	31,54	11,82
4	Serang	12	25,88	9,70
5	Taktakan	12	47,88	17,95
6	Kasemen	10	63,36	23,74
	Jumlah	66	266,74	100

Source: BPS, Kota Serang Dalam Angka, 2018

Based on table II above, Kasemen Sub-district is the district with the widest area, which is 63.36 Km², which is 23.74% of the total area of Serang City. The sub-district with the smallest area is Serang Subdistrict at 25.88, which is 9.7% of the total area of Serang City. Furthermore, according to the results of the survey of the 2017 National Work Force (BPS, 2018), the population of Serang City amounted to 666,600 people, consisting of 51% male sex as many as 355,843 people and 49% female sex, namely 341,597.

Furthermore, from the results of the 2018 national labor force survey the open unemployment rate in Serang City amounted to 8.43% of the population of Serang City aged 15 and over who worked during the past week with main activities as a workforce of 62.99%. While the economic sector that absorbs the most labor is the trade, hotel and restaurant sector, which is 33.65%, followed by the social, social and individual services sector at 27.38%.

The following is the population and population growth rate in 6 (six) Subdistricts, which are in the Serang City area:

TABLE III
Population and Population Growth Rate
According to Districts in Serang City, 2010, 2016, and 2017

No.	Kecamatan	Jumlah Penduduk			Laju Pertumbuhan Penduduk per Tahun	
		2010	2016	2017	2010-2017	2016-2017
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Curug	47517	50516	50885	7,09	0,73
2	Walantaka	76121	89980	92253	21,19	2,53
3	Cipocok Jaya	81511	105484	109793	34,70	4,08
4	Serang	208974	224448	226717	8,49	0,92
5	Taktakan	78602	87618	90961	15,72	1,85
6	Kasemen	88077	94062	95991	8,99	0,98
Jumlah		580802	655004	666600	14,77	1,77

Source: Kota Serang Dalam Angka, BPS: 2018

Based on Table III above, it can be seen that the population of Serang City amounted to 666,600 people (2017), Cipocok Jaya Subdistrict was found to be a Subdistrict whose annual population growth rate from 2010 to 2017 was the highest at 4.08%, while Curug District was found is a Subdistrict whose population growth rate per year from 2010 to 2017 is at a minimum of 0.73% (from a population of 109793 people). Serang Subdistrict is the second sub-district which has the second lowest population growth rate of 0.92% (of a population of 226717 people), followed by

Kasemen Subdistrict which is the third sub-district which has the third lowest population growth rate of 0.98% (of the total population amounting to 95991 people). The large number of people has a positive impact when productive age dominates and can be accepted to work in various places, but also needs to be considered consumption needs and other basic needs. Fulfillment of these needs includes encouraging participation and empowerment of the community in improving the superior products of their respective sub-districts. Here are the superior products of Serang City:

TABLE IV
Featured District Products in Serang City

No.	Kecamatan	Produk Unggulan
1	Curug	Sapi potong, Domba, Kambing, Ayam Petelur, Bakso Ikan, Batu Bata
2	Walantaka	Anyaman Bambu, Kripik Singkong, Kacang Tanah, Itik Manila, Puyuh
3	Cipocok Jaya	Industri Tempe, Buah-buahan, Batik Banten, Meubelair
4	Serang	Sate Bandeng, Wisata Kuliner, Pusat Perdagangan Umum, Wisata Belanja
5	Taktakan	Sapi potong, Kerbau, Industri emping, pengrajin emas dan perak, perkebunan dan buah-buahan, roti
6	Kasemen	Wisata ziarah dan budaya, wisata alam, wisata kuliner laut, lumbung padi/beras, perikanan laut dan tambak

Source: Bappeda of Serang City, 2015

In connection with the superior products above, Kasemen Subdistrict is a Subdistrict where there is the Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN) as a research locus which is the only one-minapolitan area in Serang City, which is expected to be able to develop tourism potential in the region. the strategic planning model for the development of the Minapolitan tourist area in PPN Karangantu, Serang City.

Based on table IV above, the potential of the existing Kasemen region that can be developed is pilgrimage tourism and natural tourism, marine fisheries and ponds. Based on an interview with one of the Regional Planning Officers, Serang City Bappeda, it was hoped that Kasemen would become a center for marine fisheries that could contribute to the inclusion of Regional Original Income, in order to improve Kasemen's community welfare.

The population of Kasemen Subdistrict is 95,991 (Serang City in Figures, BPS: 2018) with an area of 56.36 Km, divided into 10 Kelurahan, 70 Rukun Warga (RW) and 247 Rukun Tetangga (RT) is the second largest sub-district in Serang City, located in the Ancient City of Banten which has historical value as the seat of government of the Banten Sultanate. Of the 10

Kelurahan in Kasemen Subdistrict, there are 3 Sub-Districts with the majority of the population working as fishermen, namely Banten Village, Margaluyu Village and Sawahluhur Village. Banten Village has the potential of capture fisheries by fishermen and fish marketers, which is a Minapolitan tourist attraction within the Karangantu VAT area, although it only has a coastline of 10 KM, besides being surrounded by natural attractions that have a special attraction for local and foreign tourists. These attractions include Pulau Lima, Pulau Dua (Bird Island) and several pilgrimage, historical and cultural attractions around Banten Lama.

The diversity of socio-cultural life in the Minapolitan area of Karangantu is also interesting as part of cultural tourism, based on the results of observations of researchers, it appears from the diversity of multi ethnic groups there, namely ethnic Sundanese, ethnic Javanese and ethnic Bugis who are members of 94 Joint Business Groups (KUB) and 4 (Four) Fishermen Cooperatives in Karangantu. KUB Capture Fisheries is an institutional part of the main actors of fisheries, namely associations of fishermen, fish farmers and processing of fish that are informally bound on the basis of

harmony and mutual needs in the environment of influence and the leader of a group leader as the main perpetrator of marine and fisheries. KUB is a non-legal entity business in the form of a group formed by Fishermen based on the agreement of all members based on a shared

desire to try to increase the income of members in the capture fisheries business.

The following are the categories of fishermen and the number of fishermen in Kasemen District:

TABLE V
Category of Fishermen and Number of Fishermen in Kasemen District

No.	Kelurahan	Jumlah Nelayan			Kategori Nelayan	
		2013	2014	2015	Nelayan Tangkap	Pembudidayaan Tambak
1.	Banten	413	470	489	√	
2.	Margaluyu	325	389	406		√
3.	Sawahluhur	265	310	314	√	
Jumlah		1093	1179	1209		

Source: Kasemen District, 2015

Based on Table V above, it can be seen that the majority of fishermen in Kasemen Subdistrict are Capture Fishermen in Banten Villages, whose numbers increased from 2013 to 2015, but were recorded in Serang City Agricultural

Service (2017) the number of fishermen in Karangantu PPN is 2,481 people.

Next is the fishermen cooperative and the type of assistance for fishing boat engines received at Karangantu, Serang City, as listed in table V, the following:

TABLE VI

Fishermen Cooperative and Types of Fishermen's Boat Engine Assistance (Unit) Received Before and After Changes in Institution of Fishermen from KUB to Cooperative in Karangantu, Serang City

No.	Sebelum Perubahan			Setelah Perubahan	
	Nama Koperasi	Nama Ketua	Alamat Koperasi	Jenis Bantuan Mesin Kapal Motor Nelayan (Unit)	Jenis Bantuan Mesin Kapal Motor Nelayan (Unit)
1.	KUD Mina Bhakti	Nazarudin	Jl. Pelelangan Ikan Teluk Banten Karangantu BTN Mina Bhakti A2.30 Kel. Banten Kec.Kasemen	46	29
2.	Koperasi Perikanan Genau Bahari	Muhammad Sughanda	Jl. Perum Mina Bhakti, Karangantu, Kel. Banten Kec. Kasemen	34	26
3.	Koperasi Nelayan Ar-Rahman	Antu Tohir	Jl. Pelabuhan Perikanan Nusantara, Karangantu Kel. Banten Kec.Kasemen	31	25
4.	Koperasi Nelayan Al-Barokah	H. Sahibe	Jl. Pelelangan Ikan Karangantu, Kel. Banten Kec. Kasemen	14	20

Source: Agriculture Service of Serang City, 2016

Based on Table VI above, it can be analyzed that changes in the institution of beneficiaries from KUB to Cooperatives are an alternative solution to improving the accountability of recipients of fishermen empowerment programs. It is intended that fishermen organizations have the legality that is expected to later be able to access Banking financing and can be recommended to be the recipient of subsequent empowerment programs that are intended for fishermen through cooperative institutions that

have been registered and registered in the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia.

As the following interview:

The Ministry of Cooperatives has only been pushing for cooperatives this year, because on a base-based basis in 2016 and beyond for cooperatives, the previous year the KUB was sufficient, now it has been upgraded to a cooperative, because the KUB itself is

ultimately a cooperative. Formation of cooperatives, formal legal groups business (Interview with the Head of the Sub-Directorate of Fisheries Funding, Directorate of Services of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta; Friday, 19 August 2016).

Based on the interview with the informant above, the author can analyze that the government encourages the existence of Joint Business Groups (KUB) to be formally institutionalized as Cooperatives, including in the capture fisheries empowerment program in

Fisheries, the vision that will be realized by the Karangantu Archipelago Fisheries Port during the period 2009-2014 is "the Karangantu Archipelago Fisheries Port (PPN) as the Integrated Economic Development Center in 2015" (PPN Karangantu Profile, 2013) . Based on the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation Number PER.08 / MEN / 2012 concerning Fisheries Ports. Fisheries Port is divided into 4 categories, namely: Ocean Fisheries Port (PPS), Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN), Coastal Fisheries Port (PPP) and Fish

Karangantu. The Empowerment of Capture Fishermen is believed to be encouraging the development of the Minapolitan tourist area in the Karangantu Kota Port of Fisheries (PPN), Serang.

3.3 Determination of the Organizational of The Organizational Vision Mission

Determination of the organization's vision and mission is the second step in strategic planning after Scanning the Environment.

In line with the vision and mission of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Landing Base (PPI). The four fishing ports are categorized according to several criteria needed for a port to handle fishing vessels that come and go, as well as the position of the port position. This Ministerial Regulation includes: (a) The operational area of fishing vessels served; (b) Mooring / anchoring facilities; (c) Pier length and pool depth; (d) Capacity to accommodate ships; (e) Volume of landed fish; (f) Land area and (i) Characteristics of each fishery port category, can be seen in the following table.

TABLE VII
Characteristics of Class of Fishery Ports

No.	Kriteria Pelabuhan Perikanan	PPS	PPN	PPP	PPI
1.	Daerah operasional kapal ikan yang dilayani	Mampu melayani kapal perikanan yang melakukan kegiatan perikanan Indonesia ZEEI dan laut lepas	Mampu melayani kapal perikanan yang melakukan kegiatan perikanan di perairan Indonesia dan ZEEI	Mampu melayani kapal perikanan yang melakukan kegiatan perikanan di perairan Indonesia	Mampu melayani kapal perikanan yang melakukan kegiatan di perairan Indonesia
2.	Fasilitas tambat/labuh	> 60 GT	> 30 GT	10 GT	> 5 GT

	kapal				
3.	Panjang dermaga dan kedalaman kolam	> 300 m dan > - 3 m	> 150 m, > 3m	> 100 m, > 2 m	> 50 m > 1 m
4.	Kapasitas menampung kapal	100 unit jumlah sekurang-kurangnya 6.000 GT	> 75 unit atau keseluruhan > 2.250 GT	> 30 unit atau jumlah keseluruhan > 300 GT	15 unit > 75 GT
5.	Volume ikan yang didaratkan	50 ton per hari	30 ton per hari	5 ton per hari	2 ton per hari
6.	Luas lahan	> 20 Ha	> 10 Ha	> 5 Ha	> 1 Ha

Source: Minister of Marine and Fisheries Regulation Number PER.08 / MEN / 2012

In addition to seeing the vision and mission of the Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, of course it needs to be seen the vision and mission of Serang City in 2014-2018 (Serang City Bappeda, 2018). The vision of Serang City is the realization of Serang Madani City as an education city that relies on the potential of trade, services, agriculture and culture. While its mission is: 1) implementing good, clean and authoritative governance; 2) improve accessibility and quality of education, health and other social services in order to improve the quality of life of the community; 3) providing regional infrastructure and facilities as drivers of economic progress and people's welfare, as well as environmentally sound urban spatial control; 4)

improving the regional economy through the creation of a business and investment climate conducive to the development of small, medium and cooperative businesses, as well as industry that is able to optimize the utilization of natural and social resources in a sustainable manner; 5) realize the climate of social and political life that is religious, cultured, safe and orderly through revitalizing the local wisdom of the community, as well as fostering art, culture and sports among the community and the younger generation.

3.4 Determination Of Strategies

The Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN) is a supporting factor for the Minapolitan area in Serang City, as illustrated in Table VIII below:

TABLE VIII
Minapolitan Area in Banten Province

No.	Kabupaten/Kota	Kecamatan	Kegiatan Utama	Komoditas
1.	Kabupaten Serang	Minapolis: Kecamatan Pontang Hinterland: Kecamatan Tirtayasa & Kecamatan Tanara	Perikanan Budidaya	Bandeng, rumput laut, gracillaria
2.	Kabupaten	Minapolis: Kecamatan	Perikanan	Bandeng,

	Tangerang	Kronjo Hinterland: Kecamatan Mauk & Kecamatan Pakuhaji	Tangkap, Budidaya, Pengolahan	Udang, Rumput laut, Kepiting
3.	Kabupaten Lebak	Desa Muara, Kecamatan Wanasalam	Perikanan Tangkap, Budidaya, Pengolahan	Ikan Pelagis, Ikan asin
4.	Kabupaten Pandeglang	Kecamatan Panimbang, Kecamatan Labuan	Perikanan Budidaya, Tangkap	Kerang hijau, rumput laut
5.	Kota Serang	Minapolis: Kelurahan Banten, Kecamatan Kasemen Hinterland: Kelurahan Sawah Luhur Kecamatan Kasemen	Perikanan Tangkap, Perikanan Budidaya	Ikan Demersal, Ikan Bandeng, Sate Bandeng

Source: Banten Province Marine and Fisheries Service, 2014

Based on Table 4.14 above, the only Minapolitan area in the City of Serang, Banten Province, is Karangantu in the Banten Sub-District of Kasemen District. Determination of Serang City as a Minapolitan area based on Mayor of Serang Decree Number: 523 / Kep.116-org / 2011 dated July 18, 2011. Based on the Mayor's Decree, it was stated that the area which became the center of Minapolitan Area development in Serang City was centered in Kasemen District. The main activities in the development of the Minapolitan area of Serang City are capture fisheries and aquaculture with superior commodities, namely demersal fish, milkfish and milkfish satay.

Furthermore, in compiling the Strategic Planning Model for the Development of Minapolitan Tourism Areas at the Karangantu Port of Fisheries (PPN) in Serang City, the authors saw the technical, consultative and coordination completeness as stated by Lang in Dahuri, et al (2013: 12) in his book Management of Regional Resources Integrated Coastal and Oceanic, which suggests that integration in planning and management of natural resources, such as

coastal and marine areas, should be carried out at three levels: technical, consultative, and coordination. At the technical level, all technical, economic, social and environmental considerations should be balanced or proportionally included in every planning and implementation of the development of coastal and marine resources. Then at a consultative level, all the aspirations and needs of the parties involved or stakeholders affected by the development of coastal and marine resources should be considered from the planning stage to implementation. Finally, the coordination level requires that harmonious cooperation be needed between all parties related to the management of coastal and marine resources, be it the government, the private sector or the general public.

3.5 Target Determination

In determining the targets, the location of the development of the Minapolitan City of Serang begins with the zoning of the Minapolitan Area, namely the core zone, supporting zone, attachment zone and fishing zone. The core of the Minapolitan area is Serang, which is

in the Nusantara Fisheries Port (PPN), while the supporting zone is outside the VAT area that entered Banten Village and Sawah Luhur Village (Minapolitan Area Masterplan in Serang City, 2011).

Based on this division, it can be explained that the core zone of the Minapolitan area of Serang City, its activities are focused on capture fisheries with the existence of ports and fish auction sites (TPI) as driving modes of economic activity, so that PPN Karangantu has a central role in the zoning of the Minapolitan area in Serang City. In addition, various facilities such as fish markets, ship workshops, ice factories, ship docking sites, and Port Technical Implementation Units (UPT) as public service providers and other supporting facilities are included in the Karangantu PPN. Karangantu PPN is also the center for the gate of trade relations and other social relations, so Karangantu VAT is a component that needs to be considered and managed well in maintaining the synergy of the economic activities of the fishing community.

Then the hinterland of the Minapolitan area of Serang City is focused on aquaculture with the pond area mostly located in the Sawah Luhur Village. The type of fish cultivated one of them is milkfish. Fish Bandeng is a superior commodity category in the development of the Minapolitan area in Serang City. This milkfish will be supplied to the Karangantu market (Banten Village) and surrounding markets, so that the amount of fish supply in the Minapolitan area can meet market demand. Besides focusing on aquaculture activities, in the buffer zone of the Minapolitan area, Serang City is also supported by other supporting sectors, such as settlements, trade and services, health, education, and tourism. With the development of the area implied in the Minapolitan concept, the productivity of fisheries in Serang City is expected to increase and create economic activities that have competitiveness and have a

multiplier effect on the economy of the region, especially for local fishing communities.

In addition to the core zone and supporting zone, in the zoning of the Minapolitan area of Serang City there are fishing zones and linkages zones. Fishing zones are zones that become areas for fishermen to carry out fishing activities. These fishing zones are located in the waters of Banten Bay (around the island tunda, Panjang island, pemujaan island, and surrounding islands). While the linking zone is a zone outside the core zone and buffer zone that has a connection to the core zone and buffer zone.

Then in addition to the three supporting zones above, as an important document supporting the strategic planning of the development of the Minapolitan tourism area in Serang PPN Karangantu is the Serang City Regional Regulation Number 14 of 2014 concerning the 2015-2025 Regional Tourism Development Master Plan, mentioned in Article 11 stating that Banten Lama, Banten Village, Kasemen Subdistrict was designated as the KSPD (Regional Tourism Strategic Area) and in article 12 stated that the Banten Lama development planning strategy included: a) clear zoning arrangements and tourist flow in each tourist attraction as a safeguard in locations that have historical value; b) preservation of cultural heritage and other assets that have historical value; c) structuring and developing integrated parking facilities to serve tourist movements within the region; d) construction of infrastructure and road facilities that support the assistance of cultural heritage tourism areas; and e) arrangement and control of space for relocation of street vendors as well as the construction of a typical Banten souvenir and souvenir center around the Kawasan Wisata road.

The next step is to support the Serang City Regional Regulation No. 14 of 2014 concerning the Master Plan for Regional

Tourism Development for 2015-2025, Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) of Serang City, along with Archaeologists from the University of Indonesia to carry out the Old Banten zoning, as once stated by one of the Officials Serang City Bappeda (Serang, March 29, 2017) that Bappeda began planning to revitalize the Old Banten area in 2015, it was also stated that a study on the compilation of Banten's Old and Regional spatial planning documents had been carried out. There are 4 (four) studies recommended by the City of Serang Bappeda, namely: 1) Study of structuring cultural heritage boundaries to determine zones of Cultural Heritage; 2) Study of archeological potential to find out the potential of archeology; 3) Review of revitalization planning and adaptation; 4) study of Environmental Impact Analysis (EIA).

3.6 Determination of Annual Plan

Controlling and Evaluation Steps
Determining Where the Strategic Plan Is Run

The concepts of the strategic planning process underlie this research which include: (1) Scanning the environment; (2) Determination of the organization's vision and mission; (3) Determination of strategies; (4) Determination of goals; (5) Determination of Annual Plans; (6) Controlling and evaluation steps that determine how well the strategic plan is carried out.

The intended evaluation assesses the results (performance) of all stages in strategic planning, determines the next action, and determines how well the strategic plan is implemented. In other words the evaluation is intended to see the level of success of an activity so that it can be a material correction for the next activity.

Evaluation as the last step in strategic planning is also intended to look at the implementation stage and the problems faced to give conclusions about feedback so that it continuously directs the vision, mission and targets

set. Evaluation is also carried out to compare the implementation with the plan, looking at the existing environment Evaluation is not for whether the information provided is true or false, but rather the improvements needed. As stated by the Program, Evaluation and Reporting (PEP) Section on July 19, 2017, program evaluation is conducted quarterly. The parties involved in evaluating the program or strategic planning review are the field of PEP Serang Agriculture Office through activities hosted by Emilap. Serang City Bappeda, Serang City Tourism, Youth and Sports Agency, Serang City Industry, Trade and Cooperative Office, The Serang City Environment Agency (BLHD), as well as the Karangantu Port of Fisheries (PPN) as an extension of the Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP).

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the above research, the conclusions of this study are that the strategic planning model of the development of the Minapolitan tourism area in the Serang Nusantara Fisheries (PPN) Port of Serang City was carried out with regard to environmental scanning aspects, the Karangantu determination as the only Minapolitan area in Serang through a Ministerial Decree Marine and Fisheries No. Kep. 32 / MEN / 2010, and determination of VAT status from Fisheries Shipping Ports (PPP) to Ports (VAT) based on the Letter of the Minister of Administrative Reform of the Republic of Indonesia dated December 2, 2010 Number. B.3667 / M / PANRB / 12/2010 regarding the proposed structuring of UPT within the Ministry of Maritime Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia became the foundation for the preparation of strategic planning for the development of the Minapolitan tourism area in Karangantu PPN, Serang City.

Then in terms of determining the vision, the organization's mission pays attention to the

mission of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) in 2009-2014 which states that Karangantu PPN is the 2015 Integrated Economic Development Center. Besides that, it also addresses the Serang City Government's vision and mission for 2014-2018 third vision and fourth vision. The third vision which states that providing regional infrastructure and facilities, as a driver of economic progress and people's welfare, as well as environmental control of urban communities. While the fourth vision states that the regional economy through the creation of a business and investment climate that is conducive to the development of small, medium and cooperative businesses, and industries that are able to optimize the utilization of natural and social resources in a sustainable manner.

Furthermore, in determining the targets begins with the determination of the zoning of the minapolitan area, namely the core zone, supporting zone and fish zone, the important points are for supporters such as settlements, trade and health, education and tourism services. With the development of the area implied in the Minapolitan concept, the productivity of fisheries in Serang City is expected to increase and create economic activities that have competitiveness and have a multiplier effect on the economy of the region, especially for local fishermen. The targeting also saw the City Regulation of Serang number 14 of 2014 concerning the 2015-2025 Regional Tourism Development Master Plan, mentioned in article 11 that Banten Lama Kasemen District was designated as the Regional Tourism Strategic Zone (KSPD), Banten Lama entered the Support Zone.

Fourth, in determining the annual plan regarding the strategic planning of the development of the Minapolitan tourism area in the Nusantara Fisheries Port, Karangantu, referring to the Regional Regulation of Serang City Number 6 of 2011 concerning the Serang City Spatial

Plan for 2010-2030, printed on the program for the realization of spatial patterns in which there are activities to develop the Buffer Zone of Pulau Dua, Rehabilitation of the Old Banten and Karangantu Areas. Besides that, it was also stated in the Tourism Area Development Program, in activity 1) structuring and developing the concept of ecotourism around the two islands in the village of Banten, the Subdistrict of Kasemen; 1) Cultural heritage management of Old Banten and Karangantu Harbor.

Finally, in terms of Controlling and Evaluation Steps that Determine How Well the Strategic Plan Is Executed that program evaluation is conducted quarterly. The parties involved in evaluating the program or reviewing the strategic plan are the field of PEP at the Serang City Agriculture Office through an activity called EvLap. the Serang City Bappeda, Serang City Tourism, Youth and Sports Agency, Serang City Industry, Trade and Cooperative Office, Serang City Environment Agency (BLHD), and Karangantu Port Fisheries (PPN) as an extension of the Ministry Marine and Perikanan (KKP) of the Republic of Indonesia.

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THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE DKI JAKARTA REGIONAL LEADERSHIP BOARD AND THE PDI-P CENTRAL LEADERSHIP BOARD IN THE DKI JAKARTA ELECTION PERIOD 2017-2022

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Abstract

Jakarta elections in 2017, quite different from other elections in many areas. With candidates promoted by political parties instead of the party cadres and also the status of DKI Jakarta as the capital of the country and have a heterogeneous society make the elections of DKI Jakarta a concern for the whole people of Indonesia. For the big national political party, the election of DKI Jakarta is definitely a target to be won. The elections of DKI Jakarta in 2017 are also used by political parties as a 'warming up' event in the run up to 2019 General Election. Basuki Tjahaya Purnama's nomination is quite controversial because initially Basuki did not want to join a political party because according to him there was always a 'dowry', as well as giving his signal forward independently. Rejection in the internal PDIP was felt with the member especially from the board of DPD PDIP DKI Jakarta. Also, the allegations of corruption, reclamation and also defamation of religion also became his controversy. Because the PDIP decision to support Basuki Tjahaya Purnawa became the main focus, the researchers want to know how the political dynamics of the PDI-P party and also what are the factors behind PDI Perjuangan carrying Basuki Tjahaya Purnama as the candidate for Governor in Jakarta 2017 Jakarta Election. Sources of this research data with primary and secondary data collection. Primary

data, ie data obtained directly through interview. Secondary data itself used in this research is data obtained indirectly such as documents, medias or literatures in accordance with the purpose of research. Data collection techniques used by researchers is in-depth interviews and literature study. Informants who become target researchers to see the dynamics that occurred in the internal PDIP are some PDIP DPP managementt, also stewardship of PDI Perjuangan in DKI Jakarta and also elites. To balance the information, the author also searches for information from some media (print or electronic) related to the discussion. The results of this study indicate that there has been internal political dynamics caused by Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, especially the DPD of DKI which wants cadres who become candidates to contest in the election of DKI Jakarta, outside of Basuki hard character and assume political parties always talk about 'dowry'. Differences in politics also occur in the internal politics of PDIP between the DPP and DPD DKI, DPP elites have the proximity and political calculation which is the reason to provide support to Basuki. Factors that lends praise to the existence of PDIP, because there is no PDIP cadres that have electability level equals to Basuki, so PDIP carried Basuki as a means to maintain the existence of the PDIP. Another factor to fill the position of governmental positions, especially in DKI which is the capital of

Indonesia PDIP as the party winning the 2014 election, want to fill the position of Jakarta administration again, to maintain the acquisition of votes even more for the 2019 election.

Keywords: *Basuki Tjahaya Purnama; DKI Jakarta Election 2017; PDI Perjuangan.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Election (Election) is one means of democracy. Party of democracy which is the embodiment of the order of life of the state and the people who have the sovereignty of the people, the government from and for the people. Regional head elections (Pilkada) were directly held in the country for the first time in 2005, this direct local election provided a broad opportunity for voters to make their choices according to the wishes and consciences of each in the area. The implementation of regional elections is regulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 2008 concerning Regional Government. In it it was explained that in order to realize the mandate of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the implementation of regional governance was directed to be able to produce effective regional leadership by taking into account the principles of democracy, equality, justice and legal certainty in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; to realize democratic regional leadership that pays attention to the principle of equality and justice, the holding of elections for regional government heads provides equal opportunities to every citizen who meets the requirements.

In determining a figure who will be nominated in participating in a regional election, political parties (political parties) must carry out the process democratically in accordance with the internal regulations of the party. Political parties are one of the 'vehicles' for an individual to seize political office at both the executive and legislative levels. Related to this, the process of determining the candidates to be carried by

political parties and their political attitudes in the regional elections took place long enough and conditions with the political interests of many groups or coalitions. The tug of interest in the internal political parties to determine who will be nominated and the coalition to be formed will become one of the things that usually happens before the elections are held. The decision of political parties to carry out a candidate or pair is not separated from the figure of high-ranking officials or elites from the party as well as political deals with other parties and other factors that accompany them.

The DKI Jakarta regional election in 2017 is quite different from other regional elections in many regions. With the presence of candidates carried out by political parties instead of cadres from the party and the status of DKI Jakarta as the capital city and having heterogeneous communities make the DKI Jakarta Pilkada a concern for the people of Indonesia not only in the real world, cyberspace is also busy discussing. For major national political parties, the DKI Jakarta regional election is certainly a target that must be won, especially for the party that won the previous election. The Jakarta Election in 2017 is also used by political parties as a 'warming up' event ahead of the 2019 General Election. Therefore, the nomination of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) as a candidate for Governor by PDI Perjuangan certainly also has many goals and interests especially for coalition political parties support the government.

There are many interesting things that happened in the second regional election in DKI Jakarta since the mandate in the law on Direct Regional Head Election emerged, DKI Jakarta is the most important and very vital region for Indonesia, which makes political parties compete to propose governor candidates who will lead Jakarta in the next five years. For the DKI Jakarta Pilkada, the political process within PDI Perjuangan is very interesting to see because many interests are present towards the determination of

PDI-P's political decisions. All party leaders must want to be involved and have their own interests, including Megawati and other elites in the DKI Jakarta DPP and DPD.

The political process in PDI Perjuangan in determining the governor (Cagub) candidates in particular and during the DKI Election in general for the DKI Jakarta Pilkada raises a political dynamic or political contestation. The political contestation that occurred was the result of the debates of the emerging interests, the contestation between the DKI Jakarta DPD and the PDI-P DPP arose because each had a different viewpoint regarding which candidate to carry. Which in the end the best will certainly be placed to win the election even though it is against the wishes of some elites regarding the candidates carried.

2. METHODS

Research that will be done by the author in this discussion will use a qualitative method, for searching informants master problem in a manner deep very required by the author. Theory only used as a framework to think for understanding phenomenon and as a guide for collecting data (Ritchie, 2004). Data collection techniques are carried out with two ways, that is Interview deep informants selected purposively, and do studies literature, specifically in assessment theory used. Type research that will be used in research this is research exploratory, or dig in a manner deep phenomenon that will be studied (Bogdan, 1993). Type research this selected because basically research this want explain and describe How dynamics politics that occurred in PDI Perjuangan in order determine in Election DKI Jakarta Governor 2017. Method Data Collection Research this will do with the introduction of primary and secondary data. primer data, i.e. data obtained directly through interview (interview). Secondary data own used in research this i.e. data obtained in a manner not directly as documents or appropriate literature with mean from research.

Data Collection Techniques Data collection techniques used researcher is Interview deep (In-depth Interview) and studies literature (Mulyana, 2003). Interview is form communication lead turn back or two direction between people who intend obtain information and people who have information with file questions based on aim certain. Informants who were targeted by researchers for look the dynamics that occur in the internal PDI Perjuangan is some At that time the Executive Board of the PDI- P DPP and the management of the PDI Perjuangan DKI Jakarta in DKI Jakarta and the figures who resigned from PDI Perjuangan . For balancing information, the author is also looking for information from some media (print or related electronics) with discussion.

Elite Conflict Theory Elite conflict is used to explain elite behavior phenomena. The elite conflict theory is to explain the behavior of the formal elite, namely occupying positions in government, or informal elites, elite who do not occupy positions in government such as party elites. Watered by the process of taking political decisions in the country or in an organization sometimes elite conflicts occur. Political conflict according to Rauf (2001), caused by the existence of limited resources and position (resources and position scarcity). The higher the level of absurdity of the resources needed for life, the greater the likelihood of political conflict. Political authorities can fulfill their interests through the political policies they make. Because those who determine policy, there are opportunities for the political leaders they make. Political policy can also be made to ensure the fulfillment of the interests of the political ruler. There is a huge temptation for the authorities to utilize their political power to enrich themselves, their families and their ranks. Thus, if a person becomes a political ruler, it will be easy to regulate the limited resources for his interests. However, to regulate things, political authorities usually use their groups to smooth out their plans. In his efforts it actually caused political conflict. Maswasdi Rauf stated that what

makes political conflict different from other social conflicts is the nature of political conflict which is always a group conflict. That what is meant by group conflict is conflict that occurs between two or more groups. Groups in conflict can be referred to as conflict groups. Furthermore, it was also explained if there were conflicts between the two in politics (which seemed to be individual conflicts). The conflict is actually a result of group conflict that occurs between two groups in which the people in conflict were members. To resolve non-violent or coercive eating conflicts, consensus is carried out. Consensus can be established if an agreement has been reached by an individual or party in conflict. The basic principle in consensus is the opening of the possibility within each party that conflicts to make changes to the opinions it adheres to by being willing to accept parts of the opinions of others who are the antagonists in the conflict. This means that the most important requirement for achieving consensus is bargaining (bargaining), which means the willingness of all parties involved in the conflict to reduce their own demands and accept certain parts of the other party. Political consensus can be taken with general elections and voting. Elections are the most democratic way with the people / society as a determinant of results that are achieved more peacefully. Whereas the political consensus through deliberation will result in a conflict between parties involved in the conflict.

Voting (voting) is a way to determine the number of votes that support opinions with the aim of knowing which opinions are supported by votes as much as will be made joint decisions. Based on the above theoretical framework, the Election of Regional Head of DKI Jakarta has caused or encouraged conflict in PDI Perjuangan, especially between the elite of the PDI Perjuangan DPP and DKI Jakarta DPP. Conflicts throughout this Regional Head Election performances occur for several reasons including the limited cadres (resources) to be nominated, disagreement with

the volunteer who carried up to the release of the PDI-P cadres.

Political Recruitment Nomination process head area is peak from the recruitment process cadre party political corresponding with mechanism that exists and becomes rules at each party political for follow something Regional election. The recruitment process is carried out party political aiming for distribute cadres the best every time positions strategic public in the executive, either President, Governor, Regent, and Mayor, and in the legislature. According to Althoff, what is called with the recruitment process is a system of law (legal system) combined with system election in system party for determine a candidate for something containing election various rules and procedures in regulations (Rush, 1993). With existence various kind of procedure, recruitment political do for obtain candidate leader with good capacity, including for a candidate for election head area. Other figures such as Peter M. Siavelis and Scott Morgenstern see recruitment political as a process for interesting candidates political for compete (Siavelis and Scott, 2008). With understanding this, recruitment politics can be said a means for interesting members new a party political or for occupy something position politics. The goal is to continue happen cadre in body administrator party and expansion ideology, so party that is not to lose its existence. the candidates or members that is then will compete for can convincing administrators party that they are worthy for advanced in the political process later on. Then Ramelan Surbekti (1992) also saw that recruitment political is selection / election and appointment someone or group of people to doing a number of role party in system politics in general and government in particular. Recruitment political is portions were very important for continuity system politics, cause without existence elite capable doing its role, continuity living political system will threatened (Siavelis and Scott, 2008) . In do recruitment politics, other

figures such as Gabriel Almond see that at least there are two models happens, that is Style-based Ascriptive factor relationship blood or offspring, closeness, and the social status and Achievement Oriented more emphasize to expertise technical and leadership (Almond, 1984) . In pattern the, which becomes problem certain about quality and expertise from individual that is . Loyalty someone to the party also became one consideration alone for party political for do recruitment. Gabriel Almond also believes that process of recruitment is chance for selecting individuals who will on duty for lead they in something position certain. Jack C. Plano argues that process of recruitment as the process of selecting people to fill role in system social, whereas recruitment political show on charging formal and legal positions as well no formal role (Almond, 1978). In connection with that, Almond and Powel said that party political do selection towards talented people or the elect for fill positions political certain and then motivate they for work in framework interests and demands party politics is concerned. Miriam Budiardjo say the same thing with Almond and Powel that party political function for find and invite talented people for take part Active also in activities politics. Miriam Budiardjo also mention that recruitment party political function for two thing, that is internal functions and function external (Budiardjo, 1998) . Internal function is for keep existence party with continue do rotation management in a manner periodically, so ideas and thoughts emerge new in body administrator. Then function External function for fill positions governance - in democracy representative - originating from parties' political well in the legislative and executive, example in fact is institution the legislature (DPR) is certain originated from party politics. According to Althoff and Rush, he arrived two way in implementation recruitment politics, that is in a manner open Where all people without exception have equal opportunity for recruited with requirements

certain and recruitment in a manner closed or limited that is composed from some individual who can recruited for occupy position political or government. Recruitment in a manner closed only could owned by individuals who have proximity personally with ruler or leader political for then could occupy position politics. Recruitment political in something election head area could interpreted a selection process conducted by the party political with guided by regulations basic adopted by each party political for find candidate for could occupy position politics, governors, regents, and so on. Recruitment process political in the party political when this, for determine candidates who will carried by the party politics, involving role from cadres or society. this certain indicate that process of democracy start built In relation with Election, function recruitment political is function most important, p this caused because in recruitment, party on duty for prepare individuals to sit inside executor if or legislature.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that there has been internal political dynamics caused by Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, especially the DPD of DKI which wants cadres who become candidates to contest in the election of DKI Jakarta, outside of Basuki hard character and assume political parties always talk about 'dowry '. Differences in politics also occur in the internal politics of PDIP between the DPP and DPD DKI, DPP elites have the proximity and political calculation which is the reason to provide support to Basuki. Factors that lends praise to the existence of PDIP, because there is no PDIP cadres that have electability level equals to Basuki, so PDIP carried Basuki as a means to maintain the existence of the PDIP. Another factor to fill the position of governmental positions, especially in DKI which is the capital of Indonesia PDIP as the party winning the 2014 election, want to fill the position of Jakarta administration again, to maintain the acquisition of votes even more for the 2019 election.

Writer made two categories first is internal factor and external that made the conflict is exist. And there are two sides, one for they support Basuki and other one for the do not want to Basuki to got recommendation party. They who support Basuki, basically see from electability, programs that Basuki offers, also what Basuki did for Jakarta previous period. They who dont want Basuki be candidate thinks that Basuki is failed be governoor, like have bad commucation with legislative, corruption and so on. Thoose findings machth with the thoeries about conflict elites and also recrutment politics.

4. CONCLUSSION

Differences in political aspirations are common in politics, even in an ideology-based party. so too what happened to the internal PDIP. we talk about group interests even though in one party agency, in accordance with elite conflict theory from Maswadi Rauf, where there will be interests that will always go hand in hand with the resistance of the interests of other groups. Achievement Oriented according to Almond in line with the reason the DPP chose Basuki even though there might be an Ascriptive Style factor where Basuki had closeness to the Party.

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THE IMPACT OF 2013 CURRICULUM REVISION FOR THE HISTORY TEACHERS OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS (A CASE STUDY ON HISTORY TEACHERS OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOL IN SURAKARTA)

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Abstract

The 2013 curriculum of Vocational Schools in Indonesia has undergone two revisions in its structure. The first revision was carried out in 2017 that resulted fundamental changes in some learning subjects such as the Indonesian History; Art and Culture; and Sport, Health, and Physical Education. The second revision was in 2018 that affected the subjects of Indonesian Language and Creative Products and Entrepreneurship. On the first revision of curriculum, the Indonesian history experienced significant change from 2 hours of learning per week in 6 semesters to 3 hours per week in 2 semesters. This study aims to determine the impact of the curriculum revisions for History teachers in Vocational Schools. The qualitative descriptive was used as the research method. The data were collected through analyzing the structure of the document of the 2013 Curriculum, field observation, and interview with the History teachers of Vocational Schools in Surakarta from July to October 2018. Based on the research, it can be concluded that the revision of the structure of the 2013 Curriculum for Vocational Schools has caused anxiety among History teachers, either about the personal problem related to their welfare

or towards the future of Vocational School students related to their education, character, attitude, and nationalism.

Keywords: *Impact; Revision; the 2013 Curriculum; History Teachers; Vocational Schools*

1. INTRODUCTION

Entering the 21st century with an expectation to improve the quality of education to be able to compete at the global level, the Indonesian government began to implement the 2013 Curriculum in the school year of 2013/2014. The emergence of the 2013 Curriculum (K-13) was commenced by several internal and external factors. The internal factors include the educational demands that refer to the eight points of *Standar Nasional Pendidikan (SNP)* or the National Education Standards or, which covers the standard of content, process, competence of the graduates, teachers and education personnel, facilities and infrastructures, management, financial, and educational assessment. Other internal factors are Indonesia's demographic condition in which the number of productive age is bigger than non-productive age. Equally important are the external

factors, namely globalization, the advancement of industrial technology, the emergence of the creative industry in the form of a shift in people's lifestyles into modern industrial and trading societies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and the ASEAN Economic Community. Meanwhile, another external factor relates to the low degree of the Indonesia's participation in the study conducted by the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

In order to prepare the human resources of the productive age to have the ability and competencies at the global level, it is necessary to strive through education. By education, they will have the competencies and skills that are needed to live in the 21st century. The 21st century can be seen as the era when the graduated students from high schools, vocational schools, or academic schools should master technology, be friend with technology, and have technology culture, so they can adapt to global culture (Robinson, 2010). Therefore, the government has conducted the reinforcement of curriculum management in accordance with its era, the 2013 Curriculum.

In its development, the 2013 curriculum has been revised in two times. The first was carried out in 2017, which resulted in changes in several subjects such as Indonesian, English, Indonesian History, Art and Culture, and Sport, Health and Physical Education. Meanwhile, the second revision was in 2018 resulting in changes in the subjects of Indonesian Language and Creative Products and Entrepreneurship. In the first revision of 2017, Indonesian History has undergone a very significant change, from 2 hours of learning per week for 6 semesters to 3 hours of learning per week only on 2 semesters.

Along with the changing hours of Indonesian History, the History teachers became anxious about two things. First, because their learning hours were reduced, they had to try to fulfill 24 hours of learning to get certification

allowance by teaching in other schools. Meanwhile, this kind of problem occurred in other schools because of the excess of History teachers. There are 59 History teachers in the city of Surakarta, consisting of 22 civil servants, 11 permanent teachers, and 26 non-permanent teachers (GTT). For teachers who have obtained the certification allowance with reduced learning hours will have an impact on their certification allowance. Meanwhile, for those who have not received the allowance must be willing to accept the school's decision to teach any subjects other than History.

Secondly, with the reduction of learning hours for History subject, the teachers concerned about the process of character building in Vocational Schools because, in their perspectives, the History education is one of the learning subjects that effectively develop the students' awareness of the nation's values (Hasan, 2010).

Therefore, this paper deeply discusses the History teachers' anxiety regarding the 2013 curriculum revision and its implication for their career and the students learning activities.

2. METHODS

This research was conducted from July to October 2018. The subjects of the research were 59 History teachers of Vocational Schools in Surakarta City. The purposive sampling was employed to select the representative History teacher with specific considerations (Sugiyono, 2013). The consideration mainly depended on the status of teachers, which categorized in three qualifications: the civil servant teachers, the permanent teachers, or the non-permanent teachers. By considering the number research subjects and the error rate of 10% based on the table, the sample of the research were 48 History teachers with proportional details of 18 civil servants, 9 permanent teachers, and 21 non-permanent teachers.

The data were collected through observation and interview. The observation aimed to gather the

open-ended information by observing the teachers in a research location (Creswell, 2015). The interview was intended to gather the data from interactive communication that involves someone who needs information from other parties by asking open-ended questions or general questions to the participants (Creswell, 2015). The data were analyzed by examining all data obtained through both observation and interviews, reducing the data, grouping the data, and drawing conclusions.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The Development of Curriculum

The Law of the National Education System Number 20 of 2003 mentioned that the curriculum is a set of plans and systematizations of the purpose, content and learning material, as well as the methods used as guidelines for the implementation of learning activities to achieve certain educational goals.

Curriculum is the part of a system that play important role in the educational institution, because it provides life experiences for students as well as teachers, who encourage deep understanding, high skills, the right attitude and social development values (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2013: 8). Therefore, curriculum acts as a general system that supports the students' development.

The history of the curriculum development in Indonesian began with the 1947 Curriculum or Subject Plans (*Rencana Pelajaran*), then the 1952 Curriculum or Unravel Subject Plans (*Rencana Pelajaran Terurai*), and the 1964 Curriculum or *Pancawardana*, which pointed several learning purposes such as creativity, sense, intention, work, and moral. Furthermore, the Indonesian government sets the 1968 Curriculum or also known as the Development of Pancasila's principles (*Pembinaan Jiwa Pancasila*). The 1975 Curriculum was aimed to gain the efficient and effective educational objectives. The 1984 curriculum was designed in accordance with the Active Student Learning Method or *Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif* (CBSA). The 1994 curriculum was a combi-

nation of the 1975 Curriculum and 1984 Curriculum. In the early 21st century, the Indonesian government issued the Curriculum 2002 and 2004 that was designed by the principle of Competency Based Curriculum or *Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi* (KBK). Then, in the 2006, the government set the 2006 Curriculum based on the concept of Education Unit Level Curriculum or *Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan* (KTSP). Lastly, the Indonesian government has set the 2013 Curriculum.

The 2013 curriculum had been revised two times, mainly on the curriculum structure, since it was first implemented in 2013 until nowadays. The revisions affected some subjects, such as in the History subject. In the cases of Curricula for Vocational Schools, all has brought up the History learning as the compulsory subject as the independent subject or integrated with other learning subjects. As in the design of the 2006 Curriculum, the Indonesian History was integrated into social science together with Economics and Sociology.

In the design of the 2006 Curriculum, the social science learning was ended in the eleventh grade. However, the social science learning was then completed until twelve grades along with the demand of the system of the schools. Previously, the History subject had been integrated with the Civic Education (*PPKn*), which was only taught in two sessions in a week.

This integration resulted a new abbreviation namely *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan dan Sejarah* (*PKnS*) or the Civic and History Education. The materials taught on this learning subject emphasized on the attitude aspect of the students to be a good citizen with little mastery of Indonesian History.

3.2. The Structure of The 2013 Curriculum for Vocational Schools

The early structure of the 2013 Curriculum was based on the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 70 of 2013. The

regulation contains descriptions regarding the Basic Framework and Curriculum Structure of Vocational Schools. The structure of the curriculum structure of Vocational Schools can be seen on the table 1 below:

TABLE I
The early structure of the 2013 Curriculum

No	Subject	Time Allocation Per Week		
		X	XI	XII
1	Religion	3	3	3
2	Pancasila and Civic Education	2	2	2
3	Indonesian Language	4	4	4
4	Mathematics	4	4	4
5	Indonesian History	2	2	2
6	English	2	2	2
7	Art and Culture	2	2	2
8	Physical and Health Education	3	3	3
9	Creativity and Entrepreneurship	2	2	2
10	Specialization Subject	24	24	24
	Total	48	48	48

In the structure of the 2013 curriculum, the learning subject, such as History, Arts and Cultures, Creativity and entrepreneurship received a portion of two hours for each learning session.

3.3. The First Revised Structure of the 2013 Curriculum (2017)

The explanation of Article 15 of Law Number 20 of 2013 concerning on the National Education System confirmed the position of Vocational Education as the secondary education that prepares students to work in certain fields. Based on the consideration that the curriculum structure in Vocational Schools is a unit of whole education program for each skill competency, and then it was rearranged. The points of rearrangement are as follow:

- a. The subjects were grouped into National, Regional, and Vocational General subjects, which previously were compulsory A, compulsory B, and Specialization.

- b. Religion, Pancasila and Civic Education, and Mathematics had no change in time
- c. Some subjects, such as the Indonesian History, were changed. Previously, the Indonesian history had 2 hours per week for 6 semesters, then it was changed into 3 hours per week for 2 semesters in first. The Indonesian History has been taught only in tenth grade. The reason was because the History in Vocational Schools is emphasized on implementing the values of struggle, understanding the history of the nation's struggle, and the ability to realize personal characters to love the nation and the State. It was not fixated on learning historical episodes.

The following table shows the 2013 Curriculum Structure, which was revised in 2017 based on the Decree of the Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Number: 130 /D/Kep/KR/2017:

TABLE II
The Revised Structure of 2013 Curriculum (2017)

No	Subject	Time Allocation Per Week		
		X	XI	XII
1	Religion	3	3	3
2	Pancasila and Civic Education	2	2	2
3	Indonesian language	4	3	3
4	Mathematic	4	4	4
5	Indonesian History	3	-	-
6	English	3	3	4
7	Art and Culture	3	-	-
8	Physical and Health Education	2	2	-
9	Specialization / Vocational Subjects	22	29	30
	Total	46	46	46

3.4. The Second Revised Structure of 2013 Curriculum (2018)

In 2018, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Director General of Vocational Secondary Education, has revised the curriculum but it does not influence the History subject. The

changed are found in the number of learning session on the Indonesian subject for twelve grades. In previous curriculum structure, the Indonesian subject had 3 hours per week that changed into 2 hours per week. Meanwhile, the Vocational/ Specialization subject, Creative Products and Entrepreneurship, for eleventh grade have changed from 5 hours per week to 7 hours per week, and in the twelve grades from 7 hours per week to 8 hours per week.

The latest revised curriculum (2018) is based on the Regulation of the Director General of Basic and Secondary Education Number: 07/D.D5/KK/2018 about the curriculum structure for Vocational or *Madrasah Aliyah* Vocational Schools is as follows:

TABLE III

The 2013 Curriculum Structure, revised in 2018

No	Subject	Time allocation Per Week		
		X	XI	XII
1	Religion	3	3	3
2	Pancasila and Civic Education	2	2	2
3	Indonesian Language	4	3	2
4	Mathematics	4	4	4
5	Indonesian History	3	-	-
6	English	3	3	4
7	Art and Culture	3	-	-
8	Physical and Health Education	2	2	-
9	Specialization/ Vocational Subject	22	31	33
	Total	46	48	48

3.5. The Impact of the 2013 Curriculum Revision

The revised structure of the 2013 Curriculum Structure had procreated anxieties among teachers, including the History teachers. The teachers' anxieties can be categorized into two types: the anxiety about the career of the History teachers who lose many hours of learning, and the anxiety towards the future of the students because of the reduced process of awareness and enlightenment of the past to be applied in the present context because of reduced hours in

History. The descriptions of those anxieties can be explained as follows.

a. The anxiety for the teachers' career

The reduction of learning hours of Indonesian History from the 2 hours per week for 6 semesters to 3 hours per week for first and second only in tenth grade has caused the History teachers feel uncomfortable. Many of those could not fulfill their obligation to teach for 24 hours in a week as the requirement to get certification allowance, even though they had been given the additional assignments as the homeroom teacher, the duty during off hours, and duty as a scoutmaster. Therefore, the teachers try to find additional teaching hours in other schools to meet their obligations. In fact, many other schools had also excess of History teachers. When looking for additional hours in private schools, they also had not felt calm, because there was a discourse for civil servant teachers to look for additional learning hours in state schools too. This certainly greatly affects the performance of teachers who are looking forward to their professional allowances. It is no secret that the existence of teacher's professional allowance in addition to developing professionalism as a teacher is also a hope for improving welfare. According to Djamarah (2012) there are several factors affecting the teacher performance, including economic conditions or the level of teachers' welfare. The welfare can include: 1) salary, 2) promotion, 3) allowance, 4) comfort in carrying out tasks, 5) facilities to carry out learning, 6) conducive work climate, etc.

Of the History teachers who are 50% civil servants, they have joined the double expertise program. In a state school, there are three (3) History teachers. Due to the revision of the 2013 Curriculum, there are two (2) teachers participating in the double expertise program for approximately one year by taking a Cooking Expertise Program. The double expertise program refers to a program from the Ministry of Education and Culture to increase the teachers' competency to overcome the lack of vocational or productive teachers by

utilizing the excess of teachers of adaptive-normative subjects in high schools and vocational schools. The double expertise program lasts for one year and gives coaching or special training, and the teachers have to live in a dormitory. The training is carried out to equip the teachers with new knowledge and skills so that they can be vocational or productive teachers. Later, when the teachers have finished the training, they will get two certificates, a certificate of new teacher and a certificate of expertise issued by *Lembaga Sertifikasi Profesi (LSP)* or the Professional Certification Institute. Therefore, it is also known as the double expertise program. The teachers are then converted from adaptive-normative teachers to productive teachers.

However, the welfare and career of the teacher can be related to the teachers' teaching and learning motivation. Thus, the study about the teachers', who have passed the double expertise program and succeed in obtaining a new educator certificate, should be conducted on the question whether they are comfortable with the new subjects that they teach considering that the subjects are not linear with the first certificate.

In the case of *Guru Tetap Yayasan (GTY)* or the Permanent Foundation Teachers in Surakarta, there are two teachers who receive certification allowances and the rest do not have an educator certificate. There is only one history teacher who gets the certification allowance. This teacher becomes the head of the library with compensation of 12 hours per week as the head of the library plus 12 teaching hours, and then the total is 24 hours per week.

The future of *Guru Tidak Tetap (GTT)* or Non-Permanent Teachers are even worse, because they do not get certification allowances, so they teach any subjects given by the school. This kind of thing causes a controversy because the teachers certainly do not master all the material properly. It is not in accordance with their major, so learning in the class becomes meaningless. From the results of the observation, the teachers' learning administra-

tion that must be prepared before the learning process is *Rencana Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran (RPP)* or the Learning Implementation Plan. The teachers who teach other subject beyond their basic competencies are almost 90%. They just copy and paste the learning plan from colleagues or teachers from other schools. It is true that teachers have to keep learning, but it should be led by self-motivation to teach any subjects beyond their fields and the results will definitely be different.

b. The anxiety for the students' development

Before discussing the concerns of History teachers for vocational students, we should first consider the position of the History subject in other countries. The study conducted by O'Donnell, who was cited by Hamid Hasan (2007) reveals that the history in the secondary school curriculum in England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Singapore is listed as a stand-alone subject. Otherwise, Ireland has the diversity between stand-alone and "environmental and social studies". In Korea, history subject is integrated in the Social Studies and only separated at the High School Level. In New Zealand, Spain, Sweden and the United States, the History education becomes part of Social Studies. In Australia, the History subject is included in the Study of Society and Environment course. In China, Laos, Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam, it is a stand-alone subject. In Malaysia, it has been given separately from junior high school; while in Fiji, India, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand; it is packaged in Social studies subjects. Thus, in the overseas, History education becomes an important and obligatory subject to teach. Why History is important? It is because according to Toffler, History education is an establishment of a time sense, which is very important in human life. Without a sense of time, people will lose their temporal orientation. Therefore, it is necessary to instill a time sense of the future with its various possibilities. In addition, Toffler assumes that History is still needed with new pressure, namely the perspective of time to the future (Widja, 2002).

What about the role of History subject in Indonesia, especially in Vocational Schools? To answer this question, let us look at the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 21 of 2016 concerning on Content Standards. This regulation states that the objectives of History learning are: a) to building students' awareness of the importance of time and place which is a process from the past, present, and future; b) to train students' critical power to understand historical facts correctly based on scientific approaches and methodologies; c) to establish appreciation and valuation of students for historical heritage as the evidence of Indonesian civilization in the past; d) to foster students' understanding of the process of forming the Indonesian nation through a long history and process to the present and the future; e) to grow awareness in students as part of the Indonesian nation that have a sense of pride and love for the country that can be implemented in various fields of life, both nationally and internationally.

If the learning objectives of history are achieved, then it is certain that students in the case of vocational school will master competencies in three dimensions: attitudes, knowledge, and skills, based on the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No.20 of 2016 concerning Graduates Competency Standards. The descriptions of the three dimensions are as follows.

a. Attitude dimension

The attitude of the students covers some points, such as: (1) faithful and fearful of God Almighty, (2) have character, be honest, and careful, (3) be responsible, (4) be true learners throughout life and (5) be physically and spiritually healthy, in accordance with child development in the family, school, surrounding society and natural environment, nation, state, regional and international area.

b. Knowledge dimension

The students have factual, conceptual, procedural and metacognitive abilities in technical, specific, detailed and complex levels regarding: (1)

science, (2) technology, (3) art, (4) culture, and (5) humanities. They are able to correlate this knowledge in the context of oneself, family, school, surrounding society and natural environment, nation, state, and regional and international area

c. Skill dimension:

The students have the thinking and acting skills: (1) creative, (2) productive, (3) critical, (4) independent, (5) collaborative, and (6) communicative through scientific approaches as a development from those studied in education units and other sources independently.

All competencies in the dimensions of attitude, knowledge, and skills are the answers to the time sense of the future delivered by Toffler. According to Amiruddin (2016), the History education has the subject of humanitarian studies of young people. History education aims to instill and develop a historical awareness in the younger generation. Historical education emphasizes its activities in learning. The learning outcomes carried out by historical education is the formation of a young generation of historical awareness that is making historical experience as a reference in face the problems in their daily life.

Based on the Amiruddin's opinion, History education in vocational schools is properly given at all grades or classes because the subject of the study is the humanity of young generation. History education aims to instill and develop a historical awareness in accordance with the demands of the attitude dimension of the standard competence of the students. Meanwhile, historical education emphasizes its activities in learning in accordance with the standard competence of the students' demands of knowledge dimension. In this dimension, the competence of History teachers to be able to apply History learning in accordance with the era, 21st century learning should be considered. Therefore, History teachers should be included in the 21st century learning training, so that they are capable and competent in responding to changing times. Meanwhile, the learning outcomes of the History education process as a

reference for addressing current life are in accordance with the standard competence of students.

Thus, if History subjects are given in a coherent and profound way starting from tenth grade to twelve grades, the results will be better than only at the tenth grade. It is because to realize personal character that loves the nation and the state must be carried out continuously and continuously.

4. CONCLUSSION

From the above description, the authors conclude some points regarding the impact of the revised structure of the 2013 Curriculum towards the history teachers. The points are as follows:

- a. Every change in curriculum structure affects the teacher. When science and social study appeared in the 2006 curriculum, many vocational schools looked for more science or social study teachers. After changing to Curriculum 2013, there were no science and social studies anymore. It makes the teachers who have science or social background moved in droves from vocational high schools, because it was confirmed that the minimum teaching hours of 24 hours per week were not fulfilled. It would affect their *Surat Keputusan Tunjangan Profesi* (SKTP) or the Profession Allowance Decree as a condition for issuing certification allowance. Likewise, the 2013 Curriculum revision affected the existence of History teachers. As a result, many History teachers teach in other schools to fulfill the 24 hours per week or take part in the Double Expertise Program to be a vocational or productive teacher by participating in activities for approximately 1 year. However, the competence of general teachers to migrate to vocational or productive teachers still needs further research.
- b. The revision of the curriculum structure can improve vocational education as long as it is conducted carefully and appropriately. Because

the output of the vocational students is not only the knowledge and skills needed in the world of work to be improved, but also the balance between mentality and attitude, one of which can be obtained from History education. Skillful and intelligent teachers are ordinary, but skilled and intelligent are the main things.

The 2013 curriculum that has been implemented starting from the school year 2013/2014 was developed based on the competency. It is very necessary directing students to be: (1) qualified human beings who are capable and proactive in responding to the challenges of the changing era; (2) educated human beings who have faith and fear to God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent; and (3) democratic and responsible citizens. Thus, it is not resolved by reducing the learning hours, but it should be emphasized to some efforts to strengthen the History teachers to have a time sense of the future. The teachers learning model accompanied by the sense of time is very important to promote the students' high order thinking skills. The teachers must redesign their learning by doing enrichment to avoid the obsolete learning subject matters. It is all the responsibility of the government, particularly the Director General of Teachers and Education, to produce and upgrade the History teachers to be future oriented in every learning process.

3. The existence of globalization raises global culture. On the positive sides, we can access all kinds of knowledge. However, it also produces the negative impact on the form of the loss of ethical and moral values of Indonesian people, especially the younger generation. Therefore, it is an obligatory to strengthen the task of the History teacher.

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TRANSFORMING PULAU BESAR, MALACCA, MALAYSIA

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Abstract

This paper offers observation on the general practises of superstitious (khurafat) especially intercession (tawassul) among Muslims in Pulau Besar, a tiny island located at the Straits of Malacca. The authors emphasize the effects of the nature of composition of Malaysians' multi-racial and religious society. They share a common working, living places and amenities for ages and thus observe their religious rituals and praxis. This study employs the qualitative methodology that covers interview, participant observation, and textual analysis on the materials that are related to the topic. Findings indicate that there are practices of khurafat such as veneration of certain graveyards, wells, anthills, trees and specific alleged object of deities'. Many visitors come to this island regardless of citizenship, nationality, races, some of whom are Muslim Malaysians, follow the same rituals and praxis. This paper also offers suggestions and plans to the religious

authorities which could transform the overall Pulau Besar.

Keywords: *Pulau Besar; Malacca; transforming; Superstitious.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Newspapers often report news about rituals of intercession (tawassul); an act of intermediary between living person and God through a dead personality at cemetery. For example, the veneration of the tomb of Tok Gajah (Harian Metro, Tuesday, February 14, 2012), Tomb of Ashaari Muhammad in the Muslim cemetery of village of Pilin, Rembau of Negeri Sembilan. In addition, Mukim Jeram, Selangor and Pulau Besar, Malacca. The Pulau Besar is a place of worship for which is often visited by locals and also tourists from overseas who is a Muslims, Hindus, Buddhist and Christians. There are a bunch of visitors came to Pulau Besar to fulfil their wish in that the name of Pulau Besar is increasingly well known and

there are some who named it 'The Wish' Island. This is so because of their wishes were fulfilled fortuitously after saying prayers in the Island.

This situation has attracted more visitors who wanted to try their luck and thus led to conduct of ascribing partner to God (shirk) and superstitious when they prayed to the grave, rocks and a deceased person. This practice has long been occurring since immemorial until now. There are also those who do practice superstition to get the lucky numbers. Some teachers explained, they make the Pulau Besar as a final court for completing the knowledge they learn. In addition, the Festival of the peak in the archipelago is on the day of the birth of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w in Rabiul Awal (Ana Faqir, 2008)

On January 19, 2012, Department Mufti of Malacca has commissioned the guidelines on Practice Superstitious and Amulets under Religious Administration Enactment (Malacca) 2002 but this superstitious practice is still rampant in Pulau Besar, Malacca. Conference of the Fatwa Committee National Council for Islamic Religious Affairs of Malaysia for the 105th assembled on 3-5 February 2014 discussed on the State of the practice Superstitious In Pulau Besar, Malacca and decided that the practices and acts done in Pulau Besar, Malacca is bida'ah dhalalah and highly superstitious prohibited by Islamic law and should be stopped immediately because it can lead to polytheism. (<http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/fatwa-kebangsaan/kedudukan-amalan-khurafat-di-pulau-besar-melaka>, 10/8/2014). Thus, this study was conducted as a response towards the discussion.

The problems prevailing in the island shows that it now fulfilled the practice of wishes in tombs and burial ground still has yet to be abolished. Based on one study that has been conducted by an army investigator from Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM) (Azman Ab Rahman: 2014) have made it clear that there are some practice of khurafat organized frequently on the Pulau Besar, Melaka. The practice such as;

1. Apply wishes, pray, meditate and approach the tombs around the Pulau Besar is an excessive practice that may lead to shirk
2. The act of worship with purpose to get help from an object such as in the grave of Sultan Al-Arifin Sheikh Ismail, the grave of Seven Sisters, the grave of Syarifah Rodziah, the grave of Sheikh Yusuf, the grave of Tok Janggut, the grave of Grandmother Kebaya, Tempayan Broken, Stone, Wellness of Kebaya Grandmother, Lake Bunian, Lake Biawak and the tree is shirk.
3. The act of reading Surah Yasin, making the next tahlil pray for the wishes of non-Muslims with the aim that their request is reached is forbidden by Islam.
4. Bathe practices in Kebaya Grandmother and Tempayan Pecah, making stones or objects taken from wells as an amulet, burning the burrows around graves and trees by believing it could be beneficial or dangerous is an act of superstition which is clearly prohibited by Islam.
5. The act of entertaining the public with the vodified meat by Muslims and non-Muslims and selling posters that are believed to be pictures of the companions of the Prophet are doubted from the legal aspect of syarak and need to be stopped.
6. The practice of reading tahlil during the upcoming ceremony and lowering the flag and walking without shoes or sandals to the cave or well and sweeping actions and raising the yellow powder on the tombstone and grave Sheikh Ismail is a superstitious thing to avoid.
7. Based on a discussion conducted by the Muzakarah of the 105th Malaysian National Religious Council Fatwa Committee held on 3-5 February 2014, the Muzakarah decided that the practice and deeds performed on Pulau Besar Melaka were a matter of bid'ah And the superstitions which are strictly

prohibited by syarak and need to be stopped immediately because it can lead to shirk.

From that point on, a research problem arises, which is the best way or strategy to address this issue of worship? The study has several objectives to be achieved, namely the identification of practicing practices still practiced in Pulau Besar, Malacca and finally, devising a da'wah strategy to address the symptom of worship in Pulau Besar, Melaka. This study has some questions that will be answered: What are the practices of worship that are still practiced in Pulau Besar, Melaka today? And what is the best strategy to address this symptom?

2. METHODS

This study uses qualitative methods in which in-depth interviews and non-participant observations are the main instrument for obtaining information. A total of 13 interviewed informants throughout this research. As a result, all the data obtained are analysed and then elaborated descriptively. Issues regarding Islamic lawsuits, researchers use descriptive methods and analysis of sources in social transformation. Researchers have referred to a variety of previous and present written materials so as to obtain the data and information related to the research title. They are books, magazines, pamphlets, quotes, papers, newspaper articles, theses and the like. For this purpose also, the researchers use the method of in-depth interview. A total of 13 informants consisting of four informal groups were interviewed to obtain the required data. The four groups of informants are;

1. Five visitors who visit the location of superstitious (khurafat).
2. Five local people who interact directly with visitors such as tour guides, retailers etc.
3. Three officers appointed by the local religious council who are responsible for the practice of superstition in Malaysia and a roundtable session with a group of religious

officials in the Kelantan Islamic Religious Affairs Department (JAHEAIK).

4. Eight officers of the Brunei Islamic Religious Council and a group of academicians of the Sultan Sharif Ali Islamic University, Brunei in a roundtable session.

In addition, non-participant observation method is also conducted directly and indirectly to provide additional information to this study. The research team spent the night at the research site, Pulau Besar to take a closer look at the activities carried out at night. Through this method, the researchers are able to observe the environment, the description and the environment of the research site. This can help researchers to analyse and to summarize the research.

The researchers have conducted an academic and roundtable discussion with the Brunei authorities to obtain information on the methods of implementation in order to combat the symptoms of Brunei. After all the information is collected, the researchers are planning a new strategy to be implemented in the country.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Studies on Pulau Besar

Field studies conducted in Pulau Besar, Malacca found that its visitors were made up of various races, citizens and religions. Pulau Besar is a small island in the Straits of Malacca located in the west of the state of Melaka, taking about 15-20 minutes by boat from Umbai Village jetty. Transportation to the island is easy so visitors enjoy the scenic beauty of the beach. Among other attractions are also some of the tombs of Islamic preachers who were said to be buried on the island. Islamic graves, wells, rocks associated with local myths are then centered on visits and intermediary objects between beggar and God.

1. Hindus and Indian Muslims are the largest visitors to 75%, the rest are other religions including Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Muslims, animism and atheism. Many citizens such as Singapore, Indonesia,

Australia, Philippines, India and others visit this place with a variety of purposes and motives. In addition to traveling the main motives of visitors is praying in those places that are intermediary objects between man and god or in the Arabic term is 'tawassul' to perform prayers, desires and will of the visitor. Not only are these places as the center of meditation, hermitage and worship with the conviction that the place is capable of giving what is desired.

2. There are some concepts in Islam and Hinduism that are misunderstood by the followers of Islam, such as Karamah and Sakthi concepts, the concept of intercession (tawassul) with the dead, the concept of knowing Allah (ma'rifat Allah) and Prajna, Jnana (Narada, 2006; Stoddart, 2007) and many more.

Practicing approach practices often involve grave worship activities. There are many graves available around the Pulau Besar. There are 8 graves that are of concern (the tomb of Sultan Ariffin, Tok Janggut, Tok Putih, Temples Grandmother, Seven Sisters, Thousand, Nisan One and Syarifah Rodziah). The grave of Syed Ariffin is the most sought after tawassul location. Various activities are carried out by visitors in the area. Most visitors pray for a variety of wishes. Most interestingly, non-Muslim visitors also practice tawassul practices in the graves. They practice in many ways, including praying, reading Quran (Yasin), planting flowers.

The Indian community is the most engaged visitor with tawassul activities in the graves. The following is a list of the tombs that became the visitor's focus and note about the tomb where this record has no academic record confirming it.

Voter activities and cash wishes are often performed simultaneously by visitors to the Pulau Besar. On average, the voters in venues are said to have sacred. After their vow is reached, they will fulfill the vow in the place provided. There are two main places in Pulau Besar that provide voting

services. The location is equipped with adequate cooking utensils for the purpose of feast on a large scale. Normally, goats will be used as sacrifices to fulfill their wishes.

In addition, the activity of bullets was also performed by visitors. Usually, visitors can take a beach bathing ceremony in a particular area of Pulau Besar beach. The ceremony is believed to be capable of resisting and removing all dirty things in its body, but can cure all the diseases they suffer.

Accordingly, after the study, researchers found that there are many non-Muslim visitors who visit the graves of Muslims and places associated with Muslim stories there are several strategies that can be implemented. Strategic plans can be divided into two parts; Short term and long term.

3.2 Short Term Plan

This short-term plan will be divided into two sub-topics: Muslim and Non-Muslims.

3.2.1 Muslim

Introducing Islamic figures who are said to be buried in the Great Island. Among the Muslim leaders are the al-'Arifin Syed Isma'il, Syarifah Radhiah, Hang Nadim, Prophet Yunus (a.s) (his name is also associated with a place of hermit), some preachers and others.

- Sultan al-'Arifin Syed Isma'il bin Syed Abdul Qadir bin Syed Abdul Jabbar bin Syed Salih bin Ghauts al-A'zam. Syed Ismail was said to be from Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani (dead 1166M) who came from Iraq.
- Syarifah Rodhiah's wife to Sultan al-'Arifin, is also said to be a preacher who was buried in the area.
- Hang Nadim is a teenage figure in Malay history. His name became popular when the story of Temasek Island was attacked by the frogs, a kind of fish that had a sharp nozzle like spear. The ruler then said to command troops and residents to make their thighs and

calves as shields from this fish attack until someone was killed. Hang Nadim then proposed to take banana stems in place of human shields. Hang Nadim managed to save many people from being killed. His cunning makes the jealous King direct him to be killed because he fears will seize the throne. Hang Nadim is said to have been sentenced to death by dumping into the sea.

- Jonah a. He is a prophet who has narrated his story specifically in the Qur'an, chapter 10 (Yunus). A prophet who spread the religion of Tawhid to his people. There was one story when he was swallowed up by a kind of giant fish. He returns the fish when his prayer is granted to God. His grave is said to be in Mosul, Iraq. The story of Jonah is mentioned in Christianity in New Testaments Matthew 12: 38-41, 16: 4 and Luke 11: 29-32. These verses also tell the story of the prophet Yunus swallowed giant fish.

3.2.1.1 Educate Muslim Visitors

Usually visitors to Pulau Besar have a certain intention whether fishing, the purpose of the visit, visiting the tomb and so on. Therefore, Muslims who are Muslims should be taught about the concept of tauhid, shirk, miracle, karamah, Sakhti, objective, courtesy visit the grave, rules prayer in the grave and things that should not be done in the grave. If visitors are clear about these things, they certainly are not involved with the wrong practices on the teachings of Islam.

- a) Understanding of Tawhid and Syirk Tawhid is to recognize and believe that Allah is one of the substance, nature and deeds. Among the attributes of Allah is Qudrah (power), Iilm (knowledge), Iradah (will), Sama' (hear), Basar (see) and others. The substance of God is not united with the nature of this cosmos. Any belief in the unity of God with the cosmos is also considered Shirk. Similarly if a Muslim is convinced that there

is other power in this universe that equals Allah then it is Shirk; Namely to equate the power of the beings with the power of God. Shirk can occur in a zahir (zahir) and also hidden (khafi).

- b) Understanding the Concept of Mu'jizat, Karamah and Sakhti

Some basic concepts in Islam that are misunderstood are like Miracles. It comes from the Arabic words' a, j, z which means weak. Miracles are also defined as extraordinary things conferred upon the Prophets and Prophets to weaken the arguments and actions of the opponents. This can only be known from the Qur'an and only authentic hadiths. Miracles can not be made analogous to human beings.

Meanwhile, karamah is also derived from the Arabic word k. R, m intend to glorify. Karamah is defined as the extraordinary thing which is bestowed upon a righteous Muslim (good) because of his actions and actions that are not contrary to Islamic Shari'ah. Karamah matters are not from the Muslim's will.

Next is shakti or sakhti (Schuon, 2007) is a Sanskrit word referring to magical powers in Hinduism and Buddhism. This power is also from the feminine aspect of the gods of Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu and others. Since the concept of god in Hinduism is united with the cosmos, then the power also exists in every thing in this world. It is also known by other names like Marikas; The main female gods such as Dewi, Indrani, Brahmani and others. Meanwhile the magical power of the masculine aspect (manhood) is also called God. This power also exists in all things. Gods and Goddesses are the cosmic powers and powers that exist in this world. From the perspective of Hinduism, this power or power can be activated by someone with certain acts or spells. This extraordinary power also exists in the human body and he

needs to live a Hindu way of life known as Yoga. With certain practices in yoga the energy can be activated.

c) Understanding About Tawassul Or Intermediaries

The word Tawassul comes from the Arabic word *isilah* (وسيلة) which means intermediaries. It means making something as an intermediary between a person and a god. The intermediary objects include people who have died, graves, goods, natural events and so on. There are tawassuls allowed in Islam. Tawassul which is justified in Islam is in three conditions. The first to use or reminisce with the names of Allah contained in the Qur'an, al-A'raf: 180. "And Allah has good names (the noble), then call (and pray) to Him By mentioning those names ... "

Secondly, it is permissible to ask the surviving righteous to pray for one's well-being and the third is to practice righteous deeds which one has done by others is also permitted by Syara '. In addition there are tawassul prohibited in Islam. There are many prohibited tawassul such as asking from idols, trees, animals. Similarly with worshiping creatures and exaggerating in asking of beings so forget to God Subhaanahu wa Ta'ala is also prohibited. tawassul by asking the creatures and believing that the creature obeys his request, and does not ask Allah to belong to the syirik and prohibited categories.

In the context of the Great Island, for example there are several hermits associated with Islamic leaders such as the Prophet's Cave of Yunus This act is forbidden in Islam.

d) Understanding About Civility Visiting the Grave

Among the manners of visiting the grave suggested by Islam is;

- i. A Muslim is encouraged to be holy from the hadith (circumcision)
 - ii. A Muslim is encouraged to salute the grave of "al-Salam" alaykum from qawmin mu'minin wa inna in sya 'Allah bhinah lahiqun "(Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-taharah, chapter Istihbab italah al-gharrah wa al-tahjil fi al- Wudu') or "Assalamu' ala al-diyari min al Mu'minin wal Muslimin, wa inna in sya 'Allah ta'ala bikum lahiqun. As-alullahu lana wa lakumul afiyah. "Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-jana'iz, chapter ma yuqal 'ind dukhul al-qubur wa al-du'a' li ahliha)
 - iii. Forgiveness for forgiveness and well-being to the dead such as "Allahumma ighfirlahu wa irhamhu ..."
- e) Adab-Adab Praying In The Cemetery
- Prayer is to ask for something like rejection, cure illness and others to God. Prayer should be done without human intermediaries, objects and others. Among the manners of prayer is as follows;
- i. Pray to God in a gentle and slow voice.
 - ii. Pray to God with low self-esteem.
 - iii. Pray to God in concise but compact terms
 - iv. Do not pray to God for evil.
 - v. Pray with a positive and definite demand.
 - vi. Pray in standing position
- f) Unacceptable Things When Visiting the Grave
- Here are some things that are not recommended when visiting a grave or tomb:
- i. Organise a party to eat and drink, to have fun
 - ii. It is not advisable to kiss construction at the cemetery.
 - iii. It is not advisable to read al-Qur'an loudly
 - iv. It is not advisable to specialize the day to visit the tomb.

- v. Sit on the grave.
- vi. Urinating and waste.
- vii. Performing tawaf
- viii. Put a candle or a lamp on the grave.
- ix. Pray for help, protection, conveying wishes and more from the calamity.
- x. Giving food, flowers, sowing money and more to the dead.
- xi. Take something from the grave such as soil, stone, tombstone to be used as a tree or other uses.

3.2.1.2 Action to Make

- i. Monitoring by relevant authorities such as the Police, Melaka Islamic Department of Islamic Affairs and Local Authorities and others. The study found that rarely the authorities did patrol or monitor the activities performed by visitors and permanent residents of the island either day or night.
- ii. Improve explanations in the form of brochures, circulars, banners, warnings in the affected areas.
- iii. Print and explain about manners and prayer in the graves of Muslims.
- iv. Print and short prayers on the warning board and also in the form of banners, appropriate pamphlets read when visiting the graves of Muslims.
- v. Encourage dialogue, counselling and explanation sessions with visitors.
- vi. Appoint a knowledgeable traveler guide in the field of religious comparison to give an explanation of the place's affairs as well as the activities carried out. This can be achieved by part-time service from IPTA students specializing in religious comparative subjects.

3.2.1.3 The Role of the Mosque

There is a mosque on the Pulau Besar with the Imam and bilal who are appointed under the jurisdiction of MAIM. Apart from setting up 5

daily prayers daily, Friday prayers are also held weekly. The main step is to make the mosque a center of Islamic missionary activities such as tazkirah, lectures, courses of understanding and the strengthening of Islamic creeds, religious comparison courses and so on. Priests and religious officials who have comparative knowledge of religion are appropriate to be assigned regularly or turn here because the issues encountered here are from other religious influences such as Hinduism, Buddhism and animism.

In addition, making the mosque a center of dissemination of Knowledge and information includes a description of the fundamentals of Islam, including aqidah, syariah and morals. The description of the Aqidah includes the pillars of Iman, Shirk, and others. Description of Sharia Islamiyyah including Islamic pillars, Islamic law in Islam covers halal, illegal, obligatory, circumcision and makruh. Description of Islamiyyah Moral Character which includes good, bad manners, manners, and ways to build Islamic morals.

Among other things, make the mosque a one stop center. MAIM / JAIM cooperation with IPTAs in Malacca and its surroundings, the Tourism Department and several relevant agencies in providing information on Islam, about the Pulau Besar, and about related activities and others.

It should also take the mosque as a center of dialogue, counselling and information on local residents and visitors who face various spiritual problems. Some visitors claim that visiting certain places on this island their spiritual problems can be reduced and completed.

3.2.2 Non-Muslim

Due to the major attraction on the Pulau Besar are graves and names associated with Muslims then some steps need to be taken in educating the visitors of other religions comprising Hinduism, Buddhism, Chinese beliefs, Animism and many more. Among the steps to take:

- Introducing the Islamic religion in brief that rejects the concept of superstition, superstition and other matters beyond the limits of reason.
- Introducing the characters and names of Muslims and their roles, which are the focus objects there.
- Introduce courtesy to visit the graves of Muslims such as;
 - i. Dressed politely and unobtrusively.
 - ii. Pray for the calamity of success in the grave with a good prayer.
 - iii. Can not offer food, money, flowers, rituals and worship.
 - iv. Can not pray for a wish from a dead
 - v. Can not take anything from a Muslim cemetery to be a tree or amulet and so on.

3.3 Long Term Plan

Since most of the beliefs and practices performed on the Great Island are mixed in the doctrines of religions including Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and local animism, they form into the 'myth' concept. Myth is a collection of ancient fictional stories about the extraordinary things of a person, a place, an object, and so on. It is associated with the value system of a religion and is considered sacred by a group, society or nation. From that point came the terms such as Greek myths, or Arabic, Chinese, and many others. The myth creates beliefs that are considered sacred and held in most religions in this world. It is irrelevant and beyond the bounds of human mind. Myths can be found in religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, the Chinese belief system and many others.

Islam forbids its people to believe in the concept of a myth that goes beyond the limits of human reason. In the Qur'an he is referred to as 'asatir al-awwalin' the fairy tales and the precursors of the previous generations (al-Qur'an, al-Furqan: 5; al-mu'minun: 83; al-Naml: 68). The remarkable things that Islam accepts are just like Miracles to the Prophet and His Apostle, Karamah His servant who obeys Shari'ah, Ma'unah, the help

of Allah to His servant and others. Such matters need to be confirmed by the verses of the Qur'an, the authentic hadiths and the scholars' consensus before being adopted by Muslims.

Modern researchers such as Joseph Campbell (1991), Alan Dundes (1980), Bruce Lincoln (2000) and others make deep research in the field of Mythology. Similarly, Islamic figures such as Ibn Khaldun (1996), Malik Bennabi (2007) and others basically say that a civilization should be founded on rational and logical thinking, not a myth. In the theory of civilization, Ibn Khaldun suggested the importance of rational science and mind as a condition. The development theory is known as 'Umran' (Mahayudin, 2014) which emphasizes spiritual and physical aspects. A myth will disappear with knowledge based development as it happens in the Islamic civilization, Western civilization and others.

In line with the above ideas, Pulau Besar should also be developed by local authorities.

- Developing the Island as a Human Resources Training Center.
- With its strategic location and terrain composed of beaches, sloping areas and partly highlands, Pulau Besar is best suited for training centers for human resource development. Training camps such as PLKN, camps for school holiday courses for secondary school students, government campuses for government departments are ideally developed on this island. This is due to the easy transport, there are electromechanical facilities and water distributed from the mainland and many others. It is understood that there has been an attempt to develop a boarding religious school on the island.
- Developing Island as a Travel and Recreation Center.
- Pulau Besar also has the potential to be an attractive resort and recreation because of its clean beaches and there is also a ramp area suitable for playgrounds, theme parks

and more. A small-scale resort or resort can be developed to avoid destroying natural green forest areas.

- Conduct a historical analysis of the tombs that are said to belong to classical Islamic preachers. Anthropologists need to identify this. If it is true, the graveyard should be preserved as a source of history.
- The need for monitoring from police, immigration and local authorities.
- Monitoring will also need to be held on the island as there are fears of illegal immigrants (illegal immigrants), drug addicts, criminal offenders and others taking refuge here.
 - Road and Pedestrian system.
- The need for a systematic system of roads and walkways to facilitate visitors to travel around the island. It also makes it easy for anyone to access hidden places that may be a place for drug addiction or illegal activities.
 - Role of the mosque.
- Mosques need to be streamlined with religious officials who have expertise in administration, information technology as well as Islamic studies and comparative religion.

The practice of khurafat in the Muslim community in this country is one of the problems that continue to this day. In fact, in some instances, this practice of superstition takes place on a large scale involving various levels of society. Pulau Besar, Melaka became one of the examples of locations that became the focus of superstitious activities carried out with a large number of practitioners from various states and countries. Despite various enforcement efforts and strategies, the practices contrary to Islamic teachings are still practiced by some Muslim communities in the country.

4. CONCLUSION

The challenge of educating the public on the prohibition and consequences of superstitious acts such as worship, magic and sorcery is still tough. This barrier is increasingly challenging when the strategies carried out by the authorities are sometimes effective only for a certain period or period. The re-emergence of this superstitious conduct led to constant monitoring had to be done by the authorities. However, constraints such as inadequate work force, financial assistance narrows and time factors make it difficult for authorities to continue to focus on one case at a time.

Mixing among the various races who also carry out their religious ceremonies are also more complicated efforts to combat the practice of khurafat among the followers of Islam. It is difficult to identify believers according to their religious beliefs, causing attempts to stop rituals or religious activities that are conducted to a dead end. The absence of legal provisions to overcome the mixing of other faiths in Muslim areas such as Islamic burial grounds led to legal action not being possible. Apart from that, the lack of education and awareness among the local community is also one of the major challenges that must be faced by the authorities. Local communities can also initially serve as “observers” to the authorities, but act as if they support the activities of the superstitious conduct. Economic importance, political insistence and misunderstandings about religion become one of the causes of the situation.

Situations related to the practice of superstition, for example, in Pulau Besar, Melaka show that efforts need to be multiplied to continue to find solutions to eradicate the practice of superstition in our country. If immediate action is not taken, worry if the practice of superstition is going to continue on a larger scale and spread widely into society. The question of the Muslim faith in this country is a serious issue and needs to be dealt with together. Various parties should give their ideas, views and suggestions to address the

problem of the practice of this khurafat regardless of background or expertise.

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THE COMPETITIVENESS OF INDONESIAN TUNA IN THE REP OF KOREAN MARKET

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Abstract

Tuna is main export commodity of the fisheries sector with the average proportion of 15.31% of the total production. Indonesian tuna is exported in the form of fresh, frozen and preserved tunas. Rep. of Korea has been set to be one of the prospective markets declared in the MMAF Strategic Plan. The changes in the global order has not been only providing opportunities but on the other hand increasing the competition, so the competitiveness of products had become the key factor to win the competition. The research aims is to know about : (1) Indonesia's position as exporter, (2) the competitiveness of Indonesian fresh, frozen and preserved tuna, and (3) state of competitiveness of Indonesian tuna. The research use the time series data of world's import export tunas in 1993-2012 with the main source UNComtrade and Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of Indonesia. Data were analyzed to measure Market Share (MS), Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA), Trade Specialist Ratio (TSR), and Export Product Dynamics (EPD). The study was conducted in 2013-2015. The results showed that: (1) Indonesia is a major exporter of fresh and frozen tuna with an average market share of 34,61% and 17,49%, (2) the fresh and frozen tuna is high competitiveness while preserved tuna is not competitive (3) position competitiveness of fresh and frozen tuna in the growth to maturity, while the Indonesian preserved tuna fluctuated from the stage of growth and import substitution. (4) in the period 2010-2012, the position of the competitiveness of frozen tuna is a rising star, while fresh and preserved tuna of a lost opportunity. The competitiveness of frozen tuna

Indonesia in the Rep of Korean market is stronger than fresh and preserved tuna.

Keywords: *Competitiveness; Tuna*

1. INTRODUCTION

Tuna, is the second leading commodities after the shrimp of fishery exports of Indonesia, which has an export growth in 2009-2013 of 22.82%. The export value in 2013 increased by 1.97% compared to 2012 (MMAF, 2014) and being the largest exporter of tunas fish in Southeast Asia (UNComtrade, 2013). In the ASEAN region, Indonesia ranks second as a producer of tuna after Thailand (FAO, 2012; Yudiarosa, 2009; Apsari, 2011; hidayati, 2014).

The changes of the global caused the addition to providing opportunities but on the other hand increase the competitiveness of trade itself. Therefore, The aim of the development of the fisheries sector is to build competitive advantage of the fisheries sector based on comparative advantage. That strategy to reach the objective is supported by the enactment of the Strategic Plan 2010-2014, through the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of Indonesia Number 06 of 2010, which marked with changing the export market from traditional markets (Japan, United States = US) to prospective market such as Rep. of Korea (Kusumastanto, 2008; and MMAF, 2011)

Tuna has been exported either as fresh, frozen or preserved tunas , with the largest shares of exports of tunas Indonesia in 2012 were Japan (23.14%) and the US (12.35%) (Hidayati et al, 2015a) . The value of Indonesian tuna exports to Rep of Korea even though it is still relatively small

compared to the Japanese and US markets, but the export value growth shows a positive trend which is equal to 83.96% in 2009-2012, with the largest increase occurring in the 2011-2012 period, which is 185,79% (MMAF, 2014). Indonesia has a big challenge to be able to make tunas products could be a competitive product in the global market, especially in the major importing countries. The export opportunities and amount of import threats are depends on the competitiveness of commodities itself. With a higher competitiveness, could make a greater export opportunities and much smaller threat of imports of these commodities (Asriani, 2010). This condition shows that competitiveness is the main key for Indonesian tuna product exports to be able to develop and compete (Darwanto et al. 2010).

The aim of the study was to find out: (1) Indonesia's position as exporter of fresh, frozen and preserved tuna in the Rep of Korean market, (2) the competitiveness of Indonesian fresh, frozen and preserved tuna in the Rep of Korean market, and (3) state of competitiveness of Indonesia tuna in the Rep of Korean market.

2. METHODS

This research used time series data of the world imported tunas and Indonesian tunas which has been exported to the Rep of Korea in 1993-2012, sourced from UNComtrade and Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (MMAF) from various publications, code named Harmonized System (HS-1992), namely: HS 030231, 030232, 030233, 030239 for fresh tuna, HS 030341, 030342, 030343, 030349 for frozen tuna and HS 160414 for preserved tuna. The indicators which being used to analyze the competitiveness of Indonesian tuna in the Rep. of Korea are analysis of Market Share (MS), Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA), Trade Specialist Ratio (TSR), and Export Product Dynamics (EPD). Formulation is as follows:

2.1. Market share =MS (Ng, 2002; Crespo & Fontouna, 2010) :

$$MS_{ij} = \frac{X_{ij}}{M_j} \times 100\% \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

Remarks:

MS_{ij} = market share of Indonesia tunas (fresh, frozen, preserved) in the Rep of Korean market.

X_{ij} = export value of Indonesia tunas (fresh, frozen, preserved) in the Rep of Korean market

M_j = import value of Rep of Korean market. (fresh, frozen, and preserved tuna)

2.2. Indek Revealed Comparative advantage (RCA) (Ng, 2002) :

$$RCA = \frac{X_{ij}}{X_{iw}} \bigg/ \frac{X_{wj}}{X_{ww}} \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

Remarks:

RCA = Revealed Comparative Advantage index for tuna (fresh, frozen, preserved) Indonesia.

X_{ij} = exports value of Indonesia tunas (fresh, frozen, preserved) to Rep of Korea market

X_{iw} = export value of Indonesia tunas (total, fresh, frozen, preserved) to the world

X_{wj} = export value of the world's (total, fresh, frozen, preserved) tuna to Rep of Korea

X_{ww} = export value of the world tunas (fresh, frozen, preserved)

Criteria: RCA > 1 (strong competitiveness), and not competitive if RCA is <1 (moderate competitiveness if 0.5 = RCA <1 and weak if 0 = RCA <0.5) (Darwanto, 2010).

2.3. Trade Specialist Ratio (TSR) (Kusumastanto, 2008 ; Ng, 2002)

$$TSR = \frac{N_{ij_x} - N_{ij_m}}{N_{ij_x} + N_{ij_m}} \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

Remarks :

N^{ij}_x = export value of Indonesia tunas to Ref of Korea market;

N^{ij}_m = import value of Indonesia tunas to Rep of Korea market

TSR index can be used to identify the stage of growth of commodities in trade, that is:

- a. $-1 < ISP < -0,5$ = introduction
- b. $-0.5 < ISP < 0$ = import substitution
- c. $0 < ISP < 0.5$ = growth
- d. $0.5 < ISP < 1$ = growth to maturity

2.4. Export Product Dynamics (EPD)
(Edwards and Schoer, 2001).

$$EPD = DRCA_j = \frac{\Delta RCA_j}{RCA_j} \dots\dots\dots(4)$$

Remarks:

EPD = DRCA_j = dynamic RCA indicator;
RCA_j = changes in RCA Indonesia tunas j (fresh, frozen, preserved) in the Rep of Korean market.

Mathematically, the formulation above is described as follows:

- Export market share i :

$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^t (\frac{X_{ij}}{W_{ij}})_i \cdot x100\% - \sum_{i=1}^t (\frac{X_{ij}}{W_{ij}})_{i-1} \cdot x100\%}{T} \dots(5)$$

- Product market share i :

$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^t (\frac{X_t}{W_t})_i \cdot x100\% - \sum_{i=1}^t (\frac{X_t}{W_t})_{i-1} \cdot x100\%}{T} \dots\dots(6)$$

Remarks:

X_{ij} = Export value of Indonesian tunas i to Rep of Korea;

X_t = Export value of Indonesian tunas to Rep of Korea;

W_{ij} = Export value of world tunas i to Rep of Korea;

W_t = Export value of world tunas to Rep of Korea

TABLE I
Placement matrix of export competitiveness

	Share i of State Exports		Share i in Market Exports	Position
RCA	↑	>	↑	Rising stars
Goes up	↑	>	↓	Falling stars
	↓	>	↓	Lagging retreat
RCA	↓	<	↑	Lost opportunity
Goes down	↓	<	↓	Leading retreat
	↑	<	↑	Lagging opportunity

Source: Adapted from Edwards and Shoer (2001)

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Indonesia's position as exporter

Rep of Korea is a prospective market for Indonesia which was set in the 2010-2014 strategic plan. The number of tuna exporters to Rep of Korea from 1993-2012 for fresh, frozen and preserved tuna was 35, 44 and 27 countries respectively. The number of exporters each year fluctuates and generally changes, only a few countries almost routinely export every year, such

as Indonesia, Australia, USA, Thailand, Philippines for fresh tuna; Indonesia, Japan, Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, USA, and Maldives for frozen tuna; and Japan, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, USA, Viet Nam and UE-27 for preserved tuna. Frozen tuna trade is more competitive than fresh and preserved tuna, with the market's tendency towards monopoly (fresh and preserved), while frozen tuna has begun to lead to oligopoly (hidayati, et al, 2015a).

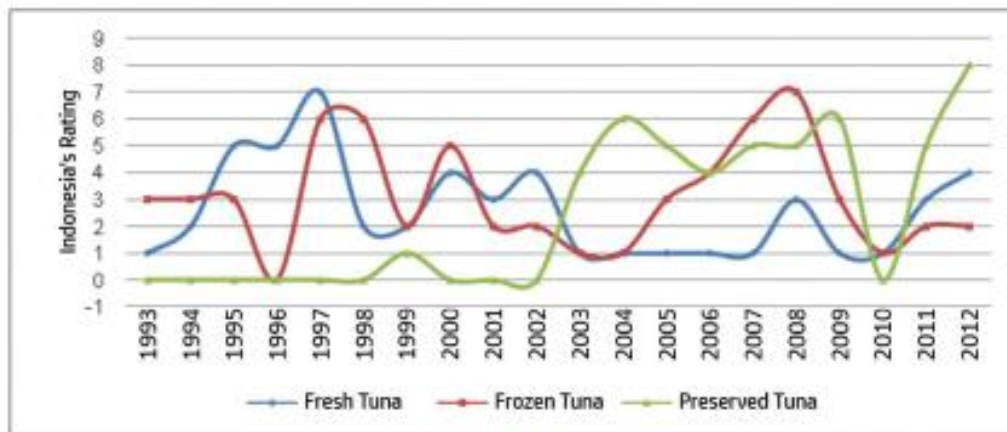


FIG. I

Indonesia's rating as an exporter of fresh, frozen and preserved tuna in the Rep of Korean market in 1993-2012 (UNComtrade, 2014 processed)

Description : rank 0 = no export

Indonesia exported to Rep of Korea regularly for fresh and frozen tuna starting in 1993 and preserved tuna began in 2003 (hidayati, 2014). Indonesia's ranking as an exporter of fresh and frozen tuna is better than preserved tuna. The main exporters from 2008-2012 for fresh tuna were UE-27, Spain, Indonesia, Australia, Greece, Myanmar,

Oman, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Malta and Fiji with a market share of 92.39% - 99.69%; frozen tuna are China, Indonesia, Japan, Fiji, Malta and Singapore with a market share of 69.32% - 86.21%; and preserved tuna are Japan, Thailand, USA, China, EU-27, Philippines and Viet Nam, with a market share of 91.76% - 97.85% (hidayati, 2016).

TABLE II

Market share (%) of Indonesian tuna in the Rep of Korean market in 1993-2012

Years	Market Share (%) of Indonesian Tuna				Exports Composition (%) of Indonesian Tuna			
	Total	Fresh	Frozen	Preserved	Total	Fresh	Frozen	Preserved
1993-2012	13.52	34.61	17.49	6.95	0.53	0.56	2.18	0.01
1993-2003	12.39	19.65	19.31	12.03	0.40	0.17	2.03	0.01
2004-2008	12.38	61.37	5.32	0.81	0.77	1.52	2.80	0.03
2009-2012	15.36	37.64	17.70	0.82	0.72	1.11	2.03	0.02

Source: UNComtrade, 2014 (processed)

The average export amount in 2004-2012 was still relatively small, at 0.70% of Indonesia's total tuna exports to the world, but showed an increasing trend (70.06%), and had a large role in the composition of Rep of Korean tuna imports (Table II). The Indonesian tuna market share in the Rep of Korean market fluctuated, with a positive market share growth trend of 2004-2012 (0.16).

Preserved tuna is the most traded type of tuna product in the world. The trade volume in

2012 was around 63.60% of the total world tuna trade (hidayati et al, 2015b). However, Indonesian tuna exports were mostly in the form of fresh and frozen tuna, with an average market share of 1993-2012 of 34.61% and 17.49%. The main competitors of the last 3 years are China (frozen tuna) and Spain, EU-27, Greece. In 2012, Indonesia's total export value was 14.32% of total world exports to South Korea, and ranked third after China and UE-27 (hidayati, et al, 2015a).

3.2. The Competitiveness of Indonesian Tuna

Based on the average value of RCA in 1993-2012, both in total and by product type (fresh, frozen, preserved), Indonesian tuna in the Rep of Korean market has high high power (Table III).

With consumers' demands on the quality of imported products, which are strictly implemented starting in 2004, Indonesian fresh and frozen tuna still have high competitiveness and preserved tuna has no competitiveness.

TABLE III
Average value of Indonesian tuna RCA in the Rep of Korean market in 1993-2012

Years	RCA Value			
	Total Tuna	Fresh Tuna	Frozen Tuna	Preserved Tuna
1993-2012	2.45	2.63	5.74	1.35
1993-2003	2.12	1.21	5.77	2.33
2004-2012	2.84	4.35	5.69	0.16
2004-2008	3.15	5.81	7.88	0.16
2009-2012	2.45	2.54	2.96	0.16

Source: UNComtrade, 2014 (processed)

3.3. State of Competitiveness of Indonesia Tuna

3.3.1. Trade Specialization Ratio (TSR) Approach

The Trade Specialization Ratio (TSR) analyzes the position of tuna fish in the framework of analysis of export and import of tuna fish products, so it is more outward looking, with a

range of -1 to +1. (Kusumastanto, 2008). Movement of index numbers illustrates the status of Indonesian tuna fish products in trade both domestically and export. TSR can describe the position of a country that tends to be an exporter or importer of a particular commodity.

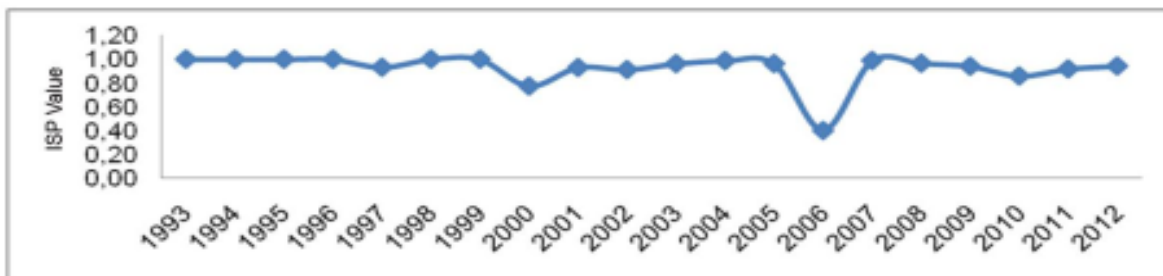


FIG. II

TSR value of Indonesian tuna (total) in the Rep of Korean market in 1993-2012 (UNComtrade, 2014 processed)

In addition, the TSR index can also be used to identify the growth rates of tuna fish products in trade. Based on the analysis framework, it can be known the level of maturity of a country's export products. In total Indonesia has strong competitiveness throughout 1993-2012 and at the stage leading to maturation (FIG. II). Based on tuna products, Indonesian fresh and frozen tuna in the Rep of Korean market has strong and established

competitiveness, which is indicated by the value of $TSR > 0$, and at the stage towards maturity, except in 2006 the value of frozen tuna TSR has decreased and at the growth stage/export expansion. The value of preserved tuna TSR fluctuated, in 2003-2009 the value of $TSR > 0$ which meant competitiveness, but in 2010-2012 the competitiveness of Indonesian preserved tuna declined (FIG. III).

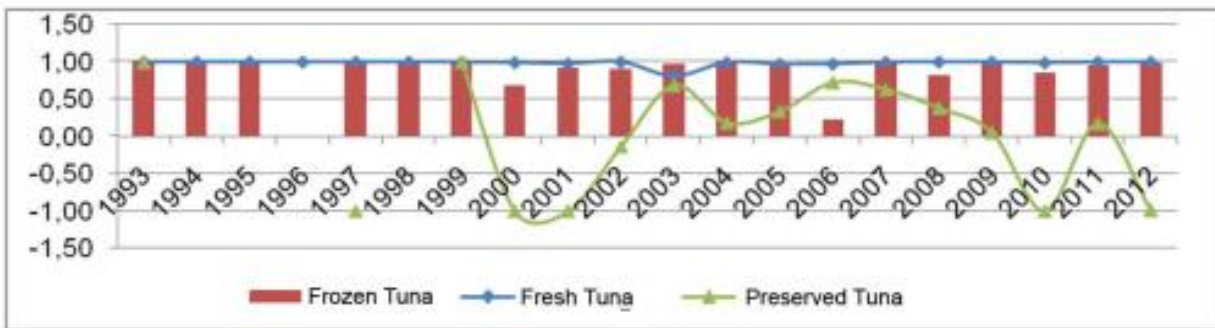


FIG III
TSR value of Indonesian fresh, frozen and preserved tuna in the Rep of Korean market in 1993-2012
(UNComtrade, 2014 processed)

3.3.2. Export Product Dynamics (EPD)

Approach

Rep of Korea's high import growth in the 2010-2012 period (70.56%) affected Indonesia's import share (15.06%). Although there was an export growth of 48% in the period of 2010-2012, the export share which was still relatively small compared to other exporters, so that Indonesia's competitiveness in the Rep of Korean market in that period was totally weak and hampered the tuna trade performance by 3.40% (Hidayati, et al, 2015a).

The Government sets out the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (Renstra) for 2010-2014 through Republic of Indonesia Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation Number Per. 06/MEN/2010, in one direction the policy is to increase the competitiveness and marketing of fishery products. Through EPD analysis (FIG IV), it can be seen that the competitive position of Indonesian tuna exports in 2010-2012 is frozen tuna, which is in the rising star position, while fresh and preserved tuna have lost the opportunity to compete again (lost opportunity).

However, according to Hidayati, et al (2015a) in the 2010-2012 period the competitiveness of Indonesian tuna is more due to the effect of specific competitiveness, namely exporting specific products to market-specific, which could potentially threaten the achievement of export targets in the event of shocks to exported products and instability the market.

4. CONCLUSION

Indonesia is a major exporter of fresh and frozen tuna with an average market share of 1993-2012 of 34.61% and 17.49%. Trade in frozen tuna is more competitive than fresh and preserved tuna. Fresh and frozen tuna are highly competitive while preserved tuna is not competitive. The position of competitiveness of fresh and frozen tuna in the stage of growth into maturity, preserved tuna fluctuates from the stage of growth to import substitution. In the period 2010-2012, frozen tuna was in the rising star position, while fresh and preserved tuna are in lost opportunity. Indonesian frozen tuna in the Rep of Korean market is more competitive than fresh and preserved tuna.

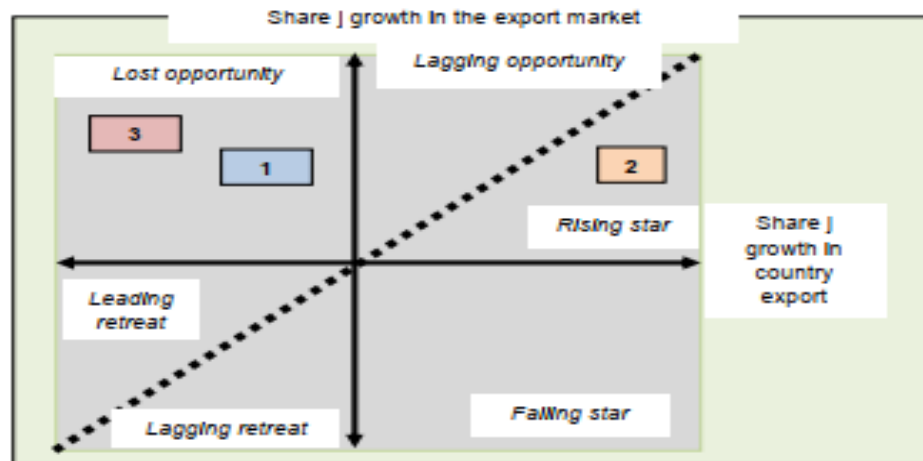


FIG. IV
State of competitiveness of Indonesian fresh, frozen, preserved tuna
In Rep of Korean Market in 2010-2012 (UNComtrade, 2014 processed)
 Remarks: 1 = fresh tuna, 2 = frozen tuna, 3 = preserved tuna

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INITIATING SCHOOL CHANGE TOWARD SUSTAINABLE IMPROVEMENT

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Abstract

The accountability of the systemic reform initiatives may not likely result in a way as it is expected. This might be the result of improvement evaporation effect that occurs when the existing operational system does not change (Buchanan et al., in Swartling, 2013). An idea of change is becoming prominent. There have been some empirical evidences that support the effect of school culture toward school improvement. In this study, a consolidated framework is established to extend the body of literature about school culture, school change and sustainable improvement throughout the implementation of Institutional Culture Responsive to Research.

Keywords: *Institutional Culture Responsive to Research; School Change; School Culture; School Leaders; Sustainable Improvement.*

1. INTRODUCTION

By implementing school improvement plan and evidence-based support such as standard-based reform, local educational agencies focus on the improvement of students in academics, giving emphasis on how much students have learnt from what schools have already taught (Sclafani in Fusarelli, 2002) and rely on assumption that the problem lie on students' performance (McDonald, 2011). However there exists some problematic case where people are dismayed with the progress due to insignificant change (McDonald, 2011, p

19). Unfortunately, when the existing programs do not meet expectancy or fall below standard, policymakers tend to respond by replacing the old program with the latest one (McDonald, 2011, p. 18), and adding more extra supplements into the same-old constructed policy (Naslund in Swartling, 2013), creating a cycle without actually making real movement.

Since systemic reform initiative works by shifting the focus from the improvement process the improvement outcome (Fusarelli, 2002). It dismisses the importance of the operational system improvement, which likely turn the system into obsolete as the time changes. If this problem is not well-attended, the problems are likely not ended. Therefore, considering the sustainable improvement (SI) as solution can be the way to go. It engages a mechanism that is continuously propelling to move the organizational system forward and prevent it from becoming old and obsolete (Swartling, 2013). The SI mechanism works on basis of two orders: 1) system-created improvement, and 2) the improvement of system (Poksinska et.al. in Swartling, 2013), letting the system to focus on the improvement of outcome and the improvement of system. Not only focusing on the input (process) but also considering the output standards. As the mechanism of SI is continuously evolving, the factors of SI such as culture, organization, leadership, context, politics and timing, learning instruction, parents & community works, relationship and professional

capacity of teachers (Kaplan & Owings, 2013) are interacting each other (Swartling, 2013).

SI prevents organization to handle the same problems over and over despite of many efforts have been used. This creates long-term impacts even though the program and additional resources to support the program is no longer exist or getting budget cut (Slegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013). Therefore sustainability is an important factor when conducting innovation, particularly during planning and implementation. (Slegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013). In autonomous organization, a team can make improvement even though having few dedicated members with excellent attitude toward innovation regardless any difficulties that might be encountering. They are motivated by small success and are able to identify and create progress (McDonald, 2011, p 12).

2. METHODS

In this paper, a consolidated framework is employed to establish the body of literature about school culture, school change and sustainable improvement throughout the implementation of Institutional Culture Responsive to Research. The writers collected article journals related to Sustainable improvement using two effective techniques. First, we searched for studies published from 2002 to 2018 which mostly come from Google Scholar. To filter out the search, we use some keyterms, including: Institutional culture responsive to research; school change; school culture; school leaders; sustainable improvement. Second, we conducted manual examination based on references of related studies in order to collect some articles that were missed out by database searches.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 The Role of Sustainable Improvement in School Organization

In the healthcare system, the sustainable improvement is on the early development (Slegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013) where additional times and efforts are needed to develop

more well-established sustainability system. As both education and health system are related to human behavior, it is likely possible to have sustainable improvement in education as well. According to NHS Modernization Agency, SI is a condition that reflects continuous improvement propelled by steady mechanism of change in the aspects of thinking, attitude, processes, system and outcomes. All these integrated factors are interacting each other within specific system.

Instead of making comprehensive replacement of the old system, it goes by providing segmented changes (by appreciating small changes) that are integrated into massive, everlasting and continuous improvement (Swartling, 2013). This strategy is sensible because expecting an existing organization to comprehensively change may be too overwhelming as resistant groups within the organization will hinder or restrict the innovation (McDonald, 2011, p 12). Therefore, we need to learn about existing school culture to identify school agent, resistor and passive majority in the organization for taking better strategy.

3.2 School Culture as an opening gate to sustainable improvement

Within the frame of school culture, it is possible to divide comprehensive improvement into a unified system of small changes which may be more reasonable than creating a massive change. The system enables the quality of performance. No matter how excellent the individuals within organization, if not supported by excellent systems and performance evaluation, it will not lead to improvement (Slegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013). Therefore in order to have sustainable improvement we need to change the culture of school since it gives impact on sustainability (Buchanan in Swartling, 2013).

To establish the mechanism of SI and understand the performance of organization, we need to consider the values of school culture to tell us how to redesign schools (Harris in Myers,

2009), to recognize resistant factors toward the direction of change (Myers, 2009), to establish connection between social current demands and schools (Manley and Hawkins in DeNicola, 2015), to understand how the school functions and how they should respond (Kaplan & Owings, 2013), to make decision either to maintain or to make new adjustment toward new policies (Myers, 2009). The information derived from the school culture evaluation gives important information on which further strategies should be taken.

School culture provides information on which directions schools are heading and what kind of resistant that might become barriers (Myers, 2009; Manley and Hawkins in DeNicola, 2015). We can find information to which group in organization is more dominant than others and which group is going to accept or resist the change. After the resistant factors identified, we can seek out solutions to reduce the resistant forces in favor of change agents (Myers, 2009). As for each organization, there are three types of individuals that are always interacting each other, inflicting agreement or disagreement within organization. Those three types are: 1) change agents, 2) resistors, and 3) passive majority. The resistors will hinder or restrict innovative movement from newcomers that result in far from the expected goals. And by letting the staff involved and encourage their creative minds, it will develop more desirable result if compared to the conventional one (McDonald, 2011, p 12). On the other hand, the role of passive majority is to decide which one they mostly favor, that finally create direction toward way the organization is heading (Keller, 2007).

School culture is not about how members agree or disagree with common rules which are embedded into the organizations, but how the common rules become visible and represent schools' performance through the perceptions and beliefs of any members (Kaplan & Owings, 2013). The perceptions toward school cultures provide measurable data that allows school leaders, school

teachers and administrative staff to understand what is going on in the schools. Even, these allow researchers to capture information about human behaviors, facilities, technology and art that schools have provided (Kaplan & Owings, 2013).

Values of organizational cultures should be understood very well in order to create sustainable improvement. First by engaging a question whether the program currently working aligned with existing organizational culture and second, whether the program goals are clear and reach out all levels of society in the organization. To ensure this going well, leaders are needed to encourage the positive atmosphere that make the staff, teacher and leader believe their own capacity to the success of program and how the employees react to the new policy is important whether they support, resist or just ignore it. (Sleegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013).

3.3 The role of school leaders toward sustainable improvement

Despite of school culture, leadership plays a big role in the implementation of SI (Keller, 2007; Schein in Swartling, 2013). The high-quality leaders that show enthusiasm and make attempts to propel and to motivate the change agents and reduce forces of resistant agents can create considerable impact on the success of new program. Their focus on the dynamics between change and resistant agents will influence passive majority to take a side to which they mostly agree. When the change agents grow stronger, the resistors are no longer blocking the movement and allow it to make change. Leaders contribute to the success of improvement by getting rid of any barriers and putting priorities to be aligned with the shared goals. They make sure that the shared goals are being discussed (“Implementing and sustaining changes”, 2013) with all members of organization since some of them may not understand why changes are required. (“Implementing and sustaining changes”, 2013).

In order to successfully lead schools, principals need to reculture the school (Leithwood in McKinney et.al., 2015). They need to change the mindset of staff by initiating change of behavior, thinking and attitude and consider small change as a routine task (Swartling, 2013). Building personal interaction with teachers is a way to create strong impact on the instruction and learning which subsequently creates conducive school culture that promote both social and academic growth (Deal and Peterson in McKinney et.al., 2015). The role of change agents is needed to support the improvement program. Their initiatives may provide stronger impacts on people's behaviors and pave the slow progress toward sustainability (Manning, 2009). The leadership role creates positive school culture that subsequently affect student achievement. (Marzano, Waters, and McNulty in Troutman, 2012).

According to Nettles & Herrington in McKinney et.al. (2015), successful principals take the lead by investing on professional development programs. This is portrayed by mutual respect, mentoring and collaborative networking which are used by the transformative leader to motivate their followers to create better outcomes, particularly in student achievement (Burns in McKinney et.al., 2015). High performing school leaders could improve student outcomes by enforcing their innate ability to reform and encourage of better teaching and learning practices by promoting trust in school culture and encourage community involvement (Nystrand in McKinney et.al., 2015). By setting an exemplary through actions, principals are expected to be a catalyst of school cultural change (Leech in McKinney et.al., 2015).

Transformational leadership help their followers to understand their moral obligation toward organization and lead them by example. Their traits are important to create positive school change. They empower by uplifting, inspiring, and mobilizing their followers. That is why, transformational leadership can be a preferred style to implement SI. They are prominent agents of

change that envision what kind of school they want to create (vision) and lead the followers by exemplary (modeling behavior) (Barnett & McCormick, 2004). The school leaders are not directly implementing new policies but expecting both teachers and staff to have school environment analyzed and scrutinized before making decision of which strategy of teaching and require staff members to be included in an endeavor of professional development. (Teddie and Reynolds in McKinney et.al., 2015). In the research conducted by Maher in 2000, the relationship between leadership and student achievement is statistically significant. This is interesting that to school leaders actually bring impact on student outcome, even though the relationship is not direct and mediated by school culture as mediating factor impacting the student outcome. The relationship between leadership and culture is strongly correlated with it comes to organizational culture and micro culture, but turns to be less obvious among subcultures (Swartling, 2013)

3.4 Positive factors promoting Sustainable Improvement (SI)

Some factors that contribute to sustainable improvement are organized within three types: 1) staff, 2) organization and 3) process. (Slegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013). The interaction among factors propel the mechanism of SI (as seen on figure 1). Within the category of staff, there are three factors working under this category, as follow:

- **Engagement** : Sustainable changes are not made against the will of staff, instead they should be part of staff ideas that are invited to contribute onto the planning. They are encouraged to participate and make decision whether the improvement is worth a try. They are appreciated and recognized as what they contribute into. The staff are encouraged to strive in.
- **Education** : To make successful innovation, staff are ensured to obtain implementation

support and education as it is important to make sure they understand things required within the innovative project. It is better if the training is not done only at once, but should be conducted continually. Including regular meetings among staff, online platform serving collaboration, etc.

- Leadership : Leaders’ support gives paramount effect to the success of innovation. They make sure funding are secure enough to implement the innovation, to give support on staff, to hire new staff, to ensure performance aligned with accountability, to actively encourage to gain public recognition for the success and to design a planning for sustaining innovation in the future

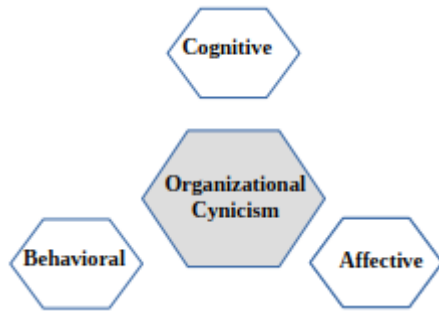


Figure 1.

Factors contributing to Sustainable Improvement (SI), adopted from “Changing classroom practices: The role of school-wide capacity for sustainable improvement,” by P.J. Slegers, E.E. Thoonen, F.J. Oort, & T.T. Peetsma, 2013, *Journal of Educational Administration*, 52, p. 617-652.

Besides all these three factors, the infrastructure is also another thing to consider. It ensures there is no way back to old method and point up innovation through technologies, structures and environments. On top of that, policies and procedures that support innovation are developed a long with educated staff, facilities and necessary equipment. (Slegers, Thoonen, Oort, & Peetsma, 2013).

3.5 Negative Factors threatening Sustainable Improvement

In order to create a sustainable improvement, the school organization must be aware and able to detect the existence of negative factors that may threaten the continuous efforts of improvement in the school systems.

- The organizational cynicism

In a complicated situation, teachers may be affected by organizational cynicism. This unhealthy emotion leads to negative attitude toward school organization. This cynicism works in three dimensions: cognitive, behavioral and affective (Abraham in Karadag, et.al., 2014) as seen in figure 2:



Figure 2.

Three dimensions of organizational cynicism, adopted from “Organizational cynicism, school culture, and academic achievement: The study of structural equation modeling,” by E. Karadag, G. Kilicoglu & D. Yilmaz, 2014, *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, 14, p. 102-113.

The organizational cynicism influences teachers in three dimensions. In cognitive dimensions, teachers have belief that the school organization has lack of integrity and subsequently leads to negative emotional impact (affective dimension) and leads to tendency of exhibiting negative behaviors, responding to innate negative cognitive and affective dimension (behavioral dimension) (Abraham in Karadag, et.al., 2014). Examples of behavioral dimensions influenced by organizational cynicism can be seen from teachers’ complaints, work absences, high tension of workplace, arrogant attitudes, and turnover intentions (Goodman, & Davis in in Karadag, et.al., 2014). In most cases, the presence of organizational

cynicism leads to negative impacts on organization. It brings no intention other than harming the organization and to the worse impacts, make the organization more vulnerable and less productive.

The following are some risks of organizational cynicism:

1. Risky organizational norms and welfare (Robinson & Bennett in Karadag, et.al., 2014)
2. Negative affects important component of school culture i.e., school norms, beliefs, values and traditions (Karadag, Kilicoglu, & Yilmaz, 2014)
3. Non-professional behavior (Nair & Kamalanabhan in Karadag, et.al., 2014)
4. Alienation, feeling isolated in the organization (Abraham in Karadag, et.al., 2014)
5. emotional burnout (Johnson & Q'Leary-Kelly in Karadag, et.al., 2014)
6. change resistance (Stanley et al in Karadag, et.al., 2014)

As perceptions of teachers' organizational cynicism increasing, the perception of school culture and academic achievement decreasing. Meanwhile, the increase of teachers' perception on school culture increase academic achievement (Karadag, Kilicoglu, & Yilmaz, 2014). When teachers suffer organizational cynicism, this may bring effect on their teaching performance as they are not sure with students' ability to achieve minimum standards set by schools. As a result teacher having low performance (Karadag, Kilicoglu, & Yilmaz, 2014).

Teachers' perception may predict their skepticism to the implementation of plans, pessimism toward policies & goals of schools, negative belief toward schools. As a result, they may question the leadership skill of school leaders and resist change within organization (Stanley in Karadag, et.al., 2014). The effect of organizational cynicism makes teachers feel pessimist and may be questioning leadership skill of school leaders. This

cynicism may likely result in the resistance of change within organization (Stanley in Karadag, et.al., 2014). The collaboration of teachers has proven to bring significant impact on the community of school, shared goals of attaining achievement and the school culture (Hofman and Dijkstra, 2010)

- The inconsistency of leadership style

If teachers perceive the inconsistency of leadership style, it would bring effect on the redundancy of teacher moral (Kelley, Thornton and Daugherty in McKinney et.al., 2015). The inconsistency of leadership style does not secure the need of teachers to be supported and stimulated. (Kelley, Thornton and Daugherty in McKinney et.al., 2015). Teachers expect cultural environment to create academic growth, instead.

3.6 Institutional Culture Responsive to Research

This approach allows schools to focus on both the process and outcome, resembling the characteristics of sustainable improvement. The reason why cultivating research culture is important for school improvement is that it can be considered as systematic approach (Godfrey, 2016) and provide more substantial benefits rather than providing enquiry as an important tool for identifying errors and making improvement based on the identified errors in the organization (Collinson & Cook in Godfrey, 2016).

While teachers spend some portion of the time for research, the academic achievement seems to be influenced by the teacher research activities and bring impacts on the teaching and learning practices. Getting involved into research, teachers have a time for making reflection on their activities and how they are interpreted in the view of empirical evidence, focusing on the improvement of system, innovation in the operational setting. Without enough knowledge what is going on with the school and what makes the problem, teachers continue to complain and say something sad to

unresolved problems. Therefore we need data to break it down and allow us gain information in which part to improve. This lack of information due to lack of data on schools make teachers tend to focus on evaluating student performance as individuals rather than figuring out how to improve the school performance (Ford, 2008). The benefits of generating information from the data is that teachers should use this information to help them find better strategies, instead of using the same strategy over and over again. (Ford, 2008).

Focusing on what students can do, rather than what children are unable to do or do not know, particularly based on evaluation from testing, tend to be less efficient and less impact of activities of students learning. Vice versa, talking about what students can do may create high efficient activities to improve student learning (Ford, 2008). It becomes the best reason why we need to change teachers' attitude and to reduce teacher cynicism. Focusing on something negative rather than positive, focusing on what they cannot do rather than what students can do. When there is a gap between what schools has taught and what really needs to be taught, there will be a discrepancy between what students have learned and what employers actually need. As a result, students are not ready to face tough competition in a real world.

An idea of considering shifting the culture to improve the self-efficacy, autonomy and job satisfaction of teachers is now gaining attention and it is helpful to bolster the effect of policy implementation on the school context (Tschannen-Moran & Tschannen-Moran in DeNicola, 2015). Among other strategies that are possible to improve teaching and learning system, (DuFour and Mattos in DeNicola, 2015; Rhodes et al. in McKinney, Labat, & Labat, 2015) believe that establishing such positive culture with collaborative actions and collective responsibility among professional learning community is the most influential one.

We should take an example of high performing schools that always innovate in their operational system. Lezotte & Synder in McKinney et.al (2015) mentioned that high performing school have a principal that continually analyze and examine the progress of students' outcome. They can handle inevitable change and create this adversity toward school development (Harris in Myers, 2009). They also display characteristics of positive and goal oriented school culture (McLaughlin in DeNicola, 2015).

4. CONCLUSION

All in all, being aware of the school culture is effective to help students aware their existence in school organization, learn how school culture expect them to have interaction based on values embedded on the school culture, and how students have interaction with their surroundings (Lindsey et.al. in Myers, 2009). Also this helps teachers to understand what is considered the most effective practice for curriculum and assessment (Kaplan & Owings, 2013). Having lack of opportunity to experience supportive and conducive school culture may risk students' opportunity to achieve excellent academic performance (Rhodes et al. in McKinney et.al., 2015).

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COLLABORATIVE PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN INDONESIAN NATURAL DISASTER MITIGATION

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Abstract

This Paper discusses the Collaborative Public Management as new strategy in Indonesian Natural Disaster Mitigation. Natural Disaster Mitigation in Indonesia has not become a priority whereas it has a big impact on development. This study aims to analyze Collaborative Public Management can be an alternative policy for disaster mitigation in Indonesia. The study uses a review of literature research method. Research result showed that the government does not have a mindset that mitigation becomes an investment in development so that disaster mitigation has not become a priority. Collaborative Public Management can be an alternative solution for disaster mitigation problems in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Collaborative Public Management, Disaster Management, Natural Disaster Mitigation, Development*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an archipelago state that placed of three tectonic plates namely the Euro-Asia plate in the North, the Indo Australia plate in the South, and the Pacific Ocean plate in the East. Countries affected by disasters such as floods, tornadoes and droughts (Center for Disaster Mitigation ITB, 2008 in Raharja, Wibowo, Faisal Grahadi, Riski Ningsih and Machdum, 2016). Characteristics of the

territory of Indonesia as the Ring of Fire and also make the Indonesia troubled to natural disasters such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions that lead to the basin of the Pacific Ocean. Almost all islands in Indonesia are epicenter points of the earthquake.

The Meteorology, Climatology and Geophysics Agency (BMKG) noted that recently in 2018 there were 5000-6000 earthquakes, but those felt were above 5 SR as many as 366 times each year. The data shows the type of disaster, the number of incident and risks caused by natural disasters in the last 10 years:

TABLE I
Natural Disaster Data, 2008-2018

Type of Disaster	Number of Incident	Risk (Died and Lose)	Risk (Wound)	Risk (Evacuate)
Flood	7.167	2.419	106.456	23.063.209
Landslide	4.446	1.838	1.889	236.912
Abrasion	236	77	36	41.346
Tornado	5.581	357	2.750	167.485
Drought	932	2	0	4.014.813
Forest Fires	659	31	370	442.867
Earthquake	166	1.527	9.187	468.247
Tsunami	7	515	507	15.420
Eruption	66	432	2.291	979.204
Total	19.260	7.198	123.456	29.429.503

Source: *Data Informasi Bencana Indonesia (DIBI)*. <http://bnpb.cloud/dibi/tabel1a>. Accessed on October 5, 2018

National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) Data, clearly shows the number of types of natural disasters in Indonesia, the intensity of occurrence and the risks posed by both casualties,

housing damage and various public facilities and losses caused by natural disasters that occur.

The worst history was recorded in 2004, after the tsunami that occurred in Asia including Indonesia which killed more than 120,000 people. the incident was the beginning of the commitment of the international community to make efforts to reduce disaster risk or disaster mitigation (Coppola, 2006 in Namira, 2015). The need for serious disaster mitigation considering there are disasters that cannot be avoided, but the impact can be reduced by disaster risk reduction carried out through disaster mitigation.

Long before that since the late 1990s, the world increasingly recognized the need to "mainstream" disaster risk reduction into development, namely by considering and paying attention to natural disaster risk in developing strategic frameworks and medium-term institutional structures, state and sectoral strategies and policies and in project design in disaster-prone countries (Benson et al., 2007 in Nurhabibi, Dharmastuti and Arida, 2016). Therefore disaster mitigation must be a priority in development by various stakeholders. Not only the government is responsible for disaster mitigation, but also other elements in this case the private sector, academics, and civil society. For this reason Collaborative Public Management is needed in Indonesian Natural Disaster Mitigation

2. METHODS

This study uses Literature Review as the main research method. The data used in this study was obtained by analyzing journals that have the same focus of study with this study in this case the journal on Collaborative Public Management and Disaster Mitigation. The Literature Review process in this study uses the Snowball technique where the author searches for interrelated journals from the previous journal in accordance with the main theme of this research.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Understanding Collaborative Public Management

“Collaborative public management is a concept that describes the process of facilitating and operating in multiorganizational arrangements in order to remedy problems that cannot be solved — or solved easily — by single organizations” (Mcguire 2003).

One problem that cannot be easily resolved by an organization is the problem of disaster mitigation, because mitigation is no longer seen only through technical solutions, but it is needed a multidisciplinary approach through the involvement of many different parties such as the community (Nagasaka, 2008) as social capital (for example, strong ties, networks, and trust) among people are considered as the main factors to support the functioning of community resilience well during disasters (Murphy, 2007; Shaw & Goda, 2004, in Matsuoka et al., 2015) Similarly, (Kettl 1996) argues that the most important changes in the administrative functions of the last century have increased interdependence between public organizations, which have changed the work of general administrators, who have to build relationships with other agencies and parties.

When discussing Collaborative Public Management is closely related to how this process can work and what capabilities are needed to be able to effectively implement this concept so that this study will discuss more about Collaborative Structure and Collaborative Management Skills. Both are important factors in realizing Collaborative Public Management ideas on various issues.

Collaborative Structure in the context of Collaborative Public Management is a type of "Interorganizational Innovation" according to Mandell and Steelman (2003) where the first model is a pattern of coordination that occurs when policies and procedures in two or more organizations are mutually adjusted to achieve goals. Interactions that occur require strong commitment from each other. For example Disaster Mitigation is one problem where coordination

between organizations is needed. The second model is the Temporary Task Force that needs to be formed to be able to work on a specific objective that is limited and can be dissolved when that goal is achieved. This aims to overcome limited resources. The third model is Permanent or Regular Coordination. Coordination occurs when several organizations agree to engage in limited activities to achieve specific goals through a formal series. In the case of disaster mitigation in Indonesia, it is more appropriate to use this third model considering the geographical conditions of Indonesia that make Indonesia troubled to natural disasters.

Agranoff (2003) shows in "Study of 12 In Various Policy Areas Networks" that four different types of networks can be described by the scope of activities in a network. Information networks involve various stakeholders who come together for the purpose of sharing information and exploring solutions to problems or having a series of problems. The development of networks involves information combined with education that increases the ability of organizational members to implement solutions to individual organizations and not at the network level.

Network coverage is not only for exchanging information and increasing administrative capacity of members but also "carving out programming strategies for clients (for example, package funding, technology can be used) carried out elsewhere, usually by partner organizations. The most extensive type of network known as "Action Network." "This combination of hierarchies and collaborative networks is also present in emergency management. The network or task force is operated much like a collaborative arrangement described by Mandell and Steelman (2003), because usually in emergency conditions it still does it in the context of a command or top-down system. The Emergency Response Task Force takes the form of a coordinated hierarchy, indicating the existence of "hierarchical networks" (Moynihan 2005).

In addition Collaborative Structure is also needed Collaborative Management Skill. Collaborative Public Management must be supported by the right human resources with the ability, knowledge, information, expertise, experience, and legal authority to support the form of collaboration in achieving its objectives effectively and efficiently. One important criterion for determining someone who has the ability to collaborate is to find resources owned by other organizations that collaborate. A study revealed one step to expand engagement also through "Recruiting Potential Members" (Agranoff 2003).

Strategic planning by the parties in collaboration is an important way to develop overall collaborative goals and framework. This behavioral mobilization of a manager is intended to induce commitment in joint ventures and build support from key players and those directly involved (Innes and Booher 1999). Similar themes emerged from Goldsmith and Eggers's (2004) looking at "Governing by The Networks" which observed that some of the main capabilities in collaboration were network management, Big-Picture Thinking, Coaching, Mediation, Negotiation, Strategic Thinking, Interpersonal Communications, and Team Building.

In addition, the important role of collaborative managers is to build trust in relation to fostering Collaborative Management Skills. In general, it is accepted that despite the lack of law, the partnership in this collaboration will still work together because of trust (Agranoff and McGuire 2001b). Some studies suggest that the success of collaboration depends on collaborators trusting other organizations, even trusting each individual (Zaheer, McEvily, and Perrone 1998), while others conclude that trust is based on positive expectations about each member's behavior in cooperation (Ferguson, Dickens, and William T. 1999).

3.2 Disaster Mitigation and Principles of Collaboration

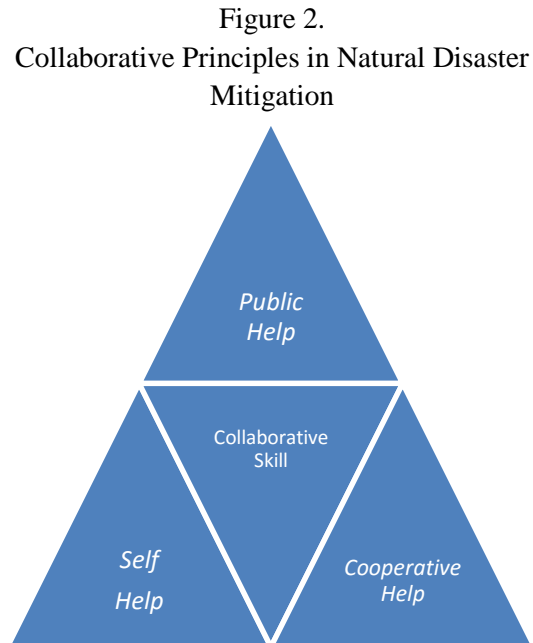
Disaster mitigation is a social activity; a management strategy that balances current actions and expenditures with potential losses from future hazard occurrences (Weichselgartner 2001). Mitigation according to Coppola (2006) is divided into two types, structural mitigation and non-structural mitigation. Structural mitigation is defined as something related to construction, technical expertise, or other mechanical changes in reducing the risk of the consequences / potential hazards. While non-structural mitigation is defined as a reduction in risk from the possibility / consequences through modification of human habits or natural processes, without involving the use of structural engineering expertise.

In this paper only the non-structural mitigation is explained. Non-structural mitigation itself is defined by Coppola (2006), an effort to reduce the possibility / consequences of risk through changes in human habits or natural processes, without involving the use of structural engineering skills.

Non-structural mitigation techniques are often used mechanisms where humans adapt to nature. This makes non-structural mitigation a small cost and quite easy to do for people who have minimal finance and resources. According to Coppola, there are several types of non-structural mitigation, namely regulatory regulations, public awareness and education programs/community awareness and education programs, non-structural physical/ nonstructural physical changes, environmental controls, and behavioral modification.

To be able to realize non-structural disaster mitigation activities, collaboration from many parties is needed. There are 2 (two) factors that can support disaster mitigation effectively. The first factor is the level of community participation in the community or within the organization, and the second factor is the relationship between the parties related to the government. This factor will be realized if each party has the principles of

collaboration in disaster mitigation. The collaboration principle in question is shown in Figure 2 below:



Source: Adapted by Principle Behind Bokomi System, Kobe City, Jepang

Collaborative Skill has an important role in disaster mitigation, namely the ability of Big-Picture Thinking, Coaching, Mediation, Negotiation, Strategic Thinking, Interpersonal Communications, and Team Building. This capability will help realize the Self Help, Cooperative Help and Public Help principles in disaster mitigation.

The principle of Self Help is the principle where a person or individual has preparation and protection for themselves before a disaster occurs. The Cooperative Help principle is the principle by which local communities can work together to prepare a structure and prepare needs at the local level before a disaster occurs, and The Third Principle, Public Help is a principle that emphasizes that the government provides support and rules to strengthen the principle of collaboration in disaster mitigation that can support capacity and ongoing contributions from all initiatives of the parties collaborating in disaster mitigation.

3.3 Disaster Mitigation as Development Investment

Disaster mitigation is has not been a priority. In general, the community and government are not ready to face major disasters. Even though disaster mitigation should be done as an investment in development, because Indonesia is a region vulnerable to natural disasters, development must be adjusted to the conditions of the threat. A dollar invested in disaster mitigation activities will be able to reduce economic losses from 700 USD - 4000USD.

After the Aceh Tsunami, disaster knowledge began increase but it has not yet become the attitude, behavior and culture of people who are vulnerable to the threat of natural disasters in Indonesia. For example, the earthquake and tsunami will definitely repeat itself in a certain time but then after the disaster and tsunami, the development is still done in the same location as the building structure that has not based on disaster standards. Many housing estates are built on fault areas, meaning that spatial planning has not been integrated with data from areas that are safe from the threat of disaster.

Researcher as the first Doctor of Geology from the Institute Teknologi Bandung (ITB), JA Katili has shown many times since 1970 in Indonesia that are vulnerable to earthquakes and tsunami, but at that time studies on disaster were still limited. One of the earthquake source areas that Katili is concerned about the Palu, Central Sulawesi Province City because it is at the end of the fault and is located in a pull basin as well (Katili 2007). The research was later ignored by the Government, as evidenced by still choosing Palu as the Capital of Central Sulawesi Province since 1978.

Other studies have shown that the high frequency of earthquakes and tsunami that recorded the Makassar Strait including the Palu bay has been hit by the tsunami up to 18 times since 1800 and is the most tsunami tragedy in Indonesia (Prasetya, 2001). Compared to the previous

incident, the tsunami that hit the Palu was relatively small, namely in 1968, a 7.4 M earthquake triggered a 10-meter tsunami with 200 people killed, but in 2018 there were 1558 lives. the surge in casualties was caused by the increase in population density of Palu, especially those inhabiting vulnerable areas of liquefaction.

This shows that disaster mitigation in Indonesia has not been used by local governments who vulnerable disaster. The local government should be able to allocate a minimum of 1% of its local governments funds (APBD) to be invested in disaster mitigation programs, so far only 0.002% of the local governments funds have been allocated for disaster mitigation. Laws needed for socialization, logistics management for resilient communities ready to face disasters.

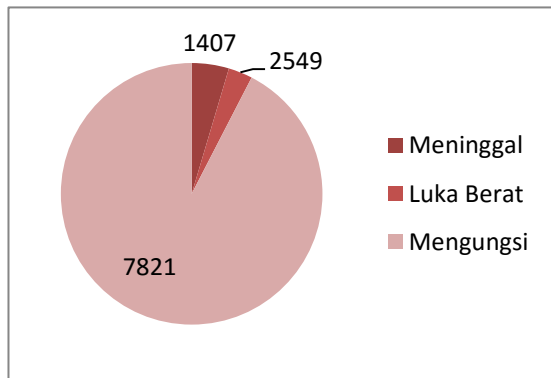
Besides that, the budget is also needed to buy tsunami detection device which makes it possible to find all parts of Indonesia 6 million km², which requires a minimum of 1000 early detection devices of speed and accuracy to increase. It also requires special satellites for social networks not to change when a disaster occurs. Therefore the principles of mitigation as an investment in development are part of the stakeholders known as the Collaborative Public Management theory.

3.4 The Challenges of Mitigation Disaster in Indonesia

The disaster management cycle consists of four stages, namely prevention / mitigation, preparedness, emergency response, and post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction. In the mitigation phase, actions are taken to prevent or reduce the impact of disasters. The mitigation phase focuses on long-term actions to reduce disaster risk (Namira 2015). According to Law Number 24 of 2017 concerning Disaster Management, Mitigation is a series of efforts to reduce disaster risk, both through physical development and awareness and capacity building in the face of disaster threats.

The problem that often occurs is the problem of disaster mitigation in Indonesia, as evidenced by the latest data from victims of the earthquake and tsunami that occurred in Central Sulawesi, 2018:

Figure 3.
Victims of The Earthquake and Tsunami, Central Sulawesi



Source: *Research and Development Kompas*, 2018

The number of victims is estimated to increase because many victims have not been identified and buried by collapsed buildings and many areas have not been reached by The Rescue Team.

The data shows that there is no effort to reduce disaster risk, both through physical development and awareness and capacity building in the face of disaster threats. So that there is a risk of disaster where there are many losses caused by death, injury, illness, life threatening, loss of security, displacement, damage or loss of property, and disruption of community activities.

In the perspective of natural disaster mitigation a change of mind is needed where more social aspects are compared to the physical approach. The approach must be proactive rather than reactive actions. For example, some actions focus more on the internal structure of the community compared to external forces. Reducing vulnerability to disasters must be integrated as part of ongoing policies and programs. Policies and programs must be constantly examined, evaluated and modified (Weichselgartner 2001).

The establishment of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) and the Local Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) in order to increase capacity in Indonesia, evident from the main tasks and functions that exist in the integrated. also handling disasters and emergencies starting from pra, during and after a disaster which includes prevention, preparedness, emergency handling, and recovery. BNPB based on Act Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management and Presidential Regulation Number 8 of 2008.

In carrying out BNPB duties and functions is still constrained in disaster mitigation properly. In accordance with Law No. 24 of 2007 that the principles in disaster management as referred to in Article 2, namely fast and appropriate, priority, coordination and integration, are efficient and effective, transparency and accountability, partnership, empowerment, non-discrimination and non-proletariat . So that the active role of all parties is needed to be able to solve this disaster mitigation problem.

The National Disaster Management Agency consists of disaster management directors and disaster management implementers. Membership of the steering element consists of relevant government officials and members of the professional community. Whereas the membership of the implementing element consists of professionals and experts. Disaster mitigation can be done effectively if the community knows its rights and responsibility, especially those who are vulnerable to disasters.

Disaster vulnerable communities have the right to obtain social protection and security, obtain education, training and skills in the implementation of disaster mitigation, obtain written information and / or verbally about disaster mitigation policies, participate in the planning, operation and maintenance of health service assistance programs. including psychosocial support, participating in decision making on disaster mitigation activities, especially those relating to themselves

and their communities and conducting supervision in accordance with the mechanism regulated in the implementation of disaster mitigation.

The public service is to maintain a harmonious social life of the community, maintain balance, harmony and preservation of environmental functions, conduct disaster mitigation activities, and provide correct information to the public about disaster mitigation. At a minimum, the public knows and is finally aware of their rights and responsibility with the participation of the public, the private sector and academics so that disaster mitigation activities can be realized including through the implementation of spatial planning, development arrangements, infrastructure development, building arrangements and the provision of education conventional and modern about disaster.

Disaster is an incident that threatens and disrupts people's lives caused by natural and human factors, resulting in the emergence of casualties and property. So far, disaster mitigation efforts have been carried out by the government to reduce risks not yet optimal. As a result, in the event of a disaster, people have not been able to handle it themselves.

This fact is because the disaster vulnerable areas of society do not have the knowledge to handle disasters. Earthquake and tsunami disaster risk management in which is a regulation of disaster management efforts with emphasis on factors that reduce risk in a planned, coordinated, integrated and comprehensive manner prior to the occurrence of the disaster, requires multi-party involvement and community participation.

With greater involvement they will be able to increase capacity in minimizing the risk of natural disasters. Earthquake and tsunami risk management must be carried out with an educational approach from various parties in an effort to overcome the disaster. Through this approach it is hoped that the community can simultaneously gain knowledge about natural disasters, understand the attitudes that will be taken in the event of a disaster

and always apply preparedness to natural disasters (Triana, Widyarto, and Sarwidi 2015).

3.5 Collaborative Public Management in Indonesian Natural Disaster Mitigation: as Alternative Solution

The collaboration needs to be done by investing and innovating to enable all parties, including government, private sector, academics and the community from the community and household levels in disaster mitigation. In Collaborative Structure, the Government, both the central government and local governments, has a clear chain of command structure in disaster mitigation and capacity building of disaster response task forces. Deputies need to be added to the field of agency cooperation in the organizational structure of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) and the Regional Disaster Management National Agency (BPBD) which is tasked with collaborating with various parties to facilitate coordination in disaster mitigation.

In addition, according to Takeda and Helms (2006) local governments must have the capability to overcome disasters, the bureaucracy must adopt a strategic management model that is supported by continuous learning, adaptation to change, has a long-term focus, minimizes the level of error, and high ability to combine information and learning. (Nurhabibi, Dharmastuti, and Arida 2016) of course with the collaboration of various parties.

So far, most disaster mitigation systems have been designed to only use command and control hierarchically, from top to bottom and with a centralized disaster response. So that it will be very bureaucratic and often hampered by political problems. Therefore there is no involvement of the community or the community which causes: (a) lack of participation so that public awareness has not emerged to make disaster mitigation a necessity, (b) there is no capacity building or community-owned Collaborative Skill resources, and (c) there was dissatisfaction with the

government's performance despite maximally using management's steps in disaster mitigation.

Recognizing that limitation, Collaborative Public Management emphasizes the Bottom-Up approach, which collaborates with the Top-Down approach, to overcome challenges and difficulties in disaster mitigation. To be effective, local communities must be supported to analyze the conditions of those in disaster-prone areas, understand their vulnerabilities and capacities. (Shaw 2015).

That are opportunities that can enhance the sustainability of Collaborative Public Management in Indonesian Natural Disaster Mitigation: 1. Can promote and strengthen " Disaster Mitigas Culture "; 2. Improving people's perceptions of vulnerability; 3. Accommodate community initiatives; 4. Increasing community participation and empowerment through institutionalizing disaster mitigation; 5. focus on approaches based on training needs; 6. Involve various parties based on their needs and objectives in an effective way both formal and informal; 7. Using tangible and intangible physical, technological and economic assets as outputs of collaboration; 8. Promote collaboration between community initiatives into planning and budgeting development to ensure the sustainability of disaster mitigation programs.

Both the central government and local governments in addition to the community, can also collaborate with the private sector. The private sector should have a Corporate Social Responsibility program that focuses on disaster mitigation, especially in developing the quality and capacity of human resources and the use of technology to facilitate the promotion of a culture of disaster mitigation.

The impact of disasters can also disrupt the continuity of business processes, therefore by investing in disaster mitigation collaboration programs are expected to be able to minimize the risk of disasters so that they benefit each other. Adapting the concept of Community-Based Disaster Risk Reduction from Kobe City in Japan,

the main activity of Collaborative Public Management in Natural Disaster Mitigation in Indonesia has two perspectives: namely risk reduction and disaster prevention activities and welfare-related activities. These activities are combined and carried out together.

Disaster prevention and risk reduction activities with disaster training, first aid seminars and watching inspection of emergency materials and municipal equipment and designing community safety maps and activities related to reducing risk with rescue team. Besides that, the welfare activities in question are by communicating regularly with the community to form a community aware of disaster mitigation, so that they can take action, when an emergency disaster occurs, given the needs of vulnerable groups such as parents, toddlers and disabled people.

In an effort to mitigate natural disasters and humanitarian assistance, there are many interactions between the military (TNI) and civil authorities (BNPBB / BPBB), local governments, other civil society such as the private sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPBB) and the Local Disaster Management Agency (BPBB) certainly have limitations in mitigating disasters, it is necessary to coordinate and plan integrated disaster mitigation programs between the civilian and military parties during the emergency response, both within the corridor of the Response Command System Emergency (SKTD) as well as the deployment of troops and civil military cooperation outside of the SKTD (Nugroho, Suprpto, and Pandanwangi 2016).

4. CONCLUSION

Mitigation of natural disasters in Indonesia should be a priority of the government in development, both central and local governments have the Mindset that disaster mitigation is an investment in sustainable development. The

concept of Collaborative Public Management in disaster mitigation in Indonesia can be used as an alternative solution supported by Collaborative Structure and Collaborative Skills that are qualified through participation from government institutions, academics, the private sector and the community.

Collaborative Public Management in Natural Disaster Mitigation in Indonesia can be a solution to disaster mitigation problems in the hope that the risk of natural disasters can be reduced both fatalities and damage homes and other public facilities. Besides that, the most important thing is to be able to help the culture of disaster mitigation in the community from Self Help, Cooperative Help to the Public Heple based on Collaborative Structure and adequate Collaborative Skills.

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THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA ABOUT TO THE FORMULATION THE PRESIDENTIAL THERESHOLD ON ELECTION LAW OF NO.7/2017

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Abstract

This study discusses the dynamics of political processes or political conflicts that occur in the House of Representatives related to the formulation of the presidential threshold in the law of elections no.7/2017. In the process of formulating the presidential threshold fractions in the House of Representatives (split different) related to this presidential threshold. Some agree with the enactment of this 20-25% presidential threshold, and some want this presidential threshold of 0% (disagreeing with the presidential threshold). As a result of this political conflict or disagreement that does not meet the agreement in the process of political negotiations, so finally the issue related to the presidential threshold is done voting in the plenary session to determine the amount of the presidential threshold. This study describes why the political conflict occurred. The theory used in this research is Conflict Theory. The method used is qualitative descriptive method with data collection techniques through interviews and document analysis. The findings of this study indicate that the political conflicts that occurred in the formulation of the presidential threshold is more due to pragmatic politics that are collectible. So the party ideology is disregarded and no longer in force.

Keyword: *Politict; Conflict; Presidential Threshold; Law Election.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The implementation of the Presidential and Vice Presidential elections is one of the manifestations of the democratic system¹⁷. The terms or conditions used in the general election of the President and Vice President are the presidential threshold. This provision regulates the requirements for political parties wishing to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. This rule has been used in Indonesia since the 2004, 2009 and 2014 presidential elections.

However, after the issuance of the 2013 Constitutional Court ruling on simultaneous elections, the issue regarding the presidential threshold was warmly discussed again. Is the president's threshold issue still relevant or not if applied to simultaneous elections. The Constitutional Court through Decision Number 14 / PUU-XI/2013 ruled that the Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections were held simultaneously at the same time as the legislative elections. Concurrent elections will only be held in the period of 2019, in other words there is no separation of time in the implementation of the presidential and vice

¹⁷ For Dahl, Democracy is a political system in which members look at one another as the same people in terms of politics, and they are jointly sovereign, and have all the capabilities, resources, and institutions -the institution they need in order to govern themselves. These definitions are listed in Robert A. Dahl's book. Democracy and Critics. Jakarta: Indonesian Torch Foundation. 1992. Page xxviii.

presidential elections and legislative elections in 2019 (Constitutional Court Decision Number 14 / PUU-XI / 2013).

Based on the decision of the Constitutional Court regarding the concurrent elections¹⁸, then the rules regarding general elections are made into one or what is referred to as the Election Law. The formulation of the Act was submitted by the government in this case the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Kemendagri*) which was then submitted to the DPR for discussion in the DPR RI. In principle, this Election Law was formed on the basis of simplifying and harmonizing and combining electoral arrangements contained in three laws, namely Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning General Elections of the President and Vice President, Law Number 15 Year 2011 concerning the Implementation of General Elections and Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning General Elections of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly and Regional Representatives Council, Regional People's Representatives Council (Election Bill, 285).

The dynamics of conflict¹⁹, debate and power struggle that took place in the DPR in the discussion of the formulation of the General Election Law (Election Law) is a very important and interesting case phenomenon to be studied and examined. There are several crucial issues that

have been debated in the formulation of the law. Among them are the presidential threshold, parliamentary threshold, electoral system, allocation of seats (electoral magnitude) and vote conversion method. Among the five issues, the presidential threshold issue is the most difficult issue to debate. Because this issue does not meet with agreement in the decision-making process in the plenary session. So that voting is done to find a way out of the debate.

There are 10 factions in the DPR RI, each of which has views on this presidential threshold. The factions included the PDIP faction, the Golkar faction, the Gerindra faction, the Democratic faction, the PAN faction, the PKB faction, the PKS faction, the PPP faction, the Nasdem faction and the Hanura faction. The presidential threshold was formulated for the first time in a working report (working meeting) between the Election Committee Special Committee and the Government on November 30, 2016. Regarding the presidential threshold, the government conveyed a view of 20-25% (Brief Report on the Election Bill Special Committee, 30 November 2016). While the factions convey diverse views.

There are 3 factions that are congruent (agree) with the government's proposal. The three factions are in PDIP, Golkar and Nasdem. Then, 7 other factions namely Gerindra, Democrats, PAN, PKB, PKS, PPP, and Hanura did not agree with the government's proposal. The seven factions want the presidential threshold to be abolished or 0%.

In the the next of discussion, there was a change in views from several factions. Among them are the PKB, PPP and Hanura factions. The three factions initially rejected the presidential threshold, but later after the political dynamics (lobbying and compromise), the three factions changed their views to support the government's proposal as a 20-25% threshold. Departing from the changes in the views of the three factions, the researchers were then interested in knowing more related details about how the dynamics of political conflict in the discussion of the presidential threshold? What reasons have caused each faction

¹⁸ Concurrent elections can be simply defined as an electoral system that holds several elections at one time simultaneously. These types of elections include executive and legislative elections at various levels known in the country concerned, stretching from national, regional to local level elections. In European Union member countries, simultaneous elections even include holding elections for the supra-national level, namely the election of members of the European Parliament simultaneously with national, regional or local elections. See in Syamsuddin Haris et al. Draft Executive Summary Position Paper Simultaneous National Election 2019. Jakarta: Electoral Research Institute-LIPI. 2015. Page 4.

¹⁹ In Maswadi Rauf's view, conflict can be interpreted as any conflict or difference of opinion between two people or groups. Such conflicts can be said as oral conflicts or non-physical conflicts.

to differ so that there is a political conflict? Is it because of ideological factors or just a momentary pragmatic political interest?

2. METHODS

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method with descriptive-analytical techniques. This method is used for several reasons. First, adjusting qualitative methods is easier when dealing with multiple realities. Second, this method presents directly the nature of the relationship between researchers and respondents. Third, this method is more sensitive and can adjust to a lot of sharpening mutual influence and to the patterns of value faced (Moleong, 2000: 5).

The data needed in this study was collected in two ways. First, through literature studies, namely the search for written sources in the form of minutes of proceedings, books, journals, and mass media coverage. Second, through in-depth interviews with speakers, namely factions and members of the DPR-RI who were directly involved in the discussion of the Election Law. In-depth interviews were carried out using interview guidelines prepared in advance.

3. DISCUSSION

In this discussion the author only uses conflict theory to focus on seeing and analyzing deeply related to this case.

3.1. Political Conflict in Formulating the President's Threshold

Conflicts in the formulation of laws are commonplace. However, it becomes a problem if the conflict is not based on the interests of the people. It would be a big problem if the conflict was based on personal interests and interests for certain groups. Maswadi Rauf (2000: 2) argues, that conflict can be interpreted as any conflict or difference of opinion between at least two people or groups. In this context, there are several factions that have different interests and views from one another. So that this is what makes the formulation

of the presidential threshold full of interest interests, so that it ends in political conflict.

The source of political conflict as stated by Maswadi Rauf (2000: 23) is the political ruler. Maswadi Rauf explained that the political ruler had the aim to manage conflict (management of conflict) with all the authority he had. However, this authority is often misused. So that such authority or power often opens opportunities for political authorities to realize their personal or group interests. The result is that the political ruler no longer emphasizes his role as the manager of conflict, but becomes the source of a conflict in this case political conflict.

In the context of this case, the submission of presidential thresholds in the electoral law was carried out by the government which in this case was submitted by the Ministry of Home Affairs to the Indonesian House of Representatives, to be later discussed in the DPR. In its proposal, the government proposed a presidential threshold of 20% of seats in the DPR or 25% of national legitimate votes. As a result of the proposal, various factions expressed their views regarding the president's threshold value. Among them there are 3 factions that agree and agree with the government's proposal at 20-25%. The factions are PDIP, Golkar and Nasdem. The three factions view and argue that the figure of 20-25% aims to strengthen the presidential system.

And then, 7 factions agreed that the presidential threshold at 0% or the presidential threshold was abolished. The factions included Gerindra, Democrats, PAN, PKB, PKS, PPP, and Hanura (in the Minutes of the Election Bill Special Committee Meeting). The initial view of the seven factions is to see that the presidential threshold at 20-25% is contrary to the constitution (incititutional) and the logic used to strengthen presidential systems is not appropriate.

In the next of the discussion, there was a change in views from several factions. Among them are the PKB, PPP and Hanura factions. The PKB, which initially rejected the presidential threshold, then changed their views by proposing

25% of seats in the DPR and 25% of the national votes. While the PPP, which initially refused the presidential threshold, then changed its view by proposing a 7.0% seat option in the DPR and 3.5% of the national votes. While Hanura, which initially refused the presidential threshold, then changed its view by supporting the presidential threshold with a figure of 20% of seats in the DPR and 25% of nationally legitimate votes..

So that of the 10 factions in the DPR, 4 factions that agree with the presidential threshold are 20-25%. The four factions are PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem and Hanura. Then 4 other factions namely Gerindra, Democrats, PAN and PKS remained on the initial view which proposed the presidential threshold (Presidential Threshold) abolished. While the other two factions namely PPP proposed 7.0% of seats in the DPR and 3.5% of the votes

were nationally legitimate, and PKB proposed 25% of seats in the DPR and 25% of national votes.

The debate continued until finally the discussion of the presidential threshold was raised at the second level meeting at the plenary meeting on July 20, 2017 for decision making. In the discussion there was a lobbying process and a compromise between factions. Where before the voting was done, the PKB and PPP factions changed their views, which initially did not agree with the presidential threshold at 20-25%, then changed to support and agree with the presidential threshold at 20-25%. Thus, after the voting was carried out there were 6 factions which agreed with the presidential threshold at 20-25% and 4 factions did not agree with the presidential threshold at 20-25%. Here the author states in the table the changes in views of the faction from the beginning to the end of the presidential threshold discussion.

TABLE I
Faction Views on the President's Threshold

No.	Fraction	Early View	Middle View	End view	Description of Views
1.	PDIP	20-25%	20-25%	20-25%	Still agree
2.	Golkar	20-25%	20-25%	20-25%	Still agree
3.	Gerindra	0%	0%	0%	Fixed Disagree
4.	Demokrat	0%	0%	0%	Fixed Disagree
5.	PAN	0%	0%	0%	Fixed Disagree
6.	PKB	0%	25-25%	20-25%	Change Agree
7.	PKS	0%	0%	0%	Fixed Disagree
8.	PPP	0%	7%-3,5%	20-25%	Change Agree
9.	Nasdem	20-25%	20-25%	20-25%	Still agree
10.	Hanura	20-25%	20-25%	20-25%	Change Agree

If you look at the table above, the factions that support the President's threshold are 20-25%, most of which are factions within the government coalition or referred to as the Great Indonesian Coalition (KIH). As is known, the factions joined in the government coalition namely PDIP, Golkar, PAN, PKB, PPP, Nasdem and Hanura. However, there is only one faction incorporated in the KIH that does not support the President's threshold of 20-25%, namely the PAN fraction. While the other

three factions, Gerindra, PKS and Democrats who rejected the presidential threshold by 20-25%, were factions that were opposed to the government, most of which were members of the Red and White Coalition (KMP). For information, the faction that is still incorporated in the KMP is Gerindra and PKS. The polarization of the two poles between the factions that support the President's threshold of 20-25% and the faction that rejects the President's threshold of 20-25% is

still closely related to the fight between KIH and KMP in the 2014 Presidential Election.

In an interview with the media, Lumkman Edy, a member of the PKB faction who was also chairman of the Special Committee for the Election Bill, argued that "*PKB continues to seduce the government from the start with various arguments. But then the government stays at 20-25%. So, because the PKB is in the line of the government coalition, then the PKB inevitably has to believe in the government*". So finally PKB agreed with the presidential threshold of 20-25% (<https://news.detik.com>, July 22, 2017).

Then, the PPP's view changed to agree with the presidential threshold because with a presidential threshold of 20% the government could save the election budget. Quoting Romi Romahurmuzy's explanation "*We are trying so that there is no voting. But if there is a voting we are in a basic manner. That is our effort to offer a meeting point.*" (<http://kabar24.bisnis.com>, July 11 2017).

Maurice Duverger (1982: 47) suggests there are three types of conflict. First, conflict which has no principle at all. Second, conflict arises because there are differences regarding parts of a principle but not about the principle itself. Third, conflict which departs entirely from a basic principle. Syamsuddin Haris (1988: 271) analyzes that the first type of conflict deals with practical problems that are not related to the issue of ideology. Disagreements born of the political interests of someone or a group of conflicting people seem to be included in this category. The second type of conflict concerns differences of opinion regarding a problem related to the interests of the party, or the interests of the organization, or the community that is considered to be represented by the party. While the third type of conflict arises if the disputed issue is an ideology, such as regarding the basis of the state.

If you look at the analysis of Syamsuddin Haris above, it can be confirmed that the second type of conflict is relevant to the reality of the conflict that occurred in the DPR RI when

discussing the formulation of the presidential threshold. Because basically the conflict between factions is related to differences of opinion regarding a problem related to political interests, namely the interest to gain power from each political party that is to be achieved through elections. So that ideological values that become the guidelines and guidelines in the institutions of political parties are no longer an important foundation in the formulation of a policy. Because it was displaced by the pragmatic interests of those who held control in the political party.

The conflict situation according to Paul Conn in (Ramlan Surbakti, 2010: 196) is that conflict situations are basically differentiated into *zero-sum conflict* and *non-zero-sum conflict*. Surbakti (2010: 197) explains that *zero-sum conflict* is a situation of conflict that is antagonistic in nature so that it does not allow for the achievement of a compromise between the parties involved in the conflict. The characteristic of the structure of this conflict is that it does not allow for cooperation, the results of the competition will be enjoyed by the winner only, which is at stake usually involves matters of principal and important positions of government.

While the win-win conflict (*non-zero-sum conflict*) is a conflict situation where the parties involved in the conflict are still possible to make a compromise or cooperation so that all parties get a part of the conflict. The characteristics of this conflict are compromise and cooperation, the results of the competition will be enjoyed by both parties. In this context, the conflict that occurred especially related to the issue of presidential threshold can be categorized as a zero-sum conflict. Due to the failure to reach a compromise / deliberation until voting is carried out.

4. CONCLUSION

Seeing the dynamics of political conflicts that occur in the formulation of the presidential threshold above, there are fundamental findings that can answer research problems. *First*, it relates to the dynamics of political conflict which color

the formulation of the presidential threshold. Where each faction has their own views and arguments that support their attitude in determining the president's threshold. But there are also factions that change their views or are inconsistent in determining attitudes that are influenced by compromises and political lobbies between factions.

The *second*, pragmatic reasons for gaining power that dominate and color conflict in the formulation of the presidential threshold. There are no ideological values that serve as guidelines and guidelines for the president's threshold formulation debate. Moreover, the interests that are based on the interests of the people are not visible at all. The conflict is purely on the basis of pragmatic political interests to gain momentary power.

If such pragmatic interests dominate and color the process of formulating laws in the future, then this will be a bad precedent in our legislative process. Moreover, the interests of the people are negated. So that people are no longer used as interests in formulating laws.

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SINGLE CANDIDATE IN THE LOCAL ELECTION OF MAKASSAR AT 2018

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Abstract:

This study explains and analyzes the winning factor of empty boxes in the Pilkada of Makassar in 2018. If the majority of single candidates in some regions are incumbents, then Makassar is born from an elite businessman, Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu). The results showed that the Makassar election in 2018 was won by an empty box and for the first time in the Indonesian elections the empty box was superior. The purpose of this study is to find out the factor of winning empty boxes in the Makassar election in 2018. The theoretical foundation used is elite theory and voter behavior. The research method used is qualitative by exploring and analyzing various literature studies. His research findings show that the victory of the empty box that became history has confirmed the direct election as a means of people's sovereignty. In addition, the victory of empty boxes is also a major evaluation for elites and political parties. This situation is a warning to elites and political parties in terms of not monopolizing people's aspirations.

Keywords : *Local Election; Pilkada; Makassar Election.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Makassar City is one of the regions that carried out Pilkada in 2018. In the implementation of the Pilkada, there were a number of uniqueness when compared to other regions carrying out the Pilkada. The uniqueness is, among others, the city of Makassar is one of twelve regions which in the implementation of its elections are followed by a single candidate. However, if the other regions are single incumbents (incumbents), in Makassar City a single candidate emerges from the business elite, namely the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu). The pair was carried by ten political parties namely Golkar Party, Nasdem Party, Hanura Party, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), National Mandate Party (PAN), United Development Party (PPP), Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI P), Hanura Party, The Gerindra Party, and PKPI and pocketed the support of 43 seats in the Makassar City DPRD.

Another fact in the implementation of the Makassar City Election in 2018 was the incumbent candidate Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto (Danny Pomanto) paired with Indira Mulyasari Pramastuti going forward in the contestation of the Makassar City Election in 2018 through an independent (individual) path. However, the participation of the couple was later canceled by the Makassar City KPU due to a decision from the Makassar City Administrative Court (PTUN) which stated that Danny-Indira's partner was proven to have misused authority in the Election process. Previously, the Makassar City KPU appealed to the Supreme Court, but the appeal was rejected, so the Makassar City KPU continued to implement the Makassar

City Administrative Court's decision to disqualify Danny-Indira's spouse. Thus, the Makassar City Election was only followed by a single candidate, namely the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu).

Another interesting thing in the implementation of the Makassar City Election in 2018 was the result of the Pilkada, which was actually won by an empty box. Although, the single candidate pair came from the political elite and the business elite in Makassar by being carried by ten political parties and only against empty boxes, but the pair only received 264,245 votes or around 46.77%. While the empty box gets 300,795 votes or around 53.23%. Based on the description of the background and the problems above, this study would like to answer the following research questions: (1) Why did the phenomenon of single candidates occur in the 2018 Pilkada of Makassar? (2) What factors influence the victory of empty boxes in the Makassar City Election in 2018?

2. METHODS

The research method used in this study is a qualitative research method type case study. The use of this type of case study is one of the qualitative research strategies that includes certain units, gives an in-depth picture, in a real-life context, answers the question why, in a certain period of time, and uses multiple sources of information. This type of research uses descriptive research type. The type of descriptive research is used in this study, because it can systematically portray the condition of the selection of empty boxes in the Makassar City Election in 2018.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The process of the Makassar City Election in 2018 begins with the registration stage of the candidate pair. Registration of candidate pairs starts on 8-11 January 2018. The candidate pair Danny Pomanto - Indira Mulyasari Pramastuti (DIAMI) registers on the first day of registration which is on January 8, 2018 accompanied by more than a thousand volunteers. Although carried out by individual channels, the couple actually

attracted the attention of residents of the City of Makassar with the proven participation of residents in the registration of the candidate pair. The couple was declared eligible because it was supported by 117,492 KTPs while the requirement for support for couples of individual candidates to advance in the Pilkada in Makassar in 2018 was to have at least 65,000 KTP support. Mecipun was not supported by political parties, but in the registration of the pair to the KPU of Makassar City was also delivered by various elites of political parties such as Hamzah Hamid who was the Chairman of the DPC PAN of Makassar City, Syamsudin Karlos, the DPW PAN South Sulawesi Province and various other party elites.

Meanwhile, the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika (Appi-Cicu) registered with the KPU of Makassar City on January 10, 2018 accompanied by their ten supporting parties. After sharing verification of support both materially and formally on January 11, 2018 the Makassar City Election Commission determined the candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Makassar City in the Makassar Election in 2018 as many as two pairs of pairs, namely Dani Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari (DIAMI) and spouse candidate for Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika (Appi-Cicu).

After the determination of the candidate pairs by the Makassar City KPU, several survey institutions conducted an electability survey of the two candidate pairs. One of the survey institutions that conducted the survey was Celebes Research Center which conducted a survey using a sample of as many as one thousand respondents in 15 sub-districts in Makassar City. The results of the research conducted by Celebes Research Center namely the Danny Pomanti-Indira Mulyasari pair were superior compared to the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika, with a percentage of 71.8%. While the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika obtained a percentage of 18.8%.

In February 2018, the candidate pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi filed a lawsuit to the Makassar City Administrative Court (PTUN). The lawsuit was addressed to the Makassar City KPU to disqualify Danny Pomanto-

Indira Mulyasari (DIAMI) partner. The principal claim filed by the couple was that the Dani Pomanti-Indira Mulyasari pair had violated Article 71 paragraph 3 of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of the Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent and alikota and Deputy Mayor. The essence of the article states that Officials of Governors, Regents and Mayors are prohibited from using authority, programs, and activities that benefit or harm one candidate pair 6 months before the nomination of candidates until the determination of candidate pairs.

In this case, the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika postulated that Dani Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari's partner had misused his authority by distributing 5971 *smartphones* to the Chairperson of RT / RW in Makassar City, appointment of contract employees in the Makassar City environment and the use of 2x + tagline good as a tagline for the city of Makassar. Against the lawsuit, The Makassar City Administrative Court (PTUN) stated that the Dani-Indira pair was proven to have misused authority in the Election process. So that the Makassar Administrative Court ordered the Makassar City KPU to disqualify the Dani-Indira pair as candidates for Mayor and akil Mayor of Makassar in 2018.

However, before carrying out the Makassar State Administrative Court's decision, the Makassar City KPU appealed to the Supreme Court, but the appeal was rejected, so the Makassar City KPU continued to implement the Makassar City Administrative Court's decision to disqualify Danny-Indira's spouse. Thus, the Makassar City Election was only followed by a single candidate, namely the pair Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu). The disqualification of the Danny-Indira (DIAMI) couple then reaped various pros and cons in the Makassar City community. In addition to carrying out various legal efforts, supporters and sympathizers of the Danny-Indira candidate pair also held various demonstrations.

After the Danny-Indira couple annulled, the implementation of the Makassar City Election in 2018 was only attended by one candidate pair, namely Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika. The single candidate phenomenon that occurred in Makassar City was not new to the regional elections in Indonesia. However, the results of the elections that were followed by single candidates in Makassar City in 2018 were a new chapter in the history of regional elections in Indonesia. This is due to the results of the regional elections, instead won by an empty box.

Although, the single candidate pair came from the political elite and the business elite in Makassar by being carried by ten political parties and only against empty boxes, but the pair only received 264,245 votes or around 46.77%. While the empty box gets 300,795 votes or around 53.23%. In fact, of the 15 sub-districts in Makassar City 13 of them were won by empty boxes, as described in the following table:

TABLE 1

Results of votes for Makassar City Election in 2018 per District

No	District	Appi-Cicu	Empty Box
1.	Biringkanaya	36,092 (47.86%)	39,320 (52.14%)
2.	Bontoala	10,584 (47.06%)	11,907 (52.94%)
3.	Sangkarrang Islands	3,261 (47.22%)	3,645 (52.78%)
4.	Makassar	13,654 (39.31%)	21,081 (60.69%)
5.	Mamajang	10,886 (44.81%)	13 407 (55.19%)
6.	Mangala	30 384 (52.37%)	27 631 (47.63%)
7.	Mariso	11 566 (47.38%)	12 845 (52.62%)
8.	Panakkukang	25 069 (44.63%)	31 108 (55.37%)
9.	Rappocini	29,844 (47.90%)	32,460 (52.10%)
10.	Tallo	26,297 (47.45%)	29,122 (52.55%)
11.	Tamalanrea	16,912 (44.45%)	21,138 (55.55%)
12.	Tamalate	33,817 (50.20%)	33,541 (49.80%)
13.	Ujung Pandang	3,822 (34.31%)	7,319 (62.88%)
14.	Land Edge	7,362 (46.95%)	8,317 (53.05%)
15.	Wajo	4,695 (37.12%)	7,954 (62.88%)

Source :Data processed from infopemilu.kpu.go. id

4. CONCLUSION

Local Election in Makassar at 2018 is a new history in all local election in Indonesia. Because, the local election in Makassar at 2018 is the one and only the local election which defeat single candidate. Why the single candidate loss than empty box in local election of Makassar at 2018, because there are public dissatisfaction from the process of local election, specially when General Election of Makassar (KPU Kota Makassar) disqualified one of pair at local election. In other hand, public reaction in Makassar about of local elite of Appi Cicu make them dissatisfaction and they want other choice.

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VOTE BUYING : INCUMBENT AND DEMOCRACY THREATS OF THE SIMULTANEOUS ELECTION OF PERBEKEL IN BALI

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Abstract

This article describes the potential vulnerability of vote buying in the election process occurring at the lower level, namely the election of perbekel or the official village head in Bali. The main problems are the dominant factors influencing the pattern of vote buying in the election of perbekel in Bali and the understanding of the meaning among the voters, candidates, and organizers related to vote buying and its deterrence strategies. The data collection methods are interviews, observation, and documentation. The data analysis was done by the Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. In this discourse theory, the voters, candidates, and organizers articulate the meaning of vote buying according to the surrounding context in the form of a discourse. The results of the study present the data that the potential of vote buying or electorate vote buying in the realm of the election of perbekel in Bali is quite high. The vote buying practice is prone to occur on the day of the election by intimidation and the money politic practice as a widely practiced mode in the local elections. The vulnerability pattern takes the form of special budget funding reaching the livestock groups, farmer groups until the youth activity at the village level. Intimidation is an action that can no longer be observed because it has manifested in the development funding programs focusing on the client groups. Incumbent becomes a subject always practicing this pattern easily, in addition to the patron client base that he has built during his tenure. The electorates are permissive on the vote

buying conditions even though it is recognized that this condition threatens the democratic development at the village level. Based on this problem, it is proposed to activate the village website to accommodate the simultaneous election of perbekel.

Keywords: *Potential; Vulnerability; The Election of Perbekel; Simultaneous; Bali.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of the election of the village heads is considered to be less prestige compared to the election of the regent or the governor. News related to the stages to the results determination of the election of the village head are largely excluded in the mass media news portion. There is a perception that the election of the village head is considered the responsibility domain of the local district or city government and is seen as an administrative celebration routine rather than a democratic party at the grassroots level. This is certainly an ironic phenomenon since the village is the main support of the Indonesian government system and the nearest organizer of the public service to the people. In fact, around 70% of the population registered as the potential voters in every election routine is domiciled in the village (Kompas, 4 December 2017).

Regulations related to the election of village head or *perbekel* are the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 65 of 2017 concerning the Amendments

of the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 112 of 2014 concerning the Election of Village Heads. Article 30 regulates the ethics and sanctions for the violations of the election process of the village head. Factually, the election of the village heads carried out simultaneously in each regency or city tends to have the same deviation as the election of the upper level public office. This is like reporting the cheating practices of the village head elections, organizer neutrality, voter data manipulation, conflict over election results to vote buying ahead of the elections of the village head. In the 2017 period, vote buying complaints were reported in the elections of Demak, Kebumen, Indragiri Hilir, and other regions with a range of IDR 50,000-Rp.500,000/vote (Kompas, 2 October 2017).

This also occurs in the simultaneous selection of *perbekel* in Bali. Some complaints about the election of *perbekel* in Tabanan and Denpasar are more related to cheating candidates including vote buying complaints ranging from IDR 100,000 - IDR 2,000,000, also including the complaints about alleged intervention by certain political party officers and regional officers (Nusa Bali, 15 November 2015). Vote buying is a practice through the lure of money as one of the money politics (Sukmajati and Aspinal). Vote buying is considered a serious threat to the democracy at the village level. Hiroki's study (2013) stated that the candidates in the process of electing village heads in China tend to practice vote buying when competing and this is rarely raised as a public issue. Moreover Bowie (2008) stated that vote buying in Thailand is related to traditional village cultural climate. The apathy and the ignorance of the people ultimately influence the lack of interest of the villagers to protest the corruption practices, including considering vote buying as reasonable despite threatening the democracy.

However, the practice of mis-conducting the integrity of election at the level of the election of the village head is largely ignored. The handling of the complaints regarding this violence is not

accommodated as the election supervisory committee apparently does not have any authority in this area. Until now the organizing phases until the announcement of the election results is still held by the local district or city government, in this case the Village Community Empowerment and Government Agency (BPMPD) and the National Political Unity and Community Protection Agency.

This research has a strategic value considering that the mapping study of the potential vulnerability of vote buying; especially the election of the village heads is still limited. This includes the absence of studies from the electoral commission, independent institutions, including the academics who map the potential vulnerability of the fraud in the election of *perbekel* in Bali. Besides the village currently gets a large funding source every year in the form of village fund allocations apparently identified as new sources of vote buying (Halili, 2015). This new source has the potential as an instrument of reward for the officials during the elections, causing the massive corruption practices at the village level. This indication is the main theme of the case for the election of the village head in Bali (Nusa Bali 15 November 2015).

The results of this research relates to the mapping of the potential vulnerability of vote buying in the election of *perbekel* in Bali which strategically can also be used as the guidelines for the organizers in each district and also be useful in classifying votes buying lawsuit based on the understanding of the voters, candidates, and organizers. Based on the absence of technical instructions related to the handling of a vote buying lawsuit released by the government, it is necessary to do the research in mapping the potential vulnerability of vote buying in the election of *perbekel* as well as its prevention.

The problem in this research is what the pattern of vote buying in the election of *perbekel* in Bali is, what the dominant factors are, what understanding built up among the voters, candidates, and organizers, regarding to the vote buying is, and what the deterrence strategies are.

The study of the mapping of the potential vulnerability of vote buying practices in the election of village heads in Indonesia is still low. Vote buying is electorate vote buying in the realm of the election (Sukmajati & Aspinal, 2014). One of the relevant studies to this research is Haili's study (2015). His research entitled *Pola Politik Uang dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa* (A study in Pakandangan Barat Bluto Sumenep Madura) concluded that the practice of vote buying had brought non-democratic values undermining the procedural democracy and substantive democracy.

The various understandings related to common money politics at the society level has not found bargaining power as a barrier to the money-politics operation. By conducting a research with descriptive qualitative method, Haili considered that money politics practice extensively increased the formal participation of voters, even though the participation was pseudo-participation because it was non-rationality, and the candidates need to pay a high-cost politics to buy the voters. This phenomenon created pseudo-democracy (the democratic mechanism does not guarantee the realization of intrinsic democracy) and hybrid democracy (the democratic mechanism mingles with non-democratic practices).

Another study related to the election at the village level was carried out by Aspinal & Rahman (2017) with the research entitled *Village head elections in Java: Money Politics and Brokerage in the Remaking of Indonesia's Rural Elite*. This qualitative study on the election of the village heads in Central Java region stated that vote buying only accommodated the strong capital characteristics and networks candidates to compete.

Until now, the other studies related to the potential vulnerability of vote buying in Indonesia are dominated by the regional elections practice. Some of them are Shahab (2016) and specifically in Bali, Widnyani (2015). Shahab (2016) in his article *Vote Buying dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Pilkada) Kota Surabaya dan Kabupaten Blitar Tahun 2010* stated that the number of

alleged money politics cases increased each year, especially in the regional head elections in Indonesia. Vote buying is still interpreted as an effective tool to buy votes due to the economic rationality of the voters.

Through this quantitative research, Shahab stated that in every regional head election, respondents who live in rural areas are twice bigger than the urban residents in providing space to vote buying practice. The criticism to this quantitative-based research is it oversimplifies the trigger factor and does not see a difference in perception of the vote buying discourse itself.

Widnyani's research (2015) entitled *Analisis Dugaan Money Politics terhadap Partisipasi Pemilih* (A Study of 2014 Election in Gianyar Regency, Bali Province) explained the findings that in the regional head elections in Bali, the money politics practice was carried out through two mechanisms, namely directly by the candidate and indirectly through a team and vote brokers. The factors causing the occurrence of money politics are the motivation of appreciation and self-actualization need of the candidates, the motivation of physiological need of the teams and vote brokers, and even the motivation of sense of security and social need of the voters.

Besides, the international study related to vote buying was conducted by Takeuchi (2013) in *Vote Buying, Village Elections, and Authoritarian Rule in Rural China: A Game-Theoretic Analysis*. In his study, Takeuchi saw that the vote buying phenomenon in the process of the election of the village heads was mostly carried out by three types of village elites, including political elites, economic elites, and social elites.

These elites hold important positions such as the entrepreneurs in rural industries or the leaders of kinship groups. The characteristics of capabilities possessed by elites are the ability to provide public goods based on the resources they have, such as political authority, economic resources, and social networks. These resources are then used as the exchange material basis as the vote buying

in gaining votes for the election of the village heads.

Identical to the study mentioned before, Bowie's research (2008) entitled *Vote Buying and Village Outrage in Election in Northern Thailand: Recent Legal Reforms in Historical Context* stated that vote buying is a reality that has a historical flow in the past (path dependency) having an embedded tradition, strong and difficult to dismiss. The vote buying phenomenon is an unbroken chain in every public officer election practice. Some of the factors influencing it are the colonialism experience and the material basis controlled by a few elites.

Callahan's different research approaches (2005) in his research entitled *The Discourse of Vote Buying and Political Reform in Thailand* explored the potential understandings of the voters, candidates, and organizers related to vote buying rejection strategies in the process of the election at the village level. Callahan mostly began his presentation regarding the phenomenon of vote buying in developing countries where the people choose the candidates based on economic rationality.

In Argentina, the vote buying targets are the swing voters and indifferent voters. Vote buying in Argentina can be realized with money or goods such as food, clothing, building materials, mattresses, or even alcoholic beverages. The same condition occurs in Nigeria where vote buying is also practiced to win the elections. Vote Buying uses the patrons or village community leaders to buy voters' votes. The money used came from businessmen in Nigeria called the Godfathers. The vote buying practice in Nigeria is accompanied by the intimidation of the political parties, or even the certain public officers.

In his research, Callahan categorized the understanding related to vote buying from the various perceptions of voters, candidates, and organizers. Vote buying is a "political disease" because it contains fraud and dishonesty. This understanding is then shifted to vote buying rejection strategy by identifying it as coherent with

bourgeois democracy. This understanding was developed into an image that bourgeois democracy is a wrong democracy because it eliminates the good and capable leaders by the "gangsters" or middle-class elites with superior economic but lack of leadership skills. This understanding was spread by the local popular media, so that several regions managed to the voter groups to organize themselves and their communities to reject the vote buying practice.

The study of Sukmajati and Aspinal (2014) noted that the cause of rampant vote buying as a money politics in Indonesia is the characteristic of Indonesian who largely vote based on economic rationality, choosing the candidates who benefit the individuals or groups. It is still rare for Indonesian to choose the candidates based on the track record or their program. The economic rationality eventually becomes the goal of the voters that is to accept candidates who practice the vote buying. The voters also tend to receive all the money from the candidates but the vote is according to their own wishes, so what happens is the maximizing benefit and minimizing cost of the voters.

The voters choose the candidates who give money or other benefits such as food, or other assistance. Economic rational voters will not choose the candidates who do not provide benefits to the voters. Vote buying mapping in this research is based on the characteristics of the ethnicity, religion, age, occupation, gender, organization, and income (Callahan, 2005). The potential vulnerability is all things that can threaten the substance of the process and the results (Takeuchi, 2013).

The classification of the potential vulnerability of this research refers to the characteristics of Aspinal and Rahman (2017), including the components of the actors, strategies, and value systems moving them. The actor running the vote buying is categorized into the direct actor and the team of the candidates of the village head or *perbekel*, including gamblers or *bebotoh*, and the indirect actors including the candidates of the village head. In the strategy aspect, there are several classifications, including the intervention

mode of voting institution (rules of the game), giving the money and non-money (funding assistance in repairing/rehabilitating physical buildings, etc.), and the other non-material symbolic exchanges (e.g. positions).

The election of the village head or *perbekel*, normatively refers to the Regulation of the Minister of the Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 65 of 2017 concerning the Amendment of the Regulation of the Minister of the Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 112 of 2014 concerning the Election of the Village Heads. The review of the vote buying practice is regulated in Article 30 concerning ethics and sanctions of the violations of the election process of the village head's.

2. METHODS

This study used descriptive qualitative method. The data collection method is interview, observation, and document techniques. The data analysis method was conducted by using the discourse theory proposed by Laclau and Moeffe. In this theory, the voters, candidates, and organizers articulate the understanding of the vote buying towards a nodal points discourse through the concept of hegemony. In this articulation, there is a power struggle in the formation of vote buying discourses in the election of *perbekel* in Bali.

The discourse theory helped to identify the dominant perception shaping the construction of the dominant narrative of the people regarding the reality, especially vote buying. It also identified how the candidates, voters, and officers constructed the discourse related to the vote buying and prevention efforts.

The study was conducted in several regencies in Bali which held simultaneous election of *perbekel* during 2015-2017. In some areas, there was a lawsuit related to the alleged vote buying case carried out by the candidates when the simultaneous election was held. The technique of determining the informants was done by purposive sampling to choose the informants having knowledge in accordance with the research topic. In this

technique, the researcher interviewed several key informants in advance at the district level, namely the agency or the institution holding the simultaneous election of *perbekel*. Through the snow ball technique, key information obtained very important information, including some candidates and voters who are considered to represent the research problem.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Most of the informants stated that the lack of socialization among the people was a trigger factor for their reluctance to participate in the simultaneous election of *perbekel* including the potential of the infiltration of the unilateral interests in money politics. Political promises of the candidates are often co-modified in the form of money politics including the donations. It can be the funding assistance for the farmer and livestock groups and youth organization or *sekaa* at the *banjar* level. The allocation of funds to these groups is recognized by several informants. The granting of the funding assistance is submitted through the proposals by each group. Nevertheless, whether the tendency of funding assistance is the potential of repayment of vote buying is difficult to prove.

The parties that have the greatest potential to do this practice are incumbent *perbekel*. The searching for the cheating practices is also very relative given its very personal. Even if there is a funding assistance provided to the community groups, it is not certain that the assistance is based on the aspirations of the community.

The vote buying practice carried out in the day of simultaneous election was considered as fooling the community by the majority of the informants. This condition is a consequence of the of the political education failure at the village level. In fact, sometimes there is no access to the socialization of the local election.

The stake conditions of the most informants are the principles of justice, including the track record of the candidates or *perbekel*, especially the incumbent in executing the development budget in

the village. Most assess the community participation as a discourse, and substantive aspects of political education have not yet occurred. In this context, it includes enabling the people to plan, supervise, and evaluate the ongoing development, including the simultaneous election of *perbekel*.

When analyzed in the theory of discourse analysis of Laclau and Mouffe, it is clear that the understanding of vote buying is an empty signifier that cannot be sensed as a matter. Several informants regarded vote buying as a form of sensing the informants as a matter, some interpreted it as a “forbidden” or even “normal” condition. There are also informants considering vote buying as a “dirty exchange” leading to the “criminal acts” and harms the democracy. The average informant did not have a clear answer of the question about how to prevent it, but the condition is permissive because it was considered normal.

For parties who get benefit, the vote buying practice is maintained by institutionalizing patron client culture. The patron who is the elected village head or especially incumbent will reward the client who had voted for him. On the other hand, the informants who come from village activists and especially those who lose in the simultaneous election of *perbekel* are possibly criminalized.

During this time the conditions of the simultaneous election of *perbekel* were apparently separated from the monitoring of independent election monitoring institutions. The simultaneous election of *perbekel* turned out to be inseparable from the interference of the role of political parties. Political parties in the context of the election of *perbekel* are trying to build a mass base at the grassroots especially fighting over the influence of the mass of voters for themselves even though they are not given a space. This is acknowledged by several informants that the vote buying practice is considered to harm the simultaneous election practice. As a democratic process, the simultaneous election of *perbekel* should run in a healthy and democratic manner. In certain situations, political parties actually make it worse.

Political parties act as the large patrons and disburse as much money as possible in the hopes that the clients (*perbekel* candidates) will be able to bind the sympathy of the voters on the regional, legislative, governors and presidential elections. This condition is interpreted by the informants that simultaneous election of *perbekel* is an initial investment in binding the mass of voters, especially for the political parties.

The pros and cons are implied from the assumption of the informants. Vote buying is formed from various understandings, namely social reality. In each individual, the informant has an empty marker which is nothing but ideas and not matter. Because it cannot be sensed, there appears a lot of understanding for the existence of vote buying, which is signified. This sign will become hegemony when its understanding becomes an empty marker and applies universally (Laclau, 2010: 10). In this study, the informants consider that vote buying is a reality, and this is actually dangerous for the practice of democracy at the local level. The habitual cheating practice, manifested in incumbent actions to the community, is something that is already known but is largely ignored.

Based on the research findings, the majority of informants considered that the solution to minimize the occurrence of vote buying, one of which is the activation of websites on the official village portals and e-voting. The activation of this website is actually part of a compromise on the meeting of community control practices running with development programs; including how the simultaneous election of *perbekel* guarantees the accommodation true local participation. The solution offered by most informants is to display the contents related to the candidate's personal data, a list of visions, missions and programs, wealth reports, to the leadership qualification history that can be accessed, especially by the concerned public. This content is always updated as long as the implementation of the simultaneous election of *perbekel* is held. Candidate's personal data includes a list of origins, track records of family, education,

organizational and work experience, and the leadership in their respective communal levels.

The list of the visions, missions, and programs is the main content, because *perbekel* is the important steering position to village development. The visions, missions, and programs of each candidate are important, including their measurable operational definitions. This is certainly expected so that the villagers can measure the indicators of the achievement of each vision and mission as well as the programs offered by the candidates whether the candidate in will keep the promises or vice versa.

The other important content is the list of assets and the candidate's leadership qualifications. This is to avoid fraudulent practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism, including the guarantee for the running leadership practices to uphold the aspects of accountability, transparency, justice, and professionalism.

These contents are integrated in the official village portal specifically displayed before and during the simultaneous election of *perbekel*. To ensure the visits and accessibility, intense socialization needs to be done by approaching the community both in *paruman* meetings of the communities in the traditional villages and posting the pamphlets in the village.

As for the e-voting context, the design is not merely a sector system carried out only at the time of the simultaneous election of *perbekel*, but contains integrated system displaying the candidate's personal data, a list of visions, missions, and programs, and leadership qualification history that can be accessed by the public for during the simultaneous election of *perbekel*. The integrated implementation of e-voting will certainly guarantee the principle of fairness in the election process at the grassroots level, namely the village, in addition to educate the people that so far only the strong capital and network candidates who competed.

4. CONCLUSION

The potential of vote buying vulnerability in the election process occurring at the lower level, namely the election of *perbekel* or the official village head in Bali is still high. The study is a very important to be done to get an overview of the dominant factors influencing the pattern of vote buying in the election of *perbekel* in Bali as well as the understanding among the voters, candidates, and organizers related to the vote buying and idealization of deterrence strategies.

This research, using interviews, observation, and documentation in data collection methods and Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory as the data analysis, gives the results that the candidates and organizers articulate the understanding of vote buying towards nodal points discourse through the concept of hegemony. Vote buying by the candidates in the election of *perbekel* in Bali is vulnerable to occur on the day the election by intimidating and practicing money politics such as the widely practiced mode in the local election. The vulnerability patterns or factors take the form of special budget funding for the cattleman and agricultural groups to youth activities at the village level, including intimidation at the polling stations

The dominant factor of the incumbent *perbekel* is still an important subject and has always been easy to play this pattern, in addition to the client patron base he has built during his tenure. Based on these problems, there is an idea of the informants to implement village website activations to accommodate the interests of simultaneous election of *perbekel* as well as the application of e-voting. E-voting is still difficult to eliminate the potential of buying votes, but at least it can reduce some of its potential vulnerabilities.

E-voting is not just a sector system running only on the date of the simultaneous election of *perbekel*, but contains integrated system displaying the candidate's personal data, a list of visions, missions, and programs, to leadership qualification history that can be accessed by the public during of the simultaneous election of *perbekel*.

The integrated implementation of e-voting will certainly guarantee the principle of fairness in the election process at the grassroots level, in addition to educate the people that so far only the strong capital and network candidates who competed.

The authors thank for those who supported the writing of this article, to the Rector of Udayana University and the Head of LP3M Udayana University who gave us the opportunity to carry out this research. The authors also thank the research informants.

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Newspaper :

- Kompas, 2 Oktober 2017
Kompas, 4 Desember 2017
Nusa Bali, 15 November 2015

PARENTAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE DETERMINANTS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN INDONESIA: A CASE STUDY IN TEMBANG ISLAND, BANGGAI REGENCY, CENTRAL SULAWESI

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Abstract

The issue of school enrolment has become a heavily researched area, especially after the declaration of the MDGs in 2000 for the universal primary education. Though it had significantly improved the global primary school enrolment rate in 2015, it has a lack of improvement on the secondary school enrolment rate. Particularly in Indonesia, the transition rate from primary school to lower secondary have been lagging for the past decade. An in-depth field study in Tembang island on the transition rate to secondary school from parents' perspective was investigated in this paper through semi-structured interviews and short demographic surveys. Generally, this study found the three central themes of the secondary school enrolment in Tembang island from the perception of parents, such as costs-related issues, parental perception on children's abilities and characteristics, and other external factors. These themes are the main components of the analysis and policy recommendation in this paper. Future research and policy recommendation are discussed to boost secondary school enrolment in areas with similar characteristics.

Keywords: *Secondary School; Enrolment Rate; Parental Perspective; Low-Income-Country; Rural Education.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Education is an investment. This is the premise on which human capital theory (HCT) believes that completing school is a crucial strategy for development. Thus, the underlying rationale for the importance of keeping children and youth at school. It is associated with the premise in which a more educated society will have higher economic and societal growth, which lead to various global initiatives in increasing school enrolment.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) officially started in 2000 and to be achieved by 2015. In education, the MDGs set out to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE), where all girls and boys complete primary school (United Nations, 2015). A wide range of interventions were implemented, from removing school fees to increasing the supply of schools in rural areas.

The post-2015 results shows that the worldwide efforts were successful in increasing the primary school enrolment rate. On average, more than 91% children within primary school cohort globally were at least enrolled in primary school compared to the 83% in 2000 (United Nations, 2015). An improvement that narrowed the gap to as low as 5% on primary school enrolment rate between the developed and developing countries became a noticeable effect from the MDGs.

Despite the success of UPE, the secondary school enrolment fell behind. The earliest data from UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2018) on global secondary school enrolment rate in 1998 showed that almost half (46%) of the world's secondary school cohort was out-of-school, where 80% of them in Sub-Saharan Africa were out-of-school. While globally, only 66% of adolescents in the age group were enrolled. This reflected a slow growth of secondary school enrolment at 11% since 2000.

For the case of Indonesia, the country has successfully achieved UPE before the MDGs declaration (Suryadarma & Jones, 2013). The early achievement of UPE in 1983, was the result of a presidential mandate between 1975 and 1987 to build more than 10,000 primary schools all over the region (Bjork, 2005). The goal was to provide at least one primary school building in each village. It resulted in an imbalance number of available school buildings in the country. Currently, there are over 72,200 primary school infrastructures, where there are only less than 35,000 of lower secondary and 23,336 of upper secondary buildings available (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2017).

The availability of school infrastructures impacted the enrolment rate at both levels. The most significant primary school enrolment growth was most prominent after the decree, which increased from 73.4% to more than 97%. Despite the success in nearly achieving UPE, only 66% of primary school children who were enrolled in 1988/1989 completed primary school in 1993/1994 (Suharti, 2013).

Despite the progress, Indonesia has yet to improve the transition rate to secondary schools (Suharti, 2013). Aside from the availability of secondary school infrastructure, it also caused by the failure to retain primary students in school. The Centre for Education Data and Statistics from the MoEC by Suharti (2013) found that from the total enrolled primary school cohort in 2002/2003, only 90% finished the fourth grade, while de-

teriorating to 83% when the cohort reached sixth grade. Amongst such cohort, only 81% graduated from the primary in 2007/2008, and only 66% of the cohort continued to lower secondary school.

There are two sides of the common determinants of enrolment rate; the supply of school infrastructures and the demand of education. In the supply side, a study investigated parents with children in primary school and the graduates by Suryadarma, Suryahadi, and Sumarto (2006) in Indonesia found that only 4% of parents claimed distance to school deterred school enrolment for their children.

Moreover, the difference between urban and rural households are also significantly impacted enrolment. While discounting all characteristics, children from rural households have less chance of enrolling than the urban residents (Sugiharti, 2017). Especially for rural households, Prasetyia (2018) suggested that the supply of school facilities drove more secondary school participation compared to the demand side. He continued that the more public school facilities are available in a district, the higher the enrolment rate.

On the demand side, there are two major determinant clusters of school enrolment rate. Firstly, household characteristics play an essential role in determining school continuation in Indonesia. Generally, an assessment of education inequality from 2005 to 2012 using the logit model by Sugiharti (2017) found more educated parents increased children's probability to enrol. Additionally, children with 9-years school educated fathers have 5% more probability to enrol in secondary school, while mothers' level of education was indifferent (Suryadarma, Suryahadi, and Sumarto, 2006).

In income-related influences, household welfare is still one of the most robust determinant. Suryadarma, Suryahadi, and Sumarto (2006) concluded that 71% of parents in their study cited the costs of schooling to be the main reason for dropping out of school, despite the free 9-year

basic education programme facilitated by the government. Therefore, the higher household income, the higher chance of enrolment. The claim was also supported by Sugiharti (2017) who suggested a higher enrolment probability for households that were categorised as non-poor. This is due to Parents were often required to pay an additional hidden and indirect fees, such as for building maintenance, school uniforms, and teaching-learning equipment, as well as cope with the loss of the foregone earnings from child labour for the family (Omari, et al., 1983).

Secondly, Sugiharti (2017) found that boys are less likely to enrol in secondary school level. This implies that there is a trade-off between child labour opportunities and schooling, because the opportunity costs are higher for boys than girls in Indonesia. Further, the effect of the number of children within a household was found to affecting enrolment significantly unfavourable, whereby the more children within a school age in a rural household, the lower enrolment probability for each child (Takahashi, 2011). This result implies an implicit resources competition among siblings within a household.

It is obvious that the area of school enrolment rate is a popular topic in the research field. However, most previous researches focus only from the economically-related perspective while discounting the ethnographic view of the issue. This implies that there is a limited perspective towards ethnographic research, thus gaining a more in-depth understanding of the issue from such perspective is needed. This is where current research able to provide a deeper understanding of what is happening in the field.

Additionally, a majority of studies in Indonesia that investigated the determinants of school enrolment were primarily used a secondary data analysis from Podes (Village Potential) dataset, IFLS (Indonesian Family Life Survey), and Susenas, Sakernas (National Labor Force Survey). No primary data collection studies were found in neither urban or rural areas, especially those who

collected data from an area with Tembang Island characteristics, this is a methodological gap for studies within the topic in rural Indonesia.

2. METHODOLOGY

A mixed-method study was conducted that draws upon its primary data from a fieldwork research through semi-structured interviews and short demographic surveys. Short surveys were intended to record parents' demographic data, such as the identity of the parent and the child, parental level of education, number of children in a household, and average monthly income per capita. The fieldwork interviews were conducted in the island of Tembang on the north-east of Pagimana Sub-District in Central Sulawesi of Indonesia from May 28 to June 12 2018.

Sample size of seventeen respondents was then gathered from the fieldwork. Interviewees were divided into three groups, where each group consisted of five to six parents with specific criteria. Respondents were obtained through referrals from previous interviewees within each group, as well as from the local primary school teachers and principal. This study used a criterion sampling. To help these three categories of parents, they were coded as INSCH, OUTSCH, and PRIMGRAD.

The basic assumption of education as a future investment, where a return from years of schooling is presented by lifetime earnings potential was considered in the interview. As well as, a more open-ended characteristics of school enrolment based on the children characteristics, motivation, and other external factors were also investigated. The openness of the study design is reflected in the primary research questions. The interview questions were structured to investigate the following research questions:

What influence parents' decision on enrolling or not enrolling their children to secondary school in Tembang Island, Central Sulawesi?

How do parents perceive the return to secondary school in Tembang Island?

How does parental perception on the rate of return to secondary school affect their decision on enrolling their children to secondary school in Tembang Island?

I interviewed all of the participants with the help of a local translator who were one of the primary school teacher of the island. The process of each interview began with a verbal introduction that explains the aim of the study in a mixture between the Bajo tribal language and Bahasa Indonesia. Each participant was given a chance to ask questions before completing the consent form that has been translated to Bahasa Indonesia.

Once each participant completed the form, interview took place. As the result of the interview, seventeen audio recording were collected. After the interview, participants were asked to fill up a short demographic survey before ending the process. The time taken for each data collection process ranged between fifteen to thirty minutes. Once all of the targeted participants from all sample categories were gathered, the interview recordings were transcribed into writings in the original language before being translated into English by the researcher. Subsequently, I uploaded all of the English-translated transcripts and the short demographic surveys to the Atlas ti software for qualitative data analysis and coded all of the documents to create themes of results. The coding processing strategy was based on Seldana (2013).

As expected, there were no ethical issue emerged during the interviews. All parties voluntarily participated, which not only include parents as participants, but this study was also supported by the local stakeholders. My familiarity with the respondents in this study due to my past working experience on the island enabled me to improve the credibility of gaining the actual responses from the interviewed parents, thus reducing the sensitivity and social acceptance bias.

Though that there is no exact way to eliminate bias in this study, the credibility of the data should reflect parents' experience as the trusts

between parents and I have been built since I taught some of their children in elementary school. Moreover, to ensure the dependability of this study, I have clearly presented a step-by-step data collection and analysis method in this chapter. Thus, ensuring that this study can be transferred and replicated in a similar context to gain similar results.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. General Findings

The review of the interview transcript aimed to seek any significant findings related to the issue of this study to answer the main research questions of the following:

What influence parents' decision on enrolling their children in secondary school in Tembang Island, Central Sulawesi?

How do parents perceive the return to secondary school in Tembang Island?

How does parental perception on the rate of return to secondary school affect their decision on enrolling their children in secondary school in Tembang Island?

To begin analysing the data gathered from the fieldwork, I coded the data according to the related themes. These codes were merged into sub-themes and finally produced three major themes and its sub-themes as presented in figure I.

The quotations from respondents will support to highlight the findings from each theme. As the respondents were divided into three groups, INSCH, OUTSCH, and PRIMGRAD, the results will be compared and contrasted within and between these three groups. The general findings from the seventeen interviews conducted with parents in this study are as the following details:

Using the regional minimum monthly poverty line of 293 thousand Rupiah (USD20) per capita, only 23.5% of parents across the three groups earn more than the regional minimum income, where almost half of them earn less than

USD 10 or just below 150 thousand Rupiah/capita/month.

The majority of parents, 76% of mothers and 82% of fathers, are primary school graduates.

There were slightly more parents with female children than the male who was interviewed in this study with a ratio of 59:41 more girls than boys.

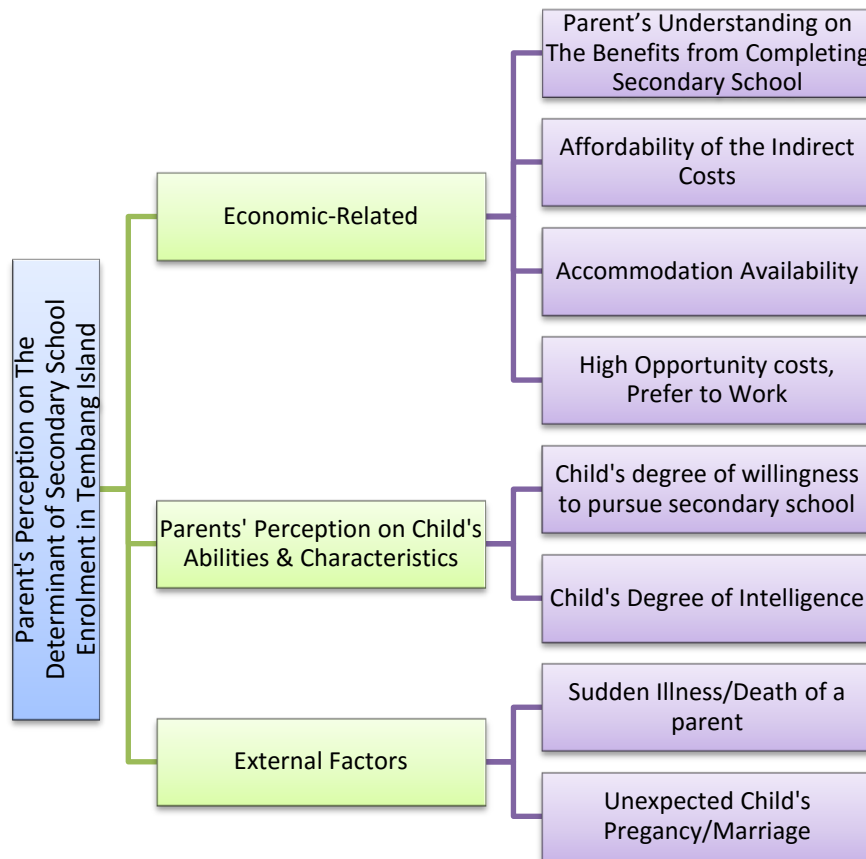


Figure 1. Coding Thematic Analysis on Results of Parental Perception on the Determinants of Secondary School Enrolment in Tembang Island, Central Sulawesi, Indonesia.

3.2. Economic-Related Factors

This theme will present data related to parent's understanding on the return from investing in secondary education and cost-related affordability. It is worth noting that the availability of accommodation was added as a factor because there is no secondary school facility in Tembang Island. Hence parents need to spend extra costs to secure accommodation for their children in the nearest sub-district of Pagimana or Boalemo.

On the case of parent's understanding on the return from investing in secondary education, this

study found that despite the geographical seclusion and poor living conditions, a majority of parents in Tembang Island who were interviewed understood the benefits of schooling for their child's future. Also, their view on the degree of benefits of enrolling and completing secondary school is profoundly affecting their decision to enrol their children in secondary school. Particularly, a respondent showed a deeper understanding of the human capital by explicitly mentioned the significance of obtaining a schooling certificate in relation to future employment:

It's essential to have a secondary school certificate these days. Even to be the village or school administrator, you can't be a primary school graduate. I don't want AAA to be like me who could only do some hard labour or go fishing to make a living. If he at least got upper secondary school certificate, he would find jobs more accessible. (005-AAA/AM-INSCH, 2 June 2018)

The finding implies that some individuals, including parents and employers, see education as a means to an end, where the goal is to obtain a credential to legitimise their investment decision, which suggested that the 'investors' will eventually expect some rewards in return from their investment in education. There were no gender differences on parents' understanding of the benefit of the secondary education from parents who supported their children's school enrolment.

On the other hand, the fieldwork study also found some contrasting perspective on the return of investing in secondary education from a mother who refused to send her son to secondary school because she believes that enrolling children in secondary school will bring no advantages for the child's future. The contrast in parents' attitude towards schooling implies that children with parents who have a more positive attitude towards schooling are more likely to enrol their children in school compared to those who view education to be less advantageous.

This finding supported a previous study in rural China that concluded the higher parents' expectation on the child's education level, the more years that children in a household attending school (Zhao & Glewwe, 2010). Further analysis of the influence of household characteristics on the parental perspective on the benefits of enrolling in secondary school is needed in order to establish a clearer picture of causality.

Next, The indirect costs in this study include the initial enrolment and application costs,

costs of daily needs, rent, and separation from family. The initial costs of enrolment in this study are defined as any costs related to the beginning of enrolment process that include costs for the application forms, uniforms, school necessities, and costs related to relocating to accommodation near schools. Whereas the costs of daily living are any costs incurred during the years of schooling, this includes child's daily stipend, commuting costs, daily meals, and other schooling needs.

The answers were categorised into two groups: the perceived affordable group and the perceived unaffordable group. Results shows more than half of the respondents perceived the indirect costs of secondary education as affordable. However, parents' claims on the affordability were ranged from "very confident" to "it will be a struggle but are determine to work on it". The first example came from two single mothers whose husband passed away and struggles but determined to support her daughter secondary education:

I'm struggling to provide her (JS) to be very honest. Since her father passed away last year, I've been trying my best to support her. I sell snacks, cakes, noodles, you name it. I sell everything that can earn me money so that I can support her education. I want her to be a nurse so that she can take care of the people in this village and take care of me too. (008-JS/MM-INSCH, 4 June 2018)

Though that the respondent is struggling to support the indirect costs of schooling due to the loss of the primary source of income of the household, they seem to be very persistent to keep their daughters in school because they have high hope for the daughters' future. This show that these parents strongly believe that supporting the education of their children is mean to have a better quality of life, not only for the child but also for the family and society. Next, the second example came from a mother who was very confident

about affording the indirect costs of her daughter's secondary school:

I'm not too worried about money because she (NEP) really likes to go to school. Money is her father's job, so I hope everything will be okay (in the future) so that we can keep supporting her education (013-NEP/IM-INSCH, 6 June 2018)

Besides supporting her child's eagerness to pursue secondary school, I examined her household's characteristics to understand the confidence of NEP mother's claim further. I discovered that her household is among the 23.5% of the household who earns above the Banggai Regency's minimum poverty line. In contrast, the following examples highlight parents who are financially struggling to fulfil the household's daily needs and perceived the indirect costs of schooling to be unaffordable.

It (the costs) affects a lot. Since we only make less than 100 thousand Rupiah per week, how can we afford the costs of living? Even though there are no monthly tuition fee, the costs of living are too expensive (003-AAL/YR-PRIMGRAD, 1 June 2018)

There is indeed a government intervention to alleviate some of the indirect costs of schooling, but it has yet to boost enrolment rate. The government programme of *Kartu Indonesia Pintar/KIP* (Smart Indonesia Card) provide a conditional cash transfer scheme that targets families who are prone to fall or live under the national poverty line, orphan children, and children with disabilities to cover some of the indirect costs, such as school necessities, daily stipends, and commuting costs (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016).

To receive the endowment fund, students must be officially enrolled in an educational institution and aged between 6 to 21 years old.

The endowment recipients will receive 750,000 Rupiah (USD52) annually, discounting the area of residence.

The effectiveness and efficiency of this programme were criticised by OECD (2016) in their OECD Indonesia Economic Surveys due to the poorly timed implementation of the cash transfer. Recipients will only receive the fund after a few months of the initial enrolment timeframe. This means that parents are still required to cover the initial enrolment costs before actually receiving the fund and based on the interviews in this study, the initial enrolment costs play a crucial role on parents' decision-making process.

One may argue that another weakness of the programme overly generalised the nominal value of the amount given with a lack of consideration on the real value of a due to different rates of inflation within Indonesia. The poorly timed delivery of the cash transfer and the lack of context-related value adjustment on the amount of cash transfer, combined with the low household income in the rural area would negatively affect the parents' decision on enrolling their children to secondary school. This argument is supported by OECD (2016) that suggested reform in the programme administration, and implementation is needed to ensure higher enrolment and attendance rate in secondary school, especially in rural areas.

Third, the effect of the available accommodation in the mainland of Sulawesi with regard to the enrolment probability for children from Tembang Island was also investigated. The nearest schools are located in either Pagimana or Boalemo sub-districts with a commuting time ranged from one to three hours' journey by a small fishing boat, along with a less thirty minutes by foot. The general accommodation-related findings show that almost 64% of parents have some sort of accommodation arrangement near the schools in sub-districts, despite enrolment status.

However, 36% of the parents claimed that one of the most significant problems of school enrolment is caused by the absence of available accommodation near the school. Among those parents, 60% of them refrained from supporting their children enrolment in secondary school due to the safety concern due to lack of adult supervision and the high costs of accommodation in the nearest sub-districts.

Despite such variable might not be one of the most crucial determinant of secondary school enrolment, it concludes that the presence of accommodation still has an influence on enrolment rate in areas similar to Tembang Island. Parents might consciously aware of certain risks attached to the separation from families and detaching their children to a new environment with lack of adults' supervision.

This finding is supported by Pitt, Rosenzweig, and Gibbons (1993) who found a small to no impact on secondary school enrolment by increasing the supply of school. However, it is worth noting a study in China found that though the small significance to the general enrolment rate, girls are less likely to enrol in school when there is no schooling facility near the household (Li & Liu, 2014). This is due to the risks are higher for girls to go to school in an unfamiliar community, as girls are more prone to harassment. This suggests that through increasing supply of school will increase enrolment in girls.

Fourth, this study also found that from two-out-of-five parents who refused to send their male children to secondary school claimed that the opportunity costs of them leaving home and going to school is higher than the perceived benefits of secondary schooling. They mentioned that they need their boys to earn a living and to work to feed the whole family. However, the field research did not find any evidence on the effect of opportunity costs-related in girls, which is in line with a study that analysed rural Pakistan's household survey which found that male children are

more likely compelled to work in households living under poverty (Bhalotra, 2007).

The conditional cash transfer scheme has been suggested in order to reduce the opportunity costs of school enrolment by awarding low-income parents a lump sum of money in exchange of school attendance (Gitter & Barham, 2009). This scheme might be applicable in the context of rural Indonesia, such as Tembang Island. However, currently, there has yet to be a specific cash transfer scheme to tackle child labour problem and improve school enrolment rate. The current scheme of *KIP* only provide an endowment, and the funds are allocated only to those who are already enrolled in school. Consequently, it narrowly aimed to prevent students from dropping out. However, this programme has a lack of impact on the out-of-school children who compelled to work with their family due to poverty.

Such intervention help to prevent child labour by reducing the opportunity costs in households under poverty, which it might improve boys' enrolment rate in this case. Therefore, while boys appear to work on account of poverty compulsions, the evidence for girls is ambiguous. This article finds support for the assumption that poverty compels boys to work. This suggests that cash transfers offered to households supplying child labour will be effective in reducing child labour amongst boys.

3.3. Parental Perception on Child's Abilities & Characteristics

This study found that child's individual characteristics are impacting parents' decision on school enrolment in Tembang island. Child's abilities and characteristics measured in this study include: the degree of the child's willingness to enrol in secondary school and parental perception on child's level of intelligence and diligence. It found that 64% of children participated in this study according to parents' testimony were eager to enrol in secondary school. Amongst those who were eager to pursue secondary school, only half

of them are actually currently enrolled in secondary school, while the others were either never enrolled in or dropped out from secondary school. Children eagerness was found impactful to successfully skewed parents' decision to enrol them in school:

He (AAA) really wanted to go to secondary school. At first, I was hesitant on whether I could afford it or not but when he saw me leaning toward not supporting him to enrol in secondary school, he ran to the pier and cried. Seeing him cried like that, it broke my heart, so the next day I took him to Pagimana and enrolled him to school (005-AAA/AM-INSCH, 2 June 2018)

In contrast, the study found that all out-of-school children were perceived to have a lack of schooling motivation by their parents. The two most common themes were because child's refusal to be separated from their families and child labour. The contradictory statements above illustrate that children's motivation in pursuing school have a significant impact on parents' decision-making process. One may argue that in this study, the child should also be recognised as an agent who has the capacity to influence their own will and act towards it, which in this case was to bargain over schooling enrolment decision. Most household models on enrolment decision making often failed to recognise children's agency despite the fact that various evidence has shown that children do act to achieve their preferable results. Findings by Orkin (2011) in Ethiopia supported the view and argued that children have a power to skew the power balance in a household on the decision in households.

The shift on the power distribution by even out the decision burden to all household members with an aim to maximise household utility and give each member of a household the agency, especially children, to decide and act towards the preferable outcomes, which for this study, in-

creasing secondary school enrolment rate is the goal. The detaching children away from the main discussion in numerous studies have been heavily criticised by Adlerson (2013) in her various publications. She urged the importance to start on including children in the discussion and breaking the myths and the oppression of children on their incapability and the lack of relevancy on the adult world. The lack of previous studies will help to fill up the gap and provide new evidence on the topic of determinants of school enrolment in low-income countries.

Additionally, a majority of children who are currently pursuing secondary school are perceived as 'smart' by their parents. The finding suggests that parents' view on their child's intelligence play a role during parents' decision-making process on school enrolment. One may argue that the smarter parent thinks their child is, parents will project more confidence in supporting their child's education due to the lower risk of defaulting on parents' investment in education. Takahashi (2011) concluded a similar result and found that students with the higher national test for six graders score (EBTANAS) have a greater chance to pursue secondary school compared with students who scored lower on the test. However, a child's level of intelligence has shown to have a lack of impact in the out-of-school group.

The results from parents' interview on the perceived degree of child's intelligence concluded that though it has an influence on their school enrolment decision, the magnitude of the effect is non-crucial, such that the smarter parents perceived their children are, the higher the probability of the child to enrolled in secondary school only for the in-school group. Nonetheless, the effect of child's level of intelligence showed to have lack of influence in the out-of-school children, where though 40% of children in out-of-school group were perceived to be smart by their parents, parents did not enrol them in school.

3.4. External Factors

Factors such as sudden death or illness of a parent and child pregnancy and marriage were grouped together as a theme because these factors happened in the respondents' life unpredictably within a short period of time. Most households in the island rely upon a single stream of income, where men go out fishing. The illegal dynamite fishing technique is a common practice among some fishermen in the island. Though the fishing method poses a tremendous threat to those who practice it, it is still widely practised due to the profitability. Compared to traditional fishing, such method generates up to ten times more income. Most deaths happened due to illegal fishing accidents involving homemade fish bombs.

The gender difference is apparent, where boys are compelled to work to take over responsibilities of a breadwinner. It is related to the previous explanation regarding the difference in magnitude of the opportunity costs between boys and girls in families with poverty, whereby the costs of enrolling boys to school in households who are struggling with poverty is significantly higher than girls. In this case, the death and the sudden health problem of the main source of income seemed to be a multiplier of such effect on school enrolment for boys, where boys are less likely than girls in school after the loss of a parent.

In the case of child marriage, the loss of the breadwinner in a household became the multiplier of extreme poverty that forced a mother to marry her teenage daughter. This seems to be a typical event in rural areas of low-income countries. For example, in rural Lesotho Mturi (2003) found that the rate of male enrolment in secondary school was significantly higher in the case of child marriage females. This is due to that most married girls forbade to pursue schooling and were told to focus on domestic works and childbearing. The case for Lesotho is in line with the findings of this study.

These results highlighted the fragility of dropping out-of-school due to unexpected

circumstances, especially for girls. Particularly on the relationship between child marriage and pregnancy to school enrolment, Salvi (2016) believes that teenage pregnancy and marriage would hinder young people to pursue personal success as it will interrupt education and training activities and most girls will never continue with their education due to their responsibilities for childbearing. As the link between child pregnancy and marriage and school enrolment has become one of the most researched topics in the area of education and childhood studies, the findings in this part of the thematic analysis will add to the current literature by providing a more explicit link between the issue and school enrolment in a fishing community.

4. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATION

The problem with the school enrolment rate has become the global community's focus since 2000 after the declaration of the MDGs, especially at primary level. Though it had significantly improved the global primary school enrolment rate in 2015, it has lack of improvement on secondary school enrolment rate. In Indonesia, this was caused by the access to secondary school in rural areas and the failure to prevent primary school students from dropping out prior to completion.

Specifically, Tembang island has lack of access to the secondary school facility. As a result, only a small number of children transitioned to secondary school. No previous research was found investigating this issue on the island and this is the gap of understanding that this research aims to investigate.

The thematic analysis of the results generated three central themes for determinants of school enrolment in Tembang island. Firstly, the economic-related theme covered the determinants of enrolment. The results showed that a majority of parents in Tembang island have a certain level of understanding of the concept of the rate of

return from secondary schooling. Moreover, the probability of secondary school enrolment depends on the attitude of parents toward education, where positive attitude would increase enrolment in secondary school.

Secondly, findings suggested that household welfare significantly influence parents' confidence on enrolment, whereby more confident parents enrol their children to school. Third, despite the apparent influence of accommodation availability in the mainland, this variable was not found to be a crucial determinant of school enrolment.

Subsequently, some respondents also claimed that the opportunity costs of their male children leaving home and going to school are higher than the perceived benefits of secondary schooling, especially for households with ill or deceased fathers. However, the field research did not find any evidence on the effect of opportunity costs related to girls and school enrolment.

Next, a discussion made about children's agency in deciding their school enrolment status. I argued that a child should also be recognised as an agent who has the capacity to influence their own will and act towards it, which in this case was to bargain over schooling enrolment decision. Strong criticisms by Adlerson (2013) were discussed in the topic of the inclusion of a child view in the adult discussion.

Furthermore, the interview results found that almost all of the children pursuing secondary school were perceived to have a tremendous academic ability by their parents, which suggests that child's intelligence increases parents' confidence to bear the risks of supporting their child's secondary school enrolment. Lastly, the fieldwork uncovered that child marriage and pregnancy in girls affected enrolment rate negatively. In this case, child marriage is not the only determinant of being out-of-school for girls, but it was a substantial factor in a female-headed household.

One of the most significant implication in this study was an in-depth understanding of

parental risk-taking behaviour with scarce resources. In a secluded and poor area like Tembang Island where the access to secondary is restrained due to distance and costs, enrolling children in school poses as a highly risky decision. As the majority of households in the island live extremely below the regional poverty line, these parents would require to choose between meet their daily needs or gamble their limited resources and enrol their children to secondary school while hoping that their children will have a brighter employment probability.

For the costs-related recommendation, a management reform of the current *KIP* programme and the implementation of a conditional cash transfer scheme are recommended to provide an endowment for parents to reduce the indirect costs and the opportunity costs of school enrolment. These financial assistance programmes would favour parents' school enrolment risk assessment towards schooling. Consequently, parents would no longer perceive that enrolling their children in school to be a gamble on their limited resources.

Future research should consider investigating further on what motivates children in secluded and poor rural areas to go to school. Hence, a more comprehensive and integrative intervention to increase children's motivation on enrolling despite their poor living situation, combined with conditional financial incentive schemes for parents to alleviate some of the indirect and opportunity costs are needed to further boost secondary school enrolment in areas with similar characteristics.

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YOGYAKARTA'S TRAFFIC LIGHTS INTERSECTION STREET DANCER: DANCE COMMODIFICATION AS A LIFE SURVIVAL STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE OF POVERTY LINE

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Abstract

Traffic lights intersection has become an economic realm for a group of people who can be classified as poor society. One of the socio-economic phenomena that can be found at traffic lights intersection, especially Kaliurang street's traffic lights intersection KM 5.5 Sleman, Yogyakarta, namely street dancers phenomenon, one of them is Ibu Sri. This phenomenon illustrates the existence of the efforts of street dancers to continue their existence in the middle of poverty line. This study aims to analyzing dance commodification and identify the strategy of Ibu Sri to survive with her job as a street dancer. This research uses qualitative method with narrative approach. The results of this research are : First, Living in poverty requires Ibu Sri to create a strategy for survival; second, the main strategy that applied by Sri is to convert dance commodities into something that can be traded; third, even though Ibu Sri has tried hard become a street dancer, her efforts have not yet created prosperity for her family.

Keywords: *Street Dancer; Life Survival Strategy; Commodification; Traditional Dance; Poverty.*

1. INTRODUCTION

At the Kaliurang's traffic lights intersections, we can find an unique phenomenon when the traffic lights up red. There are some people who perform dances such as traditional dances on the zebra cross right in front of the drivers. One of the dancers is Ibu Sri (43 years old). She danced using various attributes such as real traditional dancers. Although what she did was not normal for a woman her age, but she did not hesitate to show a modest face when interacting directly with the drivers.

Traffic lights intersections is an economy place for some people who are categorized as the poor (Hendrawati, 2008). Various kinds of buskers and beggars are often found with various kinds of their activities to get money, including at the Kaliurang's traffic lights intersentions. Kaliurang's traffic lights intersentions is an economy place for Ibu Sri with activity and her role as street dancer. Like a real professional dancer, she performed the dance performance under the hot sun simultaneously or alternately with other dancers and was shown to the drivers. Her performance did not last long, just around 30 seconds.

The uniqueness of street dancers phenomenon attract the driver's attention, especially on their appearance and purpose. If observed closely,

the activity of street dancers are basically to get money. But, those street dancers were more improved and creative by packing dances resembling traditional dances. In other words, there is more effort to get what they want.

Generally, traditional dances are performed on special occasions, such as traditional event, welcoming event, or celebration event. But this time, traditional dance was used by Ibu Sri to get money from driver without special event. What Ibu Sri did, raises the question for me. Why does Ibu Sri want to dance on the streets in front of the drivers? Remembering she is a woman and a housewife. What she did might be a strategy for survival in the middle of poverty line. But, how does she use traditional dance as a survival strategy?

Based on the reality of that phenomenon, the purpose of this study is to identify Ibu Sri's strategy for survival in the middle of poverty line by analyzing dance commodification to get feedback from the drivers at Kaliurang street's traffic lights intersection KM 5.5 Sleman, Yogyakarta.

Poverty is a condition of underprivileged to meet daily needs. The concept of poverty is related to the estimated level of needs and income. "These needs are limited to basic needs or minimum basic needs that must be met through income, so as to enable someone to live properly. If the income level cannot reach the minimum requirement, then that individual or family can be said to be poor. This means that a minimum level of income is needed, so that the individual or family can obtain their basic needs "(Santosa, 2005: 2).

Poverty has many meanings, but still in one context which is underprivileged condition. Levitan (in Suyanto, 2001) said that poverty is a lack of goods and services needed to achieve a decent standard of living. Poverty is a very limited condition and occurs not at the will of the person concerned. Characteristics of the poor society are low education level, low work productivity, low income, weak health and nutrition, low welfare, and show powerlessness. Poverty can be caused by

limited human resource capacity, both from formal and non-formal education channels (Supriatna, 1997: 90).

Poor people in rural or urban areas do not have permanent jobs. Generally their profession is farm laborers, small traders, fishermen, small artisans, laborers, street vendors, hawkers, scavengers, homeless people and beggars. They belong to the residual group, namely groups of people who have not been touched by various government policies that are specifically concentrated and difficult to touch because of the low quality of resources so that they do not use the facilities, including factors of production (Kadji, 2013: 2). If there is no serious treatment of these poor groups, it can cause sustainable problems for cultural and structural poverty. Therefore the government must create poverty reduction strategies that cannot be separated from economic recovery policies and are directly concentrated in poor communities, because the impact of poverty can spread to every aspect, for example creating frustration, alienation and despair, slowing economic growth and community vibration (Fernando dan Benjamin, 2011).

Mass poverty (macro) experienced by people in a country, especially developing countries, has historically been caused by the backwardness and economy of the country itself after World War II (Hardiman and Midgley, in Kuncoro 1997: 131). According to Kuncoro (1997: 131), poverty of a country is due to self-dependence on the subsystem agricultural sector, a traditional production method that is often accompanied by apathy towards the environment. Based on the economic paradigm, poverty is caused by 3 factors: first, the inequality of ownership patterns of resources that lead to inequality in income distribution. The poor have only limited resources and low quality. Second, the difference in the quality of human resources. Low quality of human resources means low productivity, which results in low wages. The low quality of human resources is due to low educa-

tion, disadvantaged fate, discrimination, and hereditary (cultural) factors. Third, due to differences in access in capital (Sharp, et. al. In Kuncoro 1997: 131).

In addition, there are three forms of poverty and their causes, namely natural poverty, cultural poverty and structural poverty (Sumudiningrat, 1998: 67). *Natural poverty* is poverty caused by natural factors such as disability, illness, old age, natural disasters, persistent poverty, and critical or inadequate natural resources. *Cultural poverty* is poverty caused by the culture adopted by a community. More specifically, the culture refers to lifestyles and habits that they think are sufficient. This community group is difficult to be invited to participate in development, reluctant to try to improve their quality of life. It involves culture of laziness, wastefulness, undisciplined, difficult to change thoughts. *Structural poverty* is poverty caused by man-made factors, such as unfair policies, uneven distribution of assets, corruption and collusion and the world economic order that tends to benefit certain communities.

Various kinds of poverty problems lead to the theory, namely the theory of the vicious cycle of poverty which includes six elements, including: backwardness, lack of capital, low investment, low savings, low income and low productivity (Kuncoro, 1997: 132)

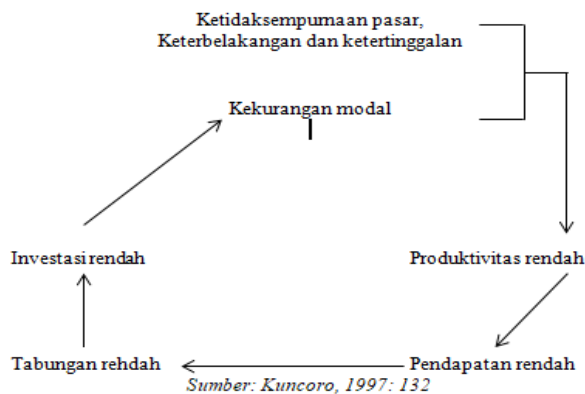


Figure 1. The theory of the vicious cycle of poverty

According to Nurkse (in Kuncoro, 1997: 132) the theory of the vicious cycle of poverty includes the existence of "backwardness, market

imperfection, and lack of capital which causes low productivity. Low productivity produces the low income they receive. Low income will have implications for low savings and investment. Low investment returns will have implications for backwardness and so on.

Commodification is a process to change something of value into something or product that can be marketed (Mosco, 2009: 131). Marx in Mosco (2009: 131-132) explained that the depth of commodities is not only limited to rigid social relations and hides the value of struggle, but also describes a meaning of life and the strength possessed in the form of producers and consumers.

Commodification can be understood as a production that is made to be exchanged in the market, which means it is produced and then resold. As a result of the economy based on the spirit of creating profits, commodification arises in various sectors of life (Setiawan, 2011: 51). Commodification is carried out with the main goal so that something, whether in the form of goods or services, can be traded on the market (Sutrisno et al., 2009: 271 in Setiawati, 2013: 15).

Survival is seen as an income in the form of money or sources of life so that one can continue to exist. A combination of social and economic activities, including all efforts prepared to deal with important situations and survive in difficult conditions (Suhartini, 2008).

Snel and Staring in Setia (2005: 6) said that survival strategies are a series of actions chosen by individuals and households who are socio-economically poor. Through this strategy, one can try to increase income through the use of other resources or reduce spending through reducing the quantity and quality of goods / services. The way a person makes a strategy is influenced by the position of the individual in the structure of society, the belief system and social networks chosen, including expertise in mobilizing existing resources, skill levels, asset ownership, type of work, gender status and personal motivation (Hidayah, 2009: 3).

2. METHODS

The method used in this research is qualitative method. "Qualitative is a method for exploring and understanding the meaning in detail and complete originating from phenomena or derived from social problems" (Creswell, 2012: 63). These details can only be obtained by interacting directly with the informant and asking them to tell the story without being disturbed or hindered by allegation of researcher. While the approach used is a narrative study approach. Narrative studies focus on narrated stories and descriptions of a series of events related to individual experiences. "Starting with the experience expressed in the stories conveyed by individuals, narrative study procedure examines these individuals by trying to collect data through their stories, reporting on individual experiences, and chronological arrangements for the meaning of the experience" (Creswell, 2014: 96). Data collection is done by interview and observation techniques. Interviews are conducted face to face and openly, where subjects know that they are being interviewed and know the intent and purpose of the interview. While the data analysis technique uses interactive models of Miles and Huberman.

The research location is at the Kaliurang street's traffic lights intersection KM 5.5 Sleman, Yogyakarta. The reason for determining the location of the study is based on consideration of the phenomenon of dance performances in places that are less "common" or not in general place.

The determination of the subject is done by considering: (1) the existence of a subject that is often located at that location that has been observed by the researcher during the initial observation; (2) gender, the research subject is a woman and a housewife.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Ibu Sri's profile as a traffic lights intersections street dancer

Ibu Sri Astuti is one of several street dancers at the Kaliurang street's traffic lights intersection

KM 5.5 Sleman, Yogyakarta. Her role as an amateur dancer on the streets has been carried out for two years and has become her daily work. Ibu Sri is not a native of Yogyakarta, but she is a resident of Malang, East Java Province which is her hometown. She has lived in Yogyakarta for six years.

Ibu Sri is the hope and head of family. As the head of family, it means that she has an obligation to fulfill the economic need of her family since divorced with her husband several years ago. She does not have a permanent job, the job she has received from other people is not routine. If there is a *halal* job, she will do it between her activities as a street dancer. In the midst of critical economic conditions, Ibu Sri must be able to survive even though she does not have a permanent job.

Ibu Sri does not have many other choices in finding work because the education she received was only limited to elementary school, and this has implications for the difficulty to improving family economy. Therefore, the solution that she took was to work as a street dancer, even though she realized that it would not be enough to improve the welfare of her family.

Playing role as a street dancer is her own choice because dancing on the streets does not require large capital. Only with traditional dancer-style clothes and electric musical instruments that he always carried while working, small events can be held to entertain the drivers at the traffic lights intersection so she can get feedback from the drivers for her effort. Luckily as a child she often attended traditional dance training in her village, so she had little skills to perform.

Traffic lights intersection is a meaningful place for people like Ibu Sri. Ibu Sri was able to conjure up that place to be a work place for herself when she did not have a permanent job. Dancing on the streets has become her daily activity and even her main job. Economic factor is of course the biggest driver of why he wants to dance in the hot sun and in the presence of drivers. If it wasn't

for economic difficulties, maybe Ibu Sri had never been at the traffic lights intersection every day to dance to meet the needs of herself and her children.

The money obtained by Ibu Sri is not so much, only around Rp. 40,000 - Rp. 80,000 every day. Cukup atau tidaknya pendapatan tersebut, beliau terima dengan ikhlas. Enough or not the money that she got, she accepted sincerely. According to residents who live around the Kaliurang street's traffic lights intersection, Ibu Sri's activity did not disturb other people or causing traffic problems. On the contrary, her presence provides little entertainment for drivers.

Referring to the concept of poverty, Ibu Sri can be categorized as a poor. This is based on the type of work as a street dancer, money earned, and level of education. In the process of fulfilling basic needs, Ibu Sri admitted that it was very difficult to achieve prosperity. The price of basic needs continues to increase, but the income is uncertain. So that her family needs are not fulfilled. However, she must continue to live her life and playing role as a street dancer.

Ibu Sri said, during her lifetime she had only educated as far as the elementary school. The low level of education that she achieved impacted on the difficulty of finding a permanent job and her savings. The work that she did was erratic. Besides being a street dancer, sometimes she also accepted jobs that match her abilities from other people, such as laundry. There is a correlation between education level, job and savings which made her categorized as poor.

Poverty experienced by Ibu Sri, then experienced also by her two children who did not have education. This can be explained by the theory of the vicious cycle of poverty in which the low income that Ms. Sri obtained was due to backwardness, market imperfection and lack of capital. So that productivity is low, then the income received is also low or uncertain. As a result there is no savings and investment. Thus, it has an impact on backwardness and sustainability

of poverty if the income she earns as a street dancer has never been sufficient to fulfill her family needs.

3.2 Dance Commodification and Ibu Sri's Strategy for survival

In an effort to maintain its survival, without realizing it, she has made a process of changing values that can be traded through her efforts as a street dancer. In other words, she commodified the dance so that it produced reciprocity from the audience. The process of changing the value of a commodity (dance) behind Ibu Sri's efforts is very possible. The commodity traded by Ibu Sri, although in the form of entertainment, in the real sense is a form of commodification. Commodification requires skills from individuals or groups that change the value of a commodity to be traded. This is to increase the value of the traded goods. For example, to change an object (commodity) into something valuable and can be traded, then Ibu Sri must have skill or ability. In this case Ibu Sri has the capital of traditional dancing skills that she had learned as a child. But the dance used by Ibu Sri on the streets is not purely a traditional dance. She only adopted a mixture of traditional dance movements and modified them in such a way even without meaning.

Knowledge of traditional dance movements is her capital as a street dancer and add value to commodities. Through her effort, Ibu Sri managed to get feedback (money) from the audience. Not to give meaning to the dance that performed, audience did not know the meaning of the dance that performed by Ibu Sri. However, the movements used by Ibu Sri created the assumption of a traditional dance that is usually performed by professionals on a real stage.

The commodification of micro-dances that performed by Ibu Sri can be said to be successful. In this case the effort that she did has its own selling value compared to other homeless people or beggars who just wait and ask for money without any efforts or change tradable commo-

dities. Although the concept of commodification is called having a relationship with capitalism in manipulating objects to seek personal gain, but what Ibu Sri did is not a capitalist activity because it did not harm other people or dance artists in seeking profits. She only used and collaborated traditional dance as an effort to maintain her life in the middle of the poverty line.

Living in the middle of the poverty line narrowed Ibu Sri's hopes to improve the welfare of her family. The various limitations that she has have an impact on the difficulty to be free from the shackles of poverty. Even so, the poverty that she experienced eventually led to intentions and strategy to stay afloat amid the difficulties of the economy. Playing role as a street dancer is an illustration that there is an effort to maintain her life. Although her job is not make sense to women her age, but in reality it turns out to be a form of strategy to maintain existence that is manifested in systematic unity.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that what Ibu Sri was done as street dancer is a form of effort to maintain her survival. In the midst of the economic crisis, Ibu Sri used traditional dancing skills that she learned to support her profession as a street dancer. Ibu Sri's survival strategy by becoming a street dancer shows that she does not have a permanent job to support her family's economy. Ibu Sri's survival strategy by becoming a street dancer shows that she does not have a permanent job to support her family's economy

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ROLE OF ACTORS IN ACTOR NETWORK STAGE OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SEMARANG CITY

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Abstract

This research is important because the tourism sector is the mainstay of each region to explore Regional Original Income. This study aims to describe and analyze actors involved in tourism development in the city of Semarang in terms of the aspects of the actor network stage. The problem faced is the less optimal cooperation and partnership between the actors involved. Data is collected through: interview, observation and literature. Determination of informants is using Snowball technique with key informants Head of Semarang Tourism and Culture Office. Data analysis by means of: data condensation, data verification and conclusion drawing. Validate data using source triangulation. From the research can be known: (1) the actor network formed in the development of tourism in the city of Semarang based on Semarang City Regulation No. 3 of 2010 concerning tourism. (2) The actors involved are four categories, namely: Primary Actors, which are repressed by the Culture and Tourism Office of Semarang City. Secondary actors, is represented by the Regional Development Planning Agency. Tertiary actors are represented by community groups, academics, business, and mass media. Quaternary actors are represented by the Semarang City DPRD. The role of actors in tourism development is reflected in nine stages which include: Punctualization, Translation, Problematization, Interestment, Enrollment, Inscription,

Speaker, Betrayal, and Irreversibility. The recommendations submitted were delegating the authority of the promotion field to BP2KS, which means that in the organizational structure Disbudpar there needs to be a study on the elimination of the promotion field. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism synergizes more with the actors involved, by facilitating workshop to maintain the vision of the parties involved. The Culture and Tourism Office provides convenience in accessing activities related to promotion.

Keywords: *Actor Network; Development; Tourism.*

1. INTRODUCTION

National tourism performance is still not optimal in general result from the problems of the management tourism system itself (Sunario in Nugroho, 2016:220), as for these problems include:

- a. The constraints readiness of the regions attractions, namely the limited support as follows:
 - Leasehold land transport, sea and air, and other supporting;
 - General facilities;
 - Structuring and tourist attraction diversify;
 - Conditions of safety and comfort.
- b. Tourism Investment from *domestic* or foreign sources is still not optimal because of the

conditions and security, as well as the investment climate has not been conducive.

- c. Information technology was instrumental in the development, promotion and marketing of tourism objectives, development of e-business and e-marketing. It is still constrained because of infrastructure, policy until mastery of technology.
- d. National tourism sector not yet supported qualified human resources in sufficient quantities to support the development of tourism destinations, ranging from the level of managerial and planners, to the its frontliner.
- e. The partnership between the Government and private sector has not been optimal entwined.

As a follow-up to Act of tourism No. 10 in 2009, and in the framework of the implementation of tourism activities and to improve the competitiveness of Semarang city which is based on the cultural values of the nation and local wisdom society done in a systematic, well-planned, integrated, sustainable, and responsible with providing protection against religious values, a culture of living in society, sustainability and environmental quality, as well as of national importance, Semarang City Government then made a Regional Regulation known as *Perda* on Tourism numbers 3 in 2010. It is as the basis of Government regulation of Semarang city in carrying out policies on Tourism.

Problems of the tourism development can be seen from the evaluation of the Department of culture and tourism of Strategy Planning known as *Renstra* from 2011 to 2015 that is implemented in 2016 where implemented at the time of the

program/activity executions on target development partnership with businessmen tourism and other regional Governments in order to increase tourist visitation in Semarang City, there are several obstacles faced, such as: (1) the limited number of media materials and promotion of tourism of Semarang City and (2) lack of coordination with tourism trade association, in particular the bureaus-tourist travel agency. Then from the *RPJMD* of Semarang City during the period 2016-2021 noted that strategic issued that must be overcome in the Affairs of tourism are:

- a. There is no optimal effort of development and management of the object and tourist attraction
- b. There is no optimal development of tourist destinations
- c. There is no optimal participation of the private and the public in tourism development.

In accordance with the policy directions tourism of Semarang City (contained in *RPJMD* of Semarang City 2016-2021), namely the improvement of tourism management as follows:

- a. Tourism Marketing Development Program with performance indicators percentage of increase in tourist visitation,
- b. Development program of tourist destinations with performance indicators number of attractions that are managed well,
- c. Tourism industry development program with performance indicators number of tourism ventures that has a list of Business Tourism (TDUP).

For more details can be seen in the table 1 below:

TABLE 1
The Visitation Amount in Semarang City

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Foreingners	392.895	372.463	388.143	419.584	421.191
Domestics	21.838.351	25.240.021	29.430.609	29.852.095	33.030.843
TOTAL	22.231.246	25.612.484	29.818.752	30.271.679	33.452.034

Source: Data from Cultural and Tourism Agencies of Semarang City 2016

Based on the table above it can be noted that the number of visitors can indeed increase annually, but when viewed from a percentage of the number of visitors turned out to be experiencing fluctuations. When viewed on foreigners from 2011 to 2012 there was a decreased about 5.2%, later in from 2012 to 2013 showing an increase about 4%, from 2013 to 2014 there was an increased about 7.5% and in from 2014 to 2015 increased about 0.4%. For domestics can be known that from 2011 to to 2012 was rising about 13.48%, from 2012 to 2013 was rising about 14.24%, from 2013 to 2014 was rising about 1.5% and from 2014 to 2015 was

rising about 9.5%. The ups and downs of the number of visitors at the top make an indication of the weakness in tourism development in Semarang City. In addition it does not achieve the expected acceptance of the target into another problem faced by the Cultural and Tourism Department of Semarang City such as the instability in target achievement of acceptance and realization within at least 3 (three) years (Profile DPKAD 2016), it became a trigger to continue in tourism development in various ways both inside and outside the country so that the original receipt of an income target areas can be achieved. For more details can be seen in the following table 2:

TABLE 2
The Outcome Realization of Tourism Area in Semarang City

	2013	2014	2015
Target	104.730.906.000	104.484.420.000	103.340.009.000
Realisasi	102.785.108.993	110.491.080.293	90.091.994.483

Source: Data from Cultural and Tourism Agencies of Semarang City 2016

With regard to the issue of partnerships and cooperation actors involved in tourism development in Semarang City, and with reference to the ACT No. 10 in 2009 about the Tourism Chapter IX, Chapter X, Chapter XI and which was later followed up with Regional Regulation of Semarang City No. 3 in 2010 about tourism, Chapter X, Chapter XI and Chapter XII can be aware that the issue of cooperation and coordination as well as partnership actors involved is set up clearly. But in reality it is not

optimal. Problems in tourism development, especially in terms of partnerships and collaboration with *stakeholders* can be seen from the evaluation of Culture and Tourism Department as well as Strategy Planning known as *Renstra* from 2011 to 2015 that is implemented in 2016, as follows:

"At the time of program/activity execution on target development of partnerships with tourism businessmen and other local government in order to increase tourist visitation in Semarang City there are

obstacles faced, as follows: (1) the limited number of media materials and promotion of tourism in Semarang City and (2) lack of coordination with the tourism trade association, in particular the bureaus-tourist travel agency."

Furthermore, in relation to the tourism development of partnerships program-targeted 25% with an indication of the performance occupancy average hotel in 3 (three) at least last year only reached 5.7%. (RPJMD, 2016), growth of the number of principals of tourism also did not experience an increase where average during 3 (three) last year remained at 10% level.

Some previous research has ever done is from: (1) Victoria m. Waligo, Jackie Clarke, Rebecca Hawkin (2001), *Implementing Sustainable Tourism: Multi Stakeholder Involvement Management (MSIM) Framework, Tourism Managemant*. (2) Albert N. Kimbu and Michael Z. Ngoasong (2013) *Centralized Decentralization of Tourism Development: A Network Perspective, Annals of Tourism Research*. (3) Carl Crafton & Anne Permalof (2005), the focus of their research is about public policy processes and *networking*, where the findings of their research is on the role of mass media is very dominant in the political decision-making process, but the content is news that is important. (4) Bach & Niklasson (2012), the focus of their research is the *Principal and Agency Theory*, where the research findings is delegated to the policy agent should be done with the mechanisms of accountability and transparency. (5) Tri Yuniningsih (2018),

Analysis of the network of actors is implemented in the tourism development of Semarang City. Several theories which are used, among others, with reference to the opinion of Howlett and Ramesh, is a *policy network* (network policy) is a relationship formed by a coalition between Government, community actors including private (Yuniningsih,2018:47). Every policy of the actors involved in it, they can refer individuals

or groups. In any process of public policy there are actors who play the roles of each of the policy making process to evaluation process policy. Policy actors is a person or a group of people involved in this stage of proposals, selection, assessment, and selection of policy alternatives that have a relationship of interdependence between actors policy formulation (Suwitri, 2011: 240).

It further stated that the policy actors is a person or group of people, as individuals or institution official (derived from government organizations), not official (from outside government organizations), which is involved in the policy process. Policy actors include Government, private, and community, and third among the actors appear *quango*, namely in the form of individual actors or organizations outside the Government but government-funded as well as cluster i.e. actors in the form of individual or organizations outside of the Government who are not government funded. Public policy actors are often referred to as *stakeholders*. Cooperation is between public organizations with actors or stakeholders in the Organization incurring some kind of *hybrid cluster* and *quano*. Savas (in Suwitri, 2011) mentions the relationship of public organizations with private as *public-private partnerships*. UN ESCAP (in Yuniningsih, 2018) examines the concept of *governance* and the actors involved (government, military and civil society) in decision making and implementation, both from formal or informal structures.

Good governance was created when the whole process of actors actively involved in policy since the creation of up to implementation and evaluation of policies. Howlett and M. Ramesh (in Yuniningsih, 2018:56) suggested that the actor's policy is a *policy subsystem* within the network policy between the *Organization of the international system*, the *Organization of the society* and *Organization of the state*. Actor policy consists of: 1) *elected officials* namely the Executive, Legislative, and judicial branches, 2)

appointed officials or political officials by the elected political officials to take position into bureaucracy, 3) *interest group*, 4) *research organization* 5) *mass media*. These actors interacting to give approval nor disapproval both of (pro) and (cons) against a policy. These interactions form a coalition. Often the news media into the device triggers (*trigger device*) is from strong to weak relationships between actors. This opinion expressed Cobb and Elder (in Tri Yuningsih, 2018:56-57). Cobb and Elder argued that the Government's policy consists of actors and public group who know and interested in public affairs and opinion leaders, and the media which became the trigger for the weakness of strong public pressure against the Government so that a public affairs (issues) into *policy outputs*.

The role of mass media is very important in evokes concern, provoking actions, weaken the opposition, showed the strength of commitment and support. In any process of public policy there are actors who play the roles of each policy making process to policy evaluation process. Referring to the opinion of Viney (in Suwitri, 2011), actors or *stakeholders* can be divided into 4 categories, namely a) primer: an actor with a high influence and have high interest rates, to recruit actors category is by way of a *partner*; b) secondary: actors with influence high but low interest rates, to recruit actors this category by means of *consult*; c) second secondary or tertiary), that actor with low influence high importance, however, to recruit the actor categories this way *inform*; d) actor third secondary or kwarter, i.e., actors with influence and interests are low, to recruit actors this category by means of *control*. In his book, Anderson (in 1979; Lester and Stewart, in 2000:2) stated that the actors involved have their own roles – in a policy which includes: Legislative, Executive, Judiciary, Administrative Agencies, interest groups and citizens.

Based on many expert opinions above can be known that actors in the policy are those who are directly involved in a policy implementation,

because in the absence of policy actors will not be able to run effectively and efficiently. By having an actor then be known what role in a policy later. In this research will only be examined about the role of Government actors, the public and the private network actor stages. Based on the background of the issue above, this research is very important to execute.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is descriptive research categorized i.e. writing that contains descriptions of an object as it is a certain time, to expose in detail a series of data obtained through observation and interviews that have been done Yudiono (into Gantina 2014:41 Pambudi Ning). The approach used is a qualitative approach. The researches focuses on the role of actors in the network stage actors, and take the research locus in Semarang City. Primary data obtained from the informants specified in *Snowball*, namely The Head of Cultural and Tourism Department, which subsequently rolled into informants were appointed to retrieved data sufficiency. While secondary data obtained from libraries, electronic media, and Internet, as well as journals. Data collection is done with the interview, observation and librarianship. Data analysis was performed by means of condensation of data, data verification, and the conclusion of the data. To validate data is using *triangulation* sources. The observed phenomenon is the identification of the actors and their roles in the network of actor stage of tourism development in Semarang City.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Actor Identification on a Networking Stage of Tourism Development in Semarang City

Howlett and M. Ramesh (Tri Yuningsih, 2018:56) suggested that the actor's policy (*policy actors*) consists of: 1) *elected officials* including: Executive, Legislative, and Judicial, 2) *Appointed Official* or political officials appointed by officials

elected to take a role in the political bureaucracy, 3) *interest group*, 4) *research organization*, and 5) mass media. Then Viney (in Suwitri, 2011) categorizing actors based on the level of influence and importance into four (4) groups: primary actor, secondary actor, tertiary actor, and kwarter actor. Then from the results it can be known that: in tourism development in Semarang City these actors involved with a view of the actor network stages are as follows.

a. Primary Actor

The primary actors have an important role in this policy implementation. The actor has a strategic role and authority that high anyway. The primary actors in question, namely: Cultural and Tourism Department of Semarang City. It is an actor (Elected official) who becomes a manifestasi role of Government is responsible for about tourism.

b. Secondary Actor

The secondary actor has a role as the agent who made a referral or consultation by leading actor. Bappeda's role (Elected official) has right as a secondary actor in the tourism development in Semarang City. The role of this consulting agency in Bappeda looks at the involvement of tourism development planning in order to draw up continue to synergize with the strategic plan of Semarang City regional.

c. Tertiary Actor

Tertiary actors play a role in providing information, ideas, and to the main actors. The involvement of trade (business), community, academia and the media are able to play a role as an actor of this tertiary. The concept of tourism development is surely also based upon this tertiary actor perspective, so that the tourism development is able to synergize with all parties.

d. Kwarter Actor

The importance of supervision in a policy implementation, as any maintaining appropriate implementation efforts of the corridor in the achievement goals expected. Actor who

has the role of the oversight function is only owned by Regional Parliament (*DPRD*) as (Elected Official). Because Parliament has the functions include: legislation, oversight, and budget. Thus along with Regional Parliament is a kwarter actor on the stage of this network.

3.2. The Actor Role on Networking Stage of Tourism Development Actor in Semarang City

Actor-Network-Theory or often abbreviated as ANT that was conceived by Latour and Callon (in Yuniningsih, 2018), actually (until now) have evolved very far and growing. *Network* is a symptom or a date or connected. The starting point of approach between the actors is started from an environment actor associated with the other actors. In order to maintain its existence, an actor needs resources. The actor is then strained relations with other actors and then created a network of actors that communicate with each other. The pattern of interactions between actors about issues was formed based on the level of its continuity. Rules governing the behaviour of the actors and the distribution of resources are within the network. Every actor has a different perception of itself in the issue. Network policy implementation actors in the tourism development in Semarang City tried to show how differences contained in the network simultaneously act as a whole. The various actors will be connected in one network called network actors. As one Government Affairs efforts, the tourism development is one of the policies is very complex because it requires a cross-cutting efforts. How these actors are connected with each other will be explained through stages in the network of the following actors:

1. *Punctualization*

Punctualization is the process of treating the heterogeneous network as an individual actor to reduce the network complexity. Actor network of the tourism development in Semarang City is composed of actors who are group

(institutions/agencies/NGOs). Each agency/agencies/NGOs oriented interest has the same duties and the same function in tourism development network.

2. *Translation*

Translation stage is the stage of alignment of diverse interests set of actors with an interest of major actors with the aim of mobilizing support. *Translation* begins by determining the principal problem, determine the respective interests of actors both lead actor or supporting actor, as well as determining the role of actors in the implementation of policy development. Then, after each actor has to know the interests and roles between actors then adjusted the desires of the supporting actors with the wishes of the lead actor.

3. *Problematization*

After each actor harmonize authority each other together with the actor desire, then actors will be entering the phase of defining the authority of other actors that are consistent with the authority of the actors themselves. Different authority will produce a different perception-as well as the different roles of a problem. The necessity of understanding the interests of fellow actors in the network will further ease in conducting joint efforts in tourism development. This step is judged successful if there is a moment of obligatory passage point (OPP) that is the moment where the actors were satisfied with their interests that are attributed by the lead actor.

4. *Interestment*

This stage is a stage where the main actors will convince supporting actors to receive problem definition, how to solve, how to carry out, the place would be unsettled, and the set time to achieve development goals tourism. Every good actor, leading actor or supporting actor getting rights and obligations in the policy implementation of tourism development as well as other agreements offered. After each actor's interests with the interests of the main

actors are aligned, then the actors define the interests of other actors who consistently against its own interests. At this stage, the actors will look for an agreement on the problem definition, how to solve problems, how to implement them, as well as the place and time to carry out such activities. At this stage the main actor plays an extremely dominant.

5. *Enrollment*

This stage is called the stage where an agreement is happen. The supporting actors will receive the interest assigned to them by the main actors. At this stage it would seem a network that no longer takes the interests of each other, however, is a network that has the same problem one with other agreements. At this stage is usually an activity plan already set. Each of the interests of each actor already considered when they made a plan of activities, both those activities in the form of activity in the short term as well as the activities that require a very long time. Tourism and Cultural Department as the main coordinator in tourism development has a task forces have the authority in controlling the coordination that goes later. Usually, each actor will customize something given mandates without forgetting the limits authorities of the respective actors.

6. *Inscription*

As for the inscription was stage create artifacts/symbols/evidence/agreement that will guarantee the interests of each actors either writing or oral agreements only. In a series of policy implementation activities development process of tourism usually stage of *inscription* is not found. Agreement or the artifact in question in this case is the existence of guarantees for the protection of particular interests. But this is not found in a network of tourism actor development in Semarang City. Culture and Tourism Department, Tourism Promotion Agency of Semarang City (BP2KS) as well as activists of the Tour also in carrying

out their duties never made a written agreement or not or in the form of a symbol to protect certain interests. Every authority is protected by government actors and the State.

7. *Skepaker/ delegate Representative*

At this stage, the first thing that must be understood is the difference the lead actor, supporting actor or a special spokesman appointed by the lead actor. In this stage also agreed when and where and at what level these actors can be a spokesman. The main actors in the development of policy implementation of tourism in Semarang City is Culture and Tourism Department, and its supporting actors are actors who've been mentioned before participating in the Affairs of the development of tourism in Semarang City, including BP2KS and Tourism Activists. A special spokesperson referred to in this stage is the spokesman while at some stage or stages, a certain actor holding the dominant role of the main actors so that the actor pointing as a spokesperson at the time it is needed.

8. *Betrayal*

Betrayal stage is the State in which the actors do not comply with an agreement which can be seen from the participation of their representatives in tourism development of actor network in Semarang City. This condition can be seen from their performance on the field. How these actors can resolve the problem in accordance with the agreed upon will certainly show on point and stages where circumstances occurred does not correspond to the expected condition, meaning that the problem popped up in the matter. However, problems arise at the moment this is a problem on the actors involved. When the problem of the actors appears, then it will give rise to new problems that have an impact on the development efforts of the tourist activities.

9. *Irreversibility*

This stage is the next level which allows going back to the point where the alternative possi-

bility is still there. This step will appear when there is a thing that is meant not as happening on the field. It is often encountered by actors of tourism development in Semarang City. There are several factors that cause this is likely to occur. *First*, is the factor that comes from network member. The actors are in the network will be connected to each other through communication, information, trust and other resources. These relationships will be disrupted if one of their basic element or touch is not agreed by a certain actor. In the process of tourism development in Semarang City, the disruption that would be seen because certain actors do not provide enough information about the particular issue to be processed on the next, heartily solving problems that stopped at certain stage, etc. Doing so will cause disruption to the network that will make the actors in the network would find a solution so that the network can be running back and resume its performance. At the moment, the actor will return to a certain stage where alternative possibilities still exist to continue to the network activities.

4. CONCLUSION

Cooperation and partnership between the actors involved are woven not optimal, given the still many actors who still runs its own, yet the existence of coordination and communication between actors optimally, there is still mistrust among the actors, and overlapping auth. From the findings of these research results can be presented recommendations that can be used as input for the Government of Semarang City in taking policy i.e. doing strengthening against BP2KS and increased synergy between actors, as well as fostering mutual trust between the actors involved in tourism development in Semarang City.

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PKK AND SHADOWS "POST-REFORMATION" STATE IBUISM (DYNAMICS OF THE ROLE OF PKK ORGANIZATIONS IN RAKSA JIWA VILLAGE, OGAN KOMERING ULU DISTRICT)

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Abstract

Departing from changes in the political system from the New Order Regime to the Reform Regime, this study will then broadly discuss how these political changes also affected the conditions of PKK Organizations in the village of Raksa Jiwa, Semidang Aji Regency, South Sumatra province. This study is important, because so far studies on the relationship between PKK organizations in political change in Indonesia have been mostly carried out in villages on Java, rather than in South Sumatra, even specifically, none at all. This research highlights two important things, namely: First, knowing the form of changes in the cultural values of PKK Organizations in the countryside under the conditions of the Reformation. Second, what is the role and position of the PKK organization after political changes from the New Order to the Reformation. The methodology in this study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach. The theories and approaches used in explaining this study use the theory of state Ibuism, and political development. Data obtained through observation, interviews and documentation, are divided into two types of data, namely primary data from interviews in-depth interviews, while secondary data is obtained from literature and relevant documents, then analyzes data with the process of data

reduction, presents data and draw conclusions from the data.

Keywords: *State Ibuism; Political Development; PKK Village Raksa Jiwa Organization.*

1. INTRODUCTION

When the New Order government regime came to power in 1965, development (development) and progress (progress) were new keywords in national political development by directly involving citizens (Gerke, 1992). The New Order government so stressed the importance of "development" as social engineering which also became the supporting force of the working of the regime's political system in order to create conditions of modernization which were considered as the basic ideals of the country to realize the life of a prosperous Indonesian society. In its realization, the New Order mobilized all levels of society such as the military, technocrats, and the masses to fight on the main goal of successful development. In addition, the support of international finance and bureaucratization, is fully responsible for the development process and the successful implementation of the New Order development policy known as "Repelita" (Evers, 1987).

The term Repelita or (Five-Year Development Plan) is an implementation of development policy introduced by emphasizing the centrality of the state in achieving the future of a modern, prosperous and prosperous country. In Repelita, the state directly controls national economic planning and administration (Suryakusuma, 2011). For the sake of fluency, the condition of national stability and social order of the state is always maintained in a stable position through the attachment of emotional voluntary relations between the state and citizens to foster citizens' moral responsibility to 'selflessness' to take part in the success of the Order's political development New. (Suryakusuma, 2011). Through Repelita, the stages of development development are monitored by top-down planning implemented by the central government by formulating all technical guidelines for each local (regional) government in Indonesia, especially through Law No. 5 of 1974. Government is designed in a centrally connected government system by the chain of command, where at each level of the lower government, it is directly responsible for the higher government. (Sutiyo & Maharjan, 2017).

The presence of Law No. 5 of 1974 concerning the Principles of Regional Government was directly influenced by the development policies of the New Order regime's political system which deliberately designed the regional government system as "satellite" with the aim of maintaining national integration and minimizing, eliminating movements - movement that will threaten the security and stability of the country. In order to ensure the creation of political stability as a condition for the implementation of economic development, the Soeharto government then developed relations between the central and regional government structures in an efficient and controlled manner. The term "mutual cooperation" was introduced and was used to underline cooperation between the central government, regional government

and village government²⁰ and its population. The country's strong emphasis on the term 'mutual cooperation' constitutes political programs defined as the traditional values of the Indonesian people at that time (Gerke, 1992).

On the other hand, citizen involvement as a volunteer in the success of political development The New Order Regime was carried out massively and structurally, besides being carried out through ideological doctrine, various organizations were established to regulate and supervise citizens to remain in the determined political corridor. One of them is to establish various community organizations, including women's organizations such as the PKK as a women's organization that was deliberately established to integrate women into moral responsibility as citizens to support the political development of the New Order. in PKK organizations or abbreviated (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga), women are segregated, in development policies and practices that are full of feminine values reflected in the "ten PKK²¹ programs". Through the nuclear family²², the ten PKK

²⁰ Through the implementation of Law No.5 of 1979 concerning Village Government a new political structure was formed to replace the old political structure, because the old political structure, considered not to be relevant to support the direction of the New Order's political development policies that were state centric: autocratic, top down, centralistic, hierarchical and sectoral, the presence of a new political structure is also a way of mobilizing resources and opening up a new space for centralized and centralized definition and distribution of allocative power, the severity of the new structure lasts for several decades in the Order's administration Just in power. (Amaliatulwalidain, 2018a)

²¹ The ten PKK programs include: 1). Understanding and Practicing Pancasila 2). Mutual Cooperation 3). Food 4). Clothing 5). Housing and Housekeeping 6). Education and Skills 7). Health 8). Development of Cooperative Life 9). Environmental Sustainability 10). Healthy Planning. (TP PKK Center, 2015)

²² The family is the last target in shaping people's life records based on the New Order's political values. The New Order government has strong reasons to focus on the existence of families, because the family is a means to support the formation of society and the

programs were implemented as ideal family welfare norms created by the New Order Regime known as the ideology of "State Ibuism" (Suryakusuma, 2011)

The ideology of state Ibuism, is a theoretical concept raised by Julia Suryakusuma as a gender ideology that is rigidly rigid and very restrictive, controlling the role of women by creating hierarchical arrangements containing "entertaining household" elements that lead to domestication in the Indonesian context which is full of elements politics, ideology, and culture. In understanding "Ibuisme", women must serve their husbands, children, families, communities and countries. Through "state Ibuisme" worship on the "religious" nature and traditional roles of women and as developers of community norms and values. The construction of the "State Ibuism" model is in line with the "priyayisasi" model with the use and transformation of traditional Javanese values (Jawanisasi) which are also applied in the state bureaucracy for the sake of development and "modernization" in Indonesia (Suryakusuma, 2011).

The PKK is loaded with the ideology of "State Ibuism" and is based on government directives stating that development begins within the family through the role of women in the household (Jakimow, 2017) then hierarchically then the PKK Organization as a Government Partner is introduced to women in the countryside on behalf of "increasing the role of women in development" (Suryakusuma, 2011) through the full financial support provided by the government. The role of the PKK in the life of the Indonesian people is very important, because it is the main

mediator between the state and village women. The PKK was designed with the task of helping village women to fulfill their obligations in the community by providing information, guidelines and training. Direct relations between PKK groups and institutionalized countries that are institutionalized by law. PKK units were established by all villages, villages and cities as part of the LKMD (Village Community Resilience Institution) which is the main mediator between the state and the villagers (Gerke, 1992).

The direction of the PKK program is from the center with a hierarchical structure in the chain of command that starts from the president's wife to the wife of the village head Both the president's wife and the wife of the village leader, led other women to 'donate' their time in activities designed to meet national development goals (Jakimow, 2017). The positions in the PKK organizational structure were not based on interests, education, and abilities of women, but rather reflected the position of their husbands, and the active involvement of a woman as a "husband's accomplice" to support her husband's career. Gerke (1992), so that in public life, then women are seen solely as "followers of the husband". Direct involvement of women in the PKK, in the end, not only succeeded in building emotional attachments as good citizens, but also as desired by the state, namely also acting as mothers and wives who have full moral responsibility to maintain the continuity of family welfare as a benchmark in the success of development (Blackburn, 1999).

In May 1998, a change in the New Order's authoritarian political regime to the Reformation took place, Soeharto's ouster from the Indonesian political stage for three decades was inevitable, due to the New Order regime's power system that could not stem the deepening economic crisis, the threat of increasingly rioting overshadowing, the political revolution and the demands of 'total reform' so loudly voiced vocally by the student movement to reorganize the power system (Hadiz, 2003), in the end the Reformation emerged as an answer to the

integrity of the country in three ways. First, as an economic unit, the place for reproduction. Second, as a "biosocial" unit, where the biological relationship between mother and father gets the construction and social meaning. Third, the family as a place for the formation of ideological units, namely the system of values, beliefs, religion, traditions, social, cultural and conservatism instilled since childhood (Suryakusuma, 2011)

political turmoil that occurred. The 1998 reforms were not only seen as a momentum for the rise of a more democratic political system, but also as a year of revival of the role and political participation of Indonesian women in state administration with the emergence of new discourses related to more egalitarian government programs based on practical gender interests (practical gender interest) and strategic gender interest as a process to diminish the implementation of cultural values "state ibuism" perpetuated through PKK organizations during the New Order (Biaonpohen, 2000).

Then this study then wants to examine and understand whether the effect of changes in the PKK changes in the political system in Indonesia, also influences the change in conventional gender ideology "State Ibuism" through the PKK from the New Order Regime to the Reform Regime which is considered more democratic in shaping understanding and values new for women, especially in rural areas, to strengthen the strengthening of the quality of democracy especially in democratic governance at the grassroots level (village governance), which is based on the interests and needs of women.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive research method that aims to describe a situation that is temporarily running when the research takes place and examine the causes of these symptoms (Sevilla, 1991) especially in explaining the Shadows of "Post-Reformation" State Ibuism in PKK Organizations in the Village Raksa Jiwa, Ogan Komering Ulu Regency, which is one of the PKK organizations in rural areas in South Sumatra. The selection of the location of this study is in South Sumatra, due to the lack of research and publications regarding the existence and development of PKK organizations in various regions of Sumatra. The data in this study include primary data (primary) in the form of in-depth and open interviews (open ended interviews) with informants, besides that, observations were also carried

out in the field and literature reference studies as secondary data (supporting) to complete the study in this study. This research, trying to identify, describe trends from the data obtained. The data is then analyzed through parsing and drafting and then making research conclusions.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. PKK Enter the Village: Construction of Ibuism in Rural Countries in South Sumatra

It is common practice that the New Order political regime has dominated the macro structure of power in Indonesia, one of which is by continually doctrining the cultural ideology of the role of women as 'state ibuism' which aims to form a normative attitude of women's acceptance and volunteerism in accordance with the nature of women. "State Ibuism" has a very large role as a mediator between the macro structure of power and micro-practices of interpersonal relations, in the dominance of political structures (Hefner, 2007). Ideology The state ibuism embodied in the PKK intentionally aimed at women at the village level focused greater attention on modernization 'lifestyles' especially the Family Welfare Program, which was designed to expand middle-class households to poor rural environments across the country (Jones , 2010) by introducing the concept of family welfare, instructions on family relations, education for children, and household governance to help Indonesia reach a "fair and prosperous" society based on the Pancasila (Sproat, 2015).

Along with the implementation of the policy of Law No. 5 of 1979 concerning village governance in Indonesia. The emergence of the Law is the realization of the development of the village community so that the village community can enjoy the results of development and can carry out their responsibilities as citizens (Suryakusuma, 2011). The presence of PKK and the ten PKK programs in all villages in Indonesia is considered very significant to reach 66,437 PKK in all villages in Indonesia, this shows the fact that the presence

of PKK is very important in a large framework Indonesia's national development, including the presence of K PKK 'in villages in Sumatra, especially in the village of Raksa Jiwa, PKK organizations in the village of Raksa Jiwa, came together with the operation of Law No.5 of 1979 concerning village governance in Indonesia.

Referring to the implementation of Law No.5. In 1979 regarding village governance in South Sumatra, in the institutional perspective also gave birth to other institutions, such as LKMD and Karang Taruna, while in the context of rural development in South Sumatra, uniforming village governance in response to Law No. 5 of 1979 was not only caused segregation of village women in Raksa Jiwa in the mainstream programs of New Order development, but also led to the abolition of the traditional Marga government system in South Sumatra. (Amaliatulwalidain, 2018b).

In the beginning of the entry of 'PKK' in the village of Raksa Jiwa in 1981 the PKK became an organization that embraced all village women, especially in skills activities, even sewing skills became an 'improved' field of economic development for women in the village of Raksa Jiwa at that time. In addition to sewing, one of the PKK activities promoted at that time was raising livestock, raising livestock activities aimed only at fulfilling animal nutritional needs for each family in the village, livestock activities were also considered easier because the villagers were skilled at it. The progress of the PKK in the village of Raksa Jiwa at that time was indeed inseparable from the role of the village head who directly supported the progress of the village PKK by supporting several PKK programs (interview with Ms. Mutiah, SAg. 48, July 7, 2018).

3.2. The dynamics of the PKK in the Village of Raksa Jiwa in the Shadows of "Post-Reformation" State Ibuism

Post-Reformation, there were several changes from the PKK, one of which was a change in the first name of the PKK organization which was no longer abbreviated as "Family Welfare Development", but changed its name to "Family Welfare Empowerment". In the results of the PKK VII Organizational Work Meeting in 2010 on PKK institutions, PKK organizations in the reform era emphasized its position as a women's movement which was not only institutionally considered as an "institution", but also fundamentally an institution that organized women's needs and interests accordingly with aspirations coming directly from women Many parties consider the change in name from the PKK to be done, because after the Reformation, the PKK was no longer a strategic and oppressive organization. The PKK has always drawn criticism as an organization that perpetuates patriarchal ideology and fosters the nation's ibuism (Soetjipto, Ani, 2013)

Then in the 2015 PKI VIII National Work Meeting in Jakarta, although the PKK Movement later declared it as a community movement that grew from below, with the principle of participatory work. Through this PKK Movement, the active participation of all levels of society in development is also raised and improved, so that it is expected to be more equitable and quality in carrying out the burden and responsibility of development, as well as enjoying the results of development itself, with missions still referring to the ten programs PKK work guidelines which include increasing family character formation through appreciation, practice of Pancasila, mutual cooperation and gender equality and justice; Improve family education and economy through various skills and cooperative development efforts; Increasing Family Resilience through the fulfillment of food, clothing and housing that is livable; Improving family health, environmental sustainability and healthy planning (TP PKK Center, 2015).

TABLE 1
Changes in the Format of PKK Organizations from the New Order Period to the Reformation

No	the new order "Coaching "	Reformation "Empowerment"
1.	Regulation (Minister of Home Affairs Regulation, through Wire Mail). Ni. SS. 3/6/12 dated December 27, 1972	Regulation (Results of the Decision of the National Working Meeting on PKK VII, 30 July 2010 and National Working Meeting on PKK VIII, 14 September 2015
2.	<i>Top Down</i>	<i>Bottom UP</i>
3.	<i>Mobilization</i>	<i>Partisapatoris</i>
4.	<i>Organizational</i>	<i>Movement</i>

Source: processed from various sources

Regarding the changes in the format and institutional model of the PKK after the Reformation, in fact the values of 'state ibuism' are still closely attached to the PKK, the absence of a gender perspective in elaborating women's

issues can be seen in the Reformation participatory development model, which is adjusted to 17 work plan five years PKK (2015-2020), including the following:

TABLE 2

No	2015-2020 PKK FIVE YEAR WORK PLAN
1.	Increasing the development of attitudes and behavior through the role of the family in prevention and abuse and drug trafficking
2.	Actively participating in the National Anti-Sexual Child Crime Movement (GN-AKSA)
3.	Advocating Child and Adolescent Parenting in an effort to build family-based character.
4.	Capacity building and driving force of PKK and cadres for achieving PKK movements.
5.	Family Skills Development Enhancing Family Economy
6.	Improved understanding of 12 years of Basic Education
7.	Striving for Family Food Resilience by optimizing the use of the yard (HEART PKK).
8.	Develop regional motifs in an effort to increase I Love Indonesian Production.
9.	Socializing the House to Live Worthy of Life for the family
10.	Support the Mental Revolution Program in the health sector for Poor Families to actively participate in the membership of the Social Security Organizing Body (BPJS) as a Recipient of Benefit Assistance (PBI)
11.	Support the government in Fostering PHBS in the Household and Accelerating Nutrition Improvement through the First Thousand Day Life Program (1000 HPK))
12.	Support Government Programs in reducing Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Toddler (AKABA) and "Polio Eradication" and Family Planning programs.
13.	Improve Information and Education Communication (IEC) through a family approach in controlling infectious diseases and non-communicable diseases
14.	Coordinate, integrate and synergy in cross-working activities (PMT-AS, BKB-PAUD, Mental

	Health and Drug Disorders, Population Administration and planting a million trees)
15.	Improve the ability of Posyandu Cadres in implementing the Posyandu Information System (SIP)
16.	Advocacy for integrating 10 PKK Principal programs in Village RPJM, Village RKP and Village APB through Village Funds and other funding sources in the village
17.	Provides gender disaggregated data in the TP PKK Data System.

Source: (TP PKK Center, 2015)

Of the 17 points of the five-year PKK work plan for 2015 to 2020, the PKK remains a women's organization that is part of national development that is aligned with the dynamics of Reformation development, it can be said that the PKK's cultural features have not changed much. Little change was only seen from several new programs from the PKK's five-year work plan which was derived from the ten PKK programs. There were no significant other gender issues in the PKK's five-year work plan, such as the issue of domestic violence, the issue of polygamy, the issue of migrant workers or the issue of early marriage for underage children which was actually the content of important issues that also participated accompanying various aggregations of interests from women in the Reformation era. PKK programs continue to be herded in domestic areas which still keep their breath from 'state ideology'. It was also very clearly seen from the way to realize the PKK's five-year work plan, coordination was carried out in command hierarchies, starting with the direction and dissemination of these programs by the Central PKK Driving Team to the village PKK Driving Team.

Especially in the village of Raksa Jiwa, the direction and outreach of PKK programs as a realization of the PKK's five-year work plan (2015-2020) was socialized by the District PKK Driving Team on July 10, 2018, by introducing several PKK-specific programs besides the program- PKK general programs that are tailored to the context and conditions of the area of the PKK Driving Team concerned. Among them are (1). *Kampung Manis program* (alternative to planting sugar cane in a house), *Kampung Warnawarni* (coloring the village paths becomes

interesting). (2). *SMS* and *SBS* are special programs to eliminate the habit of people living in rivers to not defecate and use small water into rivers by recommending establishing and making public toilets in every village and village. The SMS and SBS program was initiated directly by the Ogan Komering District PKK Driving Team with the health office, as a step towards a healthy community life movement launched by the government.

4. CONCLUSION

In the end the PKK was difficult to release the label from the stigma of 'state ibuism', even though there had been institutional changes to the PKK institutions in Reformation due to the change of the Government Regime. Still, the PKK is a state-formed women's movement that finds it difficult to escape the autonomy of power politics if the hierarchical structure of PKK leaders is still held by the wives of leaders and government officials. With this unchanged paradigm, it will certainly be difficult for PKK organizations to transform their efforts to foster self-awareness for women in Indonesia, especially for women in rural areas to be able to integrate their interests into pro-gender state development policies.

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EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN THE PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN MALAYSIA: AN ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Employee Participation (EP) has the capacity to enhance the quality of decision making by broadening inputs, promotes commitment to the outcome of the decision making process, improves motivation, cooperation and communication in the workplace. EP also may reduce workloads of supervisors, encourage skill development in the workforce, and can contribute to improved employment relations in general. For that matter, the issue of EP in decision making has been researched extensively particularly in promoting partnership between employer-employee relationship. EP has been widely practiced in the private sectors; however there is a broad gap on the importance of EP in public universities in Malaysia. Therefore the objective of this research is to explore the Academic JCC practice and the influence of these practices to the organisational culture of the public universities in Malaysia. The methodology applied was qualitative case study approach using in-depth interview techniques as the primary method of collecting data in three public universities in Malaysia. The findings indicates that the Academic JCCs practices do

have some influence to the organisational culture of public universities in Malaysia.

Keywords: *Employee Participation; Public Universities; Decision Making; Effectiveness.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of Employee Participation (EP) in decision making has attracted the interest of the management scholars, industrial relations researchers and managers in organisations (Heller *et al.*, 1998; Markey *et al.*, 2001; Arrigo and Casale, 2010) particularly in promoting partnership between employer-employee work relationships.

The literatures of EP has been discussing on the two forms of EP (i) direct participation, and (ii) indirect participation (Heller *et al.*, (1998). Salamon (1998) exerted that direct participation allows workgroups/individual employee to involve in the management initiatives program such as QCC, TQM, ISO, 5s, KAIZEN and many other schemes. Cabrera *et al.* (2002) argues that direct participation involve the workers themselves. While indirect participation on the other hand affects the mass of employee via workers representatives such as Work Council (WC) and

JCC. The direct and indirect form of EP is as shown in Figure 1.

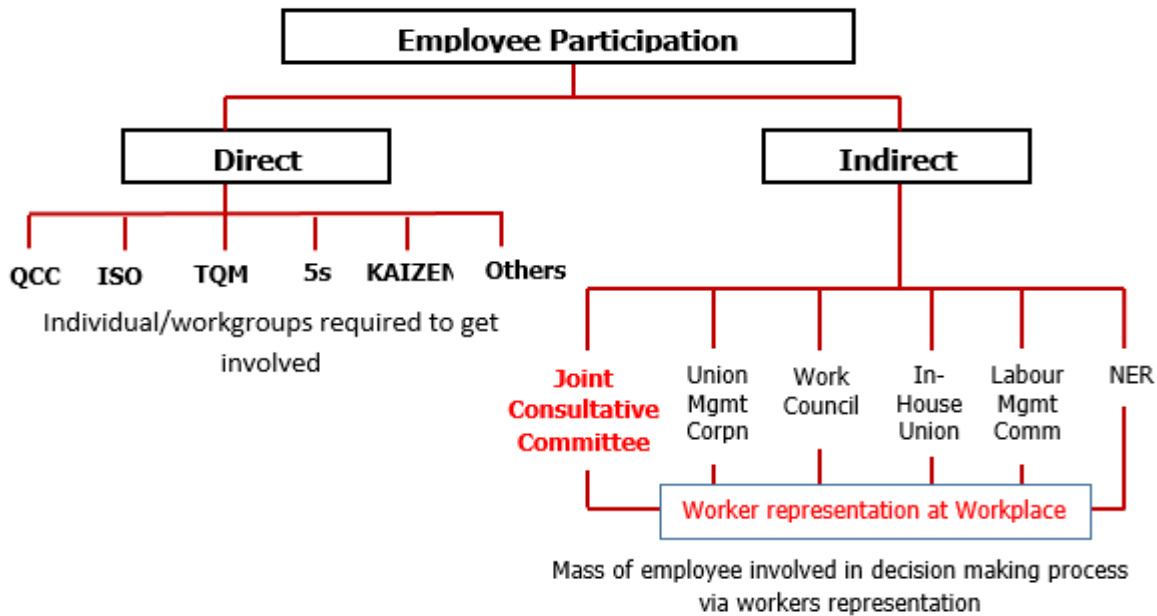


Fig 1. Direct and Indirect Participation Form of EP

Source : Salamon (1998); Cabrera et al., (2002); Ab Rahman et al. (2015)

Based on Figure 1 above, the central focus of this study is to investigate the JCC particularly the Academic JCC practice and the influence of these practices to the organisational culture.

• **Research Problem: Why EP is important in the context of organisational culture in public universities in Malaysia?**

The debates on JCC practices were extensively for the private sector in Malaysia (Parasuraman & Jones, 2005; Koiker, 2010). The central focus of their research were mainly concentrating on the operational aspect of JCC. While the link between the JCC and organisational culture were often taken for granted (Cameron & Quinn, 2005); therefore the knowledge about the relationship were absent in the present literature in the context of this study.

In this regard, there are several issues that were unclear in relations to the link between the Academic JCC and the organisational culture. Firstly, Strauss (1998) argued that direct participation and indirect participation should complement each other in which act as the determinant for a

successful consultation. Secondly, according to Gollan and Lewin (2013), the JCC has lost some of its significant due to their traditional way in managing their activities. Thirdly, it was reported by Kouginou (2013) that the WC in Europe has legal standing on the Information and Consultation via EU Directive 2002. Additionally Kouginou (2013) also reported that the EU Directive 2002 were extended to the UK in 2008 in providing a general framework of minimum requirement for the rights for information and consultation of employees via employee representatives. Both of this privilege was not extended in Malaysia.

• **Indirect Participation mechanism abroad**

Indirect participation such as WC and JCC in the developed countries such as in the UK, Western Europe, the US and Australia are highly supported. This is due to JCC is the most preferred indirect participation mechanism of workers representation (Heller et al., 1998). WC, which is a similar structure as JCC can be found in the Netherlands is the most effective form of worker representation in the European Union (EU) following EU Directive

2002 for Information and Consultation (Markey, 2010; Goodijk, 2010). While in the UK, JCC has recently boosted by the introduction of further legal regulation via Information and Consultation of Employees (ICE) (Kounginnou, 2013). Taking these into considerations, the JCC and WC abroad are embedded into the organisational culture.

- JCC in Malaysia: A Review

In the Malaysian context, the government is the largest employer and were heavily non-unionised; thus union presence were forbidden in the public sector; this includes the public universities. Therefore, as an alternative workers representatives were established (Ab Rahman *et al.* 2015). The directive to establish the JCC were contained in the Service Circular No. 2 Year 1992 respectively. The purpose of the JCCs was to create a harmonious working relations in organisation. As such it can be concluded that the JCC particularly the Academic JCC is not new due to it has been established in the public universities in accordance with the Service Circular. The purpose of the Academic JCCs was to provide an avenue for the academics to voice their concern on work and work related matters.

Malaysia has twenty (20) public universities in which is under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Education and heavily non-unionised (Ab Rahman *et al.* 2015). This issue has become important in the context of this study due to most of the highly level decision making affects the livelihood of the academics (Strauss, 1998; Ab Rahman *et al.* (2015). The academics should be better represented because of their capability in producing productive, skilful and talented workforce; therefore the academics are important for nation building. However, the Academic JCCs were still managed in a traditional manner (Gollan & Lewin, 2013) because their roles and functions are limited to welfare issues only. There has been study carried out on JCC in Malaysia, however the scope and focus were confined to the operational aspect of JCC; therefore, the question whether the JCC can

have influence to the organisational decision making process were left undebated. Parasuraman (2007) studied EP in three private sector and found that the socio-cultural perspectives of the multi-cultural society of Malaysia has some influence to the effectiveness of the HCC in private sector. Koiker *et al.* (2010) found that the Malaysian culture has an important influence in the sense that employees often dare not speak up in the Dutch firms in Malaysia. Ab Rahman *et al.* (2015) concluded that the adaptation of the JCC from the British administration system has some influence to the JCC practices in public universities in Malaysia. Additionally, the study conducted by Ab Rahman *et al.* (2015) revealed that the issues often brought up the Academic JCC were usually trivial issues such as food in the canteen, sports activities and fund raising activities. Subject related to policy, rules and procedures are not for the Academic JCCs to deal with. In this regard, due to the limitation faced by the Academic JCCs, their capacity to influence the organisational culture decision making process can be argued. Therefore, it is critical to understand the management support, attitude and intention toward the Academic JCC and vice-versa.

The above discussion, it can be concluded that the debates on organisational culture and JCCs were less emphasised. Therefore this study clearly projected that the Academic JCCs in public universities in Malaysia is taken for granted issues. Therefore, this study is an opportunity to understand the Academic JCC practices in three public universities in Malaysia.

- Theoretical and Concept of JCC

The definition of JCC as provided by Marchington (1992) is essential in this study. According to him JCC is a mechanism for managers and employees to meet on a regular basis in order to exchange view, to utilise members' knowledge and expertise, and to deal with common interest which are not the subject of Collective Bargaining. As such, this suggest that JCC is a

positive platform that bridges the managers and members via employee representatives for information and consultation purposes. However, there are several definition given by other scholars in regards to JCC is as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Theoretical Debates on JCC

Scholars	Debates
Ramsay (1990)	Cycle of control theory argues that JCCs can be used to undermine the power of union
Marchington (1992)	Both managers and employees values JCCs as a meaningful form of involvement and participation
Hyman & Mason (1995)	JCCs either can be management dominated forums or act as mechanism for enabling employee representatives to influence aspects of organisational decision making
Beardwell & Holden (2001)	JCCs merely as a “rubber stamping bodies” for management initiative which focus on issues like ‘tea, toilet, and trivial’
Marchington (1994)	JCCs can play an important and different roles in organisation affecting different outcomes depending on the organisational culture needs

Based on Table 1 the theoretical debates as above suggests that JCC can be defined in accordance with the need of a particular organisation in which union and JCC are present. In this situation, the JCC can be managed in several many ways depending on the desire of the management and the JCCs. As such in discussing as provided above, the models of JCC in organisation can be summarised in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2
Models of JCC in Organisation

Model 1 (Radical)	Model 2 (Pluralist)	Model 3 (Unitary)
Management: Less Powerful	Management: Balanced Power	Management: Powerful
JCC: Powerful	JCC: Balanced Power	JCC: Les Powerful
Conflicting with the management most of the time (Ramsay, 1983; Marchington, 1992; Hyman & Mason, 1995; Parasuraman, 2006; Arrigo & Casale, 2010)	Allowing employees to participate in decision making process via employee representatives (Marchington, 1992; Hyman & Mason, 1995; Parasuraman, 2006; Arrigo & Casale, 2010)	Rubber stamp bodies that endorsed management initiatives (Marchington, 1992; Hyman & Mason, 1995; Parasuraman, 2006; Berdwell & Holden, 2001: 2006; Arrigo & Casale, 2010)

- Models of Consultation
In this study, the Models of Consultation popularised by Marchington (1992) were used to find the answers to the research questions. The models were provided in Figure 2 below:

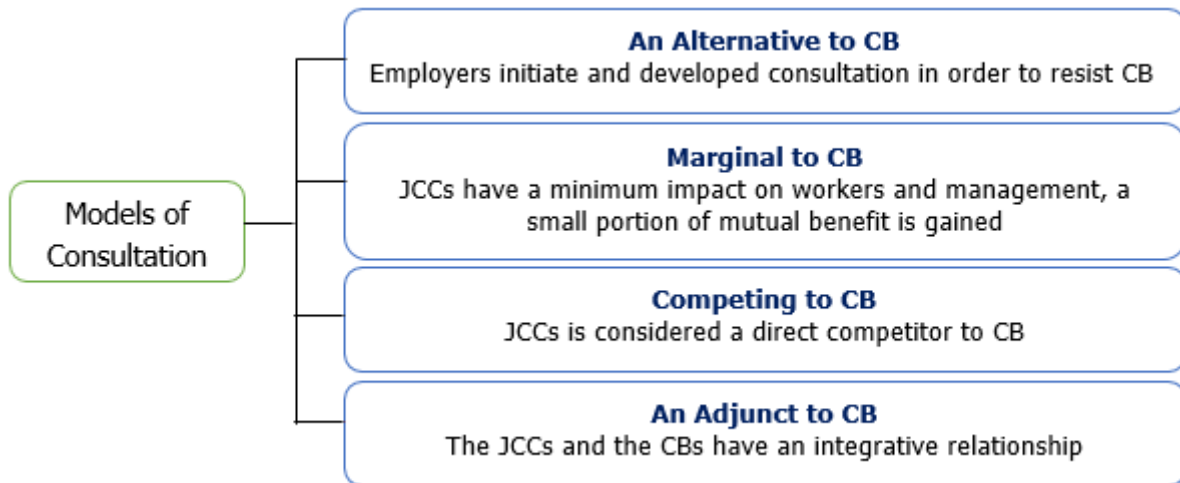


Fig. 2. Models of Consultation

Source: MArchington, 1992

• **The objectives of the study**

The focus of this study are to explore on the practice of EP with special emphasis on Academic JCCs in public universities in Malaysia. Therefore, these following objectives are essential in order to understand the nature of the Academic JCCs in public universities in Malaysia.

- a. To identify the strong Academic JCC leadership and the influence to the organisational culture of public universities in Malaysia
- b. To examine the Academic JCC co-operation and the influence to the organisational culture of public universities in Malaysia
- c. To investigate the Academic JCC attitude and the influence to the organisational culture of public universities in Malaysia

- d. To evaluate the Academic JCC consultation practices and the influence to the organisational culture of public universities in Malaysia

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied was qualitative multiple case study design primarily using in-depth interview techniques. Other techniques applied was secondary data obtained from secondary data and observations. The participants consists of the President and Vice President were interviewed from three public universities in Malaysia. The interviews were compiled in the thematic manner, triangulated and transcribed into verbatim data. For ethical considerations, the name of the public universities will not be mentioned (Yin, 2003).

Informants

Informant	UPP	UPK	UBS
President	1	1	1
Honorary Secretary	1	1	1
TOTAL	2	2	2

Case Studies Profiling

Profiling	UPP	UPK	UBS
Year of establishment	1	1	1
Academic JCC establishment	1	1	1
Members	2	2	2

Category of the university	APEX		
Location	West Coast	Northern Region	East Malaysia

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A total of six (6) informant were interviewed. In this section, the findings are presented.

3.1. Strong Academic JCC Leadership influenced the organisational culture of UPP and UPK, but not in UBS

In the section, the question raised here is identifying the strong point of the leadership of each of the President of UPP, UPK, and UBS respectively.

The President of the Academic JCCs responded as follows;

President, Academic JCC of UPP, 5 May 2016	<i>"I am a Criminologist by qualification. As the President, my other specialities includes knowing the law. I am very well-versed with the power of the Board and the Senate. I am also aware the power of the Academic JCC. I have been re-elected as the President for three consecutive years"</i>
President, Academic JCC of UPK, 8 June 2016	<i>"My field of expertise is law. I know the power of the Board, the Senate. Knowing the law is to my advantage because I know how to deal with the management"</i>
President, Academic JCC of UBS, 30 July 2016	<i>"I am an educationist by qualification. Am the current President and as the President, I have big responsibilities to protect the members"</i>

Based on the above feedback, this suggests that strong Academic JCC leadership influenced the organisational culture. For example, in UPP and UPK the President has some law background and this has influenced the management to be mindful of their knowledge on the law. However, since the Academic JCC leadership in UBS is weak due to the limited knowledge on the law; therefore they are unable to influence the organisational culture respectively. Therefore it is essential for the elected leadership to be equip with some law

background particularly the employment law in order to be at par with the management.

3.2. Academic JCC co-operation influenced the organisational culture of UPP and UPK, but not in UBS

The researchers wanting to know the extent the Academic JCC influenced the organisational culture of UPP, UPK and UBS respectively.

The President of the Academic JCCs responded that;

President, Academic JCC of UPP, 8 September 2016	<i>"Whenever the VC calls me, it means he wants my opinion as the President, before making decisions. In this regards, our co-operation is highly needed"</i>
President, Academic JCC of UPK, 8 June 2016	<i>"I have good relationship with the VC. I don't have to make appointment to see him. I strongly feel that the VC and the management need our co-operation"</i>
President, Academic JCC of UBS, 30 July 2016	<i>"the VC and management are good to me. However, in the capacity as the President, there is problems. In this sense, the VC has never called me to discuss on issues of academics at large. The management do not need our co-operations"</i>

This suggest that the Academic JCC co-operation in UPP and UPK influenced the organisational

culture of UPP and UPK. However in UBS, there is no co-operation between the Academic JCCs and

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management and does not influence the organisational culture. Therefore, in order to be at par with the management, is essential for the Academic JCCs to be in the mode of co-operation with the management. It is important the

management to see the Academic JCCs always be alongside with the management all the time.

3.3. Academic JCC attitude influenced the organisational culture of UPP and UPK, but not in UBS

Honorary Secretary, UPP, 10 September 2016	<i>"the VC always chair the meeting. The meeting is important to us because it help solve operational and strategic issues in UPP"</i>
Honorary Secretary, UPK, 10 June 2016	<i>"whatever the decision made by the management, theviews of AJCC will be taken into consideration"</i>
Honorary Secretary, UBS, 2 August 2016	<i>"all issues pertaining welfare of the academic and the strategic importance issues of UBS is controlled by the management; therefore the management does not need to listen to our opinion or views on both aspect"</i>

This suggest that Academic JCC attitude influenced the organisational culture of UPP and UPK. In UPP the management is willing to spare sufficient amount of time to listen to the concern of the academics. The attitude of the Academic JCC in UPK, were displayed through management willingness to listen to the academic welfare concern. In contrast, UBS the attitude of the

Academic JCC displayed that the role of the Academic JCC was not important. As such the Academic JCCs must possessed the correct attitude in facing the management in order to gain the necessary trust.

3.4. Academic JCCs consultation practices influenced the organisational culture of UPP and UPK, but not in UBS

President, UPP, 10 September 2016	<i>"We discuss welfares and strategic importance of the universities. As the President, I regards all issues are important"</i>
Honorary Secretary, UPK, 10 June 2016	<i>"the meeting is the best platform for us to raise the welfare issues Of the academic because. Important issues such as investment plan for instant is for the management to deal with"</i>
Honorary Secretary, UBS, 2 August 2016	<i>"it is difficult for us to move, since the management is not looking at us. In meetings, the chairman's role is being delegated to the junior officers. The meeting became an informal gathering instead, no concrete answer given to our concern, just a waste of time"</i>

This suggest that the capability of the Academic JCC consultation practice influenced the organisational culture depends on the strong leadership of the Academic JCC, In UPP this has resulted the go for balanced power. In UPK the Academic JCC is only focusing on welfare issues of the members only and this has influenced the organisational culture; however both have different objectives. While in UBS, the Academic JCC has

not been able to position themselves; thus no consultation is needed on both welfare and strategic issues. In this case, the moment the management has gained trust towards the Academic JCC, consultation will take place effectively.

The findings establish the form of the Academic JCC in UPP was **adjunct** to the organisational culture due to their ability to exert some influence on operational and strategic issues of

UPP; therefore being accepted as part of the organisational culture. The form of the Academic JCC in UPK was **competing** with the organisational culture in which the Academic JCC only focus on welfare issues; strategic importance is in the hand of the management; therefore not fully accepted as the organisational culture. The form of the Academic JCC in UBS was **marginal** to the organisational culture, because both operational and strategic importance issues were in the hand of the management; no influence to the organisational culture.

3.5. An Analysis: Does it Matter in the Case of Public Universities in Malaysia?

The challenges faced by the public universities in the era of globalisation in relation to changes in the world economic, political and technological advancement have impacted the way work and work method to be done. The changes implies that the public universities can no longer work alone; therefore the commitment from the academics via Academic JCC is essential to go through this challenges. It is timely that the Academic JCCs to be part of the organizational culture of the public universities respectively. This is necessary because academics are a group of intellectual individuals that profess in their field of study, therefore the Academic JCCs should not be treated as same as the other JCCs in public universities. The Academic JCCs are able to assist universities in making better quality of decision making through effective consultation process. In this case, effective consultation practices displays respect and appreciation towards the management willingness to listen to the ideas of the Academic JCC. In the long terms, the trust, commitment and loyalty prevails; thus able to create a harmonious employment relations in the public universities environment. In a dynamics of managing public universities, academic freedom should be encouraged, therefore academics that works in a happy environment, definitely willing to work an extra mile for the sake of their beloved universities.

It is important that the management and the Academic JCCs to collaborate in a partnership in achieving the desired result of the universities.

4. CONCLUSION

The findings leads to the loose partnership arrangement made between the Academic JCCs-management and vice versa. This result warrants some amendments toward the current policy with regards to the role and function of the Academic JCCs because it is important for the two parties to work in partnership instead of being treated as separate entities in organisations with conflicting objectives. This research has established that the desire to move forward is being felt; but at the same time still concerned with who is the authority (power). As long as this power game is the case, this research argues that the management will continue to make final decisions; thus will preserve its supremacy as the single authority in public universities in Malaysia.

5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was financially supported by University Malaysia Sabah under the Research Grant Scheme UMS (SGPUMS: Project Code: SBK0218-SS-2015) under the title of Organizational Culture and Employee Participation: Comparative Studies on the Effectiveness of Joint Consultative Committees (JCC) in Malaysian Public Universities.

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EVALUASI DAMPAK PERUBAHAN STATUS DESA MENJADI KELURAHAN DI KELURAHAN MUNGSENG KECAMATAN TEMANGGUNG KABUPATEN TEMANGGUNG (PADA BIDANG PEMERINTAHAN)

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Abstrak

Perubahan masyarakat pedesaan menuju masyarakat perkotaan karena modernisasi mensyaratkan perubahan bentuk pemerintah. Sebagaimana esensi pemerintah sebagai pemberi pelayanan kepada masyarakat, maka pemerintah harus menyesuaikan dengan perubahan-perubahan tersebut. Salah satu bentuk perubahan tersebut adalah Perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan di Kelurahan Mungseng Kecamatan Temanggung Kabupaten Temanggung melalui Perda Temanggung Nomor 13 tahun 2004. Penelitian ini dilaksanakan di Kelurahan Mungseng Kecamatan Temanggung Kabupaten Temanggung dengan menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Penelitian ini juga bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dampak perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan di Kelurahan Mungseng Kecamatan Temanggung Kabupaten Temanggung dengan mengevaluasi seberapa besar manfaat dan dampak yang ditimbulkan sebelum dan sesudah perubahan ini dilakukan, yang difokuskan pada bidang pemerintahan berdasarkan Kemendagri Nomor 81 tahun 2015 tentang Evaluasi Perkembangan Desa dan Kelurahan. Dengan menggunakan Teori evaluasi dampak kebijakan menurut (Finsterbusch & Montz 1980) dengan metode Single program

before-after yang menggunakan pengukuran kondisi sebelum program dilaksanakan dengan membandingkan kondisi sesudah program atau kebijakan dilaksanakan, dengan sasaran dampak pada sasaran kebijakan. Kemudian hasil perbandingan sebelum dan sesudah kebijakan dilaksanakan akan menunjukkan sejauhmana tingkat perubahan pada kelompok sasaran. Hasil menunjukkan dari fokus penelitian diatas dapat disimpulkan bahwa masyarakat lebih memilih pemerintahan Kelurahan Mungseng daripada sewaktu masih berbentuk Desa Mungseng. Dari kedua bentuk pemerintahan ini memang terdapat kelebihan dan kekurangan yang ditimbulkan akibat perubahan status tersebut namun faktor kelebihan yang lebih mendominasi sehingga dengan adanya perubahan status ini masyarakat merasa terbantu dan diuntungkan. Hal ini diperkuat dengan perolehan prestasi peringkat 1 Evaluasi Kelurahan tingkat Kabupaten Temanggung tahun 2014 dan prestasi lainnya sebagai salah satu bukti keberhasilan pemerintahan Kelurahan Mungseng setelah 10 tahun perubahan status dari Desa menjadi Kelurahan.

Keywords: *Evaluasi; Desa; Kelurahan.*

1. PENDAHULUAN

Otonomi daerah adalah hak, wewenang dan kewajiban daerah otonom untuk mengatur dan mengurus sendiri urusan pemerintahan dan kepentingan masyarakat setempat dalam sistem Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia guna mempercepat terwujudnya kesejahteraan masyarakat melalui peningkatan pelayanan, pemberdayaan dan peran serta masyarakat serta peningkatan daya saing yang ada di daerah dengan memperhatikan prinsip demokrasi, pemerataan, keadilan dan kekhasan suatu daerah dalam sistem Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia.

Penyelenggaraan asas otonomi daerah tidak lepas dari peranan desa dan kelurahan sebagai tingkatan pemerintahan paling bawah dalam tatanan otonomi daerah di Indonesia. Seiring dengan perubahan masyarakat perdesaan yang cenderung berubah menjadi masyarakat perkotaan karena adanya proses modernisasi, diperlukan perubahan bentuk pemerintahan yang melayaninya dengan kata lain sebuah desa dapat membentuk ataupun berubah statusnya menjadi kelurahan. Perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan dapat dilihat sebagai suatu bentuk perubahan atau pengembangan organisasi yang menyesuaikan dengan perubahan masyarakat yang dilayaninya. Sebagaimana dipahami bahwa esensi pemerintah adalah pelayanan kepada masyarakat.

Didalam Pasal 9 Perda Temanggung No. 15 Tahun 2009 tentang pembentukan, penghapusan dan penggabungan desa serta perubahan desa menjadi kelurahan menyatakan bahwa “Perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan bertujuan untuk meningkatkan pelayanan kepada masyarakat, melaksanakan fungsi pemerintahan dan pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam rangka mempercepat terwujudnya kesejahteraan masyarakat” merujuk pada pasal diatas maka dipandang perlu untuk membentuk kelurahan baru dengan kata lain merubah status desa menjadi kelurahan, dan salah satu desa yang berubah statusnya menjadi kelurahan adalah Desa Mungseng.

Mungseng merupakan satu di antara desa-desa yang berada di wilayah administrasi Kecamatan Temanggung Kabupaten Temanggung dengan luas wilayah 105.955 Ha yang berada di ketinggian 540 mdpl dengan jarak 1,5 Km dari pusat ibu kota kabupaten dan 2,5 Km dari ibu kota kecamatan. Mungseng terbagi atas 19 Rukun Tetangga (RT) dan 4 Rukun Warga (RW) yaitu RW I (Lingk. Kemantenan Sari, RW III (Lingk. Argodewi) RW. II Lingk. Banyukembar dan RW. IV (Lingk. Daleman Asri). Jumlah penduduk Kelurahan Mungseng sampai akhir bulan Juni 2017 sejumlah 3.306 jiwa, yang terdiri dari 1.651 jiwa laki-laki dan 1.655 jiwa perempuan.

Desa Mungseng sebagai satu di antara desa yang pada tahun 2004 mendapatkan tawaran dari Pemda Temanggung untuk beralih statusnya dari desa menjadi kelurahan, hal ini karena semakin meningkatnya jumlah penduduk, semakin dekatnya jarak dengan pusat kota/ kegiatan pemerintahan dan pusat-pusat pembangunan serta memperlancar pelaksanaan tugas-tugas pemerintahan untuk pelayanan terhadap masyarakat sehingga harus diikuti percepatan pembangunan sarana dan prasarana jalan dan fasilitas umum lainnya. Karena saat masih pemerintah desa pembangunan infrastruktur sebagian besar bersumber dari swadaya masyarakat dan pendapatan desa, sehingga percepatan pembangunan dirasa masih sangat kurang.

Oleh karenanya Pemda Temanggung mengeluarkan Perda No. 13 Tahun 2004 tentang pembentukan 15 (lima belas) kelurahan di Kecamatan Temanggung, Parakan, Ngadirejo dan Kranggan. Kecamatan Temanggung terdapat 11 (sebelas) desa yang berubah statusnya menjadi kelurahan dari 15 (lima belas) desa yang ada di 4 (empat) kecamatan seperti perda diatas. Kecamatan Temanggung menduduki peringkat teratas karena secara administratif dan wilayah berada di ibu kota Kabupaten Temanggung.

Selain Perda di atas, perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan ini semata-mata bukan hanya berasal dari penawaran pemerintah daerah saja. Akan tetapi juga harus ada dukungan dari semua

unsur baik pemerintah desa beserta BPD dan masyarakat yang mekanismenya di atur dalam undang-undang. Walaupun dalam tahapannya pasti ada pro/kontra yang harus di lalui, akan tetapi pada akhirnya masyarakat bersama-sama BPD dan pemerintah desa sepakat untuk merubah status Desa Mungseng menjadi Kelurahan Mungseng pada tanggal 8 Juni 2004 dan perubahan secara efektif mulai berlaku pada 1 Januari 2005.

Dengan adanya perubahan status dari desa menjadi kelurahan ini pasti menimbulkan banyak perubahan baru dan perbedaan secara kinerjanya. Selain itu mesti ada dampak perubahan yang terjadi didalamnya, seperti pada focus penelitian ini yang meliputi perubahan di bidang pemerintahan. Oleh karenanya diperlukan evaluasi dampak perubahan status Desa Mungseng menjadi Kelurahan Mungseng yang bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dampak perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan pada bidang pemerintahan, sebelum dan sesudah perubahan ini dilakukan.

1. METODE PENELITIAN

Menurut Bogdan dan Taylor (1975:5) sebagaimana yang dikutip oleh oleh Lexy J. Moleong (2015:4) bahwa penelitian kualitatif adalah prosedur penelitian yang menghasilkan data

deskriptif berupa kata-kata tertulis atau lisan dari orang-orang dan perilaku yang diamati.

Dalam penelitian ini menggunakan metode evaluasi dampak kebijakan Finsterbusch & Montz (1980) bahwa untuk melakukan evaluasi terhadap program yang telah di implementasikan salah satunya menggunakan metode evaluasi program *single program before-after* sebagai jenis evaluasi yang menggunakan pengukuran kondisi sebelum program dilaksanakan dengan membandingkan kondisi sesudah program atau kebijakan dilaksanakan, dengan sasaran dampak pada sasaran kebijakan. Kemudian hasil perbandingan sebelum dan sesudah kebijakan dilaksanakan akan menunjukkan sejauhmana tingkat perubahan pada kelompok sasaran.

Mengacu pada Permendagri No. 81 Tahun 2015 tentang Evaluasi Perkembangan Desa Dan Kelurahan terdapat 3 aspek yaitu: Bidang Pemerintahan, Bidang Kewilayahan dan Bidang Kemasyarakatan dengan masing-masing aspeknya terdiri dari beberapa sub-aspek.

Namun demikian dalam penelitian ini penulis hanya focus pada Aspek Pemerintahan dengan rincian sebagai berikut:

TABEL 1
Fokus Kajian Penelitian

Aspek	<i>Before/ Saat menjadi Desa</i>	<i>After/ Setelah menjadi Kelurahan</i>
Bidang Pemerintahan 1. Pemerintahan 2. Kinerja 3. Inisiatif dan Kreatifitas dalam pemberdayaan masyarakat 4. <i>E-Government</i> 5. Pelestarian adat dan budaya	1. Pemerintahan/ Kelembagaan dan Organisasi Pemerintah Desa 2. Kinerja 3. Budaya dan Adat Masyarakat Desa	1. Pemerintahan/ Kelembagaan dan Organisasi Pemerintah Kelurahan 2. Kinerja 3. Budaya dan Adat Masyarakat Kelurahan

Informan

- a. Mantan Kepala Desa Mungseng
- b. Mantan Kaur Pemerintahan Desa Mungseng
- c. Kepala Kelurahan Mungseng

- d. Mantan pengurus BPD Mungseng
- e. Pengurus LPMK Mungseng
- f. Tokoh Masyarakat

Lokasi Penelitian

Kelurahan Mungseng Kecamatan Temanggung Kabupaten Temanggung

memiliki otonomi karena hanya melaksanakan kebijakan pemerintah daerah melalui pemberian sebagian kewenangan dari kecamatan (Ismail, 2003:81).

2. HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Desa sebagai wilayah otonom yang berhak mengatur rumah tangganya sendiri yang dikenal dengan otonomi asli sedangkan kelurahan tidak

Berikut perbedaan desa dan kelurahan berdasarkan karakteristiknya:

TABEL 2
Perbedaan desa dan kelurahan

No	Karakteristik	Desa	Kelurahan
1	Pengertian	Desa dan desa adat atau yang disebut dengan nama lain, selanjutnya disebut desa, adalah kesatuan masyarakat hukum yang memiliki batas wilayah yang berwenang untuk mengatur dan mengurus urusan pemerintahan, kepentingan masyarakat setempat berdasarkan prakarsa masyarakat, hak asal usul, dan/ atau hak tradisional yang diakui dan dihormati dalam system pemerintahan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia.	Wilayah kerja lurah sebagai perangkat daerah kabupaten/ kota dalam wilayah kerja kecamatan.
2	Kewenangan	a.) Urusan pemerintahan yang sudah ada berdasarkan hak asal-usul desa. b.) Urusan pemerintahan yang menjadi kewenangan kabupaten/kota yang diserahkan pengaturannya kepada desa. c.) Tugas pembantuan dari Pemerintah, Pemerintah Provinsi, dan Pemerintah Kabupaten/Kota. d.) Urusan pemerintahan lainnya yang oleh peraturan perundang-undangan diserahkan kepada desa.	Menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan, pembangunan dan kemasyarakatan. Serta melaksanakan sebagian urusan pemerintahan yang dilimpahkan oleh Bupati.
3	Susunan Organisasi dan Tata Kerja	a) Pemerintah Desa terdiri dari Kepala Desa dan Perangkat Desa. b) Perangkat Desa yang terdiri dari Sekretaris Desa dan Perangkat Desa lainnya. c) Perangkat Desa lainnya terdiri	a) Lurah b) Perangkat Kelurahan yang terdiri dari: Sekretariat; Sie Pemerintahan; Sie Perekonomian dan Pembangunan; Kesejahteraan Rakyat; Sie Pemberdayaan

		<p>atas. sekretariat desa; pelaksana teknis lapangan; unsur kewilayahan.</p> <p>d) Jumlah Perangkat Desa disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan dan kondisi social budaya masyarakat setempat.</p> <p>e) Susunan organisasi dan tata kerja pemerintahan desa ditetapkan dengan peraturan desa.</p>	<p>Masyarakat, dan Kelompok Jabatan Fungsional Tertentu.</p> <p>c) Uraian tugas masing-masing unsur organisasi Kelurahan diatur dengan Peraturan Bupati.</p>
4	Aset & Kekayaan	<p>Bahwa pengelolaan kekayaan desa itu dikelola oleh kepala desa dan perangkatnya melalui peraturan desa.</p>	<p>a) Seluruh kekayaan dan sumber pendapatan milik Pemerintah diserahkan kepada dan menjadi milik Pemerintah Daerah.</p> <p>b) Kekayaan dan sumber pendapatan dikelola oleh Kelurahan dengan memperhatikan kepentingan Pemerintah Daerah dan masyarakat setempat.</p>
5	Keuangan	<p>a) Pendapatan asli desa (usaha; hasil aset; swadaya/ partisipasi; gotong royong; dll).</p> <p>b) Alokasi APBN.</p> <p>c) Bagian dari hasil pajak daerah/ retribusi daerah.</p> <p>d) Alokasi dana desa yang merupakan bagian dari dana perimbangan yang diterima Kab/ Kota.</p> <p>e) Bantuan keuangan dari APBD Provinsi dan APBD Kab/ Kota.</p> <p>f) Hibah dan sumbangan yang tidak mengikat dari pihak ketiga.</p> <p>(Pasal 72 Ayat 1 UU No. 6 Th. 2014</p>	<p>a) APBD Kab/ Kota yang dialokasikan sebagaimana perangkat daerah lainnya.</p> <p>b) Bantuan pemerintah, Pemprov, Pemkab/ kota dan bantuan pihak ketiga.</p> <p>c) Sumber-sumber lain yang sah dan tidak mengikat.</p> <p>(PP No. 73 Th. 2005)</p>
6	Lembaga Kemasyarakatan	<p>a) BPD</p> <p>b) LKMD</p> <p>c) Dukuh</p> <p>d) RW</p> <p>e) RT</p>	<p>a) LPMK</p> <p>b) RW</p> <p>c) RT</p>
7	Pengangkatan Pemimpin	<p>Pilkades (Pemilihan kepala desa)</p>	<p>Ditunjuk oleh Bupati/Walikota</p>
8	Sifat Masyarakat	<p>Agraris, budaya dan adat serta kehidupan gotong royong masih cukup ketal</p>	<p>Non Agraris, Individualis dan Moderen</p>

Sumber: Diolah peneliti dari berbagai sumber UU, Permen dan Perda

2.1. Pemerintahan/ Kelembagaan dan Organisasi Pemerintah Desa/ Kelurahan

Peranan organisasi pemerintahan dalam hal ini pemerintah desa dan kelurahan sangat penting guna menunjang pelaksanaan proses administrasi dan percepatan pelayanan kepada masyarakat. Secara organisasi dan kelembagaan perbedaan antara pemerintah desa dan kelurahan terdapat pada beberapa hal pokok, salah satunya pada waktu pemerintah masih berbentuk desa dipimpin oleh seorang kepala desa dengan dibantu perangkatnya/ kepala urusan (Kaur). Dari hasil penelitian yang dilakukan menunjukkan bahwa saat menjadi pemerintah desa terdapat 12 perangkat desa, kemudian dalam perjalanannya terakhir sebelum proses perubahan status dari desa menjadi kelurahan terdapat 10 personil yang terdiri dari:

- a. Kepala Desa : Sri Dono YS
- b. Sekretaris Desa : Sukarno
- c. Kaur Pemerintahan : Ahmad Mashuri
- d. Kaur Umum : Suwahono
- e. Kaur Keuangan : Siti Latifah
- f. Kaur Pembangunan : Surasa
- g. Kadus RW I : Mujiono

- h. Kadus RW II : Muhan Arowi
- i. Kadus RW III : Rahardijanto
- j. Kadus RW IV : Muhadi Yunus

Sedangkan sekarang setelah berubah menjadi kelurahan dipimpin oleh lurah dan dibantu oleh beberapa staf/ perangkat kelurahan yang diisi oleh PNS serta diangkat oleh sekretaris daerah atas usul camat. Di Kelurahan Mungseng terdapat 7 personil yang mengacu pada Perda Temanggung No. 60 Th. 2016 tentang Kedudukan, susunan dan tata kerja OPD Kabupaten Temanggung dengan formasi sebagai berikut:

- a. Lurah : Suparmin, S.Sos;
- b. Seklur : Wigati;
- c. Seksi Pemerintahan, Ketentraman dan Ketertiban Umum : Tony Susanto, Sumardi;
- d. Seksi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat : Siti Latifah, Ahmad Mashuri, Mujiyono.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya perbedaan pada sub aspek Pemerintahan/ Kelembagaan dan Organisasi Pemerintah Desa/ Kelurahan yang dapat dilihat sebagai berikut:

TABEL 3
Perbedaan Pemerintahan/ Kelembagaan dan Organisasi Pemerintah Desa Kelurahan

Nama	<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Pemimpin	Kepala Desa	Lurah
Staf	Kepala Urusan/ Kaur	Sfat Kelurahan/ PNS
Struktur Organisasi	Kades, Sekretaris Desa/ Carik, Kaur pemerintahan, Kaur umum, Kaur keuangan, Kaur pembangunan dan dibantu 4 orang Kadus dimasing-masing RW	Lurah; Sekretariat; Seksi Pemerintahan, Ketentraman dan Ketertiban Umum (2 orang); dan Seksi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (3 orang)
Pergantian Pemimpin	Pemilihan Kepala Desa (Pilkades)	Seorang lurah diangkat dan diberhentikan oleh bupati melalui camat, karena kelurahan merupakan bagian daripada satuan kerja organisasi perangkat daerah Kabupaten Temanggung.
Status Kepegawaian	Pegawai Desa/ Pegawai Daerah	Pegawai Negeri Sipil (PNS)
Lembaga Mitra	BPD (Badan Perwakilan Desa)	LPMK (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Perkotaan)

Tabel 3 di atas menunjukkan perbedaan dalam hal Pemerintahan/ Kelembagaan dan Organisasi pada waktu desa dan sekarang setelah kelurahan. Hal ini senada dengan pendapat Kansil (2002:56) dalam (Buhari, 2017:715) bahwa kelurahan sebagai suatu wilayah yang ditempati oleh sejumlah penduduk yang mempunyai organisasi pemerintahan terendah langsung di bawah camat dan tidak punya hak menyelenggarakan rumah tangganya.

Dalam penyelenggaraan pemerintahan, ke depannya tidak menutup kemungkinan staf pemerintahan Kelurahan Mungseng belum tentu diisi warga Mungseng sendiri, bisa jadi warga diluar Mungseng yang memang sudah memenuhi syarat ataupun memang ditugaskan disana. Namun demikian sampai dengan saat ini memang sebagian besar staf yang ada di Kelurahan Mungseng adalah putra desa/ penduduk asli Mungseng.

Selain itu adanya perubahan status dari desa menjadi kelurahan juga berdampak dengan perubahan status kepegawaian, hal ini merupakan salah satu konsekuensi yang harus diterima masyarakat. Namun demikian pemerintah Desa Mungseng pada waktu mensosialisasikan akan perubahan status menjadi kelurahan telah disampaikan pula dampak-dampak yang akan diterima, satu di antaranya mengenai status kepegawaian, perubahan perangkat dari kaur-kaur atau pegawai daerah di Desa Mungseng yang lama-kelamaan juga berubah status menjadi PNS. Akan tetapi tidak serta merta setelah perubahan desa menjadi kelurahan diikuti perubahan status pegawai daerah menjadi PNS, tetapi melalui tahapan dan mekanisme peraturan yang ada.

Pasal 18 Perda Temanggung No. 13 Tahun 2004 menyatakan bahwa kepala desa dan perangkat desa dari desa-desa yang di tetapkan menjadi kelurahan yang berusia 18 tahun sampai dengan 56 tahun yang memenuhi persyaratan dapat diangkat menjadi pegawai tidak tetap, sedang yang berusia 56 tahun keatas dapat diangkat sebagai tenaga kontrak dan atau kepadanya diberikan bingkai kehormatan sampai dengan tahun 2007

atau tahun 2008 disesuaikan dengan berakhirnya masa jabatan kepala desa yang desanya menjadi kelurahan.

2.2. Kinerja Desa/Kelurahan

Pada aspek kinerja pemerintahan, masyarakat merasa lebih senang dengan sistim kelurahan, dimana para pegawainnya diisi oleh seorang PNS dan perekrutan pegawai dilakukan oleh pemerintah dengan mekanisme mengikuti seleksi negara. Sedangkan dulu sewaktu desa dilakukan seleksi secara mandiri. Kemudian yang paling berbeda adalah system pelayanan, pada waktu desa para perangkat desa menjadi acuan pokok kegiatan administrasi baik dari masyarakat ke-pemerintah desa maupun sebaliknya, saat itu peran ketua RT dan RW terlebih dalam hal administrasi tidak terlalu berfungsi. Hal lain yang berbeda pada proses pelayanan sewaktu desa dan kelurahan, pada waktu desa pelayanan administrasi dapat dilakukan secara dadakan/ sewaktu-waktu dan dilayani di rumah sekretaris desa/ kepala desa karena mereka masih warga Mungseng dan memang tidak setiap hari pergi ke kantor desa. Tetapi setelah menjadi kelurahan proses pelayanan harus administratif dan sesuai jam kerja yang ditetapkan pemerintah. Disinilah kelebihan dan kelemahan pelayanan sewaktu desa dan kelurahan.

Setelah berubah status menjadi kelurahan dan pada masa-masa transisi perubahan, para staf kelurahan juga menyadari akan penyesuaian peralihan masyarakat desa menjadi kelurahan ini, terkadang ada masyarakat meminta pendapat/ konsultasi di rumah staf kelurahan. Namun demikian sejauh ini masih dilayani asalkan tidak berkaitan dengan proses administrasi/ surat menyurat. Hal ini sesuai dengan pendapat Ranjabar (2015: 108) mengenai factor pendorong perubahan dalam hal ini karakter masyarakat dimana setiap kelompok masyarakat berbeda karakter sehingga berbeda pula sikap menanggapi suatu masalah sosial.

Setelah mejadi kelurahan peran ketua RT juga lebih aktif untuk menyalurkan informasi dari

kelurahan ke-masyarakat serta sebaliknya. RT dan RW juga menjadi ujung pemerintahan paling bawah dan bisa dikatakan pelayanannya tidak mengenal waktu tergantung permasalahan yang ada di masyarakat. Oleh karenanya saat ini RT dan RW menerima dana kelembagaan berupa honor dan fasilitas untuk bisa menebus eks-tanah bengkok dengan harga di bawah standar untuk menunjang semangat kinerja dalam membantu pemerintahan kelurahan.

Selain itu secara aspek kinerja pada waktu desa dan kelurahan, masyarakat memilih kelurahan. Karena dalam pemerintahan kelurahan segala sesuatunya lebih tertata serta lebih jelas alurnya. Pelayanan menjadi lebih efektif, efisien dan tepat sasaran kepada masyarakat sehingga kebijakan-kebijakan yang dikeluarkan pemerintah dapat dirasakan. Sebagai contoh dalam pengurusan KTP, pada waktu desa semua di serahkan kepada perangkat desa, terkadang masyarakat juga bolak-balik untuk melengkapi berkas serta jeda waktu pengerjaan yang lumayan lama. Tetapi berbeda dengan saat ini setelah menjadi kelurahan, ketua RT bisa memberikan pemahaman dan pemberitahuan awal kepada warganya tentang apa saja yang harus disiapkan sebelum maju ke kelurahan, sehingga pelayanan saat ini dirasa lebih tersistem, terarah dan administratif.

Secara kinerja, Kelurahan Mungseng dianggap telah berhasil menjalankan roda pemerintahan kelurahan. Atas kerja keras dan dukungan dari semua komponen yang ada, setelah lebih dari 10 tahun menjadi kelurahan menyandang berbagai prestasi satu diantaranya laporan BPK dengan predikat WTP dan pada tahun 2014 Kelurahan Mungseng mendapatkan penghargaan juara 1 Evaluasi Kelurahan tingkat Kabupaten Temanggung.

2.3. Budaya dan Adat Masyarakat Desa/ Kelurahan

Desa Mungseng merupakan daerah pinggir-an kota/ batas kota dengan daerah penyangga disekitarnya. Adat tradisi seperti muludan, nyadran dan kegotongroyongan juga masih sangat baik.

Pada waktu akan berubah menjadi kelurahan ada kekhawatiran masyarakat yang takut setelah berubah menjadi kelurahan nanti budaya tradisi itu hilang (khususnya di Rw. I, II dan IV). Namun hal itu bisa diredam setelah pemerintah Desa Mungseng pada waktu itu memberikan pemahaman kepada masyarakat melalui berbagai pendekatan, dan memang benar sekarang setelah lebih dari 10 tahun menjadi kelurahan ternyata faktor budaya dan tradisi masyarakat tidak berubah.

Menurut Ranjabar (2015:113) bahwa adat istiadat dan kebiasaan sebagai pola perilaku bagi anggota masyarakat di dalam memenuhi segala kebutuhan pokoknya. Adat istiadat bersumber dari nilai tradisional yang telah didarah dagingkan. Oleh karenanya adat dan tradisi masyarakat Desa Mungseng seperti gotong royong, nyadran, bersih desa, silaturahmi idul fitri bahkan sampai budaya masih berjalan seperti bisa sampai saat ini.

Perhatian pemerintah juga semakin baik akan pelestarian budaya, salah satunya dengan adanya dukungan dan alokasi anggaran untuk kegiatan kesenian itu sendiri. Jadi setelah adanya perubahan, faktor budaya dan tradisi yang semula sempat di khawatirkan akan berubah nyatanya masih berjalan dan bisa dikatakan semakin baik.

3. SIMPULAN

Dari hasil evaluasi dampak perubahan status desa menjadi kelurahan di Kelurahan Mungseng Kecamatan Temanggung Kabupaten Temanggung pada bidang pemerintahan, masyarakat lebih memilih sistim kelurahan ketimbang sewaktu desa karena dampak yang dirasakan lebih efektif dan efisien setelah menjadi kelurahan. Hal ini diperjelas atas prestasi Kelurahan Mungseng mendapatkan juara 1 Evaluasi Kelurahan Tingkat Kabupaten Temanggung tahun 2014.

Secara pelayanan masyarakat juga memilih saat ini setelah menjadi kelurahan baik kepegawaian maupun sistem. Karena sistem khususnya pelayanan sudah tertata mulai dari tingkat RT, RW sampai dengan Kelurahan dengan alur yang jelas, hanya saja perbedaan dengan dulu sewaktu desa

adalah tidak adanya pelayanan administrasi secara dadakan diluar jam kantor (dirumah/ malam hari). Faktor lain adalah budaya dan tradisi yang pernah menjadi ketakutan masyarakat akan luntarnya setelah nanti berubah menjadi kelurahan, pada kenyataannya saat ini setelah menjadi kelurahan budaya dan tradisi masih berjalan dengan lancar bahkan pemerintah ikut memberikan dukungan dengan adanya alokasi anggaran maupun perhatian khusus.

Dengan demikian berdasarkan hasil penelitian yang difokuskan pada Bidang Pemerintahan, Kelurahan Mungseng telah berhasil dalam penyelenggaraan pemerintahan berbentuk kelurahan, karena setelah adanya perubahan status desa Mungseng menjadi Kelurahan Mungseng ini dampak positif yang diterima masyarakat lebih besar dan sifatnya lebih baik serta lebih tepat sasaran dan bermanfaat.

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Status Desa Menjadi Kelurahan. Peraturan Bupati Temanggung Nomor 60 Tahun 2016 tentang Kedudukan, Susunan dan Tata Kerja Organisasi Perangkat Daerah Kabupaten Temanggung.

PENGEMBANGAN *SOCIAL CAPITAL* DALAM MENUMBUHKAN INDUSTRI KREATIF (STUDI KASUS KERAJINAN BAHAN IMITASI DI KELURAHAN SARIREJO KECAMATAN SEMARANG TIMUR)

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Abstrak

Kegiatan industri kreatif di masyarakat perkotaan perlu dikembangkan karena dapat menyerap tenaga kerja dan menghasilkan keuntungan ekonomi. Salah satu kampung di Kota Semarang sejak tahun 1960-an telah tumbuh suatu kegiatan ekonomi, yakni usaha pembuatan tas dari bahan imitasi yang hingga kini masih tetap eksis meskipun masih sebagai kegiatan dalam unit rumah tangga. Mereka bekerja sendiri-sendiri, menerima pesanan dari pedagang besar, menengah dan kecil tanpa diwadahi oleh suatu paguyuban sehingga dalam hal harga dan kualitas tidak sama, bahkan secara tidak langsung terjadi persaingan satu sama lain. Kondisi tersebut perlu dibenahi meskipun dengan sistem yang sudah berjalan, mereka dapat hidup layak. Jika dulunya mereka terpaksa bekerja sebagai pengrajin/penjahit tas dengan tingkat pendidikan yang minim, sekarang justru dapat menyekolahkan anaknya hingga ke perguruan tinggi. Melihat potensi yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat tersebut perlu diidentifikasi apakah ada modal sosial pada komunitas dapat dipakai sebagai penyatu kegiatan industri kreatif bahan imitasi. Jika mereka dapat disatukan maka akan terjadi peningkatan skala ekonomi yang sifatnya komunal sehingga terjadi sinergitas antar unit-unit keluarga. Dalam memetakan potensi modal sosial yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat, peneliti mengidentifikasi berdasarkan teori jenis modal sosial antara lain: *bonding social capital*;

bridging social capital; dan *linking social capital*. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode kualitatif dengan melakukan wawancara mendalam, Focus Group Discussion dan *life history* dengan para pengrajin. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam komunitas ada benih-benih *bonding social capital* yang dapat dioptimalkan untuk memajukan kegiatan usaha produktif yang sudah ada, seperti mengajarkan ketrampilan menjahit dan segala seluk beluknya bagi pekerja baru (*kenèk*), membagi pesanan kepada unit keluarga sekitar, dan meminjam komponen bahan baku (*nempil*). Dalam hal *bridging social capital* interaksi yang muncul masih bersifat individual, seperti dengan pedagang dan pembeli tetapi belum dengan kelompok pedagang. Dalam hal *linking social capital* sudah ada lembaga pemerintah dan perguruan tinggi yang memberikan bantuan teknis kepada para pengrajin tetapi tidak berkelanjutan.

Keywords: *Social Capital; Empowerment; Creative Industries.*

1. PENDAHULUAN

Potensi industri kreatif di Indonesia berkembang pesat. Tahun 2015 tumbuh sebesar 5,7% dengan nilai tambah sebesar Rp 641,8 triliun atau 7% dari PDB. Dari aspek tenaga kerja mampu menyerap sebanyak 11,8 juta tenaga kerja atau 10,7% dari angkatan kerja nasional dengan jumlah usaha mencapai 5,4 juta unit atau 9,7% dari

keseluruhan unit usaha. Aktivitas ekspor sebesar 118 trilyun atau 5,7 % dari keseluruhan ekspor Nasional (Naili, 2018: 9-10). Namun dalam keberlanjutan usaha di bidang industri kreatif mengalami hambatan, salah satunya adalah ketersediaan sumberdaya budaya. Sumberdaya budaya merupakan modal sosial yang dapat dikembangkan untuk mendorong tumbuh kembangnya industri kreatif.

Pemanfaatan modal sosial yang tepat bagi pengembangan industri kreatif mempunyai dampak positif bagi kehidupan sosial, peningkatan ekonomi dan citra suatu wilayah. Industri kreatif yang menghasilkan barang atau jasa yang eksklusif dapat mendorong orang untuk mengetahui, mendatangi, melihat, bahkan memiliki jika hasil industri kreatif tersebut dapat diperdagangkan. Dengan kata lain, keberadaan industri kreatif secara tidak langsung dapat menjadi obyek dan daya tarik wisata (destinasi wisata) yang dapat mendorong orang untuk mengunjungi keberadaan sentra industri kreatif tersebut.

Temuan penelitian yang diungkapkan oleh Fitriawati (2010) bahwa modal sosial berperan sangat penting dalam strategi industri kreatif. Kepercayaan mempunyai peran penting dalam proses produksi, norma atau aturan dalam penentuan harga bahan baku dan harga barang serta dalam kesepakatan kerja. *Linking social capital* mempunyai peran penting dalam jalinan usaha untuk pemasaran hasil industri kreatif. Penelitian tersebut menegaskan bahwa modal sosial mempunyai peran sebagai strategi dalam pengembangan industri kreatif khususnya bagi pengrajin.

Sejalan dengan penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Nurchayati dkk (2016) tentang potensi pengembangan industri kreatif sebagai penggerak wisata di Kabupaten Semarang menemukan bahwa kurangnya *linkage* antara industri kreatif dengan sektor pariwisata berdampak tidak berkembangnya industri kreatif secara maksimal. Ada kecenderungan masing-masing sektor bekerja sendiri sehingga tidak terjadi sinergi yang ber-

manfaat bagi tumbuhnya potensi industri kreatif di kabupaten Semarang. Dalam teori modal sosial kurangnya keterkaitan antar lembaga menunjukkan lemahnya *linking social capital*.

Arifin (2013) dalam penelitiannya pada industri kreatif rambut palsu di Purbalingga menyimpulkan perlunya mengembangkan modal sosial dengan membangun kerjasama antar perajin dan juga dengan pihak lain dalam pengadaan bahan baku, pembentukan kelompok atau paguyuban untuk mengatasi lemahnya jaringan usaha dan minimnya jaringan pemasaran serta pola pemasaran yang masih individual. Dengan demikian membangun *linking social capital* sebagai salah satu tipe modal sosial adalah strategi penting dalam industri kreatif.

Usaha industri rumah tangga memiliki keunggulan dalam hal kemampuannya menyerap tenaga kerja yang tingkat pendidikannya terbatas. Seperti halnya kegiatan usaha pembuatan tas dari bahan imitasi yang tumbuh di salah satu kampung di Kelurahan Sarirejo Kecamatan Semarang Timur. Sejak tahun 1960-an, salah satu kampung di Kelurahan Sarirejo, yakni Kampung Leduwi terdapat usaha pembuatan aneka tas dari bahan imitasi/plastik. Pada masa itu, beberapa orang dari kampung tersebut mengerjakan pesanan tas dari salah seorang pedagang bahan imitasi yang mempunyai toko di kawasan Pekojan.

Melihat potensi usaha pembuatan tas dari bahan imitasi yang ada di Kampung Leduwi pemerintah Kota Semarang berniat mengembangkan potensi tersebut. Niat itu kemudian dituangkan melalui Surat Keputusan Walikota Semarang No531/978 Tahun 2017 Tentang Penetapan Sentra Industri Di Kota Semarang. Kelurahan Sarirejo Kecamatan Semarang Timur yang diwakili oleh Kampung Leduwi dalam Surat Keputusan tersebut ditetapkan sebagai sentra Industri Kulit/Imitasi.

Sejak dicanangkan sebagai kampung tematik, para pengrajin tas mulai membenahi usaha mereka agar bisa berkembang menjadi lebih maju. Dalam hal ini Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan juga aktif memberikan penyuluhan serta bantu-

an, baik dalam bentuk pelatihan maupun alat kerja. Komunitas pengrajin tas diajak studi banding pergi ke sentra industri kulit Manding Bantul Yogyakarta agar mengenal lebih luas perkembangan dunia industri rumah tangga. Pernah juga Kampung Leduwi dikunjungi pelancong dari kota lain sehingga dengan cara seperti itu para pengrajin lebih giat membenahi usahanya. Pihak kecamatan yang dalam hal ini dilakukan sendiri oleh Bapak Camat beberapa kali memberikan arahan agar para pengrajin mau meningkatkan skala usahanya melalui koperasi.

Problem yang dihadapi oleh pengrajin adalah sulitnya mencari tenaga kerja sehingga kapasitas produksi terbatas dan jika ada banyak pesanan mereka kesulitan memenuhi. Dalam satu tahun ada juga masa-masa sepi pesanan, yaitu saat mulai masuk sekolah dan pesanan berlimpah saat menjelang hari Lebaran. Saat sepi pesanan mereka tidak berani membuat produk sebagai stock karena itu artinya “uang macet” yang beresiko. Merekapun belum memisahkan uang usaha dengan uang untuk keperluan rumah tangga sehingga susah melacakannya, terlebih sistem pembukuannya juga belum rapi. Manajemen mereka sederhana, yang penting ada uang untuk belanja dan ada sisanya. Dalam hal ini perlu pelatihan pembukuan sederhana untuk merapikan tata kelola usaha mereka.

Untuk meningkatkan kegiatan ekonomi di kampung tematik tersebut perlu dilihat berdasarkan kerangka modal sosial. Kegiatan ekonomi yang sudah ada perlu ditingkatkan tidak hanya berada dalam skala rumah tangga tetapi menjadi kegiatan komunal. Dalam hal ini aspek modal sosial menjadi penting, Modal sosial (*Social Capital*) adalah kemampuan masyarakat untuk bekerjasama, demi mencapai tujuan-tujuan bersama, di dalam berbagai kelompok dan organisasi (Coleman, 1999). Cohen dan Prusak (2001) selanjutnya mengembangkan teori modal sosial dan merumuskannya sebagai setiap hubungan yang terjadi dan diikat oleh suatu kepercayaan (*trust*), kesaling-pengertian (*mutual understanding*), dan kepercayaan akan pentingnya nilai-nilai bersama

(*shared value*) yang mengikat anggota kelompok untuk membuat kemungkinan aksi bersama dapat dilakukan secara efisien dan efektif. Secara umum, menurut Putnam (1993) modal sosial memiliki ukuran-ukuran yang nyata, yaitu kepercayaan, norma-norma dan jaringan.

Modal sosial dalam pandangan Woolcock (1998) dibagi dalam 3 tipe, yaitu *bonding social capital*, *bridging social capital*, dan *linking social capital*. *Bonding social capital* ditunjukkan melalui nilai, kultur, persepsi dan tradisi atau adat istiadat (*custom*). *Bonding social capital* menjelaskan hubungan dan interaksi antar masyarakat dalam komunitas yang sama dan bersifat homogen. *Bonding social capital* akan berjalan baik dan berkualitas jika antar individu tunggal memiliki kemampuan yang baik dalam berinteraksi dan berkomunikasi dengan individu lainnya dalam rangka tercapainya tujuan yang diinginkan bersama.

Bridging social capital dimaknai sebagai institusi dan mekanisme yang berlaku dalam institusi. *Bridging social capital* merupakan ikatan sosial yang timbul sebagai reaksi atas berbagai macam karakteristik kelompok yang berbeda. *Bridging social capital* tersebut bisa muncul karena adanya berbagai kelemahan sehingga seorang anggota ataupun kelompok dalam sistem sosial memutuskan untuk menjalin interaksi dengan kelompok lainnya untuk mencapai tujuan bersama.

Linking social capital bisa berupa hubungan atau jaringan sosial yang dikarakteristikan dengan adanya hubungan di antara beberapa level pada kekuatan sosial maupun status sosial yang ada dalam masyarakat. Keberadaan *linking social capital* dalam prakteknya dapat dilihat dari adanya hubungan antara kelompok masyarakat dan LSM/NGO dengan pemerintah selaku pengambil kebijakan.

Berdasarkan pengertian tentang modal sosial di atas dalam kaitannya dengan penelitian ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa konsep modal sosial (*social capital*) pada dasarnya berakar dari hubungan dan jaringan antara individu dan kelompok antar sis-

tem sosial yang berperan sebagai alat terwujudnya pengembangan industri kreatif.

Industri kreatif diartikan sebagai industri yang memanfaatkan kreativitas, ketrampilan serta bakat individu yang melekat pada seseorang. Pemanfaatan industri kreatif bertujuan untuk menciptakan kesejahteraan serta lapangan pekerjaan dengan menghasilkan dan mengeksploitasi daya kreasi dan daya cipta individu baik secara individu maupun kelompok.

Di Indonesia kebijakan yang mengatur Industri kreatif dituangkan dalam Instruksi Presiden RI Nomor 6 Tahun 2009 Tentang Pengembangan Industri Kreatif yang dalam pelaksanaannya dituangkan dalam buku Pengembangan Industri Kreatif Menuju Visi Ekonomi Kreatif 2025. Kebijakan ini ditujukan untuk mengembangkan perekonomian rakyat yang bertumpu pada kreativitas, ketrampilan, dan bakat individu untuk menciptakan daya kreasi dan daya cipta individu yang bernilai ekonomis dan berpengaruh pada kesejahteraan masyarakat Indonesia. Salah satu industri kreatif di Indonesia yang perlu dikembangkan adalah kerajinan (*Craft*). Industri kreatif akan menjadi potensi apabila didukung oleh modal sosial yang dimiliki masyarakat lokal di mana industri kreatif tersebut ada dan bertumbuh. Industri kreatif yang ada di Kelurahan Sarirejo Kecamatan Semarang Timur adalah Kerajinan Kulit/imitasi.

Modal sosial dapat dilihat dari beberapa hal, antara lain dalam konteks kegiatan ekonomi. Modal sosial dalam konteks ekonomi berupaya melihat relasi antara potensi kekuatan sosial seperti kepercayaan, norma dan jaringan sosial dalam suatu masyarakat yang dapat diberdayakan meningkatkan kegiatan perekonomian. Komunitas yang sudah mempunyai kegiatan ekonomi produktif seperti usaha kerajinan pembuatan tas dari bahan imitasi untuk maju dan berkembang bersama. Dalam hal ini perlu dilihat bagaimana karakter yang berbeda antara kegiatan ekonomi yang cenderung individualistik, berupaya dikawinkan dengan karakter modal sosial yang cenderung

sosialistik. Hal itulah yang perlu dicermati lebih lanjut karena di beberapa komunitas yang mempunyai kegiatan usaha perekonomian dapat disatukan dalam wadah koperasi yang kemudian dapat berkembang dan maju secara bersama.

2. METODE

Penelitian ini merupakan jenis penelitian deskriptif, yakni dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dalam melakukan identifikasi modal sosial yang dimiliki komunitas industri kreatif di Kelurahan Sarirejo Kecamatan Semarang Timur. Metode yang digunakan antara lain wawancara mendalam, *life history*, observasi dan dokumentasi. Penelitian ini berupaya melihat potensi modal sosial yang dapat dimanfaatkan untuk pengembangan industri kreatif meliputi tiga tipe, yaitu *bonding social capital*, *bridging social capital*, dan *linking social capital*. *Bonding social capital*, mencakup nilai-nilai lokal masyarakat yang telah melekat pada jiwa masing-masing orang. *Bridging social capital*, mencakup interaksi masyarakat dalam dan antar komunitas sedangkan *linking social capital* mencakup interaksi komunitas dengan stakeholder dan NGO. Keseluruhan modal sosial tersebut diharapkan dapat membantu masyarakat dalam mewujudkan pertumbuhan industri kreatif yang pada akhirnya menjadi bagian dari tujuan wisata Kota Semarang.

Subjek penelitian ini adalah individu dan atau kelompok yang diharapkan oleh peneliti dapat menceritakan apa yang diketahui tentang permasalahan penelitian. Dalam sebuah penelitian kualitatif subjek penelitian atau narasumber disebut informan. Informan adalah orang yang dapat dimanfaatkan untuk memberikan informasi mengenai situasi dan kondisi latar penelitian sehingga informan haruslah seseorang yang mengetahui dan paham tentang persoalan penelitian. Informasi yang ingin didapat dalam penelitian ini dimulai dari para tokoh masyarakat dan perintis dan pelaku usaha kreatif kerajinan kulit dan imitasi di kelurahan Sarirejo Kecamatan Semarang Timur, dilanjutkan dengan pemerintah

selaku otoritas pembina industri kreatif dalam hal ini Dinas Perindustrian dan lembaga lain yang terkait.

Penelitian ini akan menggunakan teknik *purposive sampling* di mana peneliti telah menentukan tempat atau informan yang dituju. Dalam penelitian ini adalah tokoh masyarakat dan pelaku usaha industri kreatif kerajinan kulit dan imitasi yang tersebar di 8 RW dan 50 RT di kelurahan Sarirejo Kecamatan Semarang Timur. Dari mereka diharapkan dapat mengidentifikasi modal sosial yang dimiliki masyarakat sehingga peneliti bisa membuat suatu analisis tentang pengembangan modal sosial untuk meningkatkan tumbuh kembangnya industri kreatif.

3. HASIL DAN DISKUSI

Berdasarkan penelitian yang sudah kami lakukan dapat diidentifikasi sebagai berikut. *Bonding social capital* tumbuh karena adanya karakter demografis yang sama, seperti tingkat pendidikan dan ekonomi. Dari segi pendidikan mereka pada umumnya hanya sampai tingkat sekolah dasar dan menengah. Pada umumnya keluarga mereka adalah pekerja serabutan sehingga dari segi kemampuan ekonomi sangat terbatas. Kesulitan ekonomi pada tahun 1950-an saat tumbuhnya kegiatan pembuatan tas dari bahan imitasi membuat mereka kemudian menekuni pekerjaan tersebut. Mereka dengan sukarela berbagi ilmu dan ketrampilan sehingga dengan cepat warga Kampung Leduwi banyak yang berprofesi sebagai pejahit tas bahan imitasi. Ketrampilan itu menyebar dari satu keluarga ke keluarga yang lain, pengrajin-pengrajin yang bertahan ada kecenderungan orang tuanya juga penjahit.

Meskipun proses belajar menjadi penjahit tas bahan imitasi relatif mudah tetapi dalam proses selanjutnya tergantung bakat dan karakter seseorang. Beberapa di antaranya mempunyai bakat menjahit yang bagus sehingga produk yang dihasilkan rapi dan kemudian dapat meningkat statusnya sebagai penjahit juragan, yakni yang sering

mendapatkan pesanan dari pembeli grosiran. Penjahit juragan ini kemudian akan membagi pekerjaan kepada penjahit lainnya untuk membantu mengerjakan pesanan. Hal itu juga salah satu indikator adanya *bonding social capital*. Penjahit juragan akan mengutip keuntungan yang wajar, sekitar Rp 500,- sampai Rp 3.000,- dari setiap produk. Menurut penjahit juragan yang sering mendapatkan pesanan dari pembeli grosiran hal itu semacam “*dum-dum rejeki*”, membagi rejeki ke sesama penjahit. Penjahit juragan juga mempunyai tenaga kerja yang satu sama lain memiliki rasa saling percaya. Hal itu kemudian menjadi pola hubungan yang saling menguntungkan sehingga jika penjahit juragan banyak pesanan dapat menyelesaikan dengan baik. Pola kemitraan seperti itu tumbuh melalui proses yang panjang. Penjahit yang sudah senior biasanya dapat melihat kemampuan tenaga kerja yang sudah sering ikut mengerjakan produk. Tenaga kerja penjahit sekarang ini tidak hanya terbatas di lingkungan Kampung Leduwi tetapi dari luar kampung. Biasanya adalah kaum wanita yang sebelumnya pernah bekerja sebagai penjahit di pabrik garment, yang keluar karena terbentur dengan tugas mengurus rumah tangga. Dengan menjadi penjahit bahan tas imitasi mereka merasa lebih luwes dalam membagi waktu, antara mengurus rumah tangga dan bekerja karena bisa dikerjakan di rumah.

Bridging social capital yang muncul di Kampung Leduwi adalah relasi antara pedagang grosiran dengan penjahit/pengrajin tas bahan imitasi. Posisi penjahit yang setiap hari waktunya habis untuk membuat tas menjadikan posisinya berhenti hanya sebagai produsen dan itupun terbagi menjadi produsen skala kecil dan besar. Itu menjadi faktor kelemahan yang kemudian ditutupi oleh hadirnya pedagang grosiran. *Bridging social capital* terbentuk ketika terjalin hubungan yang baik antara pedagang grosiran dengan penjahit yang sudah mapan. Prosesnya berjalan lama karena dalam hal itu terjalin hubungan bisnis yang rutin di mana satu sama lain saling melihat kredi-

bilitasnya. Si penjahit haruslah mampu memenuhi pesanan sesuai dengan kualitas dan harga yang disepakati, demikian pula si pemesan, yakni pedagang grosiran harus bonafide dalam hal pembayaran pesanan. Proses tumbuhnya relasi antara pembeli grosiran dengan penjahit juga tidak mudah. Sering terjadi ketidaksesuaian, baik dalam hal kualitas maupun keterlambatan pelunasan. Hal seperti itu akan menyulitkan penjahit juragan karena dia harus membayar ongkos kerja kepada penjahit-penjahit yang ada di bawah koordinasinya. Tetapi jika sudah ada kecocokan maka hubungan antara penjahit juragan dengan pedagang grosiran akan bertahan lama dan saling menguntungkan.

Kehadiran pedagang grosiran mempunyai efek dalam meningkatkan volume produksi para penjahit sehingga hal itu juga berdampak positif bagi kegiatan industri bahan imitasi di Kampung Leduwi. Tetapi jika dilihat dari percepatan akumulasi keuntungannya hal ini dirasa timpang karena si pedagang grosiran lebih mampu melipatgandakan kapitalnya. Percepatan kapitalisasi pada pedagang juga disebabkan karena dia bisa mengambil produk dari beberapa penjahit meskipun hal itu juga terjadi di penjahit juragan. Dari sisi penjahit juragan sebetulnya menyadari posisi dirinya yang tertahan sebagai produsen. Mereka hanya mengatakan “*rejekiné déwé-déwé*”, masing-masing mempunyai rejeki yang sesuai dengan kondisinya. Dari pandangan seperti itu akhirnya jarang ada penjahit yang sudah maju kemudian beralih menjadi pedagang grosiran. Hanya ada satu kasus bekas penjahit yang kemudian beralih profesi menjadi pedagang bahan baku di Kampung Leduwi. Dia tidak lagi menjahit tetapi khusus menyediakan bahan baku dengan pola ambil bahan dulu kemudian pelunasannya setelah produk yang dipesan dilunasi oleh pembeli. Pola seperti itu juga tidak muncul begitu saja tetapi melalui proses panjang di mana di penjual bahan mengenal dengan baik penjahit yang ngebon bahan baku dengannya. Akumulasi kapital dari si penjual bahan baku juga dapat berkembang pesat

karena kegiatan pembuatan tas dari bahan imitasi sudah berlangsung sejak lama dan volume pesannya terus meningkat. Dia hanya lulusan SMP tetapi dengan usaha itu dapat menyekolahkan anak-anaknya ke perguruan tinggi dan akan naik haji.

Linking social capital dapat menjadi tolok ukur maju dan tidaknya suatu kegiatan ekonomi produktif. Keterlibatan para *stake holder* seperti instansi pemerintah, swasta dan LSM belum berjalan maksimal. Pemerintah dalam hal ini Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan sering memberikan penyuluhan dan pelatihan kepada para penjahit/pengrajin. Beberapa penjahit juga diikutsertakan dalam kegiatan pameran hasil industri kerajinan. Pihak universitas juga sering menerjunkan mahasiswa dalam kegiatan KKN di Kampung Leduwi untuk memberikan penyuluhan atau pelatihan tetapi itu tidak membekas di penjahit karena sifatnya tidak berkelanjutan. Pihak swasta hingga kini belum ada yang terlibat dalam upaya meningkatkan kegiatan industri kreatif bahan imitasi di Kampung Leduwi, demikian pula LSM.

4. KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan uraian di atas maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa komponen-komponen modal sosial di Kampung Leduwi belum sepenuhnya muncul meskipun sebagai kegiatan usaha sudah mampu meningkatkan taraf hidup rumah tangga. Hal itu dapat dilihat dari anak-anak para pengrajin yang sukses dapat sekolah hingga ke pendidikan tinggi. Tetapi jika dikaitkan dengan persoalan pemberdayaan industri kreatif maka perlu dikaji lebih dalam atas potensi-potensi yang kelak dapat dikembangkan sebagai basis modal sosial.

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MODEL PENGELOLAAN OBYEK WISATA TAMAN KYAI LANGGENG DI KOTA MAGELANG

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Abstrak

Obyek Wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng mempunyai potensi untuk dikembangkan menjadi wisata unggulan di Kota Magelang dan Jawa Tengah pada umumnya. Namun pengembangan obyek wisata ini mengalami banyak kendala dalam mewujudkan tujuan kebijakan pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif analitis untuk menggali dan melakukan analisis terhadap aspek pendukung dan penghambat dalam pelaksanaan kebijakan pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng sehingga akan dapat diberikan rekomendasi kebijakan pengelolaan Obyek Wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng (TKL). Data diperoleh dengan melakukan depth interview terhadap pemerintah daerah, pengunjung TKL, pengurus TKL, pedagang kaki lima dan masyarakat sekitar obyek wisata TKL. Hasil penelitian yaitu pemerintah daerah sangat terlibat dalam pengelolaan TKL sehingga tidak ada inovasi dalam pengelolaannya. Direkomendasikan bahwa pengelolaan TKL memerlukan keterlibat swasta dan pemberian kewenangan yang besar pada pengelolaa dalam mengembangkan obyek wisata TKL di Kota Magelang.

Kata kunci: *Pengelolaan; Model; Obyek Wisata.*

1. PENDAHULUAN

Sektor pariwisata merupakan salah satu sektor andalan yang potensial untuk meningkatkan ekonomi daerah. Pengembangan sektor pariwisata akan memberikan dampak pada pengembangan

sektor lain seperti bergeraknya perekonomian rakyat yaitu transportasi, hotel, industri kreatif, kuliner dan sebagainya. Keadaan demikian menarik untuk dilakukan kajian dalam upaya pengembangan daerah pariwisata mengingat di Kota Magelang terdapat beberapa obyek wisata yang perlu mendapat perhatian baik dari pemerintah daerah maupun masyarakat agar memiliki daya tarik untuk selalu dikunjungi wisatawan.

Salah satu obyek wisata yang ada di Kota Magelang adalah Taman Wisata Kyai Langgeng. Obyek wisata ini menjadi obyek wisata andalan yang diharapkan mampu memberikan kontribusi terhadap pendapatan daerah. Hasil penelitian yang telah dilakukan oleh peneliti menunjukkan aspek penghambat pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng adalah organisasi pengelola obyek wisata tidak memiliki kewenangan penuh dalam melakukan pengelolaan obyek wisata. Hal ini dikarenakan pengelola obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng merupakan Badan Usaha Milik Daerah (BUMD) berupa Perusahaan Daerah sehingga segala hal yang akan diputuskan oleh pengelola harus mendapat persetujuan Kepala Daerah.

Perekrutan pegawai tidak dapat dilakukan oleh pengelola secara mutlak berdasarkan kompetensi karena adanya keterikatan antara pengelola dengan Pemerintah Daerah. Hal ini mengakibatkan rendahnya kompetensi pegawai dan menghambat pengembangan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng. Hasil observasi pada penelitian terdahulu menunjukkan bahwa penunjukkan pimpinan pengelola obyek wisata menjadi kewenangan Kepala Daerah sesuai dengan Peraturan Daerah

Kota Magelang Nomor 13 Tahun 2009 tentang Perusahaan Daerah Obyek Wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng. Di samping permasalahan dalam pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng masih ditemui beberapa hal yang menjadi keunggulan dari obyek wisata ini dan memiliki potensi untuk dikembangkan dalam rangka pengembangan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng. Keunggulan yang pertama adalah masih menjadi obyek wisata pilihan karena letaknya berada pada jalur pariwisata. Sehubungan dengan itu maka diperlukan inovasi dalam pengembangan obyek wisata baik secara fisik dalam bentuk penyediaan sarana prasarana wisata maupun dalam pengelolaannya.

Keunggulan lain yaitu dukungan dana yang diberikan oleh pemerintah daerah sebagai stimulan dalam pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng sebesar 6 milyar rupiah per 5 tahun masa kepemimpinan kepala daerah. Pemberian dukungan dana ini diharapkan membantu pengelola dalam melakukan pemeliharaan dan perbaikan fasilitas obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng. Dana ini cukup meringankan beban keuangan pengelola obyek wisata walaupun pengelola obyek wisata mempunyai kewajiban pajak dan pembagian deviden kepada pemerintah daerah. Pajak yang menjadi kewajiban pengelola meliputi pajak tontonan sebesar 10% dari keuntungan, pajak parkir sebesar 25% dari pendapatan dan deviden sebesar 55 % dari keuntungan. Rumusan masalah adalah Model Pengelolaan yang bagaimana agar dapat mengembangkan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng di Kota Magelang menjadi obyek wisata unggulan? Keunggulan dari penelitian ini adalah memberikan masukan kepada pengambil kebijakan berupa rekomendasi dalam pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng dalam rangka meningkatkan Pendapatan Asli Daerah. Hasil akhirnya adalah rekomendasi terhadap model pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng di Kota Magelang.

Kebijakan publik merupakan fenomena yang kompleks dan dinamis yang dapat dikaji dari

berbagai disiplin ilmu. Dari sudut manajemen, proses kebijakan dapat dipandang sebagai rangkaian kegiatan yang meliputi paling tidak tiga kelompok utama yaitu (1) pembuatan kebijakan, (2) (pengendalian) pelaksanaan kebijakan dan (3) pertanggung jawaban termasuk evaluasi kinerja kebijakan yang disebut dengan akuntabilitas kinerja kebijakan (Mustopadijaya, 2002). Sedangkan menurut Budi Winarno (2002) istilah kebijakan atau *policy* menunjuk pada perilaku seorang (misalnya seorang pejabat, suatu kelompok maupun suatu lembaga pemerintah) atau sejumlah aktor dalam suatu bidang kegiatan tertentu. Dengan demikian kebijakan publik dalam suatu bidang kehidupan akan menimbulkan reaksi berantai dalam masyarakat serta akan mempunyai pengaruh atau dampak tertentu terhadap perkembangan bidang kehidupan sesuai dengan substansi yang ditangani (sektoral, regional, institusional).

Berhasil atau gagalnya suatu kebijakan tergantung pada beberapa kondisi yaitu (a) ketepatan kebijakan itu sendiri, (b) konsistensi dan efektivitas pelaksanaannya dan (c) terjadi tidaknya perkembangan diluar perkiraan (Mustopadijaya, 2002). Ketepatan kebijakan seharusnya sudah dicapai pada tahapan formulasi kebijakan karena pada tahap ini telah dibuat rancangan atas sebuah kebijakan. Sedangkan konsistensi dan efektivitas pelaksanaan sangat tergantung pada kerjasama antar pelaksana kebijakan dan kemampuannya dalam menyelesaikan segala kendala yang mungkin terjadi sehingga tercapai tujuan yang telah ditetapkan. Oleh karena kebijakan publik dibuat oleh pemerintah untuk mencapai tujuan tertentu di masyarakat maka penyusunannya melibatkan banyak aktor dan melalui tahapan-tahapan tertentu. Keterlibatan aktor-aktor dalam perumusan kebijakan menjadi ciri khusus dari kebijakan publik. Aktor yang terlibat dalam perumusan kebijakan adalah kelompok penekan dan kelompok kepentingan yang merasakan dampak dari kebijakan baik secara langsung maupun secara tidak langsung. Proses kebijakan publik memang memiliki kerentanan untuk masuknya kepentingan

politis dari kelompok tertentu. Sehubungan dengan hal tersebut dibutuhkan pejabat-pejabat publik yang memiliki kredibilitas dan integritas tinggi dalam menjalankan peranannya dan berperilaku sebagai manajer publik dalam pengambilan keputusan publik. Andrews (dalam Winarno B., 2002) mengemukakan bahwa *sosial trust*, kelompok informal, keterlibatan masyarakat dalam menyelesaikan persoalan publik dan kehidupan organisasi amat berpengaruh terhadap keberhasilan kinerja layanan publik. Kebijakan yang baik adalah kebijakan yang dilaksanakan menurut keputusan yang telah ditetapkan oleh pembuat kebijakan dan tercapai tujuan dari kebijakan tersebut.

Di samping kebijakan yang tepat di dalam menyelesaikan persoalan publik maka perlu dipertimbangkan pula manajemen publik dalam mengelola kepentingan publik. Manajemen publik merupakan suatu spesialisasi yang relatif baru tetapi berakar dari pendekatan normatif. Menurut Peter dan Pierre (2003) elemen-elemen dasar yang membedakan manajemen publik dan manajemen privat adalah kepentingan publik berbeda dengan kepentingan privat, pejabat publik dipilih oleh penguasa sehingga lebih bertanggung jawab pada nilai-nilai demokratik dibandingkan kepentingan kelompok dan konstitusi menuntut perlakuan yang sama terhadap semua orang. Hal ini semakin nampak bila diterapkan dalam organisasi publik dan organisasi swasta sehingga digunakan pendekatan yang berbeda dalam mempelajari manajemen publik dan manajemen swasta. Berbicara mengenai manajemen publik maka tidak akan terlepas dari kajian manajemen yang diterapkan pada organisasi publik. Tujuan pembentukan organisasi publik yaitu untuk memenuhi kebutuhan dan melindungi kepentingan publik karenanya kinerja organisasi dikatakan berhasil apabila dapat mewujudkan tujuan tersebut.

Menurut Keban manajemen publik merefleksikan tekanan-tekanan antara orientasi *rational-instrumental* pada satu pihak dan orientasi politik di pihak lain. Oleh karenanya manajemen

publik mencakup aspek-aspek umum organisasi dan merupakan gabungan dari fungsi manajemen seperti *planning*, *organizing*, dan *controlling* serta sumberdaya manusia, keuangan, fisik, informasi dan politik. Wilson (dalam Keban, 2008) meletakkan prinsip dasar administrasi publik yang mewarisi manajemen publik yaitu

- Pemerintah sebagai setting utama organisasi.
- Fungsi eksekutif sebagai fokus utama
- Pencarian prinsip-prinsip dan teknik manajemen yang lebih efektif sebagai kunci pengembangan kompetensi administrasi
- Metode perbandingan sebagai suatu metode studi dan pengembangan bidang administrasi publik.

Pendapat Wilson ini sangat mempengaruhi upaya pengembangan manajemen publik bahkan pengembangan paradigmanya juga mengikuti perkembangan paradigma administrasi publik. Agar sebuah negara memiliki manajemen publik yang baik maka dibutuhkan "*global public management reform*" (Donald Kettl dalam Denhardt, 2003). Pertanyaan yang perlu dijawab dalam mereformasi manajemen publik tersebut meliputi dapatkah pemerintah menyederhanakan layanan, dapatkah pemerintah menggunakan *market-style incentive* untuk menghilangkan patologi birokrasi, dapatkah pemerintah menggunakan mekanisme pasar untuk memberikan warga negara pilihan layanan lebih banyak, dapatkah pemerintah membuat program yang lebih responsif, dapatkah pemerintah mendesentralisasi tanggungjawab agar pelaksana program mendapat insentif lebih besar dalam memberikan layanan publik, dapatkah pemerintah memperbaiki kapasitasnya untuk merancang kebijakan dan apakah pemerintah fokus pada *outputs* dan *outcomes* dibandingkan proses atau struktur.

Menurut Christopher Hood (dalam Syafri, 2012) pada awalnya doktrin NPM meliputi profesionalisme manajemen, indikator kinerja, kontrol pada output, perhatian pada unit-unit di sektor publik, kompetisi, penerapan manajemen swasta dan penghematan sumberdaya. Pada perkembang-

annya NPM mengalami perubahan orientasi yaitu mengutamakan nilai efisiensi dalam mengukur kinerja, perampingan organisasi dan delegasi otoritas pada unit yang lebih kecil, kinerja optimal dengan bantuan ilmu dan teknologi serta pemenuhan kebutuhan pelayanan publik.

2. METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif karena mempunyai tujuan memahami masalah sosial secara holistik dan mendalam atas fenomena yang terjadi dalam pengelolaan obyek wisata TKL. Sebagaimana pendapat Sugiyono (2009) bahwa metode penelitian kualitatif menggunakan paradigma interpretatif dan konstruktif yang memandang realitas sosial sebagai sesuatu yang utuh (holistik), kompleks, dinamis dan penuh makna. Peneliti hanya akan menguraikan dan menganalisis obyek yang diteliti tanpa melakukan intervensi atas fenomena yang diamati dan data yang dikumpulkan adalah berupa kata-kata, gambar dan bukan angka-angka. Laporan penelitian akan berisi kutipan-kutipan data untuk memberi gambaran penyajian laporan tersebut. Data berasal dari naskah wawancara, catatan lapangan, foto, videotape, dokumen pribadi atau dokumen resmi lainnya (Moleong, 2007).

Peneliti melakukan penelitian deskriptif kualitatif yaitu melakukan pengamatan secara mendalam dengan membangun mekanisme interaksional antara peneliti dengan informan. Sesuai dengan esensi penelitian kualitatif maka penelitian ini berusaha mengungkapkan suatu masalah atau peristiwa sebagaimana adanya untuk mengungkap fakta (*fact finding*).

3. HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Substansi pelayanan publik selalu dikaitkan dengan suatu kegiatan yang dilakukan oleh seseorang atau kelompok orang atau instansi tertentu untuk memberikan bantuan dan kemudahan kepada masyarakat dalam rangka mencapai tujuan tertentu. Pelayanan publik ini menjadi semakin penting karena senantiasa berhubungan dengan

khalayak masyarakat ramai yang memiliki keaneka-ragaman kepentingan dan tujuan. Oleh karena itu institusi pelayanan publik dapat dilakukan oleh pemerintah maupun non-pemerintah. Jika pemerintah merupakan organisasi birokrasi dalam pelayanan publik, maka organisasi birokrasi pemerintahan merupakan organisasi terdepan yang berhubungan dengan pelayanan publik. Dalam hal institusi pemerintah memberikan pelayanan, maka yang terpenting adalah bagaimana memberikan bantuan dan kemudahan kepada masyarakat dalam rangka memenuhi kebutuhan dan kepentingannya. Suatu pelayanan bermutu yang diberikan kepada masyarakat menuntut adanya upaya dari seluruh pegawai, dan bukan hanya dari petugas di “Front Office”. Konsep pelayanan masyarakat yang dilakukan oleh Instansi Pemerintah harus dilakukan oleh seluruh pegawai karena, tugas apa saja yang dilakukan oleh setiap pegawai mengandung unsur pelayanan yang pada gilirannya akan mempengaruhi mutu pelayanan jasa produk dari instansi dimana pegawai tersebut bekerja yang diterima oleh masyarakat.

Pembahasan mengenai pengelolaan obyek wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng di Kota Magelang berkaitan dengan aspek-aspek yang ditetapkan sebagai obyek pengamatan peneliti yaitu:

a. Perencanaan Program.

Berdasarkan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 13 Tahun 2009 tentang Perusahaan Daerah Obyek Wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng pasal 2 disebutkan bahwa status TKL adalah Perusahaan Daerah Obyek Wisata TKL yang merupakan badan hukum dan berhak melaksanakan usaha berdasarkan peraturan daerah ini. Mencermati peraturan daerah ini maka pengelola obyek wisata TKL dalam melakukan perencanaan program harus berkoordinasi dengan pemerintah daerah. Hal ini menjadi pembatas terhadap ruang gerak pengelola dalam merancang dan melaksanakan program sebab sebuah kondisi yang mendasar bahwa pemerintah daerah menjalankan fungsi sebagai mensejahterakan rakyat dan perusahaan daerah bertujuan untuk

mengembangkan usahanya dengan menerapkan prinsip manajemen publik.

Kesulitan yang muncul dan dialami oleh pengelola obyek wisata TKL adalah keterlibatan pihak pemerintah daerah seringkali menjadikan pelaksanaan program menjadi tidak maksimal. Pemerintah daerah seharusnya menerapkan manajemen sektor publik dalam pengelolaan obyek wisata TKL yaitu melakukan desentralisasi pengelolaan demi tercapainya efisiensi, efektivitas dan peningkatan kinerja perusahaan pengelola obyek wisata. Penerapan desentralisasi pengelolaan ini akan memperluas program karena kebijakan pengelola akan mempertimbangkan kemampuan perusahaan dan kebutuhan masyarakat tanpa campur tangan pemerintah yang seringkali bersifat politis.

b. Pembiayaan

Pembiayaan dalam pengembangan obyek wisata berdasarkan pada peraturan daerah Nomor 13 Tahun 2009 tentang Perusahaan Daerah Obyek Wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng pasal 5 yaitu penambahan modal ditetapkan dengan peraturan daerah Kota Magelang. Pemerintah pada awal berdirinya obyek wisata TKL menyediakan dana sebesar Rp. 808.294.217,- yang digunakan untuk membangun infrastruktur obyek wisata. Pada perkembangan selanjutnya pemerintah menyediakan anggaran Rp. 3 milyar dalam kurun waktu 5 tahun. Jumlah ini tidak mencukupi bagi penyediaan sarana dan prasarana obyek wisata sedang kerjasama dengan pihak ke tiga harus mendapatkan persetujuan pemerintah daerah sebagaimana tercantum dalam pasal 14 peraturan daerah tersebut. Pengelola obyek wisata mengupayakan dana yang dibutuhkan bagi pembangunan dan pemeliharaan infrastruktur obyek wisata dengan melakukan kerjasama dengan pihak swasta yang berminat untuk membangun wahana di dalam area obyek wisata. Namun minat investor tidak terlalu besar mengingat kurangnya jumlah pengunjung obyek wisata sehingga pembangunan dan pengembangan obyek wisata TKL nampak berjalan lambat.

Pertanggung jawaban keuangan obyek wisata TKL sesuai dengan statusnya sebagai perusahaan daerah maka penggunaan anggaran dipertanggung jawabkan kepada pemerintah daerah melalui Badan Pengawas. Tugas Badan Pengawas sesuai dengan peraturan daerah adalah mengawasi kegiatan operasional, memberikan saran kepada kepala daerah dan menerima laporan rugi laba perusahaan. Namun tugas ini tidak optimal karena pengawas menjalankan tugas apabila terdapat permasalahan yang memerlukan pertimbangan badan pengawas.

c. Sikap dan kemampuan pelaksana

Kemampuan pelaksana tidak akan terlepas dari prosedur rekrutmen pegawai yang dilakukan oleh pengelola obyek wisata. Pada awal pengelolaan obyek wisata ini pemerintah daerah menyerahkan rekrutmen pegawai pada pengelola obyek wisata sehingga rekrutmen tidak berdasarkan prinsip-prinsip kepegawaian secara profesional. Warga masyarakat sekitar obyek wisata TKL dapat menjadi pegawai tanpa ada batasan pendidikan, pengalaman pekerjaan, usia dan persyaratan lainnya sehingga kebanyakan pegawai mempunyai kemampuan yang tidak memadai. Namun demikian dengan berjalannya waktu maka persyaratan teknis menjadi syarat bagi seseorang untuk dapat diterima sebagai pegawai.

Beberapa pegawai dengan tingkat pendidikan dan kompetensi yang rendah memiliki respon dan disiplin yang kurang terhadap tugas pekerjaan. Pengunjung obyek wisata mengeluhkan pegawai yang tidak berada di tempat wahana permainan sehingga pengunjung tidak dapat menikmati wahana tersebut. Kondisi ini merugikan dan mengecewakan pengunjung karena harga tiket masuk sebesar Rp. 25.000,- yang dibayar pengunjung termasuk 10 tiket menaiki wahana yang ada di obyek wisata. Sesuai dengan konsep *New Public Management* bahwa manajemen sektor publik harus menerapkan prinsip manajemen swasta yaitu memberikan layanan yang terbaik pada pengunjung. Pengelola harus mengukur kinerja pegawai

dalam rangka meningkatkan efisiensi dan efektivitas pencapaian tujuan perusahaan,

Pengembangan obyek wisata berkaitan pula dengan permasalahan pengadaan dan perbaikan wahana permainan sehingga masih banyak ditemui wahana yang rusak di lokasi obyek wisata. Pemandangan ini sangat mengganggu Kenyamanan dan keindahan di dalam obyek wisata oleh karenanya diperlukan ketepatan, kecepatan dan kemampuan pengelola dalam menyelesaikan masalah tersebut. Pengelola menyebutkan bahwa penyelesaian masalah terkendala oleh dana dan keterikatan dengan pemerintah daerah dalam mengambil keputusan. Anggaran yang disediakan oleh pemerintah daerah tidak mencukupi sedang pengelola tidak diijinkan menaikkan harga tiket sebagai sumber dana utama untuk menunjang biaya pembelian dan pemeliharaan wahana bermain dan kebersihan lingkungan obyek wisata.

d. Kondisi ekonomi

Kondisi ekonomi masyarakat sebagai pihak yang menerima manfaat dari kebijakan pengelola obyek wisata sangat menentukan berkembang tidaknya obyek wisata TKL. Pemerintah daerah sebagai penentu kebijakan pengembangan obyek wisata memiliki tanggung jawab untuk menjadikan obyek wisata TKL sebagai tempat untuk melestarikan alam, tempat hiburan dan rekreasi masyarakat sehingga kebijakan pemerintah daerah harus diselaraskan dengan kondisi ekonomi masyarakat pengunjung obyek wisata TKL.

Obyek wisata TKL merupakan tempat wisata yang masih bertaraf regional sehingga masyarakat yang berkunjung ke obyek wisata ini sebagian besar adalah masyarakat Jawa Tengah khususnya masyarakat Kota Magelang dan sekitarnya. Mencermati kondisi masyarakat dengan tingkat sosial ekonomi menengah ke bawah ini maka pengelola tidak dapat merencanakan pengembangan obyek wisata agar menjadi obyek wisata bertaraf nasional.

e. Variasi pengunjung

Pengunjung obyek wisata TKL sangat variatif yaitu masyarakat mengunjungi obyek wisata TKL tidak hanya berrekreasi tetapi masyarakat memanfaatkan lingkungan yang indah dan sejuk untuk kepentingan edukasi, family gathering, dan kepentingan lainnya. Sehubungan dengan itu maka pengelola harus responsif terhadap berbagai kepentingan tersebut dan memberikan fasilitas agar segala kebutuhan pengunjung dapat terpenuhi.

Hasil penelitian berkaitan dengan penyediaan sarana prasarana secara umum di lokasi obyek wisata TKL ini 25% pengunjung menyatakan standar kualitasnya sangat baik, 60% menyatakan cukup berkualitas 12% menyatakan kurang berkualitas dan 3 % menyatakan tidak berkualitas. Standar kualitas ini ditinjau dari kekuatan, keamanan dan kenyamanan ketika dimanfaatkan. Sebagian besar pengunjung menyatakan cukup berkualitas karena wahana permainan yang digunakan dalam kondisi cukup baik, sarana jalan didalam lokasi nyaman untuk dilewati dan lingkungan yang tertata rapi, bersih dan asri.

Secara umum, sarana yang ada sudah cukup baik. Meskipun demikian, masih diperlukan perbaikan guna mendukung peningkatan kunjungan wisata. Beberapa pihak yang menyampaikan masih perlunya perbaikan adalah pedagang karena pedagang mengetahui secara pasti perkembangan sarana dan prasarana.

f. Komunikasi

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No 10 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kepariwisata menyebutkan bahwa pariwisata adalah berbagai macam kegiatan wisata dan didukung berbagai fasilitas serta layanan yang disediakan oleh masyarakat, pengusaha, pemerintah, dan Pemerintah Daerah. Sedang daya tarik wisata adalah segala sesuatu yang memiliki keunikan, keindahan, dan nilai yang berupa keanekaragaman kekayaan alam, budaya, dan hasil buatan manusia yang menjadi sasaran atau tujuan kunjungan wisatawan. Mendasarkan hal tersebut maka pemerintah daerah Kota Magelang melalui Perusahaan Daerah Taman

Kyai Langgeng berusaha memberikan pelayanan yang sebaik-baiknya kepada masyarakat di dalam memenuhi kebutuhannya untuk melaksanakan kegiatan wisata. Keberhasilan pemberian pelayanan pada masyarakat ini tergantung pada keberhasilan komunikasi antar pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalam pengelolaan obyek wisata TKL. Efektivitas komunikasi antara pengelola obyek wisata TKL, badan pengawas, pemerintah daerah dan masyarakat harus selalu dijaga agar harmonis dan tidak menimbulkan konflik. Hasil penelitian bahwa pengelola melakukan koordinasi dengan badan pengawas sebagai pihak yang mengawasi kegiatan operasional perusahaan daerah. Komunikasi dengan masyarakat yang berada di sekitar obyek wisata memiliki dinamika yang tinggi karena kepentingan masyarakat berbeda dengan kepentingan pengelola obyek wisata TKL. Masyarakat menjadikan obyek wisata sebagai sumber ekonomi sehingga menghendaki setiap tempat dapat digunakan untuk berjualan dan melakukan kegiatan ekonomi lainnya tanpa mempertimbangkan aspek keamanan, kenyamanan dan keindahan. Namun demikian selalu diusahakan untuk mengakomodasi kepentingan masyarakat sekitar obyek wisata dengan melakukan komunikasi dengan pendekatan win win solution apabila terjadi konflik antara pengelola dan masyarakat.

g. Rekrutmen Pejabat pelaksana.

Mendasarkan pada peraturan daerah yang mengatur pengelolaan obyek wisata maka rekrutmen pejabat pelaksana menjadi tanggung jawab Walikota Magelang. Sebagaimana tercantum pada Peraturan Daerah Nomor 13 tahun 2009 tentang Perusahaan Daerah Obyek Wisata Taman Kyai Langgeng pasal 8 bahwa direksi diangkat oleh Walikota Magelang. Dengan demikian pengangkatan direksi menjadi hak dan kewenangan Walikota Magelang dengan persyaratan yang telah ditetapkan dalam peraturan daerah tersebut yaitu mempunyai pendidikan minimal S1, mempunyai pengalaman kerja minimal 5 tahun, dan tidak terikat hubungan keluarga dengan Walikota. Hasil penelitian bahwa direksi obyek wisata TKL

memiliki pengalaman di perusahaan sehingga mampu memimpin dan mengelola obyek wisata TKL. Namun demikian dengan kewenangan yang dimiliki untuk mengangkat staf yang membantu kegiatan operasional perusahaan harus didasarkan pada profesionalitas pegawai.

Berdasarkan hasil penelitian di atas maka pengelolaan obyek wisata TKL diharapkan mampu meningkatkan angka kunjungan wisatawan dan menaikkan peringkat obyek wisata TKL menjadi bertaraf nasional. Hal ini akan terkait dengan tingkat kepuasan masyarakat yang menjadikan obyek wisata TKL menjadi rujukan tempat masyarakat meluangkan waktunya untuk berwisata.

4. KESIMPULAN

Hasil penelitian memberikan kesimpulan:

- a. Model pengelolaan yang dilaksanakan saat ini adalah pengelola obyek wisata TKL merupakan perusahaan daerah yang kegiatan operasional dalam mengelola obyek wisata menjadi kewenangan pemerintah daerah. Perusahaan memiliki kewenangan mengendalikan semua kegiatan operasional perusahaan atas persetujuan pemerintah daerah.
- b. Model pengelolaan yang direkomendasikan berdasarkan kajian hasil penelitian ialah pemerintah menerapkan prinsip manajemen publik baru (New Public Management) bahwa pemerintah melakukan desentralisasi, dan berorientasi pasar agar pengelolannya dapat maksimal sehingga pengembangannya juga akan maksimal.

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GOVERNMENT POLICY IN WASTE MANAGEMENT THROUGH 3R (REDUCE, REUSE, RECYCLE) IN MAGELANG CITY

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Abstrak

Rate of population growth followed by the pace of economic growth and changing consumption patterns in urban areas will have an impact on increasing the amount of garbage generated. Magelang City population increases also result in increasing the volume of waste. The volume of waste produced in Magelang City is huge i.e. 139.39 M³ (in 2014) increased to 160.58 m³ (in 2015) and the amount of waste carried of 136.75 M³ equivalent 85.16% and the population served by waste network amounted to 96%. Public policy is what is selected by the Government whether it is implemented or not, that may be set out in legislation and followed up with programs and Government action. This research aimed to identify, analyze, discover and recommend things related to policy management of garbage in Magelang City. The method in this research is descriptive qualitative. This research was carried out in the Department of the Environment and the Cleanliness of Magelang City. Data collection was done through observation and interviews to a number of key informants. Data were analyzed with descriptive qualitative analysis techniques. The results of this research show that the regulation is used in waste management can be applied. Magelang City waste management problems can be solved by making the regulation in the form of policy and program management of garbage with the support of all parties including

the participation of society and the Division of the roles of each stakeholder garbage processing unit.

Keywords: *Public Policy, Garbage Volume, Garbage Management*

1. INTRODUCTION

Rate of population growth followed by the pace of economic growth and changing consumption patterns in urban areas will have an impact on increasing the amount of garbage generated. In addition, changes in consumption patterns contribute to cause the kind of garbage that is increasingly diverse. The increasing purchasing power of society against various types of staples and the results of the technology as well as increasing economic growth supporting activity areas also contribute greatly to the quantity and quality of waste produced.

Garbage also became a problem in Magelang City, Magelang City population increases lead to the increase of the volume of waste. An area of Magelang City is only 18.12 km² with a population of 121. 673 (BPS, 2017) and tend to experience increased annually causing an increase in the amount of waste collection. The volume of waste produced in Magelang City is huge i.e. 139.39 M (in 2014) increased to 160.58 m³ (year 2015) and the amount of waste carried of 136.75 M³ equivalent 85.16% and the population served by waste network amounted to 96% (DLH, 2017).

TABLE 1
The Projection of the Total Population of Magelang City until 2020

Years								
2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
119647	120158	120165	120952	121923	121673	121992	122243	122532

Source: BPS, 2017

Reduce of the waste volume disposed to landfill has been done by way of waste management starts from the source system with System 3R (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle). But the reality in the field is the volume of waste generated and disposed of is still high. The limitation of the Garbage Dump in accommodating trash has exceeded capacity. In the side because of limited land, Magelang City has no Garbage Dump in Magelang City location so that it is in the Magelang Regency. While the Garbage Dump in Magelang City which is located in the area of Banyu Urip around Magelang District is already not be developed because in documents of RT/RW, these locations have been designated as green areas.

Bases on issue of garbage management has become an important issue in major cities including in Magelang City, then the Government needs to provide garbage management facility by using new technology so that it can reduce the garbage heap that can cause environmental problems.

To improve the Organization of garbage management are integrated and comprehensive in Magelang City needed a policy and management waste management. Thomas R. Dye which says that public policy generally contains the notion of "whatever the government choose *to do or not to do*. This means that public policy is what is selected by the Government to do or not.

While James A. Anderson says that public policy is a "policy set by the agencies and governmental authorities". Similar with Laswell and Kaplan, David Easton in Subarsono (2005:2) defines public policy as "assignment of values to the society", since each policy contains a set of values in it.

With regard to the problem the garbage management in Magelang City, then the go-

vernment of Magelang City is needto look for alternative waste management that can be relied upon to take waste management policy.

2. RESEARCJ METHOD

The methods are used in this research is qualitative descriptive. Data collection is done by survey, interview and documentation. The subject of this research is the Department of the environment, Balitbang, Provincial Development Planning Agency abbreviated as Bappeda, the Community Manager of Garbage Bank, community garbage and Free-range organic. The object in this research is secondary data and policy documents and the management of waste management in Magelang City. Qualitative data analysis is done through interactive model with the validity of the analysis methodology focuses on the *triangulation*, with rolling according to needs also use techniques of the validity of other

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The Regulation of the Garbage Management

The regulation has a very important role in performing an action activity. Regulation as the guidance or legal basis is used in regulating the problem of garbage that exists in a community. The legal basis used by the Government of Magelang City waste management is related to the Constitution of Indonesia No. 18 in 2008 about waste management, Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 33 in 2010 and Regional Regulation of Magelang City No 10 in 2013 about waste management.

In the Regional Regulation No. 10 in 2013 are explained that local governments in charge of waste management are invited, in order to

guarantee a good and insightful environment. The task of local governments include as follows:

- Increasing environmentally awareness and enhance public awareness in waste management;
- Conducting research and technology development and reduction of waste handling;
- Facilitating, develop and implement reduction efforts, handling, and utilization of waste;
- Implementing waste management as well as facilitating waste management facilities and infrastructure;
- Facilitating and developing over the benefits generated from waste management;
- Facilitating the application of specific technologies that are locally grown in the local community to address and reduce a garbage; and
- Conducting coordination unit of the device Work area, the community, and the business so that there is alignment in waste management.

According to the task of the regional government in Magelang City of waste management that are contained in the Change, then waste management is not just a duty and responsibility of the local Government itself but also become the duties and responsibilities of the community. This is confirmed in article 61 which States that the public can play a role in dealing with the problem of waste management organized by the local government. Role of the community in the form of waste management include as follows:

- Taking care of environmental awareness
- Active in reduction activities, collecting, sorting, transporting, and processing a garbage
- Giving a suggestion, advice, complaint, consideration, and opinions in an attempt to increase in waste management in this region.

Even the local Government will provide incentives to individuals as well as institutions or business entity that performs best in innovation waste management and/or reporting of violations against of this prohibition.

The Regulation of Magelang City No. 10 in 2013 about garbage management who set about garbage at the moment already applied in the community although not fully enforceable. Things that still need to be improved relates to roles and the community in addressing the problems of waste management and the appropriate application of a waste technology.

3.2. Bureaucracy Structure of a Garbage Management

Government agencies related to waste management, both the central level as well as areas, as follows:

- The Ministry of Environment (MOE)
- The Ministry of Public Works
- Implementing Engineering Department (UNIT)
- Office Janitorial and Landscaping (DKP)
- Department of The Environment (DLH)

Garbage management in Magelang City is handled by the Department of the Environment (DLH). It is a combination between The Unit Work of Device Area of Office Environment and Cleanliness Department of Spatial Planning and PJU Landscaper in accordance with Regional Regulations of Magelang City No. 3 in 2016 on the establishment and composition of the regional device. DLH is Technical Service areas with the scope of responsibilities of the Environmental Affairs, most public works Affairs and Spatial development as well as garbage management system, structuring parks and PJU, and educates public housing Affairs and The Area of the Settlements.

Garbage management function in Department of the Environment implemented by the garbage management and handling, which has 2 sections, namely Waste Management Section and

Garbage Handling Section. As for the trash at the landfill are managed specifically by Unit for Final Landfill (TPSA). Total human resources of garbage handle in Magelang City totaled 61 people

for Civil Servant and 130 people to the Non-powered civil servants, with details of the amount as follows:

TABLE 2
The Amount of Garbage Management Staff (Non-Civil Servant)

Fields	Total
Garbage Handling Management	48
UPTD TPSA	13
Total	61

Source : DLH 2017

TABEL 3
The Amount of Garbage Management Staff (Non-Civil Servant)

Fields	Employees Contract	Freelance Staffs
Garbage Management	13	115
TPST Operator	0	2
Waste Management Landfills	0	7
The Management and Maintanance of Public Dumpsites Giriloyo	0	6
Total	13	130

Sumber : DLH 2017

3.3. Stakeholder's Involvement

Government's role in the integrated garbage management is indeed very important, but the involvement of all *stakeholders* in integrated garbage management will make things become more effective and efficient. Other *stakeholders* are very important in the garbage management is the community, because the community that produces garbage. So if the community wants to work in garbage management, then the government will be providing the best service. For it is necessary garbage management arrangements in particular: Sorting waste at the source, about the society behavior from the habit of disposing of trash mixed in already disaggregated, motivate the community in getting used to sort trash on the source, increase the role of the community in formulating the concept of regulation in the garbage field in waste management with the system is broken. Changing patterns of con-

sumption are wasteful waste into the trash, so saving the effort of reducing waste at the source can be more effective.

In the role of handling garbage in residential level, the involvement of the community in Magelang City directly can be seen in its participation following the program the Bank trash and Free-range, organic, either as a customer or sysop. Outside of the program, there has been no significant role of garbage management around the community. At the level of neighborhoods, the community pays a levy on waste in managing each village with funds ranging from IDR.10, 000 to IDR.15, 000/ month, where funds are not only purely for garbage management, but also for operational security and other public facilities. At the level of Final Landfill, Magelang City has yet to apply the standard rate garbage disposal.

In Magelang City, garbage management involves several parties/places directly such as

temporary shelter (TPS)/Transfer Agent (TD), place of processing, while the Organic Integrated Waste processing (TPST), and place the Bank end

(LANDFILL). Based on existing data and survey in the field, the flow of garbage treatment in Magelang City is presented in Figure 1.

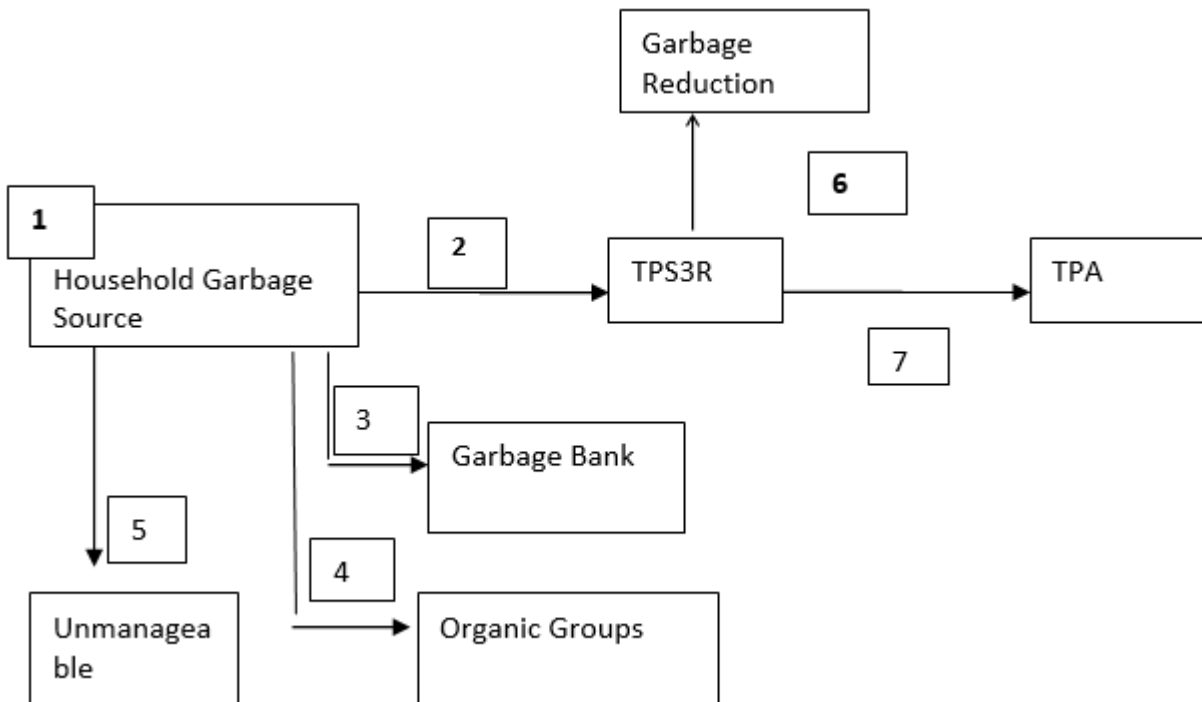


Figure 1.
The Flow of Waste Management in Magelang City

3.4. Garbage Service

Garbage services provided by the government to the public, aims to serve the garbage generated inhabitants, which indirectly undertook to maintain public health and create environmental cleanliness. Zoning services waste taking into account the population density, function area, the City's development plan (RTRW) and the topography of the area, being the reference implementation in increased coverage of service.

a. Garbage Bank

Magelang City continues to strive to apply the concept of 3R (Reduce, Reuse and Recycle) waste processing in accordance with the mandate

of the existing regulations. This concept will be able to take place with good and sustainable, if there is an economic benefit for the perpetrators. The existence of the garbage bank in Magelang City is trying to apply concepts and strategies. The economic value of residential garbage especially inorganic will be divided by the population and deposited to the garbage bank to value economically. Each Member involved will have a record of the balance upon delivery of the garbage. As for the data of garbage bank in Magelang City, along with the resulting turnover presented in table 4.

TABLE 4
The Total Garbage Manage at Garbage Bank

Data	Total	Turnover (Rp/month)	Garbage Manage (kg/month)
North Magelang	15	2.875.000	2454.00
Central Magelang	21	4.508.000	2743.00
South Magelang	19	6.352.200	3237.00
School	8	3.600.000	2400.00
New Garbage Bank	9	-	1380.11
Jumlah	72	12214.11	

According on these data of garbage bank in Magelang City able to cultivate and reducing waste that goes to landfill of 12.214 tons/month or 146.56 tones/ year.

b. Organic Area

One of the garbage processing easy and cheap as well as its benefits for the community feels enough is the conversion of organic waste into compost. With enough land and bio-starter, community-generated organic waste can be turned into compost. Business composting for experienced constraints associated with marketing because of the quality and quantity of the manufacturers that are not yet stable and guarantee. Therefore, Magelang City has the innovation in the mana-

gement of the unit compost through Organic Free-range. In organic area, compost product produced is used as a medium for planting several kinds of crops such as tomatoes, chilies, mustard etc. The rest of utilization of media existing planting compost, marketed to the local community. Sales of plants and compost are into infusion of organic free-range group to be more sustainable. As for the distribution of organic free-range in Magelang City presented in table 5. Considering the vast territory and its effectiveness, generally located in level of organic free-range around Community Group level so ideally there are one organic free-range.

TABLE 5
The Amount of Organic Area and Community Around

Sub-District	Amount of Organic Area	Organic Free-range Environment Population (inhabitants)
Magelang Utara	16	12304
Magelang Tengah	20	12060
Magelang Se-atan	21	12160
Jumlah	57	36544

TABLE 6
The Amount Estimation of Organic Waste Managed in Organic Area

	Garbage per capita (kg/person/day)	Garbage managed in organic waste (kg/person/day)	Population (inhabitants)	Garbage managed in organic waste (kg/month)
Community Without Organic Area	0.304	0.019		
Community With Organic Area	0.285		36544	20830,08

Organic free-range amounted to 57 can cultivate the organic waste of 20.83 ton/month or around 249.9 tons/year

4. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusions:

- a. Magelang City as a smart environmental field particularly related waste management through 3R (*Reduce, Reuse, Recycle*), still found plenty of problems. The problem of waste is handled relative small only 1.3% of all waste matter addressed. This problem occurs because the city was only able to lift 85.04% of garbage generated by this city.
- b. Regulation used in garbage management in Magelang City is Act No. 18 in 2008, Act No. 12 in 2008, Government Regulation No. 81 in 2012 and Regional Regulation of Magelang City No. 10 in 2013. Magelang City waste management Problems can be solved by issueing regulation in the form of policy and garbage management program with the support of all parties including the participation of society and the Division of the roles of each stakeholder waste processing units.
- c. In Magelang City, garbage management involves several parties/places directly such as temporary shelter (TPS)/Transfer Agency (TD), Garbage Place of Processing Integrated (TPST), Organic Waste Processing, Garbage Bank, and (LANDFILL).

Suggestion:

- a. The Government need to make programes that involve community in a waste management
- b. Inviting the private sector through its CSR program to participate in waste management
- c. Increasing the institutional capacity and human resources in the management and development of environmental programs
- d. Enhancing the role of the Organization in the area of waste management tool
- e. Waste processing technology Development needs to continue to be excavated and developed

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KAJIAN YURIDIS VONIS *ULTRA PETITA* TERHADAP PRINSIP KEBEBASAN HAKIM PADA PUTUSAN PIDANA NOMOR 1537/PID.B/2016/PN.JKT UTR DALAM KASUS PENODAAN AGAMA

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Abstrak

Konstitusi kita pada pasal 24 ayat (1) dijelaskan “Kekuasaan kehakiman merupakan kekuasaan yang merdeka untuk menyelenggarakan peradilan guna menegakkan hukum dan keadilan”. Kekuasaan yang merdeka ini bukan hanya pada tataran kelembagaan peradilan melainkan merdeka pada hakim dalam memutus suatu perkara. Artinya hakim harus merdeka dari intervensi pihak-pihak luar dan seharusnya mengadili suatu perkara hanya berdasarkan fakta yang terbukti di pengadilan dan berdasarkan hukum. Dari awal berjalannya kasus pendoaan agama dengan melibatkan tersangka Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok, penuh dengan nuansa intervensi dari orang-orang yang menginginkan terdakwa dinyatakan bersalah dan dihukum. Padahal asas praduga tidak bersalah menjadi pedoman bahwa siapapun tetap dianggap tidak bersalah sebelum ada putusan yang berkekuatan hukum tetap membuktikan seseorang itu bersalah. Sehingga menimbulkan pertanyaan apakah putusan yang dibuat oleh hakim dalam kasus ini sudah mengedepankan sisi kemerdekaan dari intervensi tersebut dan mengedepankan keadilan dengan berpedoman pada peraturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk

mengetahui penyimpangan apa saja yang ada pada putusan nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr dan melihat sejauh mana kewenangan atau kemerdekaan hakim untuk memutus suatu perkara pidana dengan analisisnya mengacu pada beberapa regulasi yang terkait dengan penelitian ini dan teori-teori hukum pidana. Sebab dalam pembuatan putusan ini ada beberapa ketentuan dari HUHAP yang dikesampingkan oleh hakim dengan berpedoman pada yurisprudensi dan kebiasaan yang selama ini berjalan. Penelitian ini bersifat normatif dengan metode yang digunakan adalah melalui studi literatur-literatur kepustakaan dan peraturan perundang-undangan. Tujuan jangka panjang dari penelitian ini adalah dalam bentuk publikasi jurnal nasional terakreditasi tentang eksaminasi putusan pidana untuk memberikan pengayakan khazanah keilmuan khususnya pada keilmuan hukum pidana mengenai putusan-putusan yang pembuatannya dirasakan tidak sesuai aturan yang ada. Besar harapan penelitian ini dapat dijadikan referensi agar ke depan tidak ditemukan lagi putusan-putusan yang jauh dari rasa keadilan.

Kata Kunci : *Kajian Yuridis; Ultra Petita; Prinsip Kebebasan Hakim; Putusan Pidana.*

1. PENDAHULUAN

Aturan untuk mengatur kebutuhan penegakan hukum pidana dalam lingkup peradilan,

regulasi yang digunakan adalah Undang-undang Nomor 8 Tahun 1981 Tentang Hukum Acara Pidana atau sering disebut dengan Kitab Undang-

undang Hukum Acara Pidana (KUHAP) dimana seluruh aturan persidangan diatur pada undang-undang tersebut. Terhadap kewenangan seorang hakim dalam memutus suatu perkara pidana juga diatur dalam undang-undang ini selain ada undang-undang lain yang memberikan independensi hakim dalam memutus yaitu Undang-undang Nomor 48 Tahun 2009 tentang kekuasaan kehakiman.

Dengan melihat kedua undang-undang ini, penulis memiliki sebuah analisis yang sedikit mengganjal ketika melihat putusan pidana dengan nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr dengan terdakwa Ir. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok. Hakim memang memiliki independensi dan penilaian tersendiri dalam memutus suatu perkara dengan menggali suatu bentuk keadilan. Namun seharusnya keadilan yang diciptakan haruslah melindungi pihak-pihak yang terlibat diantaranya keadilan bagi *victim* (korban) pastinya, *state* (Negara) sebagai organisasi tertinggi yang melindungi masyarakat, serta yang tidak kalah pentingnya juga keadilan bagi *daader* (terdakwa). Belum lagi ketika putusan yang dibuat berpotensi adanya aturan yang dikesampingkan oleh majelis hakim.

Dalam putusan ini peneliti melihat hakim mengesampingkan beberapa aturan yang ada dalam KUHAP. Apabila melihat pasal 3 KUHAP dijelaskan bahwa:

“Peradilan dilakukan menurut cara yang diatur dalam undang-undang ini”.

Artinya bahwa berjalannya peradilan pidana dari mulai penyelidikan hingga pelaksanaan eksekusi pun harus dilaksanakan berdasarkan aturan KUHAP.

Dalam hal hakim memutus suatu perkara pidana sebenarnya ada aturan yang seharusnya menjadi pedoman hakim yaitu dalam pasal 182 ayat (4) dijelaskan bahwa:

“Musyawarah tersebut pada ayat (3) harus didasarkan atas surat dakwaan dan segala sesuatu yang terbukti dalam pemeriksaan di sidang”.

Musyawarah yang dilakukan jelas dalam rangka membuat suatu putusan pidana dengan memperhatikan surat dakwaan dan sesuatu yang terbukti dalam pemeriksaan sidang. Disini ada 1 kegiatan yang harus dilakukan hakim yang bersifat kumulatif.

Seperti diketahui bersama bahwa kasus yang menjerat terdakwa Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok didakwa dengan 2 pasal dalam dakwaan alternatif yaitu pasal 156 huruf a dan pasal 156 KUHP. Dalam tuntutan Jaksa Penuntut Umum menuntut terdakwa dengan pasal 156 KUHP karena jaksa tidak melihat adanya unsur niat secara sengaja untuk melakukan pendoaan agama sebagaimana unsur yang terdapat dalam pasal 156 huruf a. Sehingga jaksa penuntut umum hanya menuntut terdakwa dengan tuntutan pidana penjara 1 tahun dengan masa percobaan dua tahun. Namun putusan yang dikeluarkan hakim memutus terdakwa dengan pasal 156 a dan dikenai hukuman penjara selama 2 tahun. Terhadap putusan ini peneliti menyebutnya dengan putusan *Ultra Petita*, namun bukanlah *Ultra Petita* dalam pengertian harfiah dalam hukum perdata. *Ultra Petita* lebih identik dengan kasus-kasus perdata dan beberapa terdapat juga pada putusan-putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi, dimana Hakim memutus melebihi apa yang diminta oleh Penggugat. Dalam kasus pidana *Ultra Petita* bisa dipahami sebagai penjatuhan putusan atas perkara yang tidak dituntut atau meluluskan lebih dari pada yang diminta.

Perdebatan yang terjadi adalah ketika kita melihat pasal 5 ayat (1) Undang-undang Nomor 48 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kekuasaan Kehakiman dijelaskan:

Hakim dan hakim konstitusi wajib menggali, mengikuti, dan memahami nilai-nilai hukum dan rasa keadilan yang hidup dalam masyarakat.

Sejak awal kasus ini muncul hingga proses persidangan gelombang masyarakat untuk menuntut terdakwa Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok sangatlah luar biasa. Apabila mengacu pada pasal 5 ayat (1) Undang-undang Kekuasaan Kehakiman

di atas, muncul pertanyaan besar apakah dijatuhkannya hukuman 2 tahun kepada terdakwa tidak terlepas dari tekanan masyarakat dengan didasarkan pada *rasa keadilan yang hidup dalam masyarakat*. Hal ini yang akan peneliti telusuri lebih lanjut pada pertimbangan putusan tersebut. Lalu keadilan bagi terdakwa sendiri apakah tidak diperhatikan ketika jaksa sendiri tidak mampu membuktikan terdakwa terpenuhi pasal 156 huruf a dalam persidangan. Fakta-fakta persidangan yang dibuktikan oleh Jaksa Penuntut Umum dan segala pembelaan dari Penasihat Hukum seharusnya menjadi pertimbangan dalam hakim membuat putusan sebagaimana diatur pula dalam KUHAP.

2. METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian yang dilakukan dalam penulisan ini menggunakan metode penelitian hukum normatif atau penelitian hukum kepustakaan. Berdasarkan pengertian dari penelitian hukum normatif adalah suatu prosedur penelitian ilmiah untuk menemukan kebenaran berdasarkan logika keilmuan hukum dari sisi normatifnya. Logika keilmuan yang ada dalam penelitian hukum normatif dibangun berdasarkan disiplin ilmiah dan cara-cara ilmu hukum normatif, yaitu ilmu hukum yang objeknya hukum itu sendiri.²³

Metode penelitian ini dilakukan dengan cara meneliti bahan pustaka yang dikumpulkan oleh peneliti. Pengumpulan bahan pustaka dilakukan dengan seksama dan melalui pencarian yang sesuai dengan tema yang dibahas oleh peneliti. Setelah bahan pustaka terkumpul peneliti melakukan kajian terhadap bahan pustaka tersebut secara komprehensif, sehingga metode ini menghasilkan suatu penelitian yang objektif dan berkualitas.

Berdasarkan jenis metode penelitian di atas, bahan penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah bahan kepustakaan yang terdiri dari bahan primer, sekunder, dan tersier. Bahan-bahan tersebut terdiri atas:

- a. Bahan primer, yaitu putusan pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr.
- b. Bahan sekunder, yaitu bahan yang dapat memberikan penjelasan mengenai bahan primer, seperti buku-buku kepustakaan, karya tulis ilmiah para ahli hukum berkualifikasi tinggi, hasil penelitian, jurnal, buku-buku, dokumen-dokumen terkait, jawaban atas pertanyaan yang dijawab oleh narasumber yang berhubungan dengan penelitian ini.
- c. Bahan tersier, yakni bahan yang menunjang bahan hukum primer dan sekunder untuk membantu peneliti dalam melakukan kajian terhadap penelitian ini.

3. PEMBAHASAN

3.1. Bentuk Penyimpangan dalam Pembuatan Putusan Pidana Nomor 1537/PID.B/2016/PN.JKT UTR

Suatu putusan pengadilan juga hanya seorang hakim lah yang dapat memutuskannya sebagaimana yang tertulis dalam 1 angka 8 KUHAP menyebutkan:

“Hakim adalah pejabat peradilan negara yang diberikan wewenang oleh undang-undang untuk mengadili”.

Menurut Lilik Mulyadi putusan hakim itu merupakan putusan yang diucapkan oleh hakim karena jabatannya dalam persidangan perkara pidana yang terbuka untuk umum setelah melakukan proses dan prosedural hukum acara pidana pada umumnya berisikan amar pemidanaan atau bebas atau pelepasan dari segala tuntutan hukum dibuat dalam bentuk tertulis dengan tujuan penyelesaian perkaranya.²⁴

Setiap putusan hakim harus mempertimbangkan segala aspek yang bersifat yuridis, filosofis, dan sosiologi, Aspek yuridis merupakan aspek yang pertama dan utama dengan berpatokan kepada undang-undang yang berlaku. Mengenai aspek filosofis, merupakan aspek yang berintikan pada kebenaran dan keadilan, sedangkan aspek

²³ Johnny Ibrahim, (2006), *Teori dan Penelitian Hukum Normatif*. Malang: Bayumedia, hlm 7

²⁴ Lilik Mulyadi, *Op.Cit*, hlm. 131

sosiologis, mempertimbangkan tata nilai budaya yang hidup dalam masyarakat.²⁵ Dalam doktrin hukum pidana juga dikenal adanya suatu asas yang melekat dalam setiap putusan pengadilan yaitu asas “*Res Judicata Pro Veritate Habetur*” yang artinya “putusan hakim harus dianggap benar”. Asas ini muncul disebabkan dalam setiap putusan pengadilan terdapat irah-irah di bagian atas tertulis “Demi Keadilan Berdasarkan Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa”.

Pro kontra yang muncul adalah apakah tepat pasal 156a KUHP dijatuhkan kepada Ahok sebagaimana termuat dalam putusan pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr yang diputuskan oleh Pengadilan Negeri Jakarta Utara. Putusan tersebut oleh para ahli hukum disebut sebagai putusan *Ultra Petita* dalam hukum pidana. Teori tentang *Ultra Petita* lebih sering muncul dalam hukum perdata. *Ultra petita* dalam hukum formil mengandung pengertian penjatuhan putusan atas perkara yang tidak dituntut atau meluluskan lebih dari pada yang diminta.²⁶

Menjawab pertanyaan pada rumusan masalah pertama, penulis mencoba menjabarkan terlebih dahulu dakwaan yang dikenakan kepada Ahok dan menggali pertimbangan hukum majelis hakim dalam putusan pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr. Sejak semula jaksa penuntut umum mendakwa Ahok dengan dakwaan alternative yaitu pertama didakwa dengan pasal 156a KUHP atau dakwaan kedua pasal 156 KUHP. Dalam tuntutan-nya Jaksa Penuntut Umum menuntut Ahok dengan pasal 156 KUHP dengan tuntutan hukuman penjara satu tahun penjara dengan masa percobaan dua tahun. Namun dalam pertimbangan hukum dan amar putusan yang dijatuhkan oleh majelis hakim bahwa Ahok terbukti secara sah dan meyakinkan melakukan tindak pidana penodaan agama sebagaimana diatur dalam pasal 156a KUHP. Putusan yang seperti ini penulis menilai dengan putusan

Ultra Petita meskipun maksud *Ultra Petita* disini bukanlah *Ultra Petita* selayaknya dalam hukum perdata.

Fungsi surat dakwaan dalam sidang pengadilan merupakan landasan dan titik tolak pemeriksaan terdakwa. Berdasarkan rumusan surat dakwaan dibuktikan kesalahan terdakwa. Pemeriksaan sidang tidak boleh menyimpang dari apa yang dirumuskan dalam surat dakwaan.²⁷ Dalam surat dakwaan yang disusun secara alternative, memiliki ciri antara satu pasal dalam dakwaan dengan pasal dalam dakwaan yang lain tersirat perkataan “atau” yang memberi pilihan kepada hakim untuk menerapkan salah satu di antara pasal-pasal dalam dakwaan yang diajukan.

Dalam KUHAP sendiri memang tidak ada keharusan seorang hakim dalam memutus suatu perkara pidana berdasarkan dari tuntutan Jaksa Penuntut Umum. Namun rujukan utamanya adalah didasarkan dari Dakwaan dan segala sesuatu yang terbukti dalam pemeriksaan di sidang sebagaimana isi pasal 184 ayat (4) KUHAP. Sehingga potensi *ultra petita* yang muncul dalam putusan pidana sangat mungkin terjadi. Namun tidak dapat dibenarkan juga bahwa putusan *ultra petita* itu selamanya betul. Oleh karena itu peneliti akan melihat apakah putusan *ultra petita* yang muncul dalam putusan Pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr tersebut dapat serta merta menjawab asas “*Res Judicata Pro Veritate Habetur*” yang artinya “putusan hakim harus dianggap benar”.

Peneliti mencoba menganalisis putusan Pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr dan menemukan beberapa kelemahan dalam pertimbangan hakim. Tentunya hasil analisis ini dapat digunakan sebagai bahan eksaminasi putusan dalam ranah akademik. Kelemahan yang **Pertama** adalah kami memiliki penilaian berbeda terkait analisis pasal 156a KUHP. Isi dari pasal 156 KUHP adalah:

Dipidana dengan pidana penjara selamalumanya lima tahun barang siapa dengan

²⁵ Achmad Rifai, (2011), *Penemuan Hukum Oleh Hakim Dalam Perspektif Hukum Progresif*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, hlm. 126-127

²⁶ I.P.M. Ranuhandoko, *Op.Cit*, hlm 522

²⁷ M. Yahya Harahap, *Op.Cit*, hlm 378

sengaja di muka umum mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan:

- a. *yang pada pokoknya bersifat permusuhan, penyalahgunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia;*
- b. *dengan maksud agar supaya orang tidak menganut agama apa pun juga, yang bersendikan Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa.*

Perdebatan yang selalu muncul baik di lingkungan akademisi maupun praktisi adalah pasal 156a tersebut apakah bersifat alternatif ataukah kumulatif sehingga harus dibuktikan secara keseluruhan unsur-unsurnya? Perdebatan ini muncul dikarenakan diantara huruf a dan huruf b tersebut tidak ada frasa dan / atau sehingga tidak diketahui maksudnya apakah kumulatif atau alternatif. Banyak yang menilai pasal 156a tersebut adalah bersifat alternatif antara perbuatan huruf a dan huruf b. Namun menurut analisis kami letak alternatifnya adalah bukanlah dari perbuatan a dan perbuatan b. Apabila kita cermati bersama letak alternatifnya adalah dalam frasa *dengan sengaja di muka umum mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan*. Letak alternatif perbuatannya adalah dalam mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan. Huruf a dan huruf b adalah bersifat kumulatif artinya kumulatif dalam hal mengeluarkan perasaan atau kumulatif dalam hal melakukan perbuatan.

Analisis kami mengenai letak kumulatif dari huruf a dan huruf b tersebut kami menganalisis dari Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 Tentang Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan Dan/Atau Penodaan Agama. Perlu diketahui bahwa asal mula adanya pasal 156a dalam KUHP adalah dengan dikeluarkannya Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 Tentang Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan Dan/Atau Penodaan Agama oleh Presiden Soekarno. Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1969, yang berlaku sejak tanggal 5 Juli 1969, Penetapan Presiden Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 ini dinyatakan sebagai undang-undang.

Khusus mengenai pasal 156a KUHP ini, peneliti langsung menuju pada pasal 4 Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 beserta penjelasannya. Isi dari pasal 4 ini adalah:

Pasal 4

Pada Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana diadakan pasal baru yang berbunyi sebagai berikut:

"Pasal 156a

Dipidana dengan pidana penjara selama-lamanya lima tahun barangsiapa dengan sengaja di muka umum mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan:

- a. *yang pada pokoknya bersifat permusuhan, penyalah-gunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia;*
- b. *dengan maksud agar supaya orang tidak menganut agama apapun juga, yang bersendikan ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa."*

Analisis kami bahwa huruf a dan huruf b itu bersifat kumulatif adalah melihat dari penjelasan pasal 4 tersebut yaitu disebutkan:

Pasal 4

Maksud ketentuan ini telah cukup dijelaskan dalam penjelasan umum diatas. Cara mengeluarkan persamaan atau melakukan perbuatan dapat dilakukan dengan lisan, tulisan ataupun perbuatan lain. Huruf a, tindak pidana yang dimaksudkan disini, ialah yang semata-mata (pada pokoknya) ditujukan kepada niat untuk memusuhi atau menghina. Dengan demikian, maka, uraian-uraian tertulis maupun lisan yang dilakukan secara obyektif, zakelijk dan ilmiah mengenai sesuatu agama yang disertai dengan usaha untuk menghindari adanya kata-kata atau susunan kata-kata yang bersifat permusuhan atau penghinaan, bukanlah tindak pidana menurut pasal ini. Huruf b, Orang yang melakukan tindak pidana tersebut disini, disamping mengganggu

ketentraman orang beragama, pada dasarnya mengkhianati sila pertama dari Negara secara total, dan oleh karenanya adalah pada tempatnya, bahwa perbuatannya itu dipidana sepantasnya.

Letak kumulatif dari huruf a dan huruf b menurut analisis kami adalah dalam penjelasan pasal 4 tersebut terdapat klausul *Orang yang melakukan tindak pidana tersebut disini, disamping mengganggu ketentraman orang beragama, pada dasarnya mengkhianati sila pertama.* Disini dijelaskan bahwa ada keterkaitan antar huruf a dan huruf b dimana pasal 156a KUHP ini selain bertujuan mengganggu ketentraman beragama juga pada dasarnya mengkhianati sila pertama. Sehingga selain seorang terdakwa mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan yang *bersifat permusuhan, penyalah-gunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama*, tujuan terdakwa tersebut juga *dengan maksud agar supaya orang tidak menganut agama apapun juga, yang bersendikan ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa.*

Selain itu dalam penjelasan pasal 4 tersebut terdapat amanat *Maksud ketentuan ini telah cukup dijelaskan dalam penjelasan umum diatas.* Apabila melihat isi dari ketentuan umum dalam angka 4 disebutkan:

Berhubung dengan maksud memupuk ketentraman beragama inilah, maka Penetapan Presiden ini pertama-tama mencegah agar jangan sampai terjadi penyelewengan-penyelewengan dari ajaran-ajaran agama yang dianggap sebagai ajaran-ajaran pokok oleh para ulama dari agama yang bersangkutan (pasal 1-3); dan kedua kalinya aturan ini melindungi ketentraman beragama tersebut dari penodaan/peng-hinaan serta dari ajaran-ajaran untuk tidak memeluk agama yang bersendikan Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa/(Pasal 4).

Pada ketentuan umum angka 4 ini jelas sifat kumulatif muncul, bahwa selain seseorang terdakwa telah mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan yang dianggap menyelewengkan ajaran

agama juga berdampak pada ajara untuk tidak memeluk agama yang bersendikan Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa.

Kelemahan dalam pertimbangan hukum pada putusan Pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr tersebut, majelis hakim hanya membuktikan unsur pasal 156a KUHP tersebut hanya huruf a saja. Selain itu majelis hakim juga tidak menjelaskan dasar mengapa majelis hakim menilai pasal 156a KUHP bersifat alternative sehingga hanya membuktikan unsur huruf a saja sebagaimana termuat dalam pertimbangan hakim pada halaman 593.²⁸

Kelemahan yang **Kedua** adalah pasal 156a KUHP kurang tepat dikenakan kepada perbuatan yang dilakukan oleh terdakwa Ahok. Analisis ini mungkin bisa menjawab beberapa masalah terkait penerapan pasal 156a KUHP. Selama ini para aparat penegak hukum terlalu mudah mendefinisikan tindak pidana penodaan agama dan langsung dikenakan pasal 156a KUHP. Perlu dipahami sekali lagi bahwa adanya pasal 156a KUHP tidak terlepas dari adanya Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 Tentang

²⁸ Pada putusan Pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr halaman 593 dalam pertimbangan hukum majelis hakim dituliskan:

“Menimbang bahwa Terdakwa telah didakwa oleh Penuntut Umum dengan dakwaan yang berbentuk alternatif, sehingga Pengadilan dengan memperhatikan fakta-fakta hukum di atas memilih langsung dakwaan alternative Pertama sebagaimana diatur dalam Pasal 156 a huruf a KUHP yang rumusannya adalah sebagai berikut: “Dipidana dengan pidana penjara selamalamanya lima tahun barang siapa dengan sengaja di muka umum mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan yang pada pokoknya bersifat permusuhan, penyalah-gunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia”;

“Menimbang, bahwa dari rumusan tersebut, maka Pasal 156a huruf a KUHP unsur-unsurnya adalah sebagai berikut :

1. Barang siapa;
2. Dengan sengaja;
3. Dimuka umum mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan yang pada pokoknya bersifat permusuhan, penyalah-gunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia”;

Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan Dan/Atau Penodaan Agama. Apabila kita akan menerapkan pasal 156a KUHP kepada seorang terdakwa, seharusnya unsur filosofis yang ada dalam Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 juga harus dilihat secara utuh.

Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 ini terdiri dari 5 pasal dan perbuatan yang dilarang dalam peraturan ini adalah sebagaimana yang termuat dalam pasal 1. Pasal 2 sampai dengan Pasal 3, tidak berkaitan dengan substansi, melainkan lebih pada akibat hukum apabila Pasal 1 dilanggar. Bunyi pasal 1 yaitu disebutkan:

“Setiap orang dilarang dengan sengaja di muka umum menceritakan, menganjurkan atau mengusahakan dukungan umum, untuk melakukan penafsiran tentang sesuatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia atau melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan yang menyerupai kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan dari agama itu, penafsiran dan kegiatan mana menyimpang dari pokok-pokok ajaran agama itu.”

Barulah dalam pasal 4 yang didalamnya terdapat penyisipan pasal 156a ke dalam KUHP. Pasal 4 ini sendiri sebetulnya guna melindungi dan sekaligus mewujudkan tujuan dilarangnya perbuatan sebagaimana diatur dalam pasal 1.

Apabila kita melihat penjelasan pada pasal 4 kembali bahwa *Maksud ketentuan ini telah cukup dijelaskan dalam penjelasan umum diatas*. Artinya apabila aparat penegak hukum ingin menerapkan pasal 156 KUHP kepada seorang tersangka, aparat penegak hukum harus memperhatikan juga filosofi yang muncul dalam pasal 4 Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 dan juga penjelasan umumnya. Isi dari penjelasan umum yang dimaksud dalam penjelasan pasal 4 adalah:

I. UMUM

1. *Dekrit Presiden tanggal 5 Juli 1959 yang menetapkan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*

berlaku lagi bagi segenap bangsa Indonesia telah menyatakan, bahwa Piagam Jakarta tertanggal 22 Juni 1945 menjawai dan merupakan suatu rangkaian kesatuan dengan konstitusi tersebut.

Menurut Undang-undang Dasar 1945 Negara kita berdasarkan :

1. *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa;*
2. *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab;*
3. *Persatuan Indonesia;*
4. *Kerakyatan;*
5. *Keadilan Sosial.*

Sebagai dasar pertama, Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa bukan saja meletakkan dasar moral diatas Negara dan Pemerintah, tetapi juga memastikan adanya kesatuan Nasional yang berasas keagamaan. Pengakuan sila pertama (Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa) tidak dapat dipisah-pisahkan dengan Agama, karena adalah salah satu tiang pokok daripada perikehidupan manusia dan bagi bangsa Indonesia adalah juga sebagai sendi perikehidupan Negara dan unsur mutlak dalam usaha nation-building.

2. *Telah ternyata, bahwa pada akhir-akhir ini hampir diseluruh Indonesia tidak sedikit timbul aliran-aliran atau Organisasi-organisasi kebatinan/kepercayaan masyarakat yang bertentangan dengan ajaran-ajaran dan hukum Agama. Diantara ajaran-ajaran/ perbuatan-perbuatan pada pemeluk aliran-aliran tersebut sudah banyak yang telah menimbulkan hal-hal yang melanggar hukum, memecah persatuan Nasional dan menodai Agama. Dari kenyataan teranglah, bahwa aliran-aliran atau Organisasi-organisasi kebatinan/kepercayaan masyarakat yang menyalahgunakan dan/atau mempergunakan Agama sebagai pokok, pada akhir-akhir ini bertambah banyak dan telah berkembang kearah yang sangat membahayakan Agama-agama yang ada.*
3. *Untuk mencegah berlarut-larutnya hal-hal tersebut diatas yang dapat membahayakan*

persatuan Bangsa dan Negara, maka dalam rangka kewaspadaan Nasional dan dalam Demokrasi Terpimpin dianggap perlu dikeluarkan Penetapan Presiden sebagai realisasi Dekrit Presiden tanggal 5 Juli 1959 yang merupakan salah satu jalan untuk menyalurkan ketata negaraan dan keagamaan, agar oleh segenap rakyat diseluruh wilayah Indonesia ini dapat dinikmati ketenteraman beragama dan jaminan untuk menunaikan ibadah menurut Agamanya masing-masing.

4. *Berhubung dengan maksud memupuk ketenteraman beragama inilah, maka Penetapan Presiden ini pertama-tama mencegah agar jangan sampai terjadi penyelewengan-penyelewengan dari ajaran-ajaran agama yang dianggap sebagai ajaran-ajaran pokok oleh para ulama dari agama yang bersangkutan (pasal 1-3); dan kedua kalinya aturan ini melindungi ketenteraman beragama tersebut dari penodaan/penghinaan serta dari ajaran-ajaran untuk tidak memeluk agama yang bersendikan Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa/ (Pasal 4).*
5. *Adapun penyelewengan-penyelewengan keagamaan yang nyata-nyata merupakan pelanggaran pidana dirasa tidak perlu diatur lagi dalam peraturan ini, oleh karena telah cukup diaturnya dalam berbagai-bagai aturan pidana yang telah ada. Dengan Penetapan Presiden ini tidaklah sekali-kali dimaksudkan hendak mengganggu gugat hak hidup Agama-gama yang sudah diakui oleh Pemerintah sebelum Penetapan Presiden ini diundangkan.²⁹*

Apabila kita mencermati bersama penjelasan umum di atas, dapat kita temukan bahwa filosofi keluarnya aturan ini dikarenakan banyaknya aliran-aliran atau Organisasi-organisasi kebatinan/kepercayaan masyarakat yang bertentangan dengan ajaran-ajaran dan hukum Agama. Diantara ajaran-ajaran/perbuatan-perbuatan pada

pemeluk aliran-aliran tersebut sudah banyak yang telah menimbulkan hal-hal yang melanggar hukum, memecah persatuan Nasional dan menodai Agama. Dari kenyataan teranglah, bahwa aliran-aliran atau Organisasi-organisasi kebatinan/kepercayaan masyarakat yang menyalah-gunakan dan/atau mempergunakan Agama sebagai pokok, pada akhir-akhir ini bertambah banyak dan telah berkembang kearah yang sangat membahayakan Agama-agama yang ada.³⁰ Pada angka 4 sekali lagi yang dilarang dalam peraturan ini sekaligus dalam pasal 156a KUHP adalah agar jangan sampai terjadi penyelewengan-penyelewengan dari ajaran-ajaran agama yang dianggap sebagai ajaran-ajaran pokok oleh para ulama dari agama yang bersangkutan (pasal 1-3); dan kedua kalinya aturan ini melindungi ketenteraman beragama tersebut dari penodaan/penghinaan serta dari ajaran-ajaran untuk tidak memeluk agama yang bersendikan Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa.³¹

Menurut analisis kami sebenarnya yang dilarang dalam pasal 156a KUHP ini adalah ketika seseorang menyalahgunakan ajaran agama dan mengajak untuk tidak memeluk agama yang bersendikan Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa. Dari sini menurut hemat peneliti, pasal ini tidak tepat dikenakan kepada Ahok sebab apa yang dikatakan ahok tidak bermaksud atau berniat untuk menyalahgunakan ajaran agama dan terutama tidak memiliki niat mengajak untuk tidak memeluk agama agama yang bersendikan Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa.

Kelemahan **Ketiga** dari putusan Ahok adalah selain pasal 156a tidak tepat disangkakan kepadanya, prosedur penanganan perkara terhadap pasal 156a KUHP ini juga tidak dijalankan seluruhnya. Pasal 2 dan pasal 3 Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 terkait langsung pada pasal 1, dimana apabila seseorang melanggar pasal 1 maka ada mekanisme di

²⁹ Penjelasan Umum Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965

³⁰ Penjelasan Umum Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 angka 2

³¹ Penjelasan Umum Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 angka 4

luar hukum pidana yang harus dilalui terlebih dahulu. Isi dari pasal 2 dan pasal 3 tersebut adalah:

Pasal 2

- (1) *Barang siapa melanggar ketentuan tersebut dalam pasal 1 diberi perintah dan peringatan keras untuk menghentikan perbuatannya itu di dalam suatu keputusan bersama Menteri Agama, Menteri/Jaksa Agung dan Menteri Dalam Negeri.*
- (2) *Apabila pelanggaran tersebut dalam ayat (1) dilakukan oleh Organisasi atau sesuatu aliran kepercayaan, maka Presiden Republik Indonesia dapat membubarkan Organisasi itu dan menyatakan Organisasi atau aliran tersebut sebagai Organisasi/ aliran terlarang, satu dan lain setelah Presiden mendapat pertimbangan dari Menteri Agama, Menteri/Jaksa Agung dan Menteri Dalam Negeri.*

Pasal 3

Apabila, setelah dilakukan tindakan oleh Menteri Agama bersama-sama Menteri/Jaksa Agung dan Menteri Dalam Negeri atau oleh Presiden Republik Indonesia menurut ketentuan dalam pasal 2 terhadap orang, Organisasi atau aliran kepercayaan, mereka masih terus melanggar ketentuan dalam pasal 1, maka orang, penganut, anggota dan/atau anggota Pengurus Organisasi yang bersangkutan dari aliran itu dipidana dengan pidana penjara selama-lamanya lima tahun.

Melihat isi dari pasal 2 di atas jelas bahwa ada mekanisme sanksi di luar sanksi pidana yang harus dilalui terlebih dahulu yaitu sanksi teguran keras bagi perseorangan atau sanksi pembubaran bagi organisasi atau sesuatu aliran kepercayaan. Barulah pada pasal 3 dituliskan apabila sanksi administratif telah diberikan namun mereka masih terus melanggar ketentuan dalam pasal 1, barulah sanksi pidana diberikan kepadanya. Disini sebenarnya menjelaskan bahwa pada hakikatnya hukum pidana digunakan sebagai *ultimum remedium* atau sebagai upaya yang paling terakhir. Pada

kasus Ahok ini apabila memang dikenakan pasal 156a KUHP, seharusnya prosedur seperti pasal 2 dan pasal 3 di atas harus dilalui terlebih dahulu. Namun yang terjadi pertimbangan majelis hakim melihat dari sisi yang lain, sehingga nampaknya hukum pidana bisa digunakan dalam segala hal.

3.2. Batasan Independensi Hakim dalam Memutus Suatu Perkara Pidana

Hakim adalah sebuah profesi yang terhormat, dijamin oleh Negara melalui konstitusi dan memiliki peran penuh dalam memutuskan suatu perkara yang diperiksa kepadanya. Sebagaimana yang dijelaskan Lilik Mulyadi bahwa putusan hakim itu merupakan putusan yang diucapkan oleh hakim karena jabatannya dalam proses persidangan perkara pidana yang terbuka untuk umum, setelah melakukan proses dan prosedural hukum acara pidana pada umumnya berisikan amar pidana atau bebas atau pelepasan dari segala tuntutan hukum dibuat dalam bentuk tertulis dengan tujuan penyelesaian perkaranya.³²

Pada tingkat pengadilan, putusan terhadap suatu perkara menjadi kewenangan hakim dalam memutus secara adil. Sebagaimana dijelaskan pada pasal 1 angka 8 dan angka 9 yaitu:

8. *Hakim adalah pejabat peradilan negara yang diberi wewenang oleh undang-undang untuk mengadili.*
9. *Mengadili adalah serangkaian tindakan hakim untuk menerima, memeriksa dan memutus perkara pidana berdasarkan asas bebas, jujur, dan tidak memihak di sidang pengadilan dalam hal dan menurut cara yang diatur dalam undang-undang ini.*

Adanya asas "*Res Judicata Pro Veritate Habetur*" atau yang sering diartikan "putusan hakim harus dianggap benar" dapat dimaknai positif dan negatif. Secara positif memberikan jaminan yang kuat terhadap seorang hakim untuk menemukan keadilan dan kebenaran yang sebenar-benar-

³² Lilik Mulyadi, *Op.Cit*, hlm 131

nya. Namun menjadi negatif ketika apapun pertimbangan seorang hakim atau ada motif lain yang melatarbelakangi terbitnya suatu putusan pengadilan, apapun yang terjadi putusan tersebut harus dikatakan benar, kecuali terbantahkan oleh lembaga peradilan di atasnya (Pengadilan Tinggi atau Mahkamah Agung).

Berpotensi negatif sebab Undang-undang sendiri memberikan jaminan yang kuat terhadap seorang hakim memiliki suatu kebebasan dalam menemukan fakta hukum. Sebagaimana kita ketahui dalam hukum acara pidana, seorang hakim bersifat aktif. Disamping itu dalam pasal 5 ayat (1) Undang-undang Nomor 48 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kekuasaan Kehakiman dijelaskan:

Hakim dan hakim konstitusi wajib menggali, mengikuti, dan memahami nilai-nilai hukum dan rasa keadilan yang hidup dalam masyarakat.

Dalam pasal 183 KUHAP juga dijelaskan:

Hakim tidak boleh menjatuhkan pidana kepada seorang kecuali apabila dengan sekurang-kurangnya dua alat bukti yang sah ia memperoleh keyakinan bahwa suatu tindak pidana benar-benar terjadi dan bahwa terdakwa yang bersalah melakukannya.

Dari kedua aturan di atas jelas bahwa seorang hakim memiliki independensi yang tinggi dalam menemukan fakta hukum sekaligus membuat putusan paling tidak berdasarkan dua alat bukti yang sah dan adanya keyakinan bahwa terdakwa yang bersalah melakukannya. Hal seperti ini lah yang membuat adanya putusan *Ultra Petita* dalam hukum pidana sebagaimana yang terjadi dalam putusan Pidana Nomor 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr dengan terpidana Ahok. Sekali lagi kami tegaskan *Ultra Petita* disini bukanlah *Ultra Petita* dalam pengertian yang sebenarnya selayaknya dalam hukum acara perdata namun hanya sebagai Bahasa kiasan.

Dalam KUHAP sendiri memang tidak ada aturan yang melarang seorang hakim mengeluarkan putusan *ultra petita* dengan catatan selama

pasal yang dikenakan oleh hakim tersebut juga didakwakan oleh Jaksa Penuntut Umum. Hal ini sebagaimana dijelaskan dalam pasal 182 ayat (3) dan ayat (4) yaitu :

(3) *Sesudah itu hakim mengadakan musyawarah terakhir untuk mengambil keputusan dan apabila perlu musyawarah itu diadakan setelah terdakwa, saksi, penasihat hukum, penuntut umum dan hadirin meninggalkan ruangan sidang.*

(4) *Musyawarah tersebut pada ayat (3) harus didasarkan atas surat dakwaan dan segala sesuatu yang terbukti dalam pemeriksaan di sidang.*

Meskipun pasal yang dikenakan hakim telah didakwakan oleh Jaksa Penuntut Umum namun **tidak berhenti hanya di dalam dakwaan saja melainkan hal-hal yang terbukti dalam pemeriksaan di sidang.** Pihak yang berkewajiban membuktikan kesalahan terdakwa dalam persidangan adalah Jaksa Penuntut Umum. Hal ini sebagaimana diatur dalam KUHAP pada pasal 1 angka 6, angka 7, pasal 14 dan pasal 66.

Meskipun hakim memiliki independensi dan wajib menggali, mengikuti, dan memahami nilai-nilai hukum dan rasa keadilan yang hidup dalam masyarakat sebagaimana amanat undang-undang, namun demi terjaganya wibawa seorang hakim dan terciptanya suatu putusan yang berkeadilan bagi seluruh pihak, peneliti merasa ada batasan atau rambu-rambu yang jelas dalam seorang hakim membuat suatu putusan atau membuktikan kesalahan seorang terdakwa. Hal ini diperlukan agar tidak muncul putusan *ultra petita* yang meskipun tidak dilarang dalam KUHAP, namun tidak menutup kemungkinan terjadi kekhilafan hakim dalam menerapkan hukum atau menggali fakta hukum.

Belum lagi apabila ada faktor-faktor lain yang sedikit banyak mempengaruhi independensi seorang hakim dalam memutus bersalah seorang terdakwa. Sejak awal kasus ahok ini muncul, gelombang masyarakat yang menginginkan ahok untuk masuk penjara terus terjadi. Bahkan setiap

persidangan masa yang menginginkan Ahok untuk dipenjara tidak henti-hentinya mengawal persidangan. Secara tidak langsung tekanan masyarakat yang seperti ini sedikit banyak mempengaruhi independensi hakim dalam memutus perkara. Ditambah fakta yang terjadi di persidangan bahwa Hakim menjatuhkan putusan terhadap pasal yang tidak dituntut oleh Jaksa Penuntut Umum yang mana menurut hemat penulis penerapan pasal 156a KUHP kepada Ahok tidak tepat sebagaimana analisis dalam rumusan masalah pertama.

Menurut Oemar Seno Adji :”Suatu pengadilan yang bebas dan tidak dipengaruhi merupakan syarat yang *indispensable* bagi negara hukum. Bebas berarti tidak ada campur tangan atau turun tangan dari kekuasaan eksekutif dan legislatif dalam menjalankan fungsi *judiciary*.”³³ Pendapat ini sebetulnya sejalan dengan isi dari pasal 1 angka 1 Undang-undang Nomor 48 Tahun 2009 tentang Kekuasaan Kehakiman yang berbunyi:

“Kekuasaan Kehakiman adalah kekuasaan negara yang merdeka untuk menyelenggarakan peradilan guna menegakkan hukum dan keadilan berdasarkan Pancasila dan Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945, demi terselenggaranya Negara Hukum Republik Indonesia”.

Sejalan dengan pendapat diatas Bagir Manan juga berpendapat, bahwa majelis hakim dipandang menjadi tidak netral atau berpihak karena beberapa hal, antara lain :

1. Pengaruh kekuasaan dimana majelis hakim tidak berdaya menghadapi kehendak pemegang kekuasaan yang lebih tinggi, baik dari lingkungan kekuasaan kehakiman sendiri, maupun dari luar (misalnya dari gubernur, bupati, menteri dan lain-lain);
2. Pengaruh publik. Tekanan publik yang berlebihan dapat menimbulkan rasa takut atau cemas kepada majelis hakim yang bersangkutan sehingga memberikan keputusan

yang sesuai dengan paksaan publik yang bersangkutan.

3. Pengaruh pihak. Pengaruh pihak dapat ber-sumber dan hubungan primordial tertentu, maupun karena komersialisasi perkara. Perkara menjadi komoditas perniagaan, yang membayar lebih banyak akan dime-nangkan.³⁴

4. SIMPULAN

Melihat dan menilai kasus penodaan agama yang melibatkan terdakwa Ir. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok harus menggunakan analisis yang jernih yang tidak terjebak pemikiran apakah kasus tersebut merupakan murni tindak pidana ataukah ada unsur politisasi di dalamnya. Pada putusan pidana 1537/Pid.B/2016/PN.Jkt Utr dengan terdakwa Ahok, peneliti menemukan beberapa hal yang janggal terutama dalam penerapan pasal 156 a KUHP. Menurut analisis peneliti, pasal tersebut kurang tepat diterapkan kepada Ahok atas perbuatan yang dilakukannya. Analisis penulis menilai pasal 156a KUHP adalah suatu pasal yang sifatnya Kumulatif antara poin a dan poin b. Letak alternatifnya adalah pada bentuk perbuatannya *di muka umum mengeluarkan perasaan atau melakukan perbuatan*. Analisis kami mengenai letak kumulatif dari huruf a dan huruf b tersebut dari Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 Tentang Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan Dan/Atau Penodaan Agama sebagai dasar munculnya aturan pasal 156 a di dalam KUHP. Sehingga perlu diteliti kembali apakah yang dilakukan Ahok tersebut memnuhi unsur pasal 156 a KUHP dalam hal selain melakukan penodaan agama, dia juga melakukan hal agar supaya orang tidak beragama yang bersendikan ke-Tuhan-an Yang Maha Esa.

Dalam hal independensi hakim dalam memutuskan perkara merupakan hal yang sangat diperlukan sebagaimana amanat Undang-undang Nomor 48 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kekuasaan Kehakiman.

³³ Oemar Seno Adji, (1987), *Peradilan Bebas Negara Hukum*, Jakarta: Erlangga, hlm 46

³⁴ Bagir Manan, (2004), *Sistem Peradilan Berwibawa (Suatu Pencarian)*, Jakarta: FH-UI Press, hlm 20-12

Namun independensi hakim juga perlu dikawal agar tidak melampaui batas. Pasal 5 dan pasal 10 Undang-undang Kekuasaan Kehakiman memberikan tempat bagi Hakim untuk mencari keadilan dengan seadil-adilnya. Mengukur keyakinan hakim sebagaimana isi dari pasal 183 KUHAP ini lah yang sulit apakah benar-benar obyektif atau tidak. Meskipun hakim memiliki independensi dan *wajib menggali, mengikuti, dan memahami nilai-nilai hukum dan rasa keadilan yang hidup dalam masyarakat* sebagaimana amanat undang-undang, namun demi terjaganya wibawa seorang hakim dan terciptanya suatu putusan yang berkeadilan bagi seluruh pihak, peneliti merasa ada batasan atau rambu-rambu yang jelas dalam seorang hakim membuat suatu putusan atau membuktikan kesalahan seorang terdakwa. Hal ini diperlukan agar tidak muncul putusan *ultra petita* yang meskipun tidak dilarang dalam KUHAP, namun tidak menutup kemungkinan terjadi kekhilafan hakim dalam menerapkan hukum atau menggali fakta hukum. Belum lagi apabila ada faktor-faktor lain di luar hukum seperti desakan masyarakat atau kepentingan golongan tertentu yang sedikit banyak mempengaruhi independensi seorang hakim dalam memutus bersalah seorang terdakwa.

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