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ASEAN GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

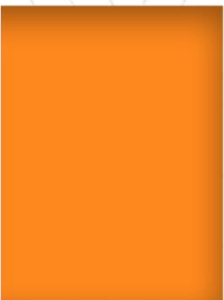Universitas Brawijaya, August 22nd - 23rd, 2017

Embracing ASEAN Community
Harmonizing Diversity

PROCEEDING

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ASEAN GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY
UNIVERSITAS BRAWIJAYA, AUGUST 22ND - 23RD 2017

**International Conference ASEAN Golden Anniversary:
Embracing ASEAN Community, Harmonizing Diversity**

22nd-23rd August 2017

Brawijaya University

54th Anniversary of Brawijaya University
Malang, Indonesia

"International Conference ASEAN Golden Anniversary: Embracing ASEAN Community, Harmonizing Diversity"

PROCEEDING OF International Conference ASEAN Golden Anniversary: Embracing ASEAN Community, Harmonizing Diversity

22nd-23rd August 2017

Brawijaya University

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FOREWORD

Dear Respectable Authors and Readers,

Academic world is one of the important institutions that produce epistemic communities and also expertise in science which can dig deeper related to the reality of Southeast Asian society. Universitas Brawijaya Malang realizes the importance of Southeast Asia in scientific studies which integrating into the curriculum and various ASEAN higher education standards. There have been several AUN-QA certified courses and the numbers in 2017 are expected to continue and grow along with the announcement of visitation results. There is also some cooperation with universities in Southeast Asia both at the faculty and university level, even up to the participation of the ASEAN Business Model.

To enhance the excitement of academic study and exchange of best practices among Southeast Asian communities, Universitas Brawijaya with full support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, took the initiative to hold International Seminar and call for paper as a form of dedication to the progress of ASEAN. Universitas Brawijaya also invited all academics, government policymakers, executives, NGO workers, media workers and all concerned parties to discuss more about ASEAN insights, policies and practices in a forum and publications that pass through a credible peer-review process.

This proceeding of the call for paper, hopefully, inspires many concerned academics and policymakers to further collaborate in ASEAN-related studies. Moreover, this proceeding also includes titles about local issues which need to be addressed as well as phenomenon of globalization dynamics.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude towards our core partner, Permanent Mission of Republic of Indonesia to ASEAN - Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for the enduring support and direction. As for the International Board of Reviewer, Editors, and Committee members, your involvement would be a key engagement for our works in the future. Above all, I would like to congratulate all authors and participants for making this event conceivable and fruitful.

I look forward to meeting everyone again in forthcoming events.

Sincerely Yours,
Dean
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Brawijaya University

Prof. Dr. Unti Ludigdo, Ak

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By Fanny S. Alam[1]

ABSTRACT

Information about two public universities in Indonesia which used to release the announcement of prohibition towards new students in great suspicion to be engaged in LGBT activities or in personal are a part of LGBT encourages some intense protests from society in Indonesia. Not only do activists in concern of LGBT issues voice their objection, but also other people in general. This emerges in two years subsequently, in Andalas University, Padang, 2016 and in University of Indonesia Education, Bandung, 2017. The information of both universities in attempt to decline the registration from LGBT students reflects how higher education institution should realize the following impacts from the prohibition due to specific moral values, in a meantime, it is expected that the institution be open for any student without discriminating them against race, ethnic, beliefs, economy status, and sexual orientations.

Through an intense overview to media and literature study as a part of direct observation, this paper outlines how the state is supposed to act when such a prohibition emerges extended with an elaboration of some protocols or covenants addressing the rights of students or people in LGBT groups as civil rights. It is obvious that the state must be in high capability of protecting them as a part of citizens without discriminating them against their sexual orientations. Therefore, people in LGBT might enjoy their basic rights as humans while at the same time gaining their same rights as other citizens guaranteed by the state.

Keywords: LGBT; Discriminations; Civil and Human Rights

1. INTRODUCTION

Two public universities in Padang and Bandung, both in Indonesia in 2016 and 2017, used to release a statement letter for newly registered students, underlining that they are not involved as a part of LGBT groups or supporters. Both incidents above-mentioned question the state's commitment for human rights issues in this country. State, through its government actions, is supposed to provide a warranty for the life of its citizens without overlooking the differences towards religions, races, ethnic, incomes, and sexual orientations. However, Indonesia is always in a reluctant position when facing sexual orientations issues by seeing the country's indecisiveness causing numerous ambiguity in the treatment not only from the apparatus but also public, which eventually lead to various discriminating actions towards LGBT in general.

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Controversy emerged when American Psychiatric Association (APA) criticized Indonesian Mind Specialist Medical Doctors Association which categorized LGBT as an issue of psychiatrics. They emphasized that the categorization could lead LGBT groups in terms of wrong label and this issue had been argued through some scientific evidence[2], nevertheless, this fact has not managed to change the country and its public's perspectives towards LGBT. It is proven through profound negative stigma and discriminating actions towards the group up to now, which is unfortunate due to the country's negligent response despite the fact that they are a part of Indonesian citizens.

Any information in purpose to concern and to protect LGBT group in this country still figures out such a long way to accomplish fairness and justice since here admit only two legal existing gender identities, men and women without acknowledgement to other ones. It could be a background why the country stays in hardship facing LGBT issues, therefore, in the end most of discriminating actions up to criminalization offending LGBT group are considered common for them.

LGBT's sexual behavior is not the issue emphasized in this paper. Furthermore, it underlines more how the state through its government, starting from the central up to the bottom level manages their actions more wisely addressing LGBT issues and bring their position equal as Indonesian citizens with their legal rights and duties. The state is obligated to assure fair and reasonable treatments for them as the citizens in terms of eliminating negative stigma as well as discriminating actions.

In contrast to the above-mentioned conditions, Indonesia has precisely signed one international covenant in a regard to civil and political rights which is supposed to refer to the government's assurance towards all Indonesian citizens, covering LGBT group. The covenant is ratified into one of the state's law confirming that it is providing solid protections for all human beings with no distinctions. Notwithstanding, it is considered challenging for the state to conduct the implementation, one of the reasons is due to the consideration of religious values development in this country to be taken predominantly as significant references addressing LGBT issues. Hence, the situation leads to law decisions with the tendency to discredit them without considering their rights and duties as citizens in the state's positive law.

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[2]http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/03/160316_indonesia_lgbt_psikiatri_indonesia

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In the context to ASEAN, all countries in this group are supposed to provide a larger capacity in terms of their citizen protection due to cases involving human right issues. Since long time ago, all ASEAN countries have been suspected to be lacking this capacity[3] although some of them have signed international covenants of human rights. Particularly, Indonesia, which is in attempt to reach the human right standardization in current periods, furthermore having signed International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, must be capable of performing its capacity to protect its citizens in accordance of human rights standards. It is a serious consideration acknowledging that the state has ratified the Covenant to be a part of State Law of 12/2005 addressing citizens' civil and political rights. One of the civil rights that must be put into serious attention is highlighting LGBT's rights as a part of civil rights in which the group should be treated the same as other parts of citizens in Indonesia without the tendency of criminalization, unfair treatment, and stigma due to their different sexual orientation.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paper relies on direct observation which profoundly implies on the observation of data towards literatures and news on specific media. It does not mean to be an attempt as a part of direct participants in the event, furthermore it promotes a more detached perspective from the event context [4]

Since LGBT cases are informed on various types of media massively, they have significant capacity to promote society's attention. Observing Indonesian society addressing LGBT cases is immersing due to various opinions in terms of supporting or opposing. More importantly, it is acknowledged that their opinions concerning LGBT cases might be overviewed from various perspectives for both pro and contra.

The direct observation in this paper leads to exploratory research about LGBT cases, the society's responses as well as observing the state's ideas in a regard to LGBT protection for their civil rights in the country. It is significant to oversee how the state manages their laws and other supporting regulations despite some contra opinions against LGBT existence in the country. It will not promote final and conclusive solutions for existing issues, however it examines how eventually the state attempts to accommodate minority groups, particularly LGBT so as to prevent them from unfair

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[3] https://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/haris-azhar/making-asean-economic-community-human-rights-friendly

[4] www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/qualmeth.php

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discriminations and to settle their rights as Indonesian civilians as assured in the state's laws and other regulations.[5]

Besides direct observation, literature and media news review supports the content of the paper in a purpose to acknowledge current yet relevant knowledge including substantial findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to the issues of the paper. [6] The literature review elaborates principal laws and other supporting regulations regarding the protections of minority groups, for LGBT in particular. Media news review perform some relevant findings, laying its audiences' opinions and news contents about LGBT, particularly both universities' rejection towards LGBT students. All the elaboration eventually covers how the state considers more comprehensive ways in accordance with no discriminating actions to assure LGBT civil rights as a part of Indonesian citizens, while in contrast views the responses of the universities and public, including the students.

3. DISCUSSION

a. Law and Regulations Background

As a matter of fact, Indonesia has signed an international covenant in addressing people's civil and political rights, that is International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified in the Law no 12 year 2005.[7] It is incontestable that the state's participation in ratifying the covenant is in accordance with The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Act 26 implying the right of citizenship, Act 27 article 1 about the equality of all Indonesians in law and government, Act 27 article 2 about the right of Indonesians for descent life towards humanity.[8] Eventually, the state is supposed to be aware that any deviation occurring in every stage of actions leading to stigma, discrimination, and human rights violations in general will not provide proper foundation, particularly for the state's development in economy, politic, social, culture in the long term. Therefore, the Law no 12 year 2005 Act 9 implies the right of people in private freedom and security and Act 26 confirms the equality of people in law and protection without any discrimination through race, skin colors, gender identities, languages, religions and

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[5] Adams, John, Khan, Hafiz TA; Raeside, Robert (2007). Research Methods for business and social science students, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p. 56

[6] Lamb, David, The Uses of Analysis, Rhetorical Analysis, Article Analysis, and the Literature review. Academic Writing Tutor, 23 May 2014

[7] www.ohchr.org/documents/ccpr

[8] www.ilo.org/documents/wcms_174556

faiths, politic, other opinions, origins of nation or social, economy status or other conditions.[9] In general, Indonesia emphasizes the assurance for all Indonesian citizens even without observing status of sexual orientations in terms of the rights and obligations.

Human rights are defined as the rights which adhere on any human regardless their nations, residences, gender identities, ethics, colors, languages, and other statues towards our human rights without discrimination. [10] The definition is considered a basic of international covenant ICCPR signing which in the following time is ratified to be the Law no 12 year 2005. Both are conducted by Indonesia.

Meanwhile, specifically Indonesia underlines its policy about LGBT as viewed in Law of Crime Article 292 to restrict homosexual actions conducted towards underage children and teenagers. It is obvious that the article does not confirm homosexual actions conducted by adult to adult.

The state's ambiguity to act confirming LGBT issues certainly is in contrast noticing that they have approved to sign the international covenant and to ratify it to be a part of the state's laws, while on the other side most of the laws in this country have not managed to accommodate the position of LGBT both fairly and equally, particularly proven when some lawsuits and criminalization due to sexual orientations involve them as well as discriminations in general. To respond those problems, on 6-9 November 2006 an international conference of world law experts in the forum of International Service for Human Rights was conducted in Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, resulting 29 principles in terms of the application towards international human rights legal standard to overcome discriminating actions as well as harassments. All of them are summarized in Yogyakarta Principles. Implying the importance of human rights for LGBT as well as intersex groups, Yogyakarta Principles elaborates specific principles addressing the coverage of LGBT's rights as well as intersex's in a purpose to prevent criminalization and discriminating actions. Some important principles in a regard to their rights are as follows : principle 1 : the universal enjoyment of human rights, principle 2: the right of equality and non-discriminating actions, principles 3: the right towards legal acknowledgement, principle 5: the right of personal security, principle 6: the right of privacy, principle 7: the right of freedom and arbitrary of freedom elimination, principle 8:

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[9] www.peraturan.go.id/uu/no-12-tahun-2005.html, from ministry of law and human rights, the Republic of Indonesia

[10] International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, www.ohchr.org

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the right of fair and justice trial, and principal 9 : the right to gain human treatment along the period of arrestment.[11]

b. Cases of LGBT Students Restriction in Andalas University and Indonesia Education University and Responses towards Both

As Indonesia has ratified ICCPR into the state law no 12/2005, it tends to be controversial when highlighting some of discrimination cases occurred openly. It becomes more unfortunate to see that two public universities, expected to be a part of role models in fair treatment and justice for all students, even initiated to discriminate their new students by restricting them to register as proven LGBT or indicated to be involved in series of LGBT actions or their organization activities. First, it was Andalas University, Padang, West Sumatra, which released a statement for newly registered students in new academic year.[12]

The restriction of LGBT students to register in Andalas University was confirmed by the Rector, implying that LGBT students' existence in the university environment would produce negative impacts. Added by him that besides genetic factors, LGBT could develop gradually through the environment as a whole. Therefore, he had the right to restrict the life of LGBT as well as its development in the university not only based on religion values but also the custom in the Land of Minang (Ranah Minang). [13] The statement letter used to be virally disseminated through social media. In addition, the release encouraged pro and contra from social media users. After its wide dissemination, eventually the Padang Law Aid Institution criticized the university's statement, requesting the university to withdraw it due to its violation to the existing State Constitution 1945. It elaborates that all citizens deserve to gain proper education as regulated in the State Constitution 1945 as well as other laws.

Second, whether it was inspired by Andalas University or not, Indonesian Education University (UPI) Bandung, West Java, Indonesia conducted the same action besides highlighting the restriction for smoking and tattooed students. [14] According to

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[11]https://kabarlgbt.org/2016/02/21/apa-itu-ham-dan-prinsip-prinsip-yogyakarta-yang-berkaitan-dengan-orientasi-seksual-dan-identitas-gender/

[12] http://repo.unand.ac.id/4657/4/Surat_Pernyataan_Mahasiswa_Baru_Unand_2017.pdf

[13]https://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2017/05/02/173871563/rektor-unand-ogah-cabut-syarat-mahasiswa-baru-bebas-lgbt-ada-apa?fb_comment_id=943076995794807_943088012460372

[14] https://www.google.co.id/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&url=http://pmb.upi.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Surat-Pernyataan-Mahasiswa-Baru-2017-SBMPTN-1-1.pdf&ved=0ahUKEwi7vcWz4aPWAhUHK48KHcw9AbYQFggbMAA&usg=AFQjCNFlXE6WJudv7EkIbtxdFAN4Ftj7tQ

Berita UPI edu, a research had been conducted to figure out the students' responses addressing LGBT existence both in general and in campus. Sample was taken through 100 respondents, consisting of the students of Department of Communication Science and Department of Psychology, performing that their same tendency of rejection towards LGBT was withdrawn from the research. It was conducted based on the demography, such as religion, gender, and majors of study. In details, 40% stated their disapproval and 17% showed their strong disapproval of LGBT existence in Indonesia in accordance with their basis of religion view (Islam). If viewed from the demography of majors of study, Department of Communication performed more dominant disapproval than Department of Psychology. [15]

Both of above conditions certainly generate public's objection in general despite some public's emerging contra to support those restrictions. Along with those cases mentioned above, the state's negligence towards LGBT rights is exposed clearly, mainly about their civil rights as a part of Jogjakarta's Principles, signed by world's law experts in Jogjakarta, Indonesia addressing the protection of LGBT's rights in general. For almost 10 years after the signing of Jogjakarta's Principles, the state has always been in profound ambiguity when facing cases of LGBT or responding their rights in general. [16]

4. CONCLUSION

Indonesia is a multi-culture country which adapts State Constitution 1945 principally in correlation with the assurance of all citizens' rights. All state laws in a regard to assuring the citizens' rights are implemented based on the State Constitution as well as the signing of relevant international covenants, one of them is International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which is ratified into State Law no 12/2005. With all basic constitution and laws, the state is expected to be able to assure and to protect all citizens' rights, covering minorities groups' ones, particularly LGBT's rights in this paper. In contrast, the implementation of all state laws addressing LGBT's rights is not in line with the factual situation, in which it shows a lot of negativity, stigma, and discriminations towards the group. More visible rejections towards the group are exposed obviously, starting from public and, unfortunately, university. The last mentioned is the last milestone to be exposing fairness and non-discriminating actions for students and public due to its capacity in performing research and scientific backgrounds for any issue in

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[15] http://berita.upi.edu/?p=1712, Mahasiswa Tidak Akui Keberadaan Kaum LGBT
[16] https://m.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20161123161838-12-174787/sepuluh-tahun-prinsip-yogyakarta-negara-abai-pada-lgbt/

society and country. It is unfortunate when university performs its actions to be against fairness and non-discriminating actions for minority groups, particularly LGBT when they register as new students. Two universities, Andalas University and Indonesia Education University, showed contradictive ways when attempting to restrict LGBT students to register through their statement letters which must be signed by them. They had their own reasons for not allowing LGBT existence to develop massively due to obeying religion values and other "considered" proper values in their regions.

Pro and contra obviously were generated due to this central issue. In the end, both of the universities decided to withdraw their controversial statement letter for restricting LGBT students to register. However, it becomes a significant note for the state to view how regions in Indonesia should treat minority groups, in this case LGBT. Universities in this country must be advised to call the relevant laws addressing minorities group into serious attention, particularly LGBT. Despite their different sexual orientations, they still have their rights as human and civilians, one of them is to reach higher and more proper studying opportunities. The state is in its full capacity to protect their rights, therefore, they are expected to act in such a legal way to prevent this similar occurrence to emerge in the future. It is conducted as a part of improving an awareness for students, universities, and public as well that human rights are imperative and have been adhered since human beings were born. In other terms, the state's urgency to act without ambiguity when facing minorities group' issues, mainly LGBT's is expected to provide all fair treatments and justifications in accordance with the existing state law and regulation.

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3. www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/qualmeth.php

4. Adams, John, Khan, Hafiz TA; Raeside, Robert (2007). Research Methods for business and social science students, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p. 56

5. Lamb, David, The Uses of Analysis, Rhetorical Analysis, Article Analysis, and the Literature review. Academic Writing Tutor, 23 May 2014

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13. https://www.google.co.id/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&url=http://pmb.upi.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Surat-Pernyataan-Mahasiswa-Baru-2017-SBMPTN-1-1.pdf&ved=0ahUKEwi7vcWz4aPWAhUHK48KHcw9AbYQFggbMAA&usg=AFQjCNFlXE6WJudv7EkIbtxdFAN4Ftj7tQ

14. http://berita.upi.edu/?p=1712, Mahasiswa Tidak Akui Keberadaan Kaum LGBT

15. https://m.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20161123161838-12-174787/sepuluh-tahun-prinsip-yogyakarta-negara-abai-pada-lgbt/

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STRUCTURAL MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE DIMENSION AND CONTINGENCY LEADERSHIP STYLE IN SHAPING ORGANIZATIONAL TRUST AND COMMITMENT OF PRIVATE UNIVERSITY LECTURERS IN MALANG CITY

By Alifiulahtin Utaminingsih[1]

ABSTRACT:

This research was based on fenomenon of decreasing lecturer 's organizational commitment is a crucial matter for the management of human resources. Leadeaship style will affect the level of employee trust and commitment of the organization and induce certain outcome in work with theory and empiric reviewed from outcome prior studies. This research was aimed analyze the effect of leadership style and organizational culture on organizational trust and organizational commitment. This studies use survey approach with cross sectional design on 13 private university stratum one in Malang City. The respondents are 127 lecturer. To test of relationship in the resulting model is analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) which is facilitated by Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS) program. The results indicated that leadership style and organizational culture has a significant and positive effect on organizational trust, but has not significant effect on organizational commitment. Organizational trust has a significant and positive effect on organizational commitment. and leadership style has positive and significant effect on organizational commitment with organizational trust mediation.

Keywords: Organizational culture, contingency leadership style, organizational trust, organizational commitment.

1. INTRODUCTION

The future and sustainability of an organization depends on the knowledge, skill and competence, and the synergy of its human resources as the driver of the organization. Besides, it is also supported by the effective management of other resources within the organization. However, the culture which is shaped by the product of interaction among humans and the related organization network is called the organizational culture.

As stated by Schein (1990), organizational culture can influence the personnel management and the professional goals, types of task and resources, the way the organization reach the organization goals, so it determines the way of employees in the decision-making process, either entirely or partially, particularly the way which is going

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[1] **Lecturer of Brawijaya University**

the organization take, and the feeling and behavior of the members of organization. Peter & Waterman (in Wilderom & Van den Berg, 2000) also believed that the organizational culture can effect on the human behavior in the organization, particularly in term of commitment and trust in the organization. On the other hand, the life of organization is characterized by the harmony of interaction among individuals inside and outside the organization so that the organization trust is important for the success of the interaction among both things. Both researchers saw that the trust is the important element supporting the efficacy of cooperation and communication in functioning the organization well.

The supporters of the argumentation that the organizational trust and commitment is the critical point for the success of the organization were Siegall and Worth (2001) who stated that the trust in the organization was needed so that the employees would feel self confident that their efforts will produce benefits for themselves. It shows that their commitment to the organization and their efforts for the organization will create the personal benefit. Therefore, it can be concluded that if the employees believe that their efforts go to the success and will lead benefits, they will increase their commitment to the organization.

This research is interesting to conduct since it tested the relationship model of the organizational behavioral characteristics, such as organizational culture and transformational leadership style, and its effects on the level of trust and commitment to organization, particularly to lecturers of Private Universities. From the abovementioned problems, the investigation is focused on the permanent lecturers in the private universities in Malang city by observing the effects of organizational culture and leadership style to trust and commitment to the organization.

This study is the effort to develop what has been done by the previous researches. For the testing characteristic model of the attitude lecturers, they are chosen as the respondents who are being asked to give their participations objectively.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Organizational culture

In this research the meaning of organizational culture referred to Schein (1992) in the second rank which is the value as the general belief which is tightly held by the member of organization and becomes the value system having the uniformity meaning.

Therefore, it gives the identity supporting the confirmatory of the vision and mission of organization which functions to determine the feeling of having identity for employees as the shared goal instead of giving higher priorities to the individual interest and keeping the social stability of the organization.

Organizational culture is the characteristic of the organization, not individual, but it is manifested and measured by the verbal and/or non verbal attitudes from individuals which are then accumulated into the level of organization Therefore, it can be said that organizational culture is the personality of the organization which differentiate one organization with another. A culture is called fit to the context if the culture is appropriate with the condition and goal of organization (Robbins & Coulter, 2005).

Wilderom & Van Den Berg (2000) stated that in understanding organizational culture, the organization can be observed from its cultural characteristic which can be transformed into several dimensions, such as working autonomy, external orientation, human resource orientation and development orientation.

Leadership style

Rowden (2000) defines leadership as the behavior of the individual when order, manage the group activities for the goal achievement. It is also supported by the findings of Kouzes & Posner (2004) to the seventy five thousand people all over the world that the main characteristics of leader is honest, future oriented, competent and emerging spirit.

So, leadership is a way to persuade others, whereas leadership style is the attitude of the leader in persuading his or her subordinates. The efficacy of leadership style implementation according to Hersey & Blanchard (1995) is follow: "The appropriate leadership style for certain situation is called effective whereas the inappropriate of leadership style for certain situation is called ineffective". The shaping of leadership style is different from the shaping of intellectual or skill in doing job, which all of them are shaped by training, education, experience, age and working environment, but leadership style is shaped by value, habit, goal or characteristics of organization and the relationship and situation in the organizational environment.

Trust to Organization

Trust to organization is based on the multidimensional approach involving the feeling of believing that employees will gain positive outcomes from what they have done

so it will shape the belief to organization as stated by Blomqvist and Stahle (2000). That definition is adopted because it includes the instruments measured by the personal trust and used in the organizational trust study in education institutions. Trust form the colleagues recently becomes important in which employees has more relationship with group or team work. Team work is established from groups, individual with the skill of complementing each other in balanced committing to the shared business and goal. Dirkcs & Ferrin (2001) argued that trust seems to effect on the team and employee dynamics; he believed that trust is a construct effecting on the team performance indirectly by relating the energy of the group to the goal achievement. Therefore, trust among members individually or in a team is important for the efficacy of the team work and the overall organization.

The result is three aspects of trust, which are trust to the leader, trust to the colleagues, and trust to the top management which becomes the element of shaping trust in the organization. Trust to the leader shows the confidence to see the saying and attitude of the leader in certain interesting things. Trust to the colleagues shows the confidence which can be dependable one each other in a difficult situation and to their integrity. Trust to the top management shows the confidence to depend on the top management in certain situation and will be the integrity to the top management. On the other hand, trust to organization will reflect the employees' trust in regulating the company trust and the leader of organization that the organization activities will benefit employees.

Commitment to Organization

Commitment to organization is the key factor to explain the attitude and management of organization which is related to the relationship among individual and organization. Employees have commitments to organization in the form of interests which are harmonious with the organizational goal achievement (Raju and Srivastava, 1994; Mowday, 1998). The research argued that the efforts to find out the commitment of employees to organization can be seen from the level of commitment to organization so it will improve the performance and efficacy of the organizational goal achievement.

The research of organizational commitment focuses on the identification of organizational factors managed to create the employee commitment to the organization. Meyer and Allen stated that attitudinal commitment as the way of individual to feel and think about his or her organization whereas behavioral commitment delineates the way of individual to enter organization. The former produces the commitment as the attitude

of employee which reflects their attitude and quality from the relationship between employees and organization.

Askhanasky *et all.*, 2000; and Brooks, 2002 as:

"The affective component of organizational commitment … refers to the employee's emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization. The continuance commitment refers to commitment based on the cost that the employee associated with leaving the organization. Finally, the normative component refers to the employee's feeling of obligation to remain with the organization."

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This research use descriptive quantitative approach. Population of private universities as the object of research is undergraduate private universities in Malang City within the management of Directorate General of Higher Education under the authority of Directorate General of National Education which produce bachelor degree and registered in the Kopertise Directory of Area VII of 2016. The subject of research is the permanent lecturers of private universities of 1267 people in 25 private universities.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Respondent Description

127 respondents widespread in thirteen private universities in Malang City who participate in this study, which are 6 universities, 1 institute, and 6 higher educations. Viewed from the respondent sample based on the form of private universities in Table 1, respondents from universities are 100 peoples (78.74%), institute 10 people (7.87%), higher educations 17 people (13.39%).

From all respondents, 78 peoples are male (61.4%) and 49 peoples are female (38.6%). Based on the marital status, 120 people (94.55) are married (5.5%) and only 7 peoples are not married (5.5%).

Based on the education level, the number of respondents having bachelor degree are 15 people (11.8%), graduate are 107 (84.3%), and postgraduate are 5 (3.9%). It can be concluded that most of respondents have master degree so they are qualified in their expertise and considered be able to serve the organization.

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If it is based on the age of respondents, it can be grouped into 20 to 30 years old which are 2 people (1.6%), 31 to 40 are 52 (40.9%), 41 to 50 are 67 (52.8%), 51 to 60 are 6 (4.7%). Based on the recapitulation data, it is known that most of them teach actively with the age of 31 to 40 years (40.9%), which is the very energetic and productive, 41 to 50 years (52.8%), which can be said as the experienced lecturers during the teaching learning process.

Findings show that the tenure of 1-10 years are 37 people (29.1%), 11-20 years are 77 (60.6%), meaning that some of the lecturers are very experienced in teaching learning process so they understand well the meaning of being lecturers who are in charge of conducting creative, proactive and innovative learning activities. Meanwhile, the number of lecturer having tenure for 21 to 30 years is 113 people (10.2%).

Based on the structural position, those who have this position are 41 people (32.3%) or just become lecturer are 86 people (67.7%). Based on the recapitulation data, it is known that most of respondents are lecturers whose main function is conducting teaching learning process so they have a lot of time to focus themselves in education and teaching.

Based on the characteristic classification of the respondent functional positions, those who have not the position degree are 3 people (2.4%), IIIa group are 14 (14%), IIIb group are 14 (11%), IIIc group are 45 (35.4%), IIId group are 32 (25.2%), IVa group are 10 (7.9%), IVb group are 6 (4.7%), and IVc group are 3 (2.4%).

Based on the research data, it is known that respondents who have functional position of expert assistants are 28 people (22%), most of them having lecturers position of 77 (60.6%) who are teaching staff who have high potential to express all ability and skill if they have the optimal room to reach the higher functional position of lecturer of 19 people (15%).

5. DISCUSSION

Impact of Organizational Culture to Leadership Style

Result of descriptive analysis shows that the mean of organizational culture variable is 3.6142 means that organizational culture in private universities in Malang city is strong. Therefore, it can be said that organizational culture implemented in organization has accommodate all needs and aspirations of permanent lecturers in

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private universities involving dimensions: working autonomy, orientation to external environment, orientation to human resource and development orientation.

Orientation to human resource has the highest contribution in shaping organizational culture with the loading factor of 0.996. It indicates that the lecturers have master degree (84.3%), between 21 to 50 years old (94%), with the tenure of 10 to 20 years (60.6%) and as teaching staffs (67.7%), who percept that organizations have the transparent assessment of performance, the availability of opportunity to continue study, and the careful attitude of organizations in recruiting new lecturers shape the strength of organizational culture. Therefore, it is indicated that the type of organizational culture in private universities in Malang City is constructive culture supporting the normative belief which is related to the goal achievement, self actualization of lecturers, human appreciation and unity in organization.

The hypothesis which stated that organizational culture impacts directly, positively, and significantly on leadership style is supported. The impact of organizational culture to leadership style is 0.84 in the significance rate of 0.05. Based on the evidence, it can be concluded that there is direct, positive, and significant impact from organizational culture to leadership style.

It explains that the strength of constructive organizational culture in private universities in Malang city, especially universities (79%) orienting on the development which brings the impacts to the transactional leadership style implemented by the leader.

Theoretically, this finding is supported by Schein (1992) suggesting that "culture defined leadership" meaning that culture defines leadership in the organizational culture context created by founders which impacts on the leadership attitude and the sources explained in the decision making process. It is supported by Luthans (1995) who stated that leadership style is influenced by organizational culture.

Empirically, this finding is supported by the findings of Wilderom & Van den Berg (2000), Chen & Francesco (2001), Block (2003) and Sudarto (2004). Those findings confirm the high degree relationship of organizational culture implementation and various dimensions, and factors influence them with the leadership style implementation within the organization.

Impact of Organizational Culture to Trust to Organization

Hypothesis which states that organizational culture has direct, positive and significant impacts on trust to organization which is proved in this study. Finding shows that the impact of organizational culture to trust to organization is 0.39 in the significance rate of 0.05. It can be concluded that there is direct, positive, and significant impact from organizational culture to trust to organization.

Organizational culture consists of four dimensions, which are working autonomy dimension (X1.1) with the loading factor is 0.72; external orientation (X1.2) with the loading factor is 0.81; orientation to human resource (X1.3) with the loading factor is 0.82; and development orientation (X1.4) with the loading factor is 0.84. Development orientation has the most important role in shaping the organizational culture variable.

Therefore, the stronger constructive organizational culture implemented in private universities in Malang city, particularly in universities (79%), the higher the trust of permanent private universities lecturers to top management. In other words, the strength of constructive organizational culture which orients to the development implemented in private universities in Malang city impacts on the trust of lecturers to top management in organization.

Theoretically, this finding is in line with the thought of Ritchie (2000) who explained that organizational culture applied in the form of organizational values spread is the most critical part in developing trust of employees to organization.

Empirically, this finding is supported by the findings of Mukherje and Nath (2003) who found that the innovative culture (internet) implemented in influencing the trust of banking clients in India.

Impact of Organizational Culture to Commitment to Organization

Hypothesis which states that organizational culture has direct, positive and significant impacts on commitment to organization which is proved in this study. Finding shows that the impact of organizational culture to commitment to organization is 0.38 in the significance rate of 0.05. So, the strong implementation of constructive organizational culture oriented to the development to heighten the commitment of lecturers to organization.

Organizational culture consists of four dimensions, which are working autonomy dimension (X1.1) with the loading factor is 0.72; external orientation (X1.2) with the

loading factor is 0.81; orientation to human resource (X1.3) with the loading factor is 0.82; and development orientation (X1.4) with the loading factor is 0.84. Development orientation has the most important role in shaping the organizational culture variable.

Therefore, the stronger constructive organizational culture implemented in private universities in Malang city, particularly in universities (79%), the higher the normative commitment of permanent private universities lecturers to top management. It can be defined through their self attachment to organization which is caused by the number of deal with private universities. Private universities has a specific meaning so the attachment to serve themselves to private universities is based on their highly dedication and loyalty, not based on profit and loss.

Empirically, this finding is supported by the findings of Wei-Kong Wu (2002), Wong *et all.* (2004) and Sikorska-Simon (2005).

Impact of Leadership Style to Trust to Organization

Leadership style which is implemented by the leader to lecturers of private universities based on the descriptive analysis shows that in general it is relatively strong to be implemented with the mean of 3.4213.

In this research, leadership style consists of transformational and transactional leadership style dimensions. Transformational leadership style (loading factor of 0.83) and transactional leadership style (loading factor of 0.85). It can be explained that transactional leadership style has a bigger role in defining the overall leadership style variable. It is interesting to further be investigated since based on the theoretical literature, it is suitable or appropriate to be implemented in universities is transformational leadership style (Cheng & Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2004), but in this research, it is found that transactional leadership style which has the biggest rle in shaping the transactional leadership style is leadership style of leader in private universities in Malang city.

Hypothesis which states that leadership style has direct and significant impacts on trust of lecturers in organization is supported. Meanwhile, the impact of leadership style to commitment to trust to organization is 0.52 in the significance rate of 0.05. So, based on the result of analysis, it can be concluded that there is stronger and more significant leadership style to trust to organization. Therefore, it can be concluded that the stronger of leadership style of leader which is implemented, the stronger the trust of lecturers to organizations.

Result of testing hypothesis is interesting to be investigated further since it is not supported by any theories or finding of the previous researches. Theoretically, the transformational leadership style is very suitable to be used as the basis of measuring the efficacy of leadership in universities (Cheng & Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2004). Then, the transformational leadership style more tend to sharing leadership, which is the practice of authority relies on the exercise of consensus rather than top down power, so it is suitable to be implemented in private universities whose academic culture is collegial which plays important role for the success achievement of universities (Rowley & Sherman, 2003).

The real prove of this analysis shows that the more appropriate leadership style (tend to the transactional leadership style) which is implemented by leader, the higher trust of lecturers to organization in top management. Empirically, this research is supported by findings of Kwon (2002), Laka-Mathebula (2004) and Utaminingsih (2014) that there is significant between leadership style which is implemented in organization on the trust to organization.

Impact of Leadership Style to Commitment to Organization

Hypothesis which states that leadership style has direct, positive and significant impacts on commitment of lecturers to organization is not supported in the significance rate of 0.05 since the finding shows that there is a positive impact of leadership style to commitment to organization, which is 0.21, but not significant in the significance rate of 0.05. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is no significant impact of leadership style to commitment of lecturers to organization.

It can be said that the implementation of leadership style which is implemented by the leader in organization does not bring the impact to the commitment of lecturers to organization. This result indicates that commitment to organization does con influenced by leadership style. In this case, it refers to the implemented transactional leadership style; on the other hand, lecturers prefer to choose or hope the transformational leadership style which is oriented to the human relationship. As stated by Kouzes & Posner (2004), it can be done by "encourage the art" through the persuasion strategy, which is the strategy to influence the human attitude so that they consciously and unconsciously adopt certain attitudes, by inserting communicative ideas, thoughts, opinions, and facts.

This finding rejects the finding of Laka-Mathebula (2004) which suggested that there is a significant relationship between leadership style and commitment to organization with r = 0.63. However, if it is read in detail, the finding showed that the transformational leadership style has a strong impact to affective commitment and has a low impact on the normative and continued commitment. On the other hand, Chen & Francesco (2001) explained that the committed leadership style to the share-made-decision by employees, employer, and senior management in China and Korean company can increase the trust and commitment of employees to organization. Lok & Crawford (2001), Wei-Kong Wu (2002) and Lok & Crawford (2004).

Impact of the Trust to Organization on Commitment to Organization

Organizational trust or the trust of lecturers to the organization from the analysis is strong with the mean of 3.6142 (Table 5.10). It shows that the lecturers' trust to the top management, leader and colleagues for the organizational is considered and believed may gain the positive result or acceptance.

Trust can be created by building credibility (honesty, competency and inspiration) and trust to integrity, trait and ability of the leader (Tan, 2002; Robbins & Coulter, 2005). On the other hand, trust to organization can be done by synergizing the individual trust to organization or through the positive experience of the trustee (Jones & George, 1998; Blomqvist & Stahle, 2000).

Finding of this research shows that there is a positive direct trust to organization on commitment, which is 0.36 with the significant rate of 0.05, is acceptable, and in general, the lecturers' commitment to private universities in Malang city.

Based on the result of SEM, there are affective commitment (Y3.1) with the loading factor of 073, continued commitment (Y3.2) with the loading factor of 0.67 and normative commitment (Y3.3) with the loading factor of 0.82. The normative commitment gives the biggest contribution in shaping the variable of commitment of private universities lecturers to organization. This finding is supported by the findings of Wong *et all.* (2002), Mukherje & Nath (2003) and Laka-Mathebula (2004) who showed that there is a significant effect of trust to organization and commitment to organization of 0.37 and Yang (2005).

6. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

In general, the permanent lecturers of the private universities in Malang city percept the condition of organizational culture in the development of the work place is strong with the average score of 3.6359; the transactional leadership style of the leader which is implemented is relatively suitable to the average score of 3.4213, trust to the top management is high with the average score of 3.6142, whereas the normative commitment of private universities lecturers to organization is high with the average score of 3.8583.

All hypotheses are tested based on SEM analysis which has a significant effect in shaping the trust and commitment of private universities lecturers in Malang City.

Suggestion

In order to strengthen the organizational culture, to more orient on the constructive culture which is oriented to human resource with the center of personality and potential of the permanent lecturers of oz, by emerging self of belonging to oz so that they will participate in developing organization.

It is suggested that the leader of private universities implement the transformational leadership style which is interpreted in the vision and mission of the institution to be self of belonging for the subordinates (permanent lecturers of private universities) so they trust and believe that what they have done for the universities is also for their interests.

The leader of private universities should create the working environment which has the trust to the leader. The leader of private universities should also create the affective commitment, particularly to the vision and mission of organization, and the higher sustained commitment to the permanent lecturers to organization. The affective commitment can be achieved by building cooperation, following regulation for showing their commitment to subordinates, improving the universities commitment so that lecturers will be more committed to organization, the regular and overall coordination in planning and implementing programs which have been decided before.

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THE ROLE OF GOVERMENT TO IMPROVE BATIK BAKARAN COMPETITIVENESS THROUGH CREATIVE ECONOMIC PROGRAM IN KABUPATEN PATI JAWA TENGAH

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to see the potential of Batik Bakaran in Pati regency, Central Java, in its development through a program of creative economy promoted by the government. Batik Bakaran is one of the products that re-encouraged through creative economic programs in order to promote local values and to be able to compete in the global level. Batik Bakaran development experienced ups and downs and has not been able to compete with other batik areas. Through the creative economy program, it is expected to improve the development of batik bakaran which then can increase the local employement through the science and creativity of the community. Because most of the people of Bakaran Village are live as batik producer. This paper is analytical descriptive, using qualitative methods, with data collection techniques, using "library research" and "interview" techniques. The data were collected from various sources such as books, journals, newspapers, magazines, as well as data sourced from the internet, and conduct in-depth interviews with related parties.

The findings in this study indicates that the government has provided support to batik bakaran craftsmen to develop and innovate in terms of motives and colors through the development of human resources. But apparently it has not been able to improve the competitiveness of batik Bakaran in the domestic and international markets. Solutions to overcome these problems is to apply the concept of competitiveness through the development of the capabilities of the batik Bakaran industry players include: (1) ability to strengthen its market position, (2) ability to connect with its environment, (3) ability to improve nonstop performance, and (4) ability to establish favorable position. If the government is committed to assisting the community in the development of batik bakaran to compete in the domestic or international market then it must apply the concept of competitive development.

Keywords: Batik Bakaran, Competitiveness, Creative Economy, Government

1. INTRODUCTION

Batik is a cultural heritage of the Indonesia that has a high value of art. Batik can strengthen the identity of the Indonesian and it is not owned by other nations. Batik development proves that batik is very dynamic art which can follow the fashion trend and

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can adapt well in every dimension of space, time and form (Timbul, 2008). Batik values are not only as the satisfaction of the beauty of the eye, but intergrated with moral values, customs and culture in societies (Aep, 2010).

Currently, batik has received recognition from United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizational (UNESCO). Batik has been recognized as one of the products that developed in Indonesia as a manifestation of the cultural richness from different regions, such as Solo batik, Batik Bakaran Pati, Cirebon, Madura, Lasem, Pekalongan and Yogyakarta, and there are also batik from Java and outside Java. The mention of batik could not ascociate to one region only, it is because of batik is part of people's identities in every different regions.

Areas that produce batik has its own type of patterns and motifs. Batik-making process maintains its traditional characteristics, techniques, and consumers' preferences. People can see the factors that influence the development of batik from its patterns, colors, arrangements, and many more. With a distinctive motif, batik in each area develops as a cultural tradition.

Batik is one of the products developed in the creative economy. This creative economy agenda is a good space for batik development in Indonesia. The creative economy is a new economic agenda that focuses on creativity and information. In the creative economy, broad insight and ideas are necessary as the main capitals for its human recourses. Both capitals are the main factor used in batik for facing the era of creative economy.

The concept of creative economy was able to make a real contribution to the economy in some countries. One of them in Indonesia, the development of creative economy starts from the awareness of the importance of increasing the competitiveness of national products to face the global market. One of the objectives of the creative economy is to put Indonesian products, such as batik with an international standard yet, it still have its national character. The Ministry of Industry includes fashion, craft, computer service, and software as part of creative industries. Fashion and craft are the dominant sub-sectors in giving economical contribution. One of the batik industries in Indonesia is located in Bakaran Kulon village, Kec. Juwana, Kabupaten Pati, Central Java. This area produces fashion product named Batik Bakaran.

Batik Bakaran has its local uniqueness which contribute to the diversity of crafts markets. Bakaran village became icon of Pati Regency as the center of Batik Bakaran

production. The production involves the cultural aspect of the local community, and famous for its hand-painted batik.

Before the Indonesia political reform and economic crisis, Batik Bakaran were able to grow and quite competitive to other batik products such as Batik Yogyakarta and Solo. The changing of economic conditions and the weakening of batik industry and craftsmen, made Batik Bakaran suffered a decline in its development, so there were no choice for the Batik Bakaran industry to reduce its production and disappear from the market. In 2007 Batik Bakaran has started to develop again as any local batik industry in other areas, such as in Solo, Yogyakarta, Pekalongan, Madura and Lasem. In additional, Batik Bakaran craftsmen have to develop their creativity in order to compete in crafts market as before.

So far, Batik Bakaran has not shown any significant development. Batik design is also limited to typical local design. The limited variety of design made Kabupaten Pati as the least creative regency in contributing Batik design to meet the market expectation.

The lack of creativity in designing Batik Bakaran made it lose in the competition with other Batik production cities in Central Java such as Solo, Pekalongan, and Jepara. These cities have developed their local batik production, so that the public are more familiar with the products such as Batik Solo, Batik Pekalongan, and Jepara wood carving.

Batik is one of the industries that re-encouraged through the creative economy program. The program aimed to encourage the development of local culture so it can compete in global level. Through the creative economy, batik craftsmen begin to enjoy their golden age. In the past, many craftsmen lost their capitals because they could not compete in global level. Currently, batik craftsmen began to be passionate, and batik training was encouraged to give birth to new batik and create new motifs and designs in improving societies' prosperity (www.harianjogja, 2015). Government of Kabupaten Pati need to give more attention to Batik Bakaran, thus the batik industry could develop its competitiveness with other batik industries.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This writing is qualitative where the data used will indicate phenomenon about (situation, process, event, etc) that will be described in the form of words or sentences so that it will be understood well.

This paper is analytical descriptive, with data collection techniques, using "library research" and "interview" techniques. The data were collected from various sources such as books, journals, newspapers, magazines, as well as data sourced from the internet, and conduct in-depth interviews with related parties.

3. RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Creative Economy

The creative economy was first conceived in England by (John Howkins, 2001) in his book "Creative Economy, How People Make Money From Ideas". According to Howkins creative economy is an economic activity that relies more on idea or creative ideas to manage materials from the surrounding environment and add economic value to it.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in "Creative Economy Report 2010" (2010: 10) defines creative economy as "The "creative economy" is an evolving concept based on creative assets potentially generating economic growth and development. It can foster income generation, job creation and export earnings while promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development. It embraces economic, cultural and social aspects interacting with technology, intellectual property and tourism objectives. It is a set of knowledge based economic activities with a development dimension and cross cutting linkages at macro and micro levels to the overall economy. It is a feasible development option calling for innovative, multidisciplinary policy responses and interministerial action. At the heart of the creative economy are the creative industries."

According to Saksono (2012), the concept and understanding of creative economy is realistically simple. Creative economy is defined as a talent (creative-innovative idea) with economic value that can change the quality of human life to be more prosperous. Creative economy relies more on individual creativity through ideas, creativity, and creative power to increase the economic added value of their work, thereby creating jobs and welfare.

Broadly speaking, the creative economy discusses a very broad spectrum, is all aspects that aim to enhance competitiveness by using the creativity of individuals who are viewed with the eyes of the economy. The creative industry is part of the creative economy and focuses on its respective industries. Based on data obtained through BPS,

the creative economy industry consists of 15 categories, but there are only three categories that contribute significantly to the gross domestic product of fashion industry, handicraft and advertising industry.

3.1 Stages of Development of Indonesia's Creative Economy

Stage One (2005-2009) MILESTONE	The Second Stage (2010-2014)	Third Phase (2015-2019)	The Fourth Stage (2020-2024)
Reorganize and raise awareness and appreciation of the creative economy in all areas aimed at enhancing value-added cultural-based creation efforts	Reorganize the development of creative economy and strengthen human resources and institutional development of creative economy aimed at creating conducive business climate for creative economy development	Strengthen the development of creative economy by emphasizing the achievement of competitive competitiveness based on the advantages of natural resources and human resources quality human with the ability of development and utilization of science and technology is increasing	Prioritizing creativity and realizing global competitiveness based on competitive advantage throughout Indonesia supported by qualified human resources, natural resources and local culture, industry competitiveness, dynamic, diverse and sustainable and conducive business climate.

Source: http://www.program.indonesiakreatif.net

The Role of Government Increases the Competitiveness of Batik Bakaran Through the Creative Economy Program.

The development of Batik Bakaran through creative economy program should refer to Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2009 on creative economic development in 2009 – 2015. Creative economy is needed to encourage the competitiveness of Batik Bakaran, in order to be stronger and better in quality to compete in the global level. Batik Bakaran is the featured product of Kabupaten Pati, which is emphasizing on the characteristic and uniqueness of this region shown through batik motif and patterns. Through the inclusion of Batik Bakaran in the creative economy program, it is expected to improve the competitiveness of batik in the international arena and can also improve the welfare of other batik communities such as in Solo, Pekalongan and Jepara.

Batik Bakaran development since 2007 has been experiencing a pretty good development compared with the previous year. Moreover, since Batik Bakaran was in

the list of creative economy, government of Kabupaten Pati support the increasing sales of Batik Bakaran through several programs such as batik exhibition which held once a year. As the expression of Mrs. Juwati as Batik Bakaran businesswoman:

> *".....Batik Bakaran exhibition was held by Dinas Koperasi dan UMKM Kabupaten Pati, annually in a regular bases. The presence of Pragolo Market also encourages batik craftsmen to incraese batik stock, so the production also slightly increased than usual ..."(Interview, 22 June 2017).*

The existence of Batik Bakaran exhibition is a form of government support to increase the production of batik and to improve the welfare of the batik craftsmen. Not only batik exhibition, but the government also provides free booth for business actors to market their batik. Batik Bakaran are sold at varying prices, for Batik Bakaran's price range between Rp. 100.000 – Rp. 400.000, according to the type and quality. For the type of batik itself has two types: the classical batik usually is the most expensive since it has a complicated motif and long process of procuction. The time required to produce Batik Bakaran classic type is between 1-2 weeks, and the type of contemporary batik such as *druju tree* motif (*Juwana*), *gelombang cinta, kedele kecer, jambu alas,* and *blebak urang* takes 5 - 7 day of production.

Government support to increase productivity Batik Bakaran not only by providing sales facilities for the business of batik but also by improving the quality of human resources of the batik craftsmen. There are some supports from the Kabupaten Pati according to Mrs. Juwati, in the form of sales management training aid, promotion training, Batik Bakaran coloring.

First, the government support through business management training is expected to increase Batik Bakaran's market share, as demand for batik is increasing. This is also accompanied by the support of Kabupaten Pati by requiring the civil servants to wear local batik uniforms to support batik craftsmen. The batik pattern worn by the civil servant called batik *pati bumi mina tani*. According to Mrs. Juwati the reason for the government requires their civil servants to wear Batik Bakaran is in accordance with local wisdom according to their respective regions. Batik craftsmen also feel the increasing of income with through this program.

Second, the success in promoting Batik Bakaran is one of the most important things in increasing sales Batik Bakaran. Promotion can be done through online base promotion thus it can reach not only local market, but also beyond. One of the entrepreneurs of Batik Bakaran, Ibu Yahyu, is markets her Batik Bakaran through

instagram. According to her it is one of the provitable online media to promote Batik Bakaran to the outside area. Online media is a cheap medium of promotion and can reach all areas. Skills of how to communicate with the buyer and operating the communication technology by using Phone (HP) and computers are needed to enhance the promotion.

The third support is the batik coloring technic. Batik Bakaran is one of traditional batik with simple ornamental visuals. According to Mrs. Juwati as a batik entrepreneur, exlained that characteristic of Batik Bakaran contained a lot of cracks in its motif. Batik Bakaran coloring is still limited the using of dark colors. Batik Bakaran coloring also uses a mature and striking color because of the influence brought by Nyai Ageng Danowati in Bakaran Village. It was only able to make that color at that time. Blue color was prohibited because the process of mixing dyes using a piece of chicken meat. Now there is a training of coloring technology which is developed in the Village Bakaran, thus the coloring techniques become diverse. Training of coloring techniques that are accompanied by skills and talent training, makes Batik Bakaran begun its development of motifs and colors which similar to other coastal batik, with bright, strong and diverse colors.

Factors Inhibiting The Development of Batik Bakaran in the Market Competition.

Batik Bakaran really needs attention from government and society through creative economy program in order to compete along with other batik from different regions. The development of Batik Bakaran through the creative economy program has not been oriented on the quality of human resources (lack of innovation), its economic activity is still limited to the difficulty of Batik Bakaran craftsmen in (1) the ability to strengthen its market position, (2) the ability to connect with its environment, (3) Nonstop performance, and (4) the ability to enforce a favorable position.e international arena.

Batik Bakaran development program through creative economy has not fully optimize the competence of local human resources. Improving competitiveness through the creative economy is very necessary to broad the insight and ideas of batik craftsmen in making batik motifs in accordance with the color of the market demand. The lack of creativity is due to the limited innovation of batik craftsmen and the lack of training in batik production. The human resources involved must be able to creat ideas or trigger the idea of creativity. That is the form or action on the creative economy programs

promoted by the government to build the community through improving the quality of human resources that can improve the welfare of the community.

Weak human resources Batik Bakaran craftsmen are very visible from the way they market the products. Batik sales are still waiting for the average buyers to come, they rarely take advantage of technology in expanding market access for batik bakaran. Batik Bakaran craftsmen are also less aware of the constraints or weaknesses they face to develop their batik industry. The researcher conducted an interview with one of Batik Bakaran business actor, Mrs. Yahyu. We asked about the constraints faced in developing Batik Bakaran industry, Mrs. Yahyu could not explain it comprehensively. It indicates that the level of human resources ability to analyze the related advantages and disadvantages of Batik Bakaran industry are still very low. That means the development of human resources is absolutely necessary if the government is serious about developing the Batik Bakaran industry.

Weak human resource of Batik Bakaran craftsmen made the lack of innovation. Batik Bakaran craftsmen is still oriented to the utilization of natural resources, this can be seen in mostly dark-colored motifs produced by the craftsmen. Here is an example of the type of Batik Bakaran motif:

Picture 1. Batik Bakar motif
Image Source: Photo of research documentation (taken during Cooperative Expo and Gelar Bazar Batik Pati dated 22 June 2017).

Picture 2. Batik Bakar motif
Image Source: Photo of research documentation (taken during Cooperative Expo and Gelar Bazar Batik Pati dated 22 June 2017).

The color production which is limited to the dark ones due to utilization of plant-based colors only. Batik Bakaran use root, bark, stem, leaf, flower or plant sap, for the coloring process. The bark of a *tinggi* tree produces dark brown color, *tegoran* wood produces yellow, and *kudu* root produces light brown color. The dye materials are hard to find. It caused the difficulty in innovating new motifs and colors. Thus made Batik Bakaran cannot keep up with the current trend in batik market, thus it attract few buyers among the society.

4. CONCLUSION

Batik Bakaran is the leading batik of Pati Regency and quite famous for its quality. However, the batik craftsmen have not processed the potential to the fullest. Batik bakaran still limited to be used for souvenirs, which has not shown good development in national and global industries.In 2009, there was a government program of creative economy which included Batik Bakaran to develop its economic scale and output. The development of Batik Bakaran through the creative economy program refers to Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2009 on creative economic development in 2009 – 2015. Creative economy is needed to encourage the competitiveness of Batik Bakaran stronger and better quality so as to compete in national and global level.Batik Bakaran has started to show good development in the national market with high demand and can compete with national batik such as batik Yogyakarta, Solo, Pekalongan and Lasem. Although not all batik craftsmen can develop innovation and create new motives that

match the interests of consumers. The ability of batik craftsmen to innovate is highly influenced by the quality of human resources.

Creative economy relies on creative idea. Through ideas, creativity and innovation would potentially be able to improve the ability of batik craftsmen. There are some supports from Pati Regency government in the form of sales management training aid, promotion training, Batik Bakaran coloring. Government support through creative economy program can increase productivity of Batik Bakaran. In addition, the government also provides promotional and sales facilities for craftsmen and batik business actors in the form of booths or batik bazaars.

The development of Batik Bakaran has shown an increase in production and sales. However, every batik craftsman has the ability in marketing as well as different marketing areas, because every business actors and batik craftsmen compete with each other.

Barriers in the development of Batik Bakaran through the creative economy program have not been oriented to the quality of human resources (lack of innovation), its economic activity is still limited to the difficulty of Batik Bakaran craftsmen in (1) the ability to strengthen its market position, (2) the ability to connect with its environment, Ability to improve endless performance, and (4) ability to enforce a favorable position.

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MULTI STAKEHOLDER INITIATIVE PRACTICES: PROMOTION OF GOOD GOVERNANCE (A CASE OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT PROJECT IN PESANGGARAHAN VILLAGE, BATU DISTRICT, CITY OF BATU, EAST JAVA, INDONESIA)

Ayu Kusumastuti[1]

ABSTRACT

The research aims to look at the multi stakeholder initiatives practices in the community empowerment in Pesanggrahan Village, Batu City, East Java. Multi stakeholder initiatives are the form of collective arrangement to realize the development by prioritizing the process with much diversity. The purposes of this research are: First, to identify the number of stakeholders attending the empowerment program in Batu City; Second, to identify by characterizing and typologizing the stakeholders; and Third, to analyze good governance in the development

The research used qualitative method with management tool of Stakeholder Analysis. The analysis aims to evaluate and understand the stakeholder from the organizational perspective, or to determine the relevance to the project or policy. Data collection was achieved by structured interview and observation as well as documentary study.

There were 10 stakeholders attending the empowerment program in Pesanggrahan Village. The stakeholders in this empowerment program were divided into 2 types: the primary stakeholder, which is the farmers and secondary stakeholder from the government, private sector, and civil society. Additionally, in this stakeholder analysis, the research found 6 typologies of stakeholders related to the empowerment effort in Pesanggrahan Village: dormant, dominant, discretional, demanding, dependent and definitive stakeholder.

The governmental organization with many stakeholders actually showed the pattern of good governance policy with participation and trust principles. Implementation of good governance with participation and trust principles also showed the pattern of multi stakeholder initiatives. These multi stakeholder initiatives were able to answer the challenge of development that is bottom-up, participative and democratic. This cannot be separated from the "devolved" development model, that is the development with commitment of decentralization/transfer of authority.

Keywords: stakeholder analysis, community empowerment, good governance.

1. INTRODUCTION

Community empowerment is an effort of development which emphasizes on the development of human mental. This development is the antithesis of development which

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assumes the economic growth. The development emphasizes more on the human capacity, not just the economy. With the improving human capacity, it is expected that they become the individuals who will recognize the problems and find the solution. If every individual has this capacity, the overall development will be relatively better. This community empowerment emphasizes the community participation. Intensive participation of the community is believed to maintain the program sustainability. According to Ahmad and Thalib, 2014, the community empowerment has 3 main components: community participation, capacity building, and information access.

This empowerment is the form of development based on the bottom-up principle of development. This kind of development seeks the development which arises from the community. Development is the form and wish of the community needs. An empowerment program may be initiated by various parties such as the government, private in the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) or non-Government Organization (NGO) both individuals and group. In the work process, the empowerment program may be in form of provision of fund/goods by means of grant or training activities.

Empowerment is also meant as the activities to provide assistance to the community to be self-empowering. Community empowerment initiator must also provide opportunity to the community to be able to voice the needs and that the community has a strong voice to influence the decision maker (Adamson, 2010).

Empowerment program is widely distributed in Batu City. Based on the Statistics Agency, in 2014, it was known that the empowerment program in Batu City were, among them, in economic sector in form of circulating fund for agriculture capital, circular fund for non-agriculture fund (mining, industry, trading, tourism, and service), circular fund for cultivation productive business (planned activities for natural resources preservation such as: animal cultivation, plants cultivation or usually called on farm), and non-cultivation (not related to the natural resources such as handicraft, trading, transportation, workshop). Additionally, there were also empowerment activities in social field which includes the improvement of productive skills, improvement of marketing skills for product, social community strengthening.

In the organization of empowerment activities, the role of stakeholders was considered as integral part. Stakeholder is defined as any party which is influenced and influencing a decision (Johnson et al., 2013). Their existence is the important things to understand in the development project. Stakeholder in any development project must be

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identified in regard with its interest and role. This must be done in order to predict and evaluate the development in progress or the one already completed. Identification of stakeholder came from the science tradition of management, politics, and policy that has been developing into a systematic and applicative tool to find out the existing of environmental as well as the future condition of an institution (Brugha & Varvasovzky, 2000).

Identification of stakeholder is then called Stakeholder Analysis. Stakeholder analysis aims to take strategic measures in the implementation of organization/program/project as follows:

"*Stakeholder analysis can be used to generate knowledge about the relevant actors so as to understand their behavior, intentions, interrelations, agendas, interests, and the influence or resources they have brought – or could bring – to bear on decision-making processes. This information can then be used to develop strategies for managing these stakeholders, to facilitate the implementation of specific decisions or organizational objectives, or to understand the policy context and assess the feasibility of future policy directions*" (Brugha & Varvasovzky, 2000)

The importance of stakeholder analysis became the main reference of the researcher to review the community empowerment program in Batu City. Additionally, the researcher assumed that by knowing the multi stakeholder attending a public interest and community, it shows the degree of good participation in the good governance. Good governance refers to DFID (Department for International Development) 2012, which is an institution, regulation and system of state that operates from the central to regional level and to observe how the state interacts with the individual citizen, civil society and private sectors. (Grindle, 2007). Participation in several elements of public interest shows the continuous coordination effort between the state, private, civil and individual. Coordination and interaction between elements in the community has created a level of democracy in the statesmanship of good governance participation.

In this research, the researcher would focus to three studies: First, to identify the number of stakeholders attending the empowerment program in Batu City; Second, to identify by characterizing and typologizing the stakeholder's interest; and Third, to analyze good governance in the local development. The research location was in Pesanggrahan Village, Batu Subdistrict. The location was selected by the research based on the data from BPS that in 2014, it was known that the region received all empowerment activities which includes the economic aspect of circular fund for business capital and social aspect of community skills improvement.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used qualitative method with management tool of Stakeholder Analysis. The analysis aims to evaluate and understand the stakeholder from the organizational perspective, or to determine the relevance to the project or policy. The proposed questions were related to position, interest, influence, relevance, network and characteristics of other stakeholders (Brugha & Varvasovzky, 2000).

Data collection was achieved by structured interview and observation as well as documentary study. Structured interview was conducted by various stakeholders which were directly involved in the community empowerment in Pesanggrahan Village, in this case the Head of Village and recipient of empowerment program of Farmer Group. After obtaining the data of structured interview, the next step is to conduct stakeholder analysis using the attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency. The use of stakeholder analysis in combination based on the attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency may result in the typology of stakeholder and their important meaning to the institution/program or project (Mitchell, Wood, & Agle, 1997b).

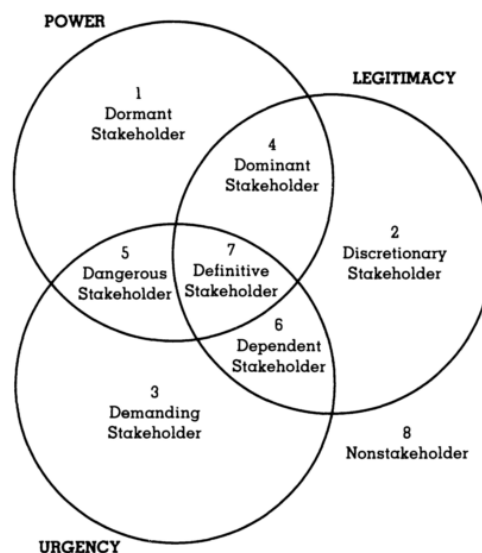The typological model of stakeholder may be seen in the following figure:

Figure 1 A Model of Stakeholder Typology
Source: (Mitchell et al., 1997b)

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pesanggrahan Village: Area Potential, Village Problems and Empowerment Program

Pesanggrahan Village has the resources of agriculture and animal husbandry. The village has undergone land conversion for the expansion of housings and residential area. The agricultural commodities produced in the area are vegetables, coffee and clove and apple. Coffee has been the commodity since the Dutch colonization, however its price was dropped significantly so that the farmers were unable to fulfill their needs. Apple can no longer be planted in Pesanggrahan Village because the change of temperature due to the land conversion, and the surviving plants were vegetables.

Farmer group in Pesanggrahan Village were 8 groups consisting of 225 farmers. The groups were Sumber Hasil 1, Sumber Hasil 2, Sumber Hasil 3, Sumber Hasil 4, Tirtojoyo, Trito Barokah, Urip Sejahtera, Margojoyo and also Women Farmer Group of Manisa Toyomerto. Other organizations in the village were: Gapoktan (Gabungan Kelompok Tani) and LMDH (Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan) called Wana Tani. These farmers received many aids and distribution of tools, fertilizer, and seeds from the Office of Agriculture.

Frequently, the aids from the Office of Agriculture were not really needed by the farmers. Not all farmers can enjoy the agricultural tools from the Office of Agriculture which actually were meant to improve the produce. When they received the tools, many farmers cannot operate them. Eventually, the tools were enjoyed individually while in fact they are actually the assets of farmer group organization. Some problems in the field were that the tools are difficult to move if other farmers are going to use the tools and the location of the field between the farmers are relatively far, and the farmers must also bear the cost of fuel, and must pay the contribution to the organization of they are going to use the tools. The problems made the farmers to decide to continue the manual working system.

The empowerment program in Pesanggrahan Village was realized in form of aids and training. Initator of empowerment program varies from the government to NGO. Empowerment program identified by the researcher were as follows:

Table 1. Community Empowerment Program in Pesanggrahan Village year 2017

No.	Name of Empowerment Program	Agent Conducting the Empowerment	Target of Empowerment
1.	Training for cow waste utilization into biogas.	LSM Merah Putih	Cows Farmers
2.	Assistance of biogas installation tool	PT. Petrokimia Gresik	Cows Farmers
3.	Training for diary processing into several products such as milk with various flavor, candy, yogurt.	Office of Agriculure and Foresry of Batu City, Office of Food Defense of Batu City and the University	Women Farmer Groups
4.	Assistance for marketing the dairy products during the exhibition of SMEs in batu city hall.	Office of Cooperative, Trading and Industry of Batu City.	Women Farmer Groups
5.	Assistance of cattle: meat cow, dairy cow and goat.	Office of Agriculture, Batu City	Cows Farmers
6.	Assistance of tools, fertilizer and seeds	Office of Agriculture, Batu City	Farmer Group
7.	Assistance of grass chopper.	Village Unit Cooperative (KUD)	Farmer Group
8.	Training in food products for Batu specialties.	Office of Cooperative, Trading and Industry of Batu City.	Women Farmer Groups
9.	Training in the coffee processing, and upgrading the knowledge on coffee of new varieties.	NGO	Farmer Group
10.	Provision of demonstration plot for the development of new varieties.	Foreign company from Taiwan	Farmer Group
11.	Circular fund or saving and loan fund to fulfill the operational cost of the farmers	Joint Farmer Group	Farmer Group
12	Training and assistance of organic plants	Office of Agriculture	Youth Organization

Source: Researcher Analysis, 2017

Identification of Characteristics and Typology of Stakeholder

Stakeholder is any party involved in a program. Stakeholder may also be defined as all groups or individuals who influence and influenced by achievement of organization (Freeman, 1984 in Slabá, 2015). Other definition of stakeholder, according to Reds, 2008 in Johnson et al., (2013) is any party who influences and influenced by a decision. Actually, there are many disagreements among the expert regarding the definition of stakeholder, about what entity does it explain as the focus, whether it is a group, person, organization, institution or even natural environment. (Mitchell, Wood, & Agle, 1997a).

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However, if we try to further review, the stakeholder may refer to all "stake" or any parties involved and have each role in achieving organization goals/program which may be in form of individuals or group.

Data in the field showed that there are 2 characteristics of stakeholder attending the empowerment program in Pesanggrahan Village: the primary and secondary stakeholder. Primary stakeholder is any party being affected by a program or the target of the program. Primary stakeholder is the important stakeholder because its existence depends on the organizational goals/purpose and therefore the organizational goals/purpose also depend on the stakeholder (Slabá, 2015). Secondary stakeholder is the intermediary that may influence the purpose and achievement of the organization or project (ODA, 1995 in Brugha & Varvasovzky, 2000). This party can also be said as the program implementor. The followings are the identification of any parties interested in the community empowerment program in Pesanggrahan Village. The number of stakeholder being identified was 11 parties included into the primary and secondary stakeholder.

Table 2. Identification of Stakeholder based on the Attribute of Power, Legitimacy and Urgency

Stakeholder	Power	Potential Project Impact	Legitimacy	Urgency
Primary Stakeholder				
Farmer	-	+/-	High	1
Secondary Stakeholder		+		
Farmer Group	Mass-power based		High	2
City Office of Agriculture	Preparing the rules and implementing the institutional program	+	High	
City's Office of Trade and SMMEs	Preparing the rules and implementing the institutional program	+	High	
Village Government	Implementing the planning and implementation function of the village development	+/_	High	
Village Government-Owned Enterprises (Bumdes)	Implementing the planning and implementation function of the village development	+	Moderate	

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NGO	Inventor of idea/technology and broad distribution to the community	+	Moderate	
Foreign Company	Financial power to run the Corporate Social Responsibility program	+	Low	
PT Petrokimia	Financial power to run the Corporate Social Responsibility program	+	Low	
Youth Organization	Community group-based for the development of youth capacity	+	High	
University	Inventor of idea/technology and broad distribution to the community	+	High	

Source: Researcher Analysis, 2017

Notes:

1. Stakeholder : Stakeholder
2. Primary stakeholder : Stakeholder that mostly receives the benefits of the program
3. Secondary stakeholder : Intermediate role or actor of empowerment
4. Power : Power in hand
5. Potential project impact : Contribution of actor in the program. May be positive or negatif. Positif means the actor's interest may contribute to the successful program while negative means the actor's interest may contribute to hinder the program.
6. Legitimacy : Degree of the community to admit and legitimate the stakeholder authority.
7. Urgency : The most important actor in contributing to the successful empowerment program. hierarchically from 1 that represents the most important actor. 2 is rather important

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From 11 parties, the researcher has set the typology into 3 main attributes based on the ownership of power, legitimacy and urgency so that included in the following typology:
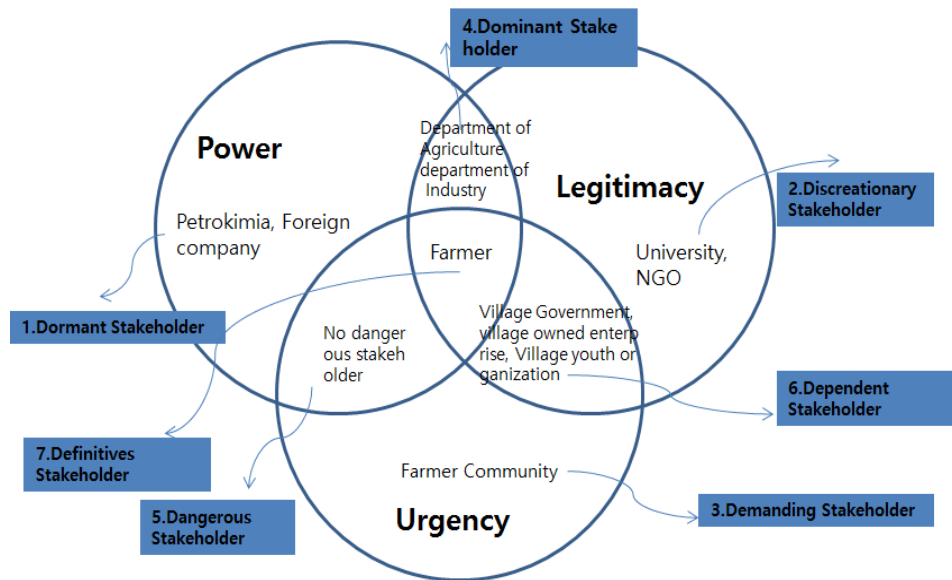
Figure 2 Mapping and typology of stakeholder in Pesanggrahan Village

Table 3 Mapping and Role of Stakeholder in Pesanggrahan Village

Typology	Roles	Stakeholder
Dormant Stakeholder	Possess power to impose their will but by not having a legitimate relationship or an urgent claim	Petrokimia, Foreign company
Discretional Stakeholder	Possess the attribute of legitimacy, but they have no power to influence and no urgent claim	University, NGO
Demanding Stakeholder	With urgent claims but having neither power nor legitimacy	Farmer Community
Dominant Stakeholder	Where stakeholders are both powerful and legitimate, their influence is assured	Department of Agriculture; department of Industry
Dangerous Stakeholder	Stakeholder will be coercive and possibly violent	-
Dependent Stakeholder	Stakeholders who lack power but who have urgent legitimate	Village Government, Village owned

		enterprise, Village youth organization
Definitive Stakeholder	Priority	Farmer

Principle of Good Governance: Participation, Trust and Multi Stakeholder Initiative

From the identification result of stakeholder above, it was known that there were many stakeholders contributing in the empowerment program. This actually shown the form of participation from various actors in the society in the development. Participation in various elements of the community in the government shown the principle of Good Governance, According to the DIFD statement, Good Governance tells us how the state system, either executive, judiciary, and military may interact with individual citizen, civil society and private sector (Grindle, 2007). Active participation is important in the democratic development. With various contributing stakeholders, variation in the development will emerge and finally acceptable by the community. Hopefully, all elements of the community will take part in the development so that the development will be maintained and sustainable and most importantly, the community receives direct benefit of the development.

Good Governance cannot be separated from the trust of the community to the government. Trust means that the government has been functioning in any way that is loved by the people (Bouckaert & van de Walle, 2003). This is how the government does the job by opening the opportunity as wide as possible to any individual to contribute in the development, without any exception. For example, in the observation result, the presence of foreign company granted with permission by the government that also participated in the community empowerment in the village.

Undeniably, may stakeholders in the community empowerment have indicated the high multi stakeholder initiatives. Multi stakeholder initiatives are the form of collective arrangement to realize the development by prioritizing the process with many diversities and interests. Multi stakeholder initiatives offer new governance which may respond to the continuous global challenges (Zeyen, Beckmann, & Wolters, 2016). Currently, the challenges of development is bottom up, participatory and democratic development. If only the state itself who manage the development, it will be very difficult, and therefore other parties considered capable to participate in the development should also take part. This new governance is the synergy between the government, civil society, and private

sectors as well as the community itself. This is shown in the pattern of community empowerment activities in Batu City. Some stakeholders consisting of private sector, university and NGO were participating in the empowerment efforts.

The relationship and coordination between the stakeholder is in the devolved model position. The model assumes that the function of government is to transfer the authority to the government below. This model is the product of reform design and has strong commitment for decentralization (Meredith, Halligan, Horrigan, & Nicoll, 2012). In this research, it was found that the city government has no longer the primary role in executing the development, and transfers the development authority to the villages. Although it is clear that the agency and offices in the city government has played many roles in the empowerment efforts, however, many other actors were contributing to the empowerment program in Pesanggrahan Village.

4. CONCLUSION

Empowerment is the activity to improve the access, asset and capacity of the community. The main purpose of the empowerment is the development of human mental and capacity. In Pesanggrahan Village, many community empowerment programs were conducted by many actors. The actor is not only the government but also civil society and private sectors. At least there were 10 stakeholders attending the empowerment program in Pesanggrahan Village divided into 2: primary and secondary stakeholders. Additionally, the stakeholder in this empowerment activities consists of 6 typologies of stakeholders: dormant, dominant, discretional, demanding, dependent and definitive stakeholder.

The execution of this kind of government showed the pattern of good governance policy with participation and trust principles. Participation can be seen from the activeness of stakeholder to contribute in the empowerment effort. The trust can be seen from the stakeholder attitude to trust the government. In this case, the government has opened the opportunity as wide as possible to any parties to participate in the development. To this opportunity, other stakeholders may try to take the same effort with the government in terms of empowerment. Other stakeholders will place the trust to the government that the government will support their effort.

Implementation of good governance with participation and trust principles also showed the pattern of multi stakeholder initiatives. Multi stakeholder initiatives are capable to answer the challenges of development to be bottom up, participatory and

democratic. The emergence of multi stakeholder initiatives cannot be separated from the "devolved" development model, that is the development with commitment of decentralization/transfer of authority.

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US STRATEGIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:
ANALYSIS ON THE US MEGA-REGIONALISM AND ASEAN

Adhi Cahya Fahadayna[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper will discuss the US regionalism agenda towards ASEAN. ASEAN as the Southeast Asia only regional organizations has significant implications for US trade and economic agenda. This paper will try to understand what is the current policies that the US policymakers enforce in the Southeast Asia. This article will focus on multilateral diplomacy that the US has implemented and what the impact towards US interest in Southeast Asia. Additionally, it will discuss the future and prospect of ASEAN towards US regionalism agenda, more importantly with the rise of the Chinese economy. This paper also will try to find the significance of ASEAN towards the US regional initiatives to contend Chinese domination in Asia. This article will be using latest literature review this paper will focus on the current issue and provide critical approach on how ASEAN respond in the US agenda. More importantly to show what the direct impact of US regional agenda toward ASEAN, and vice versa. This paper will use SWOT analysis to underline the primary strategy of the US and significance of the ASEAN. This paper also uses qualitative data analysis for support the recommendation and analyses the future of ASEAN.

Keywords: *US Mega-regionalism, ASEAN, economic, trade and multilateral diplomacy*

INTRODUCTION

ASEAN is the regional organizations that formed by five countries in Southeast Asia, which are Indonesia, Thailand, Burma, Singapore and Philippine[2]. Inspired by the sharing same history and identity, those countries decided to form a regional organization that could give more economic stability and increases cooperation between Southeast Asian countries. The intention to build a regional organization of Southeast Asian countries has never been about military or security issue. From the beginning, it was clear that ASEAN consists of newly formed states that have the willingness to get together and create more economic opportunities.

ASEAN undeniably is one of the regional organizations that face a sophisticated challenge that closely connected with the international dynamics and domestic politic dynamics within its members. ASEAN was born in the middle of Cold War when the Southeast Asian states fragmented by two strongest ideologies, which are Liberalism

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and Communism. Additionally, Southeast Asian countries also have minimum experience as independence state, most of the states just have their independence after the end of World War 2[3]. The countries in Southeast Asia undeniably have minimum experience of diplomacy ability and minimum influence toward international politics since the formation of ASEAN. Besides that, Southeast Asia states have always been facing continuous conflicts between its members, whether had been finished or still ongoing since 1967. The dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia, Vietnam, and Cambodia also Singapore and Malaysia haunted the initiators of ASEAN about the future of this organization and worried if ASEAN will not survive for a long time. Coincidentally, growing tension that caused by the Cold War aggravated many Asian-African states to hold a summit in 1955 Asia-African Conference. Hereafter, this conference becomes the skeleton of multilateral diplomacy between Asia-African countries[4]. Undeniably, 1955 Asian-African Conference also contributed an inspiration toward regionalism in Southeast Asia.

Shockingly, other Southeast Asian states joined ASEAN between 1984 to 1999. The other countries that joined ASEAN in later time were Brunei (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos and Myanmar (1997) also Cambodia (1999). The motivation of those states joining ASEAN has varied based on the political or economic interest. Brunei for example, encouraged by the volatility of its domestic politics, Brunei leaders seek sponsorship to join ASEAN from Singapore and Indonesia[5]. In contrast, the motivation of Vietnam to join ASEAN is mainly encouraged by the collapse of Communist support. Vietnam was aware that joining ASEAN will become tremendous opportunity to improve economic and trade cooperation after the fall of Communism. Similarly, Vietnam also encouraged by the lack of multilateral economic cooperation[6]. It clear that the different interest among members of the ASEAN inspired by many norms, value, and principles that derived from the aspiration of the members. ASEAN also faced the constant problems about sovereignty and domestic politics. All of the members have been implementing different ideologies political systems and fundamental laws. Therefore, it is difficult for ASEAN to incorporate this differences toward the norms, values, and principles as a regional organization. The creation of ASEAN ways is the realization of this problem and become the foundation of

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[3] Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, pp. 190
[4] Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, pp. 192
[5] Weatherbee, Donald E. "Brunei: the ASEAN connection." *Asian Survey* 23, no. 6 (1983), pp. 730
[6] Tuan, Hoang Anh. "Vietnam's Membership in ASEAN: Economic, Political and Security Implications." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (1994), pp. 262.

non-interference principle. This paper will focus on analyzing those challenges and using a critical approach to find the future of ASEAN with the current context.

THE US MEGA-REGIONALISM AGENDA AND ASEAN: POSSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

ASEAN has a very complicated, yet very insightful relation with the US, and the US has been famously known as the major player in the ASEAN dynamics. In the economics perspectives, the US is becoming the most valuable partner for ASEAN. The US still has the extent of interest in ASEAN members natural resource[7]. In this matter, the ASEAN natural resource is undeniably crucial for the US especially after the successfulness of the APEC to produce more trade agreement among its member. The US wants to promote economic liberalization and non-discriminatory relation with ASEAN, with the tendency of the US policy derived from the latest development toward ASEAN economic development. Since the implementation of ASEAN FTA (AFTA), the US have intensively increased cooperation with many key players in East Asian economies, including ASEAN. The US has been intensively improving its relationship with ASEAN prior to responding the significance of the China-ASEAN relations.

With the military domination in Asia Pacific, the US has the more extensive capability to influence the decision-making process of the ASEAN members[8]. Regarding the economic aspect, the US could utilize its military domination as the source of legitimation toward many trade and economic ties. Legitimation is the biggest problem in the ASEAN, as we know ASEAN inspired by the struggle of superpower states in the Cold War. ASEAN established in the context of the regional instability in the Southeast Asia. Legitimacy is paramount, and it will affect the perception and identity of the countries that might have the agenda of mega-regionalism like the US. Compare to China, and the US has more legitimation because of the outstanding relationship that already happened even before the creation of ASEAN. The US should have a more plausible scenario for pursuing more intensive trade relations with ASEAN, with the most important legitimation, the US policy toward trade initiative with ASEAN could be conducted smoothly.

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[7] DeRosa, Dean A. "ASEAN-US Trade Relations: An Overview." *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (1986), pp. 171
[8] Emmerson, Donald. "Challenging ASEAN: The US Pivot Through Southeast Asia's Eyes." *Global Asia* 7, no. 4 (2012), pp. 24

With the extent of the liberalization in Southeast Asia, the US could use its leading economic partners such as Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines to persuade other members of ASEAN. Even though the US still have an ambivalent position among the members of ASEAN, the reputation of the US economic relations with four countries could become the very foreseeable example that shows how beneficial economic ties with the US. As one of the countries that have very ambitious mega-regionalism agenda, bringing up the case of legitimation and reputation is crucial, more importantly in the context of the diversity in Southeast Asia. The most common issue that could contribute to the triumph of the US mega-regionalism agenda is the benefits that developing countries could get to improve their economy.

For most of the ASEAN states, the US is a very promising market and source of investments[9]. The US should follow the extent to which ASEAN members have economic and geo-economics interests toward the US mega-regionalism agenda. For example, how many ASEAN countries want to export their agricultural products as an alternative source of their revenue besides mining commodities and oil production, and the other interest is to improve the economics through prospering small and medium enterprises. That kind of economic interest is tremendously important for ASEAN countries, especially the countries that still in the stage of developing their economy. The second aspect that the US should pay attention is about strategic industries and military expenditure. Almost all of the ASEAN countries desperately depend on the foreign military arms and weaponry. Many ASEAN members will gladly pursue arms and weaponry trade relations with the US in order to improve their strategic industry qualities.

In the current context, especially during Obama's presidency, there had growing economic interest of the US toward countries in East Asia. President Obama has been consistently engaged in the negotiation, talks and building agreement on the economic sectors and often end up with trade agreements or memorandum of understanding. The US interest in countries in East Asia is closely connected with the recent development of the US economy after 2008 crisis and the rise of China. The US considerably changes its perception on the trade agreements that accentuate non-discriminatory policy. Through the policy of non-discriminatory, the US will be easier to conduct trade agreement with ASEAN countries. Based on the various economic condition of the ASEAN countries, the policy of non-discriminatory could accommodate many countries

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[9] Stubbs, Richard. "ASEAN plus three: emerging East Asian regionalism?" *Asian Survey* 42, no. 3 (2002), pp. 445

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join either TPP or APEC. Thus, the US mega-regionalism agenda in Southeast Asia could find its momentum to be realized.

Other opportunities will be about the expanded role of the US in the regional dynamics. In the matter of fact, ASEAN is the regional organization that practically does not have any political power. The US could play a significant role in the intervention of several conflicts through its trade relations with countries in Southeast Asia. The current conflict that happens in Cambodia and Myanmar, for example, could utilize by the US to gain more participation of the ASEAN countries engage in the developing those conflicting countries' economies. Moreover, by helping their economy, the conflict could be minimalized, because conflicts that happen in those countries caused by devastating inequality and poverty. Thus, the US should utilize its position as investor or leaders toward those countries in order to help the countries improve[10]. This kind of strategies had implemented during the post-Vietnam war in the 1970s toward affected countries like Vietnam, Cambodia and Lao PDR. By the incentive from the US or any financial institutions that led by the US such as WB or IMF, many poverty countries in Southeast Asia could be helped through financial aid. The US could make this kind of arrangement to secure its interest to realize the mega-regionalism agenda.

Financial aid that initiated by the US often makes countries in Southeast Asia become the valuable allies. The nature of liberal order is to make any countries obey the hegemon through aid and financial obligation. With the financial support, countries that desperately need the assistance will automatically adjust its policy and foreign policy to support the US agenda, with all cost. The longstanding relations that the US have toward financial air has been shaped many countries to pursuing more intensive cooperation with the US[11]. Countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore have become the 'vivid' example toward prosperity that provided by joining the economic cooperation with the US. Those countries had survived from the devastating crisis in 1998 because of the US financial aids through IMF and WB. In the end, those countries could back to its foot and pay off the debt.

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[10] DeRosa, *ASEAN-US Trade*, 172
[11] Stubbs, *ASEAN plus three*, 444-445

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US MEGA-REGIONALISM IN SOUTH EAST ASIA: THE ERA OF UNCERTAINTY

The US has a problem of uncertainty, especially regarding the passiveness toward dynamics conditions of ASEAN members domestic politics and their political dilemma. The US has been continuously implementing discriminatory policy when pursuing the trade and economic relations. The discriminatory policy caused uncertainty of the countries that want to pursue economic and trade ties with the US. The problem of democratization, human rights, and political factor become the biggest obstacles that the US faced[12]. There are many countries that willing to have relations. Unfortunately, with the discriminatory policy, those countries unable to adjust with the US precondition will tend to find another alternative. The US discriminatory policy often contributes significant distance with the countries that might be valuable for the US. Recently, Brunei implemented Islamic Sharia Law, in which that countermand the universal declaration of human rights. The US deter Brunei to suspend the sharia law through degrading the economic relations. Unfortunately, Brunei did not respond to that and continued its intention to implement Sharia law. Brunei is the top oil producers in Southeast Asia, yet it could not have substantial trade relations because of the sharia law and human rights.

The passiveness toward regional dynamics also causes the weakness of US influence compare to China. In this context, China has successfully implemented the more flexible, non-discriminatory and smoother trade relations with ASEAN. Evidently, the ASEAN-China free trade area had taken to effect in 2010. The US still struggle with the revitalization of APEC and realization of TPP. This means that the US has been considering ASEAN unimportant until President Obama come to the office. It was President Obama that underlined the value of economic and trade relations besides counterterrorism cooperation with Southeast Asian countries. The US could not rely on the hegemonic policy, in which that hopes for the countries to come to the US. However, the US should consider that proactive toward ASEAN members is the best strategy, for now, at least to restrain the aggressiveness of China toward ASEAN.

Another aspect that worth to mention is the political dilemma, more importantly about the political diversity and historical mistakes in the past. A problem like political instability in Thailand; human rights violations in Myanmar, Indonesia, and Cambodia; devastating post-Vietnam war ramifications in Vietnam, Lao PDR, and Cambodia; also,

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[12] Emmerson, *Challenging ASEAN*, 24

the last is about political system differences in Malaysia and Brunei, supposed to be making the US more understand the political context. In contrast, the US government seems to impose the 'US standards' toward those countries. The US wants to promote liberalism, democracy, and justice even it could harm the economic and trade relations[13]. Imposing the Western standards to the ASEAN countries is very unwise because the US should consider the historical background and political identities that developed in the Southeast Asian societies.

ASEAN is the regional organization that also have a responsibility to coordinate its members toward responding non-traditional security issues and transnational crime. Undoubtedly, ASEAN is facing many problems regarding non-traditional security issues and transnational crimes[14]. Piracy, human trafficking, drug trafficking, arms trafficking and terrorism are the most intense issues that have been disturbing ASEAN members. Facing this problem is necessary to make sophisticated norms and regulation then the members of ASEAN could obey the norms and regulation. Unfortunately, ASEAN continues its non-binding norms and non-interference principle. ASEAN in this context, still perform such a non-binding resolution and forming coordination forum called ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), which has become the main body of ASEAN that focuses on the political and security issues[15]. APSC designated for creating a robust resolution that could respond all security and political problem that happens in Southeast Asia region. Unluckily, ASEAN could not arrange any regional military cooperation. ASEAN has deliberately avoided any form of collaboration, discussion, and alliance toward ASEAN agenda and multilateral discussion[16].

The growing non-traditional security and transnational crime forced many members of ASEAN to forms their military cooperation bilaterally[17]. The first military cooperation between ASEAN members involves Indonesia and Malaysia. In order to avoid any territorial dispute, both of government agree to form such a joint border patrol. This cooperation is the most intense and comprehensive military cooperation between members of ASEAN[18]. Besides that, there is another military cooperation that is involving

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[13] Emmerson, *Challenging ASEAN*, 24

[14] Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, 194

[15] Acharya, Amitav. *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order 2nd Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 116

[16] Palmer, Ronald D., and Thomas J. Reckford. *Building ASEAN: 20 years of Southeast Asian cooperation*. Vol. 127. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987, pp. 116

[17] Palmer and Reckford, *Building ASEAN*, 117

[18] Palmer and Reckford, *Building ASEAN*, 117

Indonesia and Singapore. This cooperation caused by the growing transnational crimes that happen in Malacca Strait. Trafficking and smuggling have become the biggest problem in Malacca Straits, and it also makes countries around Malacca Strait have excessive financial losses[19]. ASEAN could not participate in this kind of action, and it is apparent that ASEAN does not have any significance toward responding non-traditional security issue and transnational crimes. In other words, ASEAN also could not become facilitator or coordinator that could make its member create a robust multilateral agreement specifically to respond these problems.

Territorial disputes with other countries should be resolved through ASEAN. The South China Sea dispute is involving many ASEAN members, such as Indonesia, Vietnam, Philippines, Brunei, and Malaysia[20]. If ASEAN could intervene this problem, the multilateral diplomacy to work around this issue could be easily conducted, because China has already included in the ASEAN strategic partner. Moreover, the emergence of terrorism in Southeast Asia is not a small problem. Terrorism in Southeast Asia involves many countries, such as Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia[21]. Responding terrorist activity through multilateral action in the vast region like Southeast Asia is unavoidable. Regrettably, ASEAN could not engage intensively because facing a problem like this need bilateral negotiations between three countries without ASEAN role. Terrorism that mainly centered on Malaysia, Mindanao Island in the Philippines and Indonesia contributes many challenges that ASEAN faces. Suicide bombings in Bangkok, Jakarta, Bali, Manila, and Sabah are the clear precedent that ASEAN unable to conduct appropriate multilateral preventive action against terrorism. ASEAN members should be aware that terrorism is a global problem and regional cooperation through multilateral body should be implemented[22]. ASEAN also should consider making ASEAN have extended legal capacity to act as multilateral organizations that facilitate its member to coordinate in respond of terrorism.

The US should consider those problems before engaging with its mega-regionalism agenda with ASEAN. The growing problem that might harm the regional area should be solved, or the US should commit to helping ASEAN members solve those problems. As already motioned before, the threat toward US mega-regionalism always

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[19] Ho, Joshua H. "The security of sea lanes in Southeast Asia." *Asian Survey* 46, no. 4 (2006), pp. 561, see Acharya, *Constructing a security*, 216

[20] Weatherbee, Donald E. *International relations in Southeast Asia: the struggle for autonomy*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014, pp. 143

[21] Acharya, *Constructing a security*, 244

[22] Acharya, *Constructing a security*, 245

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come from internal ASEAN rather than external. Thus, it is vital to see how the US respond to those problems. With the uncertainty and unproductive regional body, it will tackle the US mega-regionalism agenda because of regional instability. The US should use its legitimation and power relations with ASEAN members to solve contemporary problems that ASEAN faces. More importantly, US could engage in the mediation of the territorial disputes between China and ASEAN members. With this strategy, the US will get more capability to gather all ASEAN members to join its mega-regionalism agenda.

CONCLUSION : THE FUTURE OF THE US MEGA-REGIONALISM IN SOUTH EAST ASIA.

The ASEAN and the US should have more power and capacity to ensure multilateral diplomacy works well in Southeast Asia. Mutual understanding between the US and ASEAN members is very crucial. It is important to build such a robust norms and regulations that give the US could respond to the strategic issue in Southeast Asia. ASEAN mainly focus on the economic issue, which also makes the connection with the US mega-regionalism agenda. Thus, strengthening the economic relations indeed become the primary interest of the ASEAN. The US just needs to provide with more precise, firm and robust commitment toward helping ASEAN members develop.

Through employing its legitimation, hegemony, and domination, the US government should consider taking a bold step by pursuing bilateral agreement before continuing the agenda of mega-regionalism. It is critical to get the reciprocal arrangement in order to secure the position of the US toward domestic politics of ASEAN members that might be fluctuated time by time. Pursuing bilateral cooperation also could tackle the external factors that might already take in effect, such as trade agreement with China. Bilateral cooperation also becomes the media for the US to understand any significant different between ASEAN members and the US itself.

As shown above, the US government should determine the certainty of the US mega-regionalism agenda. Even though the blueprint of the TPP has passed, it is imperative to conduct such a proactive movement for persuading countries in Southeast Asia to join the US mega-regionalism agenda. Even though, there already Chinese FTA with ASEAN had already realized. The US should ignore the Chinese strategies and start to make comprehensive action toward pursuing economic relations with ASEAN members. It is not the time to introduce discourse to ASEAN members because ASEAN

has already suffered from the 2008 crisis and its contribute distrust among ASEAN members toward the US economy.

In the final analysis, the US should undermine political, human rights, historical mistakes, and ideological spheres. It is time to gather the ASEAN members into one place under the umbrella of the US mega-regionalism. In the foreseeable future, the US could focus on those kinds of problems. However, in the current development, it is time to the considerate aggressive movement of China towards ASEAN. Utilizing uneasy relation between China and ASEAN in the South China Sea, the US could provide support to the resolving the conflict in the South China Sea and use the US mega-regionalism agenda as the pre-requirement of the US support. With this relation, plausible strategies could be conducted in the persuading ASEAN members to support the US mega-regionalism agenda.

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BUILDING REGIONAL CULTURE : ASEAN MAYOR FORUM ROLES TO IMPROVE REGIONAL PARTNERSHIP

Andi Meganingratna[1]

ABSTRACT

As one of ASEAN pillars, culture not only as a way to improve the quality of life, regional culture also becomes an identity which is shows tolerance in diversity, sustained inter-state relations, community development and certainly shows the future of ASEAN. This is certainly could not be separated from the participation of all stakeholders including local governments to promote awareness, participation and ownership among the people the region. One of forum that involved local government is ASEAN Mayor Forum (AMF) that seen partnership as a method to increase the quality of community and environmental sustainability in the region. This paper aims to explore how local governments with diverse cultures are able to build strong regional cultural ties that can encourage regional collaboration between cities and local governments through knowledge sharing and mutual learning among key stakeholders in the region. Using the concept of paradiplomacy and cross-disciplinary studies with qualitative data, this study is an attempt to explaining new tactics for converting global values into local norms and regulation.

Keywords : cultures, local government, partnership, paradiplomacy

INTRODUCTION

ASEAN Community formed by three pillars that became synergy or integration among member of ASEAN which are ASEAN Political Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. This three pillars are expected to open up the opportunities of harmony among member of ASEAN and realize cooperation among states in ASEAN. As part of three pillars, Socio-Cultural is a pillar that actually involves a lot of people to people contact. This reflected in ASCC blueprint that declared The ASCC will address the region's aspiration to lift the quality of life of its peoples through cooperative activities that are people-oriented and environmentally friendly geared towards the promotion of sustainable development. The ASCC shall contribute to building a strong foundation for greater understanding, good neighbourliness, and a shared sense of responsibility ("ASEAN Socio Cultural Community Blueprint" 2009). This goal is in line with the idea of the establishment of an open and dynamic of ASEAN Community which consist of various characteristic of geography, economic, politic, social and cultural. In process to realize ASEAN integrity,

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the barriers became complex thus ASEAN needs to increase cooperation and regional competitiveness with improve the quality of human resources and environment. ASEAN open access widest to all citizens in all states of ASEAN member in any field, e.g. education, cultural, science and technology, health and environment ("Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia - Masyarakat Sosial Budaya ASEAN" 2017).

As a regional organization, ASEAN became a benchmark for implementing relations among states in region. Regionalism itself is not a new thing to states in South East Asia. In implementation, the regionalism concept becomes complex identity. In a simple term, Acharya see that identity refers to an actor's (which may be a person, group of persons, state, or group of states) sense of being unique or distinctive because of physical and social attributes, values, and patterns of behaviour ("Building ASEAN Community: Political–Security and Socio-Cultural Reflections - ASEAN_at_50_Vol_4_Full_Report.Pdf" 2017). That showed similar identity often become a strong binding to see the relations among states. In implementation, Functional cooperation in ASEAN focuses on the problems of putting people at the centre in regional community building more in demand because in implementation, the actor of the state often feel that they have a bond that formed because of similar identity.

The existence of identity that formed among ASEAN states becomes a binding element that is a reflection of the nation and born with a set of norms that define the standards of the society. This similar identity became a reason why AMF formed. The First AMF was initiated by the Association of the Indonesian City Municipalities (APEKSI), and convened in cooperation with Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Indonesia, East Java Provincial Government, Surabaya City Government, and Asian Development Bank. This Forum was aimed to contribute in the promotion of people-to-people contact and ASEAN awareness towards the establishment of ASEAN Community 2015 as well as to strengthen the network of civil society in the region. This aim then sharpened with the agreement that establishment of the AMF as an effort to promote and enhance regional cooperation among ASEAN cities and with cities from ASEAN dialogue partners. The Forum also discussed some priority areas of cooperation to be incorporated, such as Public Administration and Governance, Environment and Sustainable Development, Public Service, Regional Network, Human Resource Development, Public Private Partnership, Gender Mainstreaming, and Education. The First AMF also agreed to take necessary measures towards the formalization the Forum through consultation and coordination with related institutions

including the ASEAN Secretariat.("Ministry of Foreign Affairs - 1st ASEAN City Mayors Forum, Surabaya, Indonesia, 24-25 October 2011" 2017)

The 2nd AMF was held in Makassar, Indonesia in 2015, discussed key policy frameworks and instruments, facilitated knowledge sharing and mutual learning among mayors and a number of international organization working in the field to foster sustainable development to achieve stronger community in ASEAN region. To other recommendation such as political issue in strengthening local government in developing countries, strengthening smart city concept then formation of ASEAN University. It is expected that local governments can learn from their peers thereby mutual partnership can be developed in the region.("2nd ASEAN Mayors Forum (AMF) | United Cities and Local Governments" 2017). On the 2nd forum seen that local government attempted to improve their roles in sustainable process of inter-state relations.

Then The 3rd ASEAN Mayors Forum was held in in Taguig city, Philippines in 2017. It aimed to promote cross-border interactions between local governments, as well as to establish partnerships for the improvement of the quality of life and environmental sustainability within the region in accordance with the blueprint of ASEAN. ("ASEAN Mayors Forum 2017 / News / Partnership for Democratic Local Governance in Southeast-Asia - Home - Delgosea Website Interface" 2017) Multiple sets of themes, issues, and agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), New Urban Agenda, Local Economic Development, Resiliency, Youth and Women Leadership, with emphasis on the people. The ASEAN recognizes the role of city governments in ensuring no one from their community is left behind in their development process.

Aspreviously emphasized, local government is one of the essential actors to ensure the realization of the vision. Given ASEAN Community's position as a regional initiative, it is easy to resort to the general belief that cooperation at the state level between Member States is the utmost imperative. While there is no denying that, Member States also need significant assistance from authorities at the subnational levels to approve and ultimately implement the numerous and complex programs and policies prompted by ASEAN leaders toward establishing ASEAN Community. That is why local governments are to play essential roles in the ASEAN Community (admin 2017). The purpose of this study is to explore how AMF as a forum that involved local government with various cultures could build a strong tie of regional culture so as to encourage regional collaboration among cities and local government through various of knowledge and learn each other among main stake holder in the region.

REGIONAL IDENTITY DAN PARADIPLOMACY

The existence of cooperation is inseparable from significance of globalization and regionalization which is make the relations among state more varied. The similarity of regional identity makes the actor of international relations not just limited to the state, but also to the non-state actor as a representative of the similarity. Region is defined as the territorial and administrative unit on the first level of authority after the central government in both federal and unitary state system (Kuznetsov 2014). Regionalism perspective actually a concept from regions and regional identity-building in relation to local and national identity formation processes, and what it takes to integrate individuals of diverse cultural and ethnic groups into a regional identity .This despite the fact that Southeast Asia is a mosaic of different cultural and ethnic groups, and that it is often pointed out that globalisation processes increase the risk of ethnic fragmentation (Jönsson 2010).

There are three types of identity building according by Raagma. First, legitimising identity generating a civil society, that is, a set of organisations and institutions as well as series of structured and organised social actors, which reproduce the identity. The second type is identity for resistance– emergence of all kinds of protest movement. The third type is construction of a new identity, invention of new social structures. it can be considered extremely important for planners: a successfully shared vision helps to safeguard the functionality and sustainability of newly created structures(Raagmaa 2010). The formed of identity building in ASEAN almost covering all three of these types but the new form of the identity more directed to diplomacy development that has more direct access to the community.

This region concept is related with paradiplomacy concept as a basic relationship that involved local government. Unlike the foreign policy of states, regional diplomacy does not seek to represent broad general interests or to be comprehensive in coverage. Regions do not have sovereign governments able to lay down their definition of the 'national interest' and to pursue it in a unified and coherent manner. Regions are complex entities containing a multiplicity of groups which may share common interests in some areas but be sharply divided on other issues. Even where there are strong devolved governments, they cannot simply lay down a line to be followed by all but must seek to bring together independent actors around specific programmes and issues. They must fit their own activities into a world dominated by national governments and transnational organizations, which they can rarely challenge head on but must work around or with. This sort of activity, operating below or in the interstices of the traditional system of

international relations, has often been called 'paradiplomacy', indicating its partial scope and its difference in aims, targets and modus operandi from the traditional diplomatic games. There are three broad sets of reasons for regions to engage in this kind of paradiplomatic activity: political; cultural and m economic ("Paradiplomacy and Regional Networking - 924-FRCU0105-Eu-Keating.Pdf" 2017).

Paradiplomacy is a concept as a set of instruments for achieving certain symbolic and policy-oriented objectives.in broad definition, paradiplomacy is a political entity's extra-jurisdictional activity targeting foreign political entities (Grydehøj, n.d.). The intention is to influence subnational entities in other countries. This indicates that the basic thought about sovereignty has changed. The Westphalia system that put the sovereignty to the central government have to share it power to the local government in international activities.

There has been a tendency to view paradiplomacy progressively, as taking place in waves of increasingly sophisticated political activity. Criekmans indeed, breaks down "the full spectrum of diplomatic instruments" into the following:

a) Ius legationis or political representation abroad;
b) Ius tractandi or treaty-making power;
c) Other agreements of a certain formalized nature: (political) declarations of intent and/or cooperation agreements, transnational contracts and cultural agreements or partnerships;
d) The development of own programmes of assistance and sharing of know-how: bilateral programmes, programmes on cross-boundary cooperation, programmes that want to bring the civil societies of the region and other regions/countries together, or multilateral programmes;
e) Other forms of participation in multilateral frameworks and organizations: observing and participating in (technical) committees, the creation of OR participation in funds within multilateral organizations, becoming an associate member of multilateral organizations;
f) Participation in other formal or informal networks;
g) Developing a public diplomacy, both domestic and international. (Criekmans 2010)

The efficiency of public and civic sectors, their ability to carry outstrategies, the involvement of local people and enterprises in development planning and promotion

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regions has become increasingly essential. Cultural issues are important in regions with their own languages. Cultural exchanges may be a way of bringing together people from the same culture in different states, or of promoting intercultural exchange.

WHY AMF SOCIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE?

In last decade, cooperation which involved states in region became interesting. The formed of ASEAN in 1967 came from the idea to create an organisation for economic, social and cultural cooperation (johan 2017) . The quest for official regional cooperation in Southeast Asia has not been consistently pursued over the years. The various collaboration patterns have made the process complicated – partly because of membership constellations and partly because they have been caught between security and economic considerations. This development could explain ASEAN's move at its seventh summit meeting, in Bali, Indonesia, in 2003, where initiatives were taken to revitalise Southeast Asian regionalism by the establishment of an ASEAN Economic Community, an ASEAN Security Community, and an ASEAN Social and Cultural Community.

As a new forum, AMF tried to shows that local government has a capability to join to encourage civil society. Till now local government play a vital role in every Nation, it stand to ensure the participation of a common man or individual in a nation because it is a government closer to the people which enable easy participation of the rural habitat and community in government decision and policy formulation. Local government as a tier of government at the grass root level serves as a two way channel between the apex of government and the local communities i.e. It serves a channel of communication between law maker(legislature) the policy implementer (executive) of the state and federal government toward achieving National development. Local government ensure adequate formulation of policy and programme that will satisfy the felt needs of the rural habitat. Through which without the existence of local government even development can not be achieved in nation.("Justification of Local Government Existence toward Development" 2017) The existence of local governments will give an awareness to ASEAN Community to improve infrastructure development and human resources to face ASEAN Economic Community.

The existence of local government has always been defended on the basis that local government is a crucial aspect of the process of democratization. Furthermore argued that no political system is considered to be complete and democratic if it does

not have a system of local government. Thus, the encouraging of local government became a main choice with developing the smart city concept. This relationship type was initially conceived of as primarily a cultural exchange and opportunity to foster goodwill and understanding, though in recent years the term has started to blend with paradiplomacy as city-city relationships intensify.

See the dynamics that is happens in ASEAN, the socio-cultural perspective become a new alternative which is more interesting to be examined. Despite being one of ASEANs' pillars, this perspective is rarely linked to political and economic condition in the region. Even though deepening political-security and economic relations can only be meaningful when there is a caring society in Southeast Asia. The process of developing cultural integration is not easy. Even the culture is cognate, but it is consist of variety kind. But with the right pattern, we can make culture become the most effective binding in an inter-state relationship. It caused by the norm which is shaped from the culture can form politic pattern and economic pattern which is developed by state. AMF see that cultural binding can transform ASEAN into a people-centric organization from a civil society perspective. With this approach, ASEAN Community can be truly feel the region by making it part of their daily lives and creating a truly people-centred Asean identity.

The regional culture comprises the way things are done there: the shared values, beliefs, and the social tradition of the region. Culture is now seen as an active force in social reproduction, the negotiated process and product of the discourses through which people signify their experiences to themselves and others. Regional identity formation may obtain different levels from primary socialisation (satisfying the basic need to belong) to social action (free will to be mobilised for community action) and articulated regional identity . In the case of the last level, the idea of a common region becomes the important target of self-fulfilment for the personality willing to take responsibility and leadership in some community actions. The regional consciousness and collective feeling of people works additionally as an accelerator of institutional and collective learning and personal development addition, local communities, which generate their own economic prosperity, have been noted for a distinct local and technical competence . A region with good internally-supported identity and reputation has good potential to attract investments and new people. A neighbourhood where people have no particular regional identity may grow fast thanks to the investment made by outsiders interested in the utilisation of natural resources, location or labour force, but may later rapidly decline because of root less people and missing community (Raagmaa 2010).

The challenges are also not easy to face. AMF will face challenges in the mobility of people across the region. The political condition and economy deceleration also become a problem. However, we need to see that ASEAN more emphasis its development to economy and politic pillar. In the l980s, the ASEAN initiated a number of regional integration projects, such as, preferential tariffs for certain ASEAN products and complementation projects in support of ASEAN industries. In the l990s, ASEAN became even more ambitious with the establishment of an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) project implemented through a Common Effective Preferential Tariff regime (CEPT) (Ofreneo, Portus, and Serrano, 2009) but the implementation of this activity also does not make the condition of ASEAN Community better. Because at the same time, the globalization and liberalization also make some elements became marginalized, such as, the small farmers; communal fisher folk; small and micro enterprises with no global linkages; domestic industries producing for the home market; indigenous peoples who do not comprehend the meaning of tradeables and exportables. Besides, the norm of ASEAN way that limited the member state to join in conflict or internal issue also become a biggest barrier in developing the region. This is where AMF expected to be a forum which is involved people in building an ASEAN community of caring and sharing societies. With focus in on regional culture bind, AMF expected able to involve the society actively and sustainable so there will be no gap among society in the region. The process of disseminating information can be intensive, so that the community can realized well.

AMF: WHAT DOES PEOPLE-CENTEREDNESS MEAN?

In line with AMF formation which is promote people-centeredness, every activity in ASCC should be done through the participation among peoples, irrespective of social status, positions or capacities they hold, along with the collaboration of state and non-state actors. This is what it should be, for real integration can only happen if there is integration at the grassroots level, if people in the ten ASEAN countries begin to understand that they are ASEAN citizens and that they have a right to be heard. It is also mentioned in ASCC Blueprint that to realizing an ASEAN Community that is people centered and socially responsible with a view to achieving enduring solidarity and unity among the nations and peoples of ASEAN by forging a common identity and building a caring and sharing society which is inclusive and harmonious where the well-being, livelihood, and welfare of the peoples are enhanced ("ASEAN Socio Cultural Community Blueprint" 2009)

In the 3rd of AMF which is discussed about the impact and ramifications of Asean integration on local urban communities in the Asia Pacific region. Included in the agenda were topics that aim to bring Asean Connectivity Roadmap, Asean Vision 2025, and other global landmark commitments at a local level (Inquirer 2017). This aim showed that AMF is serious in implementing blue print of ASCC in a cooperation based on people centeredness. AMF give a chance to local government to explore how good practices can be replicated in other cities, and to identify the resources required for implementation. With the access among local government will expand the cooperation and push local adaptation and implementation of common principles, based on international standards by constructing partnership identity.

In line with concept of paradiplomacy that declared by Crieckman, identity construction can be applied in many ways for example through the formation of regulation that more contribute to people centeredness. This regulation can implemented with improve the intensive communication among national and sub-national actors. The aim is to promote common values emphasizing unity in diversity among all social levels. Because ASEAN identity is defined as the collective personality, norms, values, beliefs and aspirations in one ASEAN community.

Regional culture which is expected to formed through AMF can refers to the cosmopolitan community that changes continuously and affect to the political challenges, social and cultural that need specific response. Nascimento said that it is important to sort out a series of question often attached to the idea of community: the tense relationship between individual autonomy and belonging to collectivity; the plurality within and beyond particular communities ; the conflict that may arise among different communities (A. Nascimento 2013). These based on the reality that in cosmopolitan community People share the same space engage with each other.

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PILLAR THAT AMF FOCUSES SHAPES THE FIRST TWO PILLARS?

As the forum which is aims to improve local government roles in developing regional partnership, the culture binding that carried by AMF showed an interesting phenomenon. Culture maybe a source of conflict among ASEAN members. But as ASEAN countries face global crisis of economic downturn and climate change disasters, we can believe that there is a greater need for arts and culture. to connect the masses, cultural symbols should be dynamically applied as a learning tool for capacity and

confidence building to protect ASEAN bio-cultural diversity, strengthen the spirit and nourish the memory of kinship among ASEAN peoples to triumph over adversity.

In each meeting AMF always shown local culture in the place where AMF held, thus AMF not only become a forum to encourage the economy in the states of South East Asia but also as a place to introducing the culture among member of ASEAN. Strengthening culture bond among member of ASEAN is an urgent thing to be aware by the leaders in all ASEAN member state. As a continuation from developing human resource, AMF can be a way to prepare the society in the region not only as productive worker but also be a prime movers of society –informed citizens and culturally aware. The development of people is not just to fulfil the manpower requirements of a growing economy but also to honeresponsible and informed citizens of the community, the country and the region("ERIA-DP-2015-65.Pdf" 2017).

With the existence of globalization, the regional bonds not only centred to economy integration. We also could not hang on security cooperation. There are so many agenda that need to develop and those can be implemented in cultural diversity frame. AMF could be a forum which is initiates those three pillars through socio cultural pillar. The strengthening of this aspect could develop through AMF meeting, because this meeting carrying the strengthening of local government that connected directly to the society, so the policy will be more efficient. In a region where 10 diverse cultures come together to form a community, it is important that the people understand the beginnings and journey of ASEAN.

ASEAN therefore needs to work on social integration if it hopes to strengthen the organisation. ASSC one of the three pillars of the Community, should be a key driving force for doing so. ASSC stipulates that its key elements are human development, welfare, rights and justice, environmental sustainability, narrowing the development gap, and building an ASEAN identity. Vejjajiva said that The AEC Blueprint 2025 continues these themes with a vision encompassing participation and governance, inclusiveness, sustainability, resilience, and identity building. All these elements are clearly important goals for the Community to enhance its credibility and enable it to play a more global role ("The Critical Importance of Socio-Cultural Community for the Future of ASEAN - ASEAN_at_50_4B.10_Vejjajiva_final.Pdf" 2017).

The implementation of paradiplomacy concept through AMF basically is a chance to the society to join in and controlling the developing process. Paradiplomacy concept

give a bigger space to increasing the welfare and society roles to realize development in the region. The democracy leadership and people to people contact could help to handle the problem which is appear and will be right on target.

Socio cultural approach that AMF used also faces the barriers in implementing. The existence of economy and financial gap dominated the pattern that used in ASEAN. The pattern which is always focuses on economy growth made the forum in ASEAN is tend not to paying attention to the society welfare. Even though the problems like the population growth that not in comparable with social welfare also give an effect to sustainable development in ASEAN. Furthermore AMF could be a forum which is influence human development, social welfare and social justice in ASEAN. To enhance the well-being and livelihood of the people of ASEAN through large-scale investment in education, human resource development and capacity building, entrepreneurship, English language development, ICT and applied science and technology, and improvement of various educational standards. Includes programs and plans for monitoring the poverty, implementing systems and processes for poverty alleviation, and emphasizing the cooperating against pandemics and developing regional expertise. To mainstream human rights into policies and all spheres of life in, which include the rights of women and children as well as other disadvantaged and marginalized groups including migrant workers

CONCLUSION

The formation of AMF has created more chances to the society in ASEAN to be more encourage the bond with understand the diversity and give a priority to the common interest. As a forum that involved Mayor from the cities in the region, AMF have a potential to give a big impact to the development process in ASEAN as regional organization. When similar culture is used it will make easier to reach the final destination in strengthening the bond in the region.

Diversification of ASEAN culture has brought this organization became wealth, more varied and own the unique element as a different from the other regional organization. AMF could be a forum which shown the collaboration among local government through connectivity and empowerment. Local governments play much essential role in realizing the ASEAN vision by bringing the policy on the ground. Local governments are closer to the community and are in a better position to respond to the emerging challenges faced at the local level. Also, they are expected to provide services

to their constituents, build local infrastructure, create jobs, and create a good investment climate in their jurisdiction. Local governments can connect communities and integrate them in national economy and help reduce inequality brought about by regional integration.

Local government also face the unpredictable barriers. As a paradiplomacy actor, local government will face the globalization that will examine the strength of cultural bond that has been developed. The improving of cooperation mostly influence by how local governments which are involve in AMF could create a vision or "story" about its future, it can help shape that future. Without a vision, a public agency will be reactive and forced to change, one crisis after another.

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BEHAVIOUR CHANGE COMMUNICATION (BCC) FOR MONEY POLITIC PREVENTION IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGY OF WOMEN NATIONAL PARLIAMENT CANDIDATE 2014 HJ. NINIK WAFIROH

Yuyun Agus Riani[1]

ABSTRACT

After 2009 where direct electoral system started, Indonesia was one of where vote buying becomes a centre issue to be discussed during the election. The term of money politic defines as one of the political strategy in which the candidate deliver money or other material for the voters or other parties in order to support particular party or candidate. This study purposed to review on how the Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) applied for money politics prevention, which used as one of Hj. Nihayatul's political strategy in 2014. Another aims of this research is to describe its constituent's responses after BCC applied into her coverage area election of district III: Bondowoso, Situbondo and Banyuwangi, East Java Province. Descriptive qualitative used in this research, by collecting data trough interview and observation method. The research figured that Hj. Nihayatul manage the community networks and local media for mediating her campaign, besides, she also generates BCC's media such as Radio, Facebook, twitter, fan page, WA group, and website. Additionally, this research found political education strategy in order to prevent money politic succeeded to influence women cadres and women groups voter to support women leader. Nevertheless Hj. Ninik does not distribute money yet she still provides political attributes and food for them. Last, local event such as religious events, Muslim gathering considered as the successfully media to draw women voters.

Keywords : Behaviour Change Communication (BCC), women parliament candidate, money politic prevention, political campaign

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Indonesia has begins a system of direct election in 2009, it leads public's hope on the democratic system. However, facts indicates that fraud committed by a group of parties for getting power and winning the election happened in this new electoral system. A common thing as a political reality is money politics, which may occur in almost all election's level. Relate to women legislative candidates, public found doubt on the women's capability for representing public in the parliament. As public found, media exposed that women candidate often presented by artist or public figure's family (Kurniawan. W, 2014). In 2014, there was 96 money politics cases found in Jawatimur

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as delivered by Jaringan Anti Korupsi jatim last 29 April 2014 (Republika.Com, 2014). Supported by Akmal Adicahya, as Coordinator of Money Political Monitor of Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) who stated that from 12 political parties participating on the legislative election in 2014, he found that the highest money politic cases occurs on Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB). Further, MCW indicates that other parties are also detected to do money politics such as PDIP, Golkar, Demokrat, UN and PKPI. It shows that money politics common been used as a political strategy to winning votes for parliamentary position. Thus, by considering those facts above, regard to Hj. Nihayatul Wafiroh as a women candidate on the National Parliament in 2004, two research questions addressed : First, is on how Hj. Nihayatul Wafiroh, MA using BCC in money politic prevention strategy, and second is to identify the community response in the money politic prevention.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 BEHAVIOUR CHANGE COMMUNICATION (BCC)

FHI (Family Health International) is an international NGO agency engaged in health and community empowerment defines BCC is an integrative process of communicating messages through multiple communication media to develop positive behaviors. The communication processed trough campaigns programs in order to sustain the individual, community and social behavior change, as well as to maintain appropriate behaviors (FHI, 2008:8)[2]. In the beginning FHI developing BCC for generating a communication tools to promote HIV/AIDS prevention's program. Particularly, the tools that can be applied in all level change's agent activities, such as individual, community, and institution. The BCC provides a mechanism of behaviour's change activities as also a description to manage the target group's behavior sustainability. Below, is the following BCC's stages formulated by FHI.

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[2] FHI, ILO, (2008), *HIV/AIDS behaviour change communication, A toolkit for the workplace*, Geneva:ILO, 2008

2.2 FIGURE.1 : STAGES IN BCC PROGRAMMING (FHI, 2008:10).

1.Stage program goal	2.Involve stakeholder	3.Identify Target Populationsns	4.Conduct Formative	5.Segment target

12.Analyze feedback and	→	6.Define objective behaviour change

7.Design BCC Strategy M & E Plan

8.Develop Communcations Product

11.Evaluate	10.Implement and Monitor	9.Pretest
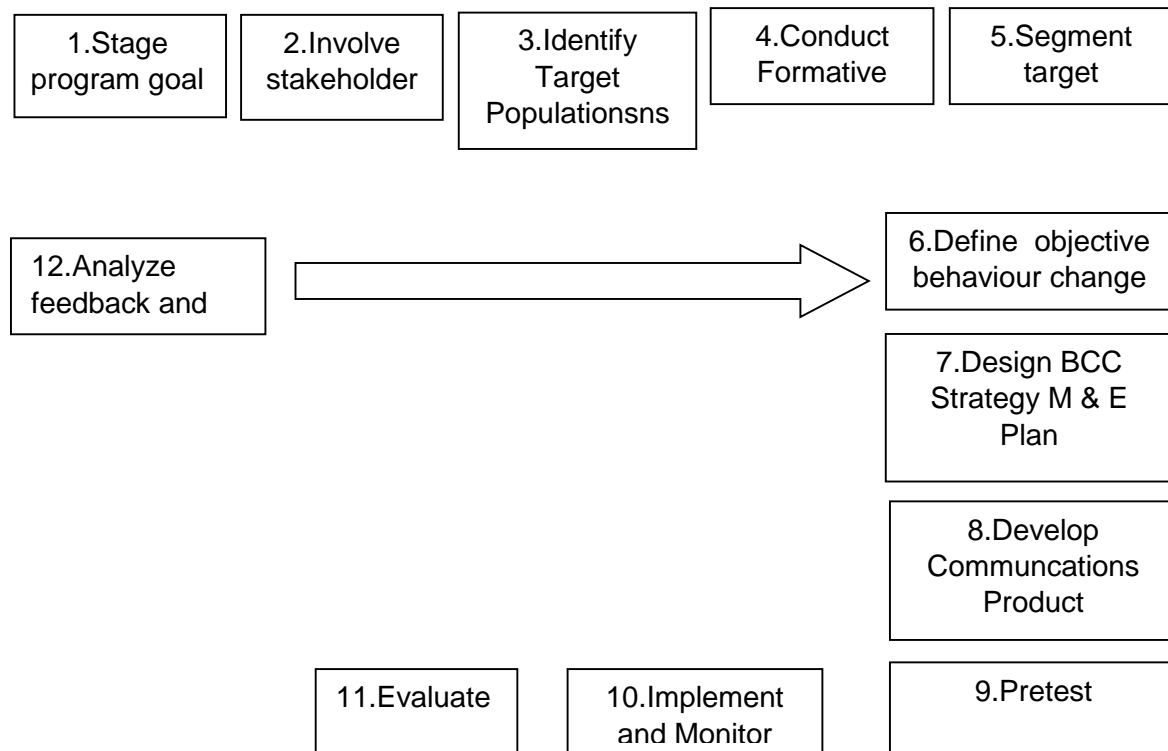
2.3 MESSAGES PRODUCTION AND BCC'S MEDIA

When tailoring messages, one should take into account the target group characteristic (Red Cross,2009:27)[3]. Afterward, change agent may continue to identify an appropriate media for delivering the message. Thus, BCC considered deeply media that may help accelerate the changing knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of the target's group. Regarding to an appropriate media for the social change, it should meet criteria such as *credible, available, and able to supply reliable information*, in order to gain effects that meet with program goals (Glanz et al., 2008)[4].

2.4 TARGET ADOPTERS OF BCC

Target group in BCC so called "Target Adopters" which refer to the people group the communication project is aimed. People are reached more effectively when

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[3] UNHCR, (2010). *Mobile Refugee Males And HIV Vulnerability : tips and Tools for Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) Formative Assesemnet and Beyond*, p. 8

[4] Glanz, K., B. K. Rimer, and K. Viswanath, eds. (2008)*. Health behavior and health education: Theory, research, and practice. 4th ed. San Francisco: Wiley*

information is adapted to their particular needs as well the intended behavioral change "(FHI, 2009)[5].

2.5. POLITICAL STRATEGY AND CAMPAIGN

Schorder (2004) in Ruslan, 2005: 4)[6] defines political strategy as a plan for ways in the process of political change through an identification of its objectives as well as the strength of the party. While Synder (2002) explain that campaigns as organized communication activities, and directly addressed to specific public groups, conducted at predetermined times to achieve goals "(Synder, S.B in Ruslan, 2005:23). Further, Ruslan (2005:24) describes the campaign of a planned communications submitted within a certain time and has determined the steps and ways of achieving these aims, both for the benefit of one party or other parties. Additionaly, there are three campaign's type according to Larson (larson, C.U in Ruslan 2005) these are *Product-Oriented Campaigns, Candidates-Oriented Campaigns, Ideological or Cause-Oriented Campaigns.* This research particularly discussing the *candidate-oriented campaigns which* aimed for influencing public's opinion. Alike Muhtadi (2008) says political campaigns is posible to be implemented within three models, namely (1) Mass Campaign; (2) Conducting dialogue in small public groups; (3) Open debate on television shows.

2.6 MONEY POLITIC

Money politic defined as the parties that provide public goods (or promise them in campaigns) and hope they will generate electoral support (Susan C. Stokes, S.C, ….)[7]. Meanwhile Sulistiyo (2000: 20 in Irawan.D, 2015: 1727) defines that money is one of the political capital that can be used for the means of gaining political power. Further, Irawan states the form of money politics can be money, or public facilities. The term money politic is not reffered only for delivering money or other good stuff to voters, but also providing gifts to particular parties which aimed to gain support for certain candidates in winning the election (Hamidi, 2008: 49). The regulation No. 8 year 2012 , article 89 point (d), states that during the election campaign, candidate or parties is not allowed to

[5] FHI, (2009). *Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) Handboosk, Changing attitudes, changing behaviourL practical advice fro HIV prevention work and sexual helath promotion*, (AIDSCAP-FHI), 2009

[6] Ruslan, R. (2005). *Kiat dan strategi kampanye public relations.* Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada

7 Stokes, S.C, *Is vote buying undemocratic?*,Chapter 6, Yale CampusPress, Yale University, ' 117-145

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distribute money or other material in order to gain vote for the particular candidate. Further, in the article 89 addition explanation mentioned that other material refer to stuff such as T shirt, flag, hat, and other campaign attributes. (UU no. 8 tahun 2012)8.

3.RESEARCH METHODS

This research used qualitative research methodology, especially descriptive research by conducting a describtion analysis (analytical) and combining all data which figured out (symmetrical). Further, its processed by not only through the classification, but also the organization (Rachmat. J, 2005:25-26). The research using qualitative approach based on data mining in the form of respondent's opinion, which then interpretated so that create concept as research finding (Kriyantono, 2006: 58). While the reseacrh's subject is Hj. Ninik Wafiroh, as an elected national parliament candidate for the third election's area of East Java (Dapil III Jatim) in 2014 which covered area Bondowoso, Banyuwangi, and Situbondo. its data is divided into two types, firstly the primary data, which gained from in depth interview with Hj. Ninik Wafiroh. , and the second one is figured from observation on the media used by Hj. Ninik Wafiroh during her campaign.

4.RESEARCH FINDING

Hj.Nihayatul Wafiroh, born in Banyuwangi on December 15, 1979, which grew in Pesantren Darusallam's family, located at, Jajag / Blokagung, RT. 01 / RW. 02, Karangdoro, Tegalsari, Banyuwangi, East Jav. Her father named Haji Mudhofar Sulton, was the leader and owner of the Pesantren Darrusalam, she is a married women and has two sons. She most educated in the Islamic education until got her bachelor degree, and pursued her master degree in Asian Studies Department, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Hawaii, while currently she becomes a Ph.D candidate at Gajahmada University for Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies.

4.1 BCC STRATEGY OF HJ. NIHAYATUL WAFIROH'S POLITICAL CAMPAIGN.

Hj. Nihayatul Wafiroh actually does not realized that what she was doing during her campaign are ways of BCC. Its become the researcher opinion to include this

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8 UU no.8 Tahun 2012 tentang Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah. 2012

processed into the BCC program, as its fit with the BCC's stages and criteria. The descriptions of BCC in money politics prevention explain as follow.

a. Target Adopter in a political campaign without money.

It is necessary to define target groups that will be targeted for the particular behavior change in BCC. Thus, Hj. Ninik choose special groups in her democratic process in order to prevent money politics. This research found, the target groups which being exposed by her BCC programs are religious organizations, network groups in NGO activities, women's groups such as PKK, housewives, women's study groups, women's novice groups and youth organizations. While the second target group is the Pesantren's network, it is done by doing a lots of friendship or "sowan" (visiting Pesantren's leader, Ulama, Kyai).

b. Political Message Hj. Ninik

The political message that Hj.Ninik brought during her campaign is she always providing a political education related to the role of DPR-DPRD-DPD function, as well as some issues for example women's issues, policy of health services, education, maternity in public space, and emphasize the representation of regional groups. Besides, she also highlight women empowerment's matter, as she feels that women became an main issue to be taken into account in her political agenda. Moreover, because the issues concerning women today become main problem to be considered in the development agenda.

c. Campaign strategies and media

Hj. Ninik is utilizing media such as electronic media, print, social media, and local media to support her campaign. In addition, she use social media such as Fanpage, Youtube, twitter, and website, however for mass media Hj. Ninik does not advertise campaigns instead of writing articles. Besides, she conducted face to face strategy meet directly the constituents who are mostly women's groups. Relate to the direct campaign, Hj. Ninik decided to provide political cadres to help, which commonly called as volunteers. This volunteer in the end become the BCC's change agent. The volunteers team is spokesman in order to convey her political messages towards the voters. Its team is dividing into two rings namely Ring I for Banyuwangi area and Ring II for Situbondo and Bondowoso. The volunteer should fit with its requirements such as Public Speaking ability, strong willingness, honest, and commit for not getting the money from Hj. Ninik. As a result, Hj. Ninik found that most volunteer came from women group, as

she then more focused on women groups voters rather than man. Likewise, in the Dapil III area, its culture still debating about women leader, thus for her its more easy for getting women voters to support her in the election.

4.2 Cadre's Reaction On The Use Of Money Politic Prevention strategy.

In the beginning, deciding for taking no money politic prevention on her political strategy led some problems for the volunteer. As it becomes a custom and culture in the election event, as a result some cadres reject to support Hj.Ninik. They said that , it would be difficult for them to convey the voters as she has compete with other candidates while they are might be using money for winning support. This reaction followed up by Hj. Ninik by assure her cadres that she would not use money in this election, since in the end if she won the election, she afraid during her duty period she is going to take back her money which already spent in the election. Thus, she more strengthens her political message such as her intellectual ability, network, organization and concern. Finally, after initially the cadre refused and doubted the winner Hj. Ninik without "vote buying", in the end they believe that support Hj. Ninik sort of a social investment to choose a qualified leader to be their representatives. The BCC on money politic prevention found succeed to persuade women groups to support Hj. Ninik.

5. CONCLUSION

Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) that Hj. Ninik Wafiroh brings is money politic prevention as her political strategy campaign. Nevertheless, in the beginning it is resulting rejection from the political cadres, as they doubt that the voters are not willing to support her. As the vote buying already became a culture in the election event. However, by consistently provide political education in her campaign's message in the end it shows acceptable by women groups voters. As a result, cadres turn to trust Hj. Ninik and decide to continue influence the target groups for winning the election. Regards to BCC Tools, strategy face to face is more significant in finding support compared to other media such as social media, new media, and mass media specifically in the rural and sub urban area. Moreover, the function of volunteers as a change agent is success in order to persuade women peer groups for giving their support. Nevertheless, despite she convinces that she does not deliver money in her campaign, in fact Hj. Ninik says still provides political attributes and other resources to support the volunteer teams for mobilizing women voters.

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AUGUST 22ND-23RD,2017

THE INNOVATION OF INTEGRATED EMERGENCY SERVICE POLICY (STUDY ON PUBLIC SAFETY CENTER PROGRAM, TULUNGAGUNG)

Moh. Rifqi Ferdiansah[1], Moch. Adi Surahman[2]

ABSTRACT

This study aims to know, understand, and describe the process of formulation, the success rate of implementation, and the empirical factors that can be learned from the innovation of Public Safety Center (PSC) Program of Tulungagung district. This research uses qualitative approach with descriptive method. Source of data obtained from primary data and secondary data. Technique of collecting data is done by interview, observation, and documentation. The data analysis uses interactive model analysis proposed by Miles and Huberman. The result of the research shows that the process of innovation formulation of PSC program policy in Tulungagung district started from the analysis of various problems, mainly from TEMS program since the end of November 2015. TEMS program was originally initiated by Doctor Bobi Prabowo, as the head of IGD dr. Iskak Tulungagung. Some time later, the program changed to PSC which is the initiation of Tulungagung district, Syahri Mulyo. This PSC program is formulated by the dr. Iskak Tulungagung through the formulation stage of the policy up to be ratified and stipulated in the form of Regent Regulation. The success rate of the PSC program is seen from the strategy factors pursued, including the type of program strategy, and the resource support strategy. Empirical factors that can be learned from the PSC program is very diverse, ranging from the process of formulation, response time, coordination, to budgeting.

Keyword: Innovation; Formulation; Implementation; Integrated Emergency Service Policy; and Public Safety Center Program

1. INTRODUCTION

In the ASEAN Post-2015 Health Development Agenda Program, one of the goals to be achieved by 2020 is "to respond to environmental health threats, hazards and disasters, and to ensure effective preparedness for disaster health management in the region." In line with the program , the government as a leading sector, through the Ministry of Health RI is planning the establishment of National Command Center (NCC) which will be implemented in 2019.

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The NCC is a medical emergency service through a 119 dialed number that can be accessed via cell phone or home phone. This NCC service is a collaboration between the Central Government and Local Government as the implementation of Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 Year 2013 on the Road Safety Action Decade Program.

Following up the matter, the Tulungagung District Government innovates by establishing a Public Safety Center (PSC) centered at the Regional General Hospital (RSUD) dr. Iskak Tulungagung. PSC is a program of integrated handling or medical emergency services and nonmedical in synergy with other agencies in Tulungagung district. The program adopts the American 911 emergency service.

PSC program starts from Emergency Medical Service (TEMS) program which has been run by Regional General Hospital (RSUD) dr. Iskak Tulungagung with the District Health Office of Tulungagung since November 2015. This program only provides emergency medical services. Tulungagung Regent, Syahri Mulyo, initiated to establish PCS, which was then stipulated by Regent Regulation No. 29 of 2015 on Emergency Emergency Management System in Tulungagung Regency as legal umbrella. PSC is realized in accordance with the vision and mission of cheap and quality public services based on local wisdom, namely "Ayem Tentrem, Mulyo Lan Tinoto". All financial allocations of the PSC program are sourced from the Regional Budget (APBD) of Tulungagung Regency.

Thus, there are some interesting things to note about the implementation of the PSC program in Tulungagung district, namely: (1) the process of innovation of program policy formulation; (2) the success rate of implementation of program policy innovation; and (3) empirical factors that can be learned from PSC program policy innovations. The third thing is the formulation of the problem to be answered by researchers. The purpose of this study is to know, understand, and describe the implementation of PSC program as three research problem formulation. This research is expected to contribute in the provision of information objectively for the development of public administration science related to innovation of local government policy. Practically, the results of this study are expected to act as objective evaluators for the basic considerations of local government bureaucracy in the effort to develop policy innovations and public services.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Public Policy, Formulation, and Implementation Strategy

According to Dye (in Anggara, 2014, p.35), "Public Policy is whatever the government wants to do or not to do". Stages of public policy include the preparation of the agenda, policy formulation, adoption or legitimacy of the policy, and the assessment or evaluation of the policy (Winarno in Anggara, 2014, p 120-121). Furthermore, Anderson (in Anggara, 2014, p.55-56) classifies the types of public policies, as follows: (a) Substantive and Procedural Policies; (b) Distributive, Redistributive, and Regulatory Policies; (c) Material Policy; and (d) Public Goods and Private Goods Policies. Meanwhile, Edward III (in Anggara, 2014, p. 149-151) categorizes policies based on the nature or characteristics of the policy, namely: (a) New Policies; (b) Decentralized Policies; (c) Controvercial Policies; (d) Complex Policies; (e) Crisis Policies; (f) Judicial Policies; (g) Combination of Characteristics.

Tjokroamidjojo (in Islamy, 1991, p.24) says that policy formulation is "a series of alternate, perpetual, and never-ending choice of alternatives, in which case it includes decision making". Policy formulation is a daunting task because it requires assessment and seriousness among actors involved in policy formulation. Errors or mistakes in policy formulation will have an impact on the implementation process. Islamy (in Anggara, 2014, p.189-194) shares the process of policy formulation in the formulation of policy issues, the preparation of the government agenda, the formulation of policy proposals, policy approval, policy implementation, and policy assessment. According to Anderson and Lindblom (in Winarno, 2007, p. 123), there are two groups of actors involved in the policy-making process, namely the official actors and unofficial actors.

Supriono (in Amirullah, 2015, p. 4) defines strategy as a "unity of a comprehensive or integrated corporate or organizational plan that is required in every organizational activity". Jack Koteen (in Salusu, 2006: 104-105) reveals that in strategy there are several types of strategies, including: (a) Corporate Strategy; (b) Strategy Program; (c) Resource Support Strategy; and (d) Institutional Strategy.

2.2 Public Sector Innovation, Typology, Levels, and Categorization

According to the Regulation of the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucracy Reform No. 30 of 2014 on Guidelines for Public Service Innovation, "innovation is the creative process of creating knowledge in the discovery of new and different or modifications of existing ones." Innovative policies and programs are used to respond the problems that exist in society, both at the regional and central levels. Public

service innovation is the idea or breakthroughs made by public service providers to achieve goals and meet the needs of service recipients, and contribute to service users, especially in terms of service quality.

If examined, then innovation is a process that at least includes four things. These four are as explained by Sebastian (2014, p.41), namely: (a) identification of problems, needs, or opportunities; (b) the creation of ideas for solving problems, needs, or opportunities; (c) the selection and embodiment of ideas considered good; and (d) generate the value of the idea.

Baker (in Sangkala, 2013, p.6) sets out three types of innovation. Three types of innovation are then added by IdeA into 5 types of innovation. The five types according to Baker and IdeA are innovations related to: (a) strategy / policy; (b) policies and forms of service / product organization; (c) service delivery; (d) process; and (e) interaction systems.

Next, the level of innovation described by Mulgan and Albury (in Muluk, 2008, p.46-47) ranged from incremental, radical, to transformative. Incremental means innovation that takes place to bring about small changes to an existing process or service. Radical innovation is a fundamental shift in public service or the introduction of entirely new ways of organizing and servicing processes. Transformative or systematic innovations bring about changes in the structure of the workforce and organizational, transforming all sectors, and dramatically altering the organization.

According to Christensen and Laergreid (in Muluk, 2008, p.48), in terms of process, innovation can be divided into two categories, namely sustaining innovation and discontinues innovation. Sustaining innovation is a process of innovation that brings new changes, but still bases itself on conditions of service and systems that are running or existing products. Discontinues innovation is a process of innovation that brings about changes that are completely new and no longer based on pre-existing conditions.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach to determine how to find, collect, know, understand, and describe the results of research. Qualitative research according to Sugiyono (in Pasolong, p. 2012) is a research method used to examine the condition of natural objects and researchers are as a key instrument. This research uses descriptive research method. Descriptive research describes events or phenomena that occur at the time of the study, not testing the hypothesis, but only describe the information objectively.

Qualitative research results more emphasis on the meaning of generalization (Sugiyono, in Pasolong, 2012).

The focus of this research is to cover three things, namely the formulation process of policy innovation program, the success rate of the implementation of program policy innovation, and the empirical factors that can be learned from the innovation of PSC program policy of Tulungagung regency. Sources of research data obtained from primary data and secondary data. Data collection is done by interview, observation, and documentation. Data analysis using Interactive Model of Analysis was proposed by Miles, Huberman (in Saldana, 2014, p.31-33) through three activity lines, data condensation, display data, and conclusion drawing / verifications.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 The process of formulating PSC program policy innovation

The program of Tulungagung Regency PSC is an innovation program in the form of new services for people who have never been before. Innovation comes from the word to innovate which means making a change or introducing something new, which adds value (Sebastian, 2014, p 12). PSC in Tulungagung Regency is intended to realize the service, prevention and handling of emergency, medical and non-medical conditions, as well as rehabilitation of impacts that may arise due to emergency situation by calling the call center (0355) 320119 centered at RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung.

The Tulungagung District Government has taken a decision by establishing an emergency service policy through the PSC by 2015. As Dye points out (in Anggara, 2014, p.35), "Public Policy is whatever the government wants to do or not to do". According to Dye, if the government chooses to do something, there is a purpose, because public policy is the 'action' of the government. If the government chooses not to do something, it is also an existing public policy aim.

4.1.1 Initiation of policy innovation program of PSC Tulungagung regency

Problems related to security and safety have been the government's concern with the issuance of Presidential Instruction Number 4 of 2013 on the Road Safety Action Decade Program. Just as Edward III (in Anggara, 2014, p. 149) has categorized policies based on their nature or characteristics, one of which is decentralized Policies. This policy is a policy made by the central government, but the implementation program is submitted to every region. Different interpretations between regions and the readiness of each unequal region make implementation and the outcomes vary from the main

objectives of the policy. In this case, Tulungagung regency is the most ready area to implement PSC program, let alone program of Tulungagung Regency PSC is one form of policy innovation and public service in emergency and first field in Indonesia. Tulungagung District successfully implemented this PSC program with a very comprehensive integrated cross-sectoral, and even received praise from the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia.

The PSC in Kabupaten Tulungagung includes a type of substantive policy. As Anderson's opinion in Anggara (2014: 55) reveals that the policy's substantive policy is seen from the substance of the problems faced by the government. The background of the emergence of PSC program in Tulungagung Regency is not only in order to carry out the mandate of the Presidential Instruction, but also there are various problems that are considered urgent in Tulungagung Regency.

Data from Tulungagung Regency BPS for the last 5 years - 2009 to 2013 - shows that the death rate caused by traffic accidents in Tulungagung District tends to increase from year to year. Some of the things that aggravate the condition are medical officers and security personnel difficult to reach the location of the incident and the delay of information obtained by the security apparatus and medical officers.

In accordance with the results of interviews with the head of IGD dr. Iskak Tulungagung, Head of Service Control Division dr. Iskak Tulungagung, and team leader of TEMS (Tulungagung Emergency Mediacal Service) RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung that when the accident occurred, the victim came directly by himself or brought by the community to the nearest hospital, regardless of the correct method of handling due to the lack of public knowledge. So, often found cases of casualties that have lost their lives after arriving at the hospital. The high mortality rates of pre-hospital and referral, the high death on arrival and death on road has become the attention of the Government of Tulungagung Regency.

In addition, the geographical condition of Tulungagung district in the form of hills to the coast, and including the vulnerable areas of natural disasters is a challenge for the government in providing responsive and comprehensive services for all its people. Tulungagung District Government assessed the need for a number that is easy to remember the people when occasionally occurrence of emergency events, whether the accident, fire, disaster, disease, and so forth.

4.1.2 Involvement of Actors in the PSC Program Policy Innovation Formulation

Actors involved directly in the process of TEMS program policy formulation to become PSC is the official actor, dr. Iskak Tulungagung. Although the Regent initially issued a decree on SPGDT, RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung is the sole actor who formulates and designs the TEMS program to become a PSC. Starting from the TEMS program where the concept of this program is fully formulated by RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung because this idea comes from the hospital. After the concept of the program about 60% so, the RSUD involving other agencies who are incorporated in this program in an agenda of discussion and internal discussion for the improvement of the concept of TEMS program. Each agency provides input, suggestions, improvements, opinions related to the concept of the PSC until finally reached a mutual agreement. After the conception of the TEMS program, the following Team of Trustees, Technical Team, and Rapid Emergency Management Team are discussed together across sectors.

All of these PSC teams have an influence and attention to the smooth implementation of the PSC program. As Crosby (in Iqbal, 2007) points out, stakeholders can be differentiated into three groups, one of which is key stakeholders, those with strong or important influences related to issues, needs and concerns for the smoothness of activities. The key stakeholders in question are the executive element according to the level, the legislature, the agency. In this case, the program of the Tulungagung Regency PSC does not involve legislative elements from the formulation stage of policy to policy evaluation.

4.1.3 Legality Process Innovation Process of PSC Program

Policy approval is a process of mutual adaptation and acceptance of recognized and accepted principles. The preparation of the Regent's Regulation was made after the equality of perception, approach, and mutual understanding, and all the preparation of human resources up to the preparation of infrastructure facilities PSC program has run about 90 percent.

In accordance with the results of research that the typology policy of Tulungagung District PSC included in New Policies typology. As stated by Edward III (in Anggara, 2014, p. 149) that this policy is not only a newly enacted policy but a policy that has never existed before, as it is a pioneer and national pilot of an integrated community safety system is being pioneered by the central government through the NCC (National Command Center), which will be deployed to autonomous regions by 2019.

The policy process of the program of Tulungagung Regency PSC is done through various stages. As Dunn (in Anggara, 2014, p. 120-121) stages of public policy, includes:

1) Preparation of Agenda

Government of Tulungagung Regency through dr. Iskak Tulungagung and Tulungagung Regent took the initiative to make innovative policies on integrated emergency services in the form of PSC program as a form of implementation of Presidential Instruction No. 4 of 2013 on the Road Safety Action Decade Program, as well as the realization of the priority scale of the vision of cheap and quality public services based on "Ayem Tentrem Mulyo lan Tinoto ".

2) Policy Formulation

Government of Tulungagung Regency through dr. Iskak Tulungagung and Tulungagung Regent took the initiative to make innovation of integrated emergency services policy in the form of PSC program based on problems that happened in Tulungagung regency where the problem got serious attention based on data and facts that happened in the field to be followed up and processed into new policy in Tulungagung regency. After the idea of establishing the PSC in Tulungagung District, dr. Iskak Tulungagung as the initiator of the TEMS program immediately conducted a study and conducted a comparative study with related institutions to Kuala Lumpur Hospital, Malaysia.

3) Policy Adoption / Legitimacy

Legitimacy aims to authorize the basic process of government. Before the emergency service policy in Tulungagung Regency that has been formulated in the formulation process implemented, firstly legitimized. In this case Tulungagung Regent has given authorization to RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung to design the concept of PSC as well as implement it by involving cross sectors incorporated in the team of the Tulungagung Regency PSC, so that those given the authority or authority have responsibility for the implementation of the PSC program. In addition, the legitimacy of the policy is through the validation of PSC Program has been approved by the issuance of Regulation No. 29 of 2015 Regent Regarding Integrated Emergency Management System in Tulungagung District, so that legitimacy does not involve the legislature. Legitimacy plays a role to recognize that any policy decided upon is best for the benefit of the community in which the policy is passed. In this case, the people of Tulungagung

have responded positively and received new program from Tulungagung District Government which is PSC program well because this program has benefited society.

4) Policy Assessment / Evaluation

Each agency involved in this PSC program regularly evaluates since the beginning of the formation of the PSC to date, the form of daily, weekly, monthly and yearly reports. The evaluation is conducted in a coordination meeting every one month, three months, six months, and once a year by the development team and technical team of the PSC program for future program improvement and improvement. Evaluation is also conducted with cross-sectoral related in accordance with the problems that occur in the field. Coordination meetings are also conducted through the WhatsApp (WA) group. However, in practice there are still many shortcomings in the implementation of the PSC program, especially in the aspect of cross sectoral coordination and sectoral ego which is still high in each agency.

Regulation of Tulungagung Regent Number 29 Year 2015 on Emergency Emergency Management System in Tulungagung Regency was enforced since August 11, 2015. Then reinforced by the Decree of Regent Number 188.45 / 221/013/2015 About Team Pembina and Technical Team Emergency Management Emergency Tulungagung District. Once the TEMS has been developed into a PSC, it is necessary to coordinate across agencies / agencies so that it is necessary to add members of the Fostering Team and the Integrated Emergency Management Team. Tulungagung Regent has issued the Decree of Tulungagung Regent No. 188.45 / 98/013/2016 on the Amendment to the Decree of the Regent Number 188.45 / 221/013/2015 on the Guidance Team and the Integrated Emergency Management Team of Tulungagung Regency.

4.2 Success Level of PSC Program Policy Innovation Implementation

As stated by Supriono (in Amirullah, 2015, p.4), strategy is a unity of a comprehensive and integrated corporate or organizational plan that is required in every organizational activity. The successful implementation of PSC policy innovation is not only seen from the policy formulation process, but also strategic factors that have been prepared comprehensively to be implemented in the future.

Starting from PSC program implementation strategy, preparation of policy implementation process so that the desired goal can be realized must be passed. Therefore, the optimal use of resources should be undertaken, a group of people from

various disciplines and skills in the framework of policy implementation need to be present, correct policy interpretation is absolutely necessary, programs implemented should be planned with good management, and the provision of services and benefits of - great for society needs to be pursued (Dewi, 2016, p. 155). Here are some things that can be observed from the findings of field data of researchers related strategies applied for the implementation of the PSC program.

The first strategy undertaken is the review of proposed programs and comparative studies for the PSC program. At that time, in Indonesia, there is no single agency that adopts the integrated service of American 911, so RSUD dr. Tulungagung Iskak and related institutions to conduct a comparative study to the nearest neighboring countries, namely Malaysia as one country that has adopted 911 services. As a country that has a socio-cultural system and the use of technology similar to Indonesia.

The second strategy is the preparation of infrastructure facilities (software and hardware) PSC program. RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung decided to design its own software for the PSC program - starting from the TEMS program - by forming a software design team. PSC software consists of software taker caller, dispatch, and Android tablet. Then, RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung made a working visit to the November 10th Institute of Technology (ITS) Surabaya to follow up on the team's design software. Meanwhile, for the hardware, the team from RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung bought it specifically from ITS. All operational facilities and infrastructure of the PSC call center come from Dr. Iskak, despite the addition of several ambulances from the Regional Government. Associated with the provision of technical and operational equipment in the implementation of the action directly in the field, provided by each agency concerned.

The third strategy is to conduct Emergency Medical Service (EMS) training on HR who served as a team of Pre Hospital Care (PHC) TEMS in Malaysia for one month. The human resources that were sent for training were medical staff, consisting of nine nurses and one doctor. Armed with training from Malaysia, the ten medical teams along with other colleagues conducted protocol preparation, Puskesmas human resources training and the use of TEMS application at all community health centers in Tulungagung district, to joint cross-sector simulation.

The fourth strategy is to set the budget of the PSC program. The budget for the PSC program comes from two sources, namely: (1) APBD of Tulungagung Regency Budget Year 2014, worth Rp 3.5 billion for TEMS system; and (2) BLUD (Regional Public

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Service Board) RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung Budget Year 2015, worth Rp 900 Million for the procurement of TEMS software and operating costs.

Meanwhile, the cost of PSC program services is charged to the community as a service user in accordance with tariffs and conditions set by the Regional Government. Operational costs to support the provision of facilities, infrastructure, maintenance, and team operations are charged to APBD. Meanwhile, the cost of program services is charged to users of the service. The financing budget for the provision of supporting resources in the implementation of the PSC program is only mentioned that operational costs are charged to APBD. Thus, the operational costs of program implementation fall into the budgets of each institution itself.

The fifth strategy is the publication and socialization of the program. Since the beginning of the PSC program, the team has published about PSC programs through various media - print, electronic, and internet - as well as socializing directly to internal organizations - related agencies - and externally - in every village and sub-district. The RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung has distributed stickers 320119 to the community and installed billboards of PSC program spread over five dots in Tulungagung district. Socialization is done by all parties involved in PSC program. In addition, provide Basic Life Assistance (BHD) training to lay people, students, students and members of relevant agencies. This PSC program, through call center 320119 can also be a tele-medicine service channel.

The sixth strategy is commitment. All actors involved in the PSC program have committed to jointly run the program in accordance with their main duties and functions (TUPOKSI) respectively as regulated in the Regulation of Tulungagung Regent Number 29 of 2015 on 'Integrated Emergency Management System at Tulungagung Regency'.

Based on these explanations, the strategy that has been implemented by the Tulungagung district team is included in the type of Program Strategy and Resource Support Strategy. This is in line with the opinion of Jack Koteen (in Salusu, 2006, p.109-105) who says that the 'Program Strategy' is concerned more with the strategic implications of a particular program. In the PSC 'Program Strategy', especially socialization to the community has had a positive impact on society. Meanwhile, the 'Resource Support Strategy' focuses on optimizing the utilization of the essential resources available to improve the quality of the organization's performance. In the PSC program has been done strategies related to preparation of human resources, budgeting, modern information technology, and other resources.

4.3 Empirical Factors to Learn from the PSC Program Policy Innovation

The empirical factors that can be learned from the PSC program's policy innovations are particularly evident in pre-program implementation.

First, Response Time. PSC officers - fast-moving teams - prioritize the speed and accuracy of services to victims or patients since they came to the scene and during the trip to the health care facility. Speed and timeliness to arrive at the scene as their Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) is about 10 minutes for effective, efficient and effective service. Thus, people get certainty and follow-up on emergency services because they have got a 'pick up ball' service and do not have to do independent handling that tends to 'take time'.

Second, coordination across sectors. Coordination in the PSC program has been conducted since the formulation stage of the policy by involving cross-sector related, so that the constraints that may occur when the implementation of the program can be minimized by the team in charge. With the PSC program, coordination becomes easier because all the resources in this program are coordinated as a whole, namely the team of Tulungagung Regency PSC. Through intensive coordination, the implementation of this PSC program can run more effectively and efficiently, both in terms of energy, time, and cost.

Third, the different implementation of the organization of PSC with the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the findings of the researchers, in addition to regulating matters relating to medical emergency only, the organizational aspect as set forth in Article 18 of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 19 of 2016 that other personnel referred to in the PSC program are those who support the implementation of the PSC. Thus, they are only as supporting actors in emergency services. Meanwhile, the PSC of Tulungagung District provides medical and non-medical emergency services that have adopted the American 911 program, so that in the organizational structure it integrates all SKPD or cross-sectoral. Agencies that are not directly related to the health aspect are not only supporting actors, but also as a key component in PSC programs that work together in parallel positions.

Fourth, the program stages comprehensively. The program of Tulungagung Regency PSC is relatively new because it is still one year running, from program planning to field execution - the handling of medical emergency and nonmedical - relatively

complete and comprehensive, so it is classified as a comprehensive program for the community.

As Mulgan opinion and Albury (in Muluk, 2008, p. 46-47) categorization berentang levels ranging from incremental innovations, radical, to transformative. The PSC program is included in the category of incremental and radical innovation levels, not yet transformative. Transformative innovation is an innovation that brings changes in the workforce and organizational structure as well as menstranformasi all sectors and dramatically change the organization. This type of innovation takes a longer time to get results according to ideal desires and requires fundamental changes in social, cultural, and organizational structures. Researchers assess that innovation policy in Tulungagung PSC program has not been able to bring great change and transform all sectors, because the program is still just one year running. Thus, there has not been a fundamental change in the social, cultural, and organizational structures caused by the PSC program.

Finally, according to Christensen and Laergreid (in Muluk, 2008, p.48), in terms of process, innovation can be divided into two categories, namely sustaining innovation and discontinues innovation. The innovation of PSC program policies in Tulungagung District is included in the Discontinues Innovation (discontinuous innovation). This means that the innovation process brings about a completely new change and is no longer based on pre-existing conditions.

5.CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion above, research on Innovation of Integrated Emergency Policy Policy, Public Safety Center Program (PSC) of Tulungagung Regency can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, the process of formulation of PSC program innovation policy in Tulungagung Regency started from the analysis of various problems and in line with Presidential Instruction No. 4 of 2013, so that the idea of innovation was initiated by the Head of IGD RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung by adopting 911 American service. The concept of PSC has been formulated by the dr. Iskak Tulungagung by involving various input and suggestions cross sectoral for the perfection of concept. This formulation process of PSC policy innovation is conducted in accordance with public policy formulation theory. The form of this PSC policy is Regulation of Regent Number 29 Year 2015 on Emergency Emergency Management System in Tulungagung Regency.

Second, the success rate of the implementation of the policy innovation of the program of Tulungagung Regency is viewed based on the success of the strategy that has been implemented throughout this year. These strategies include the type of program strategy and resource support strategy. Results or achievements of the PSC innovation, namely increasing the number of PSC calls, decreasing mortality rate, and increasing the Satisfaction Index (IKM) towards the program of Tulungagung Regency PSC.

Thirdly, the empirical factors that can be learned from the innovation of PSC program policy of Tulungagung regency, among them is the dual role of RSUD dr. Iskak Tulungagung as the center operator of the PSC system, response time, coordination, organizational structure, policy formulation process, and program budgeting process. It has made other areas, including national ones who want to replicate similar programs and improve them.

Through this research, the researcher's recommendations or recommendations are as follows. First, to ensure the sustainability of the PSC program, the District Government of Tulungagung Regency should involve legislative elements, namely the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) and the community elements, through the representatives of a number of Tulungagung district communities as users of PSC services, in order to achieve this goal of a more effective program policy policy.

Second, the dr. Iskak Tulungagung needs to increase the quantity and quality of PSC program socialization through various media and communication channels. Media socialization of PSC program can be: (1) electronic media, that is television and local radio; (2) print media, such as pamphlets or leaflets, banners or billboards, and local newspapers and magazines; (3) internet, such as websites of related agencies and social media (sosmed). Meanwhile, the communication channels for PSC program socialization can be in the form of group communication channels in the community, such as arisan and pengajian groups, farmer groups, fishermen groups, market traders groups and public transport, and 'word of mouth' communication channels. This is because, although the socialization of the PSC program has been done by related sectors since the beginning of the program, there are still many people in the Tulungagung area who do not know yet, even understand the PSC program.

Third, the Tulungagung Regency PSC team should often conduct joint and cross-sector exercises to develop human resource competencies in handling emergency medical, both medical and nonmedical. Exercises can be done regularly, regularly, and

incidentally. Exercises can also involve the cloud community for their knowledge and skills, so as to support the success of the PSC program indirectly. Finally, for the realization of good governance in the PSC program in Tulungagung District, there needs to be a mutual involvement or the role of the private sector in a mutual and real way.

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HOW VIOLENCE ERUPTED: FRONT PEMBELA ISLAM ACTIVITY IN YOGYAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

Islamic Defender Front/Front Pembela Islam (FPI) is one of the most prominent civil organizations in Indonesia. They also perceived as one of the most radical and violent Islamic organizations in Indonesia especially when dealing with the religious/blasphemy issues towards Islam. On the contrary, the cause of violence in FPI is not always depends on religious issues. They also have another reason in resorting to violence even with their fellow Islamic organizations. This case is often found in their relations with Islamic Jihad Front/Front Jihad Islam (FJI) in the Special Region of Yogyakarta province.

This research will try to explain the patterns of violence in FPI's activities in Yogyakarta, both towards the religious issues or others. The violence of FPI will be explained by the social movement perspective especially with the vigilantism and framing concepts. Framing will explain about the source of legitimation towards the violence. Meanwhile, the vigilantism will explain about the pattern and behavior in the act of violence. One conclusion that can be drawn is FPI act of violence in Yogyakarta is not always related with the religious issues, but also began with their hostility with Front Jihad Islam/FJI. This kind of violence is based on the rivalry between FPI's leader (Bambang Tedy) and FJI's leader (Jarot). On the other hand, FPI also have a religious-motivated violence although the scale of this features usually smaller than the hostility with FJI.

Keywords: *Front Pembela Islam, Front Jihad Islam, violence, vigilantism, framing, social movement.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defender Front/FPI) is one of the most popular Islamic organizations in contemporary Indonesian politics. Their action and idea about Islam is able to attract a wide public exposure although most of them perceived as negative. FPI able to mobilize a great number of their members as we have seen in Aksi 411 and Aksi 212 when they protested against the blasphemy-accused-statement from former Governor of Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama.

FPI is also famous for their act of violence. Before involving in mass protest towards Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, FPI is known for their violence-imbued sweeping methods in the so-called "maksiat"(vice) places such as bar, discotheque, and

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prostitution centre. One thing that relates those two acts is FPI always using the religious motives as a justification to their action. They always act as a "moral and Islamic values guardian" which is also becoming the main factor behind their popularity. The popularity of FPI can be seen from their organizations. They have a lot of branch in various parts of Indonesia, including Yogyakarta—which believed to be the most peaceful city in Indonesia. However, it must be highlighted that every branch of FPI has their own independency towards their action. The branch organization can act with its own initiative without any obligation to consult or coordinate with the central leader in Jakarta.[2] The structure of FPI is relatively loose for the branch organization can have its own issues concern, methods**,** recruitment type, etc. Nevertheless, this loosely related organizational bond provides a space to each of this branch's leader to define their own motives and methods in their area.

The role of branch leader in framing and defining the motives of FPI proves that FPI is not always act according to religious motives. The FPI branch leader is often uses their organization to act according to their interests. Nevertheless, the action of FPI cannot always being related to the religious motives. We must closely look at the behavior and dynamics of the organization to find the motives of FPI action, especially in their branch organization.

This research tried to study the motives behind the violence behavior of FPI Yogyakarta. This branch organization has a relatively independent position towards central FPI leadership in Jakarta. On the other hand, the role of their leader, Bambang Tedy, is very central in controlling the action of FPI Yogyakarta. Religious motives, thus, were not the main trigger behind the violence of FPI Yogyakarta. The violence act of FPI Yogyakarta, in fact, happened when they had clashes with their rival organization, the Front Jihad Islam (Islamic Jihad Front/FJI). This research wants to highlight that the religious idea is not always related to the violence action of radical Islamic organizations. Violence is based on several factors that closely related, such as the political and economic interest, or social structure.

Religious-based violence is one of the main challenges for ASEAN community. ASEAN is home of many religious community and identity. However, ASEAN up until today is still facing the threat of religious and identity-based violence. This research tried to contribute in the field study of violence especially the relation between identity and

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[2] See Al Zastrouw Ngatawi, *Gerakan Islam Simbolik : Politik Kepentingan FPI,* (Yogyakarta : LKiS, 2006), pp. 92

violence. The main argument of this research is violence is not always rooted from religious motivation, but also from the socio-political factors that shaped the society where the organization existed. However, the role of leader is very important in framing the issues and channeling the motivation of violence.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question for this article is "What is the main factor behind FPI Yogyakarta's act of violence?"

3. METHODOLOGY

This article is a development of author's thesis in Peace and Conflict Studies Program Gadjah Mada University titled "Comparison Of Violence In The Strategy Of Movement Of Front Pembela Islam And Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia In The Special Region Of Yogyakarta". This research use qualitative method. The data used in this research including premier data and secondary data. The premier data obtained from a series of interviews between 2013 until 2014 and the direct observation toward the FPI Yogyakarta members which also acted as respondents. The secondary data obtained from books, newspaper articles, and online news article.

This article combined the sociological approach and social movement concept to explain the rise of violence behavior. Violence in FPI Yogyakarta's action cannot be separated from the social background of its members. FPI Yogyakarta's members mostly come from lower social class in their neighborhood. Thus, the violence in FPI Yogyakarta can be analyzed with the concept of *"Framing"*.

The concept of *framing* comes from the field of social movement theory. It explains the background of group mobilization and its relation with the discourse of issues. David Snow defined *framing* as:

> *"…when social movement actors **creates discourses** that can resonates among the mobilization audiences. This process involved a **translation of grievances** from the mobilization audiences which based on a **master frame** that resulted from **specific perceived values**"[3]*

The process of *framing* then includes the role of leader or main actor to mobilize the grievances of group member using the strategy of communicating their message into

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[3] David Snow et.al in *Frame, Alignment Process, Micromobilization and Movement Participation* (1986) from Noorhaidi Hasan, "Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militansi, dan Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru" (Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia, 2008), pp.132.

them. The leader, thus, must have an ability to choose the symbols and issues in which the group members can relate them with it. This kind of "sense of belonging" thus can encourage the group members to act according to the group motivation or the leader interests.

4. ELABORATION

4.1. History of FPI Yogyakarta

The discussion about history of FPI Yogyakarta is very important to analyze their act of violence. From the data collection process, author found that the only major violence act of FPI Yogyakarta happened when they had clashes with Front Jihad Islam (FJI). Both FPI and FJI hate each other because the FJI originally was former FPI members. The split between FPI and FJI marked a bitter conflict between them, as author will explain it later. Compared with their fellow in other areas, FPI Yogyakarta had never performed sweeping or attacking "tempat maksiat". They also had never attacked that so called "deviant actor" such as Shi'ite follower or Ahmadiyah follower like FPI in other areas. The main trigger of FPI Yogyakarta's violence is their rivalry with FJI.

FPI Yogyakarta was established in 2007-2008 by Bambang Tedy, a local political figure in Yogyakarta. He was a local strongman and have relatively negative track record as a small thug and petty criminal ("preman pasar"). In addition, he has no religious background to lead a religious-based organization as FPI.

On the other hand, Bambang Tedy has a great amount of resources to build FPI Yogyakarta. First, he is known to be one of the richest men in his neighborhood. His wealth is the main reason behind his success in building FPI Yogyakarta. He used his privat house as FPI headquarters and also financing this organization with his personal money. His wealth is also used to help his neighbor, which later recruited into FPI and become his loyal follower.

Second, Bambang Tedy has a good connection with Yogyakarta's focal political figures. Bambang Tedy is husband of Sebrat Haryati which also a village chief in Balecatur—small village in western part of Yogyakarta in which the FPI headquarter located. He is also has a great connection with Haji Syukri Fadholi—former vice mayor of Yogyakarta and prominent figure from Partai Persatuan Pembangunan /PPP (one of the most influential political party in Yogyakarta). The close relation between Bambang Tedy and Haji Syukri Fadholi started when Bambang joined Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah—

youth organization of PPP and one of the largest paramilitary organization in Yogyakarta—in which Haji Syukri Fadholi was the founder. This GPK connection will later be the foundation of FPI Yogyakarta recruitment, because most of the leader in FPI Yogyakarta comes from this organization.

The foundation of FPI Yogyakarta later causes one main problems about who is the most legitimate person to lead the FPI Yogyakarta. Bambang Tedy claimed that he is the most suited man, since he personally went to meet Rizieq Shihab—founder and leader of FPI central headquarter—to asked his permission to founded FPI branch in Yogyakarta. He also claimed that he spent his personal money to get the "license" from Rizieq Shihab and finished the administration process to legalized FPI foundation.[4] This claim was challenged by Durahman--Bambang Tedy's former commander in FPI and fellow GPK member. Durahman felt that Bambang Tedy doesn't have enough capabilities to lead a religious-based group as FPI. He accused that Bambang Tedy cannot even read the Al-Qur'an or performing *sholat*. Durahman also claimed that he is the most suitable person to get that position.

Conflict between Bambang Tedy factions versus Durahman factions catched the attention from FPI central leadership in Jakarta. They even sent their negotiator to mediate the reconciliation process ("islah") between them but it failed because both of these factions were not willing to unite again. As a result, the Durahman factions decide to out and formed their own organization called FJI. The split between FPI and FJI is not ending their conflict. They are still competing to be the most influential Islamic organization in Yogyakarta with the largest member in this city. One of the FPI member even admitted that FJI is always provoking and intimidating them. When FPI members are held a convoy in Yogyakarta's street, FJI often intercepted their entourage, mocking them, and even throwing rocks and trying to punch them.[5] The hostility between FPI and FJI later proved to be the main factor behind FPI's act of violence

4.2 FPI Perception of Violence

The number of violence that linked with FPI Yogyakarta peaked between 2011 until 2013. Between this timeline, the biggest violence act occurred when FPI clashed with FJI in front of Yogyakarta District Court on 17 April 2012. This clash happened when Bambang Tedy was undergoing a trial after been convicted with fraud accusation by

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[4] Interview with Komaruddin, member of Dewan Syuro FPI Yogyakarta, 9 September 2014.
[5] Interview with Wagiman, member of Laskar FPI (FPI's Paramilitary wing), 12 Desember 2014.

Erna F Riyanti (local businesswoman in Yogyakarta).[6] When Bambang Tedy stood for his first trial, FPI Yogyakarta also gathered in front of the court building and tried to intimidate the court. At the same time, FJI, who supported Erna, arrived in the court building and soon insulted the FPI convoy. Finally, these two groups were caught in a clash.

Clash of 17 April 2012 proved that the rivalry between FPI and FJI is the main factors that triggered the violence of FPI. The violence, thus, is not related with religious issues, but merely a political and personal problem between the leaders. FPI came to the District Court to support their leader and FJI also came to support the one who bring Bambang Tedy to the court. The religious cause is absent in this case.

FPI Yogyakarta's members have a unique perception about violence. They believe that violence is incompatible with Javanese tradition in which they have been raised with. They thought that as a Javanese people, they must put dialogue and harmony first.[7]On the other hand, when asked about why they had not attacking other groups such as Ahmadiyah and Shi'ite follower in Yogyakarta, they told author that those group is already protected by Sultan of Yogyakarta.[8] It is their duty to follow the order from their beloved and respected King of Yogyakarta.

On the contrary, the Javanese view of dialogue and harmony suddenly disappear when dealing with FJI. FPI members admitted that most of them hate FJI members and leaders. They felt that FJI always intimidating them first. Nevertheless, when asked about the 17 April 2012 clash, they argued that they were just trying to defend themselves and protecting their leader.[9] FPI and Bambang Tedy, for them, is not just organization and their leader, but also their symbol. Thus, every attack towards FPI and Bambang Tedy means also attacking themselves.

The FPI member's loyalty towards Bambang Tedy is also a very important factor in FPI violence. Most of them admitted that they "owe something" to Bambang Tedy. Bambang Tedy often loan them money when they needed it. Bambang Tedy always ready when they need his help. And the most important is: they felt that Bambang Tedy

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[6] See http://www.viva.co.id/berita/nasional/291945-massa-fpi-front-jihad-bentrok-di-pn-yogya, and
http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/04/17/1801221/Massa.FPI.dan.FJI.Bentrok.di.Yogyakarta
, accessed on 22 September 2017.
[7] Interview with Wagiman, and Widodo, member of Laskar FPI (FPI's Paramilitary Wing), 17 Desember 2017
[8] *Ibid,* op.cit.
[9]*Ibid,* op.cit.

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can respect and humanize them.[10] He does not look down upon them, as their neighbor always do to them. Thus, when they felt that Bambang Tedy needed their help, the FPI members will always ready to protect their leader.

5. CONCLUSION

The violence of FPI Yogyakarta is not a routine phenomenon especially when compared to the activities of FPI in Jakarta or West Java—two base of FPI in Indonesia. FPI Yogyakarta members still perceive themselves as a Javanese person that must protect the harmony and peaceful situation through dialogue. On the contrary, there is an exception about this value, especially when FPI must deal with their arch enemy FJI. The clash between FPI and FJI is a matter of "pride", "solidarity", and "defending their organization and leader". These three words is a discourse that have been used to frame and justified their act of violence.In the case of violence against FJI, the FPI members use the means to "protecting their organization and leader" as a framing to mobilize themselves towards violence. The words of "pride", "solidarity" and "protecting their leader" functioned as a discourse that can resonates among the member of FPI itself. In addition, the feelings of "owe something" to Bambang Tedy is part of their grievances—the absence of recognition from their neighborhood. Bambang Tedy and FPI are the only ones that willing to accept and help while other part of society rejecting them. The leader of FPI, especially Bambang Tedy, can capitalize these discourses optimally. Instead of using religious motives as a solidarity maker inside the FPI Yogyakarta, he chose the member's main grievanes—the need to be recognized as a human being. As a result, he can ensure his member's loyalty and obedience towards him. On the other hand, the framing of FPI Yogyakarta as a "Bambang Tedy's boys" is also have its own flaw. First, it limited the recruitment of FPI Yogyakarta. Second, Bambang Tedy can use the FPI member for his own purpose.

In conclusion, we must be aware that the roots of violence are not merely resulted from the radical religious thinking. Violence is also derived from the social, political, and economic deprivation. This is the gap that must be filled by government and the civil society. If both of them failed, then this gap would have been filled by radical or vigilant actor as it happened in FPI Yogyakarta.

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[10] Both Wagiman and Widodo admitted that Bambang Tedy is not an arrogant person and always "nguwongke" (humanizing others, taken from the Javanese language "wong" = human)

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ECOROAD: A SUSTAINABLE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN NATIONAL PARK

Martinusa[1], Anshori Djausal[2], Gita Paramita Djausalc[3]

ABSTRACT

Road infrastructure is acknowledge as supporting development for mobility in economic activities. Road infrastructure, in some point, will pass through national park. National park is conservations area for plants and animal. Their existence rely on the park itself. The road infrastructure could affect the animals habitat; fragment the habitat and endangered the existence of animals. Case study on 4 national park, based on World Wild Fund (WWF) collaborated work, are showing the urgency of mitigation of road infrastructure. In order to build a sustainable road infrastructure, ecology road (eco-road) is need to be defined to minimize the effect the road development and preserve functionality of national park for conservation. Eco-road development must support human welfare and wildlife livelihood. Indonesia, as the largest tropical rainforest in the world, are developing regulations on road constructions. There are many factors considered in proposing ideas in eco-road. Every factors must address issues in human welfare and wildlife livelihood. A comprehensive approach on enrichment of fragmented habitat is due. Specific issues based on native animals behaviour is observed. Novel concept are proposed to adhere aspect eco-road. And, draft regulations according existing law and eco-road as Sustainability Infrastructure for Supporting Wildlife Livelihood.

Keywords: ecology road, sustainable inrastructure, sustainable development

1. INTRODUCTION

As development that were neeeded by human, road is one of infrastructure that has most significant role for human activities. Road infrastructure is acknowledge as supporting development for mobility in economic activities. Infrastructure enables trade, powers businesses, connects workers to their jobs, creates opportunities for struggling communities and protects the nation from an increasingly unpredictable natural environment.[4] Doing the trade, there were movement of human, goods, and services. Though the transaction nowadays are also in digital, but the traditional movement of

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[4] *Brookings*. Robert Puentes. January 20, 2015. *Why Infrastructure Matter: Rotten Roads, Bum Economy*. https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/why-infrastructure-matters-rotten-roads-bum-economy/ accessed on 18 September 2017 19:11 WIB)

human, goods, and services are still happening. Distribution of products as part of the operation management of business activity, the cost would affect the profit for companies or business entities. The longer the distance would harm the company. Even for human mobility, road condition would affect also the comfort.

By the capability of road for enabling the economic activities, government had the role to support the development. Calthrop and Proost (Calthrop and Proost. 1998) had measured the road transport externalities on congestion, accidents, and air pollution. The accident was only counted on human accident (by car and by foot). Rothengatter (Rothengatter, 1994) stressed out the benefits from road are basically consumer's or producer's surplus that induced by market interactions.

Regional cooperation, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), has planned ASEAN Connectivity to improve physical, institutional and people-to-people linkages. Indonesia as largest country in southeast Asia has 1.922.570 km² land area. Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity identified priorities projects, there are two project immideate related with Indonesia, Melaka-Pekan Baru Interconnection (IMT-GT: Indonesia) and West Kalimantan-Sarawak Interconnection (BIMP-EAGA: Indonesia).

Based on Master Plan ASEAN Connectivity, ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee will be established comprising Permanent Representatives to ASEAN or special representatives appointed by the ASEAN Member States. Accelerating ASEAN Community building by facilitating connectivity. As consequences, it could promote economic development sustained by infrastructure and communications networks as well as the mobility of people, goods and services within.

In some part, road development would cross through national park. A modern transportation system must be sustainable from an economic and social as well as anenvironmental viewpoint.[5] It stressed that the road develepment in national park should be acknowledge the economic and social benefits, and also the environmentally friendly.

National park itself has objective to protect the biodiversity of flora and fauna. Biodiversity are needed to keep the sustainable of environment by supporting the

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[5] Karel A. Brookhuis, Marion Wiethoff, Evangelos Bekiaris, and Evangelia Gaitanidou. *From Accidents to Measures*. in Evangelos Bekiaris, Marion Wiethoff, Evangelia Gaitanidou (ed). *Infrastructure and Safety in a Collaborative World: Road Traffic Safety*. Springer: 2011. 20-21.

ecosystem. Unbalanced ecosystem could damage the existence of species in food chain. Futhermore, it could danger the life of species.

2. METHODS AND PROBLEM

Our research were designed to give solution between human and animals activities in conservation area. Collecting data on existing road in national park (NP) were to give basic information and actual condition. Based on the data, we acknowledge the urgency of each NP. Information about species on animals and flora were also collected. Road development in conservation's area or NP could cause fragmented habitat. The risk of fragmentation is thus threefold: (1) demographic units may be destroyed outright, reduced in size, or subdivided (thus increasing their rate of extinction); (2) potential sources of immigrants may be lost (as a consequence of risk 1); and (3) immigration may be impeded by conversion of natural habitat between habitat patches.[6] Fragmented habitat will cause the interior habitat and species decrease, edge habitat and species increase. Road that are crossing animal's habitat, can cause and facilitate poaching and logging. Poachings were not only for consumption but also for selling (economic transaction). Road infrastructure can make the transportation of illegal logging easier.

Arini and Prasetyo (2013) even stated about the need of coridor for big mammals and concern about reduced habitat could be causing decrease of population, low biodiversity that become endagered and distinct. It urged the plan on developing coridor for animals; mammals, reptile, insects, and othe affected animals.

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[6] Bruce A. Wilcox and Dennis D. Murphy. *Conservation Strategy: The Effects of Fragmentation on Extinction*. The American Naturalist 125, no. 6 (Jun., 1985): 882.

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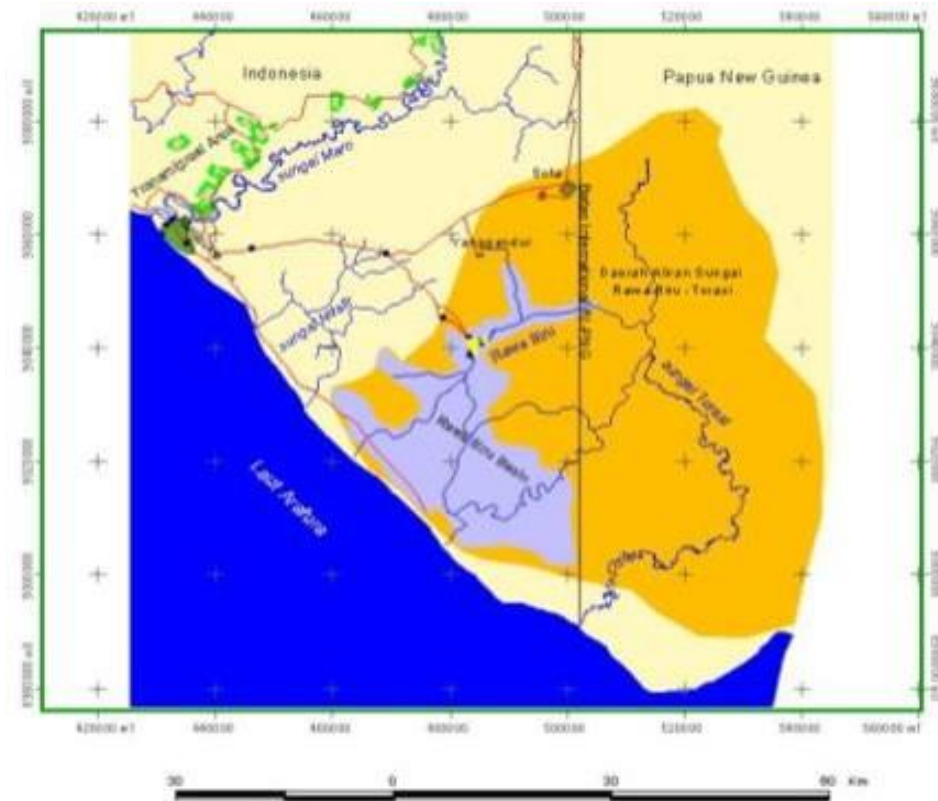UNIVERSITAS BRAWIJAYA
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Fig. 1. Roads in Taman Nasional Wasur

The research were based on World Wide Fund's (WWF) works on road infrastructure within four national park in Indonesia. The national parks were Taman Nasional Wasur, Taman Nasional Sebangau, Taman Nasional Bukit Barisan Selatan, and Taman Nasional Kayan Mentarang. Each national park had different characteristic and problem on road infrastructure. Based on that, we identified the problem on road construction, ecology, and social impact.

Taman Nasional Wasur, West Papua, were the largest wetlands in Indonesia. In Wasur, there were 4 roads. Road in Rawa Biru was one of good practice on road construction in wetlands, the road had the same level with the surrounding. The others 3 roads were built by cut-and-fill technique. The implication by that technique were undesigned canal. During dry season, the canal provided water for animals and it jeopardize their position as a target pouching. In Fig. 1, red line show the road crossing Taman Nasional Wasur.

Taman Nasional Sebangau were established in 2004. This NP is peat area. There were 22 km road, built without standard. The road should be shut down because

it didnt gave any benefit. The road caused dry out the land and the technique made unstabilize road

Taman Nasional Bukit Barisan Selatan (TNBBS) were located in 2 province, Lampung and Bengkulu, most of the area were in Lampung. There are big mammals; elephhant, sumatran tiger, and rhino. Before 2006, the road was still underconstruction, soil road, elephant and rhino could be seen from the road. Unofficial soil road were found. It was made by local people and giving access to people enter the NP.

Taman Nasional Kayan Mentarang are located in border between Indonesia-Malaysia. It has 1.300.000 ha. Needs of access through broder to get basic needs (food).

3. CONSIDERATION

As the smaller of interior habitat decrease, government have to consider on developing zoning for mitigation anticipation of road development's impact. The development of spacial integration that include all aspects (broader stakeholders) should be concern. Furthermore, government and all NP stakeholders strongly consider habitat, animals, and flora as significant aspects and their existence are human responsibility.

Based on three main problems (Fig. 2), Unstandardized road infrastructure, fragmentation habitat, and poaching and logging, there's a need for balancing the ecosystem.
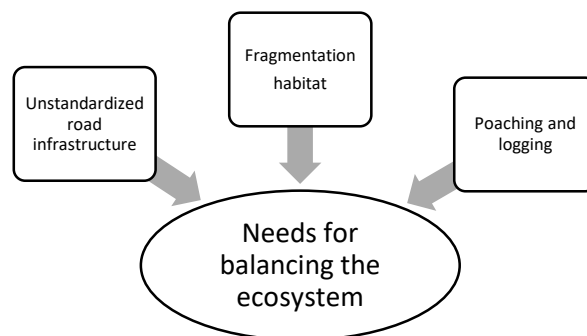

Fig. 2. Problems in Balancing Ecosystem

Emerging warning on mitigation as the habitat's needs, that include construction rehabilitation and road management to reduce the impact; existing road that were leaset significant for economic social impact, only for political benefit, should be shut down and let the NP's office do the management; initial and further comprehensive studies have to

be conducted; and government have to develop standard for development and maintanance of road/bridge infrastructure through conservation area.

4. SOLUTIONS: ECOLOGY ROAD AS MITIGATION

Connectivity can help maintain genetic diversity, another variable that helps population persistence.[7] Connectivity enable the animals to do their activities, that include finding food and mating (reproduction). It could minimize the impact of road infrastructure for human.

Solutions for 4 national parks are (1) mitigation for animal crossing; to minimize the impact of habitat loss, (2) the road infrastructure should be ecofriendly and low impact on wildlife livelihood, and (3) unstandarized and unofficial road should be shut down.

There are three types for animal crossing mitigation: (a) canopy crossing for arboreal animals (e.g. monkey, squirrel), (b) overpass; bridge, zebra cross, and road management, (c) underpass; tunnel, bridge for vehicles, flyover for vehicles.
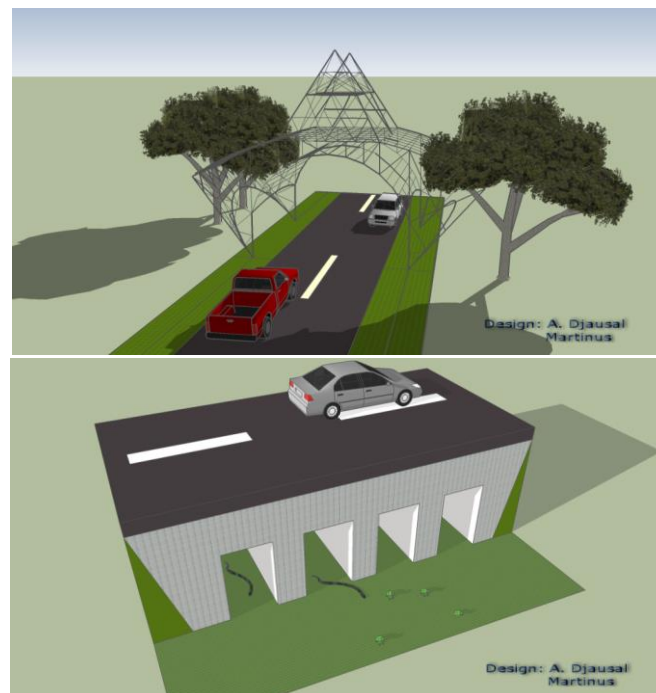
(b)

Fig. 3. Example of Ecology Road: (a) Canopy (b) Overpass

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[7] Jon P. Beckmann, Anthony P. Clevenger, Marcel P. Huijser, and Jodi A. Hilty (ed). *Safe Passages: Highways, Wildlife, and Habitat Connectivity*. Island Press: 2010.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the problem stated above we can conclude there are three main problems that need ecosystem balancing unstandarized road and fragmentation habitat. Solutions are (1) mitigation for animal crossing; to minimize the impact of habitat loss, (2) the road infrastructure should be eco-friendly and low impact on wildlife livelihood, and (3) unstandarized and unofficial road should be shut down. It emphasized that government should concern on making guidelines on road development in conservation area or national park, in order to support the connectivity in general.

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NEGOTIATING GENDER EQUITY: WEIGHING UP GENDER ROLE REPRESENTATION IN INDIA'S FILM *KI AND KA*

Ika Rizki Yustisia[1], Widya Pujarama[2]

ABSTRACT

Debates on how humankind interacts as a society not often but always related on how gender difference is perceived. As feminism is culture-based, religious and multi-ethnic Asia, including India and Indonesia has its unique outlook. In Indonesia, the number of female workers have been increasing significantly, strengthening the role of women in public domain−after a long period of clear and strict gender division introduced in New Order Era through PKK (Organization for Family Welfare). Nevertheless, it does not necessarily liberate women of patriarchal culture from roles in 'private' domain, as a wife and a mother (as the only one role woman can hold).

Those depictions also being represented in Indian controversial film titled Ki and Ka. The film introduces the exchange of gender roles that is contrast with the social construction in India. Same with Indonesia's context, India is one of the countries whereas patriarchal culture being recognized and institutionalized. The female character (named Kia) is a wife and a career woman at once, while the male character (named Kabir) just being at home doing housework instead of working at public area. The film represents gender equality as a crossover of public (female workers) and private (a devoted wife) role repeatedly orients towards physical appearances as main social capital for women in both social domain. This paper tries to present dialectical dialogue through literature review about the paradox between equality of women in public sector and how does culture interpret domestic works as remain gendered, although gender role exchanges make it possible to negotiate an atmosphere of gender equality.

Keywords: gender role; Ki and Ka; gender equality.

1. INTRODUCTION

On the note of modernization spread in East and South East Asia, Stivens (2003) argues that it is immensely related to globalization and gender relations. The developments in Asia, as in Western countries, "… [H]ave long been obsessively gendered, usually as female" (de Grazia, in Stivens, 2003: 5-6). On the progressive development especially in East and South East Asia, Stivens (2003) further claimed that women has been put as the main actors of Asian Values formation as 'westoxification'

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counter-agent, preserving the traditional division between private and public gendered role.

In Asia, especially India and Indonesia, there are clear and strict gender division existing on both the said patriarchal countries, in daily lives and in formal activities. For example, in Indonesia, the notion of macak, manak, masak which in traditional Javanese roughly translated as putting make up, delivering baby, and cooking, as become the description of ideal femininity. In other words, being an ideal woman in Indonesia refers to being succeeded in domestic area, once the woman becomes a wife and a mother. Similarly, in India, the mangala sutta serves as a gender apparatus, which marks perceived gender role: the necklace given by groom to his spouse signifies the male role of providing happiness for the female, whereas female passively received the male's giving while praying for the happiness, loves, and loyalty, and also family prosperity in their marriage. In India, the man serves as a guardian for the woman, while woman's achievement in life was being marked with her devotion to the husband.

Sen (2003) reasons that Indonesia put female workers as political, cultural and economic subjects because firstly it strengthens the image of modern Indonesia culturally and economically, and secondly it signifies affluence. But this does not automatically erase women from domestic responsibility. Robinson (2003) maintains that feminism in Indonesia relies heavily on the women's interwoven private and professional life chained mainly on their role in domestic spheres. Sen (2003) illustrates this through "the five duties" of women in PKK (Organization for Family Welfare) that tended to stress their role in domestic sphere. The five duties sees women as (1) Producer of nation's future generations; (2) Wife and faithful companion to her husband; (3) Mother and educator for her children; (4) Manager of household; and (5) Citizen (Hull, in Sen, 2003, p. 36). In other words, even as a national subject, women bear their duty as family caretaker, unlike the opposite sex. The term, Forshee (2006, p. 164) states as Ibuism … "while men maintain a public image, women produce social reality within and between households" (p. 165). Socially, PKK was a medium for the term domestication in Indonesia. The state of ibuism came for the most oppressive element which stated that woman have to serve her husband, children, family, society, and nation. As a housekeeper, women are required to provide their work for free, without expecting any prestige or power (Suryakusuma, 2011), as a devotion.

While in India, a history of hereditary tradition reasoned why women are often portrayed as a weak figures on the country's popular culture. Women acted as obedient

personas to men, as wives who take care of household needs including preparing and cooking food for the family members, preparing the offerings for worshipping Gods, or as daughters who assist their mothers in all forms of domestic responsibilities. It is recognized that the mangala sutta implies woman's conscious devotion to the family, an attribute reinforcing cultural perception on woman's role in domestic sphere.

It appears that Feminism in Asia triggering the increasing number of female workers seems unrelated to the long traditional gender division. Asian women, then, are subjected heavily with domestic chores. In other words, domestic life remains gendered.

This paper tries to review an India's film titled Ki and Ka, which offers the idea of gender role exchange between a wife and a husband in which the wife is a career woman and the husband is being at home to take care of housework. This idea supporting gender equality, although in reality the construction of the ideal role of women and men is not entirely free of patriarchal culture, including when segregation between public space and the private sphere seeks to be modified. It important to challenge whether the idea of gender role exchange presented in this film intersects with traditional gender myth that already exists as yet.

2. NEGOTIATING GENDER EQUALITY: PROMOTING GENDER ROLE EXCHANGE

2.1 Women, Culture, and Patriarchy

Gender division in Indonesia seemed to be well preserved (Sen, 2003). Stivens (2003) studied Asian's position on the word family and domesticity, especially women in gendered relations in public and private domains. Asian middle class female workers, as Stivens (2003) explains, commonly have other workingwomen filling in their day job as housewives. Sen (2003, p. 38) states further that the term "working women" non-identical with "working-class women." Borrowing Popenoe's (In Segrin & Flora, 2011, p. 5) definition of family as " a small domestic group of kin…" Segrin & Flora (2011) asserts that family life is heavily associated with domestic sphere.

Segrin and Flora (2011, p. 71) further argue that women predominantly receive favorably the spouse dominance, regardless their capability to earn for the family. Forshee (2006, p. 162) adds, "… ideal marriages cement partnerships in which women handle finances and raise children while men hold the (at least public) role of power." To rephrase it, it is uncommon to perceive that household should habitually be androcentric.

Forshee (2006) also itemized Indonesian traditional women's role: "… care for children, cook, clean, husk rice, pound coffee, garden, go to market, and often weave and dye cloth," while men have more free time and less responsibility.

Stivens (2003) maintains that there are strong relations between femininity, consumption and sexualisation of women in newly prosperous middle class Asia, especially in Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, China, Thailand, Vietnam, and Philipina. Robinson (2003) illustrates how maidenly Indonesian girls' life is heavily culturally restricted. Their marriage also mostly funded by the parents, who constantly seeking signs of their prosperous matrimony in their daughters' ability to espouse the causes of patriarchal system (Robinson, 2003). "It seems to be common for women civil servants to resent their obligations to Dharmawanita (wives organization at offices), and their bosses' wives who put additional demands on these working women in the name of that institution" (Sen, 2003, p. 44).

While in India, women's position is more complex. Kandiyoti (1988) stated that India is one country that embraces what she calls classical patriarchy. Under classic patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband's father. There, they are subordinate not only to all the men but also to the more senior women, especially their mother-in-law. The extent to which this represents a total break with their own kin group varies in relation to the degree of endogamy in marriage practices and different conceptions of honor.

Noted Indian social anthropologist, Srinivas (1977), first identified the role of women as custodians of family status and caste purity. Besides, there are many other more subtle markers of gender segregation robust in India. Restrictions on women's physical mobility is yet another marker of gender segregation in which women must seek permission from family elders before venturing outside the home to visit health centers, friends' homes, or the local bazaar, and often must be accompanied. Steve Derne (1994), in his qualitative work in Banaras (Varanasi) in north India, noted "in every interaction in which a husband gives his wife permission to go outside the home, he reconstitutes the normal state of affairs in which restrictions on women are necessary" (Desai, 2010).

2.2 A Review on "The Representation of Gender Role In Indian Film (A Semiotic Analysis of Kabir's Role In Ki and Ka" Research

Widyawati (2017) on her paper tries to examine controversial Rajagopalan Balakrishnan's Indian film Ki and Ka portraying a female worker and her stay at home husband's life in India. On the film, a manly Kabir stand up to his father's disagreement and long established canard in India that man should not be a stay at home husband. The distinctive film portrays Kabir, not only as a good husband, but also as a devoted son-in-law to Kia's single mom and as a sociable neighbor to other housewives. Kia, the wife, is depicted as a female worker with strong character and professionalism, who had her moment uneasiness having a stay at home husband, creating a conflict with Kabir because of her attempt concealing Kabir's chosen social identity once she is promoted to higher position.

Focusing on scenes related to gender role, the research employed Barthes' semiotic analysis to investigate screen captures of 18 selected scenes that exhibit activities and works done by Kabir and Kia in both domestic and public domains. On positive side, the film shows that it is highly possible for man and women to switch their gender role, especially in a marriage.

Fig. 1. (a) Kia put on mangala sutta to Kabir.

For example, on one scene, Kia put on mangala sutta to her appeared-to-be happy husband, Kabir. This breaks Indian tradition of which husband was the one that put on the necklace onto his wife. The scene introduces the exchanged role between a man and a woman as both have met the mutual agreement about it. In other words, an exchange of gender role in a marriage is possible as long as there is a negotiation and agreement reached between the couple. However, the film displays that there are

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boundaries preventing the gender role occurs in all sectors (Widyawati, 2017). By that means, Kia as a wife still obliged to be devoted to her husband, once she reach home.

A noteworthy scene is in minute 44:23, where Kia stood up giving money to Kabir, who sat on the bed, receiving the money. As Kia appears to be higher and bigger compared to Kabir, regardless the gender, the statement that the moneymaker on the family would be treated as superior than the partner who works on domestic domain.

Fig. 2. (a) Kia giving money to Kabir.

Another scene worth mention is in minute 46:58 where Kia had put on her make up before her meeting with the boss (depicted boss and Kia on the sofa, at the same level height,) and succeeded on the meeting (when Kia raised her hand up). This means that a female worker has been put under an obligation to be physically attractive, even on professional occasion.

Throughout the film Widyawati (2017) contends that Kia and Kabir's marriage pattern is considered unlawful from India's patriarchal tradition. Kabir has been depicted as an inferior husband, regardless his masculine appearance and his guardian nature. While Kia as a wife has been characterized as a superior wife, but has been also portrayed as body conscious female worker seeking concession in her professional life. Widyawati (2017) research mainly focuses on Kabir's life and the concept of masculinity. Leaned against two scenes as mentioned before, the writers will further discuss about gender role construction in public and private lives.

2.3 Discussion

Women, predominantly, in greater number of Indian cinema, are not characterized to be an equal to their male counterparts. It concerns with regard to objectification of women, accentuation of 'Male Gaze' perspectives, employing misogyny, and even put women as the selling point (as in most Telugu movie). But in the last decade, there has been a positive change in the film industry regarding women's inclusiveness. Queen, a Vikas Bahl movie, is one among the rare Indian films that passed the Bechdel test (Kamath, 2014). To pass the Bechdel test, the film must have: (1) two female characters (preferably named); (2) who talk to each other; (3) about something other than a man. Highway, English Vinglish and Shadi ke side effects are few other recent films that pay attention to the role of women (Shaji, 2017).

Ray (2013) noted an increasing number of Bollywood films address 'Gender Equality and Individual Freedom' during pre and post liberalization period in India, 384 films (77,42%) in pre liberalization period and 594 films (80,38%) in post liberalization era. Structural reform in the post liberalization period brings a significant change in the life style of educated youth – specially, in the life style of educated female. Increasing number of female is working outside of their hometown and pursuing jobs in historically male dominated fields, like management, engineering and advanced technology. Changing structure of gender dynamics in Indian society becomes increasing important theme in Bollywood films in the post liberalization era (1992-2010). One example is Chak De! India (Come On! India, 2007) argues against the gender discrimination in work place.

Then, Ki and Ka produced on 2016 offered new perspectives on gender role exchanges that challenge India's patriarchal view. First, as mentioned before, the one that wore mangala sutta in the Kabir and Kia household was the husband, Kabir. Not only Kabir represented as a man happily received the mangala sutta, but also deliberately procured all domestic chores conventionally done by Indian women from the beginning of their marriage. Mangala sutta worn as a necklace for an Indian married woman on daily basis, but Kabir wore the mangala sutta as a bracelet. In spite of his acceptance towards taking domestic role on his marriage, Kabir portrayed still considering public's judgments on his mangala sutta, as it possibly hurt the masculinity or pride of a man in Indian culture.

The culture consciously challenge traditional gender construct by accentuating mangala sutta, which has been perceived as women's acceptance for their responsibility to serve the man and the whole family. Implicitly, this film contains a message that the

responsibility for household chores and family need fall in both husband and wife, not only for the wife. It is portrayed that a man also capable of doing housework and manage all the household chores, including managing financial planning and accounting for the family. Unfortunately, in patriarchal culture that activities potentially spoiled man's position as the top strata in the family, and also in the society, culturally speaking.

On the film, Kabir depicted as a man with good cooking skill. Not only preparing food in the kitchen that closely associated as woman's workspace, but also doing grocery shopping, including bargaining for the best price. The scene was also supported by the backsound titled Most Wanted Munda, which lyric was "munda can shop… munda can chop.. kehnde bargain main hay yeh to that roughly translated into "he can shop, he can chop, he is good at bargaining."

On the film, Kabir has an ideal masculine appearance, which characterized with a strong man with muscular body, six-pack chest, and beard. Kabir pays attention to his appearance, depicted with his body building activities. Kabir also appeared as an ideal masculine man. Women neighbors praised him as he has ideal body appearance and good cooking skill.

It is maintained that men are considered as the main breadwinner in the family, owning privileges in the public space. Women who end up enjoying the position as breadwinners then, gain the power that aligns her position with men. In this film, Kia was being depicted as a career woman who had no interest in household chores, and fully exchanged the role of conventional man and woman in public and domestic spheres with her husband Kabir.

Another interesting point on this film was that body appearances still become women's social capital. Kia put on a lipstick on her lips before meeting with her boss, her success seemed to be caused by her cosmetic. Despite egalitarian condition at work was being introduced on this film, it was still highly gendered, as a woman in public domain is closely associated with her appearance and her beauty. Implicitly, this film reaffirms the discrimination experienced by women in the workplace.

Female workers have to face the so called statistical discrimination and preferential discrimination, an attempt of herding women only on jobs that fit the stereotype attached to them, such as a secretary. While men was stereotyped as a leader, person with important position. This lead to the term superwoman syndrome coined by Newel (1993), of which described women experiencing double-burden. This

means that women has the same workload with men but different salary rate, women also experience non-egalitarian opportunity and preferential appreciation as men (Candraningrum, 2013).

3. CONCLUSIONS

This film represents gender equality as a crossover of public and private role represented with female workers and a devoted husband both emphasizing physical appearance as the main social capital on social domains. Despite the attempt of challenging traditional gender construct in India, the film heavily contained patriarchal perspective attributing women to the ideal femininity whereas men to the ideal masculinity conventionally perceived by the culture. It could be concluded that domestic work remains gendered.

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INDONESIA'S READINESS AND CHALLENGE IN IMPLEMENTING ASEAN COMMUNITY PROJECT;
ANALYZING OF POLITICS AND SECURITY ASPECTS

Laode Machdani Afala, S.IP, MA[1], Restu Karlina Rahayu, S.IP, M.Si[2]

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explain Indonesia's readiness and challenges in implementing the ASEAN Community Project. ASEAN Community has been running for more than one year, since 2015. ASEAN Community as part of the regionalization process is intended as a way to enhance cooperation and unity among ASEAN countries. However, the process requires the readiness of a country in various aspects, one of which is the security and political conditions of a country. Using a political security approach, this paper seeks to address Indonesia's readiness and challenges in implementing this ASEAN Community. Based on the findings, this paper concludes two points; Firstly, Indonesia is facing many challenges both internally and externally, especially in an effort to give the protection and guaranty at the level of individuals associated with human rights issues. Some challenges can be seen from the increasing restricted civil liberties, intolerance action, and the use of threat of some groups in many areas. Secondly, as the first consequence, Indonesia's political and security situation is internally unstable in which causes a divided society and a stagnant democracy. This condition implicitly describes the condition of Indonesia's readiness and challenges in implementing the ASEAN Community project.

Keywords: Political and Security, Democracy, Readiness, Challenge, ASEAN Community

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to know more deeply the readiness and challenges being faced by the state of Indonesia in its efforts to engage in the phase of ASEAN Community development from 2015 to 2017, particularly in the political and security aspects. ASEAN Community is a major project initiated by ASEAN countries to enhance cooperation and unity as one region. In the grand design of the ASEAN political and security community of 2025, the creation of stable and peaceful political conditions is one of the important agenda of the ASEAN Community. This is in response to the increasing number of threats to human security both internally and externally of a country, so that those prompt

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ASEAN countries to take steps to provide the prevention and protection towards human security.

The idea of ASEAN Community has been implemented since the end of December 2015. It was originally pioneered since 2003 while an Asia Pacific conference meeting held in Bali. The meeting resulted in an agreement known as Concord II, which was followed by next meetings in Cebu, the Philippines in 2007, and the last meeting in Singapore in the same year. At the last meeting, ASEAN members agreed to accelerate the development plan of ASEAN Community in December 2015. There have three main pillars in ASEAN Community, namely the political and security pillar, economic pillar, and social and cultural pillar as the main form of cooperation among ASEAN countries. Based on the vision of ASEAN Community 2025, the aim is to create an integrated, peaceful, and stable society with equal well-being.

In the effort to achieve the vision, especially in political and security aspect, each ASEAN country is being faced with a number of problems both internally and externally. Some problems faced by each ASEAN country in regionalization of ASEAN Community are like; firstly, each country has a different political and security situation. It will certainly affect the role of a State in the effort of the ASEAN Community development. Secondly, the process of integrated ASEAN region have an impact on the increasing of human mobility. This indirectly contributes to the security and political stability of a State. Based on UNHCR data beginning 2017, there have currently 14,425 thousand immigrants with 8,039 thousand refugees and 6,386 asylum seekers who came in Indonesia. They come from Myanmar, Afghanistan and Syria. The amount is certainly different from the number of other visiting that come into Indonesia. Meanwhile, in BPS data, until December 2016, the number of foreign tourists visiting Indonesia reached 1.11 million people. Indeed, the human mobility will certainly affect human security in a country.

Thirdly, the principle of non-intervention applied among ASEAN countries, indirectly also affects the inhibition of the ASEAN integration process as an integrated region both in political-security, economic, and socio-cultural aspects (Lee Jones, 2012). In that case, Chin (2007: 397) mentions that ASEAN political and security community is an operational mode or a softer approach to the agreement of non-intervention between ASEAN countries. A number of security problems that have occurred in some ASEAN countries such as the conflict between Islam and Buddhist groups in Myanmar and the uprising in the Philippines are hampered by the non-intervention principles. On the other

hand, those problems can also be considered as a failure of ASEAN in creating a peaceful and harmonious society.

In general, the studies of security issues and political stability in the process of regionalization has been undertaken by Karl Deutsch (1957) and Amitav Acharya (2001). Deutsch introduced the term of security community concept followed by Acharya in discussing the security issues of the region. The security community is defined as a community group integrated into a common community where joint problems can be resolved through the path of peaceful change. In security community concepts, the presence of an integrated region like ASEAN will always be in a dilemma security situation between the national interest and the interests of the region. Acharya (2001: 453), more explicitly explains that the issue of regional security cannot be separated from the problems of national security (national interest) and human security.

Thus, ASEAN regional integration efforts will certainly be influenced by the internal security and political conditions of a country. The more unstable the condition of political and security of a country is, the worse the readiness of a country in development of ASEAN Community is. In the context of the State of Indonesia, the security and political issues are in an alarming situation. A number of issues such as conflict and violence between groups and those involving the state has colored the current history and politics of Indonesia in recent time (see Herbert Feith & Lance Castles, 1988; Gerry van Klinken, 2007; Cornelis Lay, 2009). On the basis of this, this study attempts to examine more deeply how the readiness of the Indonesian state in the security and political sector is in the process of regionalization of ASEAN.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

In analysis, this study uses a political security approach. This approach is part of the concept of human security concept developed by Unite Nation through the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) in respond to the security issues being faced by modern humans. The concept of human security was also introduced by Amitav Acharya (2001) who studies security not only as part of the protection of sovereignty and military threats, but also the agenda of promoting collective human security agenda in various sectors such as economy, food, health, environment and others. According to him, the concept of human security is presented as a means of reducing the cost of violent conflict, as a strategy for the government to solve basic human needs problems and the inequalities of globalization, and as a framework to provide social security networks to

marginalized and impoverished societies (Acharya, 2001: 443). In general, this human security concept is a people-centered and multi-sector concept. This concept seeks basically to understand conditions that threaten human survival, livelihood, and dignity.

Through the use of a political security approach, this study focuses only on tracing on the protection of human rights, protection against civil of liberty, and protection against political repression and violence against human rights. The aim is to know Indonesia's state of readiness and challenge in the implementation phase of ASEAN Community (2015-2017) in politics and security aspects.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Protection of Human Rights

Currently, Indonesia is one of the democracy countries in ASEAN. Since the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, under the leadership of Suharto, Indonesia entered a new political change from an authoritarian state to a democracy. This era marks various changes and political dynamics. The amendment of the 1945 constitution accompanied by the emergence of democratic and decentralization policies in the political aspect has pushed the Indonesian state into a democratic country. The condition has opened the course of human rights issues as an important agenda in the transition of Indonesian political change. Nevertheless, despite many changes in various sectors, the political and human rights conditions remain problematic. The following data is published by BTI (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index) on the condition of Indonesian democracy and human rights.

Indonesia Democracy Index (2006-2016)

Years	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
Scores	6.3	6.5	7	6.9	7.1	6.9

Source: adapted from BTI report

In the 2010-2016 range, based on the Indonesia Democracy Index (2016) published by the BTI Democracy Index, Indonesia is in the status of defective democracy. It is showed by the score that slowly declined from 7 in 2010 to 6.9 in 2016, even in 2014 its status increased in 7.1. Compared with other ASEAN members such as Singapore, Philippines, and Thailand, Indonesia is more democratic than others. In general, the index implicitly indicates that within the range of ASEAN Community Implementation (2015-2016), Indonesian democracy declined slowly by -0.1. The index uses several indicators such as stateness, political participation, the rule of law, the stability of democratic institutions, and political and social integration. Those indicators explain that the capacity of the state in political development, especially political and security aspects is weak. Those data are also confirmed by BPS on IDI (Indonesian Democracy Index) released on September 2017, which stated that Indonesia's democracy index has decreased in the last two years in 2015 and 2016. IDI score in 2014 was 73.04, in 2015 decreased to 72.82, and continued to decline in 2016 to 70.09.

In the Setara Institute report on the Human Rights Index (2010-2016), Indonesia's human rights index increased significantly from 2.21 to 2.83. In 2015-2016 in which the ASEAN Community was implemented, the index increased significantly from 2.45 to 2.83. The index showed an increase, but some human rights issues related to religious freedom, showing a steady decline. It is caused by intolerance actions, radical and fundamental movements, identity politics, terrorism, and massive discrimination in some parts of Indonesia. Overall, in protection of human rights Indonesia is facing some threats that are conducted by group and State. Based on Setara Institute and Kontras reports 2016, Indonesia State still has minim role in solving a number of human rights cases such as massacres case of 1965-1966 (see Human Rights Watch Report 2017) and in providing protection and guaranty of human rights for minority groups.

3.2 Protection from State Repression, Military Dictatorships and Abuse

In connection with the protection of military dictatorship and political repression, such indications are indicated in several cases, such as when Probowo Subianto proposed to reintroduce a pre-democratic constitution in the 2014 presidential election. He managed to collect about 47% of votes potentially indicating the vulnerability of democracy. Probowo Subianto was a presidential candidate with a military background and he was suspected in involving in a number of cases related to human rights abuses. Besides, appointing Wiranto, indicted as a crime against humanity by an UN-backed

tribunal, by Jokowi in July 2016 as security minister indicated weak commitment of the State to human rights (see Human Rights Watch Report 2017).

Furthermore, in the end of 2016, there was treason case of anti-Jokowi activists such as Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Ratna Sarumpeat, Ahmad Dhani, and others. They were suspected of mass profiling and rebellion against the government. The arrest of those activists indicates the existence of repression by the state. In the same time, it shows unstable politics and security conditions. Another case was about the issuance of law (Perppu) no. 2/2017 on mass organizations. The enactment of the law is regarded as another indication of state repression. It is because the presence of the law has had an impact on the disbanding of one of the non-formal organizations like HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia). The case is contrary to the right of freedom of expression. In addition, the Law (Perppu) leads to state authoritarianism because the decision of disband of organizations deemed to be in conflict with Pancasila or the state is determined by the government as the executive.

3.3 Protection of Civil Liberty

Another characteristic of this political security approach is related to the protection of civil freedom. Based on the Indonesian Democracy Index published by BPS in September 2017, the civil liberty such as freedom of assembly and association, freedom of expression, freedom of belief, freedom and discrimination, decreased significantly in the last two years (2015 and 2016). There are two indicators of the cause, namely: firstly, the threat or use of violence by government officials that impedes freedom of assembly and association. Secondly, the threat or use of violence by the people that hampers freedom of assembly and association (Kompas, 15/9/2017).

The weakening of the aspect was also reinforced by data from the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFEnet) until September 2017 with the arrest of six activists who were convicted using the Electronic Information and Transaction Act. By 2016, the number of people arrested is 10 people and in range, from 2013 to 2015 there were 17 activists who were convicted by government (Kompas, 18/9/2017). The case shows a criminalization of activists and other parties who have different opinions with the government. It became a symbol of the decline in the quality of Indonesian democracy. Additionally, the discrimination of a number of religious groups against other religious groups and persecution case has also contributed to the decline in civil liberty. The prominent case in persecution was in Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (former Jakarta Governor) in Blasphemy case. Based on SAFEnet Report in June 2017, there had been

66 cases of persecution. All the cases show some problems in protection of civil liberty in Indonesia.

3.4 Reflection; Indonesia in ASEAN

Basically, Indonesia has been a member of ASEAN for 5 decades. Indonesia is the pioneer of the establishment of ASEAN with Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand which resulted in the ASEAN declaration on August 8, 1967. At the age of 5 decades ASEAN, Indonesia should have become a successful and stable country in preparation especially in the effort to build ASEAN Community. The idea of ASEAN Community is, in essence, a continuation of the initial idea of ASEAN pioneering. In other words, Indonesia's readiness in creating a harmonious, peaceful society and the creation of a stable internal political condition through membership in ASEAN should be mature.

4 CONCLUSION

From the existing political and security conditions, Indonesia is basically not quite ready to participate and implement the ASEAN Community. However, if we compare with other ASEAN members such as Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia is still better than those countries. This is due to the unstable political situation and the increasing threat of security to people. Some of these problems are threats to civil liberties, threats to human rights, and the state repression and abuse. It can also be showed by Indonesia's democratic status that has been experiencing weakness and decline throughout the years of 2015 till 2017. All political and security cases, indeed, influence the readiness and challenges of Indonesia in implementing ASEAN Community.

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BUMDES AND ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES IN DEVELOPING RURAL ECONOMY

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ABSTRACT

The writing aims answer the challenges of Asean Economic Community (AEC) with improving the role of rural economy through BUMDES (Badan Usaha Milik Desa) as one of the things to be disconnected chain of poverty in rural areas as well as preparing institutional innovative towards the AEC. Innovative institutional BUMDES that has been initiated by BUMDES in the village of Gondowangi is to apply the principle of commercialization but still hold on values of humanity, tranparency and also accountability.

The presence of AEC brings opportunities at once a threat to rural economy. The rural commercialization that has been the direction of government policy throughout the 1950s to 2000s has not achieved significant results because it is not in accordance with the characteristics of rural communities. The process of agricultural commercial growth precisely pinches the farmers on two pressures at once, the increasingly urban biased government policy and the two market pressures (controlled by business actors). Therefore, in the face of the Asean Economic Community (AEC) which means the market is present everywhere including in rural areas then this is a threat from the AEC in rural communities.

As an opportunity, BUMDes should be able to build institutional and social capital by building networks that occur among villagers, village government, central government, intellectuals and investors while providing trust among stakeholders by preparing rules of the games, which sided with the village community. In other words, the market with the commercialization principle through the AEC is not faced with face to face with individuals in rural communities but must deal with the institutions through BUMDes by building a strong social capital without ignoring the role of village leadership as agents of change.

Keywords : Asean Economic Community, BUMDes, instututional, social capital.

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has welcomed the implementation of the free market of Southeast Asia or so-called Asean Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 ago. In the Asean Economic Community (AEC), ASEAN has agreed on priority sectors to the moment, namely seven sectors of industrial goods and five service sectors. To assist in achieving ASEAN

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economic integration through the AEC, AEC Blueprint was created which contained four main pillars, namely: (1) ASEAN as a single and single production-based market supported by a free flow element of goods, services, investments, educated labor and more capital flows free; (2) ASEAN as an area of high economic competitiveness, with elements of competition rules, consumer protection, intellectual property rights, infrastructure development, taxation, and e-commerce; (3) ASEAN as an area with equitable economic development with elements of small and medium enterprise development, and ASEAN integration initiatives for Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam countries; and (4) ASEAN as a region fully integrated with the global economy with elements of a coherent approach to economic relations outside the region, and increasing participation in global production networks. With the enactment of MEA 2015, it means ASEAN countries agree on the realization of regional economic integration whose implementation refers to AEC Blueprint. AEC Blueprint is a guide for ASEAN Member States in realizing AEC 2015 (Wangke, 2015).

Indonesia's readiness in welcoming the Asean Economic Community should not be separated from the role of the rural economy. Rural economy should be grown considering the Indonesian gini coefficient index in 2016 and then in the score of 0.4. The high score of the gini coefficient index is due, among others, to the striking gap between the rural and urban economies. The gap is due to the large number of Indonesians residing in rural areas but not followed by an increase in the village economy. Therefore, increasing the role of the rural economy through the Village Owned Enterprise is one of the things to break the rural poverty chains while preparing innovative institutions towards the AEC.This issue begins to attract public attention because BUMDes is projected by the government to be a new economic power in rural areas. BUMDes can accommodate partnership efforts between village government and village community that prioritize the spirit of mutual cooperation and independence and realize the prosperity and prosperity of the village community. To achieve these noble ideals, some legal products are applied to umbrella BUMDes, among others, Law No. 6 of 2014 on Village and Permendesa No. 4 of 2015 on Establishment, Management and Management and Dissolution of Village Owned Enterprises.

With reference to the rule of law, the village government is expected to institutionalize in the format of governance and the village economy; manage and develop accountable and performing BUMDes; encouraging local community initiatives to mobilize local economic potential; establishing consolidation and cooperation with

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related parties to make BUMDes an economic patron. By utilizing BUMDes, villages can be the subject of emancipatory development by providing basic services to the community and mobilizing local economic assets.

Ironically, the expectations are not in line with the reality that is in the field. Since the village law has been enacted, only a handful of village governments have been able to manage and develop BUMDes in a professional and accountable manner; in fact, most village administrations have not been able to establish BUMDes. Of 74,093 villages in Indonesia, only 1.4% have BUMDes. Based on data from the Ministry of Village, 1022 BUMDes have been developed throughout Indonesia, spread over 74 districts, 264 subdistricts and 1022 villages. Ownership BUMDes mostly in East Java that is 287 BUMDes and North Sumatra with 173 BUMDes.

One of the villages in Malang Regency that is Gondosari Village has BUMDes Gondowangi with two business unit that is PAMDES which serve citizen need for clean water and waste management. The BUMDes was established on February 28, 2008 and obtained legal legitimacy through Gondowangi Village Regulation no. 2 Year 2010. Based on the village regulations, in article 7 and article 8, the purpose of the establishment of BUMDes Gondowangi is to increase the PAD, provide services to the community, increase business opportunities and help the village government in reducing poverty and improve prosperity. BUMDes Gondowangi is expected to run on the principles of transparency, accountability, participation, sustainability and acceptability. Meanwhile, the purpose of the establishment of BUMDes Gondowangi is as a container of village business units, economic service centers and realize an economic unity of Gondowangi and surrounding communities.

Since its founding 8 years ago, BUMDes Gondowangi has experienced ups and downs. Based on preliminary observations on May 10, 2016, BUMDes Gondowangi never less productive even roads in place. Furthermore, he also mentioned the protests of citizens who are not satisfied with the performance of BUMDes that are perceived as less transparent in the management of funds and are considered to deviate from the principles described in the debate. The performance of BUMDes has gradually improved since the election of a new village head (elected in 2013). Leadership of this figure is considered citizens able to revitalize the performance of BUMDes through a series of reforms with a persuasive approach to the community Gondowangi. This situation is interestingly researched to identify the factors that accompany the pioneering and

development of BUMDes and analyze the efforts of village and village elite governments in revitalizing BUMDes.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted in Gondowangi Village, Wagir District, Malang Regency. The village was chosen to be a research site because it has owned BUMDes in the field of drinking water and waste management since 2008 until now, despite experiencing tidal management. BUMDes in Gondowangi Village itself is protected by Gondowangi Village Regulation, Wagir District, Malang Regency Number 2 Year 2010 on the establishment of Village Owned Enterprise (BUMDes)

The research location was chosen purposely because the BUMDes handled by the Gondowangi Villagers could run until winning the race held by the Government of East Java Province. By taking the location of the village, the researcher hopes to find answers to the research questions. Field research conducted from May to October 2016.Teknik data collection in this study was done by observation (observation), in depth interview (in depth interview), documents both primary and secondary. Researchers expect the data collected consists of two types of data namely primary data and secondary data.

Primary data can be obtained by researchers from in-depth interviews conducted to informants who can answer the problem formulation in this study. Informants drawn from the village community consisting of village heads, village apparatuses, BUMDes boards both in drinking water and garbage, drinking water users and garbage, key infromants in villages and related institutions that can assist in the search for information. In-depth interviews of key informants using snowball techniques. Meanwhile, secondary data can be obtained by the researchers in the form of statistical data that includes: demographic data, geographic data obtained from Government documents Gondowangi Village. Data obtained from observation (observation) can be obtained through direct observation by way of field observation.

Data analysis technique is done is qualitative data analysis. Qualitative data both primary and secondary data that have been obtained will be processed using three stages of data analysis activities. Sitorus (1998) said that in analyzing data done jointly that is reduction, data presentation and conclusion. Data reduction aims to sharpen, classify, direct, classify, direct, eliminate unnecessary data and organize datta so that the conclusion is obtained. Reduced data will be presented in descriptive form and is

expected to answer the formulation of predetermined problems then draw conclusions from the primary and secondary data that have been reduced.

3. INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Institution (institution) is also called the rules of the game whose content is different between macro level and micro level. At the macro level, institutions contain a set of political, social and legal rules that establish production, exchange and distribution activities. While at the micro level, the institutions are related to the governance issues of the rules of the game so that exchanges between the economy can take place either through cooperation or competition (Yustika, 2008: xi).

Institutions are labeled as the legal framework or natural rights that govern the actions of individuals. Bardhan (1989) in Yustika (2008: 33) views institutions as more accurately defined as social rules, agreements and other elements of the framework of social interaction. Institutions can also be interpreted as regulation of behavior generally accepted by members of social groups. Manig (1991) notes that institutions reflect the values and norms of society, but they are not the institutions themselves.

North (1994) in Yustika (2008: 34) defines institutions as rules that limit human deviant behavior to build structures of political, economic and social interaction. Through institutions that regulate misbehavior, it has managed to create order and reduce uncertainty in exchange. In this context, institutions have three components: formal rules, informal rules and enforcement mechanisms. Formal rules include the constitution, statute, law and all other government regulations. Formal rules form political systems (governance structures, individual rights), economic systems (contracts) and security systems (judiciary, police). While nonformal rules include experience, traditional values, religion and all factors that influence the individual's subjective perception of the world in which they live. Meanwhile, enforcement works to make the rule effective. In summary, institutional means the rules of the game in society. the rules of the game include regulations that enable people to interact. Institutions can reduce the inherent uncertainty in human interaction through the creation of behavioral patterns.

Social capital in the New Institutional Economic paradigm became one of ESB's subsidiaries (New Economic Social, NSE) and EBT (Economic Transaction Costs, TCE) (Khelarah & Kirsten (2002), Yustika (2006) in Witjaksono (2010)). According to the basic argument of economic sociology and institutional economics, all activities and organizations of the natural economy of traditional societies and modern industrial

societies are embedded within their social environment. The embeddedness argument, according to Polanyi (1944), Granovetter (1985 & 1992) and Barber (1995) in Witjaksono (2010) indicates that economic activity within the organization does not develop in a social vacuum, but activity is affected by: (a) socially constructed institutions, (b) the actors' personal relations, and (c) the structure of the network of relations (see Ruuskanen, 2004: 3). In fact, the networks of multinational companies operating in the global economy are rooted in social relations and social institutions (Castells, 1996). In the context of social attachment, the thinking behind the concept of social capital becomes important, because it is capable of explaining how social attachment that exists in economic actions affects the economic performance of a country or society.

3.1 Institutional BUMDes Desa Gondowangi

1. Legal and Capital Framework of BUMDes Desa Gondowangi

The establishment of BUMDes is basically based on Law no. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government and Government Regulation no. 72 Year 2005 on Village. In detail about the two legal basis BUMDes are: 1). UU no. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government; Article 213 paragraph (1) "Villages may establish village-owned enterprises in accordance with village needs and potential". And 2). PP no. 72 of 2005 on Villages: Article 78 paragraph 1 "In increasing the income of the community and the village, the Village Government may establish a Village Owned Enterprise in accordance with the needs and potential of the Village". Paragraph (2) "The establishment of a Village Owned Enterprise as meant in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by a Village Regulation based on the laws and regulations". Paragraph (3) "Form of Village Owned Enterprise as referred to in paragraph (1) must be legal entity".

Contextually, the establishment of BUMDes Gondowangi did not originate from the BUMDes Act but started from the Kecamatan Development Program (PPK) which changed into the National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM) Mandiri in 2007. In the excavation of the priority scale issue of PNPM Mandiri, the community of Gondowangi Village decided that drinking water is the main problem of their village. This is based on the large number of residents in the village and the location is very coincide so it is not possible to make a clean well without contamination of neighboring waste around it.

BUMDes economic activity pillar is expected to function as a social institution (social institution) and commercial (commercial institution). BUMDes as a social

institution side with the interest of the community through its contribution in the provision of social services. While as a commercial institution aims to seek profits through the supply of local resources (goods and services) to the market (Atmojo, 2016). In line with this, BUMDes in Gondowangi Village also have similar functions. This can be seen from how the initial capital form of this PAMDes derived from PNPM Mandiri which of course funds come from the central government as a clean water program aid for the poor of Rp.90.000.000 (ninety million rupiah). The grant is only given once in between 2007-2008. As the sustainability of the PAMDes program, the committee began to expand its commercial function of serving the needs of clean water for the community capable and entrepreneurs in the Gondowangi Village area with cross-subsidy mechanism. This is done as an effort to sustain the drinking water program which requires routine maintenance and payment of technician salary. Therefore, the community capable and entrepreneurs in Gondowangi who need drinking water must pay Rp. 500.000, - for the first pipe installation and then pay Rp.500, - / m3 (per cubic meter).

From the payment of capable communities and entrepreneurs, new pipeline pipelines and routine maintenance of springs and pipelines are also paid for BUMDes drinking water technicians, which have been in effect since 2010. Actually, the legal framework for BUMDes capital is also stated in PP no. 72 Year 2005 concerning Villages: Article 79 Paragraph (1) "Village Owned Enterprises as referred to in Article 78 paragraph (1) are village businesses managed by the Village Government". Paragraph (2) "Permodalan Badan Usaha Milik Desa may come from: 1. Village Government; 2. Community savings; 3. Government Assistance, Provincial Government and 4. District / City Government; 5. Loans; and / or 6. Participation of other party's equity or profit-sharing cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit. 7. The Management of a Village Owned Enterprise consists of the Village Government and the community.

If you look at the legal basis then it can be concluded that the formation of Gondowangi BUMDes comes from the central government capital through PNPM Mandiri program for the poor and develops into the stewardship of BUMDes that was born from the independence of the community and the village government. According to Sutoro Eko (in Chikamawati, 2015), villagers must be mobilized through the elements and instruments of BUMDes. The existence of BUMDes should be able to become the wheels of the economy of rural communities aimed at fostering the local economy and strengthening the economy of the villagers.

2. PAMDes Regulation System: Principles of Commercialization based on Human Values

According to Rutherfood (in Yustika, 2008) the institute is interpreted as a behavioral regulation generally accepted by members of social groups, for specific behavior in special situations either self-supervised or monitored by external authorities. In line with this, the BUMDes Drinking Water (or PAMDes) institution in Gondowangi Village has established a regulation that can control the PAMDes consumer's behavior to discipline paying water bills and granting late payment sanctions. This regulatory innovation is based on the principle of commercialization but still relies on the value of humanity.

Table 1

No	Schedule Routine / month	Type of Service PAMDes
1	Date 1-5	Consumer Meter Check
2	Date 6-8	Meter Recording
3	Date 9	Print the bill
4	Date 10-20	Opening of Counter Payout

Sanctions imposed on consumers when exceeding payment arrears for 3 months. PAMDes officers then gave individual and face-to-face warnings accompanied by the RT head of the delinquent. The value of humanity applies when the reason of the delinquent is related to the economic crush of the family and is given the flexibility of payment time with the installment system. But when the delinquent does not have a rational excuse, an instantly termination letter signed by the head of the village is issued, and then the technician immediately breaks the drinking water channel from the delinquent. If the delinquent has settled the payment and wishes to become a PAMDes customer again, a new subscriber rate will be charged and a payment of Rp 500,000.00.

The regulation run by PAMDes refers to what North (in Yustika, 2008) suggests that institutions can aim to limit human misbehavior to build structures of political, economic, and social interactions. Thus BUMDes is the right of the village to utilize the rules of the Village Law which gives authority to the village government to innovate in rural development, especially in terms of improving the village economy and welfare for the village community (Chikamawati, 2015).

3. Role of Village Leadership: Accountable and Transparent

The rule of law as a formal institutional rule of BUMDes can not be released away from non-formal rules such as the role of village leadership. Giddens (in Priyono 2000) sees the issue of indivisible structure in the relationship of dualism but duality. Duality explains the dialectical and interrelated relationships between agents and structures (Ritzer, 2004). This duality occurs in recurrent and patterned social practices in space and time (Priyono, 2000: 19). Duality lies in the fact that a "rule" -like scheme which is the principle for practice in such places and times is the outcome of the repetition of action, and simultaneously the "rules" scheme becomes the medium for the ongoing social practice.

Agencies in Structuring Giddens have an important role in structural change. The routine social practices of PAMDes management can not be separated from the role of village head and chairman of PAMDes. The head of Gondowangi Village is currently newly inaugurated in 2014 and carries a clean, accountable and transparent government. Under his leadership, the overall revamping of the village system was carried out and financial information was transparently presented in any media (banner, web, facebook, village meeting, etc.).

Improvement of the system is also done on PAMDes including the restructure of administrators and revamping the administrative and financial system. Cash PAMDes that before 2014 0% or even minus due to unorganized administration and not "clean" the board, currently cash PAMDes within 2 years of his leadership succeeded to donate funds amounting to RP. 120,000,000 for APBDes.

The change of PAMDes management is done by electoral mechanism by BPD, LPMD and village government. And Mr. Suprapoto was elected as the new PAMDes chairman because for the Village Head, Mr. Suprapto has economic capital and cultural capital that is good enough to organize PAMDes.

An agent with discursive awareness is able to influence the structure and make changes to the structure or what Giddens calls "derutinization" (in Priyono 2000). Deruarization is necessary when corrupt government social management practices are not worth defending in the rural domain. In the institutional framework, the creation of behavioral patterns embodied in the rules of the games created by agents and structures that include regulation, aims to establish society to interact and reduce the risk of inherent uncertainty (Yeager in Yustika, 2000). In other words, the role of the actor in

this case the village head is able to mobilize the village community so that the systematic, accountable and transparent PAMDes system can be realized.

4. CONCLUSION: BUMDES AND MEA: BETWEEN OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS

In the perspective of Boeke (2015) the economy of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), especially Java, experienced the dualism of the economy that is the traditional and modern economics are mutually unrelated. To overcome the imbalance caused by the dualistic economy, according to Boeke, the traditional sector needs to be stimulated through economic incentives and improved production technology even though the results will not be immediately apparent. The idea ultimately became an important discourse in the process of rural development in developing countries (Marshus in Yustika, 2008). Throughout the 1950s to the 2000s Boeke's ideas were realized through government programs that eventually the process of commercializing the rural sector took place through a series of policies aimed at promoting the growth of the agricultural sector, the green revolution and the creation of rational peasants (Ellis and Biggs in Yustika 2008).

These rural commercialization efforts have not achieved significant results because they do not fit the characteristics of the village community. Scott (in Yustika, 2008) argues that the process of commercial agricultural growth precisely pinches the farmers on two pressures at once, the increasingly urban biased government policy and the two market pressures (controlled by business actors). Therefore, in facing the ASEAN Economic Community or AEC (Asean Economic Community) which means the market is present everywhere including in rural areas then this is a threat from the MEA in rural communities.

Placing BUMDes as a village-owned enterprise does not only rely on the principle of commercialization, because according to Maryunani (in Samadi, 2014) the main characteristics that distinguish BUMDes from commercial economic institutions are as follows: 1. Business capital originates from village (51%) and from community (49%) through equity participation (share or share); The enterprise is owned by the village and managed jointly; 3. Implemented on the basis of the principle of kinship and mutual cooperation and rooted in the values developed and lived in the community (local wisdom); 4. The field of business undertaken is based on the development of the potential of the village in general and the results of market information that sustains the

economic life of the community 5. The empowered manpower in BUMDes is a potential workforce in the village 6. The benefits gained are aimed at improving the welfare of rural communities and or capital partners 7. Decision-making and problem solving is done through village meetings 8. BUMDes regulations are implemented as village policies 9. Facilitated by the Government, Provincial Government, District Government and Village Governments; 10. Implementation of BUMDes activities supervised jointly (Pemdes, BPD, members).

BUMDes opportunities in facing the MEA is how to build institutional and social capital by building networks that occur among villagers, village government, central government, intellectuals and investors while providing trust among the stakeholders by preparing rules of the game) in favor of the village community. In other words, the market with the commercialization principle through the MEA is not faced with face to face with individuals in rural communities but must deal with the institutions through BUMDes by building a strong social capital without ignoring the role of village leadership as an agent of change.

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CURRENT CONVERSATIONS ON PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DISABILITY ISSUES

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ABSTRACT

Stigma towards persons with disability has been highlighted as one predicting factors for overdiagnosis and more negative prognoses. The extent to which disability equality policies and practices are adopted in any given Southeast Asia societies is dependent upon the ability to capture in a real-time the extremely rapid and massive context of current societal dynamics. The mode of communication, with the support of increasingly affordable digital devices, brings communities into a new form of interaction in social media. As a source of data, the patterns derived from these social media are extremely valuable, especially to support decision-making processes. Data-driven policies are capable of suppressing errors because the target is a measurable goal. Characteristics of specific digital data requires a special approach given the huge volume of data (big data). Related to this research, the applied platform is social listening. Big data processing is conducted through the (1) data mining stage (Twitter API) using six technical terms i.e., "disabilitas" (disability), "difabel" (different ability), "cacat fisik" (physical disability), "cacat genetik" (genetic disability), "gangguan mental" (mental disorder), "gangguan jiwa" (soul illness), "penyandang cacat" (persons with disability), "retardasi mental" (mental retardation), and "skizofrenia" (schizophrenia), (2) data processing, (3) pattern evaluation, and (4) data visualization (Tableau and Gephi software). Findings from this study is expected to overcome the limitations of the tradition of stigma measurement with surveys and interviews that are vulnerable to the tendency of the subject to respond normatively.

Keywords: physical disability; mental disability; stigma; big data; social listening.

1. INTRODUCTION

The long history of evolution allows humans to interact efficiently and effectively. The complexity of social dynamics creates a form of strategy so that information rush can be simplified into a particular pattern. The ability to summarise this complexity leads not only to the positive, but also negative consequences in terms of the emergence of stigma. This study focuses on the public-stigma towards physically and mentally disabled persons. In Indonesia, the prevalence of physical disability is 11%, emotional mental

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disorder of 6%, and severe mental disorder is 1.7 per 1000 population (Health Research and Development Agency of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, 2013).

The World Health Organization and World Bank (2011) notes that regardless of the form of disability, the presence of stigma can affect the overall participation of persons with disabilities, particularly in crucial domains of education, employment, health care, and social engagement. This is due to the fact that public-stigma tends to be internalized by the target as self-stigma, resulting in the reluctance of stigma targets to access the required services (label avoidance) and compounded by structural-stigma in the forms of institutional policies or organizational procedures which isolates the stigma target (see Corrigan and Bink, 2016). As a consequence, public-stigma reduction is the entrance to change, which in the macro perspective of community development is part of social capital for the future of Indonesia.

Speaking of social interaction, traditional stigma measurements through self-reported surveys and interviews tend to produce limited data at the explicit level where the stigma-givers are fully aware of and willing to acknowledge their behavior, unable to represent the true complexity of stigma (Stier and Hinshaw 2007; Yusainy, Herani, Dharmawan, and Semedhi Feb 12 2016). On the other hand, the increasingly advanced technological developments have transformed social structures and processes on a massive scale. This happens because of the availability of social media where people could express and spontaneously communicate everything they experience. Social media users in Indonesia accounted for 40.46% of the total population, with the distribution of active users of YouTube 49%, Facebook 48%, Instagram 39%, and Twitter 38% (We Are Social January, 2017).

Social listening (also known as social media monitoring) as an active process of monitoring social interaction through social media and other online interaction sources is a breakthrough that can be offered in data-based stigma research in big quantities (big data). Social listening generally begins with a pattern of recognition of the discourse anatomy developing in social media. For this research, social listening was done by utilizing social media Twitter. Twitter allows account owners to share tweets (short messages with 140 character limits). With its characteristic of product characters, which are real time, historically stored, enormous quantities, diversity of users with wide geographical distribution, and unlimited themes are big data that have tremendous potential to be utilized in interdisciplinary research. A research conducted by Glummole, Orlando, and Tolomei (2013) found that trending topics, a popular collection of Twitter

topics, can predict hot queries, popular search results on Google, with explanatory power of 60%. This shows that the flood of information generated through Twitter's social network (social trends) could be used as a guide on what topics that are most likely to be searched by Internet users.

Citing Marx's concept of power relations, Kenny (2006) explained that the marginalization, oppression, and exploitation of a community occurs because of the gap in resources and power. The gap occurs because the groups with more resources and power try to control or dominate the group with fewer resources, e.g. through public stigma attachment. The empowerment activities that become the ultimate goal of this study used macro perspectives, to change the structure or community that often marginalize communities with physical and mental disabilities. Without improvements at the structural level, capacity building efforts that are usually carried out by groups of people with disabilities can not run optimally. Empowered communities are formed based on identity similarities envisioned by their members (imagined community: Anderson 2004; Gruzd, Wellman, and Takhteyev 2011).

2. STIGMA IN THE CONTEXT OF PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DISABILITIES

According to the International Classification of Functioning, Disability, and Heath (WHO 2001), disability refers to the negative aspects of individual (with health conditions) interactions and relevant contextual factors (e.g. public stigma and individual self-esteem). This definition shows that the concept of disability does not merely focus on the basis of individual conditions, but on functions in the social context. Disability involves three interrelated areas: (1) problems in the functioning of the body or body structure (e.g. paralysis, blindness), (2) difficulty in carrying out activities (e.g. walking, eating), and (3) barriers to participating in various aspects of life (e.g. discrimination at work, transportation limitations). The literature on disability usually categorizes disabilities based on their specific causes, such as "mental disability" and "physical disability". Mental disability includes mental disorders of psychiatry and intellectual disability (Werner et al. 2012).

In Indonesia, the highest prevalence of physical disability is in movement and mobility disabilities, followed by speech and hearing disabilities, as well as visual disabilities (WHO Regional Office for South-East Asia, 2013). Thohari (2013) concludes that the Javanese community's assessment of disability is circulated between deliberations of definition between four different concepts. In addition to the traditional

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Javanese conception (disability as a form of supernatural power), there is also an Islamic conception (disability is the object of good deeds), medical models (disabilities as abnormalities) and social models (disability as a social construction). Contemporary social models continue to initiate changes in the direction of movement from charity model and medical model. The simplest changes, for example, through the promotion of "disabled people" label replacements that were used before the 1990s became "persons with disabilities," and furthermore "difabel: differently abled people." This redefinition arose as a shift from theoretical analysis of disability as a "personal tragedy" due to physical/mental abnormalities to social construction due to the disruptive environment and the stigma of society.

The classic definition of stigma was put forward by Goffman (1963), as an attitude that degrades and marginalizes the target of stigma. Simply put, stigma is a negative attitude aimed at the target of stigma. As an attitude, stigma includes the basic elements of Affect-Behavior-Cognition (ABC). The element of affective reaction is prejudice, the element of behaviour is discrimination, and the element of cognitive evaluation in stigma is stereotype (Stier and Hinshaw, 2007). Stereotypes describe the structure of knowledge about the members of a particular group, which could form impressions and expectations of the members of a group more efficiently. However, rigidly applied stereotypes tend to be generalized to the other aspects of the group's members. Prejudice involves evaluative components and negative affective responses to stereotypical group members. The cognitive and affective elements of prejudice lead to discrimination reactions, in the form of avoidance behaviour, hostility, and refusal to provide assistance.

Most of the views on stigma and disability focus on individuals with mental psychiatric disorders. In this context, the stigma creates a vicious cycle between social rejection and self-internalization of stigma in targeted individuals (Stier and Hinshaw, 2007). This condition produces three categories of stigma, namely public stigma, self-stigma, and family-stigma (Werner, Corrigan, Ditchman, and Sokol 2012). Public-stigma focuses on the general attitude of the population to the targets of stigma. Self-stigma focuses on the experience of the target of stigma and internalization of the negative outlook of society. Family stigma is experienced by people who have relationships with stigma targets, including family members and professionals.

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3. METHODS

The pipeline used in this research involved several stages: data mining, data processing, data visualization, and interpretation.

3.1. Data mining

To get the dataset, target population data was the content available on Twitter as well as its interaction (retweet and mention).

Keywords used in the first filtering: "disabilitas" (disability) and "difabel" (different ability)

In the second screening: "disabilitas" (disability), "difabel" (different ability), "cacat fisik" (physical disability), "cacat genetik" (genetic disability), "gangguan mental" (mental disorder), "gangguan jiwa" (soul illness), "penyandang cacat" (persons with disability), "retardasi mental" (mental retardation), and "skizofrenia" (schizophrenia)

Technique of data retrieval: Data retrieval was done via Twitter API.

Duration of data retrieval: May 28, 2017 - June 12, 2017

3.2. Data processing

As this study was conducted in two stages which were analysis of sentiment and pattern recognition of community anatomy in disability, different analysis tools were needed. It is crucial to carefully selecting the appropriate algorithms in a study involving big data. In order to get anatomy from detecting and extracting patterns or structures from the Twitter conversion, the Infomap algorithm was applied in this study. Infomap is a tested algorithm with robust mathematical foundations (Rosvall, Axelsson and Bergstrom, 2009) and has been used in various studies. Studies using Infomap as an algorithm for finding community anatomy have been tested by Rosvall and Bergstrom (2008) who analyzed the information flow map to find community structures in complex webs, and Rosvall and Bergstrom (2010) who mapped changes in broad networks. Furthermore, Infomap has been also applied in other studies (see http://www.mapequation.org/publications.html#Rosvall-Bergstrom-2008-Maps-of-information-flow).

3.3. Data visualization

In order for the results to be easily analyzed, the data obtained was processed using Tableau and Gephi applications. The purpose of this stage was to generate results in graphical form.

4. RESULT

The first step was to retrieve all Twitter conversations related to the theme of disability and general disability (sensu lato). At the time of the first data mining (late April to early May 2017), the ongoing trending topic was a case involving Jakarta Capital City Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). The magnitude of this case was very large, so it interfered with the data retrieval process. The dispute of sentiment, or known as tweetwar, has seeped into the theme of disability and difabel.

Social media networks follow the Power Law distribution patterns that form abnormal curves. The density of formation depends on a particular user who has many followers, or is significantly responded by other users through retweets and mentions. If two or more hot issues (trending topics) are discussed at the same time, then the "leak" of unrelated themes is possible.

In the picture of 'mention' it could be seen that the theme about Ahok was very strongly discussed both in small groups as well as in large group (Fig 1.a). This situation could be interpreted that users tend to relate any topic of conversation to the case of Ahok, although in reality it was not interconnected. While from the 'retweet' image, it could be interpreted that there were four community groups that were celebrated by followers (Fig 1.b). These four clusters still form dense local networks, thus aggregately became a contributing factor to noise. Retweet in Twitter could be interpreted as approval of the original statement submitted by a user. In addition to mention and retweet, Twitter provides a like/favorite option (marked with a "love" icon) allowing other users to respond to a statement and archive it in a menu.

Nevertheless, there is a difference between retweets and favorites, because a retweeted statement will instantly appear in the timeline of the retweeters, and could be read by all their followers. While favorite are just putting a mark and input it into a menu that could only be opened specifically.
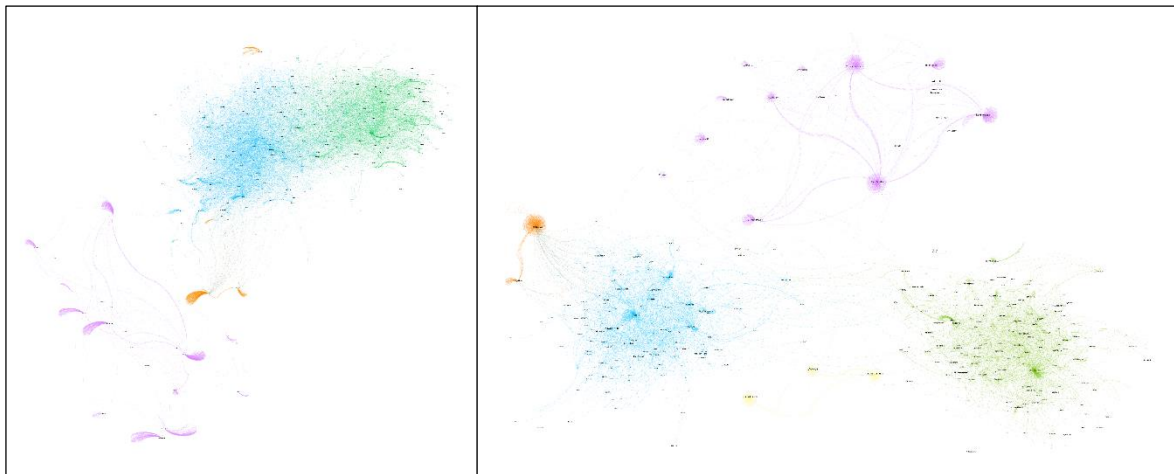
Fig 1. In the first data mining, mentions (a) as well as retweets (b) disability discourse was dominated by the conversations associated with the case of Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok).

Since the data on the first collection contained a large amount of noise, in order to obtain a cleaner data, it was necessary to re-screen using more specific keywords: disability, difabel, physical disability, genetic defects, mental disorders, soul illness, disabled person, mental retardation, and schizophrenia.

The second data filtering process resulted in a better outcome with as much as 7306 total tweet result relevant to the keyword out of a total of 5028 users. In addition, 116 users were detected as the main character that influenced conversations. Furthermore, there were 2357 connections based on retweet and 4164 connections based on mention. In the image generated from the processing of Tableau and Gephi software, a unique pattern was obtained. The flock did not form a complex pattern. Most topologies are one main account as leader followed by other users by responding via retweet or mention.

Filtering with the Infomap algorithm, resulted in a community anatomy that could be clearly defined. There were six main communities successfully detected that are marked with violet, green, blue, orange, dark green, and yellow. The bright and dark gradations of color were used to mark the size of the communities. The darker the color signified a bigger size, while the lighter color indicated the smaller size of the communities.

In the mode of mention (Fig. 2), influential main actors were dominated by media such as Detikcom, Detik Health, Google Facts, Tabloid Bintang. While for the community leaders, the crowd occurred in Hary Tanoesoedibjo, Corbuzier, and Gracyela Veronica.

Nevertheless, the distribution of small groups that addressed disability issues also occurred. The perspective that could be derived from this mention analysis was the discourse of disability life to be discussed by Twitter users. The pattern that occurred was to cite media coverage and figures to be discussed among users.

Judging from the retweets that reflected the approval (endorsement), it appeared that news about disabilities released by the media was responded and retweeted widely, either by the media itself, the public figures, or the general public (Fig. 3). The involvement of print, electronic, and online media in disability discourse was good.

Some of the electronic media that was tracked namely ANTV, Metro TV, Trans 7, Kompas TV. Radio included Radio Suara Surabaya, Radio Elshinta, Radio PRFM Bandung. The printed media included Harian Kompas, Media Indonesia, Suara Merdeka, Pikiran Rakyat. Online media encompassed Kompas.com, Detik.com, Liputan6.com, TabloidBintang.com, Tribun News. While the public figures involved Hary Tanoesudibjo, Deddy Mizwar, Lukman Edy, Sarwa Pramana. Several ministries were also participated in disability discourse, such as Kominfo (Ministry of Communication and Information), Ministry of PUPR (Publich Works and Public Housings) and Ministry of Agriculture.

Related to the theme, disability discourse was linked to some trending topics (Fig. 4) such as persons with disabilities that inspire public, facilities for people with disabilities, the link between mental disorders and creativity, to the notion that marijuana and metal music can cure mental disorders. Reviews of common users involved in the discourse of disability were dominated by urban communities by responding to news broadcast by the media.
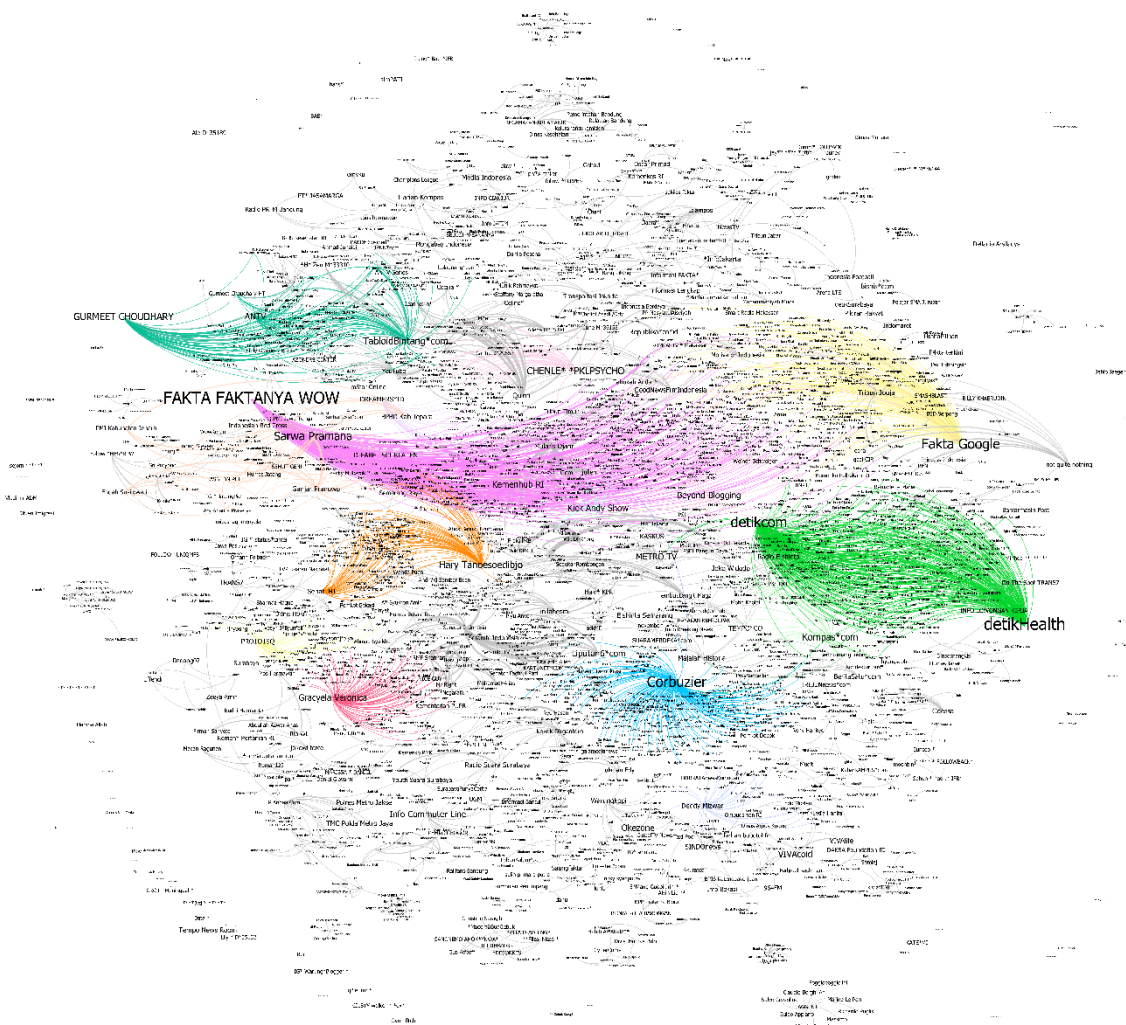
Fig 2. Mentions disability issues using keywords: "disabilitas" (disability), "difabel" (different ability), "cacat fisik" (physical disability), "cacat genetik" (genetic disability), "gangguan mental" (mental illness), "gangguan jiwa" (soul illness), "penyandang cacat" (persons with disability), "retardasi mental" (mental retardation), and "skizofrenia" (schizophrenia).
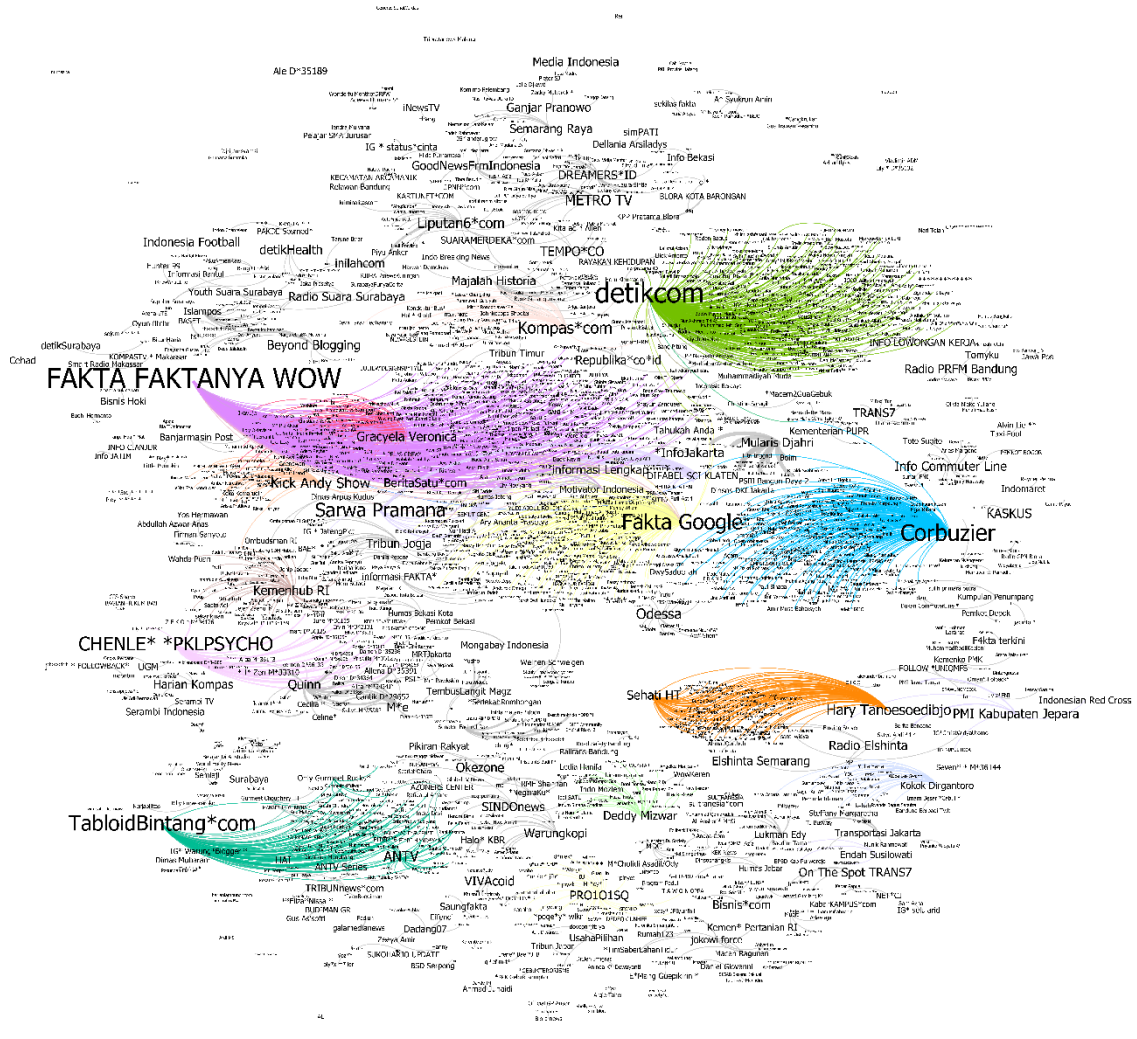
Fig 3. Mentions disability issues using keywords: "disabilitas" (disability), "difabel" (different ability), "cacat fisik" (physical disability), "cacat genetik" (genetic disability), "gangguan mental" (mental illness), "gangguan jiwa" (soul illness), "penyandang cacat" (persons with disability), "retardasi mental" (mental retardation), and "skizofrenia" (schizophrenia).
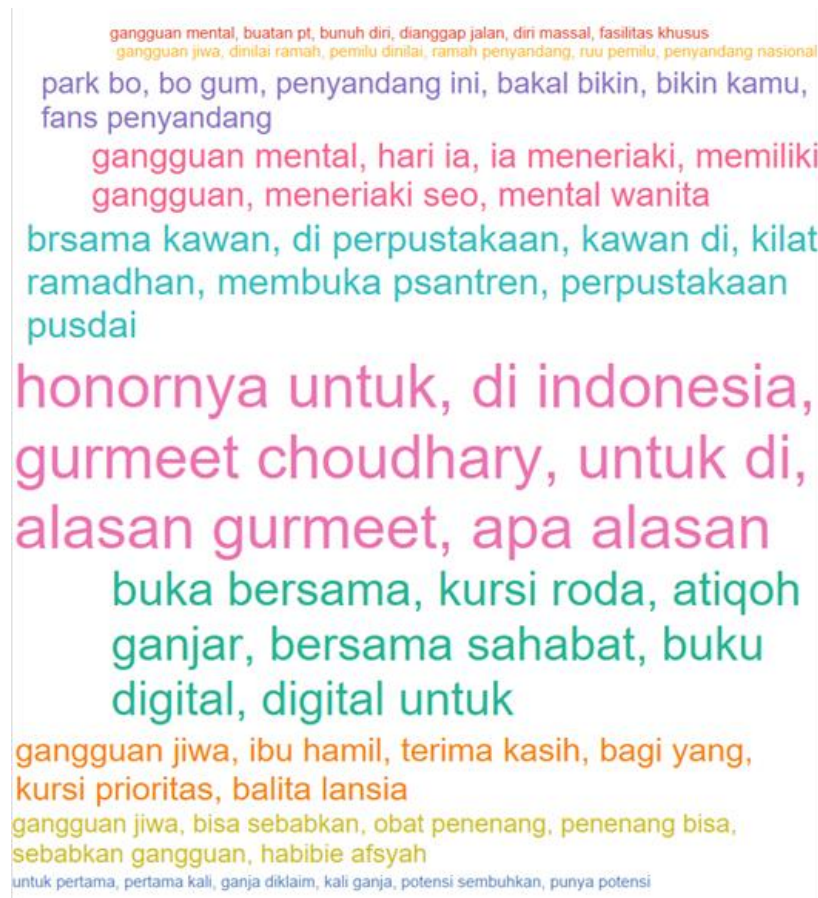
Fig 4. Colour of the fonts indicate trending topics in disability issues, size of the fonts indicates frequency.

5. DISCUSSION

Many things can be utilised from the presence of social media. As a source of data, the patterns obtained from social media have a high use value, especially to support decision-making. Big data processing into relevant information in the context of this research takes the form of social listening issues of physical and mental disability obtained from Twitter. Social listening by utilizing Twitter is expected to overcome the limitations of stigma measurement methods through surveys and interviews because the data obtained is spontaneously generated by stigmatizing subjects without being biased by the social norms that exist in the real world (implicit bias). The short term benefits of implicit bias intervention on ableism have been highlighted elsewhere (see Yusainy, Thohary, and Rachmat 2016).

Through this research, the output of a technical nature of a series of numbers that often make the user uncomfortable are presented in visual form. This will make the

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results of data processing more easily digested in a faster time, and allows simpler communication without losing the weight of information to other stakeholders with diverse backgrounds. At the practical level, Indonesian society is one of the active and aggressive population in utilizing social media. The Police of the Republic of Indonesia issued Circular Letter of Chief of Police number SE / 6 / X / 2015 related to the spread of hate speech that may trigger the disintegration of the nation. Changing the structure of society is not easy because of the diversity of existing communities.

The anatomical data of community discourse on the issue of disability can be applied to produce a model of empowerment at the (i) micro level, targeting changes in the way of thinking and awareness of the target group, eg through mindfulness exercises (Yusainy & Lawrence 2014; 2015) with the aim of changing the stigma of the public in the realm of institutions such as educational, business, and other social institutions, and (iii) macro, directed at a potentially stigmatizing public policy change and new policy proposals that encourage the participation of stigma targets in development programs.

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ASEAN'S MOVES TOWARDS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Asih Purwanti[1]

ABSTRACT

Regionalism has been major issue in global political economy in the recent decades. This essay emphasizes on ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) as one example of a regional association which is moving toward economic integration, especially after the WTO had been set up. It will try to find out the motivation of ASEAN for wanting an economic integration. The question here will be whether the implementation of the WTO or the emergence of economic powers in Asia such as China and India has been the reason for ASEAN to move into an integrated economy. From here I shall argue that in ASEAN's case, the latter seems to be more convincing than the former. Having discussion among scholars, from both optimistic and pessimistic perspectives regarding the success of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), it can be argued that the implementation of the AEC may represent the realisation of ASEAN as a single market. The ongoing process for the implementation of the AEC illustrates ASEAN's moves towards deeper integration. Despite the rationale on the benefits of a regional trade agreement over multilateralism, the emergence of China as a new economic power in Asia is indeed the motivation for ASEAN to integrate their economy. The ASEAN states are aware of the need to consolidate their regional economy in order to have a balance trade with China and therefore may maintain ASEAN's competitiveness in global trade. However, it is still a long way for ASEAN to have a single market.

Keywords: ASEAN, regionalism, economic integration

Regionalism has been major issue in global political economy in the recent decades. Gilpin suggests that the growing preference for economic regionalism or regional trade agreements (RTAs) has made 'a significant impact on the shape of the world economy' (2001, p.341). Whilst Gilpin highlights that the establishment of the European Single Market in 1986 has marked the growing of new regionalism, Ravenhill points out that the set up of the World Trade Organization (WTO) has stimulated growing regional trade agreements (Ravenhill, 2008a). According to WTO's data, 214 RTAs had been ratified by the end of 2006. Among political economics scholars, this trend has become an interesting fact to be explored. Why did states prefer to set up RTAs after the WTO had been established? Some scholars such as Ravenhill argue that the motive of governments in joining RTAs is more political than economic reason (Ravenhill, 2008a).

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This essay will focus on ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) as one example of a regional association which is moving toward economic integration, especially after the WTO had been set up. It will try to find out the motivation of ASEAN for wanting an economic integration. The question here will be whether the implementation of the WTO or the emergence of economic powers in Asia such as China and India has been the reason for ASEAN to move into an integrated economy. From here I shall argue that in ASEAN's case the latter seems to be more convincing than the former.

Ravenhill suggests that 'ASEAN in the form of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) is regionalism in 'minilateral relationship': this refers to a formal process of intergovernmental collaboration between two or more states on a geographically concentrated basis' (Ravenhill, 2008a, p.174-175). ASEAN was founded on 8 August 1967 by five Southeast Asian countries, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. These five countries signed the ASEAN Declaration which is also known as the Bangkok Declaration. Later on other five countries in the region joined this association: Brunei Darussalam joined ASEAN on 7 January 1984, Viet Nam on 28 July 1995, Laos and Myanmar on 23 July 1997 and Cambodia on 30 April 1999.

Originally ASEAN was established to maintain peace and stability among its members and this organization has produced convincing evidence in achieving its goals (Nesadurai, 2008). Despite some political tensions between its members, ASEAN claims that this association has contributed to the prevention of conflict in the region by respecting norms for inter-state relations, forming networks of cooperation among leading policy makers, and developing a regional consciousness among the members. ASEAN can state that no two ASEAN members have ever gone to war with each other (Know Your ASEAN, 2007). ASEAN is proud of their ASEAN Way as a successful method to keep the bond between their members in maintaining stability within the Southeast Asia region.

However, since 1992, along with the establishment of AFTA, ASEAN has been considered to make a move to establish Preferential Trade Agreements (PTA). Before AFTA was established, the members of ASEAN had already signed a Preferential Trading Arrangement in 1977. Within this Preferential Trading Arrangement, products from and trade among ASEAN members were given a preferential tariff by tariff reduction. Therefore their prices are lower than those of non-ASEAN members (Low, 2004). Low suggests that 'the ASEAN Preferential Trading Arrangement was a first step

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to economic integration via an item-by-item approach to preferential reduction of tariffs among members to induce intra-regional trade' (2004, p.17). Despite of some economic differences among its members and the blow of the Asian financial crisis during 1997-1998, AFTA is a further step for ASEAN to achieve economic integration as it was finally realized during 2003. As Mahani (2002) argues, even though the region was hit by the financial crisis, ASEAN economic integration initiatives kept on track which is shown by the ability of the members in keeping up the set up schedules such as the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) as one initial step for the implementation of AFTA.

The ASEAN goal of deeper economic integration seems to be more obvious when ASEAN members in the Ninth Summit in 2003, agreed on Bali Concord II with one goal to establish the AEC (ASEAN Economic Community). The members agreed 'to create a stable, prosperous and highly competitive ASEAN economic integration in which there is a flow of goods, services, investment and a freer flow of capital, equitable economic development and reduced poverty and socio-economic disparities in year 2020' (ASEAN Secretariat, 2003). Despite two others pillars in Bali Concord II on security and socio-cultural issues, this economy commitment of ASEAN members has been considered as an effort toward deeper integration. The AEC structure has been seen as a model for a 'single market'.

From here, a question arises about the motives of ASEAN in deciding to create a single market. Is the establishment of a multilateral trade agreement in the shape of the WTO motivating ASEAN to undertake economic integration? Or is the emergence of new economic powers in Asia such as China and India, the reason for ASEAN to consolidate their economies? The issue of regionalism versus multilateralism (WTO) has become a debate among political economy scholars. Bhagwati (1991) discusses whether regionalism has been a 'stumbling block' or a 'building block' for multilateralism. The experience of the European Union (EU) has been considered as one successful story of regionalism. Its development from a custom union to a common market and common currency seems to be an attractive model for other regions to follow. When a multilateral trade agreement in the form of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) during the 1990s showed an unsatisfactory result, governments turned to look at regional trade schemes in order to maintain their economy (Gilpin, 2001). This action was taken by the United States and other North American governments to establish the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) as well as by Asian governments in forming

AFTA. When GATT was replaced by the WTO, even more regional trade agreements have been undertaken by governments.

Why have governments been attracted to regionalism over multilateralism? Gilpin (2001) presents political and economic theories related to regionalism. According to Gilpin, the economic explanation refers to the work of Jacob Viner in which states may gain more economic benefits within regional trade. According to this new thinking about economic integration, firms will not only enjoy access to regional trade but also will improve their competitiveness towards firms outside the region. Political theories try to explain that states attempt to seek more bargaining power if they join a regional trade agreement. Regarding these two perspectives on regionalism, Gilpin argues that although economic theories offer a sufficient explanation on economic benefits, the political motivations seems to be more convincing on why governments to establish regional trade agreement (Gilpin, 2001).

Ravenhill (2008a) suggests that the motivations for governments to join regional trade agreements are on political and economic. On political motivation, governments see regionalism as an economic scheme to achieve political purposes, as Ravenhill notes, 'the improvement of inter-state relations and/or the enhancement of security within a region' (2008a, p. 178). Another political benefit of regionalism is that the cooperation within the region may boost the credibility of their members to attract foreign investors to invest in the region. Regionalism has been even more attractive for developing countries or less developed countries. This is because the governments of these states may use their regional association to establish a significant 'bargaining tool' with transnational corporations or other states outside the region (Ravenhill, 2008a).

On economic motivation, Ravenhill suggests one economic benefit of regional trade agreement is that governments believe that their domestic producers will gain more profits within regional trade than global. He also emphasizes that states find it easier to settle on some issues within regionalism than multilateralism. Another economic benefit, as Ravenhill states, is that regionalism may encourage investors to invest within the regional market. On the question of which motivation is most compelling, Ravenhill also remarks that the main motivation of governments to join regional schemes of cooperation is political rather than economic.

These above explanations may illustrate the motivation for governments to opt for regionalism rather than multilateralism. Moreover, the liberalization of global trade through multilateral trade agreements shows less satisfactory results. Referring to the

process of multilateral trade agreements, there were more unsuccessful results than successful ones. The difficult process of GATT and the painful process of the Uruguay Round during the late 1980s have been seen as one consideration for governments to look at regional trade agreements. Once the WTO was established to replace GATT, governments were even more motivated to have regional arrangements to face global trade liberalization. Ravenhill (2008a) articulates that governments which support trade liberalization see that regionalism offers less complicated agreements compared to multilateralism, which consists of larger memberships. He also notices that the establishment of the NAFTA was motivated by the initiative of North American governments to deal with some agreements within the WTO such as on the environment and on foreign direct investment. For governments, regionalism has been seen as a 'shield' to engage with global trade agreements.

Even though some scholars may consider regionalism an obstacle for multilateral trade, the benefits of regionalism seem more convincing for governments in order to achieve economic benefits. The unsatisfactory process of the Doha Round as part of the implementation of the WTO has convinced governments to opt for the regional trade agreements.

In the case of ASEAN, does ASEAN consider the economic benefits or political consideration as their motivation for deeper economic integration? During the early development of ASEAN, the motivation for the leaders of the region was more political than economic. Ravenhill (2008a) suggests that ASEAN was established to endorse economic cooperation in order to avoid conflict within the region during the Cold War era. And ASEAN has been proven to promote regional cooperation that successfully maintains political security among its members. However, the development of international economy and politics during the 1980s and 1990s to some extent influenced ASEAN to move towards deeper integration. The development of EU economic integration, the end of the Cold War in the late 1990s and the implementation of global trade agreement in the form of the WTO can be seen as the factors that encouraged ASEAN to have a deeper integration.

The success of the EU has been considered the motivation of ASEAN to have a similar development. Robles Jr. (2004) suggests that the EU model to some extent attracted the leaders in Southeast Asia to follow the same path. However, when the EU demands a reduction in sovereignty from its members, ASEAN's leaders seem to lose their interest in following the EU. The perspective of ASEAN's leaders changed when the

EU recorded another achievement such as the adoption of the Single European Act in 1986 and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1991 where EU was ready to establish a single market. Robles notes that during the ASEAN summit in Bali (2003), the ASEAN leaders committed to bringing ASEAN toward a single community. ASEAN also has a similar conception with the EU's conception of 'three pillars of integration' as ASEAN has made a commitment to build the 'three pillars' of an ASEAN Security Community (ASC), an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). Robles quotes from E. Teo that ASEAN attempts to fit itself "into a more streamlined and integrated economic community, along the lines of the European Economic Community in the 1970s" (Robles Jr, 2004, p. 79).

Even though the EU has been a successful model for establishing a single market, there are some differences between the EU and ASEAN, particularly in the economic background of the two regions. The members of the EU had strong and equal domestic economic performances, while the members of ASEAN have a more diverse economic background. Except Singapore, which represents a strong and stable domestic economy, the other members are still dealing with attempts to improve their trade. Robles Jr. (2004) also notes that the structural set up of the EU was different from ASEAN. Despite those differences, the EU's development has been inspired the members of ASEAN to move towards deeper integration.

The end of the Cold War changed the perspective of the ASEAN leaders on global security as well. The absence of competition between two major powers in the world provides more opportunity for the region to have a stronger relationship on the security agenda. Moreover, ASEAN had proven its ability to maintain peace and stability within the region, thanks to the sovereignty/non-interference concept and the ASEAN Way which kept its members from conflict with each other (Nesadurai, 2008). Nesadurai also emphasizes that when the Cold War ended, ASEAN could fit those principles with Western calls for democracy, human rights and trade liberalization.

Despite those changes in the global political economy, another development occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. That is the emergence of China and India as the new major economic powers in Asia. As Ravenhill argues, the ASEAN economies are now facing challenges from their neighbours in the continent. The challenge comes from China as the new attractive site for FDI and India as 'Asia's Next Giant'. This placed ASEAN in a higher competitive trade scheme (Ravenhill, 2008b)

The challenge of the WTO for more liberalized global trade is a real one for ASEAN. However, the economic challenge from China and India has been more convincing for the leaders of the region in the rush for economic integration. The Asian crisis during 1997-98 also played a part in the decision of the ASEAN members to improve their economic cooperation into a strong integrated market. As Robles Jr. argues, the motivation for ASEAN to have a free trade area is to set up Southeast Asia to be 'a production base for the world market, rather than by the promotion of free trade among ASEAN's members' (Robles Jr, 2004, p. 82).

ASEAN obviously cannot deny the remarkable growth of China's economy for the past decades. China also has been predicted to be the new competitor for Japan as the major economic power in Asia. For ASEAN, China has become a new 'very important person' to sit in their exclusive lounge of trade partnership along with Japan and the US. The geographical scheme also becomes one factor for ASEAN to have link with China (Saw Swee-Hock, 2007).

John Wong states that the positive growth of China's economy has been the result of China's membership of the WTO in 2001. He points out that the growth of China's economy has marked 9.8 per cent for the period 2002-05. He emphasizes that since China now is more integrated with the global economy, China's economy has been characterized by increased amounts of foreign direct investment (FDI) and the growth of export-oriented manufacturing. Furthermore, Wong remarks that while the economy of some Asian countries such as South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia experienced, a severe downturn during the Asian crisis in 1997, China's economy was less affected by the crisis. During the crisis, the exports of China only decreased for one quarter only. After the crisis was over, China's economy indicated a stable figure of growth (Wong, in Saw Swee-Hock, 2007).

Another interesting fact on the ASEAN – China economic relationship has to do with the scheme of FDI. China has become a major recipient of FDI from transnational corporations in recent decades. China scored total FDI inflow of US$60 billion during 2005 (Wong, 2007). This figure indeed cannot be neglected by ASEAN's members. This is because ASEAN struggled to bring back their FDI after the Asian crisis. According to Robles Jr., the FDI inflows to ASEAN countries plunged from $328 billion in 1997 to $13 in 1999 because of the financial crisis. In that year, only 17 per cent of total FDI to Asian developing countries went to ASEAN countries, while China received 60 per cent. This figure was the opposite of the figure during the early of 1990s where ASEAN received

60 per cent and China 18 per cent (Robles Jr., 2004, 94). This figure cannot be ignored by ASEAN's members if they attempt to gain benefit from global trade.

Despite the fact that China has been a major economic power in Asia, ASEAN also cannot deny the significant figure of its bilateral trade with China. Chen Wen suggests that the growth of bilateral trade between ASEAN and China from 2000 to 2005 was 26.96 per cent annually. The total trade of ASEAN-China was US$130.37 billion in 2005. This included US$55.37 billion for China's exports to ASEAN and US$75.0 billion for China's imports from ASEAN. From 1993, China experienced a deficit on its bilateral trade with ASEAN (Chen Wen, in Saw Swee-Hock, 2007). China's imports from ASEAN were greater than its exports to ASEAN. As Chen notes, 'China's role as an export outlet is more important than that as an import source for ASEAN now' (Chen Wen, in Saw Swee-Hock, 2007, p.72). Considering these facts, both ASEAN and China have been moving forward to integrate their economic cooperation under a free trade area. In 2001, ASEAN and China signed the 'Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN and China' as the initiative for the implementation of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA). ACFTA is expected to be implemented by 2010 for the older ASEAN members and 2015 for the newer members (Chen Wen, 2007).

Chen also emphasizes the benefits of ACFTA's scheme for ASEAN and China. As Chen argues, the first advantage of ACFTA is related to the mutual benefits for both parties. China will need more raw materials and natural resources, which can be offered by ASEAN's countries. Secondly, the integration of ASEAN and China means the elimination of trade barriers will attract more investment and more FDI inflows to the free trade area. Thirdly, ASEAN and China can gain benefit from comparative advantage as they can prioritize their major products. For example, ASEAN may focus on food products while China may concentrate on manufacturing products. However, Chen also asserts some disadvantages may lead to the failure of this free trade area. This challenge relates to the facts that ASEAN's members and China to some extent are still considered as a developing economy and political and security issues may become a hurdle for integration (Chen Wen, 2007).

The presence of China seems to have convinced ASEAN's leaders to establish a free trade area with China and also to move forward into economy integration. Nesadurai points out the domestic impact if the ASEAN states could not maintain their attractiveness to FDI. The leaders of the region are aware that the diversion of FDI can

interrupt their national economic growth. Since economic performance is the base for political legitimacy and national stability, these leaders will attempt to it (Nesadurai, 2008). The ASEAN states think that the integration into one economy can maintain economic growth within the region.

When the scheme of the AEC was launched along with the ASC and the ASCC, it was seen as a step taken by ASEAN to move towards a single economy and at the end to achieve a single community. Peter Lloyd suggests that the terminology of 'single market' derives from the EU, as they established the Single European Acts in 1987 (Lloyd in Tran Van Hoa, 2008). According to Lloyd, a single market means total economic integration where 'there are no border or beyond-the-border laws, regulations or taxes that discriminate against foreign suppliers of goods, foreign service providers and foreign-owned factors' ((Lloyd in Tran Van Hoa, 2008, p.21). Furthermore, Lloyd emphasizes the implementation of 'the Law of One Price' to represent a single market.

Does ASEAN moving towards a single market by the forming AEC? Referring to the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, ASEAN states that 'the AEC is the realisation of the end-goal of economic integration as outlined in the ASEAN Vision 2020, to create a stable, prosperous and highly competitive ASEAN economic region in which there is a free flow of goods, services, investment and a freer flow of capital, equitable economic development and reduced poverty and socio-economic disparities in year 2020' (ASEAN Secretariat, 2003). The next section of the declaration emphasizes the goal of a single market. Then ASEAN Secretary General, Mr. Ong Keng Yong, states that 'the AEC will be a single market and production base, characterized by free movement of goods, services, investment, and capital by the year 2020' (Ong Keng Yong, 2003). From the perspectives of the ASEAN executives, the goal of one market seems to be a visible process. On the basis of the benefits from the implementation of a single market, the leaders of the ASEAN states have been convinced that ASEAN definitely can achieve the economic integration.

However, some scholars seem to be pessimistic about the process for a single market for ASEAN. Even though an excellent road map was set for the ASEAN members in achieving the goal of a single market, it still needs a lot of hard work for the ASEAN states to bring it into reality. Ravenhill argues that internal weakness may lead ASEAN into difficulties in achieving economic integration. According to Ravenhill, one weakness of ASEAN is that ASEAN does not have an international legal personality. The ASEAN Secretariat cannot act as a legal representative that can act on behalf of ASEAN's

members. Another weakness is related to 'the proliferation of bilateral FTAs'. Ravenhill notes that individual ASEAN countries have implemented some negotiations with other countries or grouping outside ASEAN (Ravenhill, 2008b).

Mahani also notes that domestic issues within the ASEAN states may become a hurdle for the integration process. He states that 'ASEAN has lost some of its dynamism' (Mahani, 2002, p.1277). He emphasizes that the ASEAN states individually are more focused on to their domestic economy. Some members are pursuing their own economic liberalization purposes and this can put the integration process in danger. Nesadurai points out the governance style of ASEAN may become an obstacle for the integration process. To date, the ASEAN Way has proven to be an effective method to maintain stability in the region. However, once integration takes place, the ASEAN states should cede part of their sovereignty to ASEAN. The members of ASEAN have been long enjoying the privilege of not having their sovereignty interfered with the association (Nesadurai, 2008). Peter Lloyd (2005) suggests that to achieve economic integration, ASEAN is required to fulfil some qualifications which demand fundamental change within the organization.

Another problem faced by the ASEAN states for their goal of economic integration is related to the facts that the members of ASEAN have variety of economies. Some countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei Darussalam may have a well established economy. The problem is related to the newer members -Viet Nam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia- which still represent a less developed economy than the older members. Therefore, ASEAN needs to be careful to set up conditions for economic integration that can accommodate all members' economic condition.

In the end, despite those pessimistic explanations for the success of the AEC, it can be argued that the implementation of the AEC may represent the realisation of ASEAN as a single market. The ongoing process for the implementation of the AEC illustrates ASEAN's moves towards deeper integration. Despite the rationale on the benefits of a regional trade agreement over multilateralism, the emergence of China as a new economic power in Asia is indeed the motivation for ASEAN to integrate their economy. The ASEAN states are aware of the need to consolidate their regional economy in order to have a balance trade with China and therefore may maintain ASEAN's competitiveness in global trade. However, it is still a long way for ASEAN to have a single market. The recent development in the global political economy which is

the US financial crisis may lead to a slower process for ASEAN economic integration .The ASEAN states may have proved that they survived from the Asian financial crisis during 1997, but can ASEAN survive the recent economic crisis?

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TOURISM BRANDING IN ASEAN COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

We know ASEAN motto is one vision, one identity, one community. For the purpose of ASEAN tourism, ASEAN using the tagline feel the warmth. Not only ASEAN trying to promote the tourism in the community but also each country in ASEAN has their own tourism slogan. Namely Brunei (Brunei, The Green Heart of Borneo, The Kingdom of Unexpected Treasures), Cambodia (Kingdom of Wonder), Indonesia (Wonderful Indonesia), Laos (Simply Beautiful), Malaysia (Malaysia Truly Asia), Myanmar (Mystical Myanmar), Philippines (It's More Fun in the Philippines), Singapore (Your Singapore), Thailand (Amazing Thailand, Always Amazes You), Vietnam (The Timeless Charm). According to Kotler (2008) brand is a name, term, sign, symbol or design or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods or services of one seller of a group the of seller and to differentiate them from those of competitors. In 1965 Association for Better New York launched campaign "The Big Apple". It was J FitzGerald a reporter in Morning Telegraph who started using the word The Big Apple in 1920. After the campaign New York had shown the significant increasing tourist number. Now days there are a lot of cities in famous country also using the branding too promote it tourism. Not only in developing country but also in develop country such as France, England, USA and others. This paper is trying to explain how city branding has been developing in almost all ASEAN country. But we will focusing on city branding in Indonesia. Literature study is used for this research.

Key words: branding, tourism, Asean

1. INTRODUCTION

In Today's Globalized world, cities, regions, and nations compete ever more intensely in attracting the visitor. There are many interesting tourist attractions and places worth visiting in ASEAN. Places such as Borobudur, Bali, Merlion Park, Hanoi, Pattaya Beach, and Angkor Watt are one of favorite tourist destinations for foreigners who visit ASEAN. ASEAN countries have similar characteristics of natural resources. Most of ASEAN countries are gifted with a lot of beautiful view of mountains and beaches. Natural resources aren't the only reason why so many foreign tourists love to visit ASEAN, but united ASEAN countries also have similar wealth culture. Tour of pagoda

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and temples become one of the attractions for religious tourism available in all ASEAN countries.

Interestingly, the efforts to promote the tourism in each ASEAN country have been carried out since 1970 when Indonesia introduced a slogan of "Indonesia, there is more to it than Bali". Since then, each ASEAN country such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand keep competing with Indonesia to attract more foreign tourists. This tourism competition is then realized by ASEAN. By the end of 2012, ASEAN established ASEAN tourism forum and launched a campaign of "Southeast Asia, Feel the Warmth." This collective branding has been realized by one of the researchers.

> *"Brand awareness of ASEAN as a holiday destination is low. When consumers think of ASEAN they are more likely to think of it as a political grouping or economic region than as a holiday destination. (This) may be traced to a number of underlying issues such as (1) a lack of sufficient and guaranteed funding to enable a branding campaign to take place and (2) a lack of marketing strategy and plan based on consumer and trade research and endorsed by relevant government stakeholders and the industry[2].*

This article will try to describe the tourism branding that will be done by each country. When the branding campaign is launched and what is the impact it gives to the tourism in ASEAN countries after the launching of tourism branding. Furthermore, this article will try to observe the branding offered by ASEAN as one of the parts of the campaign in order to collectively attract the tourists. Since the writer comes from Indonesia and is currently living in Indonesia, this article will explain more and provide data about Indonesia.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

In recent years, more ASEAN countries are competing in using city branding. Reviewing the city branding is an interesting study to do. Comparing tourism branding between ASEAN countries has resulted in a research question that is "how far tourism branding is able to affect the tourists' interes in visitng visit the country?" This paper is a result of preliminary research. It can be said that this research needs to be continued and it has not done perfectly. This research also uses literature study. Literature study is a study conducted by investigating references relevant to this research. Data collection

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[2] Dr Noel Scott, University of Queensland, Impact Assessment of the Visit ASEAN Campaign, May 2007

by comparing the website of each Asian country that promoted tourism. The website is the government's official website

City Branding

According to Kotler, brand is a name, term, sign, symbol or design or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods or service of the seller groups and to differentiate them from those of competitors. Brand is usually given by a company to a product that they offer to the buyer/consumer. Destination branding or place branding is a strategy on how to promote a region or city. According to Morgan et al[3] there are many ways that can be used in order to alter an image of a region such as advertising, direct marketing, personal selling, website, brochures, event organizer, filmmakers, destination marketing organization, and journalist.

According to Ali Hasan[4] brand is a tool to identify a product, service, people or place that appear in such a way that the buyer or user feels relevant to it. Unique added value should be in accordance with the consumer needs. Furthermore, Ali Hasan has stated that brand building is implemented to create an influence to the public opinion, and rebranding is sometimes needed for region with drastic environmental changes due to disaster or disaster caused by accidental human action. Branding of a destination is very necessary to improve the tourist destination and to increase the image of a city or country.

Philip Kotler and Nancy Lee have introduced a marketing concept in business practice to enter the public sector. In Indonesia, this concept is pioneered by Hermawan Kartajaya. Hermawan introduced a very famous PDB triangle of positioning, differentiation and brand. Hermawan is well known as consultant who has helped various regencies/cities in Indonesia to create their own brand. The question is that why a city needs a brand like a company? According to Yananda and Salamah[5] there are two reasons why a city needs an image. The first reason is because of political entity and the second reason is economic factor. Yananda and Salamah further explained it as follows:

> *As a centre of economic growth, a city should be able to attract business actors and investors to develop a business and invest their capital. A city should also be able to attract the tourists to visit and spend their money. As a political entity, a city*

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[3] Morgan, Nigel, Anette Pritchard, Roger Pride, ed (2002). *Destination Branding: Creating The Unique Destination Proposition*

[4] Hasan, Ali. 2015. *Tourism Marketing*

[5] Yananda, Rahmat dan Ummi Salamah. 2014. *Branding Tempat: Membangun Kota, Kabupaten, dan Provinsi Berbasis Identitas*

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is obligated to do a public diplomacy and support the promotion of a product it produces.

The official campaign launched by the government of New York City was carried out in 1977 by William S. Doyle by asking for advertising company namely Wells Rich Greene. A graphic designer named Milton Glaser made "I Love New York" logo. Meanwhile, its marketing strategy was delivered by Wells Rich Greene. This campaign proved to be successful with rising tourism revenue of 1.6 billion USD. The licensed use of "I ♥ New York" contributed to 1.83 billion USD in 2011 and 1.5 billion USD in 2010. The branding not only serves to attract the tourist but also to be the city branding attached to this day. It is expected that the city branding will attach to the city image in which New York City is a city worthy of being loved by its citizens, as it is able to create conducive working atmosphere and comfortable daily life.

Myanmar is a country that has been led by junta military for decades. In 1996 Myanmar launched a campaign of "Visit Myanmar 1996". This campaign was opposed by NGOs in Myanmar. Tourism has proven to increase the economic growth in Myanmar. However, the rapid growth in Myanmar has given negative impact of forcing the residents to be relocated to a village for the benefit of the tourist. Several historical sites were damaged due to infrastructure development. Thus, the NGOs persuade and invite the tourist to not visit Myanmar until it becomes a democratic state.

Then in 2013, Myanmar announced its latest campaign titled, "Let the Journey Begin".

> *The creative thinking behind the 'Let the Journey Begin' slogan was to expresses Myanmar's current situation as well as acknowledging a wish to make progress after a period of isolation. There is also evidence of Myanmar delivering counter message to the nega- tive stereotype .As the developers of the brand admitted, they wanted to focus on Myanmar's rich cultural heritage, because people were just not aware what the country had to offer[6].*

The branding was designed by Irish international marketing firm called Image Diplomacy (iD) and it was launched in the World Economic Forum on East Asia aired by BBC world. There were around 70 taglines formulated by iD before deciding on the new campaign.

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[6] Hudson,S. Let the journey begin (again): The branding of Myanmar. Journal of Destination Marketing & Management (2016), http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.06.002

City Branding in ASEAN Countries

In this part, the author will try to expose the campaign promoted by each ASEAN countries. As described in the methodology section that this study is a preliminary study. This study only compares the tagline of the official government website.

1. Brunei Darussalam

Brunei Darussalam started its campaign in 2014 with "The Green Heart of Borneo." Brunei uses more than one tagline and started introducing "The Kingdom of Unexpected Treasures." Located in Borneo Island along with Malaysia and Indonesia, Brunei used eco-tourism destination as its tourism approach. The promotion was introduced in the form of family trip packages. The goal is to introduce the beauty of Brunei that has not been widely communicated by people. So that families and children will love the nature more.

2. Cambodia

Angkor Wat is a superior tourism of Cambodia. Most of the beauty of Cambodia can be seen through box office movie played by Angelina Jolie which is based on Tom Rider video game. 50% tourists who visit Cambodia will come to Angkor Wat. It is not surprising if Angkor Wat becomes the tourism icon in Cambodia. Cambodia inaugurated its tourism promotion in 2011. Cambodia chose the tagline "Kingdom of Wonder" due to the high number of temples there.

3. Laos

Not much different with Cambodia, Laos also launched its tourism campaign in 2012 with "Simply Beautiful". Laos started promoting its annual festival due to its richness. This festival is related to the annual cycle of rice plant season. This festival not only relates to harvesting period but also the majority of religion adopted by Laos' community. Therefore, it is very common for them to perform rituals before the harvesting season. This is part of acculturism between culture and religion.

4. Malaysia

In 1999, Malaysia started its campaign with "Malaysia Truly Asia.". Slightly different with other ASEAN country campaigns that aim at family, Malaysia aims at the corporate market. Thus, Malaysia built many infrastructure and facilities for MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences, exhibitions/events). This campaign is quite

successful and Malaysia gained a significant amount of tourists. Malaysia rank in number 1 as ASEAN country with the highest number of visitors.

5. Myanmar

Myanmar is known as a conflict-ridden country. After the prolonged military coup, Myanmar started to improve its image in the world. In 2011, Myanmar promoted "Mystical Myanmar." However, this branding was considered to be unsuccessful due to low interest of foreign tourists. In the end, Myanmar started its rebranding in 2013 and launched "Let the Journey Begin." Through this campaign, it seems that Myanmar wanted to reduce the negative stereotypes inherent in Myanmar over the years. This campaign focused on the cultural wealth owned by Myanmar and this campaign was considered to be successful comparing to the first campaign. The number of tourists visiting Myanmar had increased rapidly and the tourism growth of Myanmar rank in the first position in ASEAN.

6. Philippines

"It's More Fun in the Philippines" was introduced in 2012 to replace "WOW Philippines." Philippines has been recognized by the world through its magnificent beaches. Philippines used hospitality approach to the tourists. Providing good tourism service and experience from its people's hospitality. Affordable price becomes one of its bargaining power of Philippines. Citizen of Philippines also respond friendly and honestly to the tourists.

7. Singapore

Singapore launched "Your Singapore" on March 5, 2010 and it is the evolution from "Uniquely Singapore" which became the brand from 2004 to 2009. Singapore focused on the service such as dining, shopping, natural and cultural attractions, and mix-and-match of multiple experiences. Singapore realizes that, as the smallest country in ASEAN, it will be difficult to compete with other ASEAN countries that have more natural resources. Therefore, Singapore focused on Global Financial Centre and start building a lot of artificial tourism infrastructure. Finally, Singapore is able to build an image as the financial center in ASEAN to compete with Malaysia.

8. Thailand

Thailand is one of the countries that often changes its branding. Every two years Thailand promotes its newest tagline. The recent tourism tagline of Thailand is

"Amazing Thailand, Always Amazes You." This campaign is the supplement or part of the "Discover Thainess" campaign. "Amazing Thailand" is considered as one of the successful taglines in ASEAN. The number of tourists in Thailand is relatively stable because Thailand becomes one of favorite destinations in ASEAN today.

9. Vietnam

Vietnam launched "From Hidden Charm to Timeless Charm" campaign in 2012. The basic value of the Vietnamese tourism brand is "time," "intensity," "mystery," and "commitment," Developing diversified tourism forms such as sea-island, culture-spirit, community-based tourism, ecotourism, adventure sports tourism, and sightseeing countryside. Vietnam has to compete with Brunei, Laos, Cambodia, Philippines, and Indonesia. Thus Vietnam wants to introduce its natural resources that are capable to compete with other ASEAN countries.

10. Indonesia

In 1970-1980 Indonesia promoted "Indonesia, there is more to it than Bali," "Indonesia, Bali and Beyond", and "Indonesia, Bali plus Nine". After that, Indonesia introduced "Visit Indonesia Year (VIY)" in 1991. A year later, the branding changed into "Let's Go Archipelago" in 1992. One of famous tourism taglines of Indonesia is "Unity in Diversity" in 2008 and this branding was also used by ASEAN. Indonesia introduced the recent campaign in 2011 with "Wonderful Indonesia."

11. ASEAN

Currently, ASEAN uses the motto of "One Vision, One Identity, One Community." In 2009, the representatives of ASEAN countries signed MOU that marked the effort of tourism cooperation and promotion in ASEAN. Actually, this effort has been implemented since 1992 at ASEAN 25th anniversary. However, there was no significant improvement from the campaign.

 ASEAN member countries have been co-operating on regional tourism destination marketing and development, with varying degrees of commitment, over the past two decades. From 1988 to 1996, they funded an ASEAN Tourism Information Centre (ATIC). In 1992, they staged a "Visit ASEAN Year" promotion to recognize the 25th anniversary of the founding of ASEAN[7].

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[7] Marketing The Southeast Asia Destination Brand. USAID Report. 2009

Ultimately, "Asia's Perfect 10 Paradise" was promoted and in 2012 ASEAN introduced its new tourism tagline namely "Southeast Asia, Feel The Warmth" as well as introducing the ASEAN Tourism Forum. There is no comprehensive study that compares the branding of each country in Asean. Asian forums need to conduct further studies to measure the effectiveness of existing branding. So that the established branding will be cohesive as an Asian and not compete in an unhealthy way.

3. CONCLUSION

As stated previously, this article still needs preliminary research. The conclusion made is still far from perfect and it requires further discussion. There are few notes that we have made from this article among others:

1. Asean tourism forum has promoted integrated tourism in Asean

2. Tourism branding can increase the number of tourist visits

3. Branding is needed to distinguish the uniqueness of each ASEAN country

4. Asean countries branding has similarity in promoting cultural heritage, natural tourism, cultural attraction and traditional festivals

5. The study of branding is a study that is a rising trend. Because it can enrich the study of communication and tourism. We strongly recommend to do a study of deeper and more comprehensive branding

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POLICY RECOMMENDATION
FOR THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Discussants :

1. Dr. Termsak Chalermpalanupap (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore)

2. Dr. Linda Quayle (University of Nottingham, Malaysia Campus)

3. Mr. Ekraj Imran Sabur (Asian Muslim Action Network)

4. Mr. Chilman Arisman (Permanent Mission of Republic of Indonesia to ASEAN)

5. Mely Noviryani, MM (International Relations Department, Brawijaya University)

6. Dewa Ayu Putu Eva Wishanti (International Relations Department, Brawijaya University)

Amidst many obstacles in integrating ASEAN as a region, policymakers should prioritize the expansion of ASEAN awareness into sustainable actions. ASEAN Community Blueprints also had been established and stands as a guideline to decision making in the ASEAN-related policy projection.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) Republic of Indonesia has highlighted the prominence of innovative ideas without straying from ASEAN's core principles. There are several critical insights from the MOFA Officials regarding ASEAN Integration :

1. Economic pillar would stand as a key pillar to opening the opportunity of another pillar's expansion. Trade in goods and service is still playing a central role in regional economic activities. However, the development gap in ASEAN is still broadening over time, therefore collaboration with other funding actors such as international donor agencies are extensively accepted. Thus, the recipient status of most ASEAN member states has locked their development policy into the donor-driven development policy.

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2. Empowering ASEAN Secretariat to gradually release dependence toward extra-ASEAN actors, re-allocation of the budget of the secretariat is urgently needed. Due to budget limitations, a number of ASEAN commemorative events were financed by other states. This needs to be addressed to make the Secretariat more autonomous in its policy and actions.

3. In order to achieving the milestones toward ASEAN 2025 Roadmap, ASEAN might absorb best practices from European Integration, not always in terms of regional economic union but also the connectivity of its socio-political and socio-cultural integration.

4. ASEAN needs to involve more non-political actors to achieve its goals in people-to-people connectivity to bridge the human development gap. Studies in academic world in Southeast Asian Studies should always be expanded and linked.

The speakers of the conference had discussed those above points.

The political divides among ASEAN member states is relatively wide. Therefore to build similar grounds of policymaking is challenging to some extent. Several states do not acknowledge universal human rights principles, other countries are embracing socialist politics, while the others are democratic and have stronger ties with extra-ASEAN countries than their neighbour. Despite the encounters, the speakers approved that economic cooperation would serve as a opportunity to bring ASEAN members closer. Here are the points of discussion :

1. Economic Pillars
   a. Intra-regional trade volume is still inferior to expectation. This is adressed as a structural problem in ASEAN member states. However the cross border trade among ASEAN member states also increases in term of activites, and it is not captured by ASEAN statistics.

b. Import outside the region is still high in volume, including arms trade. However, major countries' policy should not dictate the orientation of ASEAN Integration process.

c. Service trade among ASEAN member states should be increased to lift the competitiveness of ASEAN Citizens.

d. ASEAN Economic Community hosts for about 600 million people, while a large numbers of them are engaging in small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). SMEs could be a mean to expand credit access, capital inflow in the investment framework. Tourism industry could boost the involvement of SMEs' business into ASEAN markets, while also promoting or linking e-commerce and startup business in each country. Administratively, the visa exemption policy should be extended for constructive exchange activities other than working permits.

2. Socio-Cultural Pillars

a. Education of ASEAN Community values, like universal human rights, should be dispersed into curricula. This practice have been implemented in Vietnam.

b. ASEAN Secretary should facilitate capacity building programs and extend them to each member states' national secretary. Other than that, the ASEAN Secretariat should strengthen its research capacity and building databases for research related to ASEAN and South East Asian Studies in General.

c. Streamlining of meetings among ASEAN Bodies is needed to expand many points of view to the citizen.

d. ASEAN should encourage grassroot transliteration of ASEAN Official Documents, including ASEAN Anthem, ASEAN Blueprints, to accelerate the dispersion of ASEAN values.

e. Centre of ASEAN Studies in South East Asia and beyond should be facilitated to communicate in a network, maintained by ASEAN.

f. Social media manpower should also be added to reach out more audiences especially to younger generation. The effectivity of social media utilization during humanitarian situations is already tested, therefore ASEAN should employ this new media to response on emergency dealings for AHA Center for instance.

3. Political and Security Pillars

    a. ASEAN Inter Parliamentary Association could stand as an institution to connect ASEAN Governments and to communicate policy innovation that might come in activity of regular inter-parliamentary visits.

    b. ASEAN Member states should refrain themselves from using aggresive approach and threatening approach to interact, both in statements and actions towards each other. Recent pressures were seen among a group ASEAN Citizen and civil organizations to revoke Nobel Peace Prize Award received by Aung San Suu Kyi due to mishandling of Myanmar's domestic political uprisings.

    c. ASEAN could enlarge its peacekeeping participation in global level, however the humanitarian responses and transnational threats inside the region should be addressed first. Under "One ASEAN, One Response" principle, ASEAN could increase the number of capacity building activities for the government and civil society organizations to address humanitarian issues.

    d. Strong national leaders often determine the direction of ASEAN Integration. As populism rises as a trend globally, ASEAN requires stong leadership by its Secretary General to bring these leaders together to build mutual to solve regional problems through ASEAN Meetings.