INTERNATIONAL INDONESIA FORUM
An International Community of Scholars Focusing on Contemporary Indonesian Issues

9th International Indonesia Forum, August 23-24, 2016

9th International Indonesia Forum Conference

In Search of Key Drivers of Indonesian Empowerment

Indonesian society is a mosaic of elements, all functioning in their own right and embedded in their own specific contexts. This complex structure comprises of various actors who, by managing the resources at their disposal, contribute to an empowerment of Indonesia. In reaching their individual goals, each of these actors controls and uses various resources—including, but not limited to, leadership, motivation, business and financial resources—and thus contributes greatly to the success of any undertaking in Indonesia.

For the 9th IIF conference, the theme will be the various forms of actors of Indonesian empowerment in sourcing projects undertaken in Indonesian society. The effective use of resources serves to mobilize various forms of empowerment, and the drivers behind this mobilization are the core theme of the 9th IIF conference.

Once again, we call upon scholars of various disciplines to explore how actors of empowerment, through the use of resources, impact Indonesia in various fields and aspects (political, religious, social, cultural, regional, business, economic, education, communication, history, law, management, technology). We welcome the contributions of scholars working on various aspects related to this broad topic of resource use and empowerment to the 9th International Indonesia Forum, which will be held in Jakarta at the Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, from 23–24 August 2016.

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Persons wishing to present papers at the conference are invited to submit a short CV and one-page abstract in electronic form (PDF or Microsoft Word) to Dr Frank Dhont and Christopher Woodrich at frank.dhont@iif.or.id and christopher.woodrich@iif.or.id, respectively by March 31, 2016. All abstracts must be in English, and papers will likewise be presented in English. Practical information regarding the conference is available **here**, and the schedule and panels list is available **here**. Further practical questions can be addressed to the head of the Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia local organizing committee, Rosdiana Sijabat, at rosdiana.sijabat@atmajaya.ac.id. For information on the 9th IIF International Conference and on the IIF's previous conferences and publications, see iif.or.id.

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International Indonesia Forum

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Atma Jaya Rector Agustinus Prasetyantoko, IIF Chairman Frank Dhont, Keynote Speaker Sri Adiningsih, Head of the Conference Committee Rosdiana Sijabat, Dean Eko Widodo, and IIF CCO Christopher Woodrich

Opening Day, IIF 9

In Search of Key Drivers of Indonesia Empowerment

Rosdiana Sijabat
Ati Cahayani
Rusminto Wibowo

In Search of Key Drivers of Indonesia Empowerment

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In Search of Key Drivers of Indonesia Empowerment

Editors

Rosdiana Sijabat
Ati Cahayani
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Appti

Anggota Asosiasi Penerbit Perguruan Tinggi Indonesia

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FOREWORD

Articles in this book offer works presented at the 9th International Indonesia Forum Conference, titled "In Search of Key Drivers of Indonesian Empowerment", which is being held in Jakarta at the Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia from 23–24 August 2016. These diverse articles take various perspectives in examining empowerment as an engine of Indonesian growth and development. As scholars of Indonesia, we know that Indonesian society is a mosaic of elements, all functioning in their own right and embedded in their own specific contexts. This complex structure consists of various actors who, by managing the resources at their disposal, contribute to an empowerment of Indonesia. In reaching their individual goals, each of these actors controls and uses various resources—including, but not limited to, leadership, motivation, business and financial resources—and thus contributes greatly to the success of any undertaking in Indonesia.

It was precisely this reality, the various of actors of Indonesian empowerment in sourcing projects undertaken in Indonesian society, that shaped the theme of the 9th IIF Conference. The effective use of resources serves to mobilize various forms of empowerment, and the drivers behind this mobilization are the core theme of the 9th IIF conference. It is our hope that these presentations, and the resulting papers, will contribute to widening and enriching the insights of readers, both academics and policymakers, in order to aid the empowerment process in all facets of Indonesian society.

Dr Frank Dhont and Chris Woodrich
International Indonesia Forum

PREFACE

This book consists of selected articles from the 9th International Indonesia Forum Conference held at Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Indonesia on 23-24 August 2016. The conference is collaboration between the Department of Business Administration, Faculty of Business Administration and Communication Science, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia with the International Indonesia Forum. The conference theme was "In Search of Key Drivers of Indonesian Empowerment".

We hope that this book will be well accepted as all articles in this book enrich our knowledge on various key drivers of Indonesian empowerment. Understanding on various drivers of Indonesian empowerment is essential to our nation. By empowering people and institutions, we hope to see the building of empowerment capacity that can drive Indonesia's economic and societal development in the future.

Editors

"UMR" for Indonesian Lecturers: A Documentary Research on Indonesian lecturers' remuneration system

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Abstract

This writing aims at highlighting the issue on lecturers' welfare in order to open up anyone involved in higher education, especially those holding the power, to act and solve this matter. This is because there are still so many problems faced by the lecturers and the most disturbing problem one is their remuneration system, which is in fact, against the remuneration system applied in the workforce law. Despite the importance of higher education to Indonesia, e.g. absorbing many educated workers, governmental revenue, etc., this sector is receiving less and less attention from the government, and in the last, ironically the government leaves the development of higher education in the hands of the institutions, thus making the lecturers become more powerless in defending their right, not to mention, the lecturers are also forced to struggle on their own since there seem no legal body/association which can possibly defend their right when facing the problems. Some suggestions are given to further improve the above situations.

Keywords: UMR, Indonesian lecturers

I. Indonesian lecturers' fate: The chronicle of protracted tears?

The above title doesn't mean to be abusive to the job touted as highly noble and prestigious in Indonesia, however, I truly expect that this writing can be a catalyst to raise our awareness on how bad Indonesian lecturer's welfare is, thus provoking those with power to take a more concerted action to help solve this quagmire and to improve the quality of higher education in general.

When we talk about higher education, we will certainly believe that lecturers are among the ones having the most important role and should therefore be firstly the ones to be taken into account. So far, there have been many scholars who believe that a the role of the lecturers in higher education or teachers in a middle school education belong to one of the important factor to be considered, if the education system in one country should be improved (see e.g. http://en.unesco/themes/teachers. or Sahlberg, 2010).

However, in Indonesian context, this concept seems only a dream, and ironically while the fate of the teacher has gradually been a highlighted national issue (see e.g. Dardjowidjoyo, 2003; Madya, 2006; Ashadi, 2012, etc.), the fate of the lecturer, is rarely a hot issue to be taken into account by both scholars and the power holders. In fact, in terms of remuneration, the school teacher nowadays, especially those becoming civil servants have been pampered with the three different schemes, firstly; their basic salary, secondly, their certification fund, and the last is the local government allowance with Jakarta as the highest payer reaching almost one monthly basic salary (further confirmation and data should be verified, though, the latest data confirmed that Jakarta's teacher could possibly earn local incentive as much as 1 000.000 see further at: http://www.gatra.com/nusantara-1/jabodetabek-1/132371-tkd-dinamis-guru-cair-tahun-2016.html).

Indonesian lecturers, on the contrary, mostly earn their wages only from their teaching at various campuses. Although, in some instances, the government has started helping the lecturers' remuneration with certification allowance, the salary of lecturers doesn't seem to improve much. The last survey indicates that the approximate salary of the lecturers is 3000.000 rupiah (see e.g. http://edukasi.kompas.com), the amount which is ironically lower than the salary of the blue collars in Jabodetabek (Jakarta and the surrounding areas) who work manually in service or manufacturing companies and generally graduate only from high schools or junior high schools.

Indeed, the above data are certainly tentative and might not be generalizable since some of the prestigious and wealthy campuses usually provide more pay to their lecturers and employ them as a full timer instead of part timer (see e.g. www.jobstreet.co.id). Based on some recruitment webs (I put only one web since others requiring me to forward the permission first), it could be found that some of the colleges, mostly in Jadebotabek area, could possibly offer the relatively sufficient salary starting from: 8.000.000/ month above, especially in certain majors, e.g. engineering, business, IT, etc., (see e.g. http://www.job-street.co.id/id/job/full-time-lecturer-in-industrial-engineering-1912717?fr=23&src=36) and will finally make it 10.000.000 to 11.000.000 after being certified.

For the above campuses, their lecturers will usually be treated as full timer, thus requiring their lecturers to perform Tri Dharma (a philosophy of lecturers' role involving teaching, researching, and community service). However, in the same web, I could also find some colleges who could only pay lower than 6000.000/month or even 3000.000, especially those serving non-technical field, e.g. education, language, etc. (see e.g. http://www.jobstreet.co.id/id/job/lecturer-for-pendidikan-guru-sekolah-dasar-department-912266?fr=23&src=12). In fact these jobs are still offered in the same area.

Although the importance of remuneration in supporting the workers' motivation and performance has been commonly acknowledged by various scholars, and its actual effectiveness as a driving factor might vary depending on different individuals, remuneration naturally has strong motivational potency (see e.g. Rynes, Gerhart, & Minette, 2004).

Murphy (2015), alike, believes that financial reward has always been important in managing employee's performance, and over the last 25 years other elements of compensation have developed to provide employers with more scope to reward and motivate employees.

Supporting the above premise, Torrington et al. (2011) describe the importance of workplace rewards as being very important to the employment relationship. Although there might be some people who could possibly disregard its importance due to their different motives, Torrington et al. (2011) believe that most of the people do their work chiefly because of earning the money and the need to sustain their families, thus considering how much someone is paid and in what form as being an important issue for people (p. 514).

Lastly, Wiley (as cited in Murphy, 2015 p. 30), found that some of the strongest motivators which the employees commonly consider important such as: 1). Good wages. 2). Full appreciation of work done. 3). Job security. 4). Promotion and growth within the organization. 5). Interesting work, again showing that remuneration is a second to none for the workers.

With regard to lecturers' welfare, the government claims that they have provided some benefits to their lecturers including the issuance of the government's policy to provide grant for conducting research in certain fields, scholarship (which unfortunately frequently comes late for various reasons see e.g. http://www.koran-sindo.com/news.php?r=0&n=3&date=2016-05-03), or the latest news of the government's plan to provide extremely generous bonus to those able to write in international journals with impact factor, recruiting foreign rectors or lecturers, etc.

These extremely bombastic schemes (if not called unrealistic), however, don't seem to attract many lecturers (see e.g. Pincus, 2015). This is because writing for international journal will take a lengthy and arduous process let alone to be accepted, in short the above efforts will consequently sap up lecturers time and energy, and ironically will not be reimbursed. So far, only few campuses which are willing to pay their lecturers' time as they do their research, or even trying to assist their lecturers to publish their writing too this is mainly because those campuses have their own scientific publications, and these kinds of campuses are quite rare to find in Indonesia (see e.g., Puspitarini, 2013).

Apparently, in the name of autonomy, the higher education institutions are considered having their own privilege in managing their own institution thus being free to make any decision including the decision concerning the fate of their lecturers (see e.g., Sulistyono, 2007 or Susanti, 2011). There are many private colleges/universities, even considered as the popular ones which tend to apply the notorious scheme called as "home base pay" which is actually against the government policy on the remuneration standard applied in Indonesian companies (see e.g. the government regulation on remuneration at: http://hukum.unsrat.ac.id/uu/uu_13_03.htm), yet, ironically, these colleges continuously reap the benefits from the government grants, lesser tax, while the companies are certainly not.

In this ugly scheme, most campuses will normally pay terribly small amount of money only for the sake of acquiring their right to put the lecturer's name on their faculty list in order to meet the requirement on the numbers of the lecturers (lecturers' ratio) while blatantly neglecting other aspect of lecturers' welfare e.g. basic salary, overtime pay, research pay, or health insurance, etc.

In these schemes the wealthy and prestigious campuses will usually spend as little as 1000.000 for a doctoral graduate while for master will pay a half (the data are taken based on personal interview and observation to the lecturers of some relatively big campuses in Jabotabek area, from February 2014 to February, 2015, the respondents however refused to reveal the written data, though).

It is ironic that the highly educated lecturers will have to receive an even lower pay compared with a blue collar, and if they have some addition the rest will usually come from other schemes e.g. lecturers' teaching sessions (the average rate in Jabodetabek is approximately 100.000 to 200.000 and will not more than 10 classes), checking the students' exam papers (every semester or mid-term), and moonlighting outside of their home base campuses (see e.g. Fitri, 2011), thus again exempting and benefiting the employers to provide relatively higher amount of money since their "employees" could still make do with toiling at other campuses.

Worse still, some of these campuses even hire school teachers who are already registered in their schools (some of them are civil servants). These campuses usually hire civil servants while having the school teachers' identity withheld in order not to be spotted by authorities. Finally the result of their teaching time will be put on their home base teachers' names, thus their home base lecturers will seem to have more classes while the fact those classes are actually fictitious.

The above irregularities (the application of home base terms) are certainly against Indonesia's labor law which stipulates at least some of the followings: 1) The Indonesian workers (despite the fact that lecturers belong to professional workers) deserve the right to be paid based on the minimum needs (for blue collars this standard is strictly applied to any company operating in one area based on gubernatorial decree or regent's decree along with the approval of the representatives), 2) The Indonesian workers are granted the right to have some nationally permitted absence, (for instance: parents' demise, marriage, etc.,), 3) The Indonesian workers deserve the right to assemble and to have their own union in defending their right so that their standing will be respected before their employers), 4) last but not least, the workers also deserve the right to get a compensation related to the accident or sickness experienced by the workers when doing or in the process of commencing their duties. (see further in UU Tenaga kerja 2013 which can be accessed at: http://hukum.unsrat.ac.id/uu/uu_13_03.htm).

In the home base scheme, the above facilities are not there, the life and death of the lecturers are not the most important matters for the employers, whether the lecturers are

sick or unluckily troubled on the road, the institution will usually provide a very little amount of money in the terms of "belasungkawa" or condolence/sympathy and never fully reimburses based on the government regulation this is chiefly because they are considered only as part timers.

Jerome's (2013) argument on workers' motivation seems to be praiseworthy in that he correlates the long-held Maslow theory and the workers' performance. He postulates that since motivation tends to develop gradually, thus someone will never feel the second need until the demands of the first has been satisfied or the third until the second has been satisfied (p. 41). His arguments are relevant to the case of Indonesian lecturers since Indonesian lecturers are still struggling to fulfill their basic needs, thus, for the time being, they might ignore their possibly higher needs which are in fact very important to support the performance of their professionalism.

Indeed, Robbins and Judge (2013) postulate that there might be internal and external factors motivating the workers to do their work well, or even in some cases there are instances where salary might not be able to lift up the employee motivation and consider the argument relied on Maslow's concepts as shaky, however, empirically they admit that salary is still one of the highest aspect considered by both employees and employers even compared with health benefits, pension benefits, work-life program and company culture (see Robbins, & Judge, 2013, p. 246).

II. The impact of the bad remuneration system to the lecturer' performance

In this section, I try to consolidate some of the possible impacts which can occur due to the poor remuneration system in Indonesia (Further confirmation should be proven through research, for instance by correlating the lecturers' satisfaction on their salary toward their performance, etc.) as follows:

1. The low quality lecturing and graduates.
    It is certainly impossible to expect the lecturers to be professional in their duties since they work part time or considered as part time workers, thus they just come for teaching whether or not their students are able to grasp what they have taught is not a big fuss to consider. Although in some cases, the lecturers might have some time to discuss about the lesson, most of the lecturers tend to avoid providing additional time to guide their students due to their hectic schedules. Other bad consequences are certainly possible truants by the lecturers, time reduction, lower students' motivation, etc.

2. The low quality publication and research.
    It has been a public notoriety that Indonesian lecturers have a relatively low quality in their publishing research either in national or international publication. Although

the causes might vary, the most reasonable one is certainly their remuneration, as we know that the lecturer's time is mostly spent in their teaching (especially for home base teacher), so it is certainly arguable if they are unable to fulfill their duties due to their hectic schedules until the end of the semester. Thus improving the lecturers' performance in research in research (see e.g. Subekti, 2015), should not only by providing them a bonus but also from a relatively permanently received perk to compensate their time and effort to conduct the research project. Expecting campuses will be willing to pay and reimburse their lecturers' effort in performing the research seems to be useless since there are very few campuses which are willing to pay their lecturers as their permanent workers and have their own journal publications, let alone to pay the lecturers' research project.

3. The emergence of long distance campuses or illegal campuses.
The phenomena of illegal campus or distant campus (the campuses which are operated not in the permitted area and commonly operating in different Kopertis an abbreviation from Private college coordinating body), and under the pretext of providing more opportunities to people in other areas, in my mind, should not be seen as a mere violation, but might also be considered as part of the lecturers' way to add up their working time by having more teaching hours and more students in different areas, thus making more money. It is not a secret that even a professor tends to commute to work in Indonesia, then if the professors who are considered as having a sufficient perk still treat themselves as "academic commuter" how about the lecturers who merely depend on their teaching time?

In their operation, these illegal campuses usually put the fictitious lecturers, or hiring the lecturers residing near the campus or even using teachers from middle or high school to be listed as their faculties so that they can cover their operational cost, while some lecturers will act as the coordinators in charge for their operation (see e.g. JPNN.COM, 2012).

4. The missing treasures.
The extremely high disparity among the lecturers' salary, especially which is based on the discipline or knowledge will definitely affect not only those who are teaching in those fields but also reducing the possible survivability of these disciplines. To make thing worse, most of those belong to less popular (thus catered by less income lecturers) are related to the cultures, e.g. Sastra Sunda, Sastra Jawa, etc. So far, these disciplines belong to those avoided by private colleges and only available in state universities with very few students since they don't make much money. If this continuously untouched the development of the above disciplines will certainly be lagging and in the future "the loss those treasures" might occur since there are not many people who would

be willing to retain and research these fields unless those working as lecturers or researchers.

III. Conclusion and suggestions

Unless some concerted efforts are done by the government, Indonesian higher education will still be gloomy since the ones becoming the front runner in this field are still being held captive with their basic needs thus finding it hard to actualize their ideal concept of being a lecturer, let alone to be the one who provides a good paragon in the search of knowledge.

Some of the actions considered worth noting are presented as follows:

1. The government should be firm when the proposal of the establishment of the new campuses is forwarded by some business people, the government should force that the ones wishing to build the campuses to provide a standardized payment to their faculties or lecturers based on the minimum regional minimum standard or be willing to abide by the remuneration bylaw stipulated by the government. For the already established campuses the government should start stipulating the salary standard which is more humane for the lecturers especially the salary which can also cover the lecturers' responsibility in performing Tri Dharma: teaching, community service and researching.

2. The government should be firm with the campuses which are still secretly hiring illegal workers (including teachers with NUPTK no matter how good they are), this is because the reasons for hiring teachers of high school or even junior high schools are mostly to reduce their operational cost. This notorious act has not only reduced the main lecturers' income (because the rate of the lecturers' is usually higher than the teachers) and finally force the lecturers to moonlight anywhere but this action has also adversely reduced the quality teaching of higher education in general, this is because the teachers with NUPTK are the ones who are already burdened with lots of duties, the teaching at campuses will therefore make their burden even overloaded, thus reducing the teaching quality as well as possible communication with their college students.

3. When necessary the government should start cooperating with the local government so that the local government can possibly share the burden in providing more perks to those working in their area. Undeniably, the existence of the lecturers or local campuses can also benefit the local government this is because most of the lecturers are usually involved to provide a community service e.g. teaching, researching, seminars, workshops, these contributions are certainly important to the locals thus providing

perks to the lecturers working in one area can be a reasonable option too, so far, only local elementary to high school categorized eligible in receiving perk or local incentive (abbreviated as HONDA or Honor Daerah/local incentive), the reason for giving this incentive is chiefly economy, since private local teachers mostly have very bad wages. However, in terms of contribution, lecturers' quality must be more significant due to their academic qualification and expertise thus making them more eligible compared with the local teachers.

4. The government must start adopting "a no corruption zone in campus", by starting providing a more humane salary to the lecturers so that they can depend on their own salary and don't need to depend on the other sources, e.g. tips from the students, tutoring students for certain projects or even being a thesis consultant. In its report, Kompas (2016 June 20) indicates that there is a strong correlation between good education and the declining trend of corruption, thus improving lecturers' remuneration can also be the one worth considering, since remuneration will make lecturers more confident in their working and more immune toward graft practices which are rampant in Indonesia.

    Admittedly, tipping practices (which can actually be categorized as corruption) have been recognized as one of the ways to "respect the noble deed of their teacher" and these practices also happen in higher education. Considering the low salary of the lecturer, the practices of tipping lecturers in some cases, can be a mutual relationship as well as hazardous acts, since these practices can significantly influence the lecturers' integrity in determining the students' score, and their academic quality. Although there is no guarantee that this improvement will improve the lecturers' performance, at the very least, this improvement might encourage the lecturers to work more independently and spiritedly. So far the corruption practices occur in Indonesian education covered under the guise of "ikhlas beramal" (willing to donate) or "sedekah" (giving alms) to their lecturers or the faculty members who are in fact in need of financial support from the government or their employers and not from the students.

5. The government can also start training their lecturers on how to do their work more professionally so that the lecturers can have a much better competence in their academic life and expertise, this training might cover: research training, academic writing, English for academic purposes, etc. So far, there are many problems that the lecturers face in improving their quality or writing in internationally recognized journals and most of the problems also come from their inability to write in English based on international academic standard. The above training can also become one of the requirements to have a better remuneration or research perk.

6. There should be further research on how much income should be given to the lecturers for instance by comparing the importance of lecturers' standing among other

professions, e.g. military personnel, judges, researchers, representatives, etc., however, I strongly believe that the basic salary of civil servant adopted in their certification scheme is not sufficient since the work of the lecturers is not only teaching but also researching, thus additional perk might be given to them, just like: the salary of the soldier or police is different in terms of additional perk called as Lauk Pauk (Daily meals), the things that are not received by other civil servants. For the lecturers, the most suitable scheme may be by adding a research perk so that the lecturers can be even more spirited to perform their research if they have regular payment for their effort in doing their research, besides this perk can also compensate their missing classes if they should perform their research within days/weeks in a semester.

7. Last but not least, if the blue collars are able to demonstrate by blocking the road, or even damaging public facilities (see e.g., BBC, 2013) to have their aspiration heard by the those seating in power, Indonesian lecturers might also be in an urgent need to have an organization which is more consistent, committed and reliable to defend the lecturers' right especially if their members seem to be harmed by the wrongdoings, injustices or even legal cases, so far there have been many unsettled problems regarding the lecturers' fate, the most notorious one is the illegal use of the lecturers' name (in fact the lecturers are not working there), and they do this blatantly because they believe there is no legal consequence that incriminates these campuses so far (see e.g. Fitri, 2010 or Piliang, 2015), in these crazy situations most of the lecturers are generally forced either to work in that institution (who holds their lecturers' name by force and to receive a petty cash for the reward) or to go away without warrant which means that their names are still kept in their institution' home base without even being paid so if other institutions are going to hire the lecturers they usually will not be able to fully pay since the names of these lecturers are still on their previous boss. Other factors that seem to be a quagmire in the lecturers' world are the bad service given to them when they have to register for an NIDN, the process of promotion of lecturers' rank, etc. It is reasonable if Pincus (2015) terms it as a "gloom and doom" for the Indonesian higher education, so the commitment of the government to act to improve the lecturers seem to be in need of being equally supported by lecturers' association which acts not only as a stamping pad of the government officials or but also as an equal partner who must create a solid synergy between them. Unless the already established lecturers' association (Asosiasi Dosen Indonesia abbreviated as ADI) does something to take care of this mess, the idea to establish the new association might not sound too bad.

8. If the government is able to improve the remuneration of the lecturers, I believe there will be more bright young people who stand in line to be a lecturer, thus improving the prestige of Indonesian higher education which constitutes the lucrative job market.

As we know in some developed countries (take for example: UK, USA, and Aussie) education has also become one of the important industries providing a lot of revenue to the government. Taking care of lecturers' welfare as the key driver Indonesian higher education will certainly be beneficial not only to save the industry of higher education, which is certainly very vital in absorbing many educated workforces, but also to support the sustainable development. Again, if the government expects this to happen in the near future, then they should never think of leaving education to the hand of marketers or business people, in fact, the government should still fully protect, support, subsidize and bear the burden of the responsibility with all the stakeholders involved, including in the effort to improve the welfare of their lecturers. Last but not least, the words from the noted figure, Prof. Budiharjo seems to be worth contemplating: "Blending education and profit will only alienate millions of people that continue to believe in the integrity and sincerity of the academic community…Higher education should always be ready to go through change but these transformations should not derail the functions of education as a public good" (cited in Sulistyono, 2007, p. 1)

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The Influence of Financial Performance to Social Responsibility Disclosure: Study of Islamic Banks in Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to determine whether financial performances as represented by Ratio of Debt to Equity Ratio (DER) and Net Profit Margin (NPM) influence the level of Social Responsibility Disclosure of Islamic banks in Indonesia in the period of 2010 to 2013. Study shows that DER and NPM Ratio of Islamic banks in Indonesia tend to be fluctuated from year to another. However, the level of social responsibility disclosure truly consistently improves from year to another in the period of 2010 to 2013. This study also concludes that DER and NPM Ratio together at the same time significantly influence the level of social responsibility disclosure of the Islamic banks in Indonesia. Nevertheless, partially, only NPM which significantly proven influence the level of social responsibility disclosure of Islamic banks in Indonesia

Keywords: Islamic Banks, DER, NPM. Sosial Disclosure

I. Introduction

Corporate Social Responibility Disclosure is one of most crucial issues which wisely discussed as its known as a kind of responsibility of company to the society. Cosmin and Eugenia (2005) argue that some national and multinational companies support the CSRD as they decide to have CSRD as part of voluntarily disclosure and even more they also make it as s one of prioritized report.

There are some reasons which make companies consider CSRD to complement their financial report. Some countries have different reasons to the other countries. Anyway, Rabet (2009) claims that the issues of Human right and Globalization are two reasons which make companies in Australia to have social reporting in their financial report. In addition, some companies under European Community Union (ECU) has dictated CSRD as a prioritized report as a mean to achieve their objectives such as having a knowlegde and technolgy economy which keeping the sustainable economics growth, creating job opportunities amd maintaining better social cohesion (Cosmin and Eugenia 2009).

Achua (2008) is in opinion that the chaning of customer behavior has demanded the banking sector in Nigeria to have CSRD. The reason this change, according to Achua (2008), due to globalization and deregulation of financial services, privatization by the predecessor of national banks, the development of information technology, and others.

CSR reporting applies to all companies, including companies that are in the banking industry. Zappi (2007) holds social responsibility reporting in Italy are used as a management strategy for the bank berorentasi multi stakeholders and to create value inthe hearts – hearts with related parties and dealing with the company.

In the case of Indonesia, according to the Mulyanita (2009), the reason for placing banking company social reporting is due to the change in the paradigm of responsibility from management to become a share owner of management to all stakeholders. This is confirmed by the bond Accountant Indonesia (IAI) in the statement of financial accounting standards (PSAK No. 1 revised 2009) paragraph Nine that implicitly suggest placing disclosure responsibilities towards social and environmental problems. In addition, according to the Mulyanita (2009), the challenge of maintaining the company›s image in the community is the reason why a bank in Indonesia doing social reporting.

The Islamic banks have played a crucial role in the disclosure of social responsibility. According to Meutia (2010), Islamic banks should have a spiritual dimension as the Islamic banks should not only operates in non usury basis, but also capable of providing welfare for the society at large, especially for the weak economy of the community. Sulaiman and Willet (2003) stated that social responsibility is one of the essential components of the company should be disclosed in the report.

Based on the above background, the researchers intend to address issues such as whether the financial performance of Islamic banks in Indonesia represented by leverage and net profit margin effect the CSRD in their annual report.

II. Literature review

2.1 Definition of Corporate Social Responsibilitty

According to Darwin (2004) in Anggraini (2006), Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a mechanism for an organization to voluntarily integrate environmental and social concerns into its operations and its interaction with stakeholders, which exceeds the liability of the Organization in the field of law. Kotler and Nancy (2005) adds the CSR is defined as a company›s commitment to improving the well-being of the community through good business practices and contribute as a resource of the company.

Wibisono (2007) explains that the CSR as a business that is conducted in a transparent and open and based on moral values and uphold respect for the employees, the community, and the environment. In relation to the management of the business and CSR, Baker (2007) in Hendra (2008) added that social responsibility is how the company manages its business

processes to produce everything that a positive effect on the environment. Wibisono (2007) also continues that CSR can be defined as the responsibility of an organization over the impact of the decision and its activities on society and the environment, through transparent and ethical behavior that is consistent with sustainable development and the well-being of the community; pay attention to the interests of the stakeholders; According to applicable law and consistent with international norms; integrated throughout the Organization, the activities in this sense include both activities, products or services.

In the end, Wibisno (2007) states that CSR is a concept or action carried out by the company as a form of social responsibility or the environment in which the company is located. Examples of responsibility are varied, from conducting activities that can enhance the welfare of society and the improvement of the environment, granting scholarships to children not being able to, the granting of funds for the maintenance of public facilities, donation to the village/community facility that is both social and useful for society, especially communities that are around the company. CSR is the phenomenon of corporate strategies that accommodate the needs and interests of its stakeholders. CSR arising since the era where the awareness of the company's long-term sustainability is more important than just profitability.

2.2 Corporate Social Responsibility Disclosure

Corporate Social Resposibility Disclosre (CSRD) is a form of disclosure of corporate social responsibility which is often also referred to as social disclosure, corporate social reporting, social accounting (Mathews, 1995 in Sembiring, 2005) or the corporate social responsibility Hackston and Milne (1996) in Sembiring (2005) claims that is the process ofcpmmunication of social and environmental impact of economic activities of the Organization to special group of interested parties and to society as a whole. It expands the responsibilities of organizations (particularly firms), outside its traditional role to provide financial report to the owners of capital, in particular shareholders.

According to Gray et.al (1987) in Sembiring (2005), there are two approaches that are significantly different in doing research on disclosure of social responsibility. First, CSRD may be treated as a supplement of the accounting activities. This approach generally will assume the community as the main user disclosure of corporate social responsibility and tend to limit the perception of social responsibility that is reported. The second approach considers CSRD on a testing role of information in public relations and organization.

Darwin (2004) in Anggraini (2006) argues that CSR is divided into 3 categories, namely economic performance, environmental performance and social performance. While, Zhegal & Ahmed (1990) in Anggraini (2006) identifies the matters pertaining to the reporting of social enterprise, namely as follows:

1. The environment, including pollution control, prevention or improvement against environmental damage, nature conservation, and other disclosures relating to the environment.

2. Energy, including energy conservation, energy efficiency, etc.

3. A reasonable business Practice, covering, empowerment towards minorities and women, support to minority businesses, social responsibility.

2.3   Islamic commercial bank

Islamic banks are banks that operate not rely on usury basis. Islamic Bank is a financial institution banking operations and its products are developed based on the Qur'an and the Hadith, the Prophet. Public bank Syariah bank is conducting business activities or operate based on sharia principles and not rely on the interest in providing financing and services – other services in traffic payments (Antonio, 2001)

According to Antonio (2001), Islamic banking is a form of modern bank which is based on Islamic law, developed in the first century of Islam, using the concept of risk sharing as the primary method and negates the certainty based on financial as well as gains in previously specified. Antonio (2001) also says that, Islamic banks are financial institutions that endeavor anyway give credit and other services services in payment traffic and money circulation that operate with the principles of Shariah principles. Islamic financial institutions have any philosophical seeking also the God to acquire virtue in the world and in the hereafter. Therefore any activities of Islamic financial institutions must avoid you from elements of usury and implementing systems for results and trade (Antonio, 2001)

2.4   Financial performance against the influence of corporate social responsibility

The purpose of the company is basically in order to menicptakan profit and increasing the value of investments that are cultivated by the shareholders. However, in the context of business institutions as part of the berlandasarkan to the principles of the Sharia, Islamic banks must also give attention to the environment and society in General. To that end, researchers intend to affect research on the influence of financial performance represented by leverage, and net profit margin against disclosure of social responsibility in syariah bank in Indonesia.

2.4.1 Leverage

According to Sultan Makmun (2002), financial Leverage (leverage ratio) is the ratio between funds used for membelanjai/finance company or comparison between the funds obtained from external companies (from lenders-lender) with funding provided the owners

of the company. The ratio is used to give you an idea of strktur capital owned company, so it can be seen the level of risk is not tertagihnya a debt. Therefore, companies with high leverage ratio have a duty to conduct a wider expression than companies with low leverage ratio.

Anggraini (2006) States that the higher the leverage, the greater the likelihood the company will experience a breach of contract debts, then the Manager will seek to report profits now higher than earnings in the future. With the reported higher profitswill reduce the likelihood of the company›s debt agreement. So the reported higherprofit packed managers must reduce costs including costs of social information revealed.

2.4.2 Net Profit Margin

Net Profit Margin (NPM) is a ratio used to show these capabilities in generating a net gain. According to Weston and Copeland (2012), the NPM is the ratio between the net profit with a sale. This ratio is important for sanagat Operations Manager because it reflects the pricing strategies set out the company›s sales and its ability to control the burden on business. Weston and Copeland (2012) said that the greater the NPM means a more efficient company in issuing fees with respect to activity operations.

2.5 Previous research

Anggraini (2006) doing research on disclosure of information and social factors that affect social information disclosure in annual financial statements companies listed on the Jakarta Stock Exchange. Find that ownership management associated significantly with the level of disclosure of information on social enterprise. Financial leverage, political costs, and the level of profitability are not associated significantly with the level of disclosure of information on social enterprise. His research also found that the company will disclose certain information if there is a rule that asks for it. Banking and insurance company in the majority (over 50%) disclose information engenai its human source development compared with other industries. This is because the industry is highly dependent on the ability of humans (employees) in providing services to customers.

Furthermore, there is Judy (2010) research regarding the analysis of the influence offinancial performance against corporate social responsibility (CSR) Empirical Studies on Bank Indonesia in the period of 2007-2008 shows that the size of the company and the leverage effect on the broad disclosure

Erna Setiawati (2013) conducted a study on the influence of Characteristics of companies Towards CSR (Survey on the banking industry in Indonesia). From the results obtained by research observations and conclusion that size (the size of the company) effect significantly to corporate social responsibility disclosure, while profitability, leverage, and

the size of the Board of Commissioners has no effect against the disclosure of corporate social responsibility.

2.6   Research hypothesis

The hypothesis is an explanation while truth should be tested on the subjectstudied, whereby a hypothesis is always formulated in the form of a revelation that connects two or more variables (Supranto, 2001). The hypothesis in the study as follows:

2.6.1 Leverage and disclosure of social responsibility of Syariah Bank in Indonesia

Some of the research that has been done by, among others, Erna Agustin Reziani (2010), Hyperkind (2010), pointed out that the leverage effect significantly to disclosure of corporate social responsibility. Anggraini Taures (2006), (2010), and Erna Setiawati (2013), pointed out that the leverage effect was not significantly with the level of disclosure of information on social enterprise. Therefore the hypothesis is:

> H2: leverage effect the disclosure of corporate social responsibility.

2.6.2   Net Profit Margin and Social Responsibility Disclosure Islamic Bank in Indonesia

The research that has been done by, among others, Erna Agustin Reziani (2010) shows that the net profit margin of significant effect to the disclosure of corporate social responsibility. Therefore the hypothesis is:

H3: Net Profit Margin effect significantly to disclosure of corporate social responsibility.

III. Research methodology

In doing research, researchers use research methods and rules that correspond to the fields and a central research topic is done.

3.1 Design research

This type of research is the study of associative causal. Sugiyono (2013) says that the study is causal research associate aims to analyze the relationship between the one variable with other variables or how one variable affects another variable.

3.2 Research and operational definition of the variable

According to Sugiyono (2013), variable research is everything that shaped what defined by their research and learnt so that retrieved information about such matters, then drawn

conclusion. This research was conducted to analyse the influence of the characteristics of the company and its financial performance against social responsibility disclosure Islamic banks in Indonesia. This research uses the financial performance represented by leverage, and net profit margin as the independent variable and the disclosure of corporate social responsibility as the dependent variable. As for the operational definition of the variables:

3.2.1 Independent variable

3.2.1.1 Leverage

Solvency rates Shows Company's ability in paying its obligations. This ratio is also used in assessing the company's limits in borrowing money. This research used the debt to equity ratio as a proxy of the company risk levels. The use of debt to equity ratio in this study is based on the penelitiann conducted by Sembiring (2005), and Anggraini (2006) using the debt to asset ratio as a proxy of leverage. Formulated as follows:

$$\text{LEV} = \frac{\text{TOTAL DEBT}}{\text{TOTAL EQUITY}}$$

3.2.1.2 Net Profit Margin

This ratio measures the net profit after taxes against operating profit. The higher the Net profit margin the better operation of an enterprise. Net profit margin is calculated by the formula:

$$\text{NPM} = \frac{\text{NET INCOME}}{\text{OPERATING INCOME}}$$

3.2.2 Dependent variable

The dependent variable in this study was the disclosure of corporate social responsibility in annual reports (Corporate Social Responsibility). Gray et al. (1987) in Sembiring (2005) defines social responsibility disclosure as a process of social and environmental communication which impacts the economic activities of the Organization to special group of interested parties and to society as a whole.

3.3 Population

The population in this research is Islamic commercial banks (BUS) operating in Indonesia since the year 20010. According to Bank Indonesia (2009), there are eight BUS already operating in Indonesia in 2010. The BUS is Bank Muammalat Indonesia, Bank Syariah

Mandiri, Bank Syariah Mega Indonesia, Bank Rakyat Indonesia Syariah, Bank Syariah Bukopin, Bank Negara Indonesia Syariah, Bank BCA Syariah and Bank Panin Syariah. With a limited number of BUS operating in Indonesia since 2010, researchers decided making all these BUS as objects in this research.

Basically in accordance with the laws of Islamic banking No 21 of 2008, there are two types of Syariah bank in Indonesia; first BUS; and second, the Syariah Business Units (UUS). According to the legislation, the special operation unit is UUS who operates based on sharia principles that reside or are owned by a bank that runs based on the principle of conventional/thus, the entities of the UUS bank which runs based on the conventional principle. Thus, the researchers only use BUS as the object examined to achieve the goals and purpose of the research.

3.4 Types and sources of data

This research utilized documentary data. Sugiyono (2013) explains that such documentary data is in the form of annual report (annual report) published by the BUS during the years 2010-2013. The source of the data used in this research is secondary data, i.e. in the form of annual report 2010-2013. Other source of support in the form of a journal is required, other sources that can be used in this study.

3.5 Method of data collection

Data collection methods used in this research is a method of study documentation. According to Sugiyono (2013), the study documentation is a method of collecting data based on documents issued by the institution or body being the object of research. In this research, the documentation is done by collecting data sources of documentaries, such as the annual report (annual report) on the official website of Islamic banks.

3.6 Method of data analysis

Methods of data analysis used in this study are a model of multiple regression analysis. Multiple regression analysis is an extension of the regression method is commonly used to test the influence of two or more independent variables the dependent variables against a scale of measurement interval or ratio in a linear equation (Sugiono, 2013). The use of regression analysis method in testing the hypothesis first tested whether the model meets the classical assumption or not.

3.6.1 Classic assumption test

A classic assumption test in this study using 4 testing Normality Test IE, Multicollinearity Test, Heteroskedastisitas Test, and a test of Autocorrelation.

3.6.1.1 Data normality test

Good regression model has a data distribution is normal or close to normal. Test ofnormality aims to test whether the dependent and independent variables in the model are distributed normally (Ghozali, 2006). Statistical analysis was done by looking at the results of a One-Sample Kolmogorov Smirnov, if above the level of significance of 0.05 then showed a normal distribution pattern.

3.6.1.2 Multicollinearity test

Multicollinearity test aimed at testing whether there is a correlation between independent variables in the regression model. Good regression models should not happen the correlation between its independent variables (Ghozali, 2006). Multicollinearitymay be seen from the values of tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF). If the value of tolerance < 0.10 or equal to the value of the VIF > 10 then it can be concluded there was no multicollinearity between the independent variables in the regression model.

3.6.1.3 Test heterocedasticity

Heterocedasticity test aimed at testing whether the recidual variance inequality occurs from one observation to another observation in the regression model (Ghozali, 2006). The regression model is good if the residual variance from one observation to another fixed observation (homocedasticity) or heterocedasticity is not happening. Heterocedasticity can be found by looking at the graphs scatterplots. In case of graphs scatterplots look that dots randomly spread (without a clear pattern) as well as scattered above or below the 0 on the Y axis, it can be inferred that heterocedasticity does not occur in the regression model.

3.6.1.4 Test autocorrelation

Autocorrelation test aimed at testing whether in linear regression models there is a correlation between the error of a bully in the period t of a bully with an error in the period t – 1 (previous) (Ghozali, 2006). If there is a correlation, then called the autocorrelation problem. In this research, analytical tools used in testing the autocorrelation is a test of the Durbin-Watson.

3.6.2   Hypothesis test

Methods of data analysis used in this study is a model of multiple regression analysis. According to Sugiyono (2013) multiple regression analysis used will be valid if the data is distributed normally, free from multikolinieritas, heteroskedastitas, and autocorrelation. The independent variable in this study are the characteristics of companies that diproksi in the company size (size), leverage, and net profit margin. While the variable dependennya

that is the disclosure of corporate social responsibility. As for the equation to test the hypothesis as a whole in this research are as follows:

$$CSR = \beta0 + \beta1LEV + \beta2NPM + e$$

CSR = Index Of Social Responsibility Disclosure
LEV = Leverage
NPM = Net Profit Margin
$\beta0$ = Intercept
$\beta1$, ..., the regression Coefficient = $\beta5$
e   = Error

IV. Result and analysis

4.1 Descriptive analysis

4.1.1 Leverage

The company's ability in making payment obligations can be shown through their solvency levels. According to Sembiring (2005), one of the ratios used in measuring the level of solvency is the debt to equity ratio (DER).

The DER of Islamic banks in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013 s. d, in average continues to increase from year to year. Table 4.1 shows that in 2010, the average Islamic banks in Indonesia DER amounted to 9.73 and it increases to 10, 11, and 11.86 in2011, 2012 and 2013.

**Table 4.1 The average of Total Debt to Total Equity of Islamic Banks
in Indonesia in period of 2010 to 2013**

Rasio Leverage	Year			
	2010	2011	2012	2013
Debt to Equity	9.73	10.51	11.13	11.86
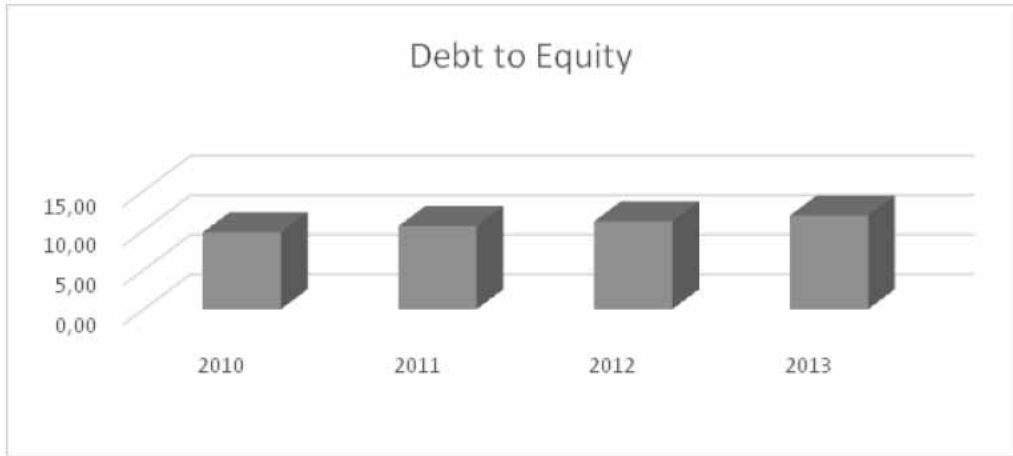
Figure 4.1 The average of Total Debt to Total Equity of Islamic Banks in Indonesia
in 2010 Period s. d 2013

However, the DER of Islamic banks in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013, if viewed on each individual Islamic banks vary from one to another.

**Table 4.2 Total Debt to Total Equity of Islamic Banks in
Indonesia of Period 2010 s.d 2013**

List of Islamic Bank	Year			
	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bsm	13.16	12.97	15.84	16.5
Bmi	12.26	15.71	15.8	16.2
Bmsi	10.7	11.5	11.9	12.34
bank bukopin	12.5	13.24	10.67	11.1
bank bni syariah	9.7	9.95	10.2	10.5
bank bri syariah	10.5	10.7	12.1	12.25
bank bca syariah	5.8	7.8	8.12	8.3
bank panin syaria	3.20	2.25	4.38	7.70
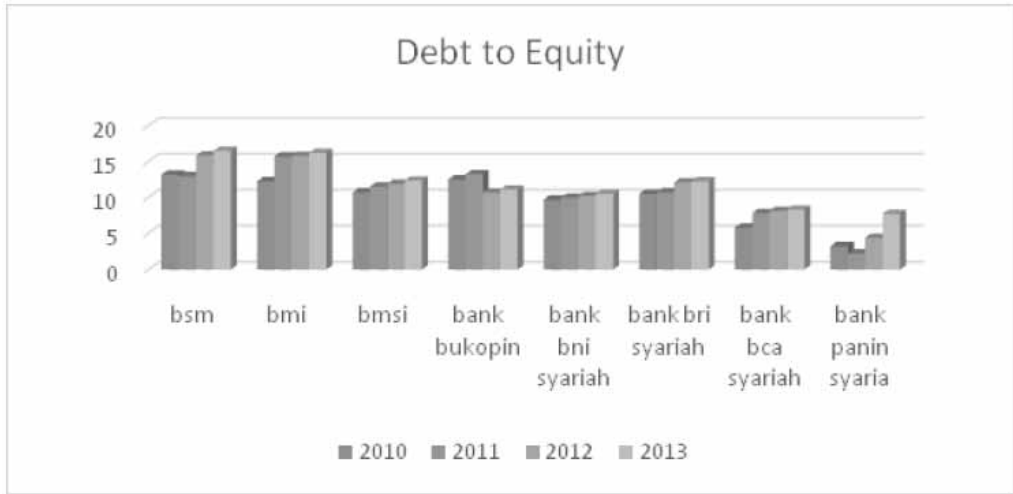
Figure 4.2 Total Debt to Total Equity of Islamic Banks in Indonesia of Period 2010 s.d 2013

4.1.2 Net Profit Margin

According to Roziani (2010), the Net Profit Margin (NPM) is a ratio used to measure the ability of the company in generating net profit after tax and interest. Roziani (2004) confirms the increasing ratio of NPM, this means the company›s financial performance is getting better. Average NPM Islamic banks in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013 fluctuates from year to year.

Table 4.3 The average Net Profit Margin of Islamic Banks in Indonesia in period of 2010 to 2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Net Income to Operating Income	0.74	0.75	0.71	0.69
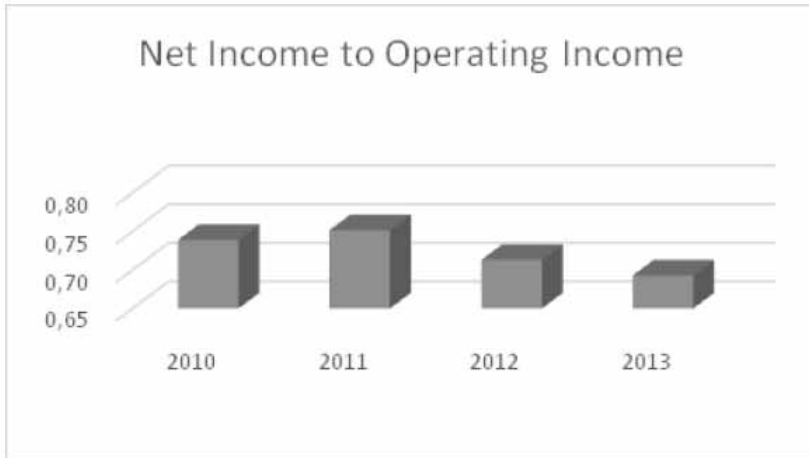
Figure 4.3 The average Net Profit Margin of Islamic Banks in Indonesia in period of 2010 to 2013

Table and Figure 4.3 show clearly that the average NPM Islamic banks in 2010 were 0.74. This number slightly increased to 0.75 in 2011. But in 2012 and 2013, the average NPM Islamic banks in Indonesia dropped to 0.71 and 0.69. This figure can also be interpreted that , the fall of net profits before taxes in 2012 and 2013 might be caused by the situation in which the other income obtained by Islamic banks in Indonesia is smaller than their other expenses.

As for the NPM individual Islamic bank in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013 varies from year to year. However, of the eight Islamic banks observed, there is one bank that his NPM continued to decline from 2010 s. d 2013, which is Bank BNI Syariah.

Table 4.4 Net Profit Margin of Islamic Banks in Indonesia in period of 2010 to 2013

List of Islamic Bank	Year			
	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bsm	0.72	0.72	0.73	0.73
Bmi	0.78	0.75	0.70	0.68
Bmsi	0.68	0.67	0.70	0.71
bank bukopin	0.71	0.81	0.66	0.63
bank bni syariah	1.01	0.89	0.72	0.61
bank bri syariah	0.65	0.70	0.71	0.73
bank bca syariah	0.70	0.72	0.73	0.70
bank panin syaria	0.65	0.75	0.75	0.75

Figure 4.4 Net Profit Margin of Islamic Banks in Indonesia in period of 2010 to 2013

4.1.3 Social Responsibility Disclosure

Corporate Social Responsibility Disclosure (CSRD) reported by the Islamic banks in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013, increasing from year to year. This can be demonstrated through achievement score of CSRD of the Islamic banks Indonesia which is measured by the Islamic Social Reporting Index.

In the period of 2010 s. d 2013, voluntary disclosure of Islamic banks in Indonesia increased from year to year. In 2010, the average score of the disclosure of social Islamic banks in Indonesia are of 31.63. The score of CSRD keep increasing to 32.88 in 2011, 2012 and 34.50 34.88 in 2013.

Table 4.5 The average Score of Corporate Social Disclosure of the Islamic Banks in Indonesia in the period of 2010 to 2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013
CSRD	31.63	32.88	34.50	34.88
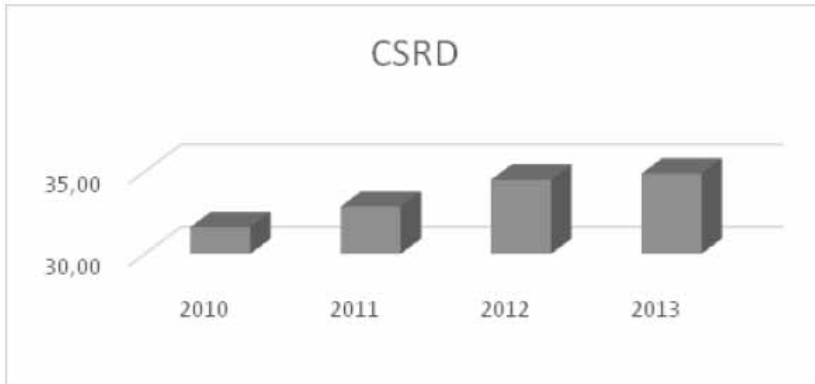
Figure 4.5 The average Score of Corporate Social Disclosure of the Islamic Banks
in Indonesia in the period of 2010 to 2013

However, as per individual of Islamic Banks in Indonesia bank in Indonesia in the period of 2010 to 2013, the level of CSRD fluctuates from year to year.

**Table 4.6 The level of CSRD Islamic Banks In Indonesia
in the period of 2010 to 2013**

List of Islamic Bank	Year			
	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bsm	39	41	40	41
Bmi	37	40	40	40
Bmsi	33	34	34	34
bank bukopin	26	29	32	32
bank bni syariah	35	34	37	37
bank bri syariah	30	30	35	35
bank bca syariah	29	29	32	33
bank panin syaria	24	26	26	27
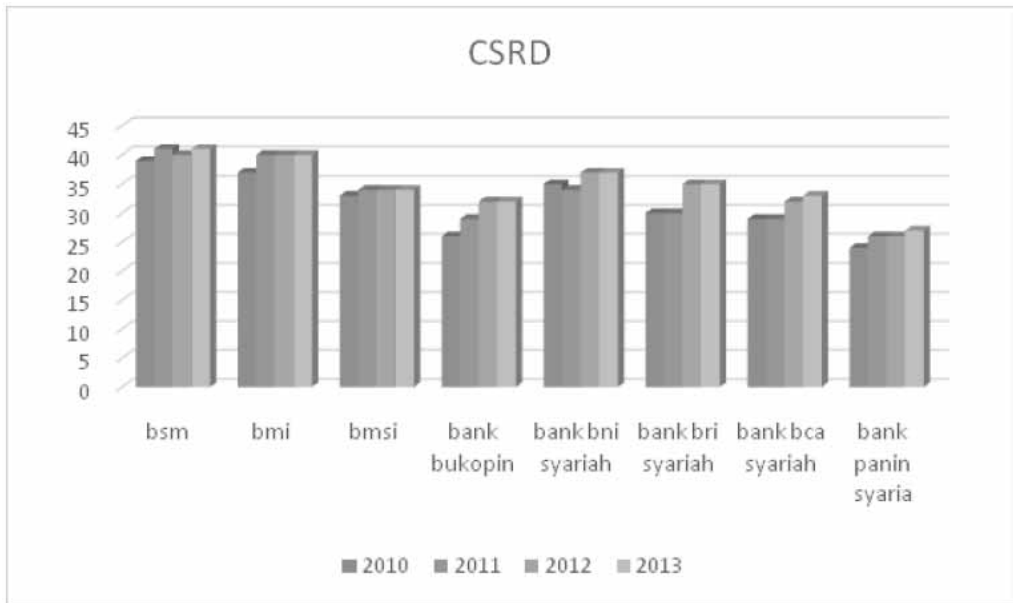
Figure 4.6 The level of CSRD Islamic Banks In Indonesia in the period of 2010 to 2013

4.2 Linear regression test

According to Soegiyono (2012), in performing a linear regression tests then conducted several test stages, such as descriptive test, Anova and t-test test.

4.2.1 Descriptive test

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.7 Descriptive Test

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
SOSDISC	33.4688	4.91859	32
NETINCOPINC	.7234	.07404	32
ASEKUIN	10.8075	3.57859	32

4.2.2 Test Anova

Table 4.8 Annova Test

	Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
ANOVAᵃ						
1	Regression	476.338	2	238.169	25.242	.000ᵇ
	Residual	273.631	29	9.436		
	Total	749.969	31			

a. Dependent Variable: SOSDISC
b. Predictors: (Constant), ASEKUIN, NETINCOPINC

Figure 4.8 shows that the independent variable of financial performance as represented by Debt To Equity Ratio (DER) and Net Profit Margin (NPM) simultaneously affect independent variable of the level of CSRD.

4.2.3 Test t

Table 4.9 the test t

Coefficientsᵃ

	Model	Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	18.439	5.699		3.236	.003		
	NETINCOPINC	4.444	7.453	.067	.596	.556	1.000	1.000
	ASEKUIN	1.093	.154	.795	7.090	.000	1.000	1.000

a. Dependent Variable: SOSDISC

Table 4.9 shows that independent variable of this study in partial has different effect to the dependent variable. This research shows that independent varable of NPM is empirically proven does not have effect to the level of voluntary disclosure. Whereas, for the other independent variable of DER is significantly proven influence the level of CSRD of Islamic banks in Indonesia. It can be understood that the greater of debt ratio to equity mandates greater obligation of Islamic bank in Indonesia disclose their corporate responsibility activities to the society that the Islamic banks have done.

V. Conclusions and suggestions

As for the conclusions in this study are:

1. The ratio of Debt to Equity Ratio (DER) Syariah bank in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013 fluctuates and it tend to increase from year to year.

2. The ratio of Net Profit Margin (NPM) Syariah bank in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013 fluctuates and it tends to decrease from year to year.

3. Level of CSRD of Islamic banks in Indonesia tends to keep improving from year to year in the period 2010 to 2013 s. d.

4. Both variebel independent i.e. DER and NPM statistically proven simultaneously influenced the level of CSRD of Islamic banks in Indonesia in the period 2010 to 2013.

5. However, by partial test, statistics show that only variable of DER which is empirically proven influence the level of CSRD of Islamic banks in Indonesia.

As for the advice given to research next is:

1. the financial ratios used in the study can then be developed with various financial ratios related to the financial performance of the bank such as capital adequacy. The quality of earning assets and so on.

2. The Data used can be developed into a primary data through interview techniques particularly in analyzing social responsibility disclosure made by the action of the real social responsibility carried out by the Islamic bank.

3. The study may also be continued by in depth study to obtain the perception of the society and stakeholders on impact of social responsibility activities conducated and reported by the Islamic banks in Indonesia.

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The Emancipation of Information in Rasuna Said's Struggle for Women's Empowerment in Indonesia

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Abstract

Women are arbitrarily considered as a hotbed of polemics over human civilization for many years. Issues such as prostitution, persecution, stupidity, and slavery were attached so strongly to women's representation. As for Indonesian, the women's identity is always be the core problem, so, the defenders of women's rights has taken their actions for a long time. Rasuna Said as an Indonesian national hero may be the brightest name for such struggle, especially in optimizing the women's role in society. Her struggle was recorded since the Dutch colonial, Japanese occupation, and after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. "Information" is the keyword for Rasuna's struggle in enhancing the character and the courage of women. The action was believed to be able to create a new direction for the historicity of Indonesian women. Rasuna's efforts seemed to questioning the usage of the term "physical emancipation", which is already used since the early 19th century. She successfully infiltrated both the socio-political system and in making collaboration with several organizations from different ideological backgrounds.

This paper was written in order to oppose the myth; which states that women's empowerment is all about physical matters. Therefore, it needs a critical study to straighten out the issues which are discussed through the emancipation discourse, since the informative matters proved to be much more important. This study will involve the fields of social sciences, cultural studies, ethics, psychology, and communication. Considering Rasuna as a historical figure, so this reseach will also to be discussed in the historical, political and philosophical aspect. The post-behavioral theory will be used as the primary approach as well. Then it will be developed through the philosophical hermeneutic method with methodical elements; describes reading texts and data, historical continuity, deductive and inductive approach, as well as heuristics to get a new and applicable solution. It could be said that the struggle of the Rasuna Said is a combination of two aspects; *physical and mental.* Her actions, is clearly different from the struggle of Cut Nyak Dien in physical combat or the struggle of R.A. Kartini who picked correspondence as her main focus. Rasuna mixes these two models of the struggle; through establishing the schools, publishing the magazines

and newspapers on the theme of "national movements", as well as participating as a social activist. It is thus no exaggeration to claim that "the emancipation of information" as the name of the struggle that was conducted by Rasuna Said. Clearly this is not about seizing social responsibility through the mere physical struggle. "The emancipation of information" for sure is the quickest path toward achieving the main goal of every woman. So women, especially Indonesian women, can be transformed into a key driver toward building a brighter, better, and more prosperous future for the nation, country, and the whole world.

I.   Introduction

Women have been a central of human's discussion eternally since hundred years ago, as consequences of their role as one of the main entity of humanity, especially with the inevitable physical distinction between men and women. Everything is started from the invention of the communication system as a basic form of civilization. Human civilization is a way-in for the dynamic of life. There is an inseparable relation between culture and creation of the human's scheme of everything. Based on the basic factor there over, women become the most important identity that human ever have. It has been an interesting study, both historically and politically when femininity collides with masculinity. If we looked at meta-ethical theory as been told by Srinivasan (2016) that the philosophy of morals nowadays are mostly created by men under the system of patriarchy assumption. This assumption is formed inherently by the superiority of men over women, likewise the superiority of masculinity symbol over femininity. Basically, it has been entrenched for years through the contradiction between reason and affection, individual and communal, mind and body (Srinivasan, 2016). Problems that appear on women's history are assuming that women are controlled by men as though. Trough this assumption, women become an institution of gender distinction system. This system is being ruled by norms and common values that have a special kind of culture (Smith, 1989). Indirectly, it can be said that a normative standard for women appears as a consequence of traditional assumption about substance social function. Social control discourse is used as a form of masculinity. It existing and growing because of the gender issue.

The former argument of Srinivasan is revealing the fundamental discrimination over women. Main problems of women are domestic violence, education, sexual harassment, internal family problem, and divorce. These problems are followed by cultural treatments as an impact. As a consequence of act and physical appraisal for the woman (and men indeed), then the problem that appears as an anti-thesis is also physical.

Thus, it is not surprising if someday the act of women emancipation leads to physical equality. This is a perspective that tends to be understood as a physical revolution if brought to the socio-cultural issue. Pierre Bordieu (2010) said that this socio-cultural structure is enforcing the meaning of human trough two substantial words; big and small. As in the games that apply a resistance between big and small, then the dominant must be assured of their domination. In the other side, the object of domination must be willing to admitting the domination existence in order to accept the act of domination. In this case, women are unconsciously accepting themselves to be submissive by rejecting some potential condition whether their spouse has a smaller body size from them (Bourdieu, 98 : 2010).

It can be said that the struggling of early feminism in order to rise women level trough the equality of rights in property ownership is a fundamental and general representative of their struggle at once.

II. Women empowerment model, particularly in Indonesia

Dhruba Hazarika (2011) feminism activist from India said that empowerment comes from empowerment issues. Thus, women empowerment can be understood as an effort to preparing women into economic and social identity independent. From here, then women are expected to be involved in development act. In the end, the empowerment effort will be meet a women involvement on the policy (Haxarika, 2011:200)

The sentence above is a common understanding of people about emancipation or women empowerment, a perspective about politics side of women's need as though. Explicitly, Khus Funer Mustaza ever said that the empowerment not only political. Empowerment is an attempt to overcome economic, social, and political dimension independently. It is not a hyperbolic if we say that empowerment is a mental condition which appears from environmental help which is support freedom, equality, and humanity (Mustaza, 2012:351).

Emancipation as a main goal of women empowerment supposes to be a way to think or at least a media into innovation restrained. When poverty and ignorance become equal and accepted by women in countries like India, Bangladesh, Sudan, etc, then there should be a re-critical in political empowerment. History has written in golden ink, about a lady named Theresa in India for her extraordinary humanitarian act.

The question is, did Mother Theresa do that on one political scheme? Mother Theresa did the entire struggle with her pure hand, love, and affection as a mother. The point of her struggle is supposed to be the most important reference for women warrior of this century. Mother Teresa may be the right role model for women empowerment that could open the eyes of the world for the important meaning of femininity identity.

As resumed by Wiyatmi (2012) that the early struggle in empowerment issues not far from demanding the law of marriage, divorce, ownership, and custody. Even though

in the end this movement becomes a social and inclusive movement, but the early step as mentioned, show the big effect of patriotism (Wiyatmi, 2012:12). It shows on the struggling way of Javanese women. Kartini, which breaks through the border between continents with her inspirational letter. She did the struggle because of the solitary life after her marriage life. Her willing to continue study and get a chance to study abroad in Europe is fall apart because of her husband domination the Javanese culture that day which forced her to live her imprisoned life in her own house.

But in the same era, another story of Indonesian women is happened differently. Indonesia has two kinship systems; mostly are patrilinealism and the least are matrilinealism. Matrilinialism are best known in West Sumatera, the Minangkabaunese. Practically, the roles of women are precious in matrilineal system. Minangnese women have a full authority of her tribe's property ownership which is will be their legacy to their daughter to their granddaughter, and so on, meanwhile in another part of the world; women have to do the protest to get their rights. If the divorce happened for whatever reason, custody will be the rights of the mother or her family. Women are the sovereign and the ruler of Rumah Gadang. Indeed, they are not allowed to interact with outside world (Navis, 1989:221-225).

The image of minangnese women giving by Navis, at least shows that women empowerment in Indonesia cannot be seen from general feminist perspective. Theoretically, it might be said that whatever happen on women is a universal phenomena. Yet, there are other psychological perspectives that inherent in women herself. Thus, when the discussion has lead to human rights, it becomes more complex because we already knew and admit the human rights as a relative right. The benefit that want to be shown by feminist before the post-feminist era, liberal feminist, or multicultural feminist, is a political passion basically just artificial passion and unnatural. In order of that, physical struggle that needs to meet the social-politics acceptation based on women urge, have for to be reconsidered. Not to inhibit women empowerment, but to aiming it to the more effective way.

Thought it is never clearly spoken, the way of struggle based on Indonesian women spirit and identity is heading to improvement of information access. It can be conclude by the struggling model did by remarkable women like R.A. Kartini, R. Dewi Sartika, Rohana Kudus, Nyai Ahmad Dahlan, Rahmah El-Yunusiyah, dan of course H.R. Rasuna Said are related to schools establishment or another demand for a better education for women. We can take an early conclusion that one of Indonesian women character is not easily give up on every problems they have. Education is being the main focus because its position as a basic needs of human, so that it has a strong normative dimension. Domination then just a matter of personality type that build by some other society.

III. Rasuna Said, between heroic and gender dedication

As a movement that appears trough political idea assistance, by all means women empowerment becomes a struggle. Struggling becomes a terms that emerge as an explanation for definition of conflict. Tomas Diez (2006) revealed that the conflict which contains struggling could show incompatibility of subjects' position generally. Otherwise, could be said that the struggle is against all incompatibility that intercept idea from fighter (Diez dkk, 2016:565)

From what has been said by Diaz as mentioned, then the category that includes to the struggling idea become widely. If eagerness ideally directed as something that fighting another opposite condition, then it becomes a struggle. The definition given by Thomas Diez refers to a struggling in a unique moment. It becomes a product of thought which is approximately withhold or blocking feminism to be a lifetime struggle. This is seen by Bourdie as a constant condition within masculinity. Bordieu denying common assumption by saying trans-historic constant condition within masculinity domination relation does not caused a dehistorical and denaturalize impact. Simply, Bordieu said that in masculinity domination history will be occurs constant repetitions. Bordieu said that the product of history that produced by fallacy of the constant condition meaning is a false dehistoricity (Bordieu, 2010 : 144).

Indeed, Bordieu unintended an annihilation of feminism struggling. Nevertheless, there's a sufficient reason of Bordieu's version of problem. Masculinity domination is happening, but not as an impact of system error but mostly as a constant condition that has to be hold by history. Furthermore, it looks alike condition of women that always giving birth, and the needing of consuming food, so that the struggle that exist is not suppose to be about fearness, which is only can be solved by physical revolution, or at least a revolution of thought that does not have to be associated by the idea of replacing masculinity domination with femininity domination.

In this case, the fighter can be defined then as someone who did the fighting by countering any different domination. brian Murdoch (1996) acknowledge that a hero is someone who did a heroic action in a threaten situation, as a loyalty to master or Lord, and then get a noble reputation as a result (Murdoch, 1996:4). Murdoch does not see a hero should have an initiative out of blue, but a hero should did an action that caused by his willing to defend something that belong to him. Because of that, the hero title attached to women for their role in feminism needs to be reconsidered. It is important to be notice that this statement being said in order to form an appropriate standard about the effectively of struggle, not to erase the heroic of women.

As a character in this paper, Rasuna Said through her history of life is meet the requirements to be the role model of women empowerments fighter. At least that was K Bertens intention of his statement about absolute moral implicative within the used of

words "hero" or saint. Even though those words are spoken without any moral tendency such as there is no tendency on the title "badminton hero" given to the first winner of badminton league. At least there is three situations that made someone as a hero; if he doing his responsibility when other don't, and if he did something when mostly don't, and he did something required (Bertens, 2007: 227-230).

Rasuna said is a women who did something for her clan and has been force herself inside the struggling. Hajjah Rangkayo Rasuna Said was born on 1910 ini Maninjau, West Sumatera. Rasuna's origin is from the family with activist background and also a reputable family in Minangkabau. Rasuna Said was studied in Thawalib and be disciples of Haji Rasul a.k.a Dr H Abdul Karim Amirullah, father of Buya Hamka. The thought of Haji Rasul left a great influence on Rasuna Said. Her activity started from Sarekat Rakyat and next she jined with Soematra Thawalib. In 1930, Rasuna found an organization called Persatoean Meoslimin Indonesia (PERMI) in Bukittinggi. Afterwards, she establishes a Thawalib School in Padang and leading Girls course and Normal course in Bukittinggi. As an political activist, she often critize the government of Nederland at the time so she was being punished in jail in Semarang on 1932.

On 1935, she becomes the leader of Raya magazine. It considered as a radical magazine by government at that time so that it always restricted. Meanwhile, PERMI member are not able to do anything in advance, it made her disappointed and decided to move to Medan. On 1937, Rasuna found an Institution for girls in Medan, and also establish a weekly magazine named Menara Poetri. Her writings are known well as a sharp, critical, and strict writings. Her mission was to embed anti-colonialism spirit to women. But the feedback of this magazine was cold, so she decided to back into her hometown.

During the Japanese invasion, she was joining a youth organization Nipon Raya in Padang, although it was terminated by the government then. After Indonesia independency, she's active on the Bureau of Youth and Indonesia National Committee. She was later appointed as a Council member (DPR RIS) and becoming a member at Dewan Pertimbangan Agung on 5 july 1959 until death of her on November 2 1965 (Wikipedia) .

Interesting indeed reading a brief biography to Rasuna Said above, at least any doubt about what she was looking for is already visible. If we use the terms offered by earlier Bertens, between heroes and saints, it seems appropriate to Rasuna is located on the second part. Out of the three characters heroes or saints as stated by Bertens, Rasuna Said has reached the third level, which is doing something that she's "supposed" to do, regardless of whether it is done or not by others.

There is a question, if such actions taken by Rasuna Said carries any political purposes? If the answer is yes, then where's the difference with what was done by feminists? In order to answer these two questions, we have to look back to the background of Rasuna, as a Minangkabau women. As written by Yunahar Ilyas (2006), in Minangkabau, women are

the head of household with the assistance of the *Mamak Rumah* (mother's brother). While the position of the fathers or the husbands only as a guest in the family of the woman. The same thing occurs in the issue of inheritance, everything goes to women. These things make the status of women in Minangkabau tradition becomes very special (Elias, 2006: 46-49).

The explanation of Yunahar has demonstrated the most important point of struggle which carried Rasuna Said. The basis of struggle which carried by Rasuna, in contrast by what was believed by feminists. Minangkabau as a region with a strong tradition, does not have a political system that ignores the role of women. There will be no any political issues such as the right to vote, the right to own property, and then the child custody in Minangkabau. So even though through political channels, Rasuna actually merely like to get a better outcome in the future. This intention is much like what is perceived by other women reformers, such as Rahmah El-Yunusiyah, RA Kartini, and Raden Kartika. For Rasuna, politics only serves as a medium rather than as a destination. Again, this kind of approach makes the struggle Rasuna much different from what was done by the Feminist.

Heroicity which has been constructed by Rasuna Said is clearly not an attempt to gain notoriety. The struggle of Rasuna Said became so unique, based on what she did are not an effort to free the bondage of the masculine domination. Rasuna fought for her own people and do the devotion through an effort to open the eyes of women. Rasuna wants to show them that there are a lot of territories, and they are more beautiful and more amazing to see. Maybe it seems right to say, that Rasuna Said is a servant gender.

IV. Emancipation information as the core of women empowerment

As mentioned earlier, Rasuna Said carry out the struggle that is not related directly to the people whom she fought. Minangkabau women are not asking for help anyone, including Rasuna. As stated by Yunahar Ilyas above, the position of women Minang was very special. For most people it does not matter male or female, a condition where they have authority or power to be considered as a very comfortable position.

In her book, Cathrine Holst (2010) states that the differences between women and men are a matter of experience. Harding also explained that the difference between the experiences of men and women caused by the difference obtained from the empirical social situations (Holst, 2010: 129-129). From a political standpoint, the experience can be interpreted as the result of social treatment against women. Again, the social realities faced by Western women is different from what is encountered and felt by women Minang. Hence, physical and political emancipation empirically charged to feminists was not the same spirit as the struggle for the emancipation of Rasuna Said.

Edi Warsidi (2007) in his book entitled, "Imitate Heroism of Women" explained that Rasuna Said also contributed her energy and thoughts in the war for independence. To

that, Rasuna once sat in the House of Representatives of Sumatra, as a representative of West Sumatra (Warsidi, 2007: 21). For Minangkabau women, it looks like the political sovereignty is not only pave the way for his physical desires. However, any achievement for women Minang became a desire to show identity as a human, not a woman or a representative of a particular group.

Rosihan Anwar noted an important point of Rasuna as Minang women and at the same time also an orator. Anwar revealed the fact that the ingenuity of speech and control of the masses is an expertise that is typically owned by people Minang, not to mention the women. Moreover, if considering the historical fact that women Minangkabau, very fond of political movements of the time. Thus, not surprisingly, if Rasuna Said appeared as an expert on politics and powerful orator (Anwar, 2004: 99).

The defeat of the role of men in comparison to Rasuna, can not be separated from the background of the points presented above. Without having to own a high level of intelligence and nobility position of families, women Minang already dominant based on their cultural heritage and material. Moreover, if two things-intelligence and nobility-were also inherent to a Rasuna Said, of course not surprising. In order to see this, of course, required a closeness of understanding and empirical experience. It is hard to imagine a model of empowerment that occur in the realm of Minang, if we are forced to look at it from the standpoint of Western feminism.

Efforts to show the difference between women's empowerment models of by movement of Western feminism and the struggle Rasuna Said certainly need a list of comparisons. Physical struggle aimed at the equation in the socio-political activities is the model used by Western feminists. Meanwhile the use of politics struggle to achieve a particular intellectual level is a model of a typical struggle Rasuna Said. Emancipation as a keyword in this case then could also be a comparative benchmark for both. Western feminists certainly targeting the sort of physical emancipation for achieving equality of rights which they referred to as women's rights. Meanwhile it to make politics as a tool, and intellectual desire as the goal, Rasuna Said create a new model of emancipation, the emancipation in the information field.

There are at least three times a plan Rasuna Said that met a dead end, namely 1) when she offered to add politics subjects into the curriculum Diniyah Puteri, 2) run the magazine "RAYA", and 3) when Nipon Raya was disbanded by the Japanese government. All three have in common in terms of intent, spirit and media used, namely the dissemination of information. The correlation can be seen to the offers given by Rasuna on any activities. Rahmah el-Yunusiyah however was one of the inspiration for Rasuna. In the sense, Rahmah teach Rasuna to construct something for the sake of her people, women. As quoted by HAMKA that for Rahmah, women are the most important element for children's education, because it is women who will control the path of their lives. To achieve good results, then there should be an education that specifically designed for women. Not only

as a destination, but also to be presented and taught by women themselves (Hamruni, 2004: 111).

The rejection of the proposal on politics subjects, for students Diniyah Puteri make Rasuna out of the realm of education and pursue a career in politics. Rasuna find that the information she had about the progress that can be obtained more through politics can not be accepted by the Diniyah. The same thing happened when he led the magazine "Raya" which is said to be too vocal, instead of being called too visionary. And then when he established the Nippon Raya, which is eventually dissolved by the Japanese.

Although before the independence, the struggle Rasuna Said could not be said to completely successful, but persistence shown by Rasuna became a historical milestone for the struggle of women in Indonesia. Following independence, Rasuna began to reap what she earlier fought by joining the Board of of Information and the National Committee of Indonesia. Until the end, Rasuna Said joined the Supreme Advisory Council, which is serves as a conduit for government consideration.

To further facilitate the directions on this matter, two activists of emancipation women from Nigeria, Adetoun A. Oyelude and Alice A. Bamigbola suggests that for women just like all people, information is something very crucial. For women, access to the right information is a fundamental requirement for everything as it relates to their own health, baby, pregnancy, and also in the business (Oyelude, 2012: 5). This phrase comes from women whose countries have yet to implement empowerment of women as well. If Indonesia did not have people who are struggling like Rasuna Said, Rohana Kudus, Kartini and others, then the things that happen in Nigeria will also happen in this archipelago. Information should certainly be fought through the movement which is drove gently and then unwittingly has become a habit.

Attitude which was developed by Rasuna, was something that was also actually performed yet by Rahmah El-Yunusiyah that prioritize the independence in all things. The weakness of women according to Rahmah was because constantly complain and ask for charity. As narrated, Rahmah has turned down aid provided by many people, although Diniyah Puteri very a shortage of funds. This is the attitude that inevitably must be recognized hard to do at the time. Striking effect on Rasuna Said of what this senior was emergence of enlightenment that women can do something that had not been performed yet. Although in the halfway, there are disagreements that arise between these two. However, social changes that evolved from them and was also from other women fighters is an effect of a kind of innovation that made their predecessors.

The series of events that appears through speech and then able to direct the course of action and thought, is certainly a process of information. As written by Andri kristanto (2003), information is a collection of data that is processed into a form that has a better function and more meaningful for those who receive the data (Andri, 2003: 6). Actually, the same thing was also happened in the scheme of learning that takes place in the movement

of Western feminism. But, the focus being taken too far, involving politics, even though the closest schemes namely information, missed from their sight. Information as open and can accommodate many things certainly is more evolutionary than politics or other things.

Rahmah El-Yunusiyah, or even RA Kartini was on track in spite of the transfer of information from one type of thought to another, or from one generation to another. The correspondence between RA Kartini by Rosa Abendanon and Estelle "Stella" Zeehandelaar was a fact in the world of information transfer state, Indonesia and the Netherlands. So is emergence college Diniyah Puteri which is also a center for knowledge transfer which incidentally is also the information. Both of these was also acted by Rasuna Said, except she did not stop the process of information transfer, but trying to break through the limit to get something newer. Di bidang penulisan, sebagaimana yang telah dibahas sebelumnya Rasuna mengambil jalan penerbitan majalah secara berkali-kali. Sementara itu di dalam transfer ilmu pengetahuan Rasuna mendirikan sekolah Thawalib di Padang dan sebuah Perguruan Puteri di Medan.

Being a leader among many great man in her time certainly shows the quality Rasuna Said following her ideas. Including the fact that Rasuna incorporated as a member of the DPA remains the domain for privileged political elite and scholars. Rasuna boldly thrown into prison on behalf of the desire to share information through the podium without asking other women participated in prison. Rasuna did not invited to a mass movement based on the deadlock mind that gave birth to anarchy. Rasuna took the slogan similar to Bung Karno slogan, "It's my chest where is your!" Proof that the idea of of emancipation appeared not as a rejection of the domination of sexuality or behavioral problems arbitrarily in the name of sex. And Rasuna is not hindered by the Indonesian regime any, evidence that what he brings is not something that is harmful to the interests of the state.

Rasuna obviously do not subscribe to the idea that the emancipation was enemy of the state, because She bases her struggle on the basic philosophy of business information sharing. Countries should sovereign together with the women and it must be understood and perceived in earnest. Anti-colonialism was another purpose of distancing the Indonesian women from an endless indulgence. Rasuna did not see things the same fears glasses as well as most of the women in his day. She was aware of the information, understand it, explore its function and then pass it on. All this can be done because Rasuna have seen that any changes that are going on around him due to how much information has been obtained. Haji Rasul, his teacher had wandered up to a quarter of the world. Rasuna see that there is a huge blob of information contained in her teacher's head, so that he is able to see and then describe the the world with clearer and more easily.

V. Conclusion

Emancipation information offered by Rasuna Said in various egalitarian action that she did, the basic concept of the struggle of women very human. Emancipation is a struggle against

injustice humans on other humans. It does not matter in fact male or female, emancipation should be a concept that tells the story of how humans are united corresponding portions of each. As with eating what can be grasped by the fist of each person.

Rasuna Said as a figure from the Eastern Indonesia with a cultural background that is very unique. Most of his life reflects how women should Indonesia be facing things that are considered unfair. Rasuna like to say that to fight physically everyone certainly can. But in order to formulate a model of struggle that can be useful more broadly, it will be more difficult. Therefore, in order to be useful woman should have more knowledge. Women are not machines that revolution must also be a sword, whereas the world through its dynamics are already colonized with pen and paper.

Feminism has never really existed in Indonesia, particularly in the realm of Minang. What happens in this Nusantarta only an extension of the local wisdom that has been passed down for many years. Character of its people, especially women were followed in this historical evolution. Domination, whether performed by men or women will never get lost. Rasuna and people of one mind her really understand it, so that the path that eventually selected was to make politics as a vehicle, not a destination. In a sense other words, women's struggle is a struggle that should be relaxing and even sometimes seem harsh but at least is not excessive struggle. The women are mother and became a guide for the children and grandchildren, if all women were then turned into a man then who else will be given towards human life?

Rasuna Said is a model that started the empowerment of women are not too far in conveying the idea of emancipation. The challenges provided to Rasuna is something that is related to values and a certain intellectual level. Men with capabilities that are not better than to Rasuna, of course, will not hesitate to throw the question how much more rebuttal. Women should be so, his voice so expensive that if women were voiced then everything should be able to silence.

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Link

https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rasuna_Said

Credit Unions As Actors of Social-Economic Empowerment for The Poor and Their Impacts on The Members
(A Case Study of Credit Union Sauan Sibarrung, Toraja)

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This paper argues that Credit Union (CU) as one important driver for social-economic empowerment in Indonesia, particularly in the context of microfinance. Preceded by comparing CU with rural bank, a case study on CU Sauan Sibarrung (CUSS) was employed to unearth features of CU empowerments related to who are empowered, what are the impacts of the empowerments and how the empowerments are conducted. Related to who are empowered, it is proved that CUSS serves middle and lower groups in the society. Regarding to the impacts, CUSS has been helping its members improve their quality of lives both in economic and non-economic dimensions. The beneficial impacts have been created through education and financial services for members.

When discussing drivers of socio-economic empowerment in Indonesia, we should not neglect to pay attention on microfinance institutions. Ledgerwood (2013) argues that "increasingly robust empirical evidence demonstrates how appropriate financial services can help to improve household welfare and spur small enterprise activity. Macro evidence also shows that economies with deeper financial intermediation and better access to financial services grow faster and have less income inequality." (p. xvii) In Indonesia context, some Indonesian scholars showed that one of the problems of small and medium enterprises in Indonesia was the lack of capital and they argued that microfinance is one of the most effective tools to address poverty. (Amalia (2009); Tambunan (2011); Adnan (2015))

The importance of microfinance is realized by the Indonesian government that has been working hard to make financial services accessible to many people, especially the poor. In November 2007, the President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, launched Kredit Usaha Rakyat (KUR), a credit program guaranteed by the government for micro and small enterprises that have no collateral. These credits are primarily channeled through state-owned banks, but it also involves financial institutions that have been serving the financial markets of middle and lower classes, such as Rural Banks, financial cooperatives (Koperasi Simpan Pinjam – KSP), Baitul Mal Wa Tanwil (BMT), Credit Unions and other micro-

finance institutions. The current President, Joko Widodo, continues and strengthens this program.[1]

This paper does not address all microfinance institutions for middle and low markets in Indonesia, but it focuses on Credit Union, member based socio-economic movements with cooperative legal status providing financial services, emphasizing education to members and building solidarity among members. Credit Union (CU) requires special attention because in the last fifteen years, CU has been growing rapidly and becoming a significantly innovative and sustainable social-economic movement in Indonesia. The total membership of credit unions in Indonesia had increased more than ten-fold from 256,369 individuals in 2000 to 2,703,692 individuals in 2015. Following the same trend, the assets have also increased more than one hundred-fold from IDR 242 billion (US$19 million) to IDR 24.7 trillion (US$ 1.806 billion) in the same period.

The role of CU as a key driver of Indonesian empowerment has been recognized by mass media, the government, and academics. The mass media usually features experiences of some members or leaders of CU who express how CU helps people to get out of poverty and improve their livelihood. Several articles show how CU becomes a truly community empowerment movement. The government recognition of the CU movement is revealed through many awards that have been given to many Credit Unions by the Office and Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs.

In the last few years, although still limited, academic studies about Credit Union have been started. Gunadarma University and Puskopdit BKCU Kalimantan on 17 – 18 May 2011 hosted The First International Credit Union Conference on Social Microfinance and Community Development. [2] This conference generated preliminary research of CU in Indonesia. Several papers discussed the Information Communication Technology (ICT): Nuryuliani - Gender issues on ICT Adoption; Aviarini Indrati - Internet Adoption of Credit Union Staff; Surabhi Deshpande - ICT for Credit Unions and Cooperatives; Albert Chong - ICT Governance and Blueprint for Credit Unions Coordinating Agency in Indonesia. Some papers reviewed the management of CU: A Lingu - Causal Relationship between Strategic Plan, Managerial Performance, and Product/Service Quality on Satisfaction of Credit Union Members; Antonius Sumarwan - Determinants of Credit Default in the Credit Union. Others dealt with the potency and role of CU in empowering societies: Budiman - Micro Credit for Community Empowerment; Izzati Amperaningrum - Potency and Role of Credit Union in Poverty Alleviation; Armaini Akhirson Karaini - Profile of entrepreneurship; Widyatmini - Study on Impact of Credit Union Women Empowerment.

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[1] Retrived from website of Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan, http://www.tnp2k.go.id/id/tanya-jawab/klaster-iii/progam-kredit-usaha-rakyat-kur/, 1June 2016.
[2] Retrived from website of The First International Credit Union Conference on Social Microfinance and Community Development, http://icmf.gunadarma.ac.id/2011/, 1 June 2016.

Another research by Kusumajati (2012) explored the role of institutional and economic factors affecting Credit Union's sustainability. The finding proved that Credit Unions in Indonesia are sustainable because they are built in accordance with the needs of the communities they serve, supported by a conducive institutional environment, and financially self-reliant as well as sound and profitable. Recently, Kusuma (2015) investigated the relationship between product diversification and the performance of Credit Union and Badan Usaha Kredit Pedesaan in Yogyakarta." The analysis confirmed a significant direct relationship between the levels of saving–loan product diversity and outreach performance indicators, both for scale and depth of outreach.

All the studies above show that CU has been regarded as one important subject as well as a noteworthy empowerment driver to consider. However, except for Widyatmini (2011), the impacts of CU on the lives of its members have not been discussed comprehensively. In addition, the contribution of CU to the development of Indonesia has not been compared with the other drivers in the same market segment, such as Bank Perkreditan Rakyat or Rural Bank.

This study is intended to fill the gap by asking the questions: 1) Are Credit Unions really serving middle-low income people? 2) What are the impacts of Credit Union on its members in their efforts to improve the quality of their lives? 3) How does Credit Union create the impacts?

To obtain a clear explanation to the questions, a case study is conducted as a research strategy. CU Sauan Sibarrung (CUSS) was selected with a reason that, despite its relatively young age, it has achieved tremendous growth on members and assets. It was established in 2006 and in 2015, it had 30,901 individual members with the asset of Rp353 billion (US$25.6 million). Additionally, it has a comprehensive empowerment strategy for its members and activists. Further, it has received numerous awards from the government and the credit union network.

To measure the strength of the CU as a driver of socio-economic empowerment, the CU will be compared with the rural banks (Bank Pekreditan Rakyat – BPR) both in Indonesia and in South Sulawesi during the period 2008-2015. The Rural Banks were chosen because they are the traditional formal institutions that have been working to serve the lower financial market. Additionally, the data of Rural Banks (RB) are easier to obtain compared to that of other institutions such as financial cooperative (KSP) and BMT.

This paper will begin by comparing the strength of CU with RB in Indonesia and South Sulawesi. Then a brief overview of CU Suan Sibarrung will be presented. It will be continued by an explanation of the research methodology and the sampling technique. Then, the results of the research will be described to answer the research questions mentioned above. This paper ends with conclusion, implications and limitations of the study.

Credit Union compared with rural banks in Indonesia

In 2008 there were 949 units of CUs in Indonesia. This comprised 0.54 of the number units of RBs (1.771 units). The ratio of the number of CU units with the number of RB units increased slightly in the last eight years, but this figure has remained relatively constant at 0.55. On the other hand, the number of CU members increased more rapidly than the debtors of RBs. With 7 % per year average increase rate, the ratio of the number of CU members to the number of RB debtor BPR started at 0.43 in 2008 (or 1,154,208 individuals) and doubled to 0.89 (2,703,692 people) in 2015. This indicates that the access to CU had increased higher than that of RB. If this trend continues, the number of CU members will surpass the number of RB debtors in the next few years.

Table 1 Comparison of Credit Union with Rural Bank in Indonesia

Description	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Unit of Credit Union	949	886	943	951	929	921	917	938
Unit of Rural Bank	1,771	1,733	1,706	1,669	1,653	1,634	1,643	1,644
Unit of CU : Unit of RB	0.54	0.51	0.55	0.57	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.57
Member of CU	1,154,208	1,330,581	1,534,151	1,808,329	2,070,024	2,353,704	2,530,720	2,703,692
Debtor of RB	2,681,764	2,823,027	3,242,360	3,361,507	3,211,731	3,105,943	3,133,250	3,042,687
Member of CU : Debtor of RB	0.43	0.47	0.47	0.54	0.64	0.76	0.81	0.89
Source of Fund								
Value of Saving of CU	4,845,951	6,260,312	8,242,301	11,025,940	14,146,466	16,467,888	18,775,273	21,233,242
Value of Saving of RB	21,279,177	25,551,883	31,311,759	38,209,427	44,869,613	50,424,055	58,735,783	67,272,889
Value of Saving of CU : RB	0.23	0.25	0.26	0.29	0.32	0.33	0.32	0.32
Loan Outstanding								
Loan Outstanding of CU	4,603,336	5,762,104	8,242,301	9,701,758	12,140,230	14,746,704	16,098,206	18,297,094
Loan Outstanding of RB	25,415,260	28,000,670	33,844,259	41,099,516	49,818,403	59,182,806	68,309,412	74,737,193
Loan Outstanding of CU : RB	0.18	0.21	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.24
Total Asset of CU	5,754,926	7,398,080	9,650,319	12,823,819	15,939,129	19,627,835	22,130,263	24,788,007
Total Asset of RB)*	27,692,713	33,066,401	40,393,327	48,936,260	57,443,142	64,182,821	74,449,973	85,249,875
Asset of CU : RB	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.31	0.30	0.29

Notes   : 1. Financial Data in million IDR. 2.)* minus liability from commercial banks
Source: Primary data from *Induk Koperasi Kredit* and *Bank Indonesia* , processed by authors.

The deposits collected from CU members in 2008 accounted IDR 4.8 trillion or 0.23 of public funds collected by RB and the ratio increased gradually in the subsequent years. But from 2012, the ratio of CU member savings to public funds collected by BPR remained at 0.32. A similar trend occurred in the ratio of asset although the number was slightly smaller. In 2008 the assets of CU was IDR 5.7 trillion or 0.21 of assets of RB and in 2015 it increased to IDR 24.7 trillion rupiah or 0.29 of assets of RB. In term of loans, the value of outstanding loans managed by CU in 2008 was IDR 4.6 trillion or 0.18 of loans managed by RB. In the following year there was an increase of the ratio of loans with an average of 21% increase rate per year for three years, until it remained stable at 24 %

since 2010. In 2015, the value of CU outstanding loans was IDR18.2 trillion while that of RB was IDR 74.7 trillion.

Figure 1 Comparison of CU with RB

Figure 2 Comparison of CU with RB
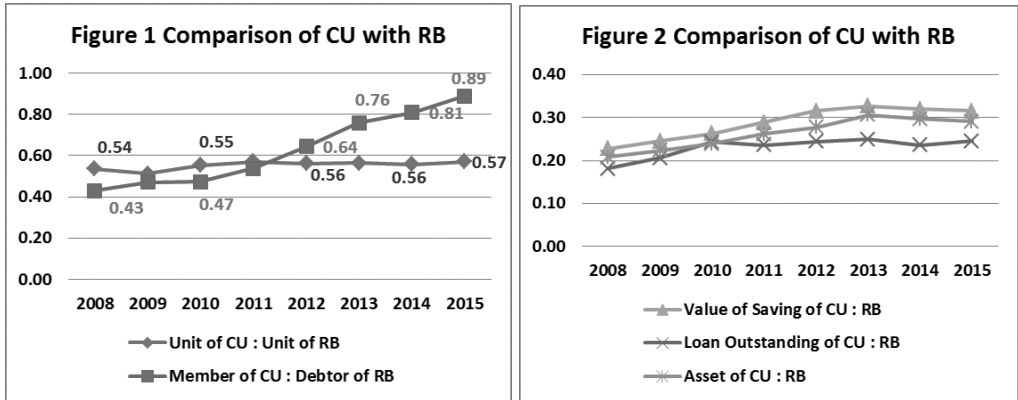
As a summary, the strength of CU compared to RB in the period 2008-2015 is as follows. The ratio of the institution was stable at 0.55 and the ratio of its members doubled from 0.43 in 2008 to 0.89 in 2015. The ratio of value of deposits and the ratio of asset increased considerably from 0.23 to 0.32 and 0.21 to 0.29, respectively, while the ratio of outstanding loans climbed from 0.18 to 0.24. In terms of financial condition, the strength of CU was around a third to that of RB, while in term of the institution and members, the strength of CU when compared to that of RB were a half and more than three-quarter, respectively.

Credit Union compared with rural banks in South Sulawesi

There are 2 CUs in South Sulawesi – CU Sauan Sibarrung in Toraja and CU Mekar Kasih in Makassar - both join to the Puskopdit BKCU Kalimantan. Their total number is 0.09 of the numbers of RBs in South Sulawesi (23 units). This ratio has not changed for the last 8 years.[3] Significant different trend occurred in the ratio of the number of CU members to the number of RB debtors. In 2008, the number of CU members was only 4,590 individuals or 0.33 of the number of RB debtors. The ratio continued to increase by 15 % average rate per year with a result that by 2011, the number of CU members had already exceeded that of RB debtors. In 2015 the number of CU is 1.78 times bigger than that of RB. This indicates that presently in South Sulawesi, CU is more accessible to public than RB.[4]

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[3] The ratio of the number of CU to the number of RB would increase to 0.52 if 12 CUs which joined to the Puskopdit Sulawesi Selatan are accounted. The data of these 12 CUs are not included in this calculation because the data series owned by author are incomplete.

[4] If the data of the member of Puskopdit Sulawesi Selatan are included, in 2015 the total number of CU

In 2008 CU collected savings from members for as much as IDR 29.9 billion or 0.26 of the public funds collected by RB. In a period of 8 years, the average increase was 47 % per year. As a result, in 2013 the ratio of CU members' savings to the public funds collected by RB reached 0.61, before it declined to 0.49 in 2015. Similar things happened in assets. In 2008 the total assets of CU was only IDR 31 billion or 0.20 of RB assets. Then the ratio increased by 8% average rate per year for 5 years. With the increase CU assets reached 0.52 of RB assets in 2013. Soon after that, the increase slowed down making the ratio of asset declined to 0.49 in 2015 when compared with that of RB. The decline was due to the fact that CU had been experiencing over liquidity since 2014 so that the Board of Directors of CU made a policy to limit deposits.

Table 2 Comparison of Credit Union with Rural Bank in South Sulawesi

Description	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Unit of Credit Union	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Unit of Rural Bank	23	22	22	22	23	23	23	23
Unit of CU : Unit of RB	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09
Member of CU	4,590	10,265	16,213	22,729	30,906	34,887	39,327	42,081
Debtor of RB	13,771	16,008	17,593	19,809	21,785	22,826	23,501	23,620
Member of CU : Debtor of RB	0.33	0.64	0.92	1.15	1.42	1.53	1.67	1.78
Source of Fund								
Value of Saving of CU	29,970	69,068	115,771	177,407	262,683	319,377	395,389	456,973
Value of Saving of RB	114,048	184,529	258,564	365,622	476,168	526,021	721,422	937,598
Value of Saving of CU : RB	0.26	0.37	0.45	0.49	0.55	0.61	0.55	0.49
Loan Outstanding								
Loan Outstanding of CU	23,728	51,379	85,390	132,299	207,775	269,191	307,324	322,059
Loan Outstanding of RB	202,737	263,085	364,251	546,464	789,564	965,719	1,067,446	1,222,497
Loan Outstanding of CU : RB	0.12	0.20	0.23	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.29	0.26
CU Member with Loan (CUML)	3,989	8,844	12,802	17,938	23,647	27,059	29,842	29,936
Debtor of RB	13,771	16,008	17,593	19,809	21,785	22,826	23,501	23,620
CUML : Debtor of RB	0.29	0.55	0.73	0.91	1.09	1.19	1.27	1.27
Average Loan Balance per Borrower								
CU	5.9	5.8	6.7	7.4	8.8	9.9	10.3	10.8
RB	14.7	16.4	20.7	27.6	36.2	42.3	45.4	51.8
Asset of CU	31,873	75,311	123,191	192,177	287,344	364,655	444,747	518,574
Asset BPR of RB)*	159,803	242,865	336,701	470,583	621,013	697,053	916,067	1,176,059
Asset of CU : RB	0.20	0.31	0.37	0.41	0.46	0.52	0.49	0.44

Notes : 1. Financial Data in million IDR. 2.)* minus liability from commercial banks

Source : Primary data from CU Sauan Sibarrung , CU Mekar Kasih, and *Bank Indonesia*, processed by authors.

members in South Sulawesi would become 49,637 individuals or 2.1 times bigger than that of RB debtors.

Similar trends occurred in loans. In 2008 the value of loans managed by the CU was only IDR 23.7 billion or 0.12 of RB loans. Then the ratio increased 3% per year in average for 6 years so that by 2014 the ratio amounted to 0.29 before declining to 0.26 in 2015. It is important to look at the data of the borrowers (debtors) and the average amount of the outstanding loan per borrower. The trend of the ratio of the number of CU borrowers to the RB debtors was similar to the trend of the ratio of the number of members. In 2008 there were 3,989 CU borrowers which ware only 0.29 of the total of RB debtors. During the next four years the number of CU borrowers increased 20 % per year in average, so that in 2012 there were 23,647 borrowers and this figure surpassed the number of RB debtors that was 21,785 people. In the following years, there was a constant increase at around 10 % per year so that by 2015 the number of CU borrowers was 1.27 times than that of RB.

Figure 3 Comparison of the number of Institution, Member dan Debtor of CU with RB in South Sulawesi

Figure 4 Comparison of Saving, Loan and Asset of Credit Union with Rural Bank in South Sulawesi

Figure 5 Average Loan Balance per Borrower

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
CU	5.9	5.8	6.7	7.4	8.8	9.9	10.3	10.8
RB	14.7	16.4	20.7	27.6	36.2	42.3	45.4	51.8
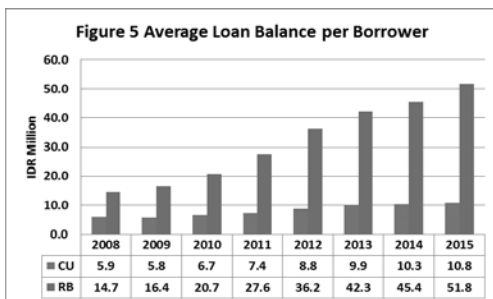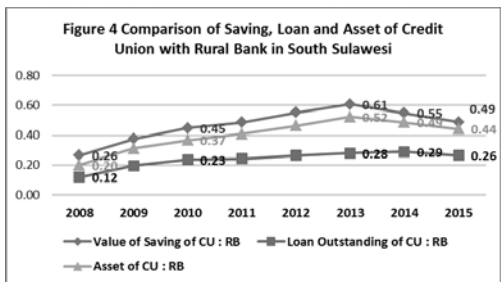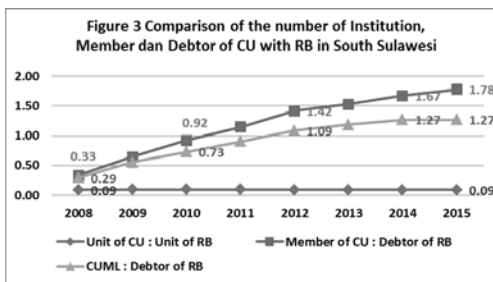
It is important to analyze the average of loan balance per borrower. In 2008 the average of CU loan balance was IDR 5.9 million while that of RB was IDR 14.9 million or nearly two and a half times than that of the CU loan balance. The average loan balance per borrower both for CU and RB continued to increase in the subsequent years, but the increase of the average balance per loan of RB was higher than that of CU. In 2015 the average loan balance of RB reached IDR 51.8 million. This was approximately 4.8 times than that of CU which average balance was only IDR 10.8 million. These last two data provide additional evidence that CU has been serving lower segment of the society better than RB.

The strength of CU compared to RB in South Sulawesi from 2008 to 2015 can be concluded as follows. The ratio of institution was stable at 0.09, while the ratio of members jumped from 0.33 to 1.78. The ratio of deposits, assets and loans doubled from 0.24 to 0.49, from 0.20 to 0.49, and from 0.12 to 0.26, respectively. Similar to the ratio of members, the ratio of CU borrowers to RB debtors shot up from 0.29 to 1.27. The average loan balance per borrower of CU doubled from IDR 5.9 million to 10.8 million, whereas that of RD tripled from IDR 14.9 million to 51.8 million. In terms of financial aspect, the strength of CU was around a half to that of RB for deposits and assets, but just under one third for loans. In terms of the institution, CU was fewer compared to RB, but its ratios of members and borrowers to RB were bigger, which were 1.78 and 1.27, respectively. This data also showed that the development of CU in South Sulawesi was faster than the development of CU in Indonesia and CU in South Sulawesi was stronger than CU in Indonesia compared to RB.

Table 3 Comparison of CU with RB in South Sulawesi and Indonesia

2015	Indonesia	South Sulawesi	%
RB	1,644	23	1.4%
Debtor	3,042,687	23,620	0.8%
Outstanding Loan	74,737,193	1,222,497	1.6%
Public Saving	67,272,889	937,598	1.4%
Asset)*	85,249,875	1,176,059	1.4%
CU)**	938	14	1.5%
Member	2,703,692	49,637	1.8%
Outstanding Loan	18,297,094	360,657	2.0%
Members' Saving	21,233,242	507,544	2.4%
Asset	24,788,007	566,812	2.3%

Table 4. Comparison of Strenght of CU with RB

2015	Indonesia	South Sulawesi	Difference
Institution	0.57	0.61	0.04
Member (Debtor)	0.89	2.10	1.21
Outstanding Loan	0.24	0.30	0.05
Saving	0.32	0.54	0.23
Asset	0.29	0.48	0.19

Notes:

1. Financial Data in million IDR.

2.)* minus liability from commercial banks.

3.)** with 12 CUs of Puskopdit Sulawesi Selatan

Sources : Primary data from CU Sauan Sibarrung , CU Mekar Kasih, Induk Koperasi Kredit, and Bank Indonesia, processed by authors.

Credit Union Sauan Sibarrung

Credit Union Sauan Sibarrung (CUSS) was founded in December 7, 2006, by the people of Toraja as a community empowerment movement to address poverty. Joining Puskopdit BKCU Kalimantan – a secondary cooperative – CUSS gathers and empowers communities in six districts/municipalities in South Sulawesi, namely Tana Toraja, North Toraja, Luwu, North Luwu Utara, Palopo and Pare-pare.

In the beginning, the vision of CUSS was to become "a strong and trustworthy financial institution belonged to the people of Toraja based on the values and principles of the Credit Union." The mission was formulated as "to improve the welfare of members through education and continuous training so that members are aware of the importance of planning their lives and managed them wisely with the amount of savings of at least 5 million rupiahs." (Rante Taruk, F., *et al.* (2013): 29)

Figure 6 Members and Borrowers of CUSS

Figure 7 Assets, Loans and Saving of CUSS
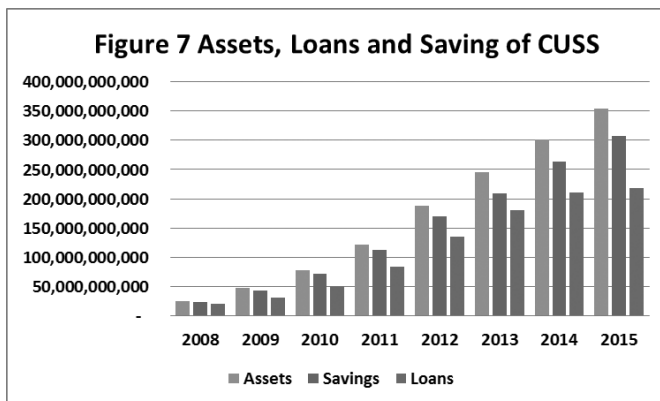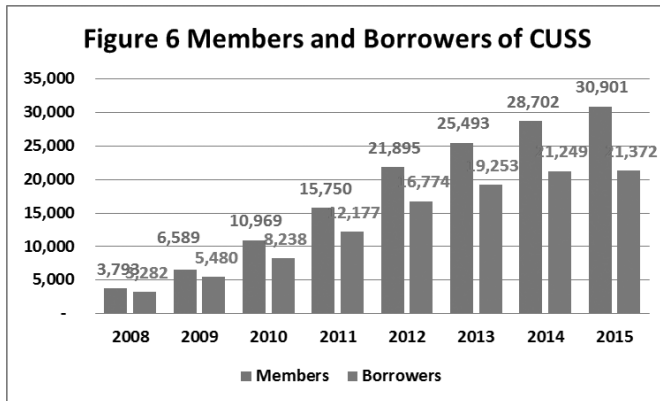
After going through a learning process for about 6 years and experiencing rapid development (see Figure no 6 and 7), CUSS confirmed its identity as a community empowerment organization. The vision was reformulated into "The Institutions for the life empowerment of Torajanese that is strong, trustworthy, and sustainable for the prosperity of the members." The new vision was intended to show that CU role is not just to provide financial services (savings and loans) to its members, but its main mission is to empower members through "changing the mindset and the behavior of the members, enhancing entrepreneurial spirit and productive business, and providing useful life skills." (Rante Taruk, F., *et al.* (2013):30)

At the end of 2015 CUSS comprised of 30,901 individuals served in 12 offices. It managed the assets of IDR 353 billion, IDR 307 billion of which was members' savings and IDR 218 billion was borrowed by members to run businesses and improve their welfare. This movement was escorted by more than 300 CUSS activists, consisted of the Board of Directors, Supervisors, Management, Committees, and the Core Groups (volunteers). Up to the present time, CUSS has received numerous awards from governments, such as the 100 Biggest Cooperative in Indonesia, KSP Award from the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs in 2014 as CU with the fastest in the growing of members, the nominee of KSP Award from the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs in 2015, and numerous awards from Credit Unions network and cooperatives department in the province of South Sulawesi.

Data and methodology

Data for this paper was obtained from the *Report of Baseline Survey* conducted in October 2014 by the Rakit Khalista Institute based on the request from CU Sauan Sibarrung (CUSS). The data was collected from members of CUSS by using household surveys, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. At the time of the survey, CUSS has been serving its members at 6 branches in Toraja region and 4 branches in Luwu region with a total membership of 27,864 individuals (11,295 males (39%) and 16,569 females (61%)). Through the determination of the probability proportionate to size, the study selected respondents from 16 villages (clusters) in Toraja region and 9 villages (clusters) in region Luwu with the proportion of 65% respondents from Toraja region and 35% from Luwu region. (Magnini: 1997) Respondents in each village were selected randomly based on the list of members in the village. With a sample of 277 households (36.8% males and 63.2% females), the study estimated to gain precision or CI (Confidence Interval) at 6% confidence level or CL (Confidence level) amounted to 95%.

To deepen the information obtained from the study of the households, the study conducted seven focus group discussions (FGD) followed by 4 different membership groups. Each group consisted of 6-8 participants with the following profiles: Group 1 consisted of male members (Sangala Branch), Group 2 was for female members (Rantepao

Branch), Group 3 consisted of the Core Group (Rantepao Branch) and Group 4 comprised of Staff (Rantepao Branch). Additionally, the study also undertook several interviews with ten key informants (members, community leaders, Core Groups, and staff) who could provide more explanation on the findings in the FGD.

The findings

Are Credit Unions really serving middle-low income people?

Some variables of profiles of CUSS members, namely education, employment and total monthly expenses, provided evidence that CUSS was serving the lower middle class.

Figure 8 Educational Background of CUSS Members

Category	Value
Higher	17.7
High	33.6
Secondary	19.5
Elementary	17
Unfinished Elementary	12.3

Figure 9 Profession of CUSS Members

Category	Value
Others	0.7
Housewife	3.6
Retaired	4.7
private employees	9
Workers	10.1
Self-employed	10.8
Civil Servant/Police/Soldiers	11.6
Farmers/Livestock raiser/Fishermen	48.7

Figure 10 Monthly Expenditure per Family

Category	Value
IDR 6.000.000 or more	1.8
IDR5.500.000 - IDR...	1.1
IDR 5.000.000 - IDR...	2.2
IDR 4.500.000 - IDR...	0.4
IDR 4.000.000 - IDR...	2.5
IDR 3.500.000 - IDR...	2.5
IDR 3.000.000 - IDR...	4
IDR 2.500.000 - IDR...	5.4
IDR 2.000.000 - IDR...	6.5
IDR 1.500.000 - IDR...	11.9
IDR1.000.000 -...	16.6
Below IDR 1.000.000	45.1

82.3% of respondents completed the maximum of high school education comprising of 33.6% finished high school and the rest of 48.7 only had secondary school level. Only 17.8% of respondents had higher degree certificates. In terms of occupation, 48.7% of respondents worked as farmers, livestock raiser, and fishermen, the occupations of the majority of low-income households. According to ILO (2015) most families who were below the poverty line in Indonesia worked in the agricultural sector (p. ix and 7). Monthly expenditure data shows that 74.6% of respondents spent less than IDR two million per family per month, whereas the highest portion of them (45.1%) expended less than IDR one million. Assuming that a family consisted of 4 individuals, the per capita expenditure of 73.6% of respondents was under IDR 500,000 and 45.1% of respondents was under IDR 250,000. This figure was far below per capita expenditure in South Sulawesi in 2013 that was IDR 627.617. (BPS, 2014: 56) All the data supported the concept that CUSS served the communities from the lower groups.

What are the impacts of Credit Union on its members in their efforts to improve the quality of their lives?

CUSS has been helping its members to improve the quality of their lives both in economic and non-economic dimensions. Regarding economic benefit, CUSS has been facilitating its members to save money, obtain loans in order to meet various needs and to scale up their business, and create solidarity funds among members to manage risks of death and illness.

Figure 11 Reason for Joining CUSS

To help other members (Solidarity) 8.70%
To become member of assisted groups 8.70%
To get loan 81.20%
To save 87.70%

Figure 12 The Saving Balance of Members

8%
26%
36%
30%

Below IDR 1.5 million
IDR 1.5 - 5 million
IDR 5 - 10 million
Above 10 million
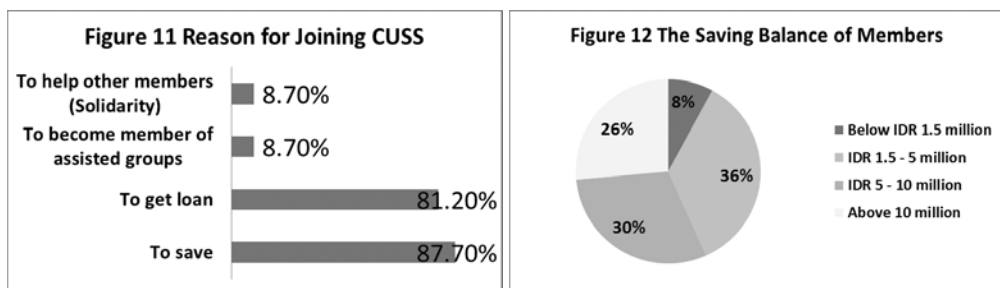
The Figure 11 titled 'Reason for Joining CUSS', showed that 87.7% of the respondents found that CUSS fulfilled their needs for savings and 81.2% of respondents experienced that CUSS answered their needs for obtaining loans. Related to Deposits, CUSS fulfilled their needs to prepare for retirement savings (98.9%) and 46.2% of respondents admitted that CUSS facilitated them to have daily savings.

Figure 12 showed that members, who mostly come from the lower middle class, were helped to set aside a portion of their revenue for savings. The balance of the total savings per member was fairly distributed (35% of respondents have a savings balance between

IDR1.5 - 5 million, 30.3% had between IDR5-10 million, and 26.4% had more than IDR10 million). Members who had deposits at less than IDR 1.5 million were only 7.9. The average of saving balance per account of CUSS member on Dec, 2014, was IDR 6.5 million, which was lower compared to that of RB (IDR 7.8 million). However, the average total deposits per CUSS member was IDR 9.2 million. This figures showed that CUSS had been helping members to increase their saving. This conclusion was strengthened by the answer of 95.3% of respondents who revealed that the saving products of CUSS were very helpful.

Figure 12 Types of Saving

Type	Value
Religious and Culture Feast Saving	1.1
Children Saving (rannuan)	5.1
Vehicle Saving	0.4
Pesion (manna)	98.9
House Saving (banua sura)	1.4
Emergency Saving (matangkin)	1.8
Time Deposit (alang sura)	1.4
Daily Saving (pasallo)	46.2
Education Saving (panta nakana)	4.3

Figure 13 Do you think CUSS saving products are helpful?

Response	Value
I don't know	3.6
Less helpful	1.1
Very helpful	95.3

In regards to the experience of taking loans, 56.3% of respondents had borrowed more than twice with the following details: 45% of respondents took loans between 2-3 times and 10.8 of respondents borrowed more than 3 times. Meanwhile, 23.8 % of respondents borrowed just once and the rest of 19.9% have never borrowed. The high percentage of people borrowing from CUSS (see Figure 14) indicated that CUSS loan products have also helped members. This survey also confirmed that 95.4 % of members admitted that they were greatly helped by the loan products of CUSS.

Figure 14 Frequency of Taking Loan

more than 3 times 10.8
2 -3 times 45.5
Once 23.8
Never 19.9

Figure 15 Do you think CUSS Loan Products are helpful?

I don't know 2.9
Less helpful 1.7
Very helpful 95.4
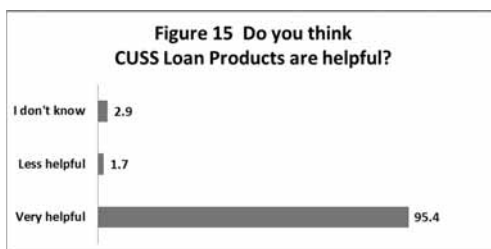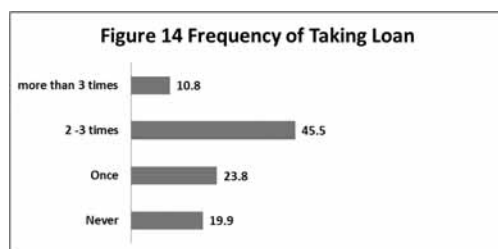
Table 4 Type of Loans Accessed by Members

Type of Loans	%
Saving Loan	54.9
Micro Business and Service Loan	28.6
Land and Hosing Loan	22.4
Education Loan	19.5
Farming, Livestock, and Fishery Loan	12.3
Vehicle and Household Appiances Loan	8.7
Health, Cermony and Pilgrimage Loan	8.3

Table 5 Loan Outstanding Balance 2015

Type of Loans	Balance	%
Land and Housing Loan	82,743,704,200	37.90
Micro Business and Service Loan	41,719,818,350	19.10
Education Loan	36,354,405,650	16.67
Farming, Livestock, and Fishery Loan	18,764,518,000	8.61
Vehicle and Household Appiances Loan	18,750,653,100	8.60
Saving Loan	10,958,016,700	5.03
Health, Religious-Cultural Feast and Pilgrimage Loan	8,753,203,450	4.01

When discussing about the types of loans borrowed, the majority of respondents (54.9%) had taken loan for savings. It happened because every new member was obliged to borrow for their initial savings. The second type of loan accessed by the majority of members was business loans for trades and services. It comprised 28.6% of respondents and indicated that there was a demand for working capital. When the agricultural, livestock and fishery loans, that was 12.3%, were added to that figure, the respondents who had loans for businesses amounted to 40.9%. The demand for loan for land acquisition and house was also high (22.4%), followed by loans for education (19.5%). These two loans could be classified as loans for investments. If they were added to the previous figure, the number of total loans for investment would be 91.3%, while loans for household needs (motor cycle and household appliances) were relatively low at 8.7%.

The data on the experience of loan types borrowed by members was similar to the figure of loan outstanding balance in December 2015 with slight variations. The loan portion for land and housing was 37.95%. This indicates that loans for buying land and building houses were still needed by CUSS members. It was followed by the needs for trade and commercial loans, which accounted 19.13% of total CUSS loans. When added with the loan for capital for agriculture, livestock and fisheries (8.61%), the total loans for business became 27.74%. The next was loan for educational expense (16.67%). All loans described previously, together with loans for increasing savings (5.03%), could be categorized as loans for investments, which was 87.39% of total loans. This portion was much greater than the sum of consumptive loan which was only 12.61% (loans for vehicles

and household appliances accounted for 8.60% whereas health, traditional feast and spiritual pilgrimage loans was 4.01%). These data indicated that CUSS had been helping its members to cultivate a culture of investment.

Figure 16 Do you think CUSS Solidarity products are helpful?

Less helpful 22.6

Very helpful 77.4

Figure 17 What kinds of Solidarity Products have you received?

Never 75.9
Inpatients 3.2
Giving Birth 1.8
Disaster 0
Death 1.8
Health 17.3
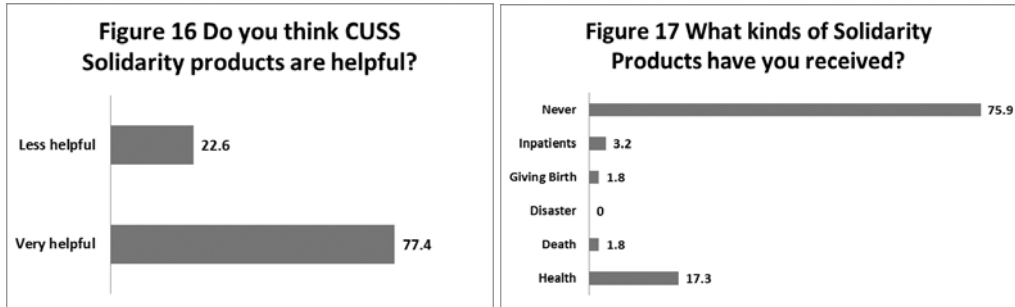
CUSS provided protection for family members who died with a type of loan and saving insurance. The loans left by members who passed away would be cleared with the insurance and heirs would obtain some assistance equivalent to their savings. To get this protection, members didn't need to pay the premium, CUSS did. Additionally, CUSS also created solidarity products, a type of funds collected from members that would be used for helping members who experienced difficulties in their lives. They were health benefits, death benefits, disaster relief, compensation for mothers who give birth, and hospitalization benefits. The survey showed that 75.9% of the respondents had never obtained compensation from solidarity products. However, 77.4% of the respondents suggested that the products were useful for them. It means that for CUSS members, benefit is not only for them to enjoy but also to provide help to others who are in needs.

As for the non-economic benefits, CUSS developed the personal character of each member and enhanced their participation in the community life and the society. In the personal level, the survey showed that 97.8% of the respondents admitted that CUSS enabled them to be more hard-working and cultivate entrepreneurial spirit. Moreover, 98.2% of respondents said that they were more capable to plan their lives, more economical (97.9%), honest and responsible (96.4%). In a broader scope, members suggested that CUSS had been helping the poor climb out of poverty (58.8%). They also considered that CUSS prioritized the poor than the rich (69%) and had been bringing significant positive changes to the society.

Table 6 Non-economic Individual dan Communal Benefit of CU

No	Statements	SA	A	N	DS	SDS	NA
1	CUSS enables its members to be more hard-working	59.2	38.6	1.1	0.4	0	0.7
2	CUSS is place for getting chipper loan	46.2	45.5	2.5	2.2	0.4	3.2
3	CUSS makes more thrifty and diligent to save	56.7	41.2	1.1	0.7	0	0.4
4	CUSS opens members' mind to plan their lives	55.2	43	0.7	0	0	1.1
5	CUSS cannot help the poor climb our of poverty	7.6	11.2	15.2	33.9	24.9	7.2
6	CUSS helps the rich than the poor	2.5	1.4	17	42.6	26.4	10.1
7	After being as member of CUSS I'm more honest and resposible	61.4	35	2.2	0.4	0	1.1

SA: Strongly Agree - **A**: Agree - **N**: Neutral - **DS**: Disagree - **SDS**: Strongly Disagree - **NA**: No Answer

In the level of involvement in the community, the finding showed that most members of CUSS diligently followed religious worship and more than 76.2 % of respondents followed religious worship at least once a week. 47.7 % of respondents admitted that they "always" participated in the *gotong-royong* or join in community work and 39.7 % said "often." Although this survey did not examine the causal relationship between the diligence to follow religious worship and participation in *gotong-royong* with their membership of CUSS, presumably, it can be proposed that there was a causal relationship.

Figure 18 How often do you join religious services?

Figure 19 How often do you help your neighbours and work with them as a community?

Figure 20 Who asked you to join CUSS?
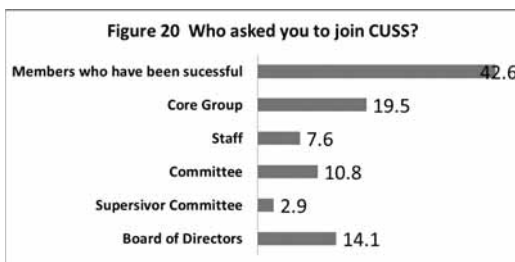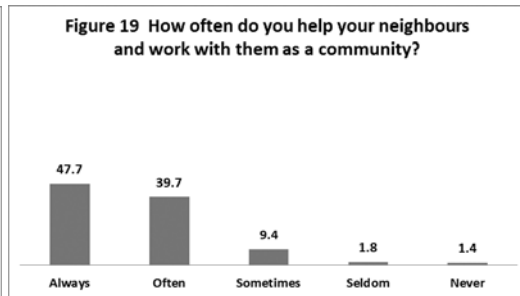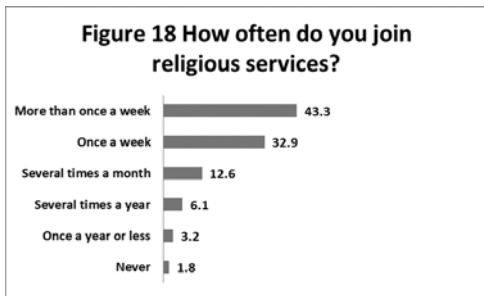
Data on who invited someone to be a member CUSS was interesting to be interpreted. The Data showed that 42.6 % of respondents stated that they joined CUSS because they were invited by other members who had already been successful. This figure was much

higher than the number of members who joined CUSS because they were asked by CUSS activists CU (Core Group (19.5 %), Board of Directors (14.1 %), the Committees (10.8 %), Staff (7.6 %) and Supervisor (2.9 %). These data can serve as an indicator of the sense of belonging of CUSS members to the institutions as well as their passion to help and develop others. Members who had a sense of ownership to the institution wished to develop CUSS by inviting others to join. At the same time, they also believed that by inviting others to be members of CUSS, they have also been helping people to manage and plan their lives and by doing so, improve their livelihood.

How does Credit Union create the impacts?

The beneficial impacts have been created by CUSS through education and financial services for members. Three main activities through which CUSS educated the members were Basic Education, the annual meeting of members, and motivational meetings. The percentages of respondents who had attended the activities were 98.9 %, 49.1 % and 19.9 %, respectively. Meanwhile, other trainings were more specific in nature and were only attended by few. Since 2014 CUSS has been promoting financial literacy training so that in recent years the number of members who are participating is actually increasing. The majority of respondents (97.1 %) stated that the education provided helped them develop themselves.

Figure 21 What kinds of Credit Union education and training have you attended?

Others	1.1
Seminar	2.9
Entrepreneurship Training	4
Financial Literacy	7.9
Training for group of farmer and livestock raiser	12.6
Motivational Meeting	19.9
Members' Annual Meeting	49.1
Credit Union Basic Education	98.9

Figure 22 Do you think that educations and tranings in the CUSS are helpful?

I don't know	1.8
Less helpful	1.1
Very helpful	97.1

The financial services are provided through a variety of products (12 types of savings, 14 types of loan products and 6 solidarity funds) that were developed based on the needs of the members (See Table 7). Various saving products are designed to help members formulate their financial objectives, plan the steps to achieve their financial goals and start to prepare their needs as soon as possible. In other words, through the education, the mindset of CUSS was changed and they practiced this new paradigm through various financial products provided.

Table 7 Financial Products of Credit Union Sauan Sibarrung in 2015

No	Saving Products	Loan Products	Solidarity Products
1	Pokok (Basic Share)	Housing Loan	Health
2	Wajib (Obliged Montly Share)	Education Loan	Death
3	Mana' (Pension Saving)	Micro-enterprise Loan	Disaster
4	Rannuan (Kids' Saving)	Land Loan	Giving Birth
5	Passallo (Daily Saving)	Vehicle Loan	Inpatients
6	Alang Sura' (Term Deposit)	Farming, Livestock, and Fishery Loan	Scholarship
7	Panta'nakan (Education Saving)	Saving Loan	
8	Passakke (Cultural/Religious Feast Saving)	Cultural and Religious Feast Loan	
9	Bannua Sura (Housing Saving)	Group Loan	
10	Matangkin (Emergency Saving)	Household Appliances Loan	
11	Vehicle Saving	Service Business Loan	
12		Health Loan	
12		Rannuan Saving Loan	
14		Spiritual Pilgrimage Loan	

Conclusion

This paper attempts to present the Credit Union (CU) as one of the noteworthy drivers for social-economic empowerment in Indonesia, particularly in the context of microfinance. When compared with RB, in regards to the financial aspects (deposits, loans and assets), the strength of CU has been increasing from about one-fifth to one-third that of the RB in the last eight years. Meanwhile, regarding the members served, CU's ability to reach people from middle low strata has been increasingly faster, that is from 0.43 to 0.89 of the ability of RB. CU's strength compared to RB is much larger in South Sulawesi; almost half of the strength of RB in the financial aspect and more than twice of that of RB in its capacity to reach members.

The case study on CU Sauan Sibarrung seeks to unearth features of empowerments conducted by CU relating to who are empowered, what are the impacts of the empowerments and how the empowerments are conducted. The results are as follows. Firstly, related to who are empowered, it is proved that the CU serves middle lower groups in the society. The survey showed that the majority of CUSS' members are farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen who completed only high school level and expended below IDR 2 million per month per family. Secondly, regarding to the impacts, CUSS has been helping its members improve their quality of lives both in economic and non-economic dimensions. As for economic benefit, CUSS has been facilitating its members to save money more easily, obtain loans in order to meet various needs and to scale up their business, cultivate culture of investment, and create solidarity fund among members to handle risks of death and illness. For non-economic benefit, CUSS enables its members to be more hard-working and to cultivate entrepreneurial spirit; to be more capable to plan their lives,

more economical, honest and responsible. In a broader scope, members suggest that CUSS has been helping the poor climb out of poverty and has been bringing significant positive changes to the society. Thirdly, the beneficial impacts have been created through education and financial services for members. The education has been delivered through Basic Education, entrepreneurship and financial literacy training as well as involvement of the members in the Annual Meeting. The financial services provided through a variety of deposit products, loans and solidarity funds that are developed based on the needs of the members.

The study will contribute to the body of knowledge as this is the first study that compares the strength of CU with other micro-finance institutions and proved that the CU is more effective to reach the lower class than RB. Additionally, it provides the first empirical data on the impact of the CU to its members as well as the descriptions of the intervention done by CU to improve the lives of its members.

Based on the finding, it is recommended that research on CU should be developed further. The success of CU in the program of financial inclusion needs to be studied and described more fully. In addition, the ability to help the middle low group of the society to actualize their socioeconomic potential needs to be strengthened.

Nevertheless, this study has some limitations. Data of impacts shown here is not hard-fact measure. Rather it describes members' perceptions about the impacts or benefits CU for their lives. For the next study, variables of impacts of CU as well as variables of interventions done by CU that are assumed to lead to those impacts need to be specified and the cause and effect between those variable need to be supported by empirical evidences. The subsequent studies should also use control groups and apply longitudinal analysis so that changes in the members and the contribution of CU to the changes can be shown clearly.

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American Hegemony:
A Semiotic Study on The Indonesian Films in The 2010s

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Abstract

Film is a vital media that promotes popular culture. Its nature meets the taste of the youngers to always become exist of acquiring popularity. By that reason, a film becomes also closer to the youngers than the elders. As a matter of fact, the youngers sometimes are not enough mature in translating the values preserved found in a film. Indonesian films found in the 2010s properly explain about the capability of preserving cultural values as well as adjusting national progress. Roland Barthes'semiotic theory will be applied here in an understanding of how far the influence of American culture that is reflected in the Indonesian films. The findings will be the benefit to be a reflection for the policy makers in guarding and defending Indonesian cultural heritage as well as the progress of Indonesia.

Keywords: American hegemony, Indonesian film, Indonesian young adolescents

I. Introduction

Etymologically, the term hegemony is "preponderant influence or authority over others; the social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominat group" (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hegemony). Gramsci defines it :

> as intellectual and moral leadership (direzione) whose principal constituting elements are consent and persuasion. A social group or class can be said to assume a hegemonic role to the extent that it articulates and proliferates throughout society cultural and ideological belief systems whose teachings are accepted as universally valid by the general population (Beneditto, 1993)

Here, the acceptance of a social group has covered the intellectual and moral entities that indicates a hegemonic role, a domination. This discussion is to cover about American Hegemony in the context of the domination of America culturally in Indonesian film in the 2010s. The indication of American Hegemony here are in the form of images ; "the smell, the sound" of America that are understood semiologically. Those images are

acquired, translated, and legitimated by Indonesian producer as the culture of Indonesia ; the idea, the way of fashion and the belief. In this way, it can be said that the images are the power of American culture that reflects a domination. This explains about an analogy that when the producers of Indonesian films endeavour to appeal the audience of Indonesia by ways that sound American, the ways have been acquired and adopted by the Indonesians. Cultural domination meant here is about all signs that possibly represent America that is adopted by the Indonesians as represented in the films.

In that way, the commercial factor of a film can meet the universal values that is assumed by a film producer can appeal Indonesian audiences for it is the task of the producers of Indonesian films to strongly be able to attract audiences. Hence, a film is a representative media for understanding a domination of a particular thing. In the effort to understand of how far the domination of American culture, the producer works can explain about the domination in Indonesia. The signs that are understood represent the domination are about language, setting, fashion, view and also morality in the relation to the values preserved.

II. The discussion

2.1. Domination of American culture : language, fashion, and moral value

The use of English started to dominate the title of Indonesian films at the early years of the 2000s and it develops rapidly. This discussion only covers 4 films in the 2010s. First is "Ada Apa Dengan Cinta 2 (2016)", Langit Terbelah Di Langit Amerika (2015)", "Traveller Jilbab : Love Sparks in Korea"(2016), "I Love You From 35.000 feet" (2016). These films are chosen to consider the difficulty of finding the films. The films can explain both the same and different aspects of the domination. There are 167 English titles out of 674 Indonesian films ranged from the period of 2010 to 2016.

No.	Year	Indonesian films	English Title
1.	2010	87 films	18 films
2.	2011	92 films	18 films
3.	2012	86 films	18 films
4.	2013	109 films	27 films
5.	2014	114 films	32 films
6.	2015	120 films	36 films
7.	2016	65 films	18 films

Source : filmindonesia.or.id/more/title/list/year2010-2016

The tabel shows the increasing amount of the title of Indonesian films that use English. The rise of the amount can also mean that the choice of English title appeals the Indonesian audience. The use of the English language can mean English that is also used by American people. "Jilbab Traveller : Love Sparks in Korea" answers why America becomes popular. America is considered as the best place to study as understood by the host that welcomes Rania to stay at her house in Korea. She explains that she is alone in the house because her husband has a job in Philippines while her son is studying in America. The family can think that America is the best place to study. Historically, in middle age, the athmosphere of exploration has become the seed of American civilization (Hoffer, 2006). It started to grow up early by regarding science and technology besides in its development has also the power to control the world with once it has the predicate of superpower country.

America especially the city of New York, in fact, is a big and a prestigious city to be visited. There are four films that use New York as their setting recently; they are "Langit Terbelah Di Langit America"(2015), "Ada Apa Dengan Cinta 2 (2016)", Sunshine becomes You"(2015) and "Letters To Riana"(2016).(***) In the films or even all Indonesian films that use English in their conversation reflects the intellectual quality and even shows the personal capacity of the characters. This tells also about the characters' pride. Pursuing knowledge and experience in America is a price of greatness, popularity and so a bargaining position. In this way, the producer is promoting that America can be a pride for audiences. This understanding is well understood and accommodated in films by the producers to attract and or to appeal audiences in order to buy their production.

The domination can also be detected in fashion. The four films chosen in this discussion are films categorized addressed to the youth. The first image to be considered as the domination of the American way on Indonesian clothes is on the style and motif that are favorable for the youth. Cowboy style is most liked, chosen and worn as the motif of a shirt, the square pattern and vest. This is the image of a cowboy :

Picture 01. Cowboy and Prairie 1 Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cowboy,_Western_United_States,_1898-1905.jpg

Picture 02. Typical Cowboy Costume
source: http://worldoffancydress.com/index.php?main_page=index&cPath=169

Picture 03. Cowboy and Prairie 2
Source : http://www.toddklassy.com/cowboy-photography/

They are typical America. It historically arose in the journey of the Americans to the empty and huge place in the west. The journey is called westward movement. In that huge emply place made the Americans possible to make cattle husbandary or had cattle business. This early developed cowboy story. A cowboy is a man on a horseback that has a duty as a worker on a cattle business. It is him to stray the animals that go far away, it is him to drive them to railroad station for shipment market (Nimmo, 1886). This duty needs a strong spirit to work hard, to be brave, and so has an adventurous taste. So spiritually they are courageous or brave, adventurous and hard workers. The producers in the films used here also exposes about the courage, adventure, and their spirit to work hard. Alleta, the main character in "I Love You from 35.000 feet" courageously dives fast to save one of her friends in their adventure to have better production of their work. In their mission they have to go by plane and work in deep forest, and also work on a ship. They are successful in undergoing difficulties in the air, at the sea, and in the forest.

Picture 04 The Spirit of Adventure
source: ILY:38.000F, 2016

Cowboy's clothes were casual to meet the condition of the wild place in the west at the time of westward movement. It was the atmosphere of adventure and hence can meet now with the young adolescents' taste. In "Bulan Terbelah di Langit Amerika", The main Character, Rangga wears also the motif as well as Rangga in "Ada Apa Dengan Cinta" and also Hyun Geun in " Jilbab Traveller : Love Sparks in Korea".

Rania, in " Jilbab Traveller : Love Sparks in Korea" is also comfortable with the square motif on her Jilbab. The vest and backpack are also typical an adventure of the Americans facing huge wildlife in the west that are also chosen by Rania.

Picture 05. Square motif from "I Love You From 35.000 Feet", 2016

Picture 06. Arga with square motif on his shirt source: ILY:35.000F,2016

Picture 07. Typical Cowboy Costume motif worn by Arga in ILY:35.000F, 2016

Picture 08. Cowboy and Backpack 1 Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B27_ftW_NeI

Picture 09.
http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/photo/man-wearing-cowboy-hat-and-backpack-high-res-stock-photography/85654808

Picture 10. The Image of Cowboy and Backpack in ILY:38.000F,

Picture 11. The Image of Cowboy and Backpack in JTLSK

Picture 12. Cowboy and Backpack in JTLSK, 2016   Picture 13. Fur on winter coat in JTLSK, 2016

The huge wild place requires the Americans to be comfortable with their casual clothes that can ease them in such a hot place and can protect them from many kinds of movement they have in such place. This kind of cloth and style meet with the young adolescent's activities. Young adolescents usually seek opportunities to explore and to do the varied aspects of their environment (Brighton, 2007). Hanum in "Bulan Terbelah Dilangit America" is also comfortable with the square motif on her jilbab cloth. The slyle of using fur on winter coat is chosen by Rania and her friends than other kinds of coat. Fur is tipical America. The history of America explains about the large amount of animal in American wilderness when it was found. It was firstly the Indian way of using fur to protect their body. "As was custom with the Native Americans, they were very resourceful with all of the materials that were available to them, and they used the skins of deer to make clothes as well as fibrous materials" (http://www.indians.org/articles/native-american-clothing.html)

Picture 14 Fur on winter coat
source: JTLSK, 2016

Gambar 15 Fur on winter coat
source: JTLSK, 2016

2.2 How strong is the domination presented in the films

The role of the producer and the writer of the script is considered important to be the indicator of how strong the domination is, and it is their role also to explain or to be the mediator to reconcile the domination and the cultural heritage preserved. The producer of "I Love You from 38.000 feet" also shows the image of the view of a herd of deer that are running on the wide fields which resemble the view of bisons on American prairie that are always found in American films.

Picture 16. View that is resemble with wide field
in America in ILY:38.000F, 2016

Picture 17. Resemble the view of bisons on prairie
in America in ILY:38.000F, 2016

The exploration of the views that are resemble with views found in America and in American films is also found in the film " Jilbab Traveller: Love Sparks in Korea", in which in that film the beautiful natural views are exposed clearly and they are also clearly seen in the scene of the first meeting between Rania and Hyun Geun at Baluran, beautiful place in the east part of Java. The beautiful natural views seem to dominate the film. The film ends in an amazing, beautiful and natural scene when Riany finally finds Hyun Guen.

Another aspect that exposes the domination is about values that can stimulate personal as well as society's progress. This is seemingly mentioned by Gramsci about intellectual and moral values. Values of science and technology early arose in Middle Age is understood acquired by the father of Rania Samudra in "Love Sparks in Korea". The spirit to explore, the spirit to know is strongly presented in the film. The spirit of exploration is typically western. It is supported also by the scene of the meeting by Rania and the host of the house where Rania stays in Korea. The explanation of her that her son is studying in America can represent that America is a the best place for her son to pursue knowledge. The spirit of exploration is successful inherited by the father to her daughter as one who tightly holds Islam value.

Picture 18. The wish and spirit to explore world
in JTLSK, 2016

Rania does not leave Islam value when she is motivated to be an adventurous one that needs a style of using or wearing casual and comfortable clothes but she modifies the Islam style wearing Jilbab with cowboy motif as a square motif on her clothes and jilbab.

She also has her backpack and wears a vest as the American cowboy. the style and motif of her clothes are compared different from her mother who has batik and flower motif on her clothes and Jilbab.

Picture 19. flower motif /batik on Jilbab. Source : JTLSK, 2016

Picture 20. Vest and Rania's plain clothes ; Jilbab and vest. Source : JTLSK, 2016

Picture 21. Flower motif or Batik on Jilbab and Rania's Square motif. Source : JTLSK, 2016

Picture 22. Square motif on Rania's shirt. Source : JTLSK, 2016

Picture 23. Rania's square motif.
Source : JTLSK, 2016

Picture 24. Square motif of Rania.
Source : JTLSK. 2016

"Bulan Terbelah di langit Amerika" exposes about strong domination when the subject and theme of the film is seemingly special to answer the worries of America to the assumption that Indonesia is an Islam majority country which is possibly on the side of world terrorists. it is to answer the visit of President Obama in Indonesia. The role of the producer and the writer of the manuscript in the film is clearly wise.

Indonesian moral value as it is in the way Alleta appreciates her local clothes is not the proper way the producer should expose, when it is combined with sunglasses when Alleta is in a bar, but it would be wise to balance when the producer also shows in the film of a pride of wearing clothes that reflect 'kebaya'image in casual event.

Picture 25 'Kebaya' in not proper
moment. Source: ILY:38.000F, 2016

Picture 26 'Kebaya' in not proper moment. Source: ILY:35.000F, 2016

Picture 27 'Kebaya' in not proper moment. Source: ILY:38.000F, 2016

There are no images that present the respect of the young in wearing 'kebaya'. There is a scene that shows Alleta wears 'kebaya', traditional cloth in her wedding day but it is a common way in Indonesia, it is not a kind of defence that the youth in their popular way wearing blue jeans combined with the things that taste Indonesian. The presentation is not proportional when almost every day in the film expose Alleta wears pants and other casual clothes without exposing the respect and pride of the youth of wearing 'kebaya', Indonesian accessories other things that taste Indonesian. It has no other scenes that show evidence about her respect about "kebaya".

Picture 28. Alleta and Arga, Alleta with her hot pants. Source : ILY:38.000F, 2016

2.3 The dangerous potency hidden in the films

America is a big country and has its influence on the world society. It also once has the predicate as world police. The use of English as it is used also by Americans in Indonesian films in the period can represent about pride as well as the progress of Indonesians as those who have an intense contact with great achievement and development as gained by America. The users of English as seen in the films are in their high confidence when they use English. Besides of the characters' reputation, it can also represents intellectual capacity, skill and also dignity.Whereas the use of English as the Indonesian film title is to represent that they have the same quality as western films or the American films.

The indicator that explains about the representation among others is the view as in America as a modern city image in New York in "Ada Apa Dengan Cinta 2"(2016), in "Bulan Terbelah di Langit Amerika"(2016).

Picture 29. The image of modern city, reputation and capacity
source: "Bulan Terbelah Di Langit Amerika", 2016

Indonesian films had ever falle its popularity. The English title becomes the phenomenon to appeal audiences. In the position of popular purpose, it can work. Otherwise, the function of Indonesian films as a tool to educate society can possibly fail when the younger only to pursue to resemble their way of life with America as the language used by America. When they become pride of using English, is it also the pride they have when they use the Indonesian language? this question can warn the production house of how to present an image properly to give an effect of still respecting Indonesian language. It is its responsibility to explain in the films about the pride of using Indonesian or of how worth Indonesian language when it is used.

About Traditional cloth that is called Kebaya in "I Love You From 38.000 Feet, there are scenes that show a harassment when the image presented which is understood can cause young people of Indonesia to not have the pride of wearing it. There is no part in the film that explains about the pride of wearing it other than it shows only about the pride

of wearing short pants and other casual clothes. The young adolescents tend to do and to behave as what are exposed by popular trends and moreover to find interesting things (Kellough & Kellough, 2008; Scales, 2010). The popular trends are much found in films.

Places to have interesting things and to expose popular trends grow fast today as 21 studio, XXI studio, Cinemax, and Blitz Cinema grow rapidly. The appearance of the last three kinds of cinema in Manado is only in one year. Films are the most thing that attracts the young adolescents for the aspects of entertainer, aspects that can make them satisfied psychologically for the activities and all aspects presented to meet their desire in the films. In relation to what is meant by Piaget (1960) that young adolescents tend to be attracted by experience, films can offer them their need through the experience of the created characters. Visual explanation in films can make them directly feel and have the experience they need, besides can also convince about their desire, the younger desire and spirit (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 1999). They also tend to not give time and attention on traditional academic subjects (Kellough & Kellough, 2008). Intellectually, the youth find opportunities to explore the varied facets of their environment (Brighton, 2007). Their nature in always wishing and exploring new things can be a challenge for them to aquire values preserved when in a film presents more interesting images that against the values. In other words, this explains about the potency of easily acquiring the interesting things that are created to meet commercial need offered by film producer that sometimes do not meet the moral values that are properly preserved. Scales (2010) also writes that the youth are naturally inquisitive about the behavior older than them. Their desire to know things tells about their process of learning to grow and to become adult. This phenomenon is an alert to production house to be wiser in the way to maintain commercial purpose as well as to keep and to promote maintaining moral values and or Indonesian cultural heritage.

III. Conclusion

The tremendous achievement of America has stimulated the American hegemony around the world including in Indonesia. The existence of Indonesia that has around 17.508 islands shows about its cultural wealth. The various kinds of culture, in fact, is the potency of Indonesia and so they should be preserved as cultural heritage of Indonesia.

The intellectual and moral images in the films are well preserved eventhough should be added by images to strengthen the the explaination of the value preserved. Indonesian Film producer, as well as Indonesian writer, are both trendsetters and the keeper of the cultural heritage. Their role requires a responsibility for the safety of the future of the young generation of Indonesia because a film is a popular media that can entertain youth and also can meet their taste. The domination of the American culture in Indonesian film can be possibly negative as well as positive. The popular aspect of the media becomes a warning to the producers and the scriptwriter. Otherwise, both the negative side and the positive side

of the domination can also enrich the experience of the audiences. The responsibility of the film producers is in his realization of his clear concepts and explanation of the domination that has also to be expressed in a film through the images that are created. The created images that are not well explained in films can be well absorbed by audiences especially the young adolescents that still need to have much experience in understanding life. The intervention of government is needed in keeping the nation's personality, dignity, and in keeping the safety of the young generation of Indonesia.

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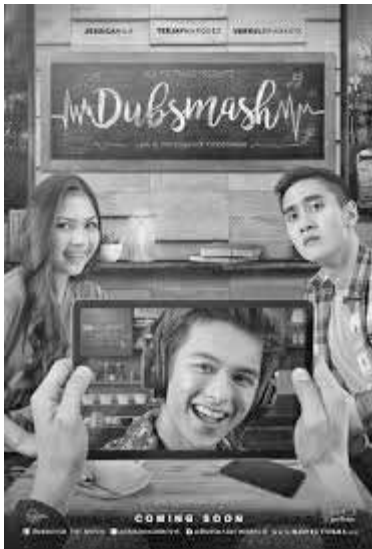
The Use and Abuse of History:
Reflection on British Policies in Java and Its Socialization

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Abstract

It is believed that people are often to use the past policy to blame the recent policy. However, some people also learn from the past before pursuing their dreams. Human beings unconsciously use their past knowledge to decide a choice between correcting and blaming the present condition. Historical awareness could be placed as a key driver to empower Indonesian society. The author wants to reflect British policies in Java. It is alleged that policies are based on the use and the abuse of history. Its values could lead people to evaluate the recent condition. At present, people are often to compare the recent with the past government in order to evaluate the recent policy. Consequently, history should be placed as a critical tool to empower and to manage society in term of social planning. In addition, the author also describes the process of social empowerment through the socialization of the use and abuse of history in secondary school. It will be useful for history teachers and students to reflect their past before taking any decision.

Keywords: Raffles, decision-maker, historical awareness, social empowerment

The Anglo-French dispute in Nineteenth Century had changed the map of political power in Southeast Asia, especially Java. Vlekke (2008, p.286-8) explained that British invasion in Java was based on the effort of disposing their enemy in Europe. The director of East India Company in London governed the general governor in India to dispose the French from their settlement, to destroy all their bastions, and to take all their arsenals and ammunitions; for the rehabilitation all settlements to the native. Raffles then executed the mission by sending a letter and some interesting presents for the kings of Nusantara (Vlekke, 2008, p.295). In his letter, Raffles wanted to help them and to release from the Dutch colonization. It was useful to gain his company's purpose.

Raffles, after getting an instruction from Lord Minto, joined the British armies around 12.000 armies on 100 ships and succeeded in destroying Janssens' troops in Batavia. Raffles became a lieutenant governor in Java (Vlekke, 2008, p.294). However, British government

through East India Company decided to dispossess the Franco-Dutch from Java and gave the authority of Java to the native but the British conqueror had different interest. Lord Minto and Thomas Stamford Raffles saw the land of promise. Java was a strategic route between India and China or Japan for the British traders. They wanted to colonialize Java. Lord Minto governed Raffles to manage a colony of Java and its dependencies.

Raffles' policies in Java should be placed based on the use and abuse of history. We could direct people to re-evaluate the past values. Carey (2014, p.7) supported its suggestion. He claims that the ultimate aim of the history is twofold: to achieve closure on the tragic events of the past and to resurrect the dead. This means the historian has not only a sustained willingness to confront, document and acknowledge the atrocities of the past but also a morally task to teach the forgotten people. We could learn from Raffles' policies to empower society. History could be a tool to empower society, based on Kuntowijoyo (1990), in term of social planning. If history is socialized, it means that history is a part of social planning in creating people's way of thinking and in empowering themselves. According to Soetomo (2015, p.7), the use of empowerment as a concept has differently understood. All helps and attentions given to the society is called as an empowerment. The key-point of empowerment is people's effort to develop people's capacity in order to not contribute to the powerlessness. History will remind us that there is usually more than one way of interpreting a predicament or responding to a situation, and that the choices open to us are often more varied than we might have supposed (Tosh, 2002, p.30). The author will also discuss how to spread the historical awareness after explaining the historical knowledge (British colonization in Java) and the historical perspective (British policies based on the use and abuse of history).

British policies based on the use of history

History could be a tool to help a man in struggling for a life. History was often used before making a decision. Therefore, the issued policy would commonly be accepted by people. This was generally determined by the executor's consideration and needs. If the issued policy was not based on the historical consideration then the policy would benefit the elite and would oppress people.

Raffles issued three main policies in Java. Those policies were the representation of the Javanese way of thinking. In other words, Raffles tended to issue a policy based on his people, people needs, and people's culture. Javanese were the open-minded people. They also liked to take the positive side of foreign culture which was coming to Java without ignoring their traditions. The first policy was the revision of some treaties arranging the relation of Batavia government and the kings of Java. Raffles (1817, p.301) believed that "...the first principles of the feudal system, which form the basis of the whole edifice, are: that the land is the property of the sovereign; that the inhabitants are his slaves, and can

therefore possess no property, all that they have and all that they can obtain belonging to the sovereign who allows them to keep it no longer than he chooses; and that the will of the prince is the supreme law...". He used the king's right to legitimate the land of Java and its dependencies from the Dutch (to the British government).

However, the kings looked at the other purpose. They assumed that the British arrival helped them in invading the French-Dutch. The directors of East India Company in London had an interest to clean up the influence of the French-Dutch in Southeast Asia however Lord Minto and Raffles saw Java as the land of promises (Hannigan, 2012). They predicted that Java would be the centre of Southeast Asia's trade. They knew that Java had the valuable natural resources and human sources. The kings of Nusantara made a lot of corrupted policies without Raffles' consideration, likewise the Sultan of Palembang's policy. In addition, the Sultan of Yogyakarta ignored the sovereignty of British power in Batavia. Thus, British military power invaded them and they followed the British government.

The second policy was to reform the tax system. This change wanted to bring people into the better life from the oppression. He introduced the land rent system. This was not only to liberate the slave from the feudal system but also to stimulate the British financial interest (Wijayanti, 2011, p.121). This perspective was based on the view of "...the king was the landlord..." The farmers had the right to use the land from the king. They rented the land. This fact seemed to invite the insight that the farmer had an obligation to give a part of his crops. This tendency led Raffles to use the same pattern in collecting the farmer's tax.

However Raffles used the direct rule system but he asked the local chiefs to collect the tax from the native. The local chiefs were *petinggi, bekel, akuwu,* or *mandor* (Raffles, 2014, p.686). According to Wijayanti (2011, p.126-9), Raffles used the native chiefs because of the safety reason. He felt that the native oppression would be continued if the local chiefs took a position in his bureaucracy. However, the local chiefs would be the barrier for him in organizing his government. In this point, he tried to issue the tax collection policy based on each man and not on each village. This tax collection was based on the quantity and quality of the cultivated land.

The division of the land rent system was a result of Raffles' reflection on the land rent system which was done by the farmers and the local chiefs or the Dutch residents. Raffles (2014, p.94) felt that the local chiefs and the Dutch residents did not decide the clear rent cost. The conqueror tended to use the land rent affecting to the torment of farmers. In reaching the people' welfare, Raffles (2014, p.101) argued that all the crops would be owned by the farmers' private property after they paid for their land rent in the form of paper money or other forms. At least, the farmers should allocate their crops to pay the tax to the government. For farmers having the first class (best quality) of wet land (*sawah*), they should pay a half of the crops; two fifth of the crops for the second class; and one third of the crops for the third class. The farmers having the dry land paid the less rent. They should

pay two fifth of the crops for the good quality; one third of the crops for middle quality; and a quarter of the crops for the bad quality (Raffles, 2014, p.99).

Raffles (2014, p.175) also accepted Van Hogendorp's account. He had a vision in managing a colony of Java. Javanese would be prosperous if they had a leader or a king protecting his people. He felt that the Javanese chiefs and the other local chiefs in Java were absolutely corrupt. According to Raffles (2014, p.174-5), the regents would sell their villages to the Chinese if they had a financial lack. They forcibly took all people's property in a village meanwhile people in the other villages had to send the tribute to them. People were really oppressed at that time. They faced injustice state and it might be caused by the government's mistreatment. Consequently, this led the life crises in that areas.

His final policy was to re-organize the administrative institution. He felt that the monopoly system and the *contigenten* system gave the drawbacks for people. He suddenly became a responsible man for the suffering condition. He used the rarely policy that was the direct rule system. The direct rule system was the mirror of the Javanese cultural power. The power showed the despotic system. The executive and the judicative power were owned by one man (the king). The standard of justice and the government was based on the Holy Qor'an which was fitted by the customs and the needs. Javanese was the people who just converted into Islam in Fifteenth Century. Therefore, some Muslims followed the Islamic law but it could not replace the ancient belief and the local custom (Raffles, 2014, p.177).

The resident, in the British government, was not only the longer hand of the central government but also becoming a *jaxa* or judge of the court (Raffles, 2014, p.685). Raffles (2014, p.157) felt that the Javanese was the honest people. The honesty was seemed when they were interviewed, as a prisoner, without pretending or correcting its mistake and did not add the bias phenomenon which was included on the evidences. This tendency led Raffles to use jury system in the process of justice.

British policies based on the abuse of history

A policy was often issued by following the personal's or group's interest. This was not a partial but it was a general symptom. Almost all conquerors forced a decision by pragmatic spirit. Therefore, the historical considerations were merely used to righting the issued policy. Raffles as one of colonial rulers also abused history. His two policies seen as the practice of dehumanization was (1) a policy to invade the court of Yogyakarta; and (2) to issue the culture system in Priangan.

His policy was the policy of Yogyakarta's invasion. Raffles was charged as a main actor behind the practice of dehumanization. However, he had a historical consideration to right his policy. Thorn (2011, p.114) explained that the court of Yogyakarta was one of the powerful opposition in opposing the European power in Java. Between Daendels and Raffles, they continually opposed until the EIC colonialized Java. Raffles which was placed

as a lieutenant governor in Java decided to have a consent between EIC and the court of Yogyakarta in December 1811. This convention was not useful for them. The local chiefs did have any effort to relate a friendship. They did not show any responsibility for their convention. British finally invaded Java and the court was destroyed.

Raffles, following the myth of the wise king in Java, believed that the wise king would affect the people's welfare. He did not want people following the rule of corrupted king. Raffles (2014, p.175) said that the good king should protect his people from any oppressions and would be the light for his people. In other words, Raffles had used the historical awareness that was the court of Yogyakarta should be directed by the better king. This would be affecting to the welfare of the surrounded people.

The main duties of the king were to pay attention on the people and the land. If the king did not know any crimes, he could create many criminals. A king should know his people's and his country's needs. The relation between king and people was like puppeteer and his puppet. A puppeteer should know how to describe the main character therefore the puppets would realize what they were going to. This was aimed that people would be easily directed and affected. The court's bureaucracy consisting of the king, the prime minister, and the administrator had to direct the court in right way therefore people would obey them. They had to give a justice for everyone. If they issued the wrong treatment, they should deliver an apology speech (Raffles, 2014, p.177). These factors led him to colonialize a colony by his hand (direct rule system). He made a limitation for the local chiefs because he thought that they continually oppressed them.

His second policy in abusing history was to issue the culture system in Priangan. This was started when Raffles looked at the deficit of governmental cash-flow as a threat. He could not run the government without any possible funding. The chosen alternative was to sell the state land however it could contribute the complex problem. He was charged by Gillespie. Gillespie claimed that Raffles should consult to the chair of company in India before deciding any policy. However, the Gillespie's suggestion was ignored (Effendhie, 2000, p.21-23). Gillespie started to search the Raffles' fault therefore he could also look at the weaknesses of Raffles' policy. When Raffles ran the land-rent with the freedom of cultivating many plants, Priangan did not have the same policy. The inconsistent policy made him to frame it with historical righting. Bastin (1954, p.186) argued that Raffles urged to use the distinction of Javanese and Sundanese to righting his policy.

If Javanese were happy to have appreciation from the ruler, Sundanese was patient on the forced system. Raffles (2014, p.84) pointed out that "...Sundanese... seemed to be patient on this system that people in other areas. Time and habit had shaped them to adapt the injustice system..." this could be a mirror that he wanted people to recognize the fact that Sundanese were happy to be forcibly cultivate the coffee. The word "seemed" might support the reader that Raffles looked at the historical legitimation in order to issue the policy of culture system in Priangan.

To short, the historical values could be placed as a coin. One could be used as a useful side but we could abuse it in other side. Raffles, as a historical figure, issued a policy based on historical consideration and he also abused it to righting his issued policy. We should learn to face an occasion therefore the wisdom was not a thing that we bought but our personal development. Historian had a job to help people in order to reflect their past.

The socialization of the use and abuse of history[1]

This socialization was created in the form of workshop. This activity was useful to motivate students and teachers in thinking critically. Therefore, this activity stimulated all participants to give their perceptions on the use and abuse of history. The scope was the explanation of the use and abuse of history using some phenomena related to the life of Thomas Stamford Raffles. In addition, this socialization had several steps of plan, action, and evaluation. The participants were 32 students and 7 history teachers at MAN 3 Malang, one of secondary schools in Malang, East Java, Indonesia.

1. Plan
    There were some steps in planning this activity. Firstly, the committee decided the date, time, and place of socialization. In 12 May 2016, the committee proposed the socialization proposal to MAN 3 Malang. Thus, in 14 May 2016, they contacted our committee to have a further coordination. They confirmed that the committee could disseminate the program in 30 May 2016 which was placed in the multimedia room, third floor, MAN 3 Malang. They were also giving enough time to organize the socialization between 09.00-12.00 AM.

    Secondly, the committee should elaborate the historical paper for the participants. We should simplify the language into the concrete one. The related paper was focused to the life of Thomas Stamford Raffles. In addition, the committee tried to make the key points into the power point programme. Therefore, the explanation could be given as a reinforcement. This would lead us to deliver the theories of the use and abuse of history; the further explanation on the use and the abuse of history; and the study case of the life of Raffles.

    Thirdly, the committee also planned the schedule of socialization at MAN 3 Malang. The schedule was planned and started from (1) signing a registration; (2) opening ceremony; (3) opening speech by the headmaster or the representative; (4) delivering a presentation; (5) answering the questions; (6) the participants' response on some conditions in the dialog sheets using the form of discourse completion task;

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[1] This socialization was held in MAN 3 Malang, 30 May 2016, under the scheme of BLU-FIS and in cooperation with Deny Yudo Wahyudi, Annisa Khansa, and Rendy Aditya.

and (7) the participants' evaluation on the socialization of the use and the abuse of history in the prepared form.

Fourthly, the committee prepared the technical preparation of socialization, like (1) making the letter of reference in the date on the behalf of committee; (2) buying the seminar-kit consisting 40 stop-maps, 40 pens, and 40 material hand-outs; (3) buying 40 consumptions for the participants; (4) buying the gift for the school; (5) making the attendance list; (6) preparing the camera for documenting the socialization; and (7) 40 exemplars of dialog and evaluating sheets. The committee were helped by the two students of history department, Universitas Negeri Malang (State University of Malang). Finally, the committee needed to have coordination with a teacher to arrange the place of socialization. This was needed to check the preparation of socialization.

2. Action

This socialization was delivered smoothly however the unpredicted situation forced the socialization becoming different. This was logically happened as a result of a crash time. The school had a meeting of students' guardians. Consequently, few teachers could not come to this activity. In addition, 30 students who were hoped to come were only 60% of them who could attend it.

The anxiety grew significantly while the schedule of socialization which would be started earlier. The school wanted us to start the socialization at 09.00 AM. However, the committee should attend the coaching of SBMPTN (Indonesian test of higher education entrance) supervision. However, the committee could well-arrange the time and was helped in all technical needs by two students, Annisaa Khansa and Rendy Aditya Putra. Annisaa was a master of ceremony and opened the socialization around 8.45 AM. The socialization was opened by Drs. Jazuli as a vice of headmaster of MAN 3 Malang. He delivered his remark and gave some arguments related to the use of history for the young generation. This socialization was then continued by the material presentation. The presentation discussed Raffles' policies based on the use and abuse of history.

In the session of discussion, there were three questions from the audience. Those were from Gemilang, Abdul Halim, and Alfina. The first question considered the problem of the historical ignorant in the period of Soeharto. He wanted to know how the teaching of history was acted in that era. The presenter gave some illustrations living in the Soeharto's order. Soeharto was not only succeeded to shape a nation but also cut the people's freedom. People's activities were based on the governmental order. The truth was merely under the government and the journalists were the right hand of government. Even, government always placed Indonesian Communist Party to right their policies. Therefore, the relationship between teachers and students in the teaching and learning process could be analogous to the relationship between

government and people in the Soeharto's order. Teachers were the source of truth. The freedom of thinking was limited. The habit of injustice was common in the Soeharto's teaching and learning process.

The second question concerned on the relationship of historical abolition and the life of Shih Huang Ti. He wanted to know the abolition of the past memory. The presenters agreed to explain the policy of Huang Ti. The king of Chou Dynasty issued a policy of historical abolition because he wanted to shape the new civilization. He killed all people and the rest was the short-cut perspective. The king then controlled his people easily as he wanted to be. It was common if the effect of this abuse was really dangerous. The third question was the relationship between Raffles' arguments on the passive Javanese. She wanted to know how to activate the Javanese. The presenters answered that the passive Javanese were caused by their upset feeling. They had never been appreciated. Therefore, they would be diligent if we appreciate their works. This activity was closed by Prisca Kiki, as a history teacher and the representative of school, and continued by filling the form of evaluation.

3. Evaluation

The committee had an internal reflection after the activity had done. The committee felt that: (1) the committee needed a long time to prepare the activity. In other words, it needed a preparation before running the activity; (2) the committee needed to be anticipating on some threads and barriers facing the activity. This activity was in the same time with the school's agenda and the 2016 coaching of SBMPTN supervision. This led that the invited teachers could not come to the activity; (3) the activity needed to be helped by three people focused on the technical affairs. This was useful to minimize the committee's job description; (4) the used language in paper and in presentation should be made simply. In addition, we needed some media like short video to attract the participant's attention; and (5) the committee felt that the delivered material was useful. This was seen by the response of the participant. They gave some questions directing us to the meaning and effect of historical abuse.

Evaluation was not only given by the committee but also given by the participant. They saw that the presenter delivered the useful presentation. In detail, the material of the use and abuse of history in study case of Raffles was responded as very useful (44%); as useful (50%); and as quite useful (6%). Based on them, the presentation was very interesting (19%); interesting (56%); and quite interesting (25%). In addition, they also gave some comments and suggestions related to the action of socialization. Those comments were:

1. Giving benefit because trying to reveal the unknown truths.
2. Reminding people that the abuse of history was dangerous.
3. Knowing the use of history at present day.

4. Giving the new insight and very useful material.

Meanwhile, they were also giving some constructive suggestions, as follows:

1. The schedule should be fitted to the effective hours in teaching and learning process.
2. The socialization should be delivered to the other schools
3. The ice-breaking was needed during the break of opening remarks and presentation.
4. The jokes was needed during the presentation.
5. The presenters should use the implicit language.
6. The presenters should consider the use and abuse of history in the past; and then was discussing the present case on the use and abuse of history and how its solution was.

Evaluation was not only looking at the participant's learning process but also looking at the participant's learning outcome. The learning outcome could be seen by the participant's responses on some situations. The situation presented was framed by the discourse completion task (DCT). Eslami & Mirzaei (2014, p.138) argued that

> "...In DCTs, participants are asked to complete an empty space of a short conversation involving a written situational description with relevant context related information. One advantage of the DCTs is that social and situational variables can, to some extent, be controlled. In addition, it is possible with DCTs for the researchers to collect a great amount of data in a comparatively short amount of time..."

The committee wanted to modify and to fit the DCT format with the need of activity's evaluation. The participant was assumed to be able to decide something through their historical thinking. Mainly, the participant could be directed to use history in facing any circumstance. In the sheet of DCT which was given, it could be two situations which should be faced.

Firstly, the participant should decide a decision in a situation where they did not have support for it. The participants were led to relate their experience and their motivation in facing the situation. The situation forced the participants to choose going to University or not and they should consider their limited funding. All respondents decided to continue their higher education. Only 69% of respondents who gave argument why they decided to go to the University. They tended to use historical knowledge before making a decision. Their historical knowledge comprised of (1) studying diligently in order to achieve a scholarship; (2) paying the tuition fee through part-time work. This was very useful for their future.

Secondly, the participant was invited to be parents. They faced their child who did not want to be blamed. The son was always righting his mistake through giving the parent's guilty. The situation forced the participant to ignore the son or to give the similar historical explanation. Most respondents decided to give an explanation to the son and there was a respondent who ignore the kid. 81% of respondents gave an argument why they decided to give explanation. They used their historical knowledge to make a decision. Their historical knowledge consisted of (1) the son's character; and (2) the son's past.

Conclusion

At present, history will be ignored by many people because there is no person want to share the use of history. History will be a tool to empower people in facing the uncertainty world. This paper tends to give a model on how to bridge the theory and the praxis. People commonly consider a theory without imagining the praxis or they will do the praxis without based on any theory. Theory and praxis are mutually equipped each other. This will be better if we are not only writing the diachronic matter but also writing the synchronic matter and communicating the values to the society.

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Field School and Social Movement

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Abstract

Field school is a form of the community empowerment aims to review building awareness critical thinking and independence. In addition, the other objectives to be achieved through the implementation of the field school are to create a social welfare.

On the other side, the application field school can be used as an alternative medium of social movements. Field school activities generally held collectively by applying adult education (andragogy) and exploration of individual experience through a focus group discussion (FGD). Where results from these activities serve as the school curriculum in the implementation of the field school.

The study of social movements has generated a considerable body of ideas about the causes of recruitment to non - institutionalized activity (for an example, relative deprivation, the status of defense, status inconsistency) and about the dynamics of goal-oriented organizations (e.g. goal displacement). In 2010 my research found that a group of farmers in Poncokusumo, East Java Indonesia were facing a conflict with local government about the ownership of the land. And field school had encouraged farmers to criticize some regulations.

The combination of the field school with the social movement will be a guide to give birth to the concept of education more accessible to farmers. And the spirit of transformation of knowledge into a commodity will also be able to explain more closely on the social structures that exist in social life.

Keywords: Field school, social movements, andragogy, farmers, transformation of knowledge.

Andragogy as a basic theory in field school

The word of 'Andradogy' came from Greek Word, Andra and Agogos. Andra means an adult, and Agogos means to lead. As simply, andragogy is the way how to transform the knowledge to adults.

In their social life, an adult have many experiences and it really various things. On the the andragogy approaching, their experiences become a main source for learning and expanding on the process of learning itself. Some methods can be implemented by group discussion, simulation, games, etc. Therefore, in field school, this is an andragogy method is compatible to overcome the problems wherein arising in social life or community. Field school is a form of the community empowerment aims to review building awareness critical thinking and independence. In addition, the other objectives to be achieved through the implementation of the field school are to create a social welfare. In this term,, the approach is using the method of participation and students are as subject active during field school. Participants in SL (Sekolah Lapangan/Field School) collects data about the main problems faced by the community; conduct an analysis of the social, economic, natural resources, infrastructure, and human resources; and create action plans that are realistic and can be done by the community to solve the problems. SL is a "school without walls", the meeting participants was held in public facilities in the village as the village hall or in the mosque, even in the house yard. SL activities are generally carried out in the open and not in a closed room. Through learning methods find themselves, participants are invited directly to learn of the unique circumstances of a location through direct observation in the field. SL followed by 15 to 25 people from community groups. One SL cycle is an about 14-16 meeting each week, for about half a day for each meeting.

Adult education (POD/Pendidikan Orang Dewasa) is not part of the traditional education that served to adults, more than that POD is an alternative to the process of institutionalization, commodification and ekspertokrasi. Institutionalization process is a condition that is more considered that the means to achieve or gain experience only through formal education sectors of government or educational institutions specific, so that it will close access to participate in the education. The commoditization emphasized that education is a "commodity" to be bought by anyone. Therefore, with the SL is expected that people can participate in it without being limited by the material, etc. Ekspertokrasi process is a method of describing that in education in general, turned out to be more focused on the implementation of the expert's educator who is the adoption of a system of pedagogy itself. Therefore, with the SL is expected to be able to steer inividu-individuals as individuals who have the potential through the experiences it has, of course, this method is a method Andragogy then implemented in SL. So, POD is a synonym of knowledge, as opposed to formal education. In public education, the knowledge created by the people and not to the public; frees requirements: and "anyone can follow it" and the use of tools are also infinite knowledge (Illich, 1973a). POD introduced by Illich, not just for adults. More than that, it is an alternative to all education, whether institutional or community can express what they need and what they have to learn. It is an alternative that can be distinguished by four opposite, which also summarizes the philosophy of POD version Illich: (Learning as opposed to school)

> ➢ Hospitality as the opposite of manipulation

> ➢ Responsibilisasi opposite of deresponsibilisasi

> ➢ Participation opposite of control deresponsibilisasi

Learning through participation and accountability are essential elements in the alternative that is needed in the community, which by Illich called friendly society. Friendly society realized by learning network where everyone is free to access their educational tools (for example, the idea "a tool for hospitality"), where the POD is equal to the collective and active participation in the understanding of these fields so that decisions are made more accountable.

The most useful source in the POD is the experience of learners. From the research, Linderman identifies several assumptions about adult learning is used as the foundation of adult learning theory, namely:

1. Adult learners will be motivated to learn because of the need motivated to learn because of the needs and interests with the aim to obtain a satisfaction

2. Adult learner orientation is centered on life, so that the units should learners is real life (the application)

3. Experience is the richest source for adult learners, so that the learning method is the analysis of the experienc*e*

Confucius once emphasized the importance of learning from experience when he stated:

> "I hear and I forget"
>> "I see and I remember"
>>> "I do and I understand"

This statement means that the understanding and knowledge was directly related to the life and everyday experience. Education as a lifelong process thus lasts all human activities conscious. The process was not completed after leaving school. Everything we do is always an element of learning.. What we think and do in the past and what we are doing at the moment and what we plan for the future, all show the process of learning by doing as well. Maybe we do not see it as a "learning experience" or as a learning situation, precisely because our understanding has been limited by a narrow view that education is synonymous with the school. In fact, we actually learn all the time. Therefore, what we need is an education process that can help us generate knowledge from real-life situations we experience in our daily activities Learning from the experience of life, therefore, is something that is very important for adults.

Methods of application of POD in SL is to try to understand and express the experiences of every member of society, who will be at the instructions in the application field school methods. This method is a form of education with the application of the concept of Andragogy. Andragogy as the activities of continuing education for adults is:

1. How to learn directly from the experience

2. A process of re-education that can reduce social conflicts, through the activities of inter-personal in the study group

3. A self-directed learning process, where we are constantly able to reassess our learning needs arising from the demands of changing circumstances.

"D A U R B E L A J A R"
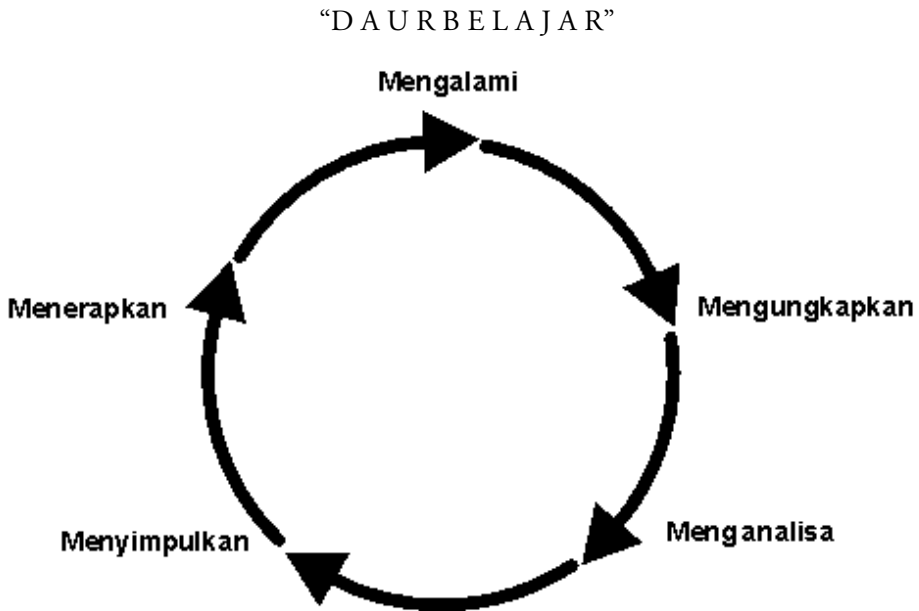
Experiential learning cycle is the basic guideline of the learning process in activities SL. Stages starts understanding of digging experience of participants through field observation activities. The observation revealed and analyzed together for the conclusion and the decision-making process. Furthermore, conclusions and decisions they applied to obtain new experiences.

Andragogy learning methods with techniques learned through experience that is the main instrument in the implementation of education in SL activities, so it is expected to be able to obtain in-depth and comprehensive information in solving problems that arise in the social life of the community. In addition, through the medium of extracting

information through the experience of individuals will be able to increase the participation SL and activeness in solving the problems that are being felt.

Field school

Simply, SL interpreted as a "school without walls" in the sense of open and not stuffy. The school is building the feel of a participatory learning and provides open space for the community to develop its capacity in order to dominate the world. The values of Adult Education (POD) which is the basis of learning management, packaged in practical methods and executed systematically. Activity of SL is a learning process with nature, the reality of nature to become a teacher, books at a laboratory to test the experience.

In the implementation of its activities, SL has the principles applied in the form of activities. Here are the principles in SL:

1. Equality: every citizen has the opportunity to learn and the same right to study and argue
2. Disclosure: not just the element for learning but learning materials, premises and facilities as well as the pattern of implementation
3. Ecological: based on the principles of nature conservation
4. Society as a subject: increase the ability of communities and making them experts in managing the environment.

In addition to the principles, activities SL also have traits that are characteristic in the implementation of the programm. Here are the characteristics of the activities of SL:

1. The learning process is based on "experiential learning cycle"
2. Integrated learning curriculum with needs and in accordance with the people's life,
3. Learning tool is the reality of the local natural and social environment
4. Schedule study is conducted periodically and adjusted to the availability of public time, seasons and the cycles of business

Natural learning process with more emphasis on building intelligence and develop the critical power. SL is not a means for the removal or transfer of technology or changes in behavior through the presentation of information, but rather gives priority to the study of experience to acquire knowledge. Every citizen is encouraged to learn to be able to observe the reality, express thoughts and ideas, analyzing the facts, make decisions, and do activities together. The participants SL acting as or plays as subjects to lead themselves and apply the learning process and joint actions gradually and sustainably.

In general principles and characteristics that are the hallmark of the implementation of the SL is the implementation of adult education (POD) which emphasizes and focuses on the theory. The terminology, andragogy is an art and science of helping adults learn. The adults in his life have a lot of experience a very diverse. In the process and andragogy approach, adults experience that is regarded as a very important source for learning. That experience is the main capital in the learning process that is submitted by the method of group discussions, simulations, role plays etc. Andragogy as the activities of continuing education for adults is a great way to learn directly from the experience, a process of re-education that can reduce social conflicts, through the activities between individuals in the study group was as well as a process of learning is self-directed, where we are constantly able to reassess our learning needs arising from the demands of changing circumstances.

Therefore, in the application of SL, Andragogy learning methods are considered particularly suitable for solving the existing problems in social life.

According to Ivan Illich, in public education, knowledge created by the people and not to the public; frees requirements: and "anyone can follow it" and the use of tools are also infinite knowledge (Illich, 1973a). POD introduced by Illich, not just for adults. More than that, it is an alternative to all education, whether institutional or community can express what they need and what they have to learn. It is an alternative that can be distinguished by four opposite, which also summarizes the philosophy of POD version Illich:

➢ Learning as opposed to school
The process to pursue and acquire knowledge not only limited to the school institution which is the formal institutions in both the method of application and the learning process

➢ Friendliness as the opposite of manipulation
The process of excavation experience applied in Andragogy as part of a POD method is a condition that describes the pattern of togetherness and also emphasizing the active communication between students with teachers or facilitators

➢ Opposite of deresponsibilisasi
Adults are individuals who are full of experiences and should do introspection on everything she does. Responsibility is a condition that describes the existence of a sense of responsibility that must be made and owned by every adult in the achievement of the experience they have gained

➢ Participation opposite of control
An important point that distinguishes the application as part of a POD method theory Andragogy is their involvement and active participation in the learning process. Individuals or adult is positioned as an active subject directly in the learning process and the achievement of results to be achieved in the learning activities

Sosial field schools as an alternative in social movement

The social movement seeks to create change individual, social, political, and cultural or specific. In some cases, the changes that are required, characterized by a proactive and progressive in the sense of moving beyond the status quo or conditions of social and cultural that exist, such as in the case of movement of the civil rights and women's movement in the United States, can in other cases changes desirable may be more reactive or regressive in the sense sought to preserve the status quo by opposing currents to change or return to the previous ideal order.

All social movements are typical. First, social movements are opponents or defender of institutional structure or system existing authority; second, the social movement is more of a collective than individual affair; Third, social movements acting outside the terms / institutional agreements or organizational exist, although to varying degrees, with other movements that only tactics Extra-institutional and others working within the institutional channels while also engaging in collective action certain extra-institutional; Fourth, social movements working with a certain level of organization, ranging from a single social movement organizations to network organizations or conditions that can be varied movements or merger clearances, and five social movements usually take the struggle to the level of a certain temporal continuity.

There are four series of problems that typically are considered very important to understand the appearance, performance, and impact of social movements, including:

1. Creating and facilitating conditions
2. Participation
3. Dynamic
4. Result

Creating and facilitating conditions

Pure desire for social change itself, no matter the source or intensity, it is not enough to raise campaign organized movement. On the contrary, collective action which bears the form of social movements that seek to create social change certain real born from the fusion and interaction of a number of conditions facilitator: disappointment shared and stir; certain degree of political opportunity; mobilization of resources; and ecological context.

Initial studies on the causes of social movement called the theories pressure (strain theories), who based social movements at the beginning of the disappointment that comes from social pressures, such as social discrimination, widespread unemployment, and poverty. This is consistent with the context of the pressure theory which states that due to the emergence hydrolic machine approach movement, pile slowly social pressures that will ultimately take to the eruption of a movement (Tilly, Tilly,&Tilly. 1975; Snow, Cress,

Downey,&Jones, 1998, Buechler, 2004). And this is where the theory of the pressure began to be seen as simplistic theories and cast as the main cause movement activities

But the emphasis theories on disappointment pressures still relevant to understanding the root causes of many movements. In essence, when the people collectively challenge the authorities through social movements, they usually take such action on the conditions that is troubling them and often feel strongly. The conditions of this troubling, following the feelings associated with it, for example, discontent, fear, anger, and moral turmoil could be viewed as a disappointment. These conditions provide the main motivational impetus for organizing campaigns and social movements to engage in activities of social movements.

Occurrences disappointment that drives it alone does not ensure the emergence of a social movement or activity of a joint protest. In terms of causal analysis, disappointment that drives a mandatory conditions not a sufficient, for the emergence in social movement. What is also needed is an opportunity to voice the disappointments through various means of strategic action involving articulation to the relevant audiences and the ability to press the appropriate authorities to solve such disappointment.

One important factor in achieving social movement is the lack of resources and organization. As found by Almeida (2003) in studying the wave of protests in El-Salvador, groups that are most successful are the groups that do fundraising on the basis of the disappointment and threats and then build organizational resources that longevity which enabled them to garner better at the time of opportunity for the next mobilization surfacing. This study and a number of other studies provide strong support for the premise footing / referrer from the perspective of resource mobilization formulated by McCarthy and Zld (1997), the emergence of the activity of social movements will depend on the availability of resources (eg, money, manpower, equipment, legitimacy) that can be collected and distributed by organizations, social movements and the mobilization campaign into motion.

Taking into account the extensive empirical support received by this general proposition, it is not surprising when Tilly and Tarrow (2007) considers the resource / organization as essential prerequisites necessary for successful social movement action and lasting.

Participation

Movement is important to remember, consists of people who are willing to devote time and energy to varying levels, as well as other resources, to change or correct certain issues very vigorously and they worry about. Klandermas explain the distinction between "consensus mobilization" (disappointment and common purpose) with the "mobilization of action" (the actual participation), the first type of mobilization does not automatically guarantee the mobilization of a second (Klandermas, 1984; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). In addition, once a certain level of participation is reached, there is no guarantee that the

participation rate will be repeated or firm. As said by Caorrigall-Brown (2011). As found by Corrigall-Brown (2011), that the majority of participants did not fully participate in the movement's participation or at least resigned to a certain time.

In addition to participation factor, also keep in mind there are factors that influence the emergence of social psychology a social movement. Two very important things is about collective identity and emotion.

Collective identity

Most people looking for a movement that gives them the opportunity to confirm their identities already exist, it is clear that the identical feeling relatively strong with special social movements could be the deciding factor was significant for certain participation levels in order to support the movement. One another important component in addition to the relationship between collective identity, solidarity, and commitment (Hunnt & Benford, 2004) is an existing participation can be improved tactical and organizational through shared ritual, personal sacrifice, and involvement in collective events.

Research conducted by Goodwin, Jasper, and Polleta (2001, 2004) distinguishes between emotions reactive or emotional reflex with a more sedentary / durable, both of which are relevant to aspects of the movement's participation. Emotions reflex characterized by accident and does not require cognitive processing. Examples include feeling shocked, angry, happy, sad, scared, and excited.

Scope Movement

The scope is a method for placing any social organization, coalition, or even field in comparison with a series of potential permutations broader movement by considering what is to be achieved by the movement along the way and plan to do so.

The scope can be measured by two variables: the scope of the problem and the scope of organizational (Clemens, 2005). The scope of issues referring to the scope and complexity of the issues championed by the movement and how strongly these issues in attracting a large audience. The scope of the issue provides a way to assess the salience of an issue and range to achieve the potential of new recruitment, media channels, and groups of other third parties.

The scope of the coverage and effectiveness of organizational measures visible and join directly organizations in an issue. For organizational scope, the salience because the movement is viewed merely complements the ability of organizations to do fundraising around the issue.

Both types of scope (and organizational issues) is closely related to the purpose movement. Organizationally, the goal refers to the changes desired by the movement of coalition or goals. Although the objectives could be achieved by outside forces, for example

by the action of an organization or groups that forms the dominant purpose is primarily determined internally. Literally, the goal of the movement can be anything. However, success is bound by the scope of the organization and the strategies and tactics adopted to achieve these goals.

If the aim of raising the aspirations and strategies wherein decide how to achieve those goals. As stated by Ganz, the strategy represents "the relationship between intention, action and results" (2000: 1010). Strategy is a plan, a strategy scene knit cognitive resources and tactics as well as working to make those resources. The tactic worked in such a way so as to facilitate the achievement of objectives.

Result

Analysis of the results of the movement tend to focus on movements that are directed towards the goal of policy and changes in the level of state (eg, Amenta & Caren,, 2004; Andrews 2004; Amenta, 2006), with the civil rights movement as an example might be the become the most prominently associated with the approval of significant legislation.

Although the influence and political and changes may be the most striking results for many movements, there is also a movement that seeks to achieve results or "cultural" less conspicuous. Earl (2004) shows three groups of cultural consequences: social psychological consequences such as changes in cultural values and beliefs; changes in product and cultural practices, which include literature, music, and language; and changes in world view and the community base, as reflected in the motion-based substructure and collective identity.

The social movement is one capital is the means of ordinary people to voice their opinions loudly and try to change aspects of their social world they feel troublesome and often unfair. Movement and the participants often act as the agency to correct the errors of the social and, sometimes, subvert institutions. On the other hand, the movement and its participants could also be the agency to make a social blunder.

The combination of the field school with the social movement will be a guide to give birth to the concept of education more accessible to farmers. And the spirit of transformation of knowledge into a commodity will also be able to explain more closely on the social structures that exist in social life.

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The American Tradition Debate:
Reflections on Alleged Exceptionalism in The Muslim World

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Abstract

This writing presents the research on American tradition in the United States. It makes a synthesis of the relationship on conservative and liberal tradition toward the concept of exceptionalism in the Muslim world while Obama and Bush administration represent the culmination of the American empire. 'City upon a Hill' and Westward Movement are two of some traditions of American exceptionalism. 'We shall be as a city upon a hill,' predicted Puritan minister John Winthrop in 1630, and more than 375 years later this imagery invoked by American presidents both Ronald Reagan and George W.Bush. Furthermore, the construct of American exceptionalism was invoked to justify the settlement and expansion of English colonies in North America, the creation of the United States as an independent country, its territorial expansion across the continent, and the extension of American military and political power around the globe. In line with the changing of era, America has given great hegemony toward other countries, mainly in the Muslim world in the name of traditional capitalism and liberal democracy. After the Cold War, imperialism is as insult to hegemonic huge power. America's entire war on terror is an exercise in imperialism including in the Muslim world. This research is methodologically descriptive qualitative by gathering the data qualitatively and presenting them descriptively. It is under the discipline of American Studies which highlights on the synthesis of knowledge. It focuses on cultural, social, and political discipline supported by Event Structure Analysis (ESA) for analyzing the data. In fact, empire is always there in American history. Furthermore American faiths is a strong tradition. But, its inconsistency is the real story and, will continue to evolve.

Keywords: exceptionalism, empire, tradition, liberal, conservative

I.   Introduction

America has experienced a long history of recorded civilization. Based on its history, America is made up of a variety of discrete units comprising of many ethnic groups that bring with them their own culture. Therefore, it is rather difficult to refer to American

culture. This fact makes giving comment on a single definition of American culture even more difficult. So one of the ways to describe American culture is through its tradition. American tradition can be understood by referring three categories –the wilderness, the Puritans' Founding and American Founding Fathers.

Those three categories are used to describe mainly traditional or classic American values that embrace American political spectrums both liberal and conservative. At the time, classic liberal and traditional conservative were two major concepts adopted by American political party both the Federalist Party and the Anti-Federalist Party. Recently, American people still correlate their ideological self-placements with political issues, particularly within the issue area they most strongly associate with liberalism or conservatism. When people say they are liberals or conservatives, it is likely to reflect their feelings on, at least, some issues which refer to the reflection of their ideological self-placement. Therefore, ideological self-placement can serve as a useful symbol to people. It can serve as a short-hand symbol for a particular point of view. When they are asked about Obama, they directly know that he is a liberal. So it is likely to help them know where they stand on a number of issues.

Under George W. Bush and Obama administration, their foreign policies are often correlated with the Muslim world. A general overview of events and trends in the Muslim world are most likely affect U.S. interests and security. The world's Muslims differ substantially not only in their religious views but also their political and social orientation, including their conceptions of government, human rights, law, women's rights, and their prosperity for violence (Rabasa, et al. 2004:xvii). In this case, the roles of the U.S and its allies are to promote democracy and stability along with counter the influence of extremist and violent groups. For some reasons, America's acts are summarized as hegemony because of its power and great influences toward other nations.

In fact, American roles in promoting its traditions over the world get some responses both in domestic and in abroad. There are big changes for American policies aftermath the end of the cold War. The global politics through global market and global culture is the main target for Americans. America offers the new system of the world order based on its tradition—democracy and capitalism—in one command.

According to Justin B. Litke (2013:3-4), the way Americans think and act politically today and the way Americans have thought and acted throughout their histories, from the early colonists on ward, is linked with the picture Americans have of themselves as a people. This is where the term American exceptionalism usually enters into discussion of policy, law, and history, often confusing rather than clarifying any controversies.

It is a logical response. Some people said that the concept of exceptionalism is itself closed to the American traditions such as the Wilderness, the Puritans' tradition, and the great ideas from their Founding Fathers as a strong nation based on its journey of historical events. At least, American unforgettable experiences for a big nation still hazy its political behaviors. The problem is that there is any assumption of negative meaning toward the

term of exceptionalism. Most people correlate this term with the act of imperialism. They believe, in some cases, America's roles in spreading out its tradition through military force, mainly in the Middle East recently.

In line with the changing of time, some critics are often debatable among scholars. Even most people assume that this American exceptionalism is any kind of American empire. Niall Ferguson (2004) in his work '*A World Without Power*' states that critics of U.S. global dominance should pause and consider the alternative. If the United States retreats from its hegemonic role, who would supplant it? Not Europe, not China, not the Muslim world-and certainly not the United Nations. Unfortunately, the alternative to a single superpower is not a multilateral utopia, but the anarchic nightmare of a new Dark Age.

Hence this writing tries relying on the journey of American history correlated with the concept of exceptionalism. It is undeniably true that the existence of American exceptionalism still exists. The roles of the U.S. in global politics have shown its power as a great nation. Even some Americans believe that the elites still hold tightly the tradition of exceptionalism. George W. Bush and Obama also believe it. *The attitude and policies of the George W. Bush (2001-2009) administration have increased allegations of the United States' legal exceptionalism* (Safrin: 2008)

II. The wilderness

A historical approach is one of the best ways to understand more about American tradition. Moreover, America is often correlated with the New World. The discovery of the New World, which was then followed by the exploration and the development of the country into a new nation, also interested some immigrants, mainly Europeans. Historically, some believe that American tradition was initially from European settlers who searched for freedom of religion, politics, and economics. Then, it is necessary to get deep knowledge about American traditions by understanding why they came, what they brought with them, and what they learned from the wilderness they conquered, and from each other.

There is no easy way to recapture the emotions of sixteenth century Europeans who suddenly moved the New World. Reasons for religion, economics, and politics are often heard. In fact, the wilderness has been a powerful force in the shaping of American values, and consequently of American political institutions. The wilderness was the real frontier. It is not easy to separate the values and principles which American ancestors brought with them from those which they developed after they arrived. Certainly there was constant interaction between the old and the new, and even the new ideas were fertilized in part by the contributions of later arrivals who brought with them the changing values of a changing European society.

The great American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, perhaps attributed too much to the frontier itself. But the fact remains that the frontier has been a major force in shaping the mind, behavior, and political expectations of the American people. *"At least five major tenets of the American faith can be assigned in part to the influence of the wilderness: pragmatism, equalitarianism, cooperation, and optimism"* (Bailey et al. 1961:9).

Pragmatism is concerned with practical action and its consequences. It is about doing, making, and acting. It has been identified with the goal of the progressive movement—to dream about a better society and world and then act to make it happen. The truth of the dream comes in its making (Khol 1992:72). American government today is the product of pragmatic adaptation. The adaptation of those who, through frontier experience, were not afraid of unprecedented.

III. The Puritan's tradition

The Pilgrims and the Puritans were two well known groups of European immigrants who shaped American traditions in the New World around the seventeenth century, mainly in government, religion, and culture. It is not difficult to point those traditions. They are a small or limited government, a separation between state and religion, and Christian work ethics. Those values were to be a root of American traditions adopted by some American Founding Fathers, like Thomas Jefferson. He proposed a separation between government and church, the First Amendments in the U.S. Constitution, a model of limited government in power. Therefore, it is necessary to point two groups, both the pilgrims and the puritans in understanding American traditions in the New World.

The Pilgrims with the Mayflower arrived in 1620 and built the first permanent colony in New England, Jamestown in Virginia. The Pilgrims' ship had reached New England, where they had no legal right to land and settle. Nor did the Pilgrims have any plans for governing the colony once they landed. There, they wrote and signed what it was called 'the Mayflower Compact.' In this compact, or agreement, they promised 'all due submission and obedience' to the laws that they themselves would pass. This sort document marked an important step along the road to self-government in the New World.

Therefore, American traditions from the settlers were derived from Puritans, not aristocracy, England. The tradition was informed by the experience of an essentially homogenous people governing themselves under God's ultimate authority by their deliberate sense. Among those traditions were Christian-Protestant, small government, and strong work ethic. There are also two important democratic ideas from Roger Williams as American traditions. They are first, that the church and the state should separate and second, that government should be based upon the will of the people.

Meanwhile, there are some significant values from the Pilgrims' background above – faith, courage, hard work, and an intense desire to be free-- enabled the Pilgrims to survive

and build a permanent colony. Furthermore, the migration of the Puritans from England to America was not only considered as a customary migration, but also an exodus regulated by God. According to them, America was New Jerusalem, the land gifted by God. The Puritans' mission of building the country was to be "*a city upon a hill in which the eyes of the people are upon them*" (Johnson 1999:33).

IV. American founding fathers

Most people said that a Founding Father is the birth of nation which a regime is said to exist. The images of Founding Fathers such as signing a Constitution, government offices, and historical buildings would support the view that a founding is a place and event of political origin, authoritatively fixed in historical space and time. Meanwhile some scholars state that the founding of a political community is the original moment after which the community has attained political and legal identity as well as authority. It is an "*authoritative event*" which has fixed something supreme, the very life of the political community (Bernal 2008:1).

In this writing, the meaning of a Founding Father is something more than an authoritative event; it is a continued process of contestation, construction, re-appropriation and struggle. Angelica Maria Bernal (2008:2) states "*a Founding lives not in the past, but in the present. It is not a birth, but a conflict-ridden beginning."* In short, a Founding Father has continued life because it is a central past of the self-understanding of a political community. A Founding Father can be used as a reflection on how he could solve a crisis like economic crisis. When America was swept an economic downturn of 2008, Obama took public policy like Franklin D. Roosevelt's program.

Therefore, a Founding Father is merely not as an event, but also as a concept. Founding as a concept is an idea made up of many other ideas. Immanuel Kant introduces a 'regulative ideal.' As a regulative ideal, *"Founding can serve as a metric by which individuals may judge existing practices or orient their actions or expectations"* (Gruyer and Wood 1996:6). Another philosopher is Max Weber operates simultaneously as an 'ideal type.' As an ideal type, "*it may affix itself as a dominant model for political practice*" (Mills and Gerth 1946:65). Based on the concepts of Kantian and Weber, Founding is a historically situated idea, comprised of other contested and ever changing ideas some more dominant than others, but all fighting to be heard.

Based on the description of Founding Father above, the Founding Fathers can serve as a tool for change. It is hence not just a single regulative ideal or ideal type, but also a historical construct, an idea that is constructed according to the changing social and political needs of particular society. And as a historical construct, it takes from primarily as narratives and imaginaries, which is to say, it occurs through the narratives, which live in the *"political imagination of a people"* (Bernal 2008:19).

Why do some people believe in Founding Father's ideas? In fact, Founding Father cannot be separated with ideology and philosophy. The concepts of ideology and philosophy are very closed to American Founding Fathers because most familiar and significant political ideas have roots deep in the moral, spiritual, and political experience.

One of the main themes of this writing is that ideologies actually attempt to develop political accommodations to the economic and social conditions created by the Industrial Revolution. At first, ideologies were made necessary by the Renaissance belief that people could improve the conditions in which they lived through taking positive action instead of passively accepting life as it came. This new belief was accompanied by the great economic and social upheaval caused by the mechanization of production. Social class and social status dominated in an industrial society around the eighteenth century.

The United States also had the same experiences. America entered into the modernity with the same characteristic that every modern political system is motivational; that is, the leaders attempt to mobilize their citizens to accomplish the political, economic, and social goals of the society. The United States is all intensely interested in involving their citizens in efforts to accomplish the objectives of the state. Consequently, modern ideologies call upon people to join in collective efforts.

In the statement above, the word ideology is primarily used to refer to ideas, attitudes, and values that represent the interests of a group or class of people. These ideas are expressed in the media and in all of the ways in which a group within a society displays its perception of the world. Here is a well-known ideological statement about the United States. All people in the United States are free to choose to become anything they want. There are no limits to achievement in American democracy, and if you do not succeed it is your own fault.

This statement, referring to freedom and wealth in the United States, is in the class interest of people who have considerable freedom and some wealth. It does not mean that no poor people ever become wealthy. However, the statement makes a universal claim: it is a generalization from the class self-interest of people with wealth to all members of the society. In that sense, it is ideological.

In relation to American exceptionalism, the term of exceptionalism can be derived from American ideology. Most American still keep their traditions from their Founding Fathers such as Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson who brought the concept of strong nation and classic liberal. Their ideas in line with the changing of eras have two main coins as follows: conservative and liberal. In this sense, American Founding Fathers are assumed as an idea, concept, and construct. Here, the word concept is used to denote a generalized, trans-national and trans-historical idea that we call 'founding.' Conceptions of founding father are also ideals.

In short, American Founding Fathers can be called as figures of mythology. Based on some American experiences, American Founding could overcome great crisis like in

the American Revolution and the first national government. The American experience of Founding fathers is time and again called upon, symbolically or politically, to inspire on-going constitutional efforts and harness legitimacy for political actors seeking such change. This ideal is unique, it exists as an abstraction that is more than a mere reflection of historical facts; it is a socio-political construct.

In some cases, some American presidents also adopt the ideas from the former presidents with any modification. Neo-conservatives, or neocons, rose to prominence under President George W. Bush (2001-2009). They believed that the United States had a moral and practical responsibility to intervene in international matters because America was the sole great power capable of stabilizing foreign affairs. They felt we had a moral imperative to spread democracy, and they advocated a more aggressive foreign policy than do paleo-conservatives. "*Compared to realists, neocons are more ideological, willing to fight even when immediate national interests aren't at stake*" (Conrad 2008:62).

Furthermore Oliver Stone and Peter Kuznick (2013) added that "since then (2003), many Americans have indeed gotten used to American Empire. The most disappointing among them is President Obama, who once railed against the empire's blackest outrages — from torture to perpetual imprisonment without trial. Instead, Obama is about to enter his second term as heir of George W. Bush's imperial strategy unless his latest foreign policy appointments signal significant change."

V. Conclusion

The collapse of the Soviet Union left the United States as the world's sole superpower and promoted a growing torrent of international over the U.S. legal exceptionalism. The Cold War, a central fact of world politics for nearly half a century, had ended without the long-dreaded exchange of nuclear weapons. Apparently, China and North Korea retained a loyalty to Marxism. But it reveals a question aftermath the ruin of communism. Indeed, American conservatives rejoiced, but the vanquishing of their great foe presented dilemmas as well as delights. What will the kind of ideology or enemy be the next rival for America?

With the demise of communism, was the world becoming safer or more dangerous, more united or more divided? Ever since the 1960s the idea of the global village had been a shorthand way of referring to the proximity of the world's different peoples and the speed of communication between them.

Global village can be said as a camouflage of American exceptionalism. It is any kind of symbol of American hegemony. The roles of American in the Muslim world are very significant in the era of globalization. It have been started from the era of Bush's administration to Obama. Obama himself in his speech in 2009 said that *"I believe in American exceptionalism, just as I suspect that the Brits believe in British exceptionalism and the Greeks believe in Greek exceptionalism."*

It is known that American exceptionalism often trigger pro or contra statement, however it has affected policy changes within the government. American exceptionalism always exists, mainly influenced by the president policies. It is commonly assumed that American exceptionalism, past and present, unreservedly support tradition. In short, American exceptionalism has never been the same but maintains a strong tradition. But, inconsistency is the real story and American exceptionalism will continue to evolve. Here, American Founding Fathers can be positioned as agents of change. They can be used as a parameter for determining American president policies by constructing their ideas along with some great experiences in American history.

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Evaluation of Capacity Development Program of Climate Change Adaptation on Agricultural Sector in Communication Perspective

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Abstract

This study reports results of mix methods of climate change adaptation on agricultural sector in four districts in Indonesia (Pasuruan, Jeneponto, Cirebon, and Demak). Agriculture is an important sector in providing food needs for Indonesian people. However, the climate change has given a serious threat to the agricultural sector that could bring the new issue for the sustainability of agricultural production systems and particularly food production. The Ministry of Agriculture conducted the capacity development program for agricultural extension workers who have task to communicate with the farmers in their daily activities to overcome the gap and barrier of the understanding on the issue. The evaluation refers to the evaluation model developed by Donald L. Kirkpatrick (1959). This study only used two levels in providing categories on training outcomes: (1) reaction and (2) learning. The Symbolic Interaction by Herbert Blumer (1969) applied to understand the interaction between climate change expert/trainers and the extension workers/participants during the training. The paper has two research questions: What is the capacity development program applied by the Ministry of Agriculture? How to evaluate the program? Is this program understandable and useful for extension workers? This research applied the methods of survey, interview, and observation. The program conducted was Training of Trainers from experts on the climate change to the extension workers in four districts in Indonesia. In general, the training program was successful. It was measured by the mostly positive assessment from the participants during the training. Even though, few of the material presentations are difficult to understand, particularly for the unfamiliar terms in climate change (lanino, elnino, etc.) and time allocation for particular materials are limited, especially for materials that require a lot of simulation/practice (Introduction of Planting Calendar, The Information of Weather and Climate for Agriculture and Agribusiness Development Integrated Through Agricultural Waste Processing. The participants agreed that the training has enriched their knowledge and understanding of the climate change. All the materials are also very useful for the extension workers to communicate and to

make the farmers realize of the climate change impact and find the way of the adaptations and mitigations on agricultural sectors.

Keywords: Climate Change; Training Evaluation; Symbolic Interaction Theory; Agricultural Sectors

I.   Introduction

I.1. Background

Agriculture is an important sector in providing food needs of Indonesian people. However, climate change turned out to have an impact on the agricultural sector, the cause is due to rising temperatures and changing rainfall patterns. Climate change is a serious threat to the agricultural sector, so that potentially presents new problems for the sustainability of agricultural production systems in general and food production in particular.

The conditions certainly could not be ignored, so the Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Agriculture made various efforts to overcome it. One is in collaboration with JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) as a technical assistance through the Sub-Project of Capacity Development for Climate Change Adaptation in Agriculture and Other Relevant Sectors (SP-2) from the Project of Capacity Development Strategies for Climate Change in Indonesia, cooperation with Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional/Indonesian Ministry of National Development Planning (BAPPENAS) and Badan Metereologi Klimatologi dan Geofisika/Indonesian Agency for Meteorology Climatology and Geophysics (BMKG) to disseminate the impact of climate change on the agricultural sector through the activities of Training of Trainers (ToT) for agricultural extension workers and the Training of Farmers (ToF) who get the direct impact on climate change.

In order to achieve improvement capacity of WUA (Water Uses associations), extension workers and other stakeholders to understand weather and climate information and initiate climate change adaptation including water management and rainwater harvesting to enhance farmers' welfare, a training program was developed and implemented of training guideline in four sites by Ministry of Agriculture.

The implementation of a training program consisted of two phases: (1) Training of Trainers (TOT) and (2) Training for Farmers (TOF). TOT was conducted for transfer of knowledge and skills from experts to agriculture extension workers as well as local government officials, who then pass the obtained knowledge and skills to farmers under TOF. Farmers are expected to increase their awareness on climate change and be able to better tackle its impacts.

Training of Trainers (ToT) and Training of Farmers (ToF) were conducted in 4 sites (Pasuruan district, East Java; Jeneponto district, South Sulawesi; Cirebon district, Central

Java; and Demak district, West Java). As an evaluation of activities, together with the implementation of ToT and ToF, were also conducted the monitoring and evaluation activities in the same times and at the same locations. This report study will present on ToT result only.

1.2.   Research Questions

1. What is the capacity development program which was applied by the Ministry of Agriculture?

2. How to evaluate the capacity development program?

3. Is the program understandable and useful for agricultural extension workers.

1.3.   Motivation

•   Professional experiences: as Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist for capacity development program of climate change adaptations project on agricultural sectors in Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Jakarta office.

•   Academic interest: Evaluation of the communication strategies in the public policy issues.

1.4.   The Significance of the Study

•   Addresses the gap in the evaluation of communication programs applied by the Ministry of Agriculture. The previous studies only described the communication strategies.

•   This knowledge has the potential to inform the Indonesian Government, particularly the Ministry of Agriculture to evaluate the effectiveness of communication strategies on the climate change adaptation.

II. Theory

II.1. Symbolic interactionism

Herbert George Blumer (1969) was an American sociologist whose main scholarly interests were symbolic interactionism and methods of social research. Believing that individuals create social reality through collective and individual action. He was an avid interpreter and proponent of George Herbert Mead's social psychology, which he labelled as 'symbolic interactionism'. Blumer elaborated and developed this line of thought in a series of articles, many of which were brought together in the book Symbolic Interactionism. An ongoing

theme throughout his work, he argued that the creation of social reality is a continuous process.

Although Blumer devised the term symbolic interaction in 1931, the early development of this theoretical approach to social analysis is largely credited to the work of George Herbert Mead during his time at the University of Chicago. Blumer played a key role in keeping the tradition of symbolic interactionism alive by incorporating it into his teachings at the University. He presented his articles on symbolic interactionism in a single volume in which he conceptualized symbolic interaction into three main points:

1. Humans act towards things (including other individuals) on the basis of the meanings they have for them. There is a particular emphasis on the consciousness of actors as they interpret their actions. It is important to recognize that the meaning or value of an object to one person may differ with another person- sociologists should not reduce human action to social rules and norms. Blumer stresses this point because of the fear that our subjective meaning of our actions could be overshadowed by the norms and rules of society

2. The meaning of things arises out of the social interactions one has with one's fellows. The meaning of something is a social product, therefore it is not inherent in things.

3. Meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process a person uses in dealing with the things he or she encounters. Meanings are seen as a series of interpretive actions by the actor. The actor gives objects meanings, act accordingly based on these meanings, and then revises the meanings to guide his future action. The actor has an internal conversation with himself to determine the meanings, especially when encountering something out of the ordinary.

Blumer believed that what creates society itself is people engaging in social interaction. It follows then that social reality only exists in the context of the human experience. His theory of symbolic interaction, for some argue is closer to a theoretical framework (based on the significance of meanings and the interaction between individuals than an applicable theory. According to Blumer's theory, interaction between individuals is based on autonomous action, which in turn is based on the subjective meaning actors attribute to social objects and/or symbols. Thus, individual actors regulate their behavior based on the meaning they attribute to objects and symbols in their relevant situation.

III. Methodology

To measure the success of Training it is necessary to Monitoring and Evaluation, in order to get an idea how far the effectiveness of these activities take place and what are the things that needed to be evaluated and improved in order to achieve the goal of these activities.

III.1. Approaches

Monitoring and Evaluation ToT refer to the evaluation model developed by Donald L. Kirkpatrick (1959) which uses four levels in provide categories on training outcomes, such as: 1. reaction, 2. learning, 3. behavior, and 4. results.

- Reaction; to know the responses and assessment of participants regarding to the preparation, the training methods, the facilitator and the impact of training for participants.

- Learning; to know the participants assessment related to the materials and the resource person who presented the materials.

- Behavior; to know the behavior changes of the participants after the training, especially when carrying out tasks and activities as agricultural extension workers.

- Results; to know the impact of training toward the performance improvement which is in line to the objectives of training program.

The implementation Monitoring and Evaluation ToT do not measure the whole levels. Only two initial levels which could be measured (reactions and learning). As for the two other levels (behavior and results) could only be measured after the participants implement what was gained from the training.

Application of Kirkpatrick's evaluation model in this training can be described as follows:

- Level 1 – Reaction; by measuring the level of participant's reaction, 4(four) elements which measured at this levels are the preparation, methods, facilitators, and the impact of training for participants.

- Level 2 - Learning; by measuring the participant's assessment of the materials that have been delivered, through the results of the pre-test–post-test, and individual assessment of how the resource persons deliver all the materials.

III.2. Data Collection

Data collection which is performed in the Monitoring and Evaluation consist of two ways. Firstly, using a questionnaire with open and closed questions and secondly, observation which is processed by descriptive analysis.

III.2.1. Questionnaires

Distribution of questionnaires to the participants performed in two different times.

- First, evaluation of the Materials and Resource Persons were given in every session after the material delivered, it was done as an effort to obtain evaluation data which closer to the reality (the participants still have fresh memory on the materials). As the data cross check, the resource person was also asked to give respond regarding to the session through assessment sheet for resource persons.

- Second; evaluation for Preparation, Training Methods, Facilitators and Participants. The questionnaires were distributed at the end of the training (in the fourth and fifth day after all the materials from Modules 1-9 delivered).

III.2.2. Observation

Implementation of the monitoring was done through direct observation of training activities from the beginning to the end of the training, written in descriptive analysis (qualitative).

III.2.3. Interview

Some Interviews were conducted to learn more about the variety of points which is not found the answers through questionnaires and observation. Moreover, interviews with the various elements who involved in the activities of ToT could be the cross-checked data/data triangulation, so that the research results could be more valid and trustworthy. Interviews were conducted to the Local Coordinator in each district, trainers, officials of the district agriculture department and participants (farmers) in 4(four) pilot locations (Pasuruan, Jeneponto, Cirebon, and Demak). Selection of respondents who were interviewed through the purposive sampling (previously determined by the researcher regarding to the certain criteria).

III.3. Population and Samples

Population and samples for ToT as described below.

III.3.1. Population

The population for the Training of Trainers (ToT) is Agricultural Extension workers.

III.3.2. Samples

Samples of the Training of Trainers (ToT) were selected based on purposive sampling (predefined). For four districts, from each district was selected 25 participants consisting of agricultural extension, officers of the district agricultural office, and the officers of the district irrigation office.

III.4. Training Location

These activities were conducted in four districts representing of four provinces. 1. Pasuruan, East Java; 2. Jeneponto, South Sulawesi; 3.   Cirebon, West Java; 4.Demak, Central Java.

III.5. Schedule Activities

These are the Schedule activities of ToT in four locations.

Table 1
ToT Schedule

	Pasuruan	Jeneponto	Cirebon	Demak
ToT	19 to 22 August 2014	15 to 19 November 2014	25 to 29 November 2014	3 to 7 December 2014

III.6. Materials

These are some materials were presented in the training.

Table 2
Training Materials

Module	Materials
Module 1	Information of Weather and Climate for Agriculture
Module 2	Pattern Adaptation to Climate Change
Module 3	Management of Land and Water
Module 4	Conservation of Water Resources
Module 5	Introduction of Planting Calendar
Module 6	Strengthening of Farmers Institutional
Module 7	Irrigation Network System Management of Surface and Groundwater
Module 8	System of Rice Intensification
Module 9	Integrated Agribusiness Development Through Agricultural Waste Processing

IV. Research Finding

IV.1. Pasuruan District

Pasuruan was the first district selected by the Ministry of Agriculture and JICA to implement ToT. Delivery material of Module 8, Local Wisdom was described only in a short time, due

to the enthusiasm of the participants over to the practice of cassette disk (CD) of Planting Calendar. There was a change of schedule on the deal between participants and facilitators, the field trip briefing was planned held on late afternoon changed to be the night, due to the afternoon was used for the free event.

If compared to the location of pre-test module in Cisarua-Bogor: the field visit to the Climatological Station Class A in Dramaga was better, cause it has more complete tools and the conditions also good). The purpose of changed places that the participants could obtain a wide range of data that could be accessed and known how to read it. These conditions and activities could not be done at the Climatological Station ICRR due to the tools conditions were not completed and there was not presented various processed of climate data. Despite the limitations of weather and climate observation tools at the observation station ICRR, the response of participants quite good to this field trip, due to on that place, the participants could see a variety of weather measurement tools and how to use the data from the devices. When group presentations, in general, the participants were able to utilize data on a CD of planting calendar to determine when the planting time, kinds of the technology, and the things to be prepared in farming activities (eg, selection of varieties).

Trainees numbered of 25 participants, consisting of 20 persons of agricultural extension derived from (3)three sub-districts, 3(three) participants from the Department of Agriculture, and 2(two) participants from the Department of Irrigation Works / Watering Pasuruan District.

Resource persons numbered of 8(eight) participants from the Research Institute for Agro-climate and Hydrology Research and Development Agency of the Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture of East Java Province, BPTP East Java, Bogor Soil Research Institute, Department of Mining Irrigation Pasuruan and Agricultural Practitioners Researchers LM3 Pujon Malang.

Pre-Post-test results:

Most of participants (13 participants; 52%) got the value of C (60-69), 5(five) participants (20%) received grade B (70-80), 5(five) participants got A (>80), and 2(two) others received D (<60). Presentation materials of System Rice Intensification and Integrated Agribusiness Development Through Agriculture Waste Processing selected as the most interesting presentation by most of participants (62,5%), it was evident from the enthusiasm of the participants to discuss with the resource person.

The material was considered to be the most uninteresting in terms of delivery was Irrigation Management, due to there was no discussion for 1,5 hours of presentation. A total of 48,8% participants assessed the material presented was easy to understand, while 46.67% assessed fairly easy to understand. Most of participants (65%) gave a good assessment of the overall implementation of the training.

IV.2. Jeneponto

Jeneponto was the second district for the implementation of the ToT. Based on the report's recommendations of implementation and evaluation of the ToT Pasuruan, then be made various improvements include improving the ToT schedule by addition some facilitation sessions and games in the implementation. Prior to the implementation of the ToT in Jeneponto, evaluators formulated a questionnaires evaluation instrument with 6(six) elements that would be assessed by the participants (preparation, training methods, facilitators, the impact of training for participants, materials, and resource persons).

In addition, the Ministry of Agriculture composed 29 multiple-choice questions as question list for participants to do pre-test and post-test. The question was obtained from resource persons. Utilization of other media for facilitation was also optimized by use of flipcharts, post-it paper and markers, so the training became more creative and participants involved actively from the beginning to the end of the training. The provision of various types of games on the sidelines of presentation session of material was also done to make the forum dynamics.

At the end of the session, the facilitator guided the participants to prepare a follow-up plan for ToF (Training of Farmers) preparation in each sub-district. Participants were divided into 3(three) groups based on the origin of sub-districts.

Training participants were 25 participants consisting of 21 agricultural extension workers from 3(three) sub-districts, 2(two) participants from the Department of Irrigation and 2(two) participants from the Department of Agriculture Jeneponto. The resource persons were 6(six) people who came from several elements, such as academician from Hasanuddin University in South Sulawesi, climatology expert from the Agricultural Research Agency (Agriklimat and Hydrology Research Institute), Department of Agriculture South Sulawesi, BPTPH of South Sulawesi, and Watering Agency of Water Resources (SDA) South Sulawesi provinces.

Conducted the significant improvements to the instrument evaluation of training than previous training (in Pasuruan) in the form of an open questions/qualitative to quantitative assessment in the form of a questionnaires using 5(five) assessment criteria (very good, good, fairly good, less good, and bad) to 6(six) elements that exist in the training (preparation, training methods, facilitators, materials, resource persons, and effect of the training for participants) and providing a list of pre-post-test questions in the form of multiple choice.

Started since ToT Jeneponto there were additional facilitation sessions conducted by facilitators such as: adult learning sessions, learning contract sessions, daily feedback sessions and group sessions to discuss methods of delivering Modules to farmers in ToF. Trainers creativities in turn on the forums (games, singing, practice for any materials, group discussions after the session material) made the training more vivid and participants seemed enthusiastic from the beginning to the end of the session materials. Assignment of

participants in the group discussions became the best solution to make participants more understood of the materials, especially when the trainers looks less controlled and less communicative in presenting the materials.

The more specific assessment for the elements in the training led to identify of the training results more detailed and comprehensive (could be seen from the report on the implementation of the ToT Jeneponto). Previous assessment criteria (in ToT Pasuruan) consists of 3(three) criteria (eg: easy to understand, fairly easy to understand, and difficult to understand), started in ToT Jeneponto made more specific, consisting of 5(five) assessment criteria (eg: very easy to understand, easy to understand, fairly easy to understand, less easy to understand, and not easy to understand). The wider of the range assessment criteria, so the assessment results would be closer to reality.

Pre-Post-test results:

From 25 participants obtained results: 22 participants (88%) experienced an increased in value, 2(two) participants (8%) experienced a declined in value and 1(one) participant (4%) no change or obtained the same value when pre and post-test. Based on the results of pre-test of 25 participants, there were 16 participants (64%) included in bad criteria, 9(nine) participants (36%) were included in the average criteria, and none of the participants (0%) included in the good criteria.

While the results of the post-test was known that the number of participants entered in bad criterion decreased significantly to 5(five) participants (20%), the numbers of participants included in the average criteria being increased to 17 participants (68%), and the number of participants who entered the good criteria became 3(three) participants (12%). The majority of participants in the value of post-test on the numbers 60. The average value of pre-test = 50,3. The average value of post-test = 65,5.

Broadly speaking, this training was successful, due to the purpose of evaluation and monitoring based on the theory formulated in the initial evaluation of Kirkpatrick to see the first level - reaction (preparation, methods, facilitators, and participants) and the second level-Learning (materials and resource persons) getting positive assessment from the participants, it measured the responses of participants in the questionnaires. From 6(six) elements evaluated showed the average participant chosen the assessment criteria in level 4(four)-Good, Useful, Understandable, Presentation clearly, Wide opportunity to ask, Resource person expert in the subject, can control the forum, participants agree to the assignment given, willing to accept the deepening of the material that has been given.

IV.3. Cirebon

Cirebon was the third district chosen for ToT activities. The same as in the implementation of previous ToT (Jeneponto), in Cirebon was conducted various improvements including

for the ToT schedule, added some facilitation technics, games, and the use of various media to facilitate forums. There were no significant changes in facilitation ways of ToT Cirebon between facilitation ways of ToT Jeneponto.

On the first day, the Adult Learning session was not implemented due to the allocation of time unavailable (participants came very late from the schedule at 14.00). Participants assumed the new training activities began after opening (19.30). This incident showed the lack of coordination between the local coordinator to the candidates of participants (agricultural extension workers) in 3(three) sub-districts. When the implementation of activities, local coordinator were looked still confused with his duties and responsibilities. At the end of the session, the facilitator guided the participants to prepare a follow-up plan as preparation of ToF in each sub-district. Participants were divided into 3(three) groups based on the origin of sub-districts.

Training participants were 25 participants consisting of 3(three) participants of Mantri PSDAP, 1(one) Chief of BP3K, 1(one) Chief of PUPT NRM, 1(one) Extension POPT/BPTPH of the Province and 19 agricultural extension from 3(three) sub-districts in Cirebon. The resource persons were 6(six) people who came from several elements, such as Expert in Climatology from the Agricultural Research Agency (Agro-climate and Hydrology Research Institute) Ministry of Agriculture, BPTPH West Java Province, Cirebon District Agriculture Office, BPPSDMP Ministry of Agriculture, ICRR Sukamandi, BKP5K Cirebon.

The presence of the participants during the training reached 92%-100% because in some sessions there were participants who licensed out the training room because there was related to official duties. Field visits to Livestock Farmers of farmers group Maju Rukun, Kali Tengah, Tengah Tani sub-dictrict, Cirebon provided inspiration and innovation of the concept of integrated farming business in the management of dairy cattle farming which could produce milk, while the stool (feces of cattle) could be processed into organic fertilizers and methane gas generated from the stool could also be treated as a renewable energy, namely gas that could be used for household needs replacement of LPG (Liquid Petroleum Gas). The involvement of the Department of Agriculture to attend ToT Cirebon high enough (eg Head of Department, Head of Division and the section head), even Section Chief of Water Management was present at the forum every day.

Pre-post-test results:

From 25 participants obtained results: 16 participants (64%) experienced an increased in value, 7(seven) participants (28%) experienced a declined in value and 2(two) participants (8%), no changed in or acquired the same value when pre and post-test. Based on the results of pre-test of 25 participants, there were 12 participants (48%) experienced in bad criteria, 13 participants (52%) were included in the average criteria, and none of the participants (0%) included in the good criteria.

While the results of the post-test was known that the number of participants entered in a bad criteria decreased to 8(eight) participants (32%), the number of participants included in the average criteria being increased to 17 participants (68%), and none of the participants included in the good criteria. The majority of the value of post-test participants over 60. The average value of pre-test = 59. The average value of post-test = 64. From 3(three) elements of assessment (Preparations, Methods, and Facilitators) category no. 4 (good) chosen by the majority of participants.

From 2(two) elements of assessment (Materials and Resource persons) category no. 3 elected by the majority of participants to assess the 6(six) indicators with the following results: Presentation materials were fairly easy to understand, Presentation materials were fairly clear, time management were fairly good, space for asking were enough, Resource persons responses were fairly good, Resource persons were enough expert in their subject. As for the 4(four) other indicators, assessment of participants in the category no.4, useful, could control the forum, participants agreed to the assignment given and participants were willing to accept the deepening of the material that have been given.

Broadly speaking, the implementation of ToT in Cirebon was quite successful, because the purpose of evaluation and monitoring based on the theory formulated in the initial evaluation of Kirkpatrick to see the first level - reaction (preparation, methods, facilitators, and participants) and the second level -Learning (material and resource persons) got a positive assessment from the participants, it was measured from the answers of participants in the questionnaires.

IV.4. Demak

Implementation of ToT in Demak was the fourth location of pilot activities. The most prominent of ToT participants from Demak was the majority ages of participants who were above 40 years old. Even some of the participants had over 50 years old. During the training, only few of the same participants who asked questions or respond to the presentation session from resource persons.

The same as the Local Coordinator of Cirebon, Local Coordinator of Demak also seen still confused about duties and responsibilities during the training, including such roles as moderator. For that, it needs to be given the job description in notes as the guidelines implementation during the activity. At the end of the session, the facilitator guided the participants to prepare the action plan after ToF in each sub-district. Participants were divided into 3(three) groups based on the origin of sub-districts.

Training participants were 25 participants consisting of 1(one) Chief of Agricultural UPTD Region V Central Java, 1(one) Chief of UPTD Agriculture Region I Central Java, 2(two) participants from DPU PPE, and 21 participants from the agricultural extension derived from the 3(three) sub-districts, in Demak. Amounts of 9(nine) resource persons who came from several elements, namely BPTPH Central Java, Central Java Provincial

Agriculture Office, expert of Soil Research Agency, BPPSDMP, Climatology Expert from the Agency for Agricultural Research (Research Agriklimat and Hydrology), Demak District Irrigation Department, Extension Coordinating Board of Central Java Province. In every day ToT was always attended by the Head of Section RPL PTP Demak District Agricultural Office.

In Demak, for each training activity, participants came from 2(two) sub-districts (such as: Karangawen-Mranggen). This was different to other districts (Pasuruan, Jeneponto and Cirebon) wherein only from 1(one) districts per training activities. Activities conducted field visits to Gapoktan Al Barokah in the village of Ketapang, sub-district Susukan, Semarang district could provide inspiration and new innovations in the concept of organic farming and the concept of Biogas which was one of environmental friendly alternative energy and renewable.

Pre-post-test results:

From the 25 participants obtained results: 15 participants (60%) experienced an increased in value, 6(six) participants (24%) experienced a decline in value and 4(four) participants (16%) no changed or obtain the same value when pre and post-test. Based on the results of pre-test of 25 participants, there were 16 participants (64%) experienced in bad criteria, 9(nine) participants (36%) included in the average criteria, and none of the participants (0%) included in the good criteria.

While the results of the post-test known that the number of participants entered in a bad criterion decreased to 8(eight) participants (32%), the number of participants included in the average criteria increased to 17 participants (68%), and none of the participants included in the good criteria. The majority of the value of post-test participants over 60. The average value of pre-test = 55,5. The average value of post-test = 64, 6. From 3(three) elements of assessment (Preparations, Methods, and Facilitators) category no. 4 (good) chosen by the majority of participants.

From 2(two) elements of assessment (Material and Resource persons) category no. 3 chosen by the majority of participants to assess some indicators with the following results: Useful, Presentation of material were clear, Time management were good, Resource persons responses were good, Resource persons were expert in their subject, Resource persons could control the forum, Participants agreed with the assignment given, and Participants were willing to accept the deepening of the material that have been given. While for two other indicators, participants assessment included in category 3, fairly easy to understood, space for asking fairly wide.

Broadly speaking, this training was quite successful , because the purpose of evaluation and monitoring based on the evaluation theory by Kirkpatrick to see the first level – the Reaction (preparation, methods, facilitators, and participants) and the second level

-Learning (materials and resource persons) got a positive assessment from the participants, it measured from the responses of participants in the questionnaires.

IV.5. Comparison of ToT Assessment in Four Locations

Results Monitoring and Evaluation ToT of 3(three) districts (Jeneponto, Cirebon, Demak) could do the comparison, because the evaluation instrument/ questionnaires (with the indicators: preparation, training methods, facilitators, materials, resource persons, impact to participants and pre-post-test) used the same evaluation instruments. But for ToT in Pasuruan could not do comparisons with other districts, because it used a different evaluation instruments.

The following comparison of the results of ToT in 3(three) districts (Jeneponto, Cirebon, and Demak), based on the sum of the participant selection on good criteria (4) and very good criteria (5) from each of the indicators, ToT Demak more chosen by the participants (84%) for indicator of the Accuracy of the schedule events, compared ToT in Cirebon (80%) and Jeneponto (68%). For indicators of Setting Forums, the same things happened, ToT Demak chosen by the majority of participants (88%) than others ToT.

While for the communication between organizers and participants, ToT Cirebon and ToT Demak reached the same majority choices (92%). From the indicator of training flows and facilitation techniques, ToT Demak also has been chosen by the majority of participants respectively (92% and 88%) compared to the two ToT location others; Jeneponto (88% and 72%) and Cirebon (88% and 68%) respectively. However, different choices happened for indicator the Use of facilitation tools, ToT Jeneponto reached the majority choices (92%) compared to ToT Cirebon (64%) and ToT Demak (84%). For the assignment of participants, the same majority choices happened in ToT Jeneponto and ToT Demak (88%). While for the indicator of group discussions, ToT Jeneponto, ToT Cirebon, and ToT Demak elected by the same numbers of participants (88%)

For indicator of space for participation to ask, ToT Demak reached the majority choices (88%) compared to ToT Jeneponto (80%) and ToT Cirebon (84%). Moreover, for indicator of the ability of facilitation techniques and facilitator response to the input of participants, ToT Demak selected by the majority of participants (96% and 96%) compared to ToT Jeneponto (92% and 84%) and ToT Cirebon (64% and 84%).

Different conditions happened to indicator of forum management, ToT Jeneponto reached the majority of participants (84%) compared to the two others ToT location, Cirebon and Demak (60% and 72%) respectively. Furthermore, it clearly illustrates that 100% or overall of participants from ToT Jeneponto, ToT Cirebon, and ToT Demak (25 participants) agreed that the ToT held in their areas have extended their knowledge, skills, and readiness became trainers at ToF (Training of Farmers).

Based on the result of Material questionnaires, data showed that for the indicator of "How great the benefit of materials presented", Module 5 (Introduction of Planting

Calendar) acquired the majority choices of 22 participants in ToT Jeneponto and similar numbers (22 participants) in ToT Demak chosen module 2 (Adaptation System to Climate Change). While for the indicator of "Easiness to Understand the Materials", Module 8 (System of Rice Intensification) selected by the majority of 20 participants in the ToT Demak.

Based on results of the questionnaire about the resource person, data showed that for the indicator of "Clarity of Resource person Presentation", Module 5 (Introduction of Planting Calendar) chosen by the majority of 22 participants in the ToT Jeneponto. Similar numbers (22 participants) in ToT Demak chosen Module 8 (System of Rice Intensification). While, for indicator of "Time Management by Resource Person", Module 5 (Introduction of Planting Calendar) chosen by the majority of 23 participants in the ToT Jeneponto. The same numbers of participants in the ToT Demak (23 participants) choose Module 8 (System of Rice Intensification). For the indicator of "Participation Space for Participants", Module 9 (Integrated Agribusiness Development Through Agriculture Waste Processing) presented by Syarifudin, SP. selected by the majority of 21 participants in ToT Jeneponto.

For indicator of "Resource Persons Responses to Participants' Questions, Module 9 Integrated Agribusiness Development Through Agriculture Waste Processing chosen by the majority of 23 participants in the ToT Demak. Indicator of "Resource Person's Expertise in their Subject", Module 5 (Introduction of Planting Calendar) selected by the majority of 23 participants in the ToT Jeneponto. While, for the indicator of "Resource Person Ability to Control the Forum", Module 5 (Introduction of Planting Calendar) elected by the majority (23 participants) in ToT Jeneponto. Based on indicator of "Scale assessment of the module presentation", the majority of 22 participants in the ToT Jeneponto choose the module 9 (Integrated Agribusiness Development Through Agriculture Waste Processing). While, for indicator of "The material that needs to be deepened", all participants (25 people) in ToT Jeneponto and Cirebon choose Module 1 (Information of Weather and Climate for Agriculture).

IV.6. Analysis from Symbolic Interactionism Perspective

Herbert Blumer (1969) believed that individuals create social reality through collective and individual action. An ongoing theme throughout his work, he argued that the creation of social reality is a continuous process. This study explains the participant of ToT/agricultural extension workers respond of what they got in the training were influenced also by their experiences in the field when interact with the farmers. They did not consider the materials that they have gotten from the training as the main knowledge instead, the participants mixed they professional experiences background and the information of climate change adaptation on agricultural from the resources persons as the comprehensive understanding regarding to the issue.

Blumer argued that what creates society itself is people engaging in social interaction. It follows then that social reality only exists in the context of the human experience. In this situation, Agricultural extension workers understood that sources of the problem related to impact of climate change for the farming activities. They realized that farmers needed the valuable information to adapt with the effect of climate change which has disturbed to gain the rice production optimally. Nonetheless, the participants also considered that farmers have their own indigenous values and particular strategies that they have implemented base on the farmers experiences in the field. However, these strategies could not always fit in the fact in the farming activities.

In addition, the participants agreed that the training has enriched their knowledge and understanding of the climate change. All the materials are also very useful for the extension workers to communicate and to encourage the farmers realize of the climate change impact and find the way of the adaptations and mitigations on agricultural sectors. Furthermore, utilization of media presentation by using the videos, presentation tools, for instance, rainfall simulation; practice System of Rice Intensification; field study; games and using some equipment facilitation that related to the topic presentation were very beneficial to build the understanding of participants to the material presented. Extension workers also considered to adopt the methods and created the module simplification for the farmers.

Materials have been packaged for ToF by simplification of slide presentation (from ToT trainers) according to the analysis of the participants' needs. The simplification of modules were created through brochures/leaflets for each material. Generally, the trainers who had followed ToT, had no difficulty in packaging material due to it had been through the process of training as a trainer and they also had a lot of experiences related to the training. The differences of each resource person/trainer was through the ways, the styles or the dynamics on delivering of the materials.

In the application module, the participants considered to merge some materials to be one such as Irrigation Network, Weather Information for Agriculture in Pattern Adaptation of Climate Change. Furthermore, System of Rice Intensification, Land and Water Management, and Management of Irrigation Network as well. In addition, it is possible to add specific material (adjusted to local specifications such as Jajar Legowo Planting System and Impacts of Climate Change toward the Progress of Pest Organisms Against Plants).

The success of the training was very depend on the quality of the trainers and it could be seen when the presentation of material and what the methods applied by the trainers to make the participants enthusiastic to respond what was communicated and then how the trainers confirm the understanding of participants, for example in a group discussion sessions that training methods should be applied was participatory (brainstorming, group discussion, using pictures, presentation materials, plenary discussions, review previous material, a lot of practice sessions, and many more).

As a result, the training program was successful. It was measured by the mostly positive assessment from the participants during the training. Even though, few of the material presentations are difficult to understand, particularly for the unfamiliar terms in climate change (lanino, elnino, etc.). Moreover, time allocation for particular materials were limited, especially for materials that require a lot of simulation/practice (Introduction of Planting Calendar, The Information of Weather and Climate for Agriculture and Agribusiness Development Integrated Through Agricultural Waste Processing.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

V.1. Conclusion

In general, these ToT in the fourth districts (Pasuruan, Jeneponto, Cirebon and Demak) succeed, because the purpose of evaluation and monitoring which were formulated in the initial evaluation based on the theory of Kirkpatrick obtained a positive assessment from the participants, it was measured from the answers that the majority of participants in the questionnaire choose number 4 (good).

Implementation of ToT in Pasuruan was a reference for improving the implementation of training in the three other districts (Jeneponto, Cirebon, and Demak. Improvements made to the composition of ToT schedule by including facilitation session (contract learning, adult learning, feedback sessions of the material that has been delivered), and facilitation techniques (complementary devices for facilitating the form of sheets of paper, index cards/paper colors, masking tape), added games for every day, added daily feedback sessions, revision of pre-post-test questions, and repaired assessment questionnaires to the elements in training.

Monitoring and Evaluation ToT in 3(three) districts (Jeneponto, Cirebon, Demak) used questionnaires that assesses the six elements of training (Preparation, Training Methods, Facilitator, Impact Training for participants, Material, and Resource Persons) were added Pre-Post Test Questions to determine participants' understanding in of all the materials that were presented by the resource persons.

Results of ToT Monitoring and Evaluation of 3(three) districts (Jeneponto, Cirebon, Demak) could be compared, due to the evaluation instrument/questionnaires (preparation, training methods, facilitators, material, resource persons, impact to participants and pre-post-test) used the same instruments. But for ToT in Pasuruan could not be compared with other districts, due to it used different evaluation instruments.

VII.2. Recommendation

1. Facilitation sessions (contract learning, adult learning, feedback sessions of the material that has been delivered), and facilitation techniques (complementary devices

for facilitating the form of sheets of paper, index cards/paper colors, masking tape), added games for every day, added daily feedback sessions, are important sessions that should be applied in the implementation of Training of Trainers (ToT), due to it can be useful as the provision of new skills for participants when acting as a trainer in the Training of Farmers (ToF).

2. Together with the implementation of ToT, monitoring and evaluation activities are recommended to do. The purpose are to measure the success or fail of training and to know the things that need to be improved when implement the ToF later.

3. Model of this training (ToT) is possible to be adapted for the agricultural extension workers from other regions in Indonesia due to the lack of knowledge, while they have the main task to communicate directly to the farmers, they need to understand of the real problems regarding to the impact of climate change in the field and they have access to guide the farmers conduct the mitigation and adaptation of climate change in the farming activities as well.

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The Getting of Wisdom

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Abstract

Though often in conflict, journalists and academics have something in common: Both must publish or perish.

Some tertiary teachers consider the media superficial and ignorant. In turn news professionals often reckon lecturers live hermit lives, incapable of keyboarding a pithy sentence.

Now imagine the two living in harmony despite their differences, working as partners to promote awareness and cultivate knowledge and discretion.

The powers of observing, analysing and communicating are the proper business of educators and writers. Our job - our duty - is to help explain the world's complexities. Then others can build to higher levels on the facts we've laid down.

The tallest towers in Jakarta rely on solid foundations. If underpinnings are weak because we can't cement ideas with clarity, we'll never erect an equitable knowledge-based society of critical thinkers.

So we need skills of presentation to help future generations reach their full potential. The arts of transparency and brevity are not easily acquired, but essential. The media is hungry for economists, scientists, engineers and experts in all disciplines who can explain their work clearly. They are rare beasts, so a collaborative approach in Australia has produced *The Conversation* website.

As newspapers and magazines shut down across the world, the vacuum is being filled by commercial interests more concerned with entertainment than truth.

Physicists and accountants, geologists and doctors – if we can't communicate then our labours are in vain. This paper will look at ways the media and academics can work together without corrupting principles to empower all.

The getting of wisdom[1]

On the morning of Friday September 28 almost 90 years ago, Scottish scientist Alex Fleming unlocked his London laboratory after a two week summer break – and found a mess.

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[1] *The Getting of Wisdom* is an Australian novel by Henry Handel Richardson, the pseudonym of Ethel Florence Lindesay Richardson. First published in 1910 it has remained in print – proof that a good story well told is timeless.

His staff, eager to get away on their annual leave, hadn't cleaned up. So the place was full of unwashed dishes. We can all picture the scene and feel the annoyance.

So Alex set to and collected the plates which had been used in an experiment on bacteria. But instead of scraping them off and stacking them in the sink he took a moment to puzzle over one dish.

The bacteria were contained by a halo of mould, which most of us would have tipped in the bin. Alex instead wondered why – and so began experiments eventually leading to the revolutionary drug penicillin which has saved millions.

Many of you know this famous story[2] used here because it powerfully illustrates the way journalism and science can work together.

Had Fleming explained his discovery in terms appreciated only by fellow microbiologists then we'd have lost the magic of the discovery and its moral – think outside the dish.

One evening early in my newspaper days a nasty street accident severed the foot of a young woman on a Vespa scooter. At that time microsurgery was making the news so an alert bystander collected the foot and rushed it to the hospital in the vain hope it might be reattached.

He used a yellow plastic bucket from the boot of his car. Adding this fact – which the doctors would have ignored as peripheral - drew readers into the story; while we might not be able to understand the extraordinary difficult medical procedures or the exclusive Latin terms doctors love, we can all relate to the bucket.

There's nothing new here – these are just some of the tools of the jobbing journalist – to use the familiar to lead into the complex; in the new media world they're tricks worth recalling.

As a young journalist I found the rich news sources of courts and police rounds closed off by older staff so I'd have to look elsewhere. Academic disciplines became marvellous hunting grounds for stories that could make a difference – if properly handled.

I also learned to my surprise that few academics could communicate well with the general public.

Some were snobs with contempt for anyone without a PhD, reinforcing George Bernard Shaw's cynical observation that 'all professions are a conspiracy against the laity'[3].

Others wanted the world to know of their findings but couldn't escape the tedious dissertation style that cramped their ability to express themselves.

So they continued to write excessively long sentences choked with jargon. They persisted with complex compound paragraphs and polysyllabic terms. Readers either fled to a dictionary or the sports pages.[4]

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[2] The Discovery and Development of Penicillin: https://www.acs.org/content/acs/en/education/whatischemistry/landmarks/flemingpenicillin.html
[3] George Bernard Shaw: *The Doctor's Dilemma* 1906.
[4] There are several 'Buzz-word generators' on the Internet where phrases can be randomly selected to make what appear to be rational statements but are nonsense.

The reality is that effective communication is hard work. Because we can all tap a keyboard and fill a page we believe this means we write well.

I can boil rice, fry an egg and chop a tomato to make a quick meal, but it tastes nothing like the dinners my wife spends hours preparing.

As in the kitchen, so in the study. British wartime leader and journalist Sir Winston Churchill apologised to a correspondent for sending a long letter because he didn't have time to write a short one.[5]

Similar quotes have been attributed to President Woodrow Wilson, statesman Benjamin Franklin and my hero, wordsmith Mark Twain,

Which proves the point: Writing is easy – writing well is tough slogging in the mines of the mind, as I once heard an author confess.[6]

Journalists and academics have a couple of things in common – both must either publish or perish – and both should hold truth to power.[7]

Slowly the more progressive universities realised that their research wasn't getting widespread recognition. They should have remembered the parable of hiding one's light under a bushel.[8]

Eventually they started hiring newspaper journalists as public relations staff to tell campus stories, realising that it might be a smart idea if the politicians who controlled funding also knew where the money was going.

These writers got better pay and worked fewer and less stressful hours than their colleagues in the press. So reporters began to rely on their former mates for leads.

PR is now big business highlighting research and publishing interviews with staff in campus newsletters. These stories are often picked up by reporters working in ghost newsrooms filing copy around the clock.

Here's the hassle: The PR people work for the university administration not the individual academic, so naturally enough will highlight the institution and skate around anything which might cause a dispute.[9]

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[5] Useful observation about the quote here: http://www.forbes.com/sites/dinamedland/2013/10/21/if-i-had-more-time-i-would-have-written-a-shorter-letter-integrated-reporting/#4e6d2e67f9f5

[6] For more on this theme listen to the late Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel: http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/spiritofthings/elie-wiesel:-life-is-a-quest/7573118

[7] The Quakers claim origin of the phrase from a book of the same title, though civil rights leaders in the US have also sought credit: http://classroom.synonym.com/origin-phrase-speaking-truth-power-11676.html

[8] The hazards of science journalism and the problems of challenging conventional wisdom are well discussed here: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/12/criticism-of-catalyst-misses-the-point-no-journalist-should-be-in-thrall-to-mainstream-opinion?utm_source=esp&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=GU+Today+AUS+v1+-+AUS+morning+mail+callout&utm_term=181459&subid=8652326&CMP=ema_632

[9] In the 17th Century three novelists were so labelled. Their works continue to excite and inspire: John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.

At one time being what was quaintly called a controversialist but now a polariser, was a badge of honor. Now it's a red flag.[10]

Many here would know how concerned managements are to preserve the image of their institution – even at the expense of that most precious academic freedom - independence of expression which can generate ideas that confront.[11] Which is how society advances.

In Australia the once mighty Fairfax Press has just dismissed a further 120 journalists. The rot started last century with around 1,000 positions lost even before social media had made an impact. Fairfax's main rival News Ltd has also gutted its newsrooms. The same thing has been happening in the US and Britain.

If these newspapers were milk factories this would be the equivalent of shooting the cows to boost income.

In this country the *Jakarta Globe,* backed by the well-funded Lippo Group, started its print run in 2008 with 48 pages. Four years later it shrunk from broadsheet to tabloid and shed staff.

It stopped the presses last December[12] leaving only *The Jakarta Post* as an English language daily newspaper. This year the holding company PT Bina Media Tenggara closed the Sunday print edition to focus on its on-line offerings.

Swamping the vacant space has been clickbait, the trite and trashy space fillers of celebrity gossip and contrived outrage: 'Anger as video goes viral of Fifi insulting Lulu.' I hope to live long enough to read the media's grovelling apologies for polluting our intellects.

To those who say it's harmless entertainment and government is boring, remember Pericles statement: Just because you don't take an interest in politics doesn't mean politics won't take an interest in you.[13]

Yet we're all at fault. Who hasn't surreptitiously clicked on a title like 'Ten ways stars wear their bras will make your jaw drop'. The problem is that our furtive glances get recorded and measured against something more serious, like 'Ten ways the President will raise taxes'. Which should certainly make our jaws collapse and toes curl.

The clicks are then used to bolster the forensic accountants' argument that 'this is what the public wants'. That's like going to the supermarket and finding only chocolates, sugary sodas and lollies rather than anything nutritious. So you reluctantly buy the confectionary and the shopkeeper says: 'See? That's what our customers like'.

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[10] In Australia during the recent Federal election Roz Ward, an academic at La Trobe University, was suspended then reinstated after she'd called the Australian flag 'racist'

[11] http://www.rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/indonesia/bahasa/englishedition/116014-jakarta-globe-close-final-edition

[12] Greek statesman Pericles, 430 BC.

[13] http://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/apr/16/panama-papers-inside-the-guardians-investigation-into-offshore-secrets

What to do? How can we make sure the world in which we live, and which our children will inherit, is fully and properly informed so no business, organisation or government can pull the wool over our eyes – as George Bush and Tony Blair did when they started the Iraq War.

Not all is negative. The downsizing of newsrooms has led to some lateral thinking. Rival media outlets have started combining to research big stories like the Panama Papers leak this year where the ABC and *The Guardian* newspaper worked together.[14]

In Australia *The Age* and the ABC have together investigated visa fraud that the government had largely ignored.[15]

Despite the shrinkages there are still far more magazines and newspapers in this country than Australasia, though apart from *Kompas* and *Tempo* the quality is questionable. It's the same with academic publications.

The production of scholarly papers in learned journals recognized internationally is a handy guide to the intellectual power of the nation. It's worryingly low. Indonesia ranks 57, below Malaysia (35) and Thailand (43).[16]

These papers almost always have to be written in English which adds to the difficulties faced in a nation ranked 32 by the teaching franchise *English First* as only 'moderately proficient'.[17]

That puts Indonesia below Vietnam but above Thailand.[18]

Professor Adrian Vickers of Sydney University's Department of Southeast Asian Studies claims "the low standard of English remains one of the biggest barriers against Indonesia being internationally competitive.[19]

"For example in academia, few lecturers, let alone students, can communicate effectively in English, meaning that writing of books and journal articles for international audiences is almost impossible."[20]

Added to the difficulty is the lack of highly competent translators who can expand the markets for authors writing in their own language.

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[14] *The Age* and *Today Tonight* 27 and 28 June 2016

[15] http://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?category=1208

[16] http://www.ef.co.id/epi/ Critics writing in *The Economist* have said 'this was not a statistically controlled study: the subjects took a free test online and of their own accord. They were by definition connected to the internet and interested in testing their English; they will also be younger and more urban than the population at large.' http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2011/04/english Nonetheless it remains a useful guide in the absence of any better yardstick.

[17] For a more personal view of Indonesian schooling from an Indonesian perspective see: http://www.smh.com.au/world/indonesian-education-feature-20160627-gptb3f

[18] http://blogs.usyd.edu.au/vicindonblog/2009/06/english_language_teaching_in_i.html

[19] The image has been widely used and often adds pillars like religion, business and the family to suit the author's point.

[20] The main free-to-air TV news channels are owned by prominent political figures unafraid to be partisan: http://www.cdacnetwork.org/contentAsset/raw-data/0df69be9-1727-43af-8e97-c3e72bb9596f/attachedFile

So while the world is enjoying the bursts of post-Soeharto creativity in painting and sculpture, we are being denied the wisdoms and insights of Indonesian novelists.

It used to be fashionable to describe democracy being propped up by four pillars, justice, equality, freedom and representation.

Using the same imagery which leans heavily on Greek temple architecture, society was upheld by a democratic parliament making the laws, an independent judiciary administering those laws, the free exercise of religious beliefs separate from the state, and a free press to ensure an open community.

Of course if one pillar collapses, the others will be unstable.[21]

We in the media industry once believed in those principles. But we also knew our stories were just filling the space between the advertisements which helped pay our salaries.

The ads have now fled to Facebook, Google and other platforms that send traffic to customers.

Where does that leave responsible and concerned citizens? Universities are communities of scholars and although some would like to live as hermits most know the campus is part of society.

As custodians of knowledge we have a duty to speak out on the issues that worry us all, from global warming to drug abuse solutions, radical religious expression, sexual mores and everything in between, however uncomfortable that may make some feel.

In an ideal situation universities would include compulsory courses on effective communication, though that's unlikely because few administrators see the need.

Sadly Indonesia has no equivalent of the taxpayer-funded British BBC or the Australian ABC as independent public broadcasters, so we are left with telecasters that put a spin on events according to their proprietor's politics.[22]

The media is hungry for economists, scientists, engineers and experts in all disciplines who can explain their work clearly – though not keen to pay.

Good communicators are rare beasts, so a collaborative approach in Australia has produced the prosaically-titled *The Conversation* website[23] marrying 'academic rigour and journalistic flair', or as another reporter wrote: 'Bringing academia into the newsroom'.

The principle is that 'trusted clean information is democracy's lifeblood'. *The Conversation* was started by a former newspaper editor.[24]

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[21] http://theconversation.com/au
[22] Andrew Jaspan, formerly editor of *The Age.*
[23] *The Sydney Morning Herald* 15 May 2015: http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/budget-2015-the-conversation-website-to-take-stock-after-funding-cut-by-a-quarter-20150514-gh1gpz.html
[24] Curiously the sum raised was not mentioned. http://theconversation.createsend1.com/t/ViewEmail/r/B101F01243105AA42540EF23F30FEDED/E0F1F635E15D4620A29558A20177342

Its AUD$4 million budget comes from contributing universities and originally the Australian Government, but that source evaporated last year.[25] In an appeal to readers for funds 4,200 are reported to have responded.[26]

The website employs professional journalists who clean up the stories filed by academics to make their copy palatable. In Indonesia the editor is Australian-educated Prodita Sabarini who used to work for *The Jakarta Post.*

In the past two years she has published 157 articles from 17 tertiary institutions, mainly UGM and UI.[27]

The Conversation has spread to Britain and the US. This campus is a contributing institution and has produced around a dozen features by staff.[28]

The Conversation has also done good work on explaining complex issues and fact checking, as has the ABC.[29] We all know that politicians everywhere make the truth elastic. They say their policies have created thousands of new jobs, or the nation is being destroyed by foreigners taking locals' work – but such statements need verifying.

Fact checking takes time and a dogged determination – but it holds leaders to account and reminds them that lying to the public has consequences, even in what some have labelled the 'post truth era'.[30]

For *The Guardian* editor Katharine Viner, in a splendid essay on the crisis in journalism, finding the truth "is a struggle – it takes hard graft."[31]

So far *The Conversation* seems to have been a success, though it's not a substitute for an all-round newsroom; academics seldom do doorstops, report courts or confront politicians in person. Much is comment, not news – but that's also an infection in newspapers.

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[25] Contributing institutions are: University of Indonesia, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Universitas Hasanuddin, Paramadina University, Atma Jaya Catholic University, Universitas Padjadjaran, LIPI, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), CIFOR, Eijkman Institute, Indonesian Defence University, Dipterocarps Research Center at Indonesia's Ministry of Forestry and Environment, Regional Autonomy Watch (KPPOD), Indonesian Documentary Film Centre, Bogor Agricultural Institute, Centre for Law and Policy studies (Pusat Studi Hukum dan Kebijakan). (Thanks to Prodita Sabarini for this information – personal communication)

[26] This year Universitas Indonesia just made it into *The Times* ranking of the top 200 Asian Universities. https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2016/regional-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort_by/rank_label/sort_order/asc/cols/rank_only

[27] http://www.abc.net.au/news/factcheck/

[28] http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/201807260/is-a-'post-truth'-era-upon-us

[29] See also *The Guardian* editor Katharine Viner's essay: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/12/how-technology-disrupted-the-truth

[30] https://creativecommons.org/licenses/

[31] Indonesian readership has grown from around 7,000 readers in 2011 to nearly 240,000 between Feb 2015 and 2016. An Indonesian language site is planned. (Source – personal communication Prodita Sabarini).

It doesn't pay contributors, expecting them to be employees of educational institutions which think writing for the website a legitimate duty. Contributors have to declare their interests.

It has been run for the past five years as a not-for-profit educational charity and claims a monthly audience of 2.6 million. Republication through the Creative Commons copyright-free licence system[32] gets estimates of 23 million.[33]

In this government Dr Anies Baswedan is Minister of Culture and Primary and Secondary Education.

I interviewed him when he was still Rector of Paramadina University and was impressed with his *Indonesia Mengajar* initiative.[34] He has also criticised the level of English learned in Indonesian schools.[35]

If he hasn't been crushed by the weight of politics, and pulverised by the bureaucracy, Dr Baswedan might be the right person to help expand Indonesian scholarship.

Then we could appreciate the smartness of our writers and learn from their thinking in these confusing times of change. He's already trying to boost reading habits.[36]

If we can understand the world we live in then we are better prepared to make decisions the next time we confront the ballot box. As present and future academics you have that responsibility to empower the public by lifting their knowledge and awareness.

Hopefully you'll do so with the assistance of journalists. We'll never get married – we're too fast, you're too slow, we're flamboyant, you're retiring, we're generalists, you're specialists. Hazards abound if we get too close. But we still need each other.

Duncan Graham*
23-24 August 2016, Atma Jaya Catholic University

- Australasian journalist **Duncan Graham** (http://www.indonesianow.blogspot. com) has worked in newspapers, radio and television. He has taught journalism at two universities in Australia, and on two aid projects in Indonesia. He backpacked the archipelago 30 years ago, returning to report for the Australian media and as a

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[32] *The Jakarta Post* 17 March 2011: http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/03/17/looking-bright-side.html

[33] Comments made when he was still an education activist outside government: http://www.prestasi-iief.org/index.php/english/feature/68-reflections-on-education-in-indonesia

[34] http://www.insideindonesia.org/reading-for-pleasure-15-minutes-a-day?utm_source=All+Subscribers&utm_campaign=dabe7748

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researcher on Australian government grants. He has an M Phil from the University of Western Australia and post graduate qualifications in cultural studies. Prizes include a Walkley Award and two Human Rights Commission awards. He's a member of the Indonesia Institute (Western Australia) and the NZ Indonesia Association. His books are *The People Next Door* (UWA Press), *Being Whitefella* (FAC Press), *and Dying Inside* (A & U). *Doing Business next Door* (Wordstars) and in preparation: *Faith in Indonesia.* He is married to Minahasa photographer Erlinawati. They mainly live in Malang, East Java, but also Wellington NZ.

Exploring an Overlooked Antecedent in Social Entrepreneurships

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to explore indigenous tradition as an antecedent of social entrepreneurships. Furthermore, this research tries to develop the framework proposed by Lumpkins et al.(2013). Content analysis is conducted toward 4 short documentary films selected from about 20 short films describing social entrepreneurships supported by British Council that exist in Indonesia. The findings show that indigenous tradition is emerging as a strong antecedent of social entrepreneurship. Indigenous tradition differentiates itself from the motivation/mission to preserve the indigenous tradition as an antecedent in the Lumpkins et al.'s framework. It encourages the emerging social entrepreneurships in various areas in Indonesia. The contribution of this research is to extend the framework of Lumpkin et al. (2013) by adding tradition as the important antecedence in Indonesian context and demonstrating its relevance to the social entrepreneurship. The implication of this research could be considered by stakeholders to utilized indigenous tradition as an accelerator of social entrepreneurship development.

Keywords: social entrepreneurship, indigenous tradition, antecedent, content analysis, Indonesia

Introduction

Social entrepreneurship (SE) has been a trending topic since the failure of a modern business management to maintain the world prosperity and to bridge the poor and the have. It overcomes lack of efficiency and effectiveness of philanthropic action by mixing it with measureable business practices. This effort tries to conduct social mission through the most suitable method of business management.

SE has rapidly grown to be a part of national development strategy. At first, it started from developed countries, but finally reaches developing countries as well. For instance in Australia, the government of Victoria provides a huge amount of fund to be distributed to non-profit and community-based SE (Harman, 2008). In Bangladesh, Professor

Muhammad Yunus has successfully fought poverty and done women empowerment through Grameen Bank built on 1976. The other example of social entrepreneurship through art-based community also exsists on Pittsburgh by the Manchester Craftsmen's Guild (Mair & Marti, 2006). SE gives large number of employment for the society and upgrades their standard of living. SE provides an access to information, fund resource, knowledge, innovation, technology as well as forms a new paradigm of doing business.

SE has also been fluorishing in Indonesia and gaining some awards from international institutions. The various product-range have been produced by SE, such as handicraft, sustainable wood, health services, microhydro for villages, and various services for disable and orphans. In Majalengka, West Java, a snack home industry has emerged to fund an informal Islamic school (pesantren). Supported by local government for funding and education institution for managerial skill, it has grown become social entrepreneurship by embracing women communities and students from other cities (Purnomo, Pujianto, Efendi, 2015). Greeneration Indonesia is another example of social entrepreneurship producing eco-friendly bag made from recycling plastic rubbish that previously cause pollution for the environment. Its mission of reducing waste material met good acceptance from the market toward re-usable bag, zip up bag and handbag. Award from a reputable bank has contribute to its development (The Jakarta Post online, April 8, 2014; http://www.greeneration.org).

On both cases of social entrepreneurship in Indonesia, the antecedents stated by Lumpkins et al. (2013) are identified, namely mission, opportunities, capital access and contribution or influence of stakeholders. Considering the important of the antecedents as a pre-condition toward the process in social entrepreneurships, the continuous studies on this subjects is worthed to conduct. Exploring another antecedent will give contribution to develop social entrepreneurship in actively playing important role from human's life.

The research to analyze the link among antecedent, process and outcome, as described by Lumpkins et al's (2013) have been conducted on some research, such as done by Ismail (2015) that analyzes cultural control, capability and performance, but conducted in commercial enterprises and not explored the untapped antecedent. Furthermore, the research was mostly performed in developed countries, but still limited in developing countries.

This research is done in the context of developing country, Indonesia, where social entrepreneurship is still looking for the fit model to develop. Indonesia, as an archipelago country, is very unique because it consists of various ethics with a lot of local tradition. The indigenuos tradition is very different from one area to the others and becomes a very specific characteritic for each place. Tradition also shows the way of living, expresses the people's attitude and behavior in that area.

Certain aspects has been presented to compare and distinguish social from commercial entrepreneurship, but there are possibilities to seize and strecth dimensions of SE process

in Indonesian context. Such kind condition accomodate the opportunity of local tradition as an antecedent of emerging SE. Moreover, it also represents the variety conditions in the world, so that the findings could be generalized.

The purpose of this study is to explore indigenuous tradition as an important factors to drive SE. This research is also an answer to Lumpkins et al.'s suggestion (2013) for further research to explore overlooked or unique aspects of SE antecedent in addition to their current framework.

Social entrepreneurship definition

The comprehensive definition of Social Entrepreneurship stated by Dees (1998) is the way of enterpreneur institution delivering social mission with commitment, consistence, responsibility to build trust and value through innovative method in order to give long term benefits among the stakeholders through searching new opportunity and resources. It covers some definition of classic entrepreneur of Peter Drucker that exploit the opportunity emerging because of change, resourceful elements from Howard Stevenson, as well as change agents and breakthrough from Joseph Schumpeter and value creation from Jean Baptiste Say.

Social entrepreneurs search for the root of the social problem and give the best solution through new way of thinking and action. They accomplish social mission by creating sustainable social impact rather than private benefit. They are persistent to achieve their vision and flexible to make a new adjustment in dynamic situation, so they are expected to be innovative and adaptive. They should manage limited resources with effective and efficient, look for new resources to run their mission. They build sense of accountability by serving the stakeholders through value creation on the process and create strong connection and understanding among them (Dees, 1998).

Theory of social entrepreneurship

Santos (2012) proposed a theory of social entrepreneurship in macro perspective by exploring the trade off between value creation and value capture to explain the ineffective effort of commercial entrepreneurship and government institution to build better life for the people. It focuses on value to give the understanding of increasing the utility of society. It rejects the polarization of economic and social value that states social welfare increases while the ecomonic increases. It avoids the difficulty in measuring social impact that is more than moneter benefits and the subjective judgement of social impact indicators. Social entrepreneurship establishes sustainable solution by changing behavior but still considering local expression.

Agafonow (2014) critized Santos's theory (2012) because of unfocusing on institution level. Agafonow saw that Santos was more focusing on value creation rather than value

capture. Value capture gave resource to run operation of the institution and reinvest for developing it. Agafonow (2014) argued that solutions created by social entrepreneurs does not always lead to value creation and strategy of value capture does not automatically give social impact. But both agree that social entreprise was the organization that satisfy the value capture and optimize value creation to give sustainable solution for unfortunate segments of population.

Social entrepreneurship framework

Lumpkin et al. (2006) proposed interesting model of social entrepreneurship process by linking the antecedents with entrepreneurial orientation and entreprepreneurial orientation with outcomes.
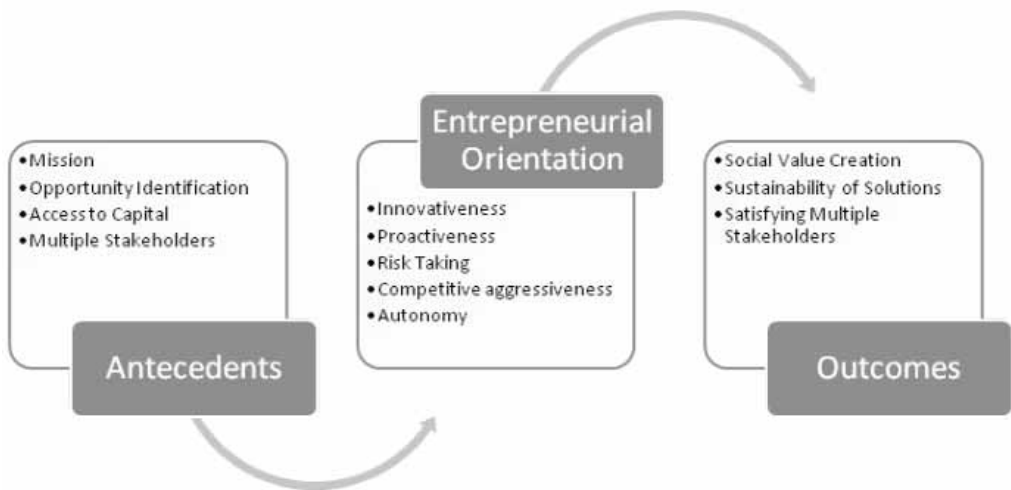
Figure 1. Antecedent, entrepreneurial orientation, and outcomes (Lumpkin et al., 2013)

Antecedents

Mission covers fundamental motivation and goal of the entrepreneur to run the process of social entrepreneurship (Lumpkin et al., 2013). Opportunity identification captures main social problem faced on society (Paredo and Mclean, 2006), specific market neglected by formal social institution (Murphy and Coombes, 2009), and providing job for the local people (Zahra et al., 2009). Access to capital covers income, investments, donations, grant, fees (Wilsker and Young, 2010). Multiple stakeholders include individual or group who can affect and be affected by organization to achieve its objectives (Freeman, 1984), including investors, employees, suppliers, buyers (Rutherford et al., 2009), local citizens, government agencies, and community (Lumpkin et al., 2013).

Entrepreneurial Orientation

Entrepreneurial orientation tries to capture process of entrepreneurship from planning, analysis dan decision-making to produce an outcome, achieve organization objectives and sustain their performance. It includes innovation, proactive, risk taking, competitive aggresive and autonomy (Lumpkin et al., 2013).

Innovation is willingness to do experiments with creativity in order to produce new products or services through technological leadership with new way of R & D. Proactive is an initiative to look for opportunity, look forward on the future perspective by offering new product that can compete and fulfill the consumers' demand. Risk-taking is the boldness to take action on uncertain environment by considering the opportunity and the risk of the decision. Competitive aggressiveness shows the level of offensive response to overcome the competitors' performance in the market. Autonomy is independency to work, take risk, perform, make decision, act, and control to complete the entreperieurial process (Lumpkin et al., 2013)

Outcome

Outcome as a result of the entrepreneurial process is explained by Lumpkin et al. (2013) through three aspects, including social value creation, sustainability of solutions and satisfying multiple stakeholders. Social value creation differs from commercial business value creation in term of social quality improvement rather than only financial value for the owners or investors (Dixon and Clifford, 2007; Santos, 2009). Sustainable solutions means continuous resources availability, institutionalization, positive impact to the environment and ability to keep positive social impact (Lumpkin et al., 2013). Satisfying multiple stakeholders is more complex than that in commercial business, since it also includes donors, societies, communities, activist or volunteer, as well as supplier, financial institutions, employees, consumers, government and other stakeholders (Lumpkin et al., 2013).

Indigenous tradition and business opportunities

There are some evidences that indigenous or local tradition showed a significant influence to the entrepreneurship in various context.

In family and small business, tradition brings the potential benefit of past knowledge to be the source of potential innovation for the firm. Redefining and redesign of past knowledge is the essence of innovation through tradition based on intimate and long lasting emotional and rational relationship (DeMassis et al, 2016).

Traditional farming that has been a life style of Chinese farmers gives an influence to the dynamic of Taiwan's stock market. It indicates a relationship between old world tradition and modern economic and business (Yang et al. 2016).

The current Canadian sparkling wine has established its existence through long history of traditional custom of viticulture and viniculture. The favorite brand at tourist destination was produced from original method of production showing its uniqueness and exclusiveness of micro-industry in Canada (Rosen & Bradley 2016).

The innovative design based on national tradition crafted by Danish companies shows positive financial performance. The innovation design is more acceptable for the expert and more attractive for media publication that impact to the success of business (Micheli & Gemser 2016).

The event activities based on Gaucho Culture, legendary cowboy lifestyle in Brazil, grabs positive responses from modern rural citizen in Rio Grande do Sul region by giving them to redefine the meaning of experience through consumption and active participation. The market is formed through interaction between indigenous tradition and urban citizen and generate commercial activities (Dalmoro et al 2016).

The tourist development program in Mexico, *Pueblos Mágicos explores local culture to bring benefits for the community through active participation of local people. The power of community participation generates new and various opportunity for the people (*Clausen, H. B., & Gyimóthy, S. 2016).

The integration of archeology, conservation, and tourism in the north coast of Peru creates the job opportunity and capacity development for young people. The handicraft an culinary industry inspired from local tradition contribute on the development of potential business (Uceda 2016).

Methodology

This research is conducted through collaboration with British Council in Indonesia, especially in providing the short movies (videos) on some social entrepreneurship supported under the institution program to be analyzed. Amongst 20 videos, the researchers chose 4 versions describing the relevant content on the topic. This research uses qualitative method and content analysis is performed.

The content analysis is conducted to explore and compare the explicit and implicit statement of narators and informans in order to collect and compile the prove of indigenuous tradition as an antecendent to develop Lumpki et al.'s framework. This method is particularly significant to dig contextual knowledge of diverse cultural and to gain strong and novel contributions (Birkinshaw, Brannen, & Tung, 2011).

On the preliminary of the sellection, the researchers watched 20 short videos of social enterpreneurship produced by British Council and available on Youtube. This activity result in 4 videos that relate to the core of this research, which are :

1. Social Enterprise Indonesia Dayak Iban - Pontianak, Kalimantan Barat
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N79r4HLR8Ag

2. Social Enterprise Indonesia CV Roas Mitra - Halmahera Barat
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ax3NmqFxcpM

3. Social Enterprise Indonesia Kanawida
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLCmTinsRM8

4. Social Enterprise Indonesia Komunitas Hong
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cgQ9kxv3nYc

Findings

Social enterprise Indonesia Dayak Iban - Pontianak, Kalimantan Barat

Dayak Iban is an local ethnic in Pontianak, West Borneo. They have been adopted indigenous tradition in weaving fabric since many years ago. This SE emerged to grab the opportunity in the market, as a result of development in tourism industry. It has been increasing the number of international and domestic tourists coming to this area. The attracting things are mixture of the beauty of natural scenery, unique culture and local festives (Sentarum Lake Festival).

The diminishing of youth people interested in continuing this tradition and the limitation of available material become the challenge for them to do social entrepreneurship. Nowadays, only old people who have been weaving the fabrics. The willingness to transfer to the next generation faces the problem of tread unavailability. The extinction of the culture identity could happen. Therefore, they have been trying to find the raw material from the nature surround them. They also learn to calculate material and cost needed as well as to set selling price . This local industry will be sustained if this tradition is well preserved and applied. Thus, the SE has an objectives to develop the indigenuous tradition, tries to improve the material supply and to apply management skill.

Social enterprise Indonesia CV Roas Mitra - Halmahera Barat

The staple of the people in Halmahera Barat is sago. It becomes an indigenous tradition for the local community. Although, rice was introduced as national staple, sago is a good alternative, not only for local but also for international people.

Roas Mitra operates SE that produced certified organic sago help local people sell sago flour to local and domestic market and export it to fulfill international need of gluten-free flour.

Lack of good infrastructure becomes the main problem for the farmers in West Halmahera to distribute the product from the production area. The local market consumption only reaches 29% of the total production capacity. Therefore, the effort of Roas Mitra has significantly expanded the market of sago flour.

However, harvesting process is a critical stage in sago cultivation, because sago is categorized as a wild collection product in organic certification. Consequently, they apply the principle of sustainability harvesting. The far away location of cultivation, possibility of contamination from industry area, and conversion of sago land to agriculture field become other challenges for Roas Mitra.

On the positive side, the farmers get higher profit because of higher price setting from organic certification. Roas Mitra give back the excess of profit through insurance or saving. So far, social security has not reached informal sector, although it is very essential for them.

Social enterprise Indonesia Kanawida

Kawanida is a social enterprise that produces batik by empowering unemployed young people in the neighborhood. Batik Kawanida uses natural coloring material to produce various designs. Indigenous tradition of performing batik skill has been embedded on the family for three generation.

Kawanida produces handmade batik that is made from very unique local coloring material with premium price. The coloring material is abundantly available in nature. It is easily found and can be utilized to improve the economic condition of the community. Kawanida realizes the interdependence of some stakeholders, such as batik producer with weaving employees, weaving employees with farmers. The relationship should be sustainable and continuing for long term.

Social enterprise Indonesia komunitas Hong

The owner of Hong Community in Bandung, West Java, started SE through introducing traditional games for children combined with entertainment, theatrical event and traditional music. Hong Community puts an effort to live up traditional games coming from indigenous tradition from generation to generation to provide play and fun by finding themselves as persons and their interaction with others, nature, and God. Hong community tries to explore each traditional games from various areas in Indonesia.

The traditional games start to fade along the rising of modern games that offer fun in easy and practical way. It is perceived as unprestigious activities compared to the modern ones. The findings of the owner's observation indicated that the children have not prefered the traditional games anymore, because they do not know how and where to play it. The objectives of modern games are to win the games with only one point of fun whatever the way they should do with sophisticated technology, while traditional games educate the player to win the games through hard work, interaction, teamwork, and process of struggling.

Hong Community obtains the support from the people in neighborhood and gives benefit back to them. The people in the surrounding start to build their lives, catch up their

dream when they build Hong Community with all of traditional games. They practice to build show entertainment, to make handicrafts for the guests who come to Hong Community. They use the system of playing with traditional tools and music integrated. The result exceeds the expectation.

Discussion and conclusion

Indigenous tradition should be considered as an antecedent of social entrepreneurship because of some reasons.

First, indigenous tradition emerges from within the community at certain area. This is not a strange or new thing for the people. It has been inside their blood. It is hidden from the modern life, because it is used to be abandoned by current generation who like sophisticated and practical technology. Most parents do not introduce or educate their children about it. However, it has a strong value because it embeds on their way of life.

Second, it creates togetherness that is a very important aspect of community. Togetherness tied the community in a strong bonding. It minimizes the potential conflict in a community, so that the activites will go in smooth and conducive circumtances. The drive to do social entrepreneurship arises collegially, makes it strong movement to contribute better living.

Third, indigenous tradition is a precious heritage for the community. It will be appreciated and well accepted in the community. SE with indigenous tradition base could be operated with good manner and respect. The people do it with honor, not as a daily habit only. They do it as a merit for themselves and deliver it in the best way.

Fourth, indigenous tradition shows an excellent fit to the nature and local condition. The tradition can sustain from generation to generation because it is supported by the natural and human resources. The nature provides the climate supporting the availability of raw material or the product to develop. The skill derived from continuous practice for ages is a competitive advantage for SE. Thus, SE can reach the highest level of efficiency and effectiveness in running the business.

Fifth, indigenous tradition is a legacy for one generation to the next generation. The senior people have willingness to transfer their knowledge, skill and experience as their self-actualization. Naturally, they want to prove their mastery as an ancestor of the next generation.

The relationship between indigenous tradition as an antecedent and dimensions of Entrepreneurial Orientation is as followed:

Table 1. Relationships between indigenous tradition and the dimensions of entrepreneurial orientation (EO)

Dimensions of EO	Indigenous tradition
Innovation	The mastering in knowledge and skill inherited drives to innovative ways to fit the global conditions (+)
	The willingness to offer indigenous tradition as a legacy encourages development of innovativeness (+)
	The fitness of natural resources gives spaces for innovativeness (+)
	The inert traditional way without any development can hamper innovativeness (-)
Proactive	A legacy to give the best heritage for the next generation create a strong drives (+)
	Tradition emerging from within enforces proactive to do more for the community (+)
	The daily routine of tradition may discourage to give more effort (-)
Risk-taking	The abundance of resources drives the willingness to develop the expansion of enterprise (+)
	Respect to the tradition and the globalization encourage an expansion to the new market (+)
	The given talent and natural resources diminish the willingness to take risk (-)
Competitive aggressive	The globalization and the availability of resources become strong drives to compete (+)
	The uniqueness and special skill requirement can push competitive aggressive (+)
	The togetherness and 'take it for granted' attitude discourage competitive responses (-)
Autonomy	The tradition provide autonomy for the community because of their special capability (+)
	The limitation and the problem faced may force the intendancy of the local strength (-)

Conclusively, the tradition transfering from one generation to the next generation is a driven antecedent for the people to build SE, for they do not need to start from the beginning to run the activities. Indigenous tradition has provided itself with sufficient

resources, such skill and raw material. SE can expect high rate of acceptance and adoption from the community and become a strong reason for the stakeholders to develop this effort.

Further Research

The findings of the research has shown a strong evidence of indigenous tradition as an antecedent of social entrepreneurship. However, more cases in other area in Indonesia and other countries can be explored to build the generalization of the concept. Furthermore, the follow up research on indigenous tradition can be conducted to see the relationship between its entrepreneurial orientation to the outcomes.

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Empowerment of Victims of Crime in The Restorative Justice

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Abstract

The completion of the criminal case is an important issue facing the community. No one else wants to deal with the law, therefore people need to face the rapid handling criminal cases in a fair and balanced. The approach of restorative justice in Indonesia so far can be applied in the resolution of the criminal case to achieve justice. The injured party of a crime should be given the authority to resolve crimes that happened. The authority here is limited to the intention to resolve the case quickly through the path of peace. So here there are two options for victims. First, if the victim has the intention to reconcile and forgive the perpetrators then applied restorative justice and victims can take part actively. Second, if there is no peaceful intentions of the victims or their families, then the criminal case into a full law enforcement authority by taking into account the loss suffered by the victim. Thus the balance between the perpetrator and the victim can be realized in the middle of the community. Restorative justice to the needs and interests of the victim as part of the completion of the crime, so that criminal sanctions are formulated and then dropped not only useful for the actors and the public at large, but also useful for the recovery of victims suffering or loss.

Keywords: Empowerment of victims, crime, restorative justice

Introduction

Victims of crime in the judicial system according to Stanciu cited by Teguh Prasetyo, who referred to the victim in a broad sense is the people who suffer the consequences of injustice. Stanciu further stated that there are two fundamental properties (attached) from the victim that is Suffering (suffering) and Injustice (injustice). Casualties can not be seen as a result of the illegal act because the law can actually cause further injustice inflicted casualties as victims of the legal procedure.

As in the case of victims of crime concept should not only be viewed in terms of jurisdiction, because the community is in addition to creating criminals could also create

victims. Thus a victim placed in position as a result of a crime committed against either done individually, group or country.

There are three parties involved in the case of an offense that is the perpetrator, the victim and the community (state). Criminal law policy in this regard should be able to accommodate a wide range of interests that exist in the three parties in order to create a balance of interests. Criminal law is now more oriented to the perpetrator (criminal individualization). while the position of the victim as a party (of people) who are disadvantaged in a criminal case has been pathetic. Victims of crime as if forgotten. The science of criminal law and criminal law organizing the practice of only paying attention to the maker is the person who commits an offense.

The same thing was said by Barda Nawawi Arief that victim protection policy is essentially an integral part of the policy of protection of society as a whole, that in order to achieve social welfare. Therefore the involvement of the state and the public in addressing the suffering of the victims not only because it is the state that has a public service facilities, but also with the premise that the state is obliged to maintain the safety and improve the welfare of its citizens. The victim can be considered the state has failed in providing good protection to its citizens.

Theoretically, as a basis for victims to obtain legal protection including the right to obtain compensation and restitution, in this case depends on the role or involvement of the victims themselves against crime.

The involvement of victims in case of crimes under Benjamin Mendelsohn can be divided into six (6) categories based on the degree of guilt, namely:

1. totally innocent victim

2. A person becomes a victim because of his own negligence

3. The victim just as wrong as the perpetrator

4. Victims guiltier than the perpetrators

5. The victim is the only one guilty

6. The victim and the victim pretended imagination.

Through the above categories will be known or influence the level of accountability of perpetrators of criminal acts, so in addition to determining the degree of the perpetrator as well, and can be used to define a form of protection to the victims, namely in terms of the large amount of restitution or compensation to be given to the victim. Thus the criminal law is no longer only focused solely on the offender but also consider the interests of victims.

Indonesia's criminal law policy pursued over the more oriented to the perpetrator (Offender oriented) among others by coaching (airport actors) in the Penitentiary.

While the victims who suffered losses on body and soul fate neglected as said by Iswanto, that during this classic criminology and criminal law only learn about the developer regardless of the victim then just focus on the rights and obligations evildoers without thinking about the rights and obligations of victims. In this regard, Stephen Schafer, if any attention to the victim in that it is considered should not deter the convict coaching.

Although it is recognized that in certain respects the position of the victim or perpetrator is simply a factor of fate, but events like that is just a fraction when compared to the fate of a person as a victim in the real sense, meaning more and more often the victim in the real sense compared with only luck factor as victims so that if the treatment of the victims do not change, and renewal, then injustice will still be there, especially if it is associated with the existence and presence of the victim indirectly. The occurrence of various criminal acts in public life is an indication that the victim also for the sake of the victim in the crime also continued to fall with the various forms of losses that are inevitable. The loss suffered could be suffered by the victims themselves directly and others indirectly the latter can be classified as relatives or others who depend on the direct victims.

Types of losses suffered by the victim not only in physical form as the costs that have been incurred for healing physical injuries and possible loss of revenue or profit which may be obtained, but also the loss of a non physical or psychological that can not be valued in money. Suffering / losses suffered by victims can be distinguished between physical or material (can be counted or valued with money) and non physical damages or immaterial for example in the form of feelings of fear, sadness, pain, trauma, psychological shock, etc.

Victim empowerment in the criminal justice system

If you look at the theory of punishment, that the orientation of criminal law only against offenders. Theories exist directed at retaliation or repair against infringers without even considering the interests of victims. Though the victim is one aspect that should not be forgotten. To the position of victims need to be empowered in the judicial process. The reason is because it is usually said with one of the goals of punishment that nowadays many emphasized that resolving the conflict posed by crime, restoring balance and bring a sense of peace in society.

Debate participation of victims in the justice system to invite the pros and cons that each provide basic theoretical arguments to reinforce his opinion based on his point of view respectively. They generally agree that victims must obtain legal rights to meet its interests, the problem is how to regulate the rights of victims in the criminal justice system.

There are two views in seeing the participation of victims in the criminal justice system, the positive and negative views on the empowerment of victims. Negative views of the victims stems from the assumption that the victim was described as a man who likes demanding revenge and love the pursuit of material gain, then his involvement in the

judicial process would jeopardize the criminal justice system. Therefore, the organization of criminal justice should be avoided as far as possible the intervention of individual victims.

For those that originate in the positive view of the victims of the reasons for refusal of participation of victims in the criminal justice system is not entirely unacceptable monopoly public prosecutor in the workings of the criminal justice does not necessarily have to be offset by removing the injured party (victim) of the criminal justice system. victims are not human pursuit of profit materill, because among koban also have a financial and emotional involvement of the victim can be placed outside the hearing so that they can think objectively and judges are obliged to carefully dig seccara subjective attitudes victims.

In order to empower the victim in the criminal justice system is fundamentally known two models:

1. Model procedural rights (The Procedural Rights) and

2. Model of service (The Service Model)

The first model emphasis should also be given the possibility of the victim to play an active role in criminal proceedings or in the course of judicial proceedings. In this case the victims of crime are given the opportunity to seek criminal charges or to assist the prosecutor or the right to be presented and heard at every level of court whose interests related thereto, including the right to the requested consultations by penitentiaries before being given off parole and ultimately the right to to make peace or civil justice. Such an approach is viewed the victim as a subject should be given the rights of a juridical broad to prosecute and pursue its interests.

Later in the service model (services model) emphasis is placed on the need created standards-standards for coaching victim of a crime that can be used by the police, for example in the form of guidelines in order to notify the victim or the prosecutor in the handling of his case, the compensation as a witness criminal is restitutif and victim impact statements before the criminal was dropped. This approach is viewed as a special target of crime victims to be served within the framework of the activities of police and other law enforcement officials.

Both of the above models have weaknesses as well as his own advantage. The models are considered to meet the procedural right to reciprocate the feelings of the victim and the community. In this model the function of criminal and penal code can run well so as to create a partnership between the police, prosecutors and the victim. In addition, the victim in this way it is possible to regain self-esteem and self-confidence. Another advantage is that the rights granted to victims to be able to actively participate in the judicial process. Also in this model the judge may obtain information directly from the victim.

However, the right model of procedural rights are also considered to have several disadvantages including, first of this model is considered to create a conflict between public interest and private interests. The criminal justice system should be based on common

interests. Participation of the victim in criminal justice administration could put the public interest under the individual interests of the victim. Second, there may be the emergence of an excessive burden for the administration of criminal justice, it is certainly contrary to the efforts to simplify it as the tendency of today, the third atmosphere of the presumption of innocence might be disturbed by the victims' emotional.

While the second model is a service model (the service model), there are several advantages, the first of this model can be used as a means of return integrity of the system of institutionalized trust, within the framework of communal perspective. In this case the victim will feel secured back its interests in an atmosphere of a just social order. Atmosphere orderly, controlled and mutual trust can be created again. Second, this model is considered too can save money because with the help of standard guidelines, criminal justice may consider the losses suffered by the victim in order to determine the compensation for the victim.

Both of the above models can be run in restoratie justice, restorative justice considering there are three main issues, the first fix and satisfy the victim in the implementation of the criminal justice system, both to improve and satisfy the perpetrator, the third fixing and satisfying the public after the process of the criminal justice system.

Thus the two parallel victim empowerment model with three main issues of the concept of restorative justice. restorative justice is a vehicle to improve the victim, the offender and the community as a result of the crime. Restorative justice is different from the way they work krimonologi who only pay attention but forget the victims of crime, so that restorative justice is working hard to guarantee justice, restoration of honor, foster a culture of shame, healing of victims, and other things. Thus restorative justice is a promising program in the strategy to reduce crime. Restorative justice has to be built dynamically and create a structure that is used as a guideline.

According to Augustine Pohan, what is meant by the concept of justice Restorative justice is very different from what is known today in the Indonesian criminal justice system retributive. Restorative justice is an approach to make the transfer and institutionalization be in accordance with justice. Restorative justice is built on the basis of traditional values and a positive community sanctions implemented respecting human rights. The principles of restorative justice is to make offenders accountable for repairing the damage caused by crime, providing the opportunity for the offender to prove the capacity and the quality is as good as him overcome his guilt in a constructive way, involving victims, parents, family, school or playmate, create a forum of cooperation also in matters relating to crime to solve it.

W. Van Ness stated that restorative justice is to reach some values through the organization of criminal justice: first, settlement of conflicts (conflict resolution) containing a charge permberian compensation losses (Recompense) and vindication (Vindication) and the sense of security (safety) which carries with peace (peace) and order (order).

Restorative justice is expected to provide a sense of social responsibility in the offender and prevent the stigmatization of perpetrators in the future compaction. Thus the concept of restorative justice is expected at least to limit the cases piled up in courts (although it can not be resolved through out of court settlement) and can be used as a solution in the prevention of crime.

Granting legal protection against crime victim according to the concept of restorative justice

The concept of crime and victims of crime who are the base of departure to explain how the legal position of victims. There are two concepts of crime, the first crime is understood as a violation of state or public interest presented by the instruments of the democratic state and the crime is understood as a violation of the interests of the individual and also violates the interests of society, the state and its essence also violates the interests of the perpetrators themselves. The first concept is based on retributive justice based thinking and concepts both on the concept of restorative justice.

The shift is said to be a fundamental shift and affect the workings of the criminal law and the criminal justice system as a whole. Therefore, the shift in question lies in the focus of attention of the criminal justice system that was originally only pay attention to the position of the perpetrator be balanced by also involving the element or elements of society that terbebes of state institutions.

The first concept gives the premise that the interests of the public interest tends to be broken or the country then a conclusion that it is the state that is impaired in the event of a crime or violation of criminal law. This concept is built according to history to attend reprisals from individuals, countries and individuals suspected of breaking the law becomes the center of attention in the administration of criminal justice. Countries then acquire legitimacy as the legitimate representative of the public interest representation and base impingement personal revenge that is emotional and subjective are then reconstructed in the administration of criminal justice as a rationalization of objectification revenge on the violators of criminal law.

The legal position of victims of crime in the state judicial system plays a central and dominant role in making decisions on criminal suspects or offenders. otherwise the other party which is not conceptualized as involved or included as the perpetrator or the victim, is positioned as an instrument of proof in the criminal proceedings as witnesses. As one evidence, the witness did not have a legal relationship with the criminal law violation cases were witnessed and subsequently used as instruments in criminal punishment.

The concept was dominant until the late 19th century the concept of crimes in violation of the country began to be sued and judged not correspond with the reality of everyday life. fiction or presumption that the state becomes the sole survivor is difficult

to be accepted in a real situation and objective. John O haley say that the state and the judicial system can not stand alone as a representative of a real fantasy for people who had personally suffered because of the crime. Dosa offender itself is not an abstract entity called the state, but are the victims and the community that the actual and real.

The concept of crimes under the concept of restorative justice was given a more tangible sense, that evil is the conflict between individuals. Crime is understood as a violation, first and terutam violate individual rights and also violates the rights of society (public interest), the true interests of the state and indirectly infringe the interests of offenders itself.

Victims of crime are the aggrieved person for violations of criminal law (crimes), tops and foremost is the person who directly suffered because crime is called the real victims (primary) then called the victim, while others as victims of indirect (secondary)

In the event of a crime in fact the principal victims, the community and the state. By the loss of a sense of peace and security as well as the collapse of state authority in the eyes of the public in the sense that the public will assume that the state is unable to protect its citizens from crime.

The criminal justice system as a conflict resolution system in the place where the victim, the community, the state and the offender mediation to resolve the conflict because of their violation of the criminal law (crimes). The state is no longer positioned as a single and dominant role in the administration of criminal justice because the state is not a single actual victim and the role played by restricted and its function as a mediator and facilitator. Dialogical relationship became known as the relationships between people who need each other (humanization).

The theory of restorative justice puts a higher value on the direct involvement by the parties. Victims serves as a control element. Performers are encouraged to accept responsibility as an important stage in repairing the harm caused by crime and in building a value system of social responsibility. Active community involvement strengthens the community itself and uphold community values that are responsive and caring to others. The perspective of restorative justice requires collaborative efforts with communities and governments to create an environment where victims and offenders can reconcile their conflicts and resolve their loss at the same time creates a feeling of insecurity in society.

The involvement of victims in the process of restorative justice include meterial repair, repair of emotions including hope, improvement of self-esteem, and honor and most importantly the full participation in the handling of cases.

Ideally in a restorative justice meeting between the offender and the victim should also involve other parties. As the community with the support and actions. Therefore, the main difference lies in the philosophy of retributive justice under the law that deal till not hurt the interests of society, or in other words rstorative justice done through the law without injuring a feeling of community.

According to the concept of restorative justice, the criminal justice system should support the creation of a peaceful and just society. The justice system should aim to create peace, not to punish. Proponents of restorative justice looked at the country's efforts to punish and supervise (as retributive approach) it has triggered the next commit crimes, not make people afraid of committing a crime.

Empowerment model for victims of crime in the criminal justice system

The concept of punishment is always related to the administration of criminal offenders, while the recovery of losses to victims neglected. The current concept of punishment implies that the criminal law is more focused attention to the perpetrator instead of the victim.

Crime and punishment issues in its history is always changing. From century to century existence is always debated by experts. When considered from the point of development of human society that change is a natural thing, because people will always seek to renew on a case in order to improve their welfare by basing itself on its experiences in the past.

Stelsel sanctions until recently undergone many changes and debates conducted by experts and Penology criminal law and criminology. Stelsel sanctions are part of a criminal issue which is one of the three main problems in terms of criminal law even discuss sanctions stelsel is central because it often can not be separated from the political form of the nation. Sanctions should be considered as one of the essential elements when viewed from the law as kaedah. Almost all the dogmatic view viewing the law as norm sanctions backed by the highest authority in society.

Criminal punishment is not solely in retaliation. The most important is the provision of guidance and protection. Shelter at once to the community and to convict themselves to be repentant and could be a good member of society. Thus a new conception of the function of punishment is no longer a mere deterrent but also as the rehabilitation and social reintegration. This conception in Indonesia called correctional services.

Basically to a perpetrator of a crime should be subject to a legal consequence. as a result of the law generally in the form of criminal punishment. but sometimes charged a penalty which is not a criminal, but rather a specific action or a liability that is similar to a civil penalty, even in certain cases not incur a penalty.

In the Indonesian legal system that adheres to the principle of presumption of innocence, as a reaction to the criminal offense imposed shall be based on the judgment by the trial on the evidence of criminal acts committed. If not guilty, the suspect must be released.

The purpose of criminal law is generally to protect the interests of natural persons (individuals) or other rights, human rights and protect the interests of society and the state to balance harmonious and crime / action reprehensible on the one hand and on the action ruling arbitrarily in other side.

Types of offenses established implies that punishment is done only for deterrent against perpetrators, without considering the interests of the victim who had suffered losses.

The current Criminal Code does not or give less attention to the victims. No criminal compensation in the Criminal Code as criminal either principal or as an additional punishment. The possibility of compensation, only in Article 14c Criminal Code, ie as one of the conditions in the conditional criminal. So compensation is not as one of the forms / types of crime but rather only as a condition for the convict to undergo no principal criminal. In other words, the basic idea behind the idea of compensation in criminal parole under the Criminal Code remains oriented towards the offender (Offender) is not oriented to crime victims.

Implementation idea of restorative justice in against crime victim empowerment

Restorative justice is an approach to justice that focuses on the needs of victims, offenders and the community involved, not satisfying abstract legal principles or punishing the offender. Victims take an active role in the process, while offenders are encouraged to take responsibility for their actions, to fix things that harm them, carried out by way of apology, return the money stolen, or community service. The concept of thought that responded to the development of the criminal justice system by focusing on the needs of victims and community involvement that feels marginalized by mechanisms that work in the criminal justice system that exists today.

Victims are due to intentional acts or omissions, willingness to voluntary or forced or deceived, natural disasters, and everything is completely unbiased nature of the sufferings of body and soul, property and moral as well as the nature of injustice. The criminal justice system in Indonesia is based on Law No. 8 of 1981 has the following ten principles:

1. Equal treatment before the law without discrimination of any kind,
2. The principle of the presumption of innocence
3. The right to compensation (compensation) and rehabilitation
4. The right to legal aid
5. The right of the defendant's presence in court
6. Justice is free and is fast and simple
7. Justice is open to the public
8. Violations of the rights of citizens (arrest, detention, search and seizure) should be based on law and carried out with a warrant (written)
9. The right of a suspect to be given assistance on conjecture and prosecution against him
10. Liability and control the court decision.

The criminal justice system and the legislation does not exist oriented to the victims, and the emerging judicial system leads to better ensure restorative justice notch victims. Restorative justice is not justice that emphasizes the procedures (procedural fairness) but substantive justice. In the judicial system is desired substantive justice is the basis of state law. therefore excellent prospects for the happiness of the nation of Indonesia. State law states that Indonesia should be happy people and to the selected concept of restorative justice, which is none other than the substantive justice. According to Augustine Pohan, restorative justice is a concept of justice that is quite different from what is known in the criminal justice system in Indonesia today retributive. Restorative justice is an approach to make criminalization and institutionalization be in accordance with justice.

In the pursuit of justice has not yet reached the ideals of justice for the parties, especially the victims of a crime. Failure of justice caused by several things: first, to unfair treatment. Some of these treatments include the detention and arrest without good reason, forced confessions, falsification of forensic evidence, a legal defense by lawyers under the standards of the profession, or straying judges who already acquitted the defendant because of a technical fault, the second, the rule of law is unjust, solely for the sake of legal certainty, third, action justification factual in the application of criminal and actions as a result of mistaken identity or convictions against innocent people, due to errors in the verification system, a fourth, treatment of adverse and disproportionate to suspect, the accused, and convicted , compared with the need to protect the rights of others. The rights of others are not protected in an effective and proportionate by the state, as well as the unfair treatment of victims of the law that are not conducive.

The goal of restorative justice is to encourage the creation of a fair trial and encourage the parties to take part in it. Victims feel that anguish note and compensation agreed balanced by suffering and loss suffered. Performers do not have to suffer to be able to realize his mistake even with a deal to understand and repair the damage incurred, such awareness can be gained. As for the public guarantee of balance in life and aspirations that there are channeled by the government. The main objective is to empower the victim restorative justice where offenders are encouraged to pay attention to recovery. Restorative justice concerned with the fulfillment of material needs, emotional and social victim. The success of restorative justice is measured by what amounted to a loss that has been restored offender is not measured by how heavy sentence imposed judges. The bottom line as far as possible removed from the perpetrators of criminal proceedings and of prison. But as stated by Kent Roach, restorative justice not only provide an alternative to prosecution and imprisonment, but also hold accountable the perpetrators. Criminal acts in restorative justice, is interpreted as a violation of the law and the state, besides facing the perpetrator is the victim and not the government community.

Restorative justice process is essentially an attempt diversion from the criminal justice process towards resolution by consensus which is basically the soul of the nation Indonesia,

to resolve the problems with the amicable way to reach an agreement. Restorative justice is a step in the development of non-containment efforts. Restorative justice approach in handling criminal act also aims to prevent the perpetrators from punishment process which sometimes felt not to be able to reflect the values of justice. In criminal law enforcement efforts, should not only due to criminal acts that are the focus of attention, but the important thing is not to be overlooked are the factors that cause a person committing a crime. The goal of the criminal justice process from the perspective of restorative justice is accountability offenders against the actions and consequences of how to restore the violated rights of people suffering (victim) as the position before the violation or losses do occur, both aspects of the material and immaterial aspects.

Through restorative justice will be able to see the future rights and interests of victims of crime as an independent human being. Especially if the victim status of heads of households who have family responsibilities. Restorative justice gives attention to the interests of victims and emphasis on recovery of losses of assets, physical pain, safety, dignity and satisfaction or a sense of justice. For the actors, and the community, restorative justice gives a chance to regain the respect of society. Performers do not repeat his actions and the people accepted it. With the model of restorative justice the perpetrators do not need to go to jail if the interests of victims and damages has been restored.

In contrast to the conventional judicial process oversimplification rights, dignity and interests of the victim and the community concerned. In the conventional criminal justice process, when law enforcement is already dealing with a case, as if the victim had committed herself to law enforcement. whereas if the judge to punish offenders with imprisonment or a fine, the interests of victims had not met. A financial penalty imposed on offenders in the state treasury and the rights of victims neglected.

Conceptually according to Bagir Manan, that contains some of the principles of restorative justice should include, first, establish the joint participation between the offender, victim and community groups resolve an incident or crime, putting perpetrators, victims and the community as "stakeholders'yang work together and instantly find a settlement which is perceived to be fair to all parties (win-win), both encouraging the perpetrators responsible for the victims of the incident or a crime that has caused injury or loss to the victim. Third, put the event or a criminal act not primarily as a form of violation of the law, but rather as an offense by a person (group of persons) of the person (group of people), therefore it should peaku directed at accountability to the victim and not prioritize legal liability, fourth encourage finish an event or a criminal act in a manner that is more informal and personal than the completion in ways that formal proceedings (rigid) and impersonal.

In more detail, Muladi stated that restorative justice has several characteristics, namely the first crime defined as a violation of a person against another person and is recognized as a conflict, the second point of attention on solving the problem of accountability and

liability in the future, and three properties normative built on the basis of dialogue and negotiation, fourth, restitution as a means of improving the parties, reconciliation and restoration as a primary goal, the fifth, justice is defined as the relationships right assessed on the basis of results, the sixth, an object of attention to the improvement of social loss, seven people are facilitators in the process of restorative, eighth , the role of the victim and the offender are recognized, both in matter and completion of the rights and needs of victims. The offender is encouraged to be responsible, ninth, offender accountability is defined as understanding the impact of the actions and to assist the social and economic, as well as the tenth, stigma can be removed through restorative action.

With reference to some of the principles and characteristics, found four main values of restorative justice: first, encounter (see each other), creating an opportunity to the parties involved and has the intention to have a meeting to discuss the problems that have occurred and after the incident. Second, amends (repair) which are indispensable actors take steps to repair the damage caused by his actions, a third reintegration (rejoin society), which is looking for the pace of recovery of the parties as a whole to contribute to society, fourth, inclution (open) where provide the opportunity for all stakeholders to participate in its handling.

Theoretically form of protection for victims of crime can be administered in various ways, depending on the suffering / loss suffered by the victim. For example, for losses that are mental / psychic of course restitution in the form of material / money is not sufficient if not accompanied by the victim's mental recovery efforts. Conversely, if the victim only suffered material losses (such as their belongings missing) services that are psychic seem too excessive. There are many roles that can be done by the state in terms of protection of victims. That role should depart from or approach to penal policy adopted by the country.

The legal protection for victims of crime in national legal systems and law enforcement agencies have not received adequate protection. Whereas in country draft law, should form the legal protection need protection in a large portion of the state as a form of protection to the public. So impressed in practice is often overlooked victims to obtain adequate justice.

So no one if the judge the position of crime victims as in conditions of isolation without any serious attention from the government. So also for the victims of psychological conditions that are disrupted by a criminal act against the state attention to victims of crime is less likely to respond. This situation is different if the victim of the crime is a high class social strata, then flocked to come to his defense attorney, and health care both physically and psychologically preferred by the hospital.

In addition, the existing criminal law, assume also that the victims have obtained justice satisfaction with dipidananya offenders, as perpetrators in this case have felt also suffering as experienced / suffered by the victim. This assumption may only be within the scope of moral satisfaction but in relation to the circumstances of victims who suffered physical injuries, especially for victims who are not well off financially, then by fulfilling

aspect of moral satisfaction alone can not be said as a balance was in treatment between the perpetrator and the victim. Thus the position of the victims were neglected clearly an injustice. Even if the victim is enabled in the criminal justice process, not more only as a supporter of the ruling the enforcement order, while it is his own fate as the injured party by a criminal act, isolated or at least less attention, eliminated, the victim in this case only used / exploited as a means of proving it.

On the principle of restorative justice is an approach to systematically respond to the crime that happened with the main focus on repairing the damage / relieve the suffering caused by the criminal act of attention tannpa leaving a balance between the interests of victims, offenders and the community. In restorative justice also contained the idea that completion of the criminal acts done by involving the perpetrator, the victim and the community.

Besides that sanctions / shape of the perpetrators were oriented on the recovery / rehabilitation for the suffering / casualty losses as a result of criminal acts over a place in view of restorative justice than the retributive view. The basic principles of restorative justice if it is linked to the completion of criminal acts through criminal law (penal policy), particularly with regard to the criminal law of material and formal criminal law, contains two (2) principal substances, namely:

1. Restorative justice relates to thinking about the sanctions that can be imposed on perpetrators of criminal acts (substantive law). The sanctions in the restorative justice should be/is aimed at:
    a. Curing/rehabilitate/restore suffering experienced by the victim as a result of their violation of the law of the sanctions aimed to imprison offenders. With reference to the opinion of John Braithwaite then sanctions in the restorative justice should be oriented on the recovery of victims suffering in terms of:
        1) Restoring property losses
        2) Restoring physical suffering
        3) Restoring a sense of security
        4) Restoring dignity / prestige
        5) Empower victims
        6) Restore the pillars of democracy in a common life
        7) Restore harmony is based on the feeling that justice has been enforced
        8) Restoring social support.
    b. Rehabilitate perpetrators, as well as be able to reintegrate offenders in society good. In other words, the sanctions imposed on the perpetrator does not aim to retaliate, but to resolve the conflict with an evocative sense of responsibility jawb directly against the consequences caused by his actions.
    c. Create order in social life.

2. Restorative justice relates to the way / method of settling criminal acts (procedural law).

Under the terms of the settlement KUHAP criminal case will basically mengahadapkan offenders against law enforcement officers, while the victim will only act as a witness. In other words, the parties are actively involved in the process of resolving a criminal case according to the Criminal Procedure Code is law enforcement officers and the perpetrators, while the victims were given a passive role. The process for resolving crime according to the Criminal Procedure Code which basically still imbued by the retributive thinking. In contrast to the process of settlement of criminal offenses retributive, the settlement process based on the idea of restorative justice involves the victim actively and orientation of sentencing focuses on agents as well as the process of sentencing that exposes the perpetrator as a suspect / defendant, against the state / law enforcement officers, sebaga parties authority to punish. In the interests of victims retributive paradigm though is a party which obviously suffered / losses due to criminal acts, in the completion of a criminal offense is not something that should be considered. In this regard, the results of research material available libraries are expected to change or at least not to expand the discourse on the paradigm shift of justice of retributive justice towards the paradigm of restorative justice that can provide a sense of justice more substantive to the victims and to empower victims to get recovery / repair.

Conclusion

1) The role and involvement of victims of crime in the criminal justice system in Indonesia less attention because in the criminal justice system tend to be oriented toward the perpetrators and criminal acts. This can be seen in the legislation there are no oriented criminal to the victim, so it appears that the absence of justice for the victims in the criminal justice system in Indonesia. The criminal justice system in Indonesia is more emphasis on punishment of the perpetrator rather than the protection of victims and victims are considered protected if the offender was sentenced to a criminal

2) Empowerment of victims of crime in the criminal justice system in Indonesia should serve as a control element victims. Performers are encouraged to accept responsibility as an important stage in repairing the damages caused by the crime. The involvement of the community and government needed to work together to create an environment where victims and perpetrators can reconcile their conflicts and resolve their loss at the same time creates a feeling of insecurity in society. With the shift of the victims, communities, countries and actors in the criminal justice process is active, and a key element of restorative justice that is the willingness and participation of victims, offenders and the community in the improvement of the criminal act occurred

and jointly solve problems and how handle the consequences in the future or the implications in the future.

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Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana

The Roles of The Church Amidst Environmental Advocacy in Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara

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Abstract

While the issue of radicalization and anti-democratic pluralism has dominated public discourse on religion and religious institutions, evidence from the eastern Indonesia reveals contrasting features. Two field works conducted by Research Centre for Politics and Government (PolGov) about the governance of extractive industries in Manggarai Regency shows the prominent roles of Catholic Church as intermediary institution articulating the interests of local communities in order to protect their rights against manganese mining. This means that religion and its institutions are the vital part of social movement that promotes sustainable livelihoods in contrast to extractive-based livelihoods (extractivism).

The church has been the catalyst of community empowerment through numbers of strategies, including education for raising critical awareness, community organizing for cultivating self-advocate in the communities, and negotiation to achieve advocacy agenda. Amidst the dynamic of civil society organizations (CSOs) movement, the church has been the focal hub that progressively consolidates dynamic actors and interests around the resources mobilization. All these roles were carried out through the Church's advocacy wing under management of Diocese of Ruteng namely Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC-SVD). The case of JPIC-SVD provided several key lessons learned.

The case shows how the church as the organic institution has effectively filled out gaps left by the state agencies and other element of CSOs. JPIC-SVD has been enhancing public control over mining policies, that has been previously dominated by government agencies and mining companies. The church has been working through formal (formal consultations with policymakers) and informal strategies (blockage and demonstration) for policy advocacy, forcing the local government to issue mining moratorium. Moreover, utilizing its historical and charismatic social leaderships, the JPIC-SVD has playing as the convener of the anti-mining movement, bringing different together actors and resources, local and international, in the movement.

Regardless the conspicuous parts of the church in anti-mining movements, this paper discerned numbers limitations in terms of revolving agenda setting that makes sustainability

of the movements is uncertain. First, there has been inadequate of framework to reinforce achievement of the mining moratorium into a strong policy, for instance local legislation or regency regulation. Second, in regarding the new regulation, Local Government Law no 23/2014 has put the movements exposed to risk of the shifting authority from regency to provincial government. On the subject of the decentralization context, local initiatives has been vulnerable to be hijacked by the regulatory changes thereby this has impacts to constellation of actors in the institution of the church, companies as well as local and provincial government. Third, experiencing similar situations with any other movements, JPIC-SVD relies on a central leader that makes the movements is at risk of stalling.

Keywords: religious institution, intermediary, environmental advocacy

I.   Background

It is well known that Indonesia is rich in petroleum and mineral resources that on one hand has become a national source of economic development but on the other hand contending with associated problems as social conflict, corruption, and mismanagement as well as environmental problems. Thus, it is said that the extractive industry practices in Indonesia indicate "the paradox of plenty" because the plentiful resources seems have not derived yet the welfare for the people but only few of elites who controls the money, knowledge and policy upon the mining. In Indonesia, such situation has been expressed "ayam mati di lumbung padi" - the chicken dies in the rice barn.

The plentiful resources seems a "curse" where many people – in this case mostly are locals – are suffered due to depraved mining practices unconcerned the social-environmental dimension. This indicates the absent of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) that the decision to extract have abandoned the principle that a community has the right to give or withhold its consent to proposed projects that my affect the lands that customary own, occupy or otherwise use.

In responding those problems, there are numerous agents of civil society organizations in many regions encourage public control over the extractive industries. Some of them has succeeded to develop environmental advocacy through rough political however many of them have failed.

The background of this study is capturing the ecological movements as form of public control for better resource governance in resource rich region. This study aims to expose of the role of intermediary institution has undertaken new social movements encourage environmental advocacy. In the light of intermediary institution, this study put religious institution into consideration.

Based on the series fieldworks in the eastern Indonesia, studies found that the church has been positioned in the significant position that is not only as prompting religious

institution but also as powerful social institution with practical missions including poverty evaporation, education, and environmental conservation through numerous applied approaches.[1]

Prior studies have showed the church guiding principles in responding exploitative mines operation in eastern Indonesia. For instance, in responding mining industries operating since 1980s in District of Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara, the church has scrutinized those impacts toward indigenous as well as local communities and environment (Hasiman, 2014). Eventually, the findings have been being a part of the advocacy strategies of the church to resist against mining industries in this region. By the same token, the church in District of Belu, East Nusa Tenggara, has been actively promoting ecological sustainability for the people livelihood as a result of the environmental harmony that must exist between God, nature, and humanity (Haryanto, 2015).

The environmental principle also stands a counter discourse perceiving mining industries as a source of disaster emerges instead of a spring of welfare and prosperity. As a counter discourse, mining industries is perceived as the root cause of the rise of social conflict, constraints on people's access to land and the increasing of poverty among the broader public, instead of welfare (Tapiheru, Joash et.al, 2015). Based on the religious dignity, the church has cultivated local knowledge rooted in local tradition and community innovation to advance the local communities capacity to articulate their interest against mines companies (Wardhani, I.S.; Nudya, H.K., 2015).

The role of the church in the practical environmental advocacy is transnationally applied. In the light of inclusive environmental advocacy, as the rule, the Roman Catholic Church has stressed his position in addressing especially to global environmental deterioration through Pope Francis's environmental encyclical issued in June 2015.[2] This position letter enhanced supports and legitimation for the church in Manggarai to be involved in the environmental movement.

In accordance with the previous researches, this study has deepened on political process beyond the environmental advocacy to protect economic and social right of local communities through proposing sustainable livelihood. In this process, the church has engaged essential role reassures activism rooted in the collectivity of local communities in promoting economic social and cultural (ECOSOC) rights that have been often neglected in the practices of extractive industries. This study has deepened on the explanation how the church as organic institution has effectively filled out gaps left by the state agencies as well as other element of CSOs. The church has been working through both formal and informal practical strategies has played role of the focal hub that progressively consolidates

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[1] Church refers to Roman Catholic-oriented institution with the hierarchy leadership who are given geographical jurisdictions of governance.

[2] Encyclical Letter *Laudato Si'* of the Holy Father Francis issued on 18 June 2015. Encyclical is the name typically given to a letter written by a Pope expressing the mind of the Pope, generally on matters of faith and morals, sent to the church worldwide to care the earth as the common home.

dynamics actors and interest to promote environmental advocacy for protecting the indigenous and local communities' right against mining industries.

1.1 Theoretical framework

1.1.1 Religious institution and the function of the intermediary institution

This paper is based on the idea that religious institutions work beyond ritual activities. Interpretation of religion, including the holy texts, is indeed political. Nevertheless, what we mean by political roles are the work of religious institutions to engage in and influence public policies, its implementation and outcomes. In many cases, as a part of civil society--it is when religious institutions work for public interests and not sectarian aspiration--churches and congregation fill out the roles left by the formal political intermediary structures such as political parties and legislative bodies. Political linkages among political society-state-civil society, characterized by money politics and patronage, have been poorly working. NGOs are surely important, yet donors' agenda and program frameworks often make their position complicated and their advocacy work non-sustaining.

Generally speaking, the area of community development is the domain of religious institutions. Religious institutions have been engaging in providing social services especially for the poor, and working in areas where government services are absent or poor functioning. The two most prominent religious institutions, Muhammadiyah and Nadlatul Ulama, for instance, have been working long before the country gained its independence. Their schools from kindergarten to universities, as well as their community health center and nationally accredited hospitals, provide services to many communities. Similar roles are conducted by religious institutions in Christianity. Moreover, religious institutions like churches in Manggarai involve in community economic development through cooperatives, and simultaneously raise awareness of the importance food sovereignty and independence.

Beyond delivering services, churches, congregations and other religious institutions have also actively playing crucial roles in community organizing and influencing policies. Foley, McCarthy and Chaves (2008), drawing from the National Congregation Studies in the US, describe several key roles carrying out by religious institutions. Religious institutions expand social networks. For families attending worships, churches support "larger, denser, and more satisfying social networks and greater access to social support than the un-churched counterparts" (Foley, McCarthy, & Chaves, 2008). Furthermore, congregation help community access broader social linkages, in which resources such as knowledge, alliances, funding and networks can be brought to communities. They list more specifically resources brought by churches.

Types of Resources	Description
Information	With its bridging potential, religious organizations can pull information from various actors such as government officials, banking worlds, training centers, corporation to the communities.
Free spaces	- Congregation opens their hall for hosting community' meeting, discussing individual problem (I.e. overcoming alcoholic) to finding solution for collective problem related to public policies.
Socialization, community service, and political participation	- Religious organization provides education, indoctrination, and training to communities. - Religious citizens' organizations give community members to be volunteers and cultivate their awareness to communities' problem. - Leaderships and other civic skills, therefore, are nurtured and enhanced.
Authority and legitimacy	- Religion provides strong moral energies to citizens to engage in religious institutions' activities--based on a given-religious-truth authority. -The shared understanding of the truth among considerable number of congregations gives legitimacy

All these roles, generally, are driven by "paradigm" that distinct communities from capitalistic paradigm. For instance, communities are linked to the idea of *development* rather than *growth.* The first refers to, mainly, the quality of life such as sustained livelihoods and control over resources critical to community lives; whereas growth refers to quantity or tangible dimension of progress like the numbers of building, enhanced infrastructures, and so forth (Green & Haines, 2011).

Previous study has revealed important case on how religion and religious institutions could work hand in hand with human rights and environmental advocacy. Looking at South Kebumen cases, Central Java, she found that formal intermediary actors/institutions have failed to accommodate farmers and other community groups. Nadlatul Ulama and its youth organization like Ansor and PMII cultivate awareness on land grabbing done by military. Religious is also for utilized to organize strikes and other strategies. Since communities are also lacking of knowledge on regulation/policies, these religious institutions brought expertise from national NGOs, protection from KOMNAS HAM, and other networks. Hence the case of relatively small community groups in central java can be nationally known not only by the networks of Nadlatul Ulama and its under-bow

organizations, but also national interest through mass media, discussions at universities and NGOs. (Alfirdaus, 2012)

These understanding on the roles of religious institution as intermediary are utilized to frame the roles of churches and its under-bow institution in carrying out advocacy against mining in Manggarai.

1.1.2 Citizenship and the Right Claims in Resource Rich Region

This section elaborate point of concepts framed discussion related to the struggle of the Church and communities surrounding mines area in claiming the people rights. Citizenship and right are the two main concepts within the frames of development ideas. According to the review, this paper argued that concept of citizenship is not merely about the relation between citizen and the state but citizenship as the practices of the citizen to reclaim their right against the state or other parts interrupts in the distribution of the civil right.

The concept of rights and citizenship has close links with discussions about emerging development around the 1990s. During the time, some thought of development has shifted in the process and eventually brought initiate discussion in term of involving the citizen within the development process. The discussion regarding the involvement of citizens in the development process is constantly evolving until the rights based approach to development that expands the discussion on citizenship (Gaventa, 2002). The development approach then shifted to participatory development approaches are rooted in ensuring the rights of citizens. Right-based approach in a development context, Strengthens the status of citizens from that of the beneficiaries of development to its rightful and legitimate claimants according to Cornwall (2000)

Citizenship is a complex concept and has been a long contentious concept. It keeps re-conceptualized to take a less state-centered and more actor-oriented approach. It becomes a critical challenge for the twenty-first century to construct new concepts and forms of citizenship which will help to make rights real for poor people (Gaventa, 2002). By the same token, the article of "Conceptualizing the Politics of Citizenship" stated that the core characteristics and dimensions of citizenship remain open for competing conception. It means that citizenship can be an instrument for different political agendas, including post-political governance and governmentality from 'above' as well as struggles from 'below' for membership and participation. "Popular" politics of citizenship, that is, political agendas and strategies by non-elite forces for inclusion in communities of citizens and for citizenship rights has emerged (Stokke, 2014).

In addition, there are cases in numerous countries that applied citizenship as the practices to reclaim the rights of the citizens. Across much of sub-Saharan Arica, local rights and citizenship are constrained by enduring institutional structures and power relations that favor the centralization of authority and weaken the rule of law, and which

create disincentives to developing secure rights to local groups of citizens (Nelson, 2010). Rights-based conservation approached that premised on the operation of the rule of law and legal principles of constitutionalism that give meaning to such rights (Nelson, 2010).

In other case, environmental Justice Australia has emerged "water citizenship" that is not-for-profit public interest but the legal practice enhanced Aborigines to involve and take apart in the water resources governance. Water citizenship is defined as a powerful overarching concept that, at its most general level, includes important procedural aspects such as public consultation about water resources, community participation in water planning, the capacity to challenge decisions, and the capacity to have the law enforced and branches of the law remedied (Australia, 2014).

The struggle to obtain and maintain rights in natural resource governance also occurred in Latin American countries. Similar to Indonesia, countries in Latin America is rich in natural resources such as minerals and hydrocarbons are exploited into mining and oil and gas industries. The study showed the struggle of indigenous people in Bolivia and Ecuador protested the government development policies that conflicting with the constitution and collided with the right of indigenous people and the environment (Lalander, 2014). It is mentioned that Constitution of Bolivia (2009) and Ecuador (2008) is currently the most radical constitution in the world in term of recognition to the indigenous grievances such as legal pluralism, territorial autonomy, and collective rights, including declaring Rights of Nature as the principles regulation to protect the Mother Nature.

1.1.3 The new social movement and environmental movement

This section briefly discusses how the political process enhanced environmental advocacy has denoted new social movement (NSM). Despite the usage of the theory, this movement rather implies many variations on a very general approach denoted by the emergence of collective action. The structural backdrop for contemporary forms of collective action is perhaps the most distinctive feature of NSM (Buechler, 1995). In the light about what constitutes the newness, there are plenty of arguments can be resolved in any definitive way. Despite typically implies a strategic value in trying to break from the "old" Marxist tradition of looking to labor movement as the primary agent, the newness term stand for distinctive discourses that is overlapping and ultimately interconnected in various ways. First has characterized as either defensive to larger social forces or progressive to the nature as well. Second has oriented between political and cultural movement. Third implies the ability to designate a social base other than the "old" working class (Buechler, 1995). Furthermore, in reflecting a very different theoretical tradition, this movement contents the liberatory potential through expanding the range of democratic participation both within movements and within larger society (Hutagalung, 2006).

Several features point of post materialist values to understanding this movement, including the legitimation crises of global capital, identity, morality, emotions, and vision

all of which are located within spatial, interactional, and informational backgrounds (Langman, 2013). In developing NSM, it needs to put legitimation of the crises of the political economy into consideration that the subjective realms of identity and emotion drive mobilization as well as morality and visions that may be utopian form collectiveness. Thereby, cultural change is more inspiring the actors rather that specific kinds of legislation.

Alberto Melucci is one of the influencing theorists by operating with a cultural reading of this movement. He argued that cultural movements might be more effective than conventionally political movements at breaking the limit of compatibility of the system by interpreting power visible and by repudiating the instrumental rationality of the dominant society. In his terms, the explanation of the process of collective identity derive from the bridging between structural determinants as well as values and beliefs that explicates how social actors come to form a collectivity and recognize themselves as being part of the movements (Melucci, The process of collective identity, 1996).

Moreover, Melucci argued that the analytical approach must be firmly put within a theory of collective action, and it must break down its subject according to orientation of action on the one hand and the system of social relationships affected by the action on the other hand (Melucci, The construction of collective action, 1996). According to this approach, there are distinctive level points as a framework to explore the collectiveness. At the first level, the analysis concerns about definition of collective action based on delimitation of the field as well as analytical criteria. The next level look up issues establishes the processes that give rise to collective action, and its formation in the social structure. Thirdly, the level scrutinizes the components that structure collective action that provide continuity, adaptability, and effectiveness. Finally, the field of collective action must be examined, as the set of social relationships providing resources for and constraints to the action.

This discourse implies essential lessons in terms of NSM social base of activism and goals. The representation of social activism that social base is defined other than class terms implies that collective identities are not structurally assured but socially constructed through dialectically interrelated arrangements of positions and identities. However, the identities are secondary to movement value and goals with which participants agree. Henceforth, within this framework, the notion of social movement is an analytical concept rather than empirical categorization.

In light of environmental issue and grouping of the 'old' and 'new' movement, Luke Martell has provided frames within which the development of green movement activities are distinguished into the features of new social movements according to its organization of movement, ideology and aim, as well as medium of change that the locus being civil society-oriented rather than state-oriented (Martell, 1995). According to Martell, the analytical concept of green movement as NSM are constructed within frames containing (1) the non-hierarchical form on its movement playing down the involvement of the grass

root groups built up networks decentralized form of civil participation rather than structure of authority, (2) the values of aims changing in mode of consciousness and redefine culture in civil society rather than passing of new law through the state (3) the medium of change representation in culture and more innovative forms of direct action rather than change through the political apparatus.

1.2 Scope

This research took a case of resource rich region in Manggarai District, Province of East Nusa Tenggara one of the resource rich regions in Indonesia. Specifically, this study carried a single case of land conversion in the area of "Nggalak Rego RTK 103" protected forest in *Lumpung Gincu, Desa* Robek, *Kecamatan* Reok, Manggarai District. Prior to protected forest, the forest was known by its local name "Torong Besi", a customary forest own by indigenous people centered in the main customary villages of *Gendang Loce* and *Gendang Kerkuak*. This 14,690.3 ha forest area was devoted as protected forest owned by the state (central government) since 1983 and located in the area of three villages under administration of *Kecamatan* Reok, namely *Desa* Robek, *Desa* Watu Baur, dan *Desa* Wangkung.

This region is taken due to its contrasting background, as the resource-rich region in the one hand and one of the most under-developed districts in Indonesia on the other hand. The new social movement has emerged in reformation era in 2000s to react the bad mining practices in Flores Island. The movement has demonstrated the successful model environmental advocacy as public control over bad mining practices in mismanagement of state mining regulation during 2007-2010 in Torong Besi.

The intermediary institutions in this study are indigenous people as well as local communities living in surrounding mines in Desa Robek. In addition, this study has observed Justice Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC-SVD), the missionary oblates at Diocese of Ruteng and part of the worldwide foundation under the SVD congregation. JPIC organization is dedicated to coordinate the advocacy efforts on behalf of the interests of the poor and abandoned at Diocese of Ruteng coverages Districts of Manggarai, East Manggarai, and West Manggarai area.

II. A brief discussion of the case: extractivism and role of the church encourages environment advocacy

Manggarai, as a part of Flores island, holds one of the highest concentration of manganese (Mn) deposit in Indonesia where are only enclosed 15 m+ below the surface. Therefore, Mn mineralization has been the major commodity explored and mined with assays returning up to 45.5 % Mn (Cunningham, Michael, 2015). As the consequences of the plentiful

of resources, Mn mining industries has been flourishing for years that the companies had initiated the exploration since the last of 1970s.

Manggarai has been attracting both foreign and domestic investment in line with the efforts of local government enthusiastically promotes the mining investment since 2000s. The passion of the manganese exploration showed by total concession area nearly 19,000 ha with 19 registered mining licenses (IUPs). However, the good mining practices seem fairly far applied since only just 14 IUPs obtained clean and clear status.[3]

However, the exploitation shows contrasting figures. The economic growth rate in mining sector compared to other sectors showed fascinating progression nearly 7% during 2011-2014. The velocity of cash in large number of money indicated how the sector runs vigorously. Most of the locals who are working as peasants and farm workers, mines were moneymaker such as a liveliness amidst the poverty. Labor daily payment around 100,000 IDR per day in mines was considered lucrative than in agriculture that crops money perhaps once in several months. Even though the mining sector growth surpassed the average economic regional growth, the mining dynamic has brought minimum contribution to the region that only around 3% in the period.

Furthermore, the mining industries operated since 1980s have not yet deliver welfare to the local communities thereby raised tension and social complexity in the local communities (Regus, Maximus, 2011). Poverty remains at around 21 percent of the total population in 2013. This number has exceeded the provincial poverty rate that is amount 20.24 percent in the period (BPS, 2015).

Instead of promising, the mining sector generally has not attracted labor migration from outside Manggarai. Based on BPS data, the population growth rate in Manggarai is 1.6% per year, or slightly below the provincial population growth rate of 1.7% in the last five years. The minimum rate of migration caused the proportion of the population not much changed. Manggarai people are majority groups of tribe live in Manggarai that commonly are Catholic (BPS, 2015).

The mining dynamic neglected social-environmental dimension has created undesirable impacts. Local communities live in surrounding mines bear the consequences, risk, and cost due to the mines operation. There are numerous indications of declining quality of the environment, including the loss of water resources came along with the depletion of forest, reducing the quality of fresh water and also raising respiration problems due to the inclining thickness of dust particles in the air. Furthermore, mining operations in number of villages lead to conflicts among local communities, as well as between communities and companies related to the pro and contras the existence of the mines.

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[3] Directorate of Mineral and Coal issues Clear and Clear (CnC) status for the registered mining company has completed a number of requirements, including gaining Environmental Management Effort (UKL) and Environmental Monitoring Effort (UPL), feasibilities study and report of the exploration, as well as paying fee and royalties.

Lumpung Gincu at *Desa* Robek, *Kecamatan* Reo is one of the traditional villages suffered from those harms. Local government retained some zone of Torong Besi, the prior customary forest that nowadays is state protected forest, for mines area operation. Letter of Bupati Manggarai no HK/287/2007 decided to retain open mine area on Nggalak Rego RTK 103 and extend the license from PT Tribina Sempurna (TS) to PT Sumber Jaya Asia (SJA).

Torong Besi area has never been free from mining interest despite entitled as the state-owned protected forest since 1980s. Prior to the letter, the mining industries have initiated since PT Arumbai started the fisibilities study for exploration in Reo in 1994. The operations led to the destruction of parts of the mountain and forest in Torong Besi.

The decision of Bupati raised tension since it presented the absent of legal certainty as well as overlapping regulation in mining sectors. Local communities considered the local government discriminated by converting land of the forest and opening mine operation in the forest zone while local people were prohibited to access even only for the firewoods due to its state-owned protected forest title.[4] Prior to protected forest title, Torong Besi was a customary forest that devoted to the state in 1950s.

Indigineous and local communities have initiated to speak up about their complaints and dissagreements over mining operation in their neighbourhood but local government had not put those local views into consideration. Considering insufficient capacities, locals inquired supports and assistance from numerous CSOs. Commission for Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC-SVD) under the management of SVD congregation at the Diocese of Ruteng is one of the most responsive agencies in community assistance since 2002. JPIC officially supported locals by encouraging forming a networking community around the mine and building coalition for reform with other CSOs, such as the Indonesian Environmental Forum (WALHI), the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN), and the Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM).

The church assisted local communities to cultivate local values in managing resources and reinterpreted the values as moral and ethical references for comforting collectiveness. It is well known that the ancestors of Manggarai people have principles of ethics how to use and manage the nature wisely for the needs instead of desire. These principles are reflected in local expression "Gendang One Lingko Peang" (=village inside, and circular outside) brings about the harmony of cultural space symbolized by traditional house, main yard, altar stone, well of water, customary plantation, cemetery, and village constructs the identity and collectiveness of Manggarai people.

By the same token, the church actively assists the communities to operate saving and loan cooperative for enhancing economic capacity as well as facilitate the distribution of

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[4] Precinct police of Manggarai (Polres) had arrested two dwellers from Desa Robek and charging for cutting down several trees in protected zone of Nggalak Rego RTK 103. District Court of Ruteng has found them are guilty and sentenced to imprisonment respectively 1.5 years on 1 November 2009.

the farming production in order to promote sustainable livelihood instead of extractive activities.

In addition, the church has harnessed its international network to put Manggarai case into deliberation by posed indigenousity, and ecology issue to attract global consideration and supports through VIVAT International. SVD congregation managed JPIC-SVD is member of this organized networking struggles and expertise on issues related to social justice, development, peace, and ecology.

The architect behind the series political work of JPIC-SVD is Father Simon Suban Tukan, SVD JPIC-SVD coordinator since 2006. This figure serves as a religious leader as well as an intellectual actor of the strategies. As the leader of the Catholic Church, Father Simon is a charismatic figure for countless followers in the villages. In boosting the influence at governmental level, Father Simon optimizes advocacy networks through cooperation with former members Manggarai Regency (2004-2009 / 2009-2014) Hironimus Marut to communicate the grass root problems into the policy making process.

Coalition of civil society has posed the environmental advocacy in the broader issue of forming the ecological preservation. The mass media broadcasted the case that the church has declared taking position beyond the series actions from protest and demonstration to class action. These actions forced Bupati of Manggarai Christian Rotok annulled his decision extended the license of PT. SJA by published Letter No HK/72/2009. Eventually, PT SJA a mining company based in China has stopped all activities at Torong Besi in 2010. In addition, the collective actions also successfully urged policymakers to evaluate licences published during the 2007-2010 period and suspended a number of exploitations throughout District of Manggarai.

In the light of government level, these actions have convinced local governments to promote recognition upon indigenous customary land ownership rights stated in Perda No 4/2013 on Mineral Mining Governance. Even though the regulation does not stated obviously about the indigenous and customary land, the regulation is the entrance for the locals to retain their struggle to protect their right against mining companies.

However, there is limitation in regarding the new regulation, Local Government Law no 23/2014 has put the movements exposed to risk of the shifting authority from regency to provincial government. On the subject of the decentralization context, local initiatives has been vulnerable to be hijacked by the regulatory changes thereby this has impacts to constellation of actors in the institution of the church, companies as well as local and provincial government.

III. Analysis

Considering the above mentioned-case, it seems to be clear that the church has played significant roles at various levels, from grass root of the local communities, at the middle

as the axis of coalition of CSOs, the local government at the top level to the supranational government and communities. In a word, JPIC-SVD as the representative of the church has conveyed four essential points as intermediary institution as well as underpinning the new social movement:

First, the church has articulated the interests of the locals to cultivate self-advocate to protect their economic and social rights against mining companies. As the organic institution, the church embraces groups of locals and supports them to develop networking based on grass roots alliance in surrounding mines. The church has redefined local values, ethics and morality into local knowledge as the main base of collectiveness and identity. In light of the cultural redefining, the church has underpinned position of the locals supporting sustainable ecology against political power supporting the acquisitive society of extractivism.

Second, the church had spoken on behalf of citizens to participate in the policy making process through monitoring the licensing process as well as proposing materials input to the member of local councils. For the most part, the church has performed political works by means of conveying people aspiration as well as controlling the policy making process. These approaches aim to defend locals put the frame of welfare and public interest over the state policy.

Third, the church had optimized the international networking to watch local governments in serving social justice for people in Manggarai. To the extent that strategies, international watch networks stretches pressure to policy makers and mining companies to put consideration on ecological issue as well as complies with the global norms of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) and sustainable development principles in empowering indigenous and local people.

Fourth, the church has been the catalyst of the dynamic actors and interests. By the means of political process, the church has consolidated the actors and resources in enhancing ecological movements as the collective actions. The church implements religious doctrines into applied practical strategies to embrace various parties by proposing universal norms of economics, social, and cultural rights.

As shown above, the environmental movements in Manggarai might reflect the successful model of public control over mining policy making in the rich-region. However, numerous considerations have constituted the noticeable role of the church in environmental movement in Manggarai. Those reflections conceivably taking into broader debate to answer whether the model applied in other regions and whether gained the same positive result.

First consideration relates to the local context that is dominated by homogenous communities in terms of religion and ethnicity. This character has advanced Manggarai people to receive efficiently the applied religious doctrine into universal norms of human right. Moreover, the transforming actors consist of the religious leader and local elite

who have determinant positions among the communities to boost the movement. This experience emerged also in District of Kebumen, Central Java that the religious institution has been a tool for human right advocacy amidst conflict of civil-military over land (Alfirdaus, 2012)

Second relates to the Church and Catholic leadership contains robust hierarchal leadership and geographical jurisdictions of governance has generated the environmental movement. This consideration has advance the Manggarai environmental advocacy since it is benefited by the collectiveness and the networks. On the one hand, this consideration contrasted with notion of NSM non-hierarchical form on its movement organization playing down the involvement of the grass root groups built up networks decentralized form of civil participation rather than structure of authority (Martell, 1995). On the other hand, the elasticity of the Manggarai movement to build up its social and cultural base - outside the hierarchal organization base on working-class and solidly ideology - have proven the broader debate that the notion of NSM organization is multifaceted (Buechler, 1995).

Third criticizes inadequate of Manggarai environmental advocacy framework in anticipating the dynamic political power, including the shifting of state regulation in local and national. Based on the cultural ethics rather than politics, Manggarai environmental movement has limitation on further strategies and plan. The crucial issues are including the future leadership and upcoming agenda to sustain the movement. This found has extended the debate on the extent to which NSM is defined as either defensive or progressive and whether is political in nature or are better classified in cultural way (Buechler, 1995).

IV. Analysis

The case shows how the church as the organic institution has effectively filled out gaps left by the state agencies and other element of CSOs. JPIC-SVD has been enhancing public control over mining policies, that has been previously dominated by government agencies and mining companies. The church has been working through formal (formal consultations with policymakers) and informal strategies (blockage and demonstration) for policy advocacy, forcing the local government to finally issue mining moratorium. Moreover, utilizing its historical and charismatic social leaderships, the JPIC-SVD has playing as the guardians of the anti-mining movement, bringing different together actors and resources, both local and international, in the movement. However, there are limitations in terms of revolving agenda setting that makes sustainability of the movements is uncertain.

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Badan Layanan Umum As a Driver of Empowerment

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Abstract

Badan Layanan Umum (BLU) or Public Service Agencies established under Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Number 23/2015. It is the part of center or local government unit for improve public services. This paper identify what can BLU do for Indonesia empowermen through high quality public services and professionalism in the manage that. To identify, we conduct data collection about public services in Indonesia. The public services consist of health and education sector, as boundaries of this study. We get the data of public services performance and finding the problem of public services in Indonesia over time. The data would be compared with the existence of BLU in the near time, what have BLU did and what is BLU can do it. The results of research going to give recommendation for Indonesia government to empowerment in the public services. This research also open the insight about the role of public sector accounting to provide high quality data in support the Badan Layanan Umum.

Keywords: Badan Layanan Umum, Public Services, Public Sector Accounting

Introduction

Badan Layanan Umum (BLU) or Public Service Agencies established under Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Number 23/2015. This new agency model expected to shifting paradigm from the inefficient public services provider to efficient public service provider. The paradigm also include the flexibility of institutions to improve public services.

The creation of autonomous state agencies has been diffused all around the world as one of the major government reform agenda. Even though each country has different characteristic of the autonomous state agencies, the main idea remains the same. It is believed that the major cause why government agencies become slow, inefficient and cumbersome is the constraint. By removing that constraint and strengthening the accountability, it is expected that the performance of government agencies will improve. (Damhuri, 2011)

The aim of this paper is give the picture of the existing condition in health and education sector. This picture is explained with the established of autonomous state agencies (BLU)

as a driver of empowerment both institution and human resources in the government. The next, this paper discuss the expected results.

The paper consist of seven section. The next section is the meaning of empowerment, methodology, the existing condition in the health sector and education sector, autonomous state agencies and shifting paradigm, and discussion.

The Meaning of empowerment

According to Merriam Webster and Oxford English Dictionary, empowerment have two meaning. The first, to give power or authority to. The Second, to give ability to or enable. The first meaning tend to give power, decentralized power, and delegate the authority to other. While the second meaning is about the effort to give ability or empower.

The first meaning, related to BLU as agency or institution. The law give power or authority to manage the agency. The law granted the flexibility to manage the BLU as autonomus state agency. The second meaning, related to give ability to or enable people or human resources. The people in the government also known as civil servant face the challenge in the Badan Layanan Umum.

Methodology

The methodology of this paper follow the flow of reasoning. The background noted that the existing health and education sector has problem. The various data describe the existing condition. The main problem is about institutions. The proposed solution is autonomous state agencies or Badan Layanan Umum (BLU). This new agency expected to remove some constraint, give manager operational flexibility, and strengthening accountability for. The ultimate goal is manager focus on their goals, more responsive, better service, efficient and effective, transparent and accountable.

The existing condition in the health sector

The existing condition in the health sector measure with health care expenditure and number of hospital. Why we choose the measure? The health care expenditure have important role to provide the health services. If the government reduce this budget, it may be create the poor health policy. While the number of hospital describe about facility to get health service for the people.

Indonesia is among the lowest healthcare spender approximately 2.9% of GDP just above Laos, Brunei and Myanmar. Indonesia below from other countries such as Japan (approximately 9%), South Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Singapore, Philipines, Thailand, India, and Malaysia. Even with ASEAN average, Indonesia still below.

Actually, the driver of healthcare expenditure is private sector. Based on data, in 2014, private spending 192 trilion rupiahs while government only 119 trilion rupiahs. If compare with total budget, healthcare budget only 5.0% in 2016. The health care expenditure data described that the government not yet optimize the role of health sector services.

Number of hospitals in 2014 is 2,244 hospital consist of 1,337 private hospitals and 907 public hospitals. In percentage, 60% is private hospitals. Indonesia have 12.2 beds per 10,000 population. While Brunei have 28 beds and only Myanmar have 6. The beds per population show that the health facility still rare.

The existing condition in education sector

The existing Condition in Education sector measure with local education governance index which is in the highest rank is management controlling system while the lowest is transparency and accountability.

Education budget until 2013 is 331.8 trillions rupiah or 20 percent of total government budget. This budget will we see such as illiteracy rate. Always decline from 2004-2009 and the latest is 5.3. The province with higest illiteracy is papua and the lowest is Jakarta.

Compare with health sector, the education sector better. In the side of education budget may be not have problem, but education sector still face the quality problem of students and the quantity of drop out from the school.

Autonomous state agencies and shifting paradigm

In the local authonomy context, the central power or authority derived the part or full of power to the periphery. This concept well known as "decentralization". The central government delegate the power to local government through UU Pemerintah Daerah and UU Perimbangan Keuangan Daerah.

In the public service context, which is the government face with everyday lives of citizen, tremendously important to provide the unit is carried of the real work of government.

In the government body, a unit whichs is called satuan kerja (central government) or satuan kerja pemerintah daerah (local government), delivered the services to citizen. They face with citizen satisfaction. The government body identically with long bureaucracy while the public services cannot wait to delivered. So the solution is bring the authonomy to the unit or part of government body which is provide public services directly. With basic principles that are stated, in June 2005 by Government regulation Number 23/2005 new agency called Badan Layanan Umum (BLU) was born. The BLU granted about ten flexibility as described in the following table.

The Area of Flexibility	Description
Freedom to hold their revenue	BLU can keep all their revenue on registered bank account; they are released from the obligation to transfer their entire revenue to treasury account
Freedom to spend money	BLU spending is allowed to exit budget ceiling on budget document as long as the source of fund is derived from agencies revenue (non-tax revenue and non-government grant) and it is still under threshold
Freedom to conduct short term investment	BLU could keep their money on registered bank account and could manage their idle cash to invest on low risk financial investment, such as a term deposits or government bond
Freedom to lend	BLU are allowed to provide receivable to customer
Freedom to acquire debt	BLU could have short term debt to finance operational expenditure and long term debt to finance investment expenditure
Freedom to set customize procurement procedures	The procurement process in BLU is allowed to be exempted from the provision applicable to the procurement procedures in government sector if BLU could prove that the new procurement process is more effective and efficient
Freedom to manage the asset and write-off inventory	BLU could write-off inventories based on economic consideration such as being expired, obsolete or no longer can be used
Freedom to hire professional employee	In order to improve professionalism of BLU, they can hire non civil servant professional employee
Get remuneration	The management and employee of BLU could get remuneration in the form of salary, fixed allowance, honorarium, incentive, bonus for achievement, sovereign or pensions
Easiness to set custom service fares	BLU could impose service fares based on unit cost calculation and these fares could set only by the Ministry of Finance

Source: Summary from Damhuri (2011)

The granted flexibility signs shifting paradigm from traditional to new public management. The full adoption of flexibility will drive the empower of BLU turns to the high-quality institution.

Discussion: expected results

Public services crucial to empowering the citizen, with the high quality public services. In order to improve the performance of BLU, they are granted ten flexibilities. BLU will become pioneer in public sector financial management reform to improve efficiency and service quality of the government agencies.

Expected result from autonomous state agencies and shifting paradigm in public services consist of 5 (five) results. The first, manager focus on their goals. With the granted flexibility, the manager get flexibility to manage the process and responsible with their goals. Performance measurement can use the private model.

The second, more responsive. With autonomous status, BLU can provide public services more faster. Actually without long bureaucracy, the public services can delivered directly. So, BLU can provide better service, efficient and effective operationally and transparent and accountable.

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A Tale of Two Governors:
Vigilantism, Leadership and Uncivil Society in Jakarta

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Abstract

Militant societal organizations in Jakarta have strongly opposed the inauguration of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok), the first ethnic Chinese Christian to be appointed as Governor of the City in October 2014. These protests are driven by a transformation in patronage relations that these groups have historically enjoyed with previous Jakarta Governors. The dispute between these organizations and Ahok is thus indicative of the broader struggle to deepen forms of democratic governance in Indonesia, and the ways in which identity based politics is starting to matter less in an increasingly civilized society. Significantly, faced with the erosion of elite patronage, those groups that oppose Ahok have become less prone to violent protest. Instead, they now mimic Jakarta government, and have installed an unofficial governor of their own as an alternative to Ahok. Through interviews with key actors, and discourse analysis of policy statements, documents and online media, the study shows that in an era of democratic transition era, a strong government and law enforcement as shown in Ahok's administration can control vigilante activities conducted by ethno religious groups and, critically turn them performatively into more democratically inclined civil society actors.

Keyword: ethno-religious group, vigilante, government, patronage network.

Background

On September 24, 2014, in front of the Jakarta City Hall, a crowd of 6000 people gathered to protest the appointment of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) as a Governor of Jakarta. The demonstrators, young men from a variety of militant organizations and vigilante groups such as the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam, or FPI) and the Betawi Brotherhood Forum (Forum Betawi Rempug, or FBR), opposed the appointment of the former Deputy Governor following the election of previous Governor, Joko Widodo to

the Presidency. The Regional Representatives Council (DPD) of the FPI issued an edict i.e rejecting Ahok to become Governor of DKI Jakarta, calling on the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Jakarta City Council not to inaugurate Ahok as a Governor, and for Jakarta's Parliament to elect a new governor or to hold a referendum in order to do so (Al-hisbah. com, 2014).

Protests of this kind are a new phenomenon in Indonesia. Following the collapse of Suharto's New Order regime in 1998, the country has continued to undergo radical constitutional reform and political transformation. Many political parties with different ideological platforms have sprung up (Bunte and Ufen, 2009). There has been rapid decentralization (Ahmad and Mansoor, 2002; Turner et al, 2003), and four constitutional amendments that aim to improve the basic rules of the State's Law, increased community participation, and a guarantee to protect human rights and distribute power within a democracy framework (Butt and Lindsey, 2012). There is now a constitutional court that functions to review electoral disputes (Butt, 2015). Civil society, non-governmental organizations and social groups contribute to community empowerment, advocacy and critique of the government (Hadiwinata, 2003; Nyman, 2006). However, despite these wide reaching reforms, the transition to democracy in Indonesia also faces considerable challenges and obstacles, not least of which is the revival of radical Islamic groups, increasing religious persecution and religious intolerance (Beittinger-Lee, 2009; Hamayotsu, 2013; Suaedy, 2014a; Bubandt, 2014; Menchik, 2014). Militant ethnic and religious social groups are increasing in number, and are often triggers of incidents of violence (Jones, 2015; I. Wilson, 2015). These dilemma of pluralism are described by Sidney Jones (2015), who notes that the openness of public space and the outbreak of the civil society organizations does not always correlate with the strengthening of democracy. Rather, in Indonesia, democratic transition has also contributed to the development of anti-democratic groups — ethnic-based organizations and religious groups, which are - prone to intolerance and hatred.

These ethno-religious groups are often used in the elections to attract votes and/or to influence people to choose a political party or candidate leaders who have a relationship with them (Hamid, 2014; L. Wilson, 2015; I. Wilson, 2015). In the 2014 presidential election, a number of groups (organizations) ethnic and religious such as FPI and FBR openly expressed support to the president and vice president candidates, Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa (Mietzner, 2014; I. Wilson, 2015). This type of support also happens in the context of local elections. For example, these groups supported the incumbent of Jakarta governor, Fauzi Bowo, and his running mate Nachrowi Ramli, in the 2012 gubernatorial election in Jakarta. The reason for the support of candidates by these groups in the election is mainly because of the existence of a strong emotional connections due to the similar ethnic and religious backgrounds (I. Wilson, 2015; L.Wilson, 2015).

The use of ethnic and religious organizations to mobilise political support to seize the governorship, and maintain a political and economic position, has been a common feature

of Jakarta politics since the fall of Suharto. This can be seen in the Sutiyoso era (1997-2007) and the Fauzi Bowo era (2007-2012) (Brown and Wilson, 2007; Bertrand, 2010). However, in the 2012 Jakarta election, Fauzi Bowo, was defeated by a couple from outside Jakarta, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) from Solo, Central Java and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) from Belitung Timur, Bangka-Belitung Islands, despite attempting to mobilize support amongst organizations representing the ethnic group native to the city, the Betawi and the use of religious symbols (Hamid, 2014; Miichi, 2014; Prasetyawan, 2014; Suaedy, 2014b). Jokowi and Ahok won the election despite having no relationship with ethno-religious based mass organization in Jakarta (Hamid, 2012). Following this success, Jokowi was approached by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and its coalition, the traditionalist Muslim party PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, the National Awakening Party, Nasional Demokrat (the National Democrats) and Hanura (Hati Nurani Rakyat, the People's Conscience Party) to contest the presidential election as its candidate (Aspinall and Mietzner, 2014), and in July 2014 he was elected President. In October 2014, Ahok, an Indonesian Christian of Chinese descent, replaced Jokowi and officially became The Governor of Jakarta.

A series of protests and demonstrations took place before Ahok's inauguration as Jakarta's governor. The main objection to Ahok's appointment was due to his ethnicity and religion, that as a Chinese Christian he was unrepresentative of Jakarta's majority Islamic population (Knorr, 2014). Moreover, it also raises concerns about the increasing alienation or marginalization of Jakarta's native ethnic, Betawi, especially in the political and economic fields (Brown and Wilson, 2007). As a result, the groups that opposed Ahok reject his inauguration and do not recognise him as their governor.

Many ethnic and religious mass organizations such as Indonesia Muslim Forum (FUI), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Betawi Brotherhood Forum (FBR), Betawi United Forum (FBB), Betawi Fellow Communication Forum (Forkabi), and others (in total there are 99 mass organizations), are trying to stop Ahok's inauguration by creating a new group organization, the Jakarta Society Movement (Gerakan Masyarakat Jakarta, GMJ). In addition to rejecting Ahok as Governor, the GMJ inaugurated an Islamic cleric, Fahrurozi Ishak, a Betawi Muslim, as an unofficial alternative to Ahok for the position of governor of Jakarta.

For his part, Ahok has also rejected the right of these groups to protest against his governorship. In contrast to previous administrations, he has worked to show that the implementation of programs aimed to the welfare of the people of Jakarta can work without involving the groups that previously collaborated with Jakarta's provincial government during the Sutiyoso era and Fauzi Bowo eras. In addition, Ahok has worked to improve Jakarta's security and eliminate the informal security activities often carried out by ethnic and religious-based vigilante groups before the Ramadan month, as well as clamping down on all forms of intolerance and attacks on minority activities by improving cooperation with the military and police.

With reference to adherence to the constitution and the rule of law, Ahok is trying to run the government and not give the GMJ – FPI and FBR, which are also part of it - a chance to become involved in vigilante activities and violence, as well as to cooperate with the provincial government. It can be argued that any government which focuses on strong law enforcement will minimize the role of ethnic and religious vigilante groups in society. It might therefore be expected that there will be a decline in vigilante activities by these groups and they might then become involved in more civilized activities.

This study focuses on the feud between the Jakarta Society Movement (GMJ) and well known vigilante groups such FPI and FBR with the provincial government of Jakarta, It traces the transformations in the Jakarta provincial government in post-new order era, and the ways in which previous governors, Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo, maintained good relationships with ethnic and religious groups. It looks to identify the causes of the feud going on with the current governor, Ahok, and to answer why both sides have refused to collaborate. Importantly, what does this tell us about civil society as it is currently developing in Jakarta today, and the ways in which democracy is being enacted in Indonesia's capital city.

1.1. Research Method

This thesis examines the political contest between ethno-religious based mass organizations and the current governor of Jakarta. This research is qualitative and is based on a case study of Jakarta during Ahok's era as Jakarta's governor. This report also looks at the aspects of the previous governor of Jakarta, Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo, who had a good relationship with the vigilante groups in the post reform era. It is important in finding the differences in the Governor's administration and leadership between the previous Governor and Ahok in terms of how to handle these vigilante ethno-religious groups.

In terms of data collection, a combination of methods were employed, including an analysis of written documents and electronically sourcing available on-line. This combination of data can be complementary to one another and strengthen the validity of the data used in this study (Onwuegbuzie et al, 2010).

To examine the relationship between Jakarta's governor and ethno-religious based mass organizations, it is important to obtain historical data that shows the chronology of incidents and events that are considered important and relevant. Data accessed from mass media sources for analysis was in a combination of forms including printed material, electronic and online sources like YouTube and websites featuring statements, dialogues, interviews, talk shows and speeches from stakeholders related to the research theme. Thus, the sources of the data or information gathered was diverse and comprehensive (Grbich, 2007; Tracy, 2013).

Significance of the Topic

Various studies on the development of groups of organizations, paramilitary groups, vigilante groups, ethno-religious groups, and uncivil society groups have been carried out by many scholars after the collapse of the authoritarian regime of Suharto and the transition to democracy (Barker, 2006; Bakker, 2015; L. Wilson, 2015; I Wilson, 2015; Telle, 2013; Tyson, 2013; Beittinger-Lee, 2009). These studies found that the state or government are not firm in its opposition to groups who use violence. They also pointed out that the central and regional governments are inconsistence in dealing with the problems posed by these groups. In certain cases, the government has even looked at ways to accommodate these groups for the common good and they are used as informal actors for carrying out government policy or security roles in order to reduce the bad image of the government or security forces in terms of human rights violations (Bakker, 2015; Telle, 2013)

However, to date there has been little reflection on government perspectives relating to these ethno-religious groups, the majority of the research being ethnographic studies of the membership and activities of these groups. Therefore, this research focuses on the Jakarta government's response in the post-Suharto era to these ethnic and religious organizations, and the ways in which this has been represented in the media. This research analyzes the causes of the feud between vigilante society groups and the government as well as the capacity of the Jakarta government in handling these groups.

Theoretical Frameworks

Theoretical frameworks which will be used to analyze the feud between ethno-religious vigilante groups and Jakarta governor are a democratic transition in post-authoritarian era; civil society, considered both good and bad; as well as the terms of uncivil society group.

Democratic Transition from authoritarian government

A transition regime is the "interval between one political regime and another" (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986: 6). The transition regime in this study is the interval between authoritarian government and a more democratic government. In this interval period, there is a process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime and the emergence of some form of democracy and democratic institutions (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Przeworski, 1986). Furthermore, it has to meet one of several basic procedural namely (i) the existence of competitive elections in getting political positions (political office) and opposition groups who have the right to challenge incumbent leaders and policies; and (ii) there must be a guarantees of citizenship and a guarantee of traditional civil liberties for all, free speech and association, as well as protection to minority rights (Mainwaring, 1989; Haggard and Kaufman, 1995).

Instability and insecurity are the characteristics of the process of transition from one regime to another regime. These conditions are considered as an opportunity for the groups and organizations which take the form of ethnic and religious vigilante groups that use violence to accommodate their goals i.e expand their socio-economic and political power. (Masaaki and Hamid, 2008)

A state is considered to be a strong state if it is able to organize their citizen to obey the Law. In enforcing the law, a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force, as described by Weber (1958:78) must be performed by the state. Thus, a person who disobey the law must be punished according to their deeds, and punishment must be seen as an action that must be done for the sake of the rule of law and not as a revenge (Barker, 2006). Moreover, according to Migdal (1988), a strong state is a state which has the ability to fuse with the society, regulate social relationship and its resources in order to influence social changes (Migdal, 1988: 4-5).

On the contrary, a weak country is a country which has no capabilities and cannot control their citizens. Moreover, a contemporary weak state is characterized by high capabilities in penetration and extraction while being markedly weaker when it comes to regulation and appropriation. This duality is deep-rooted in many postcolonial states who are present in all sectors of society but generally powerless to effect changes in society (Migdal, 1998).

After the fall of Suharto in 1998, Indonesia entered transition era from authoritarian to democratic modes of governance. In the transition to democracy in Indonesia, there are some positive changes have been occurred but the quality of democracy is low and still has many challenges (Horowitz, 2013; Freedman and Tiburzi, 2012). Corruption, lack of transparency, lack of law enforcement, the pressure against minority groups, military abuse and immature decentralization, strong ethnic politics, and Islamic radicalism are examples of the challenges that exist in Indonesia today (Horowitz, 2013: 207-258; Freedman and Tiburzi, 2012; Davidson, 2009). In addition, since the collapse of authoritarian regimes, the state becomes weak and resulted in violent conflicts from small scale to large scale violence caused by the conflict between religions, ethnic violence and Secessionist movement (Beittinger-Lee, 2009).

In an era of transition, the condition in Indonesia cannot be separated from the effect of the New Order era. The New Order era was characterized by the presence of military forces, centralized decision-making, violent repression, and ideology control. As a result, one of the New Order's legacies which is growing after the fall of Suharto was the development of vigilantism activities in rural and urban areas (Klinken and Barker, 2009). Vigilantism is a form of criminal offense that challenge the authority of the State and a habit in order to monitor the surroundings and also provides punishment for offenders such as thieves. This is done by local resident or private security guards, not by the police. This is the legacy of the New Order that well known with Sistem Keamanan Lingkungan

(Siskamling). Siskamling was part of a government program called Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (Pangkopkamtib) to conduct security surveillance in the local environment carried out by the local community. In other words, this program is an extension of the police surveillance to a local scope. This policy was implemented from 1980 to respond to various problems in the country, from political upheavals to the crime. (Barker, 1999, 2001, 2006; Bertrand 2004).

Civil Society and Uncivil Society (Good and Bad Civil Society)

According to Rosenblum and Post (2002), civil society is something contrasting the government. They explained that "civil society is the realm of social life which, when viewed from the perspective of government, is characterized by plural and particularist identities. Therefore, civil society is a zone of freedom for individuals to associate with others and for groups to shape their norms, articulate their purposes, and determine for themselves the internal structure of group authority and identity" (Rosenblum and Post, 2002: 3).

Furthermore, Larrry Diamond (1994) showed that civil society is "a realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by legal order or a set of shared rules" (Diamond, 1994: 5). The function of civil society, according to Diamond, is to check and control state power in order to avoid the emergence of authoritarian governments and enhance democratic culture. In addition, Diamond argues that civil society is distinct from other groups due to several factors, including: concern for the public issues; relates to the state but does not have an objective to seize power; supports pluralism and diversity as well as partialness (Diamond, 1994: 7).

Moreover, Hadiwinata (2009) found that there are two groups of scholars who have different views regarding the relationship of civil society and democracy. First, the liberal group - normative theorist who believes that a strong and vibrant civil society as a precondition for an effective democracy (Putnam, 1996; Whitehead, 1997; Cohen and Arato, 1992; Diamond, 1999). They define civil society as the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary and self-generating, they believe that civil society can increase is representative of the performance of governments and broaden the political participation of citizens. In the transition phase, the role of civil society is trying to get rid of authoritarian government and draft a new constitution that guarantees the existence of a public sphere. While in the consolidation phase of democracy, civil society plays a role in encouraging the government to be transparent and accountable and ensuring the survival of democracy (Hadiwinata, 2009:276).

Furthermore, according to Whitehead (1997), uncivil citizens can be defined as people who enjoy political rights but are not willing to abide by the rules that apply to civil society (Whitehead, 1997: 95). Morever, Beittinger-Lee (2009) categorized the characteristics

of uncivil society including (i) The use of force, violence, and fraud to acquire power or political influence; (ii) The pursuit of illiberal or anti-democratic agendas; (iii) An undemocratic internal structure; (iv) An ideological foundation that is opposed to liberal democratic values; (v) A lack of a 'spirit of civility'; (vi) Racism, intolerance, uniformity; (vii) Illegality/criminal activities (Beittinger-Lee, 2009: 160).

Second, the empiricist historical groups argue that civil society may lead to a solution or a problem for democracy. Therefore, civil society does not always positively contributes to democracy (Chandoke, 2001; Alagappa, 2004; Kopecky and Mudde, 2003). Rather, civil society is not necessarily immune to contamination from the state or from 'uncivil' elements in society: the ultra - nationalist groups, extreme religious groups, recalcitrant militias, thugs and mafia Organizations, all carrying predatory interests (Hadiwinata, 2009: 266 -267).

This resulted in the emergence of two concepts of civil society namely ' good ' and 'bad ' civil society. There are some indicators which can defined the good civil society, namely voluntary, autonomous, law abiding, as well as norm abiding activities. Whereas, the ' bad ' civil society category often breeds religious intolerance, has extreme ideologies, ethno - nationalist sentiments and majoritarianism, rejects another distinct group identity and tend to use violence.

The uncivil society or bad society uses vigilantism. According to Johnston (1996), vigilantism is a social movement which can lead to a planned use of force - or threatened force - done by ordinary citizens (autonomous citizens). It is arises as a result of the violation of norms that institutionalized by individuals or groups - or against potential or imputed transgression. In general, vigilantism can be assumed as a vigilante act ('taking the law into reviews their own hands') and categorized as an illegal act, carried out by people or groups (Rosenbaum and Sedeberg, 1976; Johnston, 1996). However, vigilante violence can also be considered as legitimate act if it is done by the State or the regime and considered "illegitimate" when it is done by private individuals who fought against the regime. In this case, defensive acts by individuals or groups which violate the law can also categorized as vigilante act (Rosenbaum and Sedeberg, 1976).

In Indonesia, the concept of civil society such as voluntary and self-sustaining organizations which achieve their public goals and do not depend on the state, has existed in before the Independence in 1945. For example, the value of volunteerism in doing community activities such as "gotong royong" (working together), "arisan" (credit saving rotation group), "lumbung paceklik" (food reserves), "kelompok kematian" (burial association), "selapanan" (weekly meetings group) and "beras perelek" (burial insurance group) are aspects of voluntary community activities within Indonesia. In addition to these community activities, volunteer organizations that arose before the Independence included – Budi Utomo, Taman Siswa, and religious based societal organization (Sarekat Islam (SI), Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah). These organizations have actively promoted

education activities, religious activities, trade and other basic services, including health services (Hadiwinata, 2009: 280-281).

In the New Order era, there have been many terms used to refer to a good civil society organizations. The term used is "Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM)", which means "self - reliant community development institution". In Suharto era, there was no space given by the regime to express opposition to the government or to challenge government policy, thus the Indonesian CSOs do not use the term Non - Governmental Organization (NGO) which can be interpreted by the regime as "an anti -government organization". In addition, there was also a risk of being abducted, tortured, and dissolved by the regime according to Law No. 8 1985 (Nugroho, 2013)

After the fall of Suharto, there has been significant growth in civil society, both in terms of quantity and quality. It tries to imitate the concepts of western liberal democracy and promotes agendas including labor welfare, gender equality, human rights, law enforcement and justice, corruption prevention and eradication, as well as the control of the activities of armed forces (Nyman, 2009: 252-269).

Some of the types of civil society organizations that are registered in in several ministries in Indonesia include: foundation organizations, incorporated associations, international organizations, societal organizations, religious-based organizations, consumer protection organizations, social activities organizations, labor union and disaster management organizations. Civil Society Organizations have to register themselves with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration and the National Body for Disaster Management (BNPB) (Nugroho, 2013).

However, in terms of capacity, integrity, strategic alliances and the way of interacting with the state, the civil society in Indonesia is still considered immature (Nyman, 2009). Issues such as corruption, internal rivalry, primordialism and fragmentation are examples of the internal problems of civil society in Indonesia (Nyman, 2009). However, the state provides support for the development of civil society through the guarantee the rights and freedom of civil society and develop a mechanism for a more constructive interaction with the government (Nyman, 2009)

At the same time, uncivil society organizations also emerged rapidly after the fall of New Order when the state is considered weak. The changes in the political landscape from centralization to decentralization have contributed to the strengthening of local and regional identities and civilian security groups based on ethnicity and religion emerged in the public sphere. They began to express the values of ethnicity and religion in taking an anti-minority stance, spreading intolerance and hatred, which has often lead to violence (Telle, 2013; Jones, 2015). In Jakarta, there are at least six prominent mass organization including ethno - religious groups that can be categorized to this term namely Laskar

Jayakarta (Jayakarta Warriors), Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth), Eastern Indonesia groups, the Haji Lulung's group, Betawi Brotherhood Forum (FBR), The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). (The Jakarta Post, 2009).

Moreover, these groups emerged rapidly in the democratic transition period during which state is considered weak and they started to perform to take the law into their own hand (Beittinger-Lee, 2009: 159).

Ethno-Religious Groups in Jakarta (FPI, FBR and GMJ)

This chapter will focus on three mass organization namely Islamic Defender Front (FPI), Betawi Brotherhood Forum (FBR) and Jakarta Society Movement (GMJ) which have feud with the current governor, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok).

A. *Islamic Defenders Front (FPI)*

Islamic Defenders Front is a radical Islamic group that was born after the collapse of the new order especially after the dismissal of Pam Swakarsa[1]. This organization is well-known as anti-minority, spreading intolerance and hatred and is famous for its militant vigilante activities (Fealy, 2004; Jones, 2015). The FPI was founded by Habib Muhammad Rizieq Shihab and KH Misbahul Anam on August 17th, 1998 at the boarding school al-Umm, Kampung Utan, Ciputat, West Java and according to many rumors, it had gotten support from Major General Djadja Suparman (Commander of the Greater Jakarta Regional Army Command in 1998-1999), are close to Wiranto (Sidel, 2006). In Jakarta, FPI has nearly 10,000 members. These people are required to read the Qu'ran as a requirement to be accepted as their member.

According to the Minutes of Historical and FPI's lines struggle's document, FPI nascency was motivated by three factors: first was the long suffering experienced by Indonesian Muslims as a result of human rights violations committed by powerful individual, Suharto. Second was the obligation for every Muslim to preserve and maintain

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[1] Pam Swakarsa members were derived from a number of Islamic groups including, the Indonesian Committee for Solidarity with the Islamic World (KISDI), Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII), the Muslim Forum for Justice and Constitution (Furkon) which is under the responsibility of the Indonesia Ulama MUI, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Java and Madura society, Al-Furqan mosque's Islam Teenagers from Bekasi, Islamic Student Group from Bandung (Kelompok Pelajar Islam KPI), Islamic Students Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI), the Islamic Youth Movement (GPI), and Brigade Hizbullah, (Sidel, 2006: 138; Beittinger-Lee, 2009), At that time, Pam Swakarsa were formed in support of President Habibie, and to guard the occasion of the Special Session of People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). The student groups and pro-democracy activists who rejected the convening of the Special Session of the People's People's Consultative Assembly Congress in 1999. They did not trust Habibie's leadership and members of the Assembly which were deemed to be connected to the New Order. Thus, there were an impression that the Pam Swakarsa directly confronted group of student demonstrators in the main streets because the military did not want to be blamed when there were clashes between the military and civilians (Sidel, 2006; Beittinger-Lee, 2009).

the dignity of Islam and the ummat. Third was the obligation for every Muslim to uphold the command of the good and the forbidding the evil (*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*).

In carrying out its activities, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) based on two principals: First, "Amar ma'ruf", a command to do all things that are good according to Islamic Shari'ah law and second, forbidding evil by preventing all crime (*kemungkaran*), which is interpreted as actions which are considered bad by sharia 'and in the legal sense[2]. Therefore, FPI attempted to raise the status of moral reform through various religious activities, such as *Tabligh Akbar*, hearings to policy makers, community leaders and government officials gathering as well as demonstrations.

Moreover, according to the FPI, the government has not been able to clean up immorality acts in the society because gambling, drugs, and alcohol are still common and widespread. Therefore, FPI's main activity is to against immorality, and they frequently carried out attacks on bars, nightclubs, discotheques, gambling dens, brothels and dance clubs in Jakarta (Fealy, 2004). To carry out its operations, FPI created the Defenders Laskar Islam (LPI) force, to take action against anti-Islamic activities and or places which subvert Islam's belief, These activities are better known as "FPI sweeps" have been undertaken since the beginning of the reform era, and are regularly enacted, especially during Ramadan (Sidel 2006; Hasan, 2006: 14-16).

Since it was founded at the beginning of the reform era, the Islamic Defenders Front has made various acts of violence. As for the level of Jakarta, the FPI conducted many violence and demonstration acts with anti-Islam, Christian, pro - western, and capitalist as their target. There have been at least two acts violence committed by FPI which have attracted public and the international attention. First was the clash between FPI and the National Alliance for Freedom of Religion and Belief (AKKBB) on June 2008 at Monumen Nasional (Monas), Jakarta. Second was the attack of the office of Playboy Indonesia in April 2006 at Cilandak, South Jakarta which was a response to the "out of control" freedom of the media (both print and electronic) in Indonesia as well as the contemporary culture which was regarded as tending to ignore religious values. Therefore, FPI action was regarded as necessary to get rid corrupting influences to endanger young people (Kitley, 2008)

B. *Betawi Brotherhood Forum (FBR)*

Betawi Brotherhood Forum or Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR) was founded by KH. Ahmad El-Muhir Fadloli on 29 July, 2001 in Pondok Orphan Ziyadatul Mubtadi-ien, an Islamic School in Cakung, East Jakarta (L. Wilson, 2015). The fights between gangs (inter-gang

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[2] In order to achieve *amar ma'ruf*, FPI uses a prudent and gentle method by inviting people with Hikmah (wisdom, and gentle), give mau'idzah hasanah good advice , and discussion. Whereas in implementing nahi munkar, FPI uses a firm stand by using force / power when it is able to, oration and written method; If these two steps are not able to do so, thus nahi munkar is enforced by assertiveness in order not to approve any form of kemungkaran. They believe that if there is unity and togetherness among scholars, ulama , and all Muslims in enforcing nahi munkar, this nation will be detached from the threat of crisis.

rivalries) in mid-2000 - early 2001 between Madura group and Betawi group in East Jakarta became the catalyst formation of FBR. (I. Wilson, 2010, 2015).

The group was formed as an organization that represented the interests of the Betawi ethnic identity and to preserve Islam identity as well as to maintain the Betawi culture which is marginalized in its own city due to modernization and the arrival of the various ethnic influences from other cultures (Farlina, 2012; L. Wilson, 2015; I. Wilson, 2015; Knorr, 2014). In addition, the FBR also aims to develop an understanding of religion, promote prosperity and social justice for the community and law enforcement for the Betawi community (L. Wilson, 2015: 197). Three basic principles of Betawi culture are promoted by FBR, namely 'prayer, education and Silat (martial art) (L. Wilson, 2015).

FBR is often identified as a group of criminal gangs or individuals which are based on certain ethnic, cultures and which come from marginal groups who seek collective rights and materials profits. The organization claims that they have 1.2 million members throughout Indonesia with most of these members being young (aged 20-30 years) and from marginal class, unemployed, precariat, motor cycle drivers, etc (Stern, 2012; I. Wilson, 2010; Brown and Wilson, 2006).

Furthermore, FBR also provides protection to the market stallholders and forces them to pay daily security fees, and they are threatened with violence if they do not pay the security fees). In addition, FBR also seeks legitimacy from the local community since it sponsors mass circumcision activities and helps the orphanages on a regular basis (social activities in society). Besides, they also handle and solve small crime cases, as well as being a benefactor of the police through their security fees from local business. They are therefore supported by the local police (I. Wilson, 2008). When starting a new branch, FBR tactics are to consolidate with the existing gangs in the area, and then declare their organization in that region, their presence then being marked by the establishment of guard posts and the display of the FBR's flag. Currently, FBR guard posts are located throughout the city, usually located in strategic places such as markets, bus terminals and in low class housing estates. FBR guard posts have several functions, acting to monitor the community and oversee surrounding territories' security. The guard posts are also a symbol which indicates that a region is dominated by FBR, and is an identifier of potential clashes so they can take preventive actions (L. Wilson, 2015; I. Wilson, 2015; Stern, 2012).

In fact, the emergence of FBR is because the State is not present in people's daily lives. In this case the state does not provide security for the citizens. It is proved by the several conflicts between Madurese ethnic group and Betawi ethnic group. In addition, the State is marginalized their citizens, especially in Jakarta. It is proved by the rampant development in Jakarta and the local people are increasingly marginalized, hard to get a job and their existence is unappreciated. This is similar to what was said by member of FBR: "If the government to fulfill its obligations and to provide them a decent job and satisfy their basic needs then there is no reason for the FBR to continue to exist. As it stands, if we do

not stand up and fight for what is rightfully ours, we will end up with nothing "(I. Wilson, 2010: 252).

C. *Jakarta Society Movement (Gerakan Masyarakat Jakarta/GMJ)*

In 2014, FPI and FBR initiated a movement to oppose Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok), named Jakarta Society Movement (Gerakan Masyarakat Jakarta, GMJ). They claimed that this movement consist of 99 ethno-religious groups and mass organizations in Jakarta. In addition, in GMJ, there are also Jakarta Rescue Presidium (Presidium Penyelamat Jakarta, PPJ) which is a unifying figures and the advisory board of GMJ. Some unifying figures are Habib Rizieq Shihab (FPI), Lutfi Hakim (FBR), Kyai Haji Maulana, Sabarudiin Yusuf, Habib Abdurrahman Habib Abdurrahman - Kwitang, Habib K. Alatas (South Jakarta), there Kyai Munawir Asri (East Jakarta), Rhoma Irama, and Kyai Haji Rashid Abdurr.

These groups were opposing Ahok's appointment as being unconstitutional, arguing that as the Vice Governor, he should not automatically replace the governor, especially in Jakarta. They were wrongly interpreted Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) number 1 of 2014 which states that: "*for Jakarta, if The Governor resigns, or dies or get fired because of legal problems, then, a new governor should to be elected by the Jakarta City Council*". Moreover, they also claimed that during Ahok's inauguration by Joko Widodo, the number city council members attended the inauguration was less than 50 per cent from the total members of city council.

As a concrete action of GMJ's rejection to Ahok's leadership, GMJ appointed and inaugurated Fahrurozi Ishak[3] as their own version Jakarta's Governor (Tempo.co, 2014). His un-official inauguration was performed in front of the Jakarta City Council building and was attended by about 80 thousand people. The inauguration of GMJ's governor was a public statement of their legal rejection of Ahok as governor of Jakarta. Moreover, they also refused Ahok because of his ethnicity and religion, arguing that leaders in Jakarta should be ethnic Betawi and Muslim.

Jakarta Vigilante Ethno-Religious Group after Jakarta's 2012 Gubernatorial Election (Discussion)

In 2012 Jakarta's governor and vice governor election, there were six couples of candidates contesting for Jakarta (Hamid, 2014:92-93). Then, the Jakarta's direct election in 2012 was held into two rounds, which there were two couples left, Fauzi Bowo - Nachrowi Ramli, who accentuating religion and ethnicity factors and Joko Widodo - Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok), both come from outside Jakarta. During the second round campaign,

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[3] "FPI Pilih Gubernur Jakarta Fahrurrozi, Siapa Dia?" (*FPI Appoints Fahrurrozi as Jakarta Governor, Who is He?*) Tempo.co, 01 December 2014 http://metro.tempo.co/read/news/2014/12/01/231625676/fpi-pilih-gubernur-jakarta-fahrurrozi-siapa-dia

Jokowi-Ahok became a hatred speech victim by Rhoma Irama, an Islamic figures and famous dangdut singer. He stated that Moslems should not choose Joko Widodo and Ahok. This is in contrast with Fauzi Bowo and Nachrowi Ramli[4] who received strong support from the Betawi community and Islamic organizations as well as some vigilante ethno-religious groups such as the Betawi Brotherhood Forum (Forum Betawi Rempug, FBR), the United Betawi Front (Forum Betawi Bersatu, FBB), the Children of Betawi Communication Forum (Forum Komunikasi Anak Betawi, Forkabi) and the Islamic Defender Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI) (Hamid, 2014 ; Miichi, 2014; Prasetyawan, 2014). These vigilante ethno-religious group did not support Jokowi-Ahok at all in the local election. Therefore, after Jokowi-Ahok victory in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2012, these vigilante ethno-religious groups do not have any relationships and access to the new government, whereas during the Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo era, they had a harmonious relationship with the government.

In Sutiyoso era (1997-2002), Fadloli el-Muhir, founder of Betawi Brotherhood Forum that was established in 2001, has a close relationship with high officials including Sutiyoso. As a governor, Sutiyoso build alliances with groups of Betawi thugs including FBR to be used to secure Jakarta during his administration and recognize the group values as an original identity of Jakarta (I. Wilson, 2010: 251). FBR's first action in order to support Sutiyoso and made the organization famous was the attacks on the mass of the Urban Poor Consortium (UPC), a Jakarta based NGO for urban poor community, who were demonstrating in the office of the National Commission on Human Rights in March 2002 (Brown and Wilson, 2007). At that time, UPC urged the National Human Rights Commission to execute the Central Jakarta court decision which won the class action against the provincial government's policy of Jakarta conducting enforcement operations, evictions and raids against small people by using violence (Liputan6.com, 2002). Then, in the gubernatorial elections of 2002, FBR supported Sutiyoso as a candidate for Jakarta governor. Sutiyoso was considered to be able to manage Jakarta with religious values and concern for Betawi people since he was able to close Kramat Tunggak, a prostitution location (Brown and Wilson, 2007). But at the time, FPI had different views with FBR. FPI was against Sutiyoso nomination as governor Sutiyoso was being considered to support gambling, racketeering, and drugs dealers. He also was considered to use money politics in the gubernatorial election to bribe the Jakarta parliament members (Steijlen, 2002: 517). Sutiyoso along with Fauzi Bowo, 'a Betawi descendants' finally won the election and became governor and vice governor of Jakarta for the period 2002-2007. They won because of the vigorous support from Megawati, the president at that time (Steijlen, 2002). After that, Sutiyoso said that he would approach the FPI who opposed him during the campaign.

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[4] Nachrowi Ramli is head of the Betawi Consultative Body (Badan Musyawarah Betawi, Bamus Betawi), an umbrella for about a hundred Betawi-based organisations

Likewise, in the Fauzi Bowo era, the role of vigilante ethnic-religious groups increased. They are often used as a political tool by high officials to defend them from any strike or protest coming from other politicians or NGOs which oppose government official policies. Fadloli El-Muhir, one of the FBR officials, known as a broker who hired by politicians to carry out mass protest as a means of lobbying and to counter issues brought by NGOs (Honna, 2006: 84, 85). FBR has many members in which the majority is young people who do not have full-time jobs. Therefore, it is very easy for FBR to gather the masses and do mass protest (Leksana, 2008)

Moreover, during Fauzi Bowo administration, FPI campaigned for free of vice (immoral things) by doing nightclub and prostitution places sweeping. Moreover, in 2010, FPI involved in Jakarta's security system along with the police and municipal police to keep order during the month of Ramadan. It was said by Fauzi Bowo and Timur Pradopo, an Indonesia Police Chief at that time, which attended the FPI 12th anniversary on 12 August 2010 (Tempo.co, 2010). Thus, it was an obvious evidence that FPI and Fauzi Bowo as well as Chief of Indonesia Police have a good relationship even though this relationship was not approved by many parties, especially Said Agil Siraj, chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and NGOs who are members of the Forum of Indonesia Pluralism (Viva.co.id, 2010).

This harmonious relationship was confirmed with the Jakarta Society Movement's governor, Fahrurozi Ishak's Statement:

> *"Sutiyoso, he is the one who understand the Betawi customs. Therefore, many scholars, Islam leaders and organizations, political parties, and the entire people of Jakarta like him.*
> *Because he has deep understanding of Betawi culture and Islam. He was Regional Military Commander (Panglima Komando Daerah Militer, Pangdam). He understand the idoms, 'wherever the earth is stepped, the sky must be upheld'. In addition, Fauzi Bowo is a native people of Jakarta. Then he knows Jakarta very well. "(Interview with Fahrurozi Ishak, 24 July 2015)*

In addition, during the Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo era, FBR managed to get a huge economic benefits. FBR managed to become an organization that controls many areas in Jakarta to establish a guard post in their territories (L. Wilson, 2015; I. Wilson, 2015; Stern, 2012). In fact, the organization become a government alliance in the handling the security issues and also to overcome the problems of thuggery. In addition, FBR also has successfully mastered the security business in industrial areas such as in Pulogadung and other local businesses (Brown and Wilson, 2007; I. Wilson, 2008).

Therefore, the relationship between these vigilante ethno-religious organization and Jakarta governor as well as Jakarta Police at that time created a privilege for these organizations. They had a backbone (backing) to do their illegal activities such as FPI's

sweeping and FBR's illegal security businesses (asking for money to the entrepreneurs and street vendors). Moreover, crime and illegal acts conducted by these groups become difficult to be punished according to the law. Therefore, these vigilante ethno-religious groups lost their patronage network after Jokowi – Ahok victory. As a result, it would seem the power of these ethno religious vigilante groups has declined as well as their financial revenues.

The lost of their patronage forced them to find another way to express their interest. Therefore, they held mass protest demonstrations. In October 3, 2014 in front of the parliament building in Jakarta, there were protests against Ahok's inauguration. There are several main reasons expressed by ethno-religious groups which joined in Jakarta Society Movement (GMJ) against Ahok. First, was Ahok's religion which is not Islam. It is expressly stated by Chairman of the FPI and one member of the Rescue Presidium of Jakarta, Habib Rizieq that a leader for Muslims has to be a Muslim:

> *"So, first as I said that I should not deny that the first and foremost because of the FPI refused Ahok terms of leadership in Islam. The terms of leadership for Muslims, must be Islam. It is for us is a must. Since for FPI, that scripture is always above the constitution. Not reversed. So this needs to underlined, so I do not need to hide or be shy to say it. We quite frankly, that is the first and foremost reason" (Interview with Habib Rizied by Gatra, 21 Nov 2014)*

Second, they assess Ahok would discriminate against Muslims. This view is based on the policies which considered to be detrimental to Muslims. Some examples are official position auctions that made Susan Jasmine Zulkifli, a female Christian, became a village chief (Lurah) in Lenteng Agung area, which majority of residents is Muslims; demolished the mosque in Taman Ismail Marzuki, with the aim to made the building of the Faculty Film of Jakarta Art Institute (IKJ); the prohibition of slaughter of sacrificial animals at school and plans to do the legalization of prostitution (voa-islam.com, 2014).

Third, Ahok is also considered unethical, arrogant and often provocative, rude and ridicule the legislators. He is considered to not understand the indigenous people of Jakarta, which led him had no support from Islamic leaders in Jakarta. It is as stated by Fahrurozi Ishak (alternative governor) comparing the attitude Ahok with previous governors:

> *"Well, unlike the Ahok. he does not know himself, talking carelessly. Ahok did not know where he stood. Imagine a city civil servants who have worked more than 30 years, doctors, and experts, but humiliated. Though he (Ahok) is new people, it is a sign that Ahok does not understand the customs. He thought saying "gue" (Betawi slang words for "I") and "elo" (Betawi slang words for "you") made him become Jakarta people? Instead, it is a young's waffle. He was not polite, Ahok does not understand. That's why I say this, Ahok does not understand the customs. So if I say that Ahok*

does not get the support of many Islam figures, so it's very, very reasonable. During the government meetings he (Ahok) said "don't you dare to do so", while pointing his hand. In contrast, Fauzi Bowo, who is a doctor engineer, he understands the customs. The leader should not be like that (Interview with Fahrurozi Ishak, 24 July 2015) "

Moreover, FPI and FBR through the Jakarta Society Movement tried to overthrow Ahok by pursuing the members of the parliament in Jakarta who are members of the Red White Coalition.[5] They tried to use constitution to prevent Ahok to be the governor of Jakarta. GMJ and members of Parliament who are members of the Red and White Coalition adhere to Articles 173 and 174 in Perppu No. 1/2014. Article 173 paragraph (1) states that "In the case of governors, regents, and mayors permanently indisposed, the vice governor, vice regents and vice mayor are not necessarily replacing governors, regents and mayors." And then Article 174 Paragraph (2) states that "If in the remaining term of his service, the governor is resigns or is dismissed by a court decision that has permanent legal force and if he remaining term is more than 18 months, then a new governor must be elected by the Provincial Parliament." Furthermore, Article 174 paragraph (3) states that the Governor elected through the Provincial Parliament should continue for the remaining term of the governor who resigned or was laid off." And Article 174 (4) also states that "If the governor resigns or is dismissed by a court decision that has had permanent legal force was nominated by a faction or combination of factions, the faction or factions can propose two candidates for the position of governor to the Provincial Parliament" (CNN Indonesia, 2014a). [6]

While, the legal basis used by the Home Minister in Ahok's inauguration is Article 203 of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 concerning Governors, Regents, and the Mayoral Election. The article states that "*In the event where there is a vacant position of governors, regents and mayors who are appointed based on Law Number 32 Year 2004 about Regional Government, the Vice Governor, Vice Regents and Vice mayor replace the governors , regents and mayors until the end of his tenure.*"

From the standpoint of the legal basis, it can be said that the legal views GMJ group and Jakarta parliament members under Red and White Coalition Red was not right. They

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[5] During and after the presidential election of 2014, there are two big coalition in the Parliament, namely the Great Indonesian Coalition (Koalisi Indonesia Hebat, KIH) which consist of Indonesia Democratic Struggle Party (PDIP), National Democrats, the National Awakening Party and the People's Conscience) and the Red and White Coalition (Koalisi Merah Putih, KMP) which consist of Gerindra, PKS, PAN, PPP, PBB. At that time, Indonesia Great Coalition supported the pair Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla, while the Red and White supported Prabowo - Hatta Rajasa. Furthermore, the two major coalition was also attended by some of the local parliament, including parliament in Jakarta. This difference then continue and become a strong basis to keep dissent at the time of decision making in the local parliament.

[6] "Beda Dasar Hukum Kemendagri dan KMP Soal Ahok," (*Different the reference of Law between Ministry of Home Affairs and Red White Coallition on Ahok*) CNN Indonesia, 14 November 2014. http://www.cnnindonesia. com/nasional/20141114111001-20-11483/beda-dasar-hukum-kemendagri-dan-kmp-soal-ahok/

just took the chapters and verses that support their opinion but less appropriate from the standpoint of other laws and regulations. It is also reinforced by a statement from Refly Harun, a constitutional expert, in the talk show on Metro TV on 13 November 2014[7] titled "Ahok's deposing scenario" which states that the legal basis for Ahok's appointment (replacing Jokowi) to become governor is Perppu No. 1 of 2014 and Article 203 and Law No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government. Furthermore, he explained that the regional leaders that exist today (governors, regents and mayors) constituted the legal basis of Law No. 32 in 2004 because they (regional leaders and representatives) are elected democratically by the people. Therefore, if the government of the region resigned and/or absent, then automatically be replaced by his vice governor.

In addition, these ethno religious groups were also mimicking the government. Jakarta Society Movement (GMJ) through its boards inducted Fahrurrozi Ishak, a Betawi-Moslem, as an unofficial alternative to Ahok as Governor of Jakarta. This inauguration was claimed to be supported by 80,000 people, and some members of the City Council actively support the presence of GMJ, such as Haji Abraham Lunggana (Haji Lulung) from Islamic United Development Party (PPP) and M Taufik from Gerindra Party. During the inauguration, after reading the prayer, GMJ burned and hanged a doll image of Ahok while singing Indonesia Raya. "*Ahok been hanged since last night so it smells bad. So it has to be burned so that the smell does not spread*," said Lutfi Hakim, chairman of FBR before burning the Ahok's doll (CNN Indonesia, 2014b). This was regarded as a symbol that for them, Ahok is not their governor.

These aforementioned actions are considered that these ethno-religious groups can be categorized as uncivil society group because they did using force, violence, and fraud to acquire power or political influence; pursuit of illiberal or anti-democratic agendas; an ideological foundation that is opposed to liberal democratic values; a lack of a 'spirit of civility'; racism, intolerance, uniformity; Illegality/criminal activities (Beittinger-Lee, 2009: 160). In addition, these vigilante ethno religious groups also undermine and contribute negatively to the democracy by using vigilantism in expressing their interests and had an anti-democratic agenda toward Ahok's inauguration.

In terms of running the government, Jokowi-Ahok administration tries to be a more transparent, accountable system of government and to perform the function of government well compare to the Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo' era. After they won the election, Jokowi-Ahok continued to promote their governorship as a period of change. Using the slogan New Jakarta (Jakarta Baru), their vision is "*A New Jakarta, Modern City, A Most Liveable City in Indonesia, Cultured and Plural Society, with public service oriented government*". To realize the vision of the New Jakarta, their mission statement stresses the following: (i) Creating a modern and neat city which aligned to the regional spatial plan; (ii) Creating

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a city free from entrenched problems such as traffic jams, floods, slums areas, cleanliness, etc, (iii) Ensuring the availability of residential and public spaces which are feasible and affordable for citizens and ensuring the availability of free health care and education for school age children for Jakarta's citizens (iv) Creating a tolerant urban communities culture, but also creating awareness to maintain the city (v) Creating a clean, transparent, and public service-oriented government

Based on their vision and mission, they created several programs that has been done very different with Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo era. Firstly, Jokowi – Ahok has reformed the bureaucracy by introducing the concept of Officials Open Position Selection (Position's Procurement), a merit - based test for the officials to get promoted by relying on performance appraisal. Official position's auction either at the level of sub-district and urban village is one of the efforts made by the Jakarta government to improve public services in the community and to optimize the official's performance in small area administration unit. In addition, the auction is also an improvement system as during the previous governor, system of promotion and transfer are closed, and do not have a clear assessment criteria as well as do produce officials who are underperformed (Sendhikasari, 2013)

Secondly, Jakarta government also made good use of social media such as Youtube to promote the governor's and vice governor's activities both in the meetings and in the field. Jakarta is the first provincial government which record their meetings and upload it on Youtube. This is done by Jokowi - Ahok administration in order to be more transparent as well as to gain support from wider community.

Thirdly, Jokowi - Ahok are trying to improve the people's welfare and creating programs which have a direct impact on labor and poor and marginalized people. Not long after Jokowi became governor, he raised the Province Minimum Wage (regional minimum wage) from IDR 1,56 million (USD 132.4) to IDR 2.2 million (USD 186.7) To overcome the problems of access to education and health, he provided Jakarta Smart Card (Kartu Jakarta Pintar, KJP) and Jakarta Health Card (Kartu Jakarta Sehat, KJS). This policy is very much welcomed by the workers and the poor but disappoint business community (Hamid, 2014). Moreover, Ahok also tries to obtain support from other and bigger Islam organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, and develop pro muslim programs such as 'give his own *zakat*[8] or line break to Masjid' in Jakarta, Mosque renovation, Hajj and Umrah program for mosque guards and provide blue collar job with a minimum wage for the youth in marginalized society.

In terms of maintaining order and security, Jokowi Ahok administration has been work together with the police and military. Moreover, since Ahok's administration in 2014, Ahok even tries to implement the concept of strong state in which there is obedience from the citizen by strengthening law enforcement (Weber, 1958). One of his ways is

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[8] Definition of Zakat: Payment made annually under Islamic law on certain kinds of property and used for charitableland religious purposes, one of the Five Pillars of Islam.

through cooperation with the police and military in Jakarta. The government of Jakarta has been facilitated the security forces in Jakarta through financial assistance. Using the 2015 budget, Ahok provides grants to security forces institutions such as Army Reserve Strategic Command (Kostrad) IDR 30 billion (USD 2,249,382); Indonesia Military Headquarters (Mabes TNI) IDR 15.2 billion (USD 1,101,000); Indonesia Army Headquarters (Mabes TNI AD) IDR 3.2 billion (USD 234,000); Regional Military Command (Kodam Jaya) IDR 38.6 billion (USD 2,817,550); Army's Special Force (Kopassus) IDR 750 million (USD 54,850), The Indonesian Navy's Western Fleet (Koarmabar TNI AL) IDR 5.9 billion (USD 431,450); Operational Command of the Indonesian Air Force (Koops TNI AU) IDR 4.8 billion (USD 350,900); and Mobile Brigade Jakarta's Regional Police (Brimob Polda Metro Jaya) IDR 3.1 billion (USD 226,700).[9] Furthermore, Ahok issued a Governor's Regulation No 138/2015, which was signed on March 3, 2015, enacting Jakarta's provincial government to provide honorarium, IDR 250.000 (USD 18.5) allowance and IDR. 38.000 (USD 3) meals allowance per day for city administration officials and TNI / Police personnel who assigned in Jakarta. The provision of funds by the city government to the military / police showed a strong desire from the government of Jakarta that it requires strong support from the TNI / Police to create and maintain its security; to escort any development programs in Jakarta; and to shows non-vigilante ethno-religious groups and whoever doing illegal activities and violence that TNI / Police are the backbone (backing) of the government.

In the Jokowi – Ahok leadership, acts of violence by vigilante ethno-religious group always get a response from the government and addressed quickly by the police. For example, the incidence of violence committed by the FPI and FBR are incorporated in the current GMJ rejection Ahok was responded quickly by police. It is as stated on the appeal police chief at the time, Unggung Cahyono (Viva.co.id, 2014):

"I asked him (coordinator) to surrender. If not, I will forcibly get him tonight. This demonstration was very violent anarchist. If you want to express your opinion in public, I guarantee your independence. But you should not throw the stones, anarchist and so forth so that injuring other person, "(statement DKI Jakarta police chief, Unggung Cahyono, October 3, 2014).

Statements and firm attitude of police towards these ethno-religious vigilante group is very rarely in Sutiyoso and Fauzi Bowo era.

Furthermore, Ahok gave a firm statement regarding FPI, as follows:

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[9] "Ahok Rancang Pergub Uang Saku TNI Polri Rp. 250.000 per hari," (*Ahok designed The Governor's Decision Letter on pocket money allowance for Indonesia Military and Police, USD 25 per day*) Kompas.com, 27 July 2015. http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2015/07/27/11451281/Ahok.Rancang.Pergub.Uang.Saku.TNI.Polri. Rp.250.000.Per.Hari

"Clearly, I assert our attitude toward FPI, that FPI should not exist in Indonesia. It violates the constitution, and Pancasila. If they refuse me simply for religious reasons and spreading slander, FPI is not feasible in Indonesia. It is very clear ".[10]

Regarding FBR, there were two violent incident which attract public attention during Ahok's administration in 2015. First, on 29 May 2015, there was an attack against the security of Mall of Indonesia, Kelapa Gading, Jakarta conducted by FBR with more than hundreds mass. Then, on August 8, 2015, there were clashes between residents and FBR at Gembrong market regarding the seizure of a parking lot. These violent incidents also get a firm response from Ahok. By the time of the opening ceremony of the Regional Council of the National Committee of Indonesian Youth (KNPI) in August 2015, he stated that he did not want any mass organizations to become a thug hero (*jagoan*) in Jakarta and he reject any mass organization which plays as a camouflage for thugs to legitimate their crimes.

In addition, he also said that he would stop budget allocation for mass organizations involved in acts of violence and thuggery. On this occasion, Ahok also said that he is an "Official Thug":

"So today, there must not any organizations that sell stall (lapak) in Jakarta. If there is any, they must deal with me as an official thug. If there are any thugs who camouflage as mass organizations, it is not an official thugs. But I am the official thugs. We've made an agreement between the military and police, so I am sure any thugs in Jakarta will not be able to deal with the police and army" (Ahok's speech on KNPI meeting, August 2015)[11]

This statement shows that Ahok perceive himself has authority and higher position than any vigilante groups or thugs in Jakarta.

Moreover, on August 25, 2015, when the Metro Jaya police chief, Tito Karnavian presented his security programs in Jakarta, Ahok said that he would crack down violent and illegal acts committed by mass organization based on ethnic and demolish the guard post throughout Jakarta since it was considered as a form of thuggery.

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[10] "FPI Intimidates Ahok and Said Will Inaugurate Alternative Governor, Ahok Intimidates FPI and Said Will Have Alternative Chairman of FPI (FPI Ancam Bikin Gubernur Tandingan, Ahok Balas Ancam Bikin Ketua FPI Tandingan)," YouTube Video, 2:37, posted by "News Portalindo," November 11, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqHyvLQYSJA

[11] "07 August 2015 Governor Ahok – Opening Speech at 13th Regional Forum of DPD KNPI DKI Jakarta (07 Agustus 2015 Gub Basuki T. Purnama membuka resmi Musda ke XIII DPD KNPI Prov DKI Jakarta)", YouTube Video, 41:25, posted by "Pemprov DKI," August 7, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jd7wjNWcyy8

> *"Recently we had regulations about Betawi mass organization, so all included in Bamus. So anyone using the name of Betawi organizations but committed to thuggery acts, we beat them up now. Since, there is a legal basis. So it can be eliminated immediately, the organization should not exist in Jakarta, should not call themselves as Betawi mass organization. Betawi organization such as FBR and Forkabi. They forced people to give them money. We will beat them up. I asked the West and South Jakarta mayor to demolish their guard post. They are no longer in line with our regulations which we do not set about it. (Statement of Ahok on security program meeting with Polda Metro Jaya, August 25)[12]*

Therefore, thuggery prevention programs conducted by the Jakarta provincial government under the leadership of Ahok is trying to suppress any violent acts perpetrated by the mass organization (vigilante groups). This shows that Ahok administration wants to perform the function of a strong state as defined by Weber (1958), in which there is a legitimacy for Ahok to show its power in order to create a law-abiding society and crack down any illegal acts committed by the ethno- religious group.

Furthermore, in November 2014, Ahok wrote to the Home ministry and Ministry of Law and Human Rights asking for the dismissed of Islamic Defender Front (FPI) (Merdeka. com, 2014). In specific relation to the FPI, however, it is complicated since FPI's Central Board (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, DPP) is not registered in Jakarta. Meanwhile, for FBR, Ahok cannot shut down FBR and its guard posts in the Jakarta's area for several reasons. First, it is because Indonesia is a democratic country, thus the Law guarantees individual's the freedom to form any grouping. Second, it is because these groups are deep-rooted in Betawi communities, as well as provides social activities.

Ahok's plan to ethno-religious groups dissolution and demolition guard post can be viewed as a form of arrogance and excessive authoritarian system that can damage democracy in Indonesia. This is contrary to Article 28 of the Constitution 45 which guarantees the freedom of every citizen to assemble and the Law of mass organization No 17/2013 which states that there are many stages i.e warning letters for three times (article 62 & 63), the government stop funding their activities and temporarily banned for six months (article 64 to 66), revocation of licence (article 67 to 69), submission to and decision to disband the organization from district court (article 70 to 73), that has to be passed in order to dismiss an organization.

To conclude, in order to maintain democracy, the government should take a firm actions against any perpetrators of violence and provocative of vigilante ethno-religious group in accordance with the law. Therefore, if there is a strong law enforcement, these

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[12] "25 August 2015 Governor Ahok – Regional Police's Exposition (25 Agustus 2015 – Gubernur Basuki T Purnama Paparan Kapolda Metro Jaya)", YouTube Video, 1:32: 18, posted by "Pemprov DKI," August 25, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8-R-hMTfVvU

vigilante ethno religious groups can transform into civilized groups which run the functions of civil society such as to voice critique and prevent an authoritarian government (Diamond, 1994).

Conclusion

Indonesia is a pluralist country with many ethnicities and religions. Moreover, it is also a democratic country. However, democracy in Indonesia is still in the era of transition. This is reflected in the advent of many civil societies based on ethnicity, religion and interests, following the collapse of the Suharto regime. There are also groups or organizations that can undermine democracy, oppose pluralism and often committed to violent acts. In the context of Jakarta, FPI and FBR are examples of these organizations. Both organizations are incorporated in Jakarta Society Movement (GMJ), a group comprised of many organizations aimed at rejecting Ahok, an ethnic Chinese Christian, to be governor of Jakarta.

This feud between Ahok and GMJ (FPI and FBR) is based on the resentment of Ahok because of his different ethnic and religious background to the majority of Jakarta's population. The resentment is due to a particular religious interpretation that the people of Jakarta cannot be ruled by people who come from a different religion. The resentment has been expressed through a range of activities, including hatred speechs with reference to racism, intolerance, and lack of uniformity; demonstrations lead to violence and criminal activities (incitement and provocation); as well as pursuing anti-democratic agenda in order to overturn Ahok as Governor. Based on that activities, these groups can bet categorized as uncivil society groups and they have been conducting vigilante activities in order to achieve their goals (Beittinger-Lee, 2009).

Since Ahok does not want to have a connection with these groups, he tries to obtain support from other and bigger Islam organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, and develop pro muslim programs in Jakarta, Mosque renovation, Hajj and Umrah program for mosque guards. However, Ahok's policy regarding the restrictions of qurban and the open bid for vacant official positions sparked controversy and regarded as being against Muslim.

Moreover, Ahok also implements and continues programs from Jokowi for people's welfare, such as Kartu Jakarta Pintar (KJP) and Kartu Jakarta Sehat (KJS), as well as providing blue collar jobs for Jakarta's youth. Through these programs he want to show and prove that, as the State's representative, he manages the State's functions in the interests of the welfare of Jakarta's people regardless of their ethnic and religious background.

In terms of his efforts to provide security and order for Jakarta's people, Ahok cooperates with the police and military, instead of using FPI and FBR as was the case with previous governors, Fauzi Bowo and Sutiyoso. The Ahok administration gives grants

and support to the policemen and military through Jakarta's budget. This strategy has succeeded in oppressing violent activities by vigilante groups. For example, sweeping with violence actions during Ramadhan is no more done by FPI but by policemen and the parking policy as well as eradicating illegal street vendors (stall) has prevent the rise of conflict between vigilante groups. Thus, the FPI and FBR have lost their income sources from security related businesses and protection racketing.

Moreover, in terms of Jakarta's democracy. There has been a discourse and possibility that Ahok, as a State's representatives, could dismiss these vigilante ethno-religious groups, since it is regulated within the context of the new Societal Organization Law No.17 / 2013. However, it is difficult for Ahok to dismiss the organization due to the long procedures and complexity involved in implementing the Law and cultural reason.

However, if there is a crime and or illegal activities committed by vigilante ethno-religious groups or by their member, the government can act against them in accordance with positive law but cannot dismiss the organization. Therefore, the government should provide guidance and control of these groups. And vice versa, if the law enforcement has been better then these organizations can change and control the government in a manner that is in accordance with the constitution.

All in all, it can be concluded that Ahok's feud with these ethno-religious groups in Jakarta gives an insight to the fact that democracy is a process and Indonesia is still in a period of transition, Furthermore, it highlights the importance of strong leadership and political will and commitment to strengthening this process, and the critical role that rule of law plays in deepening and broadening democracy.

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   Available at:
   http://www.hukumonline.com/pusatdata/detail/19786/nprt/537/uu-no-32-tahun-2004-pemerintahan-daerah

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The Role of The Constitutional Court of Indonesia in Consolidation of Democracy in Indonesia

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I. Introduction

1.1 Background

According to Jimly Asshidddiqie, the original text of the 1945 Constitution contains 71 points of provisions, then, after going through four amendments, between 1999 and 2002, the material of content of the 1945 Constitution covers 199 points of provisions.[1] The amendment was stipulated and conducted gradually and became one of the agendas of the Meetings of the People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat) from 1999 until 2002.[2] It happened after the resignation of President Soeharto on May 21, 1998 that already in power for almost 32 years.[3]

In the reform era, Indonesia has taken comprehensive reform measures by bringing the sovereignty back to the hand of the people. The peak of such efforts was the amendments to the 1945 Constitution which were made within four consecutive years, namely the First Amendment in 1999, the Second Amendment in 2000, the Third Amendment in 2001, and the Fourth Amendment in 2002. MPR). The objectives of the Amendments were to

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[1] Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Struktur Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Setelah Perubahan Keempat UUD Tahun 1945", paper was presented in the Symposium convened by the National Law Fostering Agency (Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional), the Department of Justice and Human Rights, 2003, p. 1 on Jimly Asshiddiqie, "The Role of Constitutional Courts In The Promotion of Universal Peace and Civilization Dialogues Among Nations", paper was presented in the International Symposium on "the Role of Constitutional Courts on Universal Peace and Meeting of Civilizations", Ankara, April 25, 2007, p. 6-7.

[2] Jimly Asshiddiqie, The Role of Constitutional Courts, p. 5.

[3] Moh. Mahfud MD, ini his speech of the World Conference on Constitutional Justice, Cape Town 2009, states, "In the era prior to the amendments to the 1945 Constitution made in 1999–2002, authoritarianism had always been the actual practice, despite the fact that Indonesia adheres to a democratic system in the formal provisions of the Constitution. During this era, many legislations were deemed to be contradictory to the Constitution, but there was only one way to have them amended, namely through legislative review. It was difficult to do considering that the legislative body was politically dominated by the President, either due to his position as a state body which is also involved in the law-making process together with the People's Legislative Assembly or his cooptation of all political parties. Such executive heavy configuration placed the President as the determiner of all national political agenda." Moh. Mahfud MD, "Speech" in the World Conference on Constitutional Justice, Cape Town, 2009, p. 2.

complement the basic rules of living as a state, which caused the abuse of power in the past.[4] These those amendments, according to Jimly Asshiddiqie, resulted in a blueprint of state administration system which is totally different from the previous one. Two of the fundamental principles adopted and reinforced in the new formulation of the 1945 Constitution are: (i) the principle of constitutional democracy, and (ii) the principle of democratic rule of law or "*democratische rechtsstaat*".[5]

There is a basic agreement for conducting the amendment by means of addenda gives rise to the consequence that the official text of the Constitution of 1945 consists of 5 (five) parts, namely:

a. The Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia of the Year 1945 (the original text);

b. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia of the Year 1945;

c. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia of the Year 1945;

d. The Third Amendment to the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia of the Year 1945;

e. The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia of the Year 1945.[6]

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[4] Moh. Mahfud MD, "The Role of the Constitutional Court in the Development of Democracy in Indonesia", paper is presented in the World Conference on Constitutional Justice, Cape Town, January 23-24, 2009, p. 1.
[5] Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Creating a Constitutional Court In a New Democracy", paper presented in Australia, March 2009, p.1.
[6] By standing on the said basic agreements, the Constitutional Court of Indonesia had publishes a compilation book containing the Constitution of 1945 in its standard official text namely by containing the composition of the text of the Constitution of 1945 prior to its amendment which is followed by the text containing the result of the amendment to the Constitution of 1945 in four stages as mentioned above. Nevertheless, besides containing the official text of the Constitution of 1945, this book also contains the Constitution of 1945 composed in one manuscript. The Chief of Constitutional Court in Foreword of the book said, "*To be known, the making of the Constitution of 1945 in the said one text was initially an agreement of the Ad Hoc I Committee of the Workers Body of the People's Consultative Assembly during its session term 2001-2002. In the said agreement, the Constitution of 1945 in the said one manuscript is not an official text of the Constitution of 1945, but rather minutes of the session of the plenary meeting of the Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly of the year 2002. Therefore, with the intention for the society to understand easier the Constitution of 1945 systematically, holistically, and comprehensively, this book contains the Constitution of 1945 in One Manuscript containing the material content of the articles of the text of the Constitution of 1945 which have not been amended as well as the material content of the articles as amended by the four amendments.*" Arief Hidayat, "Foreword of Compilation UUD 1945 and Constitutional Court Law", The Office of the Registrar and the Secretariat General of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 2015, p. v-vi.

The First Amendment that stipulated on October 19, 1999 was conducted in the General Meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly in 1999 which covers Article 5 paragraph (1), Article 7, Article 9, Article 13 paragraph (2), Article 14, Article 15, Article 17 paragraphs (2) and (3), Article 20, and Article 22 of the 1945 Constitution. Pursuant to the provisions of the amended articles, the objective of the First Amendment to the 1945 Constitution is to restrict the authority of the President and to strengthen the position of the House of People's Representatives as a legislative institution.[7]

The Second Amendment that stipulated on August 18, 2000 was conducted in the Annual Meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly in 2000, which covers Article 18, Article 18A, Article 18B, Article 19, Article 20 paragraph (5), Article 20A, Article 22A, Article 22B, Chapter IXA, Article 28A, Article 28B, Article 28C, Article 28C, Article 28D, Article 28E, Article 28F, Article 28G, Article 28H, Article 28I, Article 28J, Chapter XII, Article 30, Chapter XV, Article 36A, Article 36B, and Article 36C of the 1945 Constitution. This Second Amendment covers issues regarding state territory and regional governance, perfecting the first amendment in the matters pertaining to the strengthening of the position of the House of People's Representative, and detailed provisions regarding Human Rights.[8]

The Third Amendment that stipulated on November 9, 2001 was conducted in the Annual Meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly in 2001, which amended and or added the provisions of Article 1 paragraphs (2) and (3), Article 3 paragraphs (1), (3), and (4), Article 6 paragraphs (1) and (2), Article 6A paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (5), Article 7A, Article 7B paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7), Article 7C, Article 8 paragraphs (1) and (2), Article 11 paragraphs (2) and (3), Article 17 paragraphs (4), Chapter VIIA, Article 22C paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4), Article 22D paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4), Chapter VIIB, Article 22E paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6), Article 23 paragraphs (1), (2), and (3), Article 23A, Article 23C, Chapter VIIIA, Article 23E paragraphs (1), (2), and (3), Article 23F paragraphs (1), and (2), Article 23G paragraphs (1) and (2), Article 24 paragraphs (1) and (2), Article 24A paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5), Article 24 B paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4), Article 24C paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6) of the 1945 Constitution. The material for the Third Amendment to the 1945 Constitution covers the provisions regarding the Principles for the foundation of state affairs, state institutions, relations among state institutions, and provisions regarding the General Election.[9]

The Fourth Amendment that stipulated on August 10, 2002 was conducted in the Annual Meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly in 2002. The Fourth Amendment covers Article 2 paragraph (1); Article 6A paragraph (4); Article 8 paragraph (3); Article 11

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[7] Jimly Asshiddiqie, The Role of Constitutional Courts, p. 5.
[8] Jimly Asshiddiqie, The Role of Constitutional Courts, p. 5-6.
[9] Jimly Asshiddiqie, The Role of Constitutional Courts, p. 6.

paragraph (1); Article 16, Article 23B; Article 23D; Article 24 paragraph (3); Chapter XIII, Article 31 paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5); Article 32 paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4); Chapter IV, Article 33 paragraphs (4) and (5); Article 34 paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4); Article 37 paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5); Articles I, II, and III of the Transitional Rules; Articles I and II of the Additional Rules of the 1945 Constitution. The provisions of the amendment in the Fourth Amendment are the provisions regarding state institutions and relations among state institutions, the elimination of the Supreme Consultative Board, provisions regarding education and culture, provisions regarding economics and social welfare, and transitional rules as well as additional rules.[10]

To safeguard the supremacy of the 1945 Constitution, [11] the Constitutional Court of Indonesia then formed as one of the judiciary authority organizing court proceedings in order to enforce the law and justice.[12] the Constitutional Court of Indonesia has four

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[10] Jimly Asshiddiqie, The Role of Constitutional Courts, p. 6.

[11] In the era prior to the amendments to the 1945 Constitution made in 1999-2002, authoritarianism had always been the actual practice, despite the fact that Indonesia adheres to a democratic system in the formal provisions of the Constitution. Moh. Mahfud MD., "Speech of The Chairperson of the Constitutional Court at The World Conference on Constitutional Court", Speech in the World Conference on Constitutional Justice, Cape Town, South Africa, 23-24 Januari 2009, p.2.

According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, after the resignation of President Soeharto in May 1998, Indonesia has taken comprehensive reform measures by bringing the sovereignty back to the hand of the people. The peak of such efforts was the amendments to the 1945 Constitution which were made within four consecutive years, namely the First Amendment in 1999, the Second Amendment in 2000, the Third Amendment in 2001, and the Fourth Amendment in 2002. Those amendments resulted in a blueprint of state administration system which is totally different from the previous one. Jimly also wroted, "Since the issuance of the amendments to the Constitution in 1999-2002, Indonesia has entered a totally different atmosphere of national life. With all the side effects and risks during the transitional period, Indonesia has become the third largest democracy in the world, after India and the United States of America." Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Creating a Constitutional Court In a New Democracy", paper presented in Australia, March 2009, p.1.

Tim Lindsay and Susi Dwi Harijanti wrote, "The amendments established totally new organs of state--including a powerful new Constitutional Court; the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD) or Regional Representatives Council, a form of senate to represent Indonesia's thirty provinces; and a judicial commission, to supervise judicial reform. The amendments also reformed existing institutions, laws, and mechanisms, including a dramatic expansion of human rights provisions to embrace most of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the introduction of a mechanism for the direct election, for the first time, of the president and vice president; the abolition of appointed members of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) or legislature and, thus, the end of the longstanding practice of reserving seats for the military; the redefinition and scaling down of the MPR's role; the abolition of the controversial Elucidation to the 1945 Constitution; and finally, the strengthening of the troubled post-Soeharto regional autonomy process through the grant of formal constitutional status for the transfer of power to regional authorities." Tim Lindsay and Susi Dwi Harijanti, "Indonesia: General Elections Test the Amended Constitution and The New Constitutional Court," International Journal of Constitutional Law, (Januari, 2006), p.1.

[12] Jimly Asshiddiqie states, "It is necessary to establish a new institution that can play the role as the guardian of the constitution, the balancing power in majoritarian democracy, protector of the citizens' constitutional rights, the final interpreter of the constitution, and as the balancing agent in the checks and balances mechanism among state institutions and among the branches of national power. For that purpose, Indonesia established the Constitutional Court in addition to the already existing Supreme Court." Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Creating a Constitutional Court in a New Democracy", paper presented in Australia, March 2009, p.2-3.

authorities and one obligation in accordance with those mandated by Article 24C (1) and (2) of the 1945 Constitution. Four authorities of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia are examining at the first and final level. The Court's decisions are final to judicial review the law against the Constitution; decide dispute over the authority of state institution whose authority is granted by the Constitution; decide the dissolution of political party; and decide dispute over the result of general election. Meanwhile, the obligation of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia is to provide decision based on the Constitution over the opinion of the House of People's Representative regarding the assumption of violation by the President and/or the Vice President.

According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, based on its authorities, the Constitutional Court of Indonesia is the guardian of the constitution in relation to above mentioned four authorities and one obligation. It also brings a consequence to the Constitutional Court of Indonesia to function as the sole interpreter of the constitution. Constitution as the highest law stipulates the state governing based on the principle of democracy and one of the functions of the constitution is to protect human rights which are ensured in the constitution. Based on this idea, human rights become the constitutional right of the citizen. Consequently, the Constitutional Court of Indonesia also has functions as the guardian of the democracy, the protector of the citizen's constitutional rights, and the protector of the human rights.[13]

As Moh. Mahfud MD. states, all such authorities and obligation of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia are closely related to the concept and implementation of democracy. This is in line with the basis of the establishment of Constitutional Court to guarantee the implementation of constitution as well as to strengthen the system of constitutional democracy and the mechanism of checks and balances among the branches of state power.[14]

1.2 Research questions

As a very fundamental principle of the 1945 Constitution, checks and balances does not only serve as the basic norm, but most importantly it also have functions as the source of morality for the constitution, as well as for the practices of democracy in Indonesia. The Constitutional Court of Indonesia has function to strengthen democracy based on its authority. Related to that, the question for this research is what is the role of the Court in the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia?

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[13] Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Menuju Negara Hukum yang Demokratis*, (Jakarta: Setjen dan Kepaniteraan MK RI, 2008), p. 39. Petra Stockman wrote, "The Court can become firmly rooted in the Indonesian political system and in Indonesia society and contribute its share to enhancing democracy, rule of law, and human rights protection." Petra Stockman, *The New Indonesian Constitutional Court, A Study Into Its Beginnings and First Years of Work* (Jakarta: Hans Seidel Foundation, 2008), p. 105.

[14] Mahfud MD., Moh. "The Role of the Constitutional Court in the Development of Democracy in Indonesia", paper in the World Conference on Constitutional Justice, Cape Town, South Africa, 23-24 Januari 2009, p.6.

1.3 Research method

This article will analyse the role of Constitutional Court of Indonesia based on its authority and describe how its decision have significant support for consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. After that I have picked and described some decisions that very important and strenghtened consolidation of democracy in Indonesia.

II.   The role of constitutional court of Indonesia

According to Article 24C 1945 Constitution, The Constitutional Court has the authority to adjudicate at the first and final instance, the judgment of which is final, to review laws against the Constitution, to judge on authority disputes of state institutions whose authorities are granted by the Constitution, to judge on the dissolution of a political party, and to judge on disputes regarding the result of a general election. The Constitutional Court also shall render a judgment on the petition of the People's Representative Council regarding an alleged violation by the President and/or the Vice President according to the Constitution.

After its establishment in 2003, the Constitutional Court has played a very significant role in the development of democracy in Indonesia. Up to the end of 2015, the Court has registered 2.056 cases. From all the cases, 1.993 cases has decided with results: 330 cases granted (dikabulkan), 1.013 cases rejected (ditolak), 499 cases could not accept (tidak diterima), 13 cases dismissed (tarik kembali), 120 cases withdrawn (gugur) and 5 cases do not have authority (tidak berwenang) as show in the chart below. While 63 cases had not been resolved and decided upon.[15] A decision of the Constitutional Court shall be final, namely that a judgment of the Constitutional Court shall obtain directly permanent legal force as of its pronouncement and there shall be no legal efforts that can be made.

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[15]   Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia "Refleksi Kinerja Mahkamah Konstitusi 2015 dan Proyeksi 2016, Dinamika Penegakan Keadilan Sosial dan Demokrasi Lokal", 2015.

Perkara yang diputus
2003 s.d. 31 Desember 2015

120
Tarik Kembali

13
Gugur

5
Tidak Berwenang

330
Kabul

499
Tidak Diterima

1013
Tolak
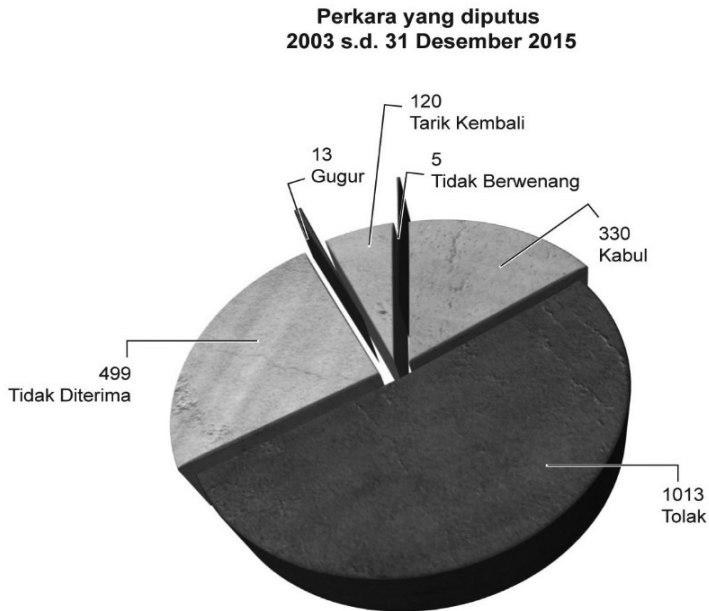
2.1 Review of a law against the constitution

This authority is probably the most important authority of the Court. In the petition, the petitioner shall describe clearly that: a. the enactment of a law does not comply with a provision pursuant to the 1945 Constitution; and/or b. the material content in a section, article, and/or part of a law is deemed contrary to the 1945 Constitution.

Perkara Pengujian Undang-Undang diregistrasi Tahun 2003-2015

140

140

118

109

78   81   86

24   27
        25   27   30   36
2003
        2004
                2005
                        2006
                                2007
                                        2008
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                                                                                2013
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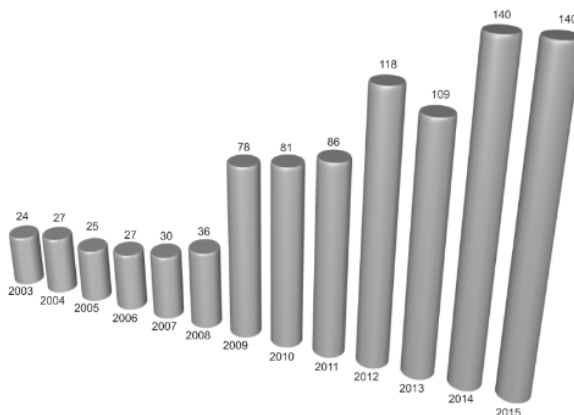
Until the end of 2015, the Court has registered 921 cases judicial review against the Constitution. From all the cases, 858 cases has decided with results: 203 cases granted (dikabulkan), 297 cases rejected (ditolak), 251 cases could not accept (tidak diterima), 89 cases dismissed (tarik kembali), 13 cases withdrawn (gugur) and 5 cases do not have authority (tidak berwenang) as show in the chart below. While 63 cases had not been resolved and decided upon.[16]

Putusan PUU Tahun 2003-2015

PUU
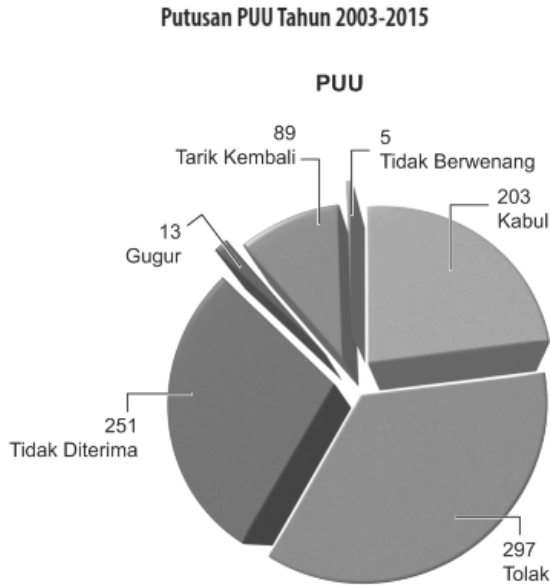
Related to all its authority, Moh. Mahfud MD states that the Constitutional Court was established as a manifestation of collective awareness, as well as a consequence of the collective desire to materialize a democratic constitutional state and a democratic rule of law state.[17]

In reality, it has been frequently the case that decisions made based on a democratic mechanism, particularly in terms of the law making process involving the People's Legislative Assembly and the Government are not necessarily in accordance and in line with the 1945 Constitution, even though the 1945 Constitution as the supreme law of the

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Moh. Mahfud MD, "Constitutional Review: Doctrine and Practise Under Indonesia's Constitutional System", Paper presented at the International Conference "Constitutional Review: Doctrine and Practice" held on the commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, on October 28-30, 2011 at Palace's of Congresses, Saint Petersburg, Russia, p.3.

state should actually serve as reference in formulating laws. It is therefore necessary to have a state institution which is authorized to review laws against the Constitution."[18]

2.2 Authority dispute of state institutions whose authorities are granted by the constitution

The petitioner shall be a state institution whose authority is granted by the 1945 Constitution having a direct interest against the authority in dispute. The Constitutional Court may issue a determination that rules the petitioner and/or the respondent to temporarily suspend the execution of its authority in dispute pending to a judgment of the Constitutional Court (putusan sela).

A judgment of the Constitutional Court whose verdict declares that the respondent has no authority to execute the authority in dispute, the respondent shall execute the said judgment within a time period of 7 (seven) business days at the latest as of the judgment is received. If the said judgment is not executed within a time period, the execution of the authority of the respondent shall be null and void.

Until the end of 2015, the Court has registered 25 cases. All the cases has decided with results: 1 case granted (dikabulkan), 3 cases rejected (ditolak), 16 cases could not accept (tidak diterima), 5 cases dismissed (tarik kembali) and 13 cases withdrawn (gugur) as show in the chart below.[19]
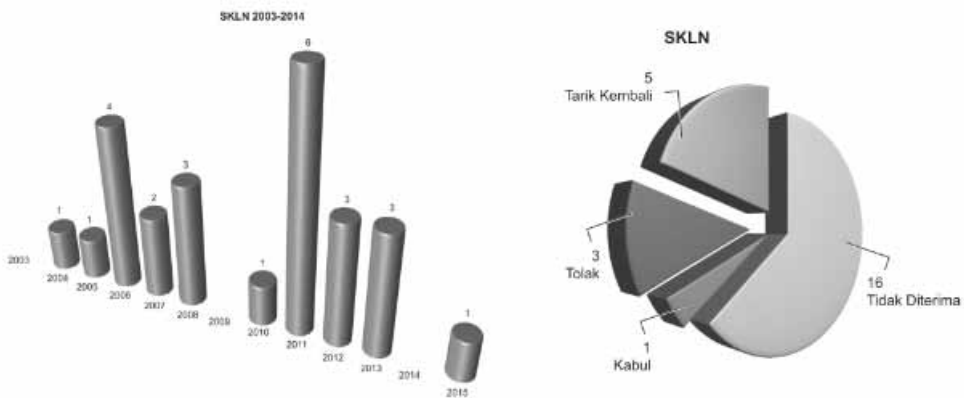
2.3 Dispute regarding the result of general elections and local election.

Meanwhile until 2015 the Constitutional Court never received any petition related to Dissolution of a Political Party and Opinion of the DPR Regarding an Allegation of

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[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*

Violation by the President and/or the Vice President, dispute regarding the result of general elections and local election was majority cases that handled by the Court.

III. Significant Indonesian constitutional court decisions that strenghtened consolidation of democracy in Indonesia

Between 2003 to 2016, the Constitutional Court of Indonesia has made several decisions on a number of petitions. These decisions are significant to the conceptual shifts within the Indonesian state administration system especially in relation to consolidation of democracy in Indonesia.

3.1 Decision Number 011-017/PUU-I/2003 (Right to be a candidate)

CCI has passed a decision in a case of petition for judicial review of the Law 12/2003 (the General Election Law). Article 60 sub-article g of General Election Law determines the criteria for DPR, DPD, Province DPRD and Regency/Municipality DPRD candidate members as not being former members of banned organizations of the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia or PKI), including its mass organizations, or being directly or indirectly involved in the September 30, 1965 Movement by Indonesian Communist Party (G30S/PKI) or other banned organizations.

The Court states that the 1945 Constitution prohibits discrimination as stated in Article 27 (1), Article 28D (1), Article 28I (2) of the Constitution. However, the aforementioned Article 60 sub-article g of Law 12/2003 prohibits a group of Indonesian Citizens from being nominated and from exercising the right to be elected based on political beliefs they once adopted.

Article 1 (3) of Law 39/1999 regarding Human Rights as explanation of the provisions of Article 27 and Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution does not justify discrimination based on differences on religion, nationality, race, ethnicity, group, social status category, economic, status, gender, language, politics. According to the Court, Article 27 (1), Article 28D (1), Article 28I (4) of the 1945 Constitution were also in line with Article 21 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Article 25 of ICCPR.

The Court states that the constitutional rights of citizens to vote and right to be a candidate is a right guaranteed by the Constitution, laws and international conventions, then the restriction lapses, elimination and removal of the rights referred to a violation of human rights of citizens. It is true that Article 28J (2) of the 1945 Constitution contains a provision that allows restriction of the rights and freedoms of a person by law, but the restrictions on these rights must be at the basis of the strong reasons, reasonable, proportionate and not excessive. Such restrictions can only be used with the intent "*the sole purpose of guaranteeing recognition and respect for the rights of others and to fulfill the requirements of justice and taking into consideration morality, religious values, security, and*

public order in a democratic community"; but restrictions on the right to be a candidate as the provisions of Article 60 sub-article g of General Election Law only use precisely because political considerations. In addition, the restrictions on the right to vote (both active and passive) in the general election typically based only on the consideration of factors such as age and incompetence of the state mental hospital, as well as the impossibility such as have their voting rights revoked by a court ruling final and binding and in general is individual and not collective.

The prohibition against certain groups of citizens to run for the legislative position based on Article 60 sub-article g General Election Law clearly contains shades of political punishment referred to the group. As state based on law, any restrictions that have a direct connection with the rights and freedoms of citizens must be based on court decisions that have binding legal force. A criminal responsibility can only be held accountable for the perpetrator (*dader*) or participating (*mededader*) or help (*medeplichtige*), then it is an act which is contrary to law, justice, rule of law and the principles of the state based on law where the responsibility imposed on a person who is not directly involved.

3.2 Decision Number 055/PUU-II/2004 (The general election crime)

CCI has passed a decision in a case of petition for judicial review of the Law 12/2003 (General Election Law). Article 133 (1) which provides that the decision of a District Court that penalizes a defendant for committing an offense subject to no more than 18 months' imprisonment, and the decision of a District Court as the court of the first and final level with a final decision, provides no opportunity for the Petitioner as a defendant to obtain a second opinion in the appellate level examination, unlike a defendant in a quick case of traffic violation as set forth in Article 205 of the Criminal Procedural Code and Article 211 (5) of Law 31/1997 regarding the Military Tribunal. This is regarded by the Petitioner as a **discrimination** that contravenes the 1945 Constitution.

According to the Court, Article 28D (1) which contains the recognition, the guarantee, the protection and fair legal certainty as basic rights protected by the Constitution, and therefore the recognition and the protection of the basic rights are not absolute; however, certain limitations are justified as set forth in Article 28J (2) which provides that "In exercising his/her right and freedom, every person must submit to the restrictions stipulated in laws and regulations with the sole purpose to guarantee the recognition of and the respect for other persons' rights and freedom and fulfill fair demand in accordance with the considerations of morality, religious values, security, and public order in a democratic society".

It is admitted that in determining the deviation from Article 205 of the Criminal Procedural Code which is regarded as the procedural law regulation that governs the rights of a defendant to file an appeal in summary proceedings for criminal cases. However, there

are inconsistencies in stipulating the categories of quick cases and minor cases known in the criminal legal system and criminal procedural code, through which it is evident that the legislators did not have a specific parameter as the standard with general application, which is regarded as a weakness to such an extent that a traffic violation case as a quick case has an option for an appeal effort if the punishment involves the deprivation of freedom, while on the other hand in the case of general election crime subjected to a maximum imprisonment of 18 months, such legal remedy is not available. However, the Court is of the opinion that due to the nature of the General Election crime which requires a summary decision, the regulation of which being related to the state administration agenda that requires legal certainty, such special regulation is sufficiently grounded and does not contravene the 1945 Constitution.

3.3 Decision Number 006/PUU-III/2005 (Only political parties or coalition of political parties can propose a pair of regional head/regional deputy head candidates)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of petition for judicial review of the Law 39/2004 (the Regional Government Law). The Petitioner has argued that Article 59 (1) and (3) the Regional Government Law, which stipulates that only political parties or coalition of political parties can propose a pair of regional head/regional deputy head candidates, which has eliminated the opportunity for an individual propose him/herself directly and independently as a regional head candidate, is deemed to be contradictory to the 1945 Constitution.

According to the Court, equal status and opportunities in the government which could also mean without discrimination is a different issue than the democratic mechanism of recruitment for government positions. It is true that the rights of every citizen to obtain equal opportunities in government is protected by the Constitution insofar as the aforementioned citizen meets the requirements determined in law related with it, among others, the requirements of age, education, physical and mental health as well as other requirements. Such requirements will apply to every citizen, without distinguishing people, in terms of, tribe, race, ethnicity, group, classification, social status, economy status, gender, language and political beliefs. Meanwhile, the definition of discrimination which is prohibited in said Article 27 (1) and Article 28D (3) of the 1945 Constitution has been elaborated further in Article 1 (3) of Law 39/1999.

The requirements for the nomination of a pair of regional head/regional deputy head to be nominated by a political party, is the mechanism or procedure on how the election of the intended regional head is to be implemented, and does not eliminate the individual right to participate in the government, insofar as the conditions of nomination through a political party is conducted, so that with the formulation of discrimination as elaborated

in Article 1 (3) of Law 39/1999 and Article 2 of ICCPR, which is insofar as the distinction carried out is not based on religion, tribe, race, ethnicity, group, classification, social status, economic status, gender, language and political beliefs, then the nomination through a political party cannot be deemed contradictory to the 1945 Constitution because the choice of such system is a legal policy which cannot be tested unless conducted haphazardly (willekeur) and exceeding the legislators' authority (detournement de pouvoir). The restrictions on political rights are validated by Article 28J (2) of the 1945 Constitution, insofar as the intended restrictions are set forth in law.

Moreover, the granting of the constitutional rights to nominate for a candidate pair of regional head/regional deputy head to political parties, shall not be construed that it will eliminate the citizen's constitutional right, in casu the Petitioner to become a regional head, insofar as the Petitioner meets the requirements of Article 58 and to be conducted through the procedures mentioned in Article 59 (1) and (3) of the Regional Government Law, and that such requirements shall constitute a binding mechanism or procedure to every citizen who will become a candidate for regional head/regional deputy head;

3.4 Decision Number 006/PUU-IV/2006 (The commission for the truth and reconciliation law in its entirety not Having binding legal force)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of petition for judicial review of the Law 27/2004 concerning Commission for the Truth and Reconciliation (KKR Law) against the 1945 Constitution.

According to the Court, there is confusion and contradiction existing in Article 27 of the KKR Law are related to the emphasis on the perpetrators as an individual in individual criminal responsibility, whereas the perpetrators and victims as well as witnesses of human rights violation incidents prior to the application of the Law on Human Rights Court can no longer be found. Reconciliation between the perpetrators and victims intended in the law a quo becomes almost impossible to be achieved, if it is conducted by applying individual criminal responsibility approach. With such approach, which depends on amnesty must be only restitution, namely compensation granted by the perpetrators or a third party. On the other hand, if the purpose is to achieve a reconciliation and the approach applied is not of individual nature, the starting point shall be gross violation of human rights and the existence of victims serving as a parameter of reconciliation by granting compensation and rehabilitation. Those two approaches, in relation to restitution, compensation, and rehabilitation, cannot be rendered dependant on an irrelevant issue because amnesty is a prerogative right of the President, the granting or refusal of which is up to the President. Moreover there is no legal grounds and reasons for the granting of amnesty, particularly due to the stipulation is only applicable for the gross violation of Human Rights occurring prior the application of the Law on Human Rights Court. Beside

that, the formulation of the provisions and the possible implementation of the provisions to achieve the expected reconciliation, CCI is of the opinion that the basis and purpose of the KKR, as set forth in Article 2 and Article 3 of the Law, are impossible to be achieved due to the lack of guarantee of legal certainty (*rechtsonzekerheid*). Therefore, the Court has reviewed this Law against the 1945 Constitution and it must accordingly be declared as not having binding legal force.

3.5 Decision Number 16/PUU-V/2007 (Electoral threshold)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of Petition for Judicial Review of Law 12/2003 (the General Elections Law). The Court is of the opinion that the provisions of Article 9 (1) and (2) of the General Elections Law related to Electoral Threshold (ET) are not contrary to Article 28I (2) of the 1945 Constitution regarding the right to be free from discriminatory treatments because the aforementioned requirements to be able to participate in the following general elections apply to all political parties after having democratically passed the competition through general elections. Whether or not the ET provision is fulfilled as the requirements to participate in the following general elections depends on the relevant political parties and the constituents' support, and therefore it will not imply that the law is flawed if such requirements are not fulfilled. Such matter is also not discrimination according to the human rights perspective as intended in the Human Rights Law and ICCPR.

Based on the General Elections Law, it is true that political parties which have obtained the a status as a legal entity according to the Political Parties Law cannot automatically participate in general elections, since they are still obliged to fulfill the requirements provided for by the General Elections Law, such as administrative verification and factual verification performed by the General Elections Commission (*vide* Article 7 of the General Elections Law), and hence the existence of political parties and the participation of political parties in general elections are two distinct issues and not to be confused. At the very least, such matters are the legal policy of the legislators and such policies are not contrary to the 1945 Constitution because in fact, the 1945 Constitution has in fact mandated the freedom for legislators to regulate such matters, including the requirements to participate in the following general elections by means of the ET provision.

3.6 Decision Number 11/PUU-VI/2008 (The autonomy of the special capital region of Jakarta)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of Petition for Judicial Review of Law 32/2004 and Law 29/2007. The Petitioner argues that the regulation which places the autonomy of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta only at the provincial level as provided for in Article 227 (2) of Law 32/2004, is a discriminatory treatment towards the people of Jakarta.

According to the Court, the absence of the Petitioner's right to be elected as the mayor of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, and the absence of the right of Jakarta people to elect the members of Regional People's Legislative Assembly of municipality/regency in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, cannot be regarded as discrimination because it is equally applicable to all citizens without exception or discrimination. Even more, the granting of limited autonomy at the level of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province is irrelevant either to be considered as an unequal treatment which may cause constitutional impairment to the citizens due to the fact that they cannot elect and be elected as a regent/mayor and members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly of regency/municipality in Jakarta. Such impairment may possibly arise when the position of regent/mayor and members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly of regency/municipality directly elected by the people is indeed existed in Jakarta, but there are certain people whose right to elect and/or be elected has been hindered. With the special regulation of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta in Law regarding Regional Government and Law regarding the Government of the Province of Special Capital Region of Jakarta, the autonomy has been placed at the provincial level, so there will be no citizen losing the right to elect and/or be elected.

Likewise, the Petitioner's argument that Article 227 (2) of Law 32/2004 and Articles 19 and 24 of Law 29/2007 are contradictory to Article 27 (1) of the 1945 Constitution. According to the Court, the regulation which places the autonomy of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta only at the provincial level causes the direct election of regent/mayor and members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly of regency/municipality by the people within Jakarta's territory becomes unnecessary. It has no implication whatsoever on the equal position of citizens before the law and government. All citizens shall be entitled to elect and/or be elected to assume the existing governmental positions in the government system of Indonesia without exception, insofar the requirements pertaining thereto are met. The Court is of the opinion that such regulation is not contradictory to the 1945 Constitution.

3.7 Decision Number 12/PUU-VI/2008 (The transition period from the electoral threshold to parliamentary threshold principle)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of petition for judicial review of Law 10/2008. The Petitioners question the constitutionality of Article 316 Sub-Article d of Law 10/2008 that is, "*having seats in DPR RI from the result of the 2004 General Elections*".

Basically, the Political Parties Participants in the 2004 General Elections which do not fulfill the provisions of Article 315 of Law 10/2008 are supposed to have no more right to become participants in the 2009 General Elections, because they do not fulfill the electoral threshold provisions, except if they fulfill the provisions of Article 9 (2) of Law 12/2003.

The Court is of the opinion that the provision of Article 316 Sub-Article d of 10/2008 is not clear in its ratio legis if related to the transition period from the electoral threshold to parliamentary threshold principle.

The provisions of Article 316 Sub-Article d of Law 10/2008 have indeed shown unequal and unjust treatment towards fellow Political Parties Participants in the 2004 General Elections which do not fulfill the electoral threshold [Article 9 (1) of Law 12/2003 juncto Article 315 of Law 10/2008]. Such unjust treatment is shown by the fact that there are Political Parties which only gained one seat in DPR, even though their vote acquisition was less than that of the Political Parties which do not have seats in DPR, could be automatically free to become participants of in the 2009 General Elections; whereas the Political Parties which had more vote acquisition, but did not obtain seats in DPR, precisely have to go through a long process to be able to participate in the 2009 General Elections, namely through the administrative verification or factual verification phase by KPU.

3.8 Decision Number 22-24/PUU-VI/2008 (Options between the principles provided for in the 1945 constitution and the demand for policy based on the CEDAW)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of petition for the Judicial Review of Law10/2008. According to the Court, the provision of Article 214 sub-articles a, b, c, d, and e of Law 10/2008 stipulating that the elected candidate is the candidate acquiring votes more than 30% (thirty percent) of the the Voter's Denominator (BPP), or positioned at smaller candidacy number, if there is no candidates acquiring votes of 30% (thirty percent) of the BPP, or positioned at smaller candidacy number, those acquiring votes of 30% (thirty percent) of the BPP more than the proportional seats acquired by a political party participating in the General Election is inconstitutional. It is inconstitutional because it is contradictory to the substantive meaning of the sovereignty of people as described above and qualified as contradictory to the principle of justice as set forth in Article 28D (1) of the 1945 Constitution. It constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of people if the people's aspiration reflected from their choice is disregarded in designating the legislative members, this will indeed violate the sovereignty of people and equity. If there are two candidates acquiring extremely different votes, it is inevitable that the candidate acquiring majority vote is conquered by the candidate acquiring minority vote because he/she assumes a position with a smaller candidacy number.

With the recognition of equality and opportunity before the law as adopted in Article 27 (1) and Article 28 D (3) of the 1945 Constitution, it means that every legislative member candidate has equal position and opportunity before the law. The application of different legal provisions for two similar conditions is the as unfair as applying a similar

legal provisions for two different conditions. According to the Court, the provision of Article 214 of Law 10/2008 contains double standard so that it may be deemed as unfair as it applies different laws for similar condition.

The Court states that affirmative action is the policy that has been accepted by Indonesia which originates from Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), however because in the petition the Court is given with the options between the principles provided for in the 1945 Constitution and the demand for policy based on the CEDAW, the 1945 Constitution must be prioritized. In so far as it is related to the provision of Article 28H (2) of the 1945 Constitution whereas "every person shall be entitled to obtain special treatment" the stipulation of 30% quota for woman candidate and one woman candidate from every three legislative candidates, the Court is of the opinion that it has met the provision on special treatment.

3.9 Decision Number 56/PUU-VI/2008 (The candidate pair of president and vice president shall be nominated and registered by a political party or coalition of political parties)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of petition for Judicial Review of Law 42/2008. The substance of the formulation of Article 1 sub-article 4, Article 8, Article 9, and Article 13 (1) of Law 42/2008 is to determine that the Candidate Pair of President and Vice President shall be nominated and registered by a political party or coalition of political parties participating in the general election (meeting the requirements) prior to the implementation of the general election. Such formulation according to the Court is not discriminatory because any person meeting such requirements may be nominated and registered by a political party or coalition of political parties to become President and/or Vice President without having to become the Management or Member of a Political Party.

The Court states that in a condition where people are free to establish political parties at present, a candidate may establish his/her own party along with the vision and mission of the party which is going to be established if he/she is not interested in the existing parties without any obstacle so that the reason for the nomination of President beyond political parties shall be irrelevant or groundless.

3.10 Decision Number 3/PUU-VII/2009 (Parliamentary threshold policy)

CCI has passed a decision in the case of Petition for judicial review of Law 10/2008 related to Parliamentary Threshold. According to the Court, the policy on Parliamentary Threshold policy stipulated in Article 202 (1) of Law 10/2008 absolutely does not disregard the principles of Human Rights contained in Article 28D (1) and (3) of the 1945 Constitution, since every person, every citizen, and every Political Party Participating in the General Election is treated equally and obtains equal opportunity through democratic

competition in the General Election. Indeed, there is a possibility that there are parties which are succeeded and failed in a competition referred to as General Election, but the chance and opportunity remain equal.

The Court is of the opinion that the provision of Article 202 (1) of Law 10/2008 absolutely does not contain discriminatory nature and elements, since it is only applied objectively to all Political Parties Participanting in the General Election and the entire candidate members of the People's Legislative Assembly from the Political Parties Participating in the General Election without any exception.

IV. Conclusion

Former Justice Maruarar Siahaan states, "The presence of a Constitutional Court in a new democracy, as an institution needed for the strengthening of democracy and human right protection in a transitional period."[20] Based on it's many years of experiences, CCI have gave tremendous contribution for the protection of human rights and the advancement of democracy and nomocracy in Indonesia, especially for the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia.

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Childhood Trauma of Domestic Violence and Violence in Further Intimate Relationship

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Abstract

This study examines associations between childhood trauma of domestic violence (DV) with the involvement in intimate relationships violence (IRV), both as perpetrators and victims. The research was conducted in two studies focusing on the relationship between childhood trauma with, 1) aggression of DV perpetrators; and 2) violence experienced by victims of IRV. Study 1 was conducted on 62 male DV perpetrators in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, while the second study on 21 female non-direct DV victims. All samples were measured by using Traumatic Antecedents Questionnaire (TAQ; Van der Kolk, Perry & Herman, 1991) and Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS; Straus et al., 1996). The data is processed by using correlation and regression analyses with SPSS 18. Study 1 provides empirical evidence of long-term negative effects of childhood trauma on male perpetrators. Study 2 did not find a significant relation between traumatic experiences as a victim of DV with violence experienced in their current intimate relationships, but further study should consider this relationship can occur indirectly. It is expected that this research could serve as a beginning of the development of a longitudinal study on the effects of DV on human psychophysics.

Keywords: childhood trauma, domestic violence, perpetrator, victim, intimate relationship

I. Introduction

Children who witness violence within the family context may experience problem in their physical, mental and also emotional conditions (Bair-Merritt, Blackstone & Feudtner, 2006). Exposure to domestic violence (DV) to children can cause a variety of problems in the short-term and long-term. In the short-term, there could be effects, such as: a threat to children's safety and lives, destruction of the family structure, the emergence of a variety of psychological problems. While in the long-term, this may lead to the possibility to engage in a violent behavior or abuse in the future intimate relationship, either as perpetrators or victims.

Witnessing or experiencing domestic violence is a traumatic event for a child, especially when the violence committed by people who are closest to the child, like parents or families. Family is expected to be the source of security and comfort; but when a dysfunctional family displays violence, it would create fear and anger in the child. Traumatic experience of witnessing or experiencing domestic violence children are often found as a predictor of the emergence of psychological problems in the future, such as: neglect and physical and psychological abuse in children (McGuigan & Pratt, 2001); internal and external problem behavior, as well as a variety of risk behaviors such as smoking, substance abuse and risky sexual behavior (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003; Skopp, McDonald, Jouriles, & Rosenfield, 2007). In the long term, these problems will also influence in adulthood, namely the inability to develop effective coping abilities. Most of these children will become adults who are prone to depression and showed symptoms of traumatic, until finally at high risk of becoming perpetrators of domestic violence or intimate relationship as adults (Robinson, 2007).

Experience of witnessing domestic violence in childhood has been known as one of the factors that could explain the occurrence of violence in further intimate relationships in adulthood or domestic violence. Boys who grow up in families experiencing violence have tripled the risk of becoming perpetrators of violence against their wives and families in the future; while girls who witness domestic violence have a possibility to develop into adult females who tend to be passive and have a high risk of becoming victims of violence in their families later (Arrigo, 2005; Holt, Buckley, & Whelan, 2008).

Experience of witnessing, hearing, experiencing family violence may cause negative effects on the security, stability and well-being of the child life (Carlson, 2000). Domestic violence create trauma both for direct victims of domestic violence and also for those who witness domestic violence (indirect victims). Both types of victims can experience the negative effects of violence. Several previous studies have found that both victims of domestic violence have the same vulnerability for being traumatized; this means they could eventually have the possibility to engage in violent intimate relationships in adulthood (Appel & Holden, 1998; Capaldi et al., 2001; Dauvergne & Johnson, 2001).

Furthermore, a longitudinal study by Emery (2011) explains that the relationship between the trauma of domestic violence with the emergence of psychological problems is weakened by the age of the child at the time of witnessing domestic violence. Or in other words the possibility of the emergence of behavioral problems as a result of domestic violence exposure will be lower if the child witnessed domestic violence at older ages. This indicates that age as an important component for a more mature understanding of domestic violence experience, and age could be seen as a protective factor over the negative effects of the trauma of domestic violence.

Further elaboration is needed to understand why children who experience trauma of domestic violence could engage in violent intimate relationship. Men who attack or

aggressive effect on his partner have higher probability of reporting ever experienced physical violence and physical abuse in childhood in the family environment (Dutton, 2005). Various studies in Social Learning approach explains that this happens because of the inter-generational transmission of violence, where children who experience domestic violence could learn about violent behaviors and such behavior be replicated in the family relationships as adults (Edleson, 1999; Dutton, 2005; Margolin & Gordis, 2000). Dauvergne & Johnson (2001) describes that domestic violence trauma could make children develop a distorted meaning of violence; that violence is a justified way to solve the problem, even in an intimate relationship. Children who witness and experience domestic violence learn to use violence to control their partners and to gain compliance from spouses and other family members. As a result it can create a cycle of violence from generation to generation. Childhood trauma can also lead to the development of chronic trauma symptoms during adulthood, such as: depression and trauma related syndromes. The inability of coping is considered as the most prominent cause that makes individuals at a high risk to become violent, especially when they face problems in their intimate relationships as adults (Robinson, 2007).

In Indonesian context, Soeroso (2010) also explained that the cause of domestic violence can be classified into two factors: external and internal. External factors are factors beyond the perpetrators themselves. Individuals who do not have aggressive behaviors may commit acts of violence when faced with situations that cause frustration, for example economic hardships or infidelity of partners. Internal factors are concerning about the personality of the perpetrator that caused them to commit acts of violence when faced with situations that cause anger and frustration, such as: aggressive personality. Soeroso believes that it is important to take into consideration of both factors in understanding domestic violence.

With regard to the indirect victims, particularly girls who witnessed domestic violence during their childhood; in a review by Holt, Buckley, & Whelan (2008), it is found that they have a higher probability to become victims of violence in their further intimate relationships. In Asien context, a study in Thailand in 2009 by Kerley and colleagues found that Thai women who had experienced violence in the family in childhood have a higher likelihood of becoming a victim of violence by a partner in adulthood later. Various studies related to the violence that occurs in many women also find that experience in childhood witnessed violence earlier in the family or as an indirect victim of domestic violence (Patterson et al., 2007). Why childhood victims of domestic violence could be a victim of intimate relationship violence in adulthood? Various studies in the past two decades has found that girls who see violence in the family internalize the trauma into their lives so that these women are more likely to become victims of further violence in adulthood (Evans, Davies, & Di Lillo, 2008; Kitzmann et al., 2003; Wolfe et al., 2003). Especially in young women whose parents experiencing domestic violence, found that when growing up considers beating as part of married life.

These studies have provided an overview of the long-term effects of childhood domestic violence trauma on individual behavior in their adult intimate relations in various contexts. But until now, little is studied about the effects of witnessing domestic violence on further individual's intimate relationship in Indonesia. Previous studies also more focused explain the short-term effects of domestic violence. And most of them focus more on direct victims of violence. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to test empirically the effect of childhood trauma on involvement in the violence in intimate relationships in adulthood, either as the perpetrators, which would be seen by the level of aggressiveness of the perpetrators of domestic violence in intimate relationships, and also as the victims, which would be seen from the level of violence experienced in an intimate relationship. Based on the perspective of the violence cycle, it is assumed that the domestic violence experience during childhood may increase the likelihood of individuals engaging in violence in further intimate relationships. These assumptions would be examined by using retrospective self-reports of male perpetrators of domestic violence and teenage daughter who had witnessed domestic violence in their childhood.

II. Method

This research used explanatory survey as the main approach for collecting the data. Data analysis method used is the correlation. Each scale used in this study tested the reliability and item internal consistency. Statistical data processing is conducted with SPSS Version 16.0 for Windows.

2.1 Population and sample

The populations used in this study were the perpetrators of domestic violence and the indirect victims of domestic violence who live in Surabaya and Sidoarjo (both are big cities in East Java Province). The data in this study were collected in the Research Project of Violence in Faculty of Psychology Airlangga University.

Study 1 used a population of perpetrators of domestic violence that was listed in Police Department in Surabaya and Sidoarjo regions, as well as other agencies that dealt with cases of domestic violence. In addition, some of the study samples came from residential area in Surabaya. A total of 62 male perpetrators of domestic violence were selected as study 1 samples with age ranging between 20 to 65 years, and average age of 43 years. The characteristics of the study sample in this one were: 1) the perpetrator of domestic violence in East Java Province, especially Surabaya and Sidoarjo regions (were recorded both in Surabaya and Sidoarjo Police Department as perpetrators of domestic violence); 2) have the ability to read and write, this is because subjects were expected to be able to understand, to comprehend the questionnaire given by researchers and could answer it properly, and 3) gender male, this study focused on men because boys who witnessed

domestic violence in his childhood have higher probability to become a perpetrator of domestic violence in adulthood.

Study 2 consisted with a sample of 21 women, age 15 to 31 years, with an average age of 19 years old. Study 2 samples were collected simultaneously with study 1, where the majority of the sample was the daughter of perpetrators of domestic violence interviewed in study 1. However, the number of daughter samples in the context of domestic violence was small. This happened because of several reasons: 1) the low level of participation (some of daughters of study 1 subjects did not want to participate in the study); 2) a mismatch with the sample age criteria of minimum age 15 years old (less than 15 years old was considered to be non-sufficient for this study). The samples of study 2 have the following characteristics: 1) an indirect victim of domestic violence event in the East Java Provincial especially Surabaya and Sidoarjo, 2) have the ability to read and write, this is because the subject is expected to know, understand about the questionnaire given by researchers and can answer it properly, and 3) female, because this study focused on determining whether women who witnessed domestic violence as children have a higher potential of becoming a victim in the future intimate relationship.

2.2 Measures

Trauma of witnessing domestic violence. Childhood trauma in this study is defined as the experience of some of the events that have a suppressive effect of chronic and prolonged throughout the period of development, interpersonal nature often happens early in life (Van der Kolk, 2005). Trauma was measured by Traumatic Antecedents Questionnaire (TAQ; Van der Kolk, Perry & Herman, 1991, in Van der Kolk, 2005). TAQ is a Likert scale with a range of 4 (0 = no injury never to 4 = very often). TAQ consisted with 42 items for measuring 11 dimensions of trauma that can occur in childhood to adulthood. However, this study only analyzed 29 items of 7 dimensions, namely: abandonment, separation, secrets, psychological violence, physical violence, sexual violence, and testimony. Example item of physical violence: "I witnessed physical violence in my family". Twenty-nine items measured 3 stages of age that samples have passed: 1) early childhood (0-6 years old), 2) late childhood (7-12 years old), and 3) adolescence (13-18 years old), and making a total of 87 items of domestic violence trauma. This study found the alpha coefficient of 0.97 in the study sample 1 and 0.95 in the study sample 2.

Aggressiveness in intimate relationships. Aggression is defined as the act of referring to any malicious actions, i.e. actions that have been done with intent, or who are considered to have the intention to harm others (Straus, 1979 in Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). Aggression in domestic violence was measured by Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) developed by Straus and colleagues (1996). CTS conceptually has two measurement dimensions: 1) problem solving strategies (i.e. negotiation) and the violence that is divided

into four indicators (i.e. psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion, injury). CTS consists of 78 Likert scale with a range of 8 (0 = never violence, 1 = once in the past 2 years, 2 = two times in the last 1 year, 3 = 3-5 times in the last 1 year, 4 = 6 -10 times in the last 1 year, 5 = 11-20 times in the last 1 year, 6 = more than 20 times in the last 1 year, 7 = Not in the past year, but it's happened before). CTS is an objective scale that is widely used especially in domestic violence research for measuring violence both as perpetrators and victims. Example item of physical violence: 1) as perpetrators: "I beat up my partner"; 2) as victim: "My partner beat me". However, in this study only analyzed 39 items (problem solving items were excluded). In the present study found an alpha coefficient of 0.98 on study samples 1 and 0.93 in the study samples 2.

Demographic data. In addition, this study also collected some demographic data such as age and education level.

III. Results

3.1 Study 1

Preliminary data analysis showed that trauma and aggression of perpetrators in this study sample is normally distributed. This is demonstrated by tests of normality and linearity (see table 1). While the results of the analysis showed linearity values between the domestic violence trauma and aggressiveness in the intimate relationship is weak but significant with value of 0.17 ($p \leq 0.05$) . Sample of perpetrators reported that they had experienced trauma of witnessing and experiencing domestic violence sometime during their childhood to adolescence, but with a low frequency. In addition to that, they also reported that they had conducted domestic violence (table 1). Furthermore, the correlational analysis also found a significant association between childhood-adolescence trauma with aggressiveness in adulthood ($r= 0.47$, $p < 0.01$). No relationship was found between trauma with age and level of education. Table 2 shows that the predominant violent behavior in adult intimate relationship occurred in this study sample were psychological violence.

Furthermore, the regression analysis (see table 3) found a significant association between trauma and aggression perpetrators of domestic violence ($B = 1.30$, $SE = .31$, $p < 0.01$). Value of $F = 16.92$ showed a significant positive influence. The standardized regression coefficients (Beta) was 0.47 which indicates moderate strength. With $r2$ was 0.22 which indicates that about 22% of perpetrators' aggression could be explained by trauma of witnessing and experiencing domestic violence during childhood and adolescence, while the remaining 74% is influenced by other factors that are not examined in this study. Thus it can be assumed that the domestic violence trauma during childhood-adolescence has significant effect on the level of aggression of the perpetrator of domestic violence in their adult intimate relationship.

3.2 Study 2

In general, childhood trauma of domestic violence reported by samples in this study was low, so does the level of violence experienced by the sample showed low intensity (Table 4). Preliminary data analysis showed that childhood trauma was not normally distributed. In addition, the skewness and kurtosis also exceeded the tolerance value; this indicated that the data should be transformed. The logarithmic transformation was performed on trauma data, yet the formulation did not produce any significant change to data distribution. Therefore, the initial trauma data was used in the subsequent analysis in this study. While the distribution of the data of violent experience reported by this study samples was relatively normal; but the main distribution showed lower level of intimate relationships violence. The inspection of linearity shows that the relationship between trauma and experience as a victim of intimate relationship violence was very weak. The other variables also showed no significant association with the dependent variable (see table 4).

IV. Discussions

This study has provided empirical evidence on the long-term negative effects of trauma witnessing domestic violence. In the Indonesian context, specifically in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, it was found that the experience of witnessing and experiencing domestic violence was associated with violent behaviors against their partners in the future. This association is prominent among males.

These results can be explained by the theoretical framework of Social Learning and Violence Cycle or inter-generation transmission theory (Lichter & McClosky, 2004). In the perspective of learning, children learn to behave aggressively through imitation or model, especially from parents, teachers and other children. Violence could be passed on from generation to generation, because the children learn about how to deal with the environment from their parents; children observe how parents used violence as a way to communicate in an intimate relationship. Experience of domestic violence could make individuals develop positive attitudes on violence that justify the use of violence in an intimate relationship (McClosky, Figuerdo & Koss, 1995). Direct victim and witness of domestic violence would adjust themselves in living in a violent relationship; even further, that violence could be regarded as a natural thing to resolve a conflict in an intimate relationship. In addition, violent behavior in the family setting can be exacerbated with the advent of the presence of risk factors such as substance abuse or alcohol abuse.

Thus, this study can be seen as empirical evidence of trans-generational domestic violence, that violent behavior is a learned social behavior which could be resulted from a family context. The experience of watching and getting psychological violence during childhood, such as: humiliation and harsh treatments, could cause people to become at higher risk of conducting violence in the later life. As a result, a person who has witnessed

or experienced domestic violence and throughout their lifetime are more likely to be violent as adults than people who never domestic violence. However, it should be noted also that the effect of domestic violence trauma during childhood found in this study is small; this means that there are many other contextual factors that need to be considered for explaining the relationship between childhood trauma of domestic violence with violent behavior by perpetrators of domestic violence.

Study 2 found no direct relationship between traumatic experiences witnessing domestic violence with violence in intimate relationships. This indicates that this relationship may occur in the complex way, or in other words, the various possibilities of indirect relationship between domestic violence and trauma victims experience are still need to be studied further.

Many factors that could mediate the relationship between trauma indicated in childhood and involvement in violence in intimate relationships in adulthood such as: age and gender, locus of control, coping style, presence or absence of guilt, the child's perception of the threat, and the level of emotional well being mother or caregiver (Holt, Buckley, & Whelan, 2008; Wolfe et al., 2003). Popescu and colleagues (2010) states that violence trauma during childhood would be a predictor of violence in later intimate relationship only if the individual affected by the trauma use negative coping.

Another explanation is proposed by McGee (2000) who states that individuals who had witnessed or experienced domestic violence during childhood had lower self-esteem than individuals who did not experience domestic violence. Negative influence of the trauma of domestic violence on self-esteem is found to occur both in women and men, but more prominently seen in women (Holtzworth-Munroe, Smultzler, & Sandin, 1997). McGee (2000) explains that the self-esteem of girls who witness domestic violence are likely to weaken as a result of living with shame and distressed over cruel and dismissive attitude of domestic violence perpetrators (who are mostly men) at their home. So, for the future, it is important to examine how the dynamic relationship between psychological trauma and domestic violence by also considering the mediating or moderating factors.

It is expected that the results of this study can be used as a basis for the development of further domestic violence trauma research. However, there are some limitations of this study that need to be considered. *First*, the age distribution between perpetrators and victims in the study were unequal. Age range among perpetrators of domestic violence was adulthood while age range of victims was more on adolescence to early adulthood. This age difference may affect the samples' response and the results of the study. *Second*, the distribution of the trauma and aggression data in the study was very low and most of the data were not normally distributed. Although both samples of offenders and victims in this study have been clearly involved in domestic violence by a police report, but it seems that they are still hesitant and feel shame to reveal the experience of domestic violence. Until now, domestic violence is still considered a social disgrace in the community in Indonesia,

so that both the perpetrator and victim reports seek to minimize trauma and violence that have occurred in their neighborhood with the intention to cover the disgrace. In social studies, it is referred to as the effect of social expectations (social desirability effect). Therefore, future research should consider the age distribution, the distribution of the sample, and to develop the most effective way to measure trauma and domestic violence but also consider its social context.

V.   Conclusion

This study found that both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence had experienced domestic violence trauma in their childhood or adolescence. Victims and perpetrators of domestic violence seem to engage in the cycle of violence. Domestic violence trauma could develop a false perception about violence and ultimately affect their inability of coping over their personal problems. These findings can be considered relevant in the intervening cases of domestic violence in Indonesia. Intervention of domestic violence should to be targeted not only for the direct victim but also at children who have witnessed domestic violence, where the intervention should be aimed for resolving conflict and helping children not to develop any distorted ideas about violence in intimate relationships.

Furthermore, the handling of domestic violence cases also need to be done in an integrated manner, both for the direct victim or indirect victim, as well as perpetrators. In addition to the childhood trauma intervention, the reconciliation between the offender, the victim and the family, should also be pursued with considering the safety for each of the parties (Margaretha, 2007; 2010). Finally, further research on the psychological factors dynamics of domestic violence is still need to be done, both from the perspective of the perpetrator and the victim. By such research we could understand how to formulate intervention program for domestic violence cases in Indonesia.

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Language and Terrorism: Case Study in Preventing Radicalism Based on Santri's Book of Islamic Moral in Indonesia Islamic Boarding School

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Abstract

What is the meaning of *jihad*? This word is always misunderstanding and misinterpreting as a "holy war". The wrong meaning and understanding of *jihad* has made the problems of humanity such as the disseminating of radicalism on behalf of religion, fanaticism, and considering some one as *kafir* (unbeliever). Jihad was divided by Islamic scholars into two aspects "greater *Jihad*" and "lesser *jihad*". The greater *jihad* is a great effort from the deeply heart and mind against sin within individual to gain the perfect spiritual life. *Jihad* (striving) is not just to gain *Jannah* (paradise) but the real *jihad* is a great effort to keep the world life in harmony and peaceful. This article tried to find the ethic morals in the book of *Bidayatul Hidayah* written by Imam al-Ghazali, and it was translated into Javanese language by Kyai Hamam Nashirudin (1964) Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia. By using translation theory this article tries to find the moral ethics of *Santri* (student at traditional Muslim boarding school/ *pesantren*) in order to preventing the radicalism and terrorism view. Finally, this article will find the correlation between language (translation of ideology) and terrorism preventing actions based on the book of moral ethic belongs to *Santri* in Indonesia.

The translation of Arab – Javanese book of moral ethic written by Imam Al-Ghazali (solution)

Keywords: Terorism, Radicalism, *Santri*, Arabic – Javanese Translation.

I.   Introduction

One of the way to get the goal in the search key of drivers of Indonesia empowerment is by upgrading the grade of human resources. Nowadays, some of human resources in Indonesia are destructive by the terrorism regime that mostly influenced to the young Indonesia people. Indonesia was in danger. Thus, we have to solve this problem. One of the

solutions to prevent the radicalism effect in the young people is by giving the comprehensive guide to understand about the meaning of *Jihad*. Not only, the term of jihad, but also the substances of Islamic moral ethic should be delivered well to the young Muslim, for example, by looking to the book of *Bidayatul-Hidayah* written by Imam Al-Ghazali. In that book, we can find how the moral ethic had been delivered to do in the daily life. This article tried to find the substances of *Bidayatul-Hidayah* for the sake of preventing the radicalism in the young people/ young student/ *santri* in Indonesia. The data in this article was divided into two main items, (1) the data about the units of language, and (2) the data outside the language, extra-lingual.

Binbayyah (2007) has described about the meaning of *jihad* in Islam comprehensively. We can look from his book under the title "al-Irhāb" (terrorism). In Arabic language the term "terrorism" was taken from the word /ra-ha-ba/. This word had been used in Al-Qur'an twelve times. One of this verse, can be found in the Surah al-Baqarah, verse: 40. The word /ra-ha-ba/ dominantly correlated with the meaning of "fear" /khauf/.

الجهاد هو مصدر من جاهد جهادا و مجاهدة و معناه استفراغ الوسع أي بذل أقصى الجهاد للوصول إلى غاية فى الغالب محمودة.

(Binbayyah, 2007:125)

The meaning of "jihad" was described by the word /istifrāgh/ in Arabic language, it was so radical, lexically it means "vomiting", "disgorging", and "puking" of capacity, ability, strength, and power to reaching the purpose, aim, or goal. In Islam, there are three kinds of Jihad, they are: (1) *jihad* (struggle) toward the real enemy/mujahad al- aduwwu adz-dzāhir/ (مجاهدة العدو الظاهر), (2) *jihad* toward satan, demon, or the devil (3) (مجاهدة الشيطان), *jihad* toward the soul (مجاهدة النفس). The last jihad was described in the prophetic tradition (hadith), it has been narrated by al-Imam Ahmad such as this statement.

و المجاهد من جاهد نفسه فى طاعة الله عزّ و جل.

'The real jihadis is the man who has been struggle with the obedience towards Allah'

In fact, the real jihad in Islam, as Binbayyah (2007:127) concluded, is not always correlating with the war, the fighting, and the murderous (فليس كل جهاد قتالا و ليس كل قتال جهادا). The meaning of jihad semantically is very extensive. Actually, jihad correlated with the defense of rightful possession (دفاع عن الحق). This fact was strengthened by the verse of Al-Qur'an (52): (و جاهد هم به جهادا كبيرا). Jihad also has the meaning "to call for liberty of freedom" (دعوة إلى الحرية). Haberfeld (2009:vii) had been concluded that terrorist incidents that took place in many countries and were perpetrated by individuals who had just one thing in common – "they were the minority in a majority world". It was Frederick Hacker who divided the terrorist's motivation into three, very broad, categories: criminals,

crusaders, or crazies. Thus this article tried to avoid the phenomenon of terrorism and jihadis doctrine to the young *santri* in Indonesia, by looking back to the substances of Islamic Moral ethic book written by Imam Al-Ghazali. The text of *Bidayatul-Hidayah* will be analyzed with discourse analysis. Discourse is the basic form in the analyzing the text to get the comprehensive information (Djajasudarma, 2012:vii).

II. Method

The data in this research is the translation book of *Bidayatul-Hidayah*, Islamic moral ethic book. This book was considered as the comprehensive book about Islamic Moral ethic for beginner. It means that actually this book is very fundamental for understanding the substance of moral in Islam. How can this book encounter the effect of Jihadis and extremist, thus we should elaborate the substances of *Bidayatul-Hidayah*. The substances of that book can be analyzed by the discourse analysis. First of all, the unit of languages, from the words, phrases, clauses, and then sentences, will be analyzed to know the characteristic of *Bidayatul Hidayah*, and How Imam Al-Ghazali, the author, delivered the message to the readers. So, the method in this case was divided into three main parts, (1) collecting the data (unit of language) and the discourse, (2) analyzing the data, using the descriptive analysis, and then the last (3) reporting the result of the data, formal and informal. The text of Bidayatul-Hidayah will be divided into some parts: (1) the obedience /fith-thā āt/ (فى الطاعات) (2), the avoidance toward sin/ disobedience /fi ijtinābil-ma āshiy/ (في اجتناب المعاصي), and (3) the good manners in the relationships between the God and the human being /al-qaul fi adābish-shachabah wal-mu āsyarah ma al-khāliq azza wa jalla wa ma al-khalqi/ (القول فى آداب الصحبة و المعاشرة مع الخالق عز و جل و مع الخلق). The hypothesis before doing the text analysis, this article will conclude that the book of *Bidayatul-Hidayah* becomes the avant-garde of preventing the effects of rebellious terrorism.

III. Findings and Discussion

This article had found the three main basic chapters in the Islamic moral ethic book which has correlated with the preventing of terrorism based on the religion doctrines; they are (1) the obedience toward the God, (2) the disobedience, and (3) the relationship between the God and the human being. To get the correlation between the text and situation, this article used the lexical items and the discourse analysis. By a lexical item (lemma) we understand a word-abstraction, linguistically defined, described and characterized in a manner which is best suited to a given kind and type of dictionary (Vachek, 2003:101). The main data in this research is the Arabic – Javanese translation texts of Bidayatul Hidayah written by Imam Al-Ghazali. This research will try to answer that by looking the Islamic moral ethic book, Islam is not the religion of terrorism, Islam is the religion of love, Islam love peacefull

and harmony. Al-Ghazali in his book has elaborated that the real Muslim is "al-Charīs" the wishful that love to learn respect each other.

3.1 The Obedience toward the God

By looking the lexicons of the book *Bidayatul-Hidayah*, we will find the characters of how we should learn and get the knowledge based on the Islamic moral ethics. We can look at from the first chapter in that book, how Imam Al-Ghazali had called the learner by the word /al-charīsh/ the meaning is "desirous", "keen", "eager", and "wishful".

<div dir="rtl">

(فاعلم أيها الحريص ، المقبل على (اقتباس العلم

</div>

Al-Ghazali (1998:26) has given the priority in his book to the chapter of obedience to the God by using the *fiqh* perspective mixing with the *tasawuf* paradigm. We can look at the mixing of fiqh and tasawuf from the first chapter about the obedience towards God (fith-thā āt). Al-Ghazali has warned hard the student who studied just for the money; it means the distortion of religion. So, actually, *jihad* based on the violence is one of the distortions of religion (hadmi dīn), Al-Ghazali also used the phrase "selling the hereafter life with the life in the world (bai u akhiratuka bi-dunyāka) (Nāshiruddin, 1964:10).

In the other hand, Al-Ghazali also described about the bad manner that using the reason of God (Nāshiruddin, 1964:11). In this statement, Al-Ghazali tried to described about "niyyah" in the worship to the God. Niyyah (Arabic: intent) is most actions in Islams are judged by both the action itself and the intention. For example: "shalat" is not regarded as valid unless the person who prays declares the intent to pray that prayer. It must immediately precede the act, and the intention must be maintained in the mind until the act is completed (Newby, 2004:166). Some of jihadis had the wrong niyyah for doing violence based on the Islamic doctrins. Al-Ghazali concluded that this act is regarding as a bad manner. In the translation book of Bidayatul-Hidayah, the case about niyyah has elaborated comprehensively for the basis in every single worship and obedience toward the God, as in the next statements.

<div dir="rtl">

.و إن كانت نيتك و قصدك بينك و بين الله تعالى من طلب العلم ، الهداية دون مجرد الرواية

</div>

Lan lamun ana – apa niyat ira – lan seja nira – antarane sira – lan antarane Gusti Allah – sangking olehe amrih ilmu – iku amrih pituduh – ora niyah – mung bias cerita (Javanese Language).

The problems of the radicals can be divided into two levels; first, the abuse and manipulation of certain Islamic doctrine to justify radicalism and terrorism. The abuse undoubtedly comes from a literal interpretation of Islam. The second problem is the use of violence and terrorism, which undoubtedly runs contrary to Islam (Azra, 2003:53).

3.2 Disobedience

Anis (2015:6) has concluded that the main aspect in Arabic composition is enhancement the using of verbs in present tense and future tense. It is the dominant pattern in Arabic language. To get the substance of the book of *Bidayatul-Hidayah*, we can analyze the verbs that Al-Ghazali has used in his book. In this second chapter (disobedience), al-Ghazali has described about some bad manners belongs to human being, such as: (1) tell a lie/ cheat/ tell untruth (2), (الكذب) breaking someone promise (3), (الخلف فى الوعد) malicious gossip (الغيبة), (4) dispute and argument (5), (المرء و الجدل و المناقشة) purification (6), (تزكية النفس) imprecation (7), (اللعن) envy (8) (الحسد), stingy (9) (الشحيح), hypocrisy (الرياء), and (10) arrogance (العجب و الكبر و الفخر).

If we look at from the Al-Ghazali saying, we will find that the term "jihad" is focused to the term of "sin" in our heart /ma āshī al-qalb/ (معاصى القلب). The word jihad becomes imperative form /ijtahid/, in the Arabic Javanese translation, it was translated into the phrase /nemen-nemeno siro/. We can look at from this statement. Jihad is not only about the war and the suicide based on the religion doctrine.

و هي أمهات لجملة من الخبائث سواها و هي الحسد و الرياء و العجبُ. فاجتهد في تطهير قلبك منها

Utawi telu – iku amal / bibite – keduwe – golongan saking – piro piro sifat kang jembar – sakliyane telu – utawi sifat telu – iku drengki – lan pamer – lan anggumedeake – mongko <u>*nemen nemennono siro*</u> *– ing dalem nyuceni ati iro* (Nāshiruddin, 1964:357).

3.3 Relationship between the God and the Human Being

The reason of someone doing violence based on the religion doctrine is caused by the social factor such the relationship between among the other person. As Haberfeld (2009:vii) had been concluded that terrorist incidents that took place in many countries and were perpetrated by individuals who had just one thing in common – "they were the minority in a majority world". In the book of Bidayatul Hidayah, Al-Ghazali has described about the last chapter about the relationship between the God and the human being. There are some chapters (Al-Ghazali, 1998:143-162), such as: (1) the morals/ethics in the companionship with the God (2), (آداب الصحبة مع الله تعالى) the morals/ethics towards the scientist or scholar (3), (آداب العالم) the morals/ethics towards the educated/ literate (4), (آداب المتعلم) the morals/ ethics between the children and the parents (5), (آداب الولد مع الوالدين) the category of the persons and the morals/ethics in relationship among them (أصناف الناس و آدب مجالستهم), and (6) the morals/ethics in the general relationship (آداب الصحبة). In this case, Al-Ghazali had devided the term of "al-ikhwah" or brothers into three parts, as in this statement below. The jihadis who always used the violence based on the religion doctrine, actually should understand well the concept of brotherhood in Islam. Al-Ghazali has divided the term "brother" into three main parts, the brother toward the hereafter life (أخ لآخرتك), the

brother for our world life (أخ لدنياك), and the brother for the incarnation (أخ لتأنس به), this concept of brotherhood is focused to make the harmony in the world and the hereafter, so the humam being will avoid the violence between among people, although they are different in religions.

أن الإخوة ثلاثة : أخ لآخرتك فهي الإلا عارت الف كتبنا لدنياك أخ لدينك ، و الإلا هيف عارت الف لدنياياك أخ إلا فهي عارت الف به لتأنس أخ للحسن و خلق الحسن أخي تبنته و تفتنه.

Setuhune – konco – iku telung werno – suwiji konco kerono akhirat iro – mongko ora ngrekso siro – ing dalem akhi iku – anging ngrekso ing agamane – lan kapindo konco – kerono dunyo iro – mongko ora ngrekso siro ing dalem akhi tsani – anging bebuden – kang bagus – lan kaping telu konco kerono iring iringane siro – kelawan akhi tsalis – mongko ora ngrekso siro ing dalem akhi tsalis – anging ing salamat – saking olehne akhi tsalis lan fitnahe akhi tsalis – lan tipune akhi tsalis (Nāshiruddin, 1964:451-452).

IV. Conclusion and Sugestion

By using translation theory and discourse analysis this article tries to find the moral ethics of *Santri* (student at traditional Muslim boarding school/ *pesantren*) in order to preventing the radicalism and terrorism view. Finally, this article had find three main basic chapters in the book of Bidayatul-Hidayah which have the correlation between language (translation of ideology) and terrorism preventing actions based on the book of moral ethic belongs to *Santri* in Indonesia, they are: (1) the obedience /fith-thā āt/ (2) (فى الطاعات), the avoidance toward sin/ disobedience /fi ijtinābil-ma āshiy/ (في اجتناب المعاصي), and (3) the good manners in the relationships between the God and the human being /al-qaul fi adābish-shachabah wal-mu āsyarah ma al-khāliq azza wa jalla wa ma al-khalqi/ (القول فى آداب الصحبة و المعاشرة مع الخالق عز و جل و مع الخلق).

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Searching for Leaders and Leadership:
Deconstructing Astra Brata As The Cultural Capital Resources for Empowering Contemporary Actors

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Abstract

Asta brata is an ideal type of leader and leadership which exists in local-traditional Javanese society. It consists of eight symbols of nature gods from *Indra, Yama, Surya*, *Candra, Bayu, Kuwera, Baruna,* dan *Brama* which traditionally become the guidelines for determining the ideal Javanese king. Perceive in history, *Asta brata* has been produced and reproduced by every generation from Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic until the modern era in the form of *kakawin, babad, serat* and *lakon wayang*. It means that *asta brata* has become the part of the discourse of leaders and leadership in the local-traditional Javanese society and also potentially become one of cultural capital resources for contemporary actors to face a multidimensional dilemma and global challenges. In this point of view, actors have opportunity to become leaders and agents of change based on *asta brata* values. However, the meaning values of *asta brata* nowadays still embedded with traditional Javanese authority elements. Therefore, it is necessary to transforming and deconstructing *asta brata* to be more relevant with the current needs. This paper discuss about the deconstruction of *asta brata* as local-traditional leadership values and it`s new and relevant meaning in the contemporary era. The genealogy and deconstruction approaches become essential part in this work as the ways of thinking. This paper divide in three parts that focused on: (1) the *genealogically* part that discuss about continuity and discontinuity and also the transformation of the *asta brata* in every era; (2) the second part discuss about the critical reading within text that will produce new contemporary meaning of *asta brata* especially in the frames of cultural capital resources for empowering the contemporary actors; and (3) The last part of this session discuss about how the local traditional value of leadership, in the form of *asta brata,* transferred and transmitted in educational process as the part of socialization and enculturation for the contemporary actors.

Keywords: *Asta Brata,* leadership, cultural capital, inter-regional and global era

I. Introduction

Indonesian has multidimensional problems in agencies and structural aspect. Corruption, poverty, intolerance, deforestation etc challenging the wealth of societies (Capra, 2014: 3). Mondialism result clash of values and norms, convergence, culture imperialism, hybridization, glocalisation and westernization (Chaubet, 2015: 61-100). Actors are exponent to solve those problems by their capabilities to become agent and change the structure. The capabilities include: symbolic capital, social capital, cultural capital and economic capital (Giddens, 1984, see also Bourdieu: 1990: 122-131).

Cultural values become basic element to increase the capabilities of the actors and also build civilization (Huntington in Harrison and Huntington, 2006: xiii-xvii). The societies have to reinterpreting, revitalizing and also deconstructing their "ancient", "traditional", and "old" values, which embrace by their old paradigm, into a more useful values in the contemporary world. This research deconstructed the *asthabrata,* as the old traditional values, and constructed more relevant values which is usefull to empowering contemporary actors, especially in cultural capitals and social capital aspect.

II. Method

The values of *asthabrata* nowadays still embedded with traditional Javanese authority elements. It is necessary to transforming and deconstructing *asthabrata* to be more relevant with the current needs. Unit analysis of this research is *asthabrata* text inside of *Serat Rama Jarwa* (*SRJ*) written by Yasadipura I, published in 1750 A.J with *candrasengkala Sirnèng tata pandhitèng siwi* or 1822 A.D, and later republished in 1923 by G.C.T. van Dhorp & Co. The manuscript stored in Library of Sastra Lestari Foundation with number catalogue 832. This version was the last published *asthabrata* text, produces in old Javanese society. Deconstruction approach use to deconstructing leadership values of *Asthabrata* by destructives and constructivism process (Kristeva, 1980: 36-37).

In this research, analysis divided into three processes. Firstly, analyzed genealogy of *asthabrata,* not only to find originality, but to understanding the change and continuity meaning of asthabrata in Javanese society. *Secondly,* deconstructed the text by verbal, textual and linguistic analysis. *Thirdly,* constructing new meaning by placing *asthabrata* in equal arbitrary position. Therefore, asthabrata stance has change from rigid harmonization pacifically into dynamic effectively stance. Thus stance are use to construct new meaning of asthabrata strait with social construction, *zeitgeist* and needed of the society.

III. Finding & Discussion

Asthabrata genealogically contained harmonious values from *Manusmrti* Books from Indian society. Circa 9th century, Javanese poets reproduced *Ramayana* epos and wrote

asthabrata text inside of *Kakawin Ramayana*. The presence of *asthabrata* coloured with power interest's motives (Abidin, Hermanu & Sariyatun, 2016). *Asthabrata* texts appear in the narration between Sri Rama Wijaya and Wibisana after the death of Rahwana. Sri Rama Wijaya give advice namely *asthabrata* (eight virtues of the king) to Wibisana, for restoring stability of Alengka (Yasadipura I, 1923). *Asthabrata* embedded in *tembang Pangkur pupuh* 77. It means *Astharata* become one of important texts in *SRJ*, because *Pangkur* present a high position of *Asthabrata* value in the mentality of Javanese society. The *Asthabrata* text consist of *Pupuh* and *Pada* with specific composition of *Guru Lagu* and *Guru Wilangan* that show aesthetic element of the language but in the other side it biases the elements of subjectivity.

Although Rama Wijaya successfully conquers Rahwana, he has no intention to ruling Alengka. Rama Wijaya precisely let the Astina`s throne to Wibisana that genealogically is the rightful heirs of Alengka. Based on the stanzas, the position of Rama Wijaya and Wibisana are equal, those two characters are the "real king" of two political entities. Rama Wijaya is the "real king" without throne after he left Astina. The interlocutor is Wibisana, he is the heir of Alengka after Rahwana defeated by Rama Wijaya. However, if it seen from the direction of the conversation and topic controlling, there is a intellectual domination from Rama Wijaya by delivering advices and order to Wibisana as the passive interlocutor. Textually, the purpose of domination is not to take the powers from Wibisana to Rama Wijaya, but the "domination" actually uses to create harmonization (*keselarasan*) in Alengka. The harmonization realized only if the kings was able to act in harmony (Abidin, Hermanu & Sariyatun: 2016b).

The *Asthabrata* text can be seen below:

15. *yêkti tinelad sajagad | yèn ratune ing rèh wus dèn ugêmi | têtêp ing agama tutug | sumêbaring parentah | marma yayi prayitnanên yèn ing prabu | yêkti tiniru sajagad | mungguh ing rèh ala bêcik ||*

16. *ala ya tiniru ala | yèn abêcik pêsthi tiniru bêcik | anut sasolahing ratu | tiniru isining rat | lawan sira elinga bathara wolu | poma iku munggèng sira | lire kang sawiji-wiji ||*

17. *wêwolu sariranira | yêkti nora kêna sira ngoncati | salah siji saking wolu | cacad karatonira | yèn tinggala salah siji saking wolu | kang dhingin Bathara Endra | Bathara Surya ping kalih ||*

18. *Bayu ingkang kaping tiga | Kuwera kang sakawanipun nênggih | Baruna kalimanipun | Yama Côndra lan Brama | jangkêp wolu dèn pasthi môngka ing prabu | angganira ngastha brata | sayêkti ing narapati ||*

19. *lampahe Bathara Endra | ngudanakên wêwangi ing sabumi | dana sumêbar sumawur | mêratani sajagad | kawaratan gung alit sadayanipun | pan ora amilih janma | lakuning Endra sayêkti ||*

20. *iku yayi la[...]kêna | sawadyane kabèh amot ing bumi | dene Yama lampahipun | milara krama ala | wong durjana ing praja kabèh linêbur | nora ngetung kadang warga | yèn durjana dèn patèni ||*

21. *barang kang laku dursila | ingupaya kabèh dèn osak-asik | sagone ingusir tinut | kacandhak pinatenan | rêrêgêding praja pinrih biratipun | mêngkono Bathara Yama | gone rumêksa prajadi ||*

22. *maling mêmalaning praja | pinrih ilang dursila ngrarêgêdi | angundhangi wadyanipun | tanna kêna omaha | ingkang sandhing panggawe ala tinundhung | kang ala wus pinatenan | sajinise tumpês tapis ||*

23. *kang jinis panggawe ala | lah anggonên Bathara Yama yêkti | surya kaping tiganipun | lakuning palamarta | ngudanakên sabarang rèh arum-arum | amanjingakên rêrasan | asrêping kang dèn têtêpi ||*

24. *tan galak nutuk sakarsa | tan karasa wadya pinrih ing bêcik | tan ana rarêngunipun | sumusup amrih kêna | ingkang pinrih rinasan-rasanan alus | pangisêpe rêrêsêpan | kasêsêp kêna kang pinrih ||*

25. *tan age saliring karsa | nadyan dumuh tyase kêna pinulih | tan katêngên pan rinasuk | pangisêpe sarasa | pan kaping pat Bathara Côndra ing laku | apura sêrananira | amênuhi ring sabumi ||*

26. *mrih eca isining praja | ing pangrèhe wêwangi lan mêmanis | sawuwuse manis arum | saulat [sau...] [...lat] parikrama | guyu-guyu èsême winor ing tanduk | satindak datan rêkasa | mung marentahkên mêmanis ||*

27. *ambêk santa sabuwana | nrusing manah marta-marta mêmanis | sangsaya sru arum-arum | asih sagung pandhita | kaping lima lampahe Bathara Bayu | nging tekad pakartining rat | budining rat dèn kawruhi ||*

28. *tanpa wangên tan têngêran | gèning amrih mèt budine dumadi | kêna kabudayanipun | ing rèh datan kawruhan | bisa amèt budine wadya sawêgung | dursila mulya kawruhan | sasolahe wadya kèksi ||*

29. *sinambi angupaboga | myang busana agung mangun kamuktin | tan ana antaranipun | mring kasukaning bala | amêmaès sang para yogyaning wadu | sarta gung tyase sinuksma | gunaning yuwana pinrih ||*

30. ing tyas datan kêna molah | sapolahe kabèh wus dèn kawruhi | dibyan dana-dana tinut | lampah susela arja | wus kakênan jagad kautamanipun | ing mêngko Bayu lampahnya | iya èngêtên sayêkti ||

31. kaping nêm Sang Hyang Kuwera | agung mukti boga sarya ngenaki | tan anggêpok raganipun | namakakên sarana | kang wus kinon amusthi pasthining laku | amung pracaya kewala | dènira tan amrih silib ||

32. gungning praja pinarcaya | dananya sru kasêktèn dèn ugêmi | nora ngalêm nora nutuh | samoha sinasama | rèhning sun srah kabèh kawiryan wus sinung | tan wruh ingupaya sira | tuhuning pribadi pinrih ||

33. kasaptanira Baruna | agung agêm sanjata lampahnèki | bisa basuki ing laku | amusthi ing wardaya | guna-guna kagunan kabèh ginêlung | angapusa isining rat | putus wiweka kaèksi ||

34. angapus sagung durjana | sêndhih kingkin dursila sila juti | saisining rat kawêngku | kèsthi kang ala arja | têmpuhing sarana datan kegah-keguh | kukuh kautamanira | tuladên Baruna yêkti ||

35. bratane Bathara Brama | ngupa boga sawadyane gung alit | kabèh galak maring mungsuh | bisa basaning wadya | sirna parangmuka kaparag kapusus | tirunên Bathara Brama | lakine Ni Rarasati |

Eight virtues of deities interpreted by Yasadipura I in 1822: (1) Kings according to the *Indra*`s character must have non-limited wealth; (2) *Yama*`s directs the king to be able to withstand all evil; (3) *Surya*`s character is displayed with the king`s ability it persuade with friendly and thoughtful actions; (4) *Candra*`s manifested in compassionate king; (5) *Bayu*`s described as meticulous characters; (6) *Kuwera*`s describe generosity in providing property and amusement; (7) *Baruna*`s is a representation of sharp intelligence and brilliant in face of adversity; (8) *Brama*`s representation of courage and determination in face the enemy (Yasadipura I: 1923, see also Moertono, 1985). Javanese society seen Indra as the centre of the deities. It means that the leaders must have non limited wealth, collected and defeated any power resources to rule the societies.

The new meaning and values of *Asthabrata* after deconstructed are as follows:

Name of Lokapala`s	Characters	Mean
Indra	Lightning	Competency and capabilities
Yama	Stars	Etique
Surya	Sun	Nurturing

Name of Lokapala`s	Characters	Mean
Candra	Moon	Thoughtfulness
Bayu	Wind	Moderating
Kuwera	Earth	Acknowledge the diversity
Baruna	Ocean	Criticaly
Brama	Fire	Transformative

Astabrata separated with the concept of Javanese powers and authority. It means that the new values are free from the structural position. For example, Indra means that leaders not rule but also manage the organization or community and have equal positions with the other deities. Those new values of *Asthabrata* can be use to build social and cultural capital of the contemporary actors and leaders by educational process as the part of socialization and enculturation for the contemporary actors.

IV. Conclusion

Asthabrata values are embedded with old Javanese powers and authority. Therefore, it is necessary to transforming and deconstructing *Asthabrata* to be more relevant with the current needs. By deconstructing, asthabrata separated from Javanese powers and authority. *Asthabrata* stance has change from rigid harmonization pacifically into dynamic effectively stance. Thus stance are use to construct new meaning of *A*sthabrata strait with social construction, *zeitgeist* and needed of the society. The new values of *A*sthabrata are as follows: not only ruling, but manage; transformative; nurturing; thoughtfulness; moderating; acknowledge the diversity; intelligent, protecting.

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The Relawan in The Indonesian Presidential Elections in 2014 As Drivers of Indonesian Empowerment

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Abstract

The enormous support of civil-society organizations was a major reason for Joko Widodo's victory in the Indonesian presidential elections in 2014. Social-science theories generally assign civil-society organizations a leading role in strengthening a democratic political order and improving the quality of democracy in it. The assessment of Joko Widodo's election campaign reveals that the involvement of volunteer groups (relawan) with pro-democratic goals was an important component. The remarkable commitment of these civil-society organizations, which provided support in a variety of ways, can be interpreted as a positive sign that democracy is deepening in Indonesia. In so far, the volunteer groups contributed significantly to an empowerment of Indonesia.

Introduction

This paper argues that the enormous support of civil-society organizations and the involvement of volunteer groups (*relawan*) was a major reason for Joko Widodo's victory in the Indonesian presidential elections in 2014. The remarkable commitment of these groups and their success can be interpreted as a positive sign that democracy is deepening in Indonesia. In so far, the volunteer groups contributed significantly to an empowerment of Indonesia.

The presidential election of 2014 marked a decisive parting of ways for democracy in Indonesia. The people in the third-largest democracy worldwide had the choice between General Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo (commonly known as Jokowi) — or as some political observers noted, between a return to an autocratic order and a democratic future (Pongsudhirak 2014, Mietzner 2014).

Prabowo presented himself as a strong nationalistic leader with little sympathy for democratic procedures, and made comments that could be interpreted as if he intended to abolish direct presidential elections if he was elected. He also stated that Indonesia should return to the authoritarian, president-centered constitution of 1945. Jokowi, in contrast,

had the reputation of being a clean and hard-working local politician, and soon became the bearer of hope for those who dreamed of an open-minded, tolerant, and uncorrupt Indonesia. While Prabowo was perceived as a firm and decisive leader, Jokowi tended to have the image of a pragmatic problem-solver who directly interacted with the people (McRae 2013: 293).

Both candidates have very different backgrounds. Prabowo comes from an influential and wealthy family well connected with the elites in Jakarta, particularly the clan of former dictator Soeharto, whose daughter he married. His brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, is one of the richest people in Indonesia and sponsored his election campaign. Additionally, he was supported by Aburizal Bakrie, one of the most powerful businessmen in the country, who controls various TV stations and dozens of conglomerates.

In stark contrast to Prabowo, we have Jokowi, who grew up in a middle-class family in Central Java with virtually no political networks and financial resources to help him initially. Until a few years ago, he was only known as a local politician in his home town, Solo, in Central Java, where he was elected as mayor twice. To gain this office, he had to join a political party and chose the nationalist-secular PDI-P (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan*, Democratic Party of Indonesia – Struggle), but he was not considered to be very powerful within the party until he won the election. Aside from media tycoon Surya Paloh, he did not have any major business sponsors to help him finance his election campaign.

Jokowi's declared personal wealth recently amounted to $2.5 million, while Prabowo's was about $147 million (Aspinall and Mietzner 2014: 352). Most of the political parties (PPP, PAN, Golkar, Gerindra, PD, and PKS) pledged their alliance to Prabowo, whereas Jokowi was only supported by his own PDI-P and PKB, Hanura, and NasDem. In the parliamentary elections in April 2014, the coalition formed by Prabowo gained more than 60 percent of the votes submitted by the Indonesian electorate.

In short, under normal election conditions in Indonesia, Prabowo would have won the presidential elections in 2014, since he had far more financial resources and more support from the political and economic elites. As we all know, however, this did not happen. What are the reasons for Jokowi's success? Many factors will have played a role, of course, but in this paper, we argue that the enormous support by democratic and progressive civil-society organizations was the decisive factor in his election victory. In a hard and often uncivil competition with other civil-society organizations ("CSOs"), the democratic and progressive CSOs succeeded in persuading more Indonesian citizens to vote for Jokowi's democratic ideas. His election victory prevented Indonesian democracy from moving in a more authoritarian direction or even collapsing. My research questions are therefore the following: What kind of civil-society support did Jokowi enjoy, and why was the attitude of civil society so exceptional in this particular election? Can civil society's support of Jokowi be interpreted as a sign of democracy deepening in Indonesia?

This paper starts with a short overview of social-science theories about the connections between civil society and democracy. I will then take a closer look at the structure, the forms, and the intensity of the civil-society support for Jokowi in the 2014 presidential elections in Indonesia. Finally, I will connect these findings with their effects on the overall quality of democracy in Indonesia.

This paper is based on an article which I wrote together with Ririn Sefsani (Sefsani/Ziegenhain 2015). In terms of our methodology, we gained some of our insights from reviewing literature written in English and Indonesian, while others were gained from numerous interviews and personal experiences from within the Jokowi support community during the election campaign in 2014. Ririn Sefsani worked as a volunteer for a political organization named *Seknas Jokowi* throughout the presidential election campaign. She interviewed more than 25 people from several volunteer organizations in different cities in Indonesia between April and August 2014. All her interviews were held in Indonesian and later translated into English by Patrick Ziegenhain.

Civil society and the deepening of democracy

Civil society is a concept that generally refers to the "realm of organized life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules" (Diamond 1994: 5). It is not a unified body, however, but a highly diverse entity full of competing ideas, ideologies, and visions; it can best be understood as a public arena where different political and social principles are contested and debated. Depending on the features and the strength of the different social groups involved, "civil society can have both democratic and anti-democratic effects" (Alagappa 2004: 40).

An intense debate has been taking place in the social sciences since at least the late 1980s on the connection between civil society and democracy. Western liberal-democracy theorists such as Robert D. Putnam (1993) and Francis Fukuyama (2000) agree on Tocqueville's nineteenth-century finding that the stability of a democracy depends on the structure, attitudes, and strength of the various associations within a given political order (Tocqueville 1969). The more active and democratic these civil-society actors are, the better this is for the deepening of democracy. Philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner even went as far as stating "no civil society, no democracy" (quoted in Fukuyama 2000: 7).

American scholar Larry Diamond identified the following ways in which civil-society organizations strengthen democracy: checking and limiting the state's power, disseminating democratic ideas and values, empowering the people, promoting equality and change from clientelism to citizenship, stimulating political participation, and recruiting and training political leaders (Diamond, quoted in Beittinger-Lee 2009: 33). In most cases, the agenda

of civil-society organizations has a "clear elite-critical and anti-status quo impetus, aiming at a more egalitarian and less discriminatory society" (Mietzner 2013: 30).

However, not all civil-society organizations have these attributes; some of them are decidedly undemocratic and pursue different objectives. These "uncivil society groups" "undermine democracy through their racism, secrecy, and frequent resort to violence" (Alagappa 2004: 46). Fundamentalist religious organizations and groups advocating ethnic or racial superiority are just a few examples. Civil organizations of this kind will obviously have a negative effect on the deepening of democracy in any political order.

Hence it is necessary to distinguish between various forms of civil-society organizations. In the context of Indonesian democracy today, a variety of academic works deal with civil society's contributions to democracy. Most studies underline the fact that an active and pro-democratic civil society would be highly beneficial for removing remnants of the authoritarian New Order (*Orde Baru*) and creating more transparency and accountability in Indonesian democracy. However, Indonesia's civil society can be described as fragmented into diverse issue-based groupings, which are not efficiently organized and lack coherence (Nyman 2009: 269). Additionally, most analysts concede that Indonesia's vibrant civil society is not totally supportive of democracy (Hadiwinata 2009: 291), since the political goals that some organizations pursue are not in accordance with democratic principles.

As Hans Antlöv and Anna Wetterberg have observed, the pattern of civil-society engagement has changed in recent years. Instead of organizing public-advocacy campaigns and mass demonstrations outside government offices, CSOs have become more active in negotiating with government officials, particularly in participatory planning and budgeting processes (Antlöv and Wetterberg 2011: 5f.). Another rather recent feature of Indonesia's civil-society groups is that quite a number of civil-society activists joined various mainstream political parties without giving up their civil-society networks (Mietzner 2013: 47). Partisan support for certain politicians and political parties by civil-society organizations has tended to be the exception rather than the rule, however. As Suaedy says, the phenomenon of the electoral support for Jokowi shown by progressive and democratic civil-society organizations was a break with

> the tradition of social movements in Indonesia, which have so far remained separated from political parties or candidates in an attempt to cause radical change and uphold claims of being non-partisan (Suaedy 2014: 112).

Civil-society support for Jokowi prior to the 2014 elections

During the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (or "SBY" for short; 2004–2014), Indonesia witnessed a period of relative political stability. However, the longer his presidency continued, the more the President turned into a lame duck — surrounded by powerful oligarchs in his cabinet, he did not initiate any further reforms to deepen

Indonesia's fragile democracy. Instead, the country witnessed the rise of "uncivil" organizations stemming from radical Islamist groups. Intolerant and often violent groups such the *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI, Islam Defenders' Front) and *Hizbut Tahrir* gained more and more support and actively promoted their version of a more conservative Islamic society. During the presidency of SBY, the radical religious groups mentioned above not only became prominent, but were permitted to continue with the provocative and violent action they had been taking against religious minorities such as Christians, Shiites, and the Ahmadiyyah group; the SBY administration did not directly support these undemocratic and intolerant civil-society groups, but it let them carry on and in some cases even justified their actions (KontraS 2013).

SBY also initiated the controversial Mass Organization Law (*UU Ormas*), which was passed in 2013 and put civil-society organizations under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. Since then, CSOs have needed a license and have had to stick to the national *Pancasila* ideology. Prior to that, a government regulation from December 2008 required NGOs to seek state approval for foreign funding.

Despite all these hindrances, many progressive civil-society organizations continued the work they had started in the transition period. However, the NGO scene was diverse and lacked a feeling of togetherness, or as Hendrik Sirait, one of the chairmen of the volunteer organization *Almisbat*, put it, the organizations lacked a common enemy like the one they had had in previous times — the authoritarian government under President Suharto.

Before 2014, many pro-democracy civil-society organizations focused on local issues such as land grabbing and often worked on their own. At the national level, non-profit interests groups had some difficulty making themselves heard, since parts of the national administration still resented their work. Even now, bureaucrats often regard them as being sponsored by foreign donor organizations and not representing the interests of ordinary Indonesians.

The introduction of direct presidential elections in 2004 provided new opportunities for civil-society organizations reluctant to support political parties to support individual candidates whom they thought were capable of promoting a reform agenda. In 2004 and 2009, however, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was claimed to be the clear leader in all the opinion polls and did not have to rely on support from civil-society organizations. The latter therefore did not play a major role in campaigning for one of the candidates. Some local elections offered more opportunities for their political engagement, however. In Central Java, for example, Ganjar Pranowo was elected as the new governor in 2013, helped by a great deal of support from pro-democratic civil society. Ridwan Kamil was also elected mayor of Bandung in 2014 with their help.

Jokowi's rise from being a Central Javan mayor to a highly popular national political figure brought about a revitalization of the pro-democratic civil-society movement. In the

second half of 2012, he started as an outsider in the Jakarta gubernatorial elections and was able to beat the incumbent governor, Fauzi Bowo, with the support of civil-society organizations and the media. The phenomenon of massive volunteer (*relawan*) support for Jokowi became visible in this election (Suaedy 2014). *Relawan* can be described as active citizens who do not belong to any specific party, but are politically active, promoting a certain person who they believe is best for society as a whole (Samah and Susanti 2014: 24). After his election victory in Jakarta, Jokowi became a nationally known politician, and intensive media coverage about his personality and leadership style brought him widespread popularity.

Jokowi soon became the most popular politician in Indonesia and was even discussed as a candidate for the 2014 presidential elections. However, in accordance with Indonesian electoral regulations, presidential candidates must be proposed by political parties. His own party, PDI-P (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan*, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), hesitated to nominate him for a long time, preferring to propose party chairwoman Megawati Sukarnoputri. Here again, progressive civil-society organizations became active and put PDI-P under pressure to nominate Jokowi as its presidential candidate. In January 2014, for example, the former members of SMID (*Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi*, Indonesian Student Solidarity for Democracy), PRD (*Partai Rakyat Demokrasi*, Democratic People's Party), and HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, Islamic Student Associations) declared their support for Jokowi and developed a new group named *Jokowi untuk Indonesia Baru* (JUIB, Jokowi for a New Indonesia). This group sent a public message to PDI-P and encouraged them to nominate Jokowi because he was seen as the only alternative figure among old-style politicians.

About a year before the presidential elections in July 2014, many new progressive civil-society organizations were founded that supported Jokowi. This was remarkable, because many ordinary Indonesian people were getting involved in elections

> not just to position themselves outside and in contrast to government (NGO vs. Government), but in support of the candidate of their liking, affiliating themselves and volunteering to campaign actively (Lancée 2014).

The initiators of the volunteer organizations in support of Jokowi were usually people who had already been active in previous civil-society groups, such as the anti-Suharto and the pro-*reformasi* movements. They founded electoral support organizations, since the traditional NGOs did not usually openly declare their support of one of the candidates. Most of these outsourced groups comprising volunteers did not have a legal status and could thus be regarded as rather informal organizations, albeit with a high rate of participation. Usually, they started off as a forum of discussion with only a few members. Soon after that, more people joined and others were invited to do so. Most groups first developed their own position with regard to the presidential elections in July 2014. They initially

adopted a program and then identified Jokowi as the presidential candidate with whom their program could be implemented.

It is impossible to name all the volunteer organizations that actively supported Jokowi in the 2014 presidential elections, but a few of the more important ones will be presented in the following. One volunteer group was Almisbat (*Aliansi Masyakat untuk Indonesia Hebat*, the People's Alliance for a Superb Indonesia). This group relied on an activist network named FAMI (*Front Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia*, the Indonesian Students' Action Front), which is a student group that became well known due to its activities in the first decade of this century when it demanded the punishment of human-rights violations committed by the authoritarian New Order and former dictator Suharto. Another important volunteer group is *Projo* (Pro Jokowi), which is composed of people close to PDI-P and uses PDI-P's organizational setup around the country.

Duta Jokowi (Jokowi's Envoys) has many activists from the 1998 democracy movements among its members. Their campaign strategy relied on door-to-door discussions with citizens in about 100 cities all over Indonesia. *Duta Jokowi* extended its territorial activities by using the network of Christian activists united in the KWI (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Prelates' Conference). Another organization, *Seknas Jokowi* (*Sekretariat Nasional Jaringan Organisasi dan Komunitas Warga Indonesia*, National Secretariat of the Organization Network and Indonesian Citizen Community), is composed of activists from various NGOs which were already active in the authoritarian New Order, academics, and several members of political parties. Members of Seknas Jokowi are also Indonesians who live in Australia, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, and the United States of America. *Bara JP* (*Barisan Relawan Jokowi Presiden*) is another volunteer organization that has branches in 19 Indonesian provinces. Its members come from very different segments of society, being journalists, politicians, actors, artists, lawyers, and students, for example.

The following table provides an overview of some important volunteer organizations during the 2014 presidential elections:

Table 1: Overview of key volunteer organizations

Name	Founding Date	Territorial Base	Background	Agenda
Almisbat	April 6, 2014	40 districts in 7 provinces	Related to *Forum Mahasiswa Indonesia Menggungat* (FAMI) based on student activism from 1998	No Revival of the *Orde Baru* Refusal of Prabowo as President Support for Jokowi
Projo	April 2014	33 provinces	Student activists from the 1980s, PDI-P, members, students	Support for Jokowi

Name	Founding Date	Territorial Base	Background	Agenda
Duta Jokowi	March 2014	About 100 districts / cities	Student activists, workers, and Christian network (KWI)	Refusal of Prabowo as President Support for Jokowi as President
Seknas Jokowi	December 15, 2013	33 provinces, 267 districts / cities	Democracy activists from 1980, 1990 and 1998, various CSOs (AMAN, Serikat Nelayan, Serikat Petani, Seknas Muda, Seknas Perempuan, Seknas Muda)	Struggle to continue with the reform agenda Make sure that Indonesia does not return to the New Order Use Jokowi as a strategy to build up a more democratic Indonesia Support for Jokowi as President
Bara JP	June 15, 2013	19 provinces and 7 states	Network of Jokowi volunteers from various professional backgrounds	Crisis of trust regarding the political elite Criticism of neo-liberal economic system in Indonesia Support for Jokowi as President

Source: author's own compilation

Social scientist Ariel Heryanto recently observed that "like Jokowi, his supporters are inclined to soft power, such as puns, visual arts and music. Women are reportedly overrepresented. Mostly apolitical in their daily lives, they belong to none of the contesting political parties" (Heryanto 2014). The question why so many ordinary Indonesians became volunteers wanting to play an active part in the presidential campaign for Jokowi is not very easy to answer and needs a thorough empirical survey. Drawing on our own experiences and interviews, however, the following three reasons for providing voluntary support for Jokowi in the 2014 election campaign were mentioned most frequently. It is striking that all of them are related to the question of the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

(i)   Support of Jokowi was a refusal of Prabowo

Many Indonesians regarded Prabowo as a symbol of the old authoritarian Indonesia (Keller 2014: 1). They refused to accept him as their new president, because they feared he would

turn Indonesia into a new *Orde Baru* with limited civil rights and restricted liberties. In view of his military background and track record of human-rights violations, Prabowo was widely regarded as undemocratic. He reminded many members of progressive civil-society organizations of their experiences under the New Order regime, and they decided to act in order to avoid a recurrence of such a situation. Hendrik Sirait, chairman of Almisbat, said:

> I still feel the trauma the people endured during the Suharto government, where not only critical voices were suppressed, but we were also arrested and jailed when we defended the rights of the people. I don't want this to happen again. There is no place here for the Suharto monster to return to power.

Activists who had witnessed the authoritarian New Order were encouraged even more when symbols and figures of the authoritarian past appeared during Prabowo's presidential campaign. Many pictures of the former dictator Suharto bearing the slogan "*enak jamanku tho*" (better in my era) were widely distributed on posters, stickers, and T-shirts. The public appearance of Suharto's daughter, Titik Soeharto (the former wife of presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto) as a candidate for the legislative election for the Golkar party and the statement that she wanted to restore the glory of the *Orde Baru* added to the distrust of those who had bad memories of Indonesia's authoritarian past. Many of the volunteers believed they saw a danger to democracy in Indonesia and declared the 2014 presidential elections to be the "final battle" between the New Order and the Reform Era.

(ii) Support of Jokowi was due to his personality and track record

Jokowi was widely seen as a new type of leader who, unlike other prominent politicians in Indonesia, was still down to earth and close to ordinary citizens. The language he speaks and the way he interacts in public is that of an ordinary citizen, which is why he has often been described as "everybody's neighbor" (Eep Saefulloh Fatah, quoted in: The Economist Online 2013). People from the lower classes can identify with Jokowi. Fisherman Jamaludin Amir from the Gorontalo district in North Sulawesi, for example, explained his own reasoning as follows:

> I support Jokowi because he is like us. He is simple, close to the people, and I'm not afraid of him when I meet him. So far, I have never been to the regent's office or the local parliament because they are so high up and distant. But Jokowi allows the people to be close to their leader.

As the first presidential front-runner in Indonesian history not to come from the country's elite, Joko Widodo embodied the desire of ordinary voters to be ruled by one of their own (Mietzner 2014: 124). Joko Widodo particularly emphasized that he was both approachable and personally known, and his frequent *blusukan*, or low-key visits to mingle amongst the voters, became an effective campaign strategy (Weiss 2014: 9).

Support for Jokowi also stemmed from his image as a progressive leader, however. Irene Shanty Parhusip, the chairwoman of Seknas Perempuan, explained:

> Our greatest hope is that Jokowi can bring about justice and gender equality as well as the protection of ethnic and religious minorities.

What was more important, however, was his good track record as mayor of Solo and (for a much shorter time) governor of Jakarta. In both positions, Jokowi impressed the citizens with his decisive and yet transparent and accountable leadership style free of corruption and close to society. Although he only held his respective positions for a short time, he initiated health and education programs that were a positive step forward for many citizens, particularly the poorer segments of society.

What also mattered to many people was the fact that Jokowi never presented himself as a party politician. The reason is that these people often have a bad reputation in Indonesia, since they tend to be connected with dubious horse-trading agreements, self-enrichment, and corruption. Despite being a member of PDI-P, Jokowi always kept his distance to the party and made it clear that he was outside traditional party politics. Budi Ari Setiadi, chairman of Projo, said this about him:

> We support Jokowi because he proved to be a good leader in Solo and Jakarta, but the most important thing is that he is not part of any political party structure.

Up till April 2014, Joko Widodo was not appointed the official candidate of PDI-P. Although he took the lead in public opinion surveys, the chairwoman of PDI-P, Megawati Soekarnoputri, still avoided naming him as their presidential candidate. Consequently, *relawan* groups such as Pro Jokowi put PDI-P under pressure. Budi Ari Setiadi explained the situation like this:

> We support Jokowi because our strategy is to give the political parties a lesson in self-reflection and improvement of their organization to regain the support of the people. Jokowi is supported fully by non-partisan volunteers who don't want to be seen as party members. The majority of them are anti-party.

In the end, due to public pressure, the PDI-P leadership was forced to nominate Joko Widodo as their presidential candidate, but at a relatively late point in time (the middle of March 2014) and without the party leadership's full support.

(iii) Support of Jokowi was due to his program

Many volunteers also felt attracted by the programmatic issues that Joko Widodo covered during his election campaign. The social and economic plans, however, were not much different than those of his contender, Prabowo Subianto, since both candidates were proposing salary increases for public servants, the creation of new jobs, subsidies for poor families, and possibilities for land ownership for farmers.

What mattered more was Joko Widodo's credibility when it came to effectively reducing the amount of red tape and to restructuring the public administration. Joko Widodo stood for an improvement in Indonesian democracy by reforming it and for the fight against undemocratic features such as corruption and patronage. He introduced the slogan of "mental revolution" to describe his planned transformation of government work, but also that of Indonesian society in general. By "mental revolution," Joko Widodo meant the revival of values such as morality, honesty, mutual help (*gotong-royong*), tolerance, and work for society in general, not just for particular groups (Widodo 2014). In terms of governance, "mental revolution" can be translated as a kind of leadership that is clean, people-oriented, transparent, and open to civil-society demands.

Another important reason why Jokowi was able to attract the support of pro-democratic volunteers was that he stressed his support of ethnic and religious minorities in his election campaign, whereas his contender, Prabowo Subianto, included hard-line and conservative Muslim organizations in his support camp. Thus, equal treatment of the different religious groups in Indonesian society was better represented by Joko Widodo. Additionally, the subject of improving the human-rights situation in Indonesia was part of the Jokowi campaign. Prabowo Subianto, in contrast, was accused of having a negative track record on human rights during his period of service as an active military commander in the authoritarian New Order.

Most civil-society organizations from ethnic minorities were in Joko Widodo's camp. The Indigenous People's Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara*, AMAN), which has millions of members, stood behind Joko Widodo and actively supported him in the election campaign. The main reason for their support was his campaign program, in which he proposed a bill that would result in the official recognition of indigenous peoples and the creation of a representative board of indigenous people as an advisory council for the President. Most civil-society organizations supported Joko Widodo, since he credibly promised a continuous dialogue between civil-society organizations and the President in his election program. Accordingly, it was not only the person himself, but also some programmatic features that caused many people to join the volunteer organizations in support of Joko Widodo.

Forms of support for Joko Widodo

Nearly every volunteer organization that supported Jokowi's election campaign dealt with two different strategies: the "land campaign" (*kampanye darat*) and the "air campaign" (*kampanye udara*). Whereas volunteers were in direct personal contact with the voters and the general public in the land campaign, the air campaign was fought out on the radio, TV, and in social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Path, or via their own websites.

During the land campaign, volunteer organizations arranged public talks and discussions in several cities on "car-free Sundays," for example. They also distributed Jokowi's election materials personally by going from door to door or by putting up posters at strategic places. Since the presidential elections took place during the Islamic fasting month of Ramadhan, most *relawan* groups staged daily Islamic prayers (*pengajian*) and fast-breaking (*buka puasa*) events at their offices after sundown.

The volunteer organizations started a counter-campaign to defend Jokowi when the tabloid *Obor Rakyat* distorted his personal background by portraying him as a Chinese Catholic close to communist organizations. This blackening campaign made the volunteer organizations behind Jokowi even more creative in presenting their presidential candidate. Seknas Jokowi, for example, worked together with Jokowi's personal advisers to produce a tabloid named *Bejo* (short for *Berita Jokowi*) and the newspaper *Bhakti*, which published the program and profiles of the presidential candidate.

Seknas Jokowi organized a national poster competition under the motto of "*Presidenku Jokowi*" (My President, Jokowi), in which more than 700 posters from all parts of the country were sent to the Seknas headquarters in Jakarta. Prior to that, Seknas Jokowi started a campaign in which Jokowi supporters could add their names to a list. By December 2013, more than 230 people in Jakarta had signed the declaration prepared by the CSO.

Specific campaigns for certain social groups were designed by the various member organizations of Seknas. Their youth group focused on first-time voters and encouraged them to vote for a candidate rather than abstain. Their women's group, which was composed of housewives to a great extent, organized door-to-door campaigns, but also arranged communal discussion and information events. They additionally arranged to distribute coffee and sambal products bearing the slogan "*Presidenku Jokowi*" (My President Jokowi) and sold them in Jakarta.

Almisbat focused on youth groups and started the *opor ayam* movement. Although *opor ayam* is well known as a chicken-and-coconut dish, Almisbat used it as an acronym for *Obrolan Persatuan Ocehan Rakyat Akur Yakin Akan Menang* (People's public talk believing that we will win). Almisbat invited students to attend big public meetings in which it not only encouraged them to vote for Jokowi, but also explained how they could improve their own lives.

Concerning the air campaign (*kampanye udara*), most *relawan* organizations were very active in the social media. All of them ran their own websites on which they promoted their events, spread information about Jokowi's program, published press releases, and invited website visitors to comment. Many *relawan* were also very active in all forms of Indonesian news forums in the social media, so the subject of the presidential election was always a prominent topic.

One of the biggest support groups for Joko Widodo in the social media was *Jasmev* (the Jokowi-Ahok Social Media Volunteers). They were already active in the 2012 gubernatorial elections in Jakarta and took a vigorous interest in the 2014 presidential elections as well. Volunteers were able to register with the organization online. In 2014, about 30,000 people from various streams of society were active in this network alone. Jokowi was convinced that social media were an effective and important campaign instrument for reaching large segments of Indonesian society, particularly young people. He worked closely together with the founders of Jasmev, Kartika Djoemadi and Soni Sumarsono, and coordinated the social media campaign together with them, which relied on help from volunteers.

Most *relawan* organizations had also very close connections with the TV station Metro-TV owned by Surya Paloh from Jokowi's coalition. Very often, reports about *relawan* activities were broadcast during the news program of this widely known TV station. One of the volunteer organizations, Duta Jokowi (see above), also worked together with Nagaswara, the biggest music production company in Indonesia, and produced the campaign song "*Cari Presiden Baru*" (Looking for a New President), in which many artists under the Nagaswara label and Jokowi himself participated. The organization called Pro Jokowi ("Projo") focused on the production of T-shirts, flags, and stickers featuring Jokowi and the Projo logo. Thousands of these campaign materials were either distributed or used during campaign demonstrations and events.

Some of the *relawan* organizations had quite prominent members, such as local politicians, artists, and other celebrities. Due to their background, they attracted the attention of many potential voters and the media (Setiyowati and Adi 2014: 370). One of the biggest single election events was a huge concert organized by *relawan* organizations in cooperation with rock star Abdi Negara from the band *Slank*. Under the motto of "*Salam dua jari*" (Greeting with Two Fingers), which referred to Jokowi's running number, 2, more than 200 well-known musicians played for free in the Gelora-Bung-Karno Stadium in Jakarta just a week before the presidential election. More than 100,000 visitors came to listen to the bands and an election speech by Joko Widodo. Additionally, the whole concert was broadcast live on the national TV channel Metro-TV.

It is interesting to note that the *relawan* organizations took over functions which the political parties usually have in election campaigns. Jokowi's own party, PDI-P, organized an election campaign and often cooperated with *relawan* organizations, but the effects were rather limited according to many experts. Aspinall and Mietzner, for example, wrote that

"Jokowi's presidential campaign was marked by organisational chaos, unclear messaging, conflicts with PDI–P, and funding problems" (Aspinall and Mietzner 2014: 358). Eva Sundari, a party politician and member of the National Parliament representing PDI-P until 2014, also joined *relawan* groups (Seknas and Almisbat) and said the following:

> As a party member, I get a headache watching the intra-party dynamics during the election campaign for Jokowi. It would be better if we focused on the work of the *relawan* [and not that of the party].

What was even worse was the performance of the political parties that were Jokowi's coalition partners (PKB, Hanura, and NasDem), as they did not produce and distribute enough campaign material for Jokowi. There was also no real coordination between these parties and the network of volunteer organizations that were actively involved. Joko Widodo himself was aware of this fact and mentioned it at a meeting with *relawan* organizations:

> I am the presidential candidate of the volunteers, but I am also supported by political parties. It would be good if they coordinated [their activities] better with the volunteer organizations.

Another remarkable feature of the 2014 presidential elections was citizens' eagerness to give individual donations to the presidential candidates to finance their election campaigns. According to the General Elections Commission (KPU) website, Joko Widodo was able to attract individual donations of about 2.76 million US dollars. The number of individuals donating money to Joko Widodo's election campaign (about 40,000 in all) was much higher than for any other person in the previous presidential elections in 2009 and 2004 (Margiono 2014). While the bulk of Jokowi's financing for the election came in the form of small donations, Prabowo profited from a few large-scale contributions from the elite (Shekhar 2014: 1). Jokowi was probably the first presidential candidate in Indonesian history to launch a significant community-based fundraising drive in contrast to the usual campaign-funding by oligarchs, interest groups, and candidates themselves (Mietzner 2014: 119).

Another crucial point to secure Joko Widodo's election victory was the high amount of participation by volunteers in the process of monitoring and checking the outcome of the presidential election. Since the race between Jokowi and Prabowo was a rather close one, manipulations in various parts of the vast archipelagic state could have changed the result. According to some estimations, more than two million volunteer witnesses were active in recording and transmitting the election results from all 477,291 polling stations (*tempat pemungutan suara*, or TPS for short) to their organizations. They in turn compiled the incoming data and compared them with officially announced results from the National

Election Commission, KPU (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum*). The volunteer initiatives thus reduced the occurrence of irregularities in the presidential election in 2014, which can be considered a major step in stabilizing the democratic process (Lancée 2014). Those who guarded the election buildings and prevented fraud from occurring were not necessarily supporters of either camp, but in the end, their voluntary engagement benefitted the legitimacy of the election.

Several parallels between Joko Widodo's election victory and that of Barack Obama in the 2008 U.S. presidential election can be seen. Both person was a political veteran at the time, and since they were relatively new to politics, they both chose more experienced senior politicians as their vice-presidential candidates. Jokowi and Obama both became victims of smear campaigns. While Jokowi was touted as being Christian or Chinese, Obama has had to face allegations that he was not a "real" American, but a Muslim. Another important parallel is that both men were perceived as political game-changers (Ong 2014) and won broad popular support in the social media and civil-society organizations. It is striking that similar methods of gathering support for the respective presidential candidate were employed in both elections, and both were used very effectively: volunteers for the "land" campaign, and social media activity for the "air" campaign.

The most noticeable difference of all between the Obama campaign and the Jokowi campaign, however, is that the latter took place in the young democracy of Indonesia, where such a phenomenon was very unusual at the time. In the political tradition of Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries, the involvement of grassroots movements was limited to protests against those in power. The mass movements in the Philippines in 1986 (later called the People Power revolution) and the anti-Suharto movement in Indonesia in 1998 can be categorized as pro-democratic, but their main aim was to remove an authoritarian government, not to support a specific presidential candidate.

The attitude of Indonesian civil society in the 2014 presidential elections was also exceptional because the volunteer movement came from below and was not initiated or directed from above by Jokowi. Consequently, the grassroots organizations first organized themselves and then approached him. At a certain point in the election campaign, Jokowi worked together with the *relawan* movement, but he never actually orchestrated all the activities conducted by the various autonomous groups.

In all the democracies in Southeast Asia, electoral support is usually dependent on the political machines of the candidates or parties. The traditional way of garnering votes usually relies on political support networks and vote-canvassers, which are highly instrumental to voter mobilization at the village level. This also worked to some extent in the 2014 Indonesian presidential elections. Prabowo was able to win in those areas where he was able to organize voter mobilization from his political allies, particularly from the Islamic political parties in his camp. However, this time, Jokowi's volunteer-driven grassroots campaign proved more successful in winning the majority of the votes than Prabowo's

money-fueled political machine (Mietzner 2014: 119), an observation that underlines the distinctiveness of the 2014 elections compared to other elections in Southeast Asia.

Deepening democracy in Indonesia

The important role played by the *relawan* organizations in Joko Widodo's election victory demonstrates that "Indonesia's democracy has been revitalised from below" (Ambyo 2014). Besides the weakness of the political parties, two factors in particular can explain why so many pro-democratic civil-society organizations were active in the 2014 presidential elections. The first of these was the high level of political polarization in these elections: only two candidates were nominated by the party coalitions. If there had been more candidates than that, as in the 2009 or 2004 presidential elections, the support would probably have been split between a number of them. It was also extremely important for the civil-society groups to be able to support a person they trusted rather than a particular political party that they did not. The direct election of the President thus provides a high incentive for civil-society groups to actively participate in the democratic process. In this context, plans made by the Opposition to introduce an indirect election of the President by a national assembly or to introduce an indirect election of local leaders by the local parliament must be regarded with a critical eye. Indirect elections would reduce the influence of civil-society groups while strengthening that of political elites and parties.

Another reason for the high amount of voluntary political activity was that the two presidential candidates have very different characters. On the one hand, the background and personality of Prabowo Subianto encouraged many rather apolitical people to become more active in order to prevent him from becoming Indonesia's new president. On the other hand, these people could identify with the pragmatic and inclusive character of Joko Widodo's program, while other voters were attracted by his pro-democracy stance.

The volunteer organizations worked as pressure groups from below. They had a high degree of political awareness and made use of it by getting involved in politics (Samah and Susanti 2014: 26). The *relawan* groups took over many functions which political parties are usually expected to fulfill. During the Indonesian presidential campaign in 2014, they were partly responsible for bridging the gap between the individual and the state, for the aggregation and formulation of people's interest, and for disseminating political information, thereby playing a bigger role than the political parties. If the democratic civil-society groups had not been as active as they were, the 2014 presidential election "would have suffered from far less information, less vibrant debate on issues, less independent scrutiny, and less overall legitimacy" (Hasanuddin 2014). In fact, their engagement and dedication made "the election a spectacular success" (Heryanto 2014) and set an example for younger people to become active in politics.

All the pro-democratic *relawan* organizations had an agenda to continue the *reformasi* movement, which had stagnated over the previous decade under President Susilo Bambang

Yudhoyono. Their agenda included deepening democracy by fighting against corruption, strengthening the rule of law, and calling for more accountability on the part of the national government. As Hilmar Farid from Seknas explained:

> We support Jokowi as a strategic and tactical step in the struggle for the reform agenda, which seemed to be nearly dead. We believe that the reform agenda will now be continued under the leadership of Jokowi.

This statement makes it clear that the *relawan* groups saw the presidency of Joko Widodo as a great chance to move ahead with democratic reforms. In this respect, the volunteer groups can be directly connected with the anti-status-quo attitude of progressive civil society that Mietzner (2013) attributed to them, among others. The volunteer organizations mentioned in this paper came from various backgrounds and had various reasons for playing a role in the election, but the uniting element was the wish to contribute to Joko Widodo's election victory in order to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

By being active and undertaking the election campaign activities mentioned previously, the voluntary groups fulfilled various functions of a civil society, which Diamond has identified as being supportive of democracy (Diamond 1994). By spreading information about Joko Widodo's democratic reform agenda, volunteer groups disseminated democratic ideas and values. By being autonomous and voluntary, the volunteer organizations set an example, advocating a change from electoral support as a form of clientelism to self-directed and participatory citizenship. The activities of the *relawan* organizations were an example of active involvement in politics by normal citizens and empowered many people who had not taken an active interest in politics in the past, and thus stimulated political participation.

Many of the previously mentioned "uncivil organizations" were also active in the Indonesian election campaign of 2014, but the main difference to the volunteer organizations in support of Jokowi was their aim: they did not intend to improve the quality of democracy, but rather tried to reduce it by bringing Prabowo Subianto and his questionable allies to power.

In contrast, nearly all the pro-democratic and progressive political forces joined the Jokowi camp. Political analyst Wimar Witolaer put it as follows: Joko Widodo got "full support from the intellectuals, the academia, the civil society. In my term, all the good guys are on Jokowi's side" (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2014).

Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that Joko Widodo enjoyed a huge amount of civil support from progressive voluntary organizations. Their efforts eventually proved to be successful. Joko Widodo's victory in the Indonesian presidential election in 2014, which was made possible by the enormous efforts of pro-democratic civil-society groups, could have a far-reaching impact on the development of democracy not only in the country itself, but also in other countries in the region. Thai political scientist Thitinan Pongsudhirak has even gone as far as saying "Jokowi's triumph may have saved the future of democratisation in Southeast Asia" (Pongsudhirak 2014). This view may seem rather exaggerated, but it can be explained by the fact that Jokowi's victory was in contrast to other rather negative events for democracy in Southeast Asia, such as the military coup in Thailand in May 2014.

It was not only the Indonesian example of a spectacular election victory of a democracy-oriented person who was not from the political elite that impressed political analysts in Southeast Asia, and, indeed, around the world, but also the way in which he was put in office by broad-based popular support from reform-minded civil-society organizations. Other democratic mass movements in Southeast Asia could mostly be found as protest movements opposed to authoritarian rulers and regimes, but not as a support movement for a politician with a democratic reform agenda. The Indonesian example of the enormous voluntary support provided by civil society is a remarkable exception in this respect compared to other Southeast Asian countries and a clear indication that democratic ideas are deeply rooted in Indonesian society.

Accordingly, the positive influence of pro-democratic civil-society organizations on the deepening of democracy, which most social-science theories assume, can be confirmed in the Indonesian case. Joko Widodo's election victory will not solve all the problematic issues of democracy in the country, but the "vibrant and active CSOs and […] (the) growing spirit of volunteerism and individual activism" (Hasanuddin 2014) are a very positive sign for the future of democracy in Indonesia.

After his election victory in July/August, but before his official inauguration in October, Joko Widodo formed a transition team to prepare his policies and his cabinet nominations. Many volunteers (among them one of the authors, Ririn Sefsani) were included in this *Rumah Transisi* (Transitional Board) to deliberate on policy and personnel issues that the new president had identified; Joko Widodo seemed to be listening to the opinions and advice of civil-society groups.

As soon as he officially took office on October 20, 2014, however, many of the high hopes that the volunteer organizations and other NGOs had had were dashed. It might be somewhat premature to judge his political performance after only five months in office, but so far, Jokowi has rather disappointed his supporters. His political support of the execution of (foreign) drug smugglers, his failure to strengthen the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in its conflict with the national police force, and his nomination of

the allegedly corrupt Budi Gunawan as the new national police chief were all regarded very critically by pro-democracy groups. Since human rights and the fight against corruption are core issues in most progressive civil-society groups, it now seems clear that Joko Widodo listened to the advice of his supporter groups during the election campaign, but has chosen not to follow it as President. These organizations have criticized Jokowi in media releases and press conferences, reminding him of his election base, and called for more commitment to the task of advancing democracy in Indonesia.

In the first few months, it became increasingly clear that Jokowi had to accommodate strong pressure from his own party, PDI-P, as well as the other coalition partners. He therefore had to nominate questionable figures such as Ryamizard Ryacudu, Rini Soemarmo, and Puan Maharani as ministers. Additionally, he faced stiff resistance from the national parliament, which is dominated by Prabowo's Red-and-White Coalition of political parties.

Even so, all this fails to explain why he seems to have neglected the cooperation that existed with civil-society organizations since assuming his presidency. Since his inauguration in October 2014, only one meeting has been held with representatives of the *relawan* organizations (on March 18, 2015). Consequently, many social activists and political observers are now somewhat disillusioned with the impact that the Jokowi presidency is having on deepening democracy in Indonesia. Hopes that civil society could "effectively wrest […] control of the political process from the hands of the political elite" (Shekhar 2014: 1) do not appear to reflect the political reality at the moment. However, the importance of the civil-society groups and volunteer organizations in the presidential elections in 2014 has shown that traditional elite politics does not work in the same way as it did in the past. A lesson that can be learned from the 2014 election and its immediate aftermath is that Indonesia's civil society has become more and more influential during the election process, but not necessarily in day-to-day politics.

Nevertheless, the volunteer organizations can rightfully be termed agents of change, which contributed to an empowerment of Indonesian society in general. In so far, the *relawan* can be regarded as actors of empowerment, which through their manifold actions, impacted the political and social landscape in Indonesian to a great extent.

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Nationalism From The Oosthoek:
The Contribution of *Stadsgemeenteraad* Malang on The Empowering of Indonesian Local Politician (1920-1941)

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Abstract

The implementation of indirect local election has blossomed political sphere in the regions such as Regency and Municipal. The unexpected results of this 10 years old implemented democracy are returning New Order politician, mushrooming money politic and rebirth of local dynastic. In fact, the role of local legislative member in empowering civil society comes to blurred. Corruption that involved many politician hade made distrust among people lately. When did this political abused by the members of parliament occurred in the first time? This article tried to find the role of Local Parliament in the empowering of national consciousness among Indonesian Politician in Dutch Colonial periods. According to notice if local parliament, there were names of Indonesian Local Council members the very local in the parliament court such as Soekardjo Wirjopranoto, R P Pandji Soeroso and many others. As a minority fraction in the council, their attitude toward the pressure of the colonial discrimination showed that they used their chance as a member of Local council to empower their critical stand against local colonial policy. It is become interesting topic since Indonesian politician always minority in terms of vote distribution in colonial parliament system. This article based on municipal archives collection particularly from *Stadsgemeenteraad Malang* from 1925 to 1940. By the documentary research, it can be proved that local parliament (*Stadsgemeenteraad)* Malang has played important role on empowering the political skill among the Indonesian city council members at that time. By doing their function as a member of Local City Council, they know how to manage and to solve the city problem. It is become clear that in the post independence period, many of their names were enlist in the member of Republic Indonesia Cabinet.

Keywords: *Stadsgemeenteraad[1]*, empowering, Indonesian local politicians

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[1] Dutch: City council or local Parliament

I.   Introduction

Maar hoe heerlijk is dan ook het doel dat wij nastreven. Het is : de vorming daarginds in het verre oosten van een volkerengemeenschap, die haar welvaart en haar hoogere beschaving verschuldigd is aan Nederland en dit dankbaar erkent. (C Th Van Deventer : Insulinde's Toekomst)

But how great is, the goal we pursue. That is the formation of those people of the Far East which we've owed for its prosperity and its higher culture that (we) should admitted gratefully. De Graaf, *Geschiedenis van Indonesie:* 1949, 120)

Along with the disrupted of social riots following the death of 4 students of Universitas Trisakti, the political changes was began. It started by the Soeharto resign and followed by the withdrawal to ABRI from parliament. It brought the end of military dominance in social political power. Political parties were mushroomed from merely 3 to 24 parties in 1999. Many Indonesian hoped for fundamental changed which lead to more transparency and justice. According to Noordholt (Noordhol; 2003,6) this hope was in vain since three years after the political reformation, there were a mounting cynicism about the continuity of corruption, political abuse, nepotism and the revival of "old regime". After 20 years, the parliament history of Indonesia proved the continuity of nepotism. There was indication that political dynasties were practiced by former political leader, including former reformers. Is this the tradition of Indonesian politician recruitment? Or is this tradition has roots in the past? This paper tried to track the political tradition, particularly the role of Indonesian local parliament members in the Colonial Periods.

II.   The making of Local Council

The root of parliament was begun since the forming of *Raad van Indie* (Council of Indies) in Batavia on Seventeenth century. Council of India is part of High Government beside Governor Generaal and Director of General Trade. At that time, this Council was functioned to control authoritarian power of Governor General. All members of this Council were European. (Furnivall; 1944, 35). After almost 200 years, the centralized power of Batavia was dispersed. The Parliament in The Hague promulgated Decentralization Law of 1903. This law marked a new era in parliament history in Indonesia because it would pave the way for each Local Government held their representatives council. (*Local council*)

According to this Law, there are two criteria of local government, namely *Gewestelijkraad, Regentschapsraad and Stadsgemeenteraad. Gewestelijkraad* was a council that has power over one residency, a territory equal with 4 or 3 Regency. Meanwhile *Regentscapsraad* has its own areal but restricted to Regency. *Stadsgemeenteraad* has its authority over a city, particularly which occupied by European population. These institutions have power of budgeting local expenditure and draw up regulation. The member of each institution came from political parties, but in some case represented by local leaders and aristocrat. The political decentralization has affected to intellectual life, particularly among indigenous people in

Java. The political consciousness grows faster than elsewhere in Java. Even though Java was a smallest island among four main Islands in Archipelago, Java is the central government of Netherlands India. The cosmopolitan life was molded by the coming of Western ideas, lifestyles, and also the introduction of new modern technology. It changes the social life of Javanese. On the other hand, Dutch colonial society in Colonial Indonesia, although perhaps relatively tolerant toward Eurasian and occasional individual who crossed the color line, was highly stratified in a legal sense. As a matter of fact, racial classification which has been foundation colonial administration for two centuries, expressed on all entire the city, including Malang.

As widely known by most colonial observer, since the middle of 19 centuries, Malang has been described as highly-populated village (*dorpshoofd*). Structure of city has been centralized on regency square, traditional market and mosque, as usually seen on the other cities in Java. The street lay out was rectangular with important building sited spread along its axis. The style of architecture housed has been predominantly Indisch-empire that represented the acculturation between Western and Javanese character. Twenty years after the turn of century, the morphology of the city has changed. Influx of capital and migrant along with their new social behavior and cultural orientation triggered changing process of manner, custom and the way of life among urban society. Most newcomers from motherland (*trekkers*) have different style of life with their predecessor. While most of pioneers (*blijvers*) – who has come to Java since seventeenth century, adopted the Eastern way of life, the latter has more oriented to western style.

III. The birth of political party

One and the foremost sign of modern democracy is political party. Political Party constituted the membership of local representative council or in Dutch termed named *Stadsgemeenteraad*. As a body of politic, party plays important role in struggling the ideologies, value which is believed as the ultimate goal to reach welfare, and justice society. How did the political parties emerge and widespread in Java, particularly Malang? According to colonial document, there are several parties that have so many followers. In a broad line, there are two kinds of parties according to race namely Dutch - mix European Blood party and Indonesian Party. These two divisions can be elaborated as follows:

1. *Christelijk Ethische Partij.* (CEP)
    Founded in 25 September 1917, CEP promoted that Christian values should be a way of life of every aspect of human being. This party spreads their ideas by news paper "Het Algemeen Christelijk Weekblad". Each policy of CEP was published in this paper. The term Ethische indicate that this party adopted part of Queen Wilhelmina 1903 speech that suggested The Netherlands to repaid "Their Debt" to colonies and

ended the policy of exploitation. P Bergmeijer, D Crommelin, D Huinink, F Lach, Ds W F Breijer, JA Soselisa, dan M C Bos holding a special position as high official of CEP. In 1935, CEP has 600 member entire Java. The slogan of this party are manifested an social autonomy, keeping peace and order, fight for democracy, keeping the corporation between Dutch and Indigenous people, and increasing the proficiency and welfare among the labour. Rarely, did all of their ideas realized in *Volksraad*. (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1925). Implementation of real democracy will destruct the social based of colonial society because their minority in demographical proportion.

2.   *De Indische Katholieke Partij (IKP).*
     This party was founded in 7 November 1918 as unified political movements of Catholics in Batavia. Soon after established on that year, this party has many branches –organization elsewhere. This party struggle for the recognition of Catholic political right. But In many cases, IKP often work together with CEP, even though never reach an agreement. The position of IKP in People Councils (*Volksraad*) is very dominant. IKP was lead by JAM Bruinsman, J.J.H Truyen, and AAEC Voestan. IKP has many programs such as demanding more autonomy; separation or Nederland Indies from their mother Country; full authority in making their own constitution and regulation, apart from mother country in The Hague. (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1925)

3.   *De Nederlansch Indische Vrijzinnige Bond.* (NIVB)
     NIVB was set up in 1916 as a non-religious identity party. They have media as propaganda named *Vrijzinnige Weekblad*. NIVB supported the implementation of self government of Netherlands India. The similarity among IKP, CEP and NIVB is demanding more autonomy, but the difference is the way and how long this phase must carried on.(*Koloniaal Verslag* 1925)

4.   *PEB (Politiek Economische Bond)*
     Established in 25 Januari 1919, the principal mission of this party is intensified collaboration between different segments of colonial society. They tried to build the trustworthy in order to increase popular welfare. PEB grows to be a big party with 7 branch in Java and 6 in Sumatra. The main slogan of this party is a concept of *Nieuw Indie*. On october 1922, they held their first convention on Malang. In this ocassion, they declared that
           "It should be mention that the political situation at this moment is serious, because it was proved that the leader of radical concentration has work against Government policy. This is regrettable that the government has not yet made any action to end this (radical) activity". (*Koloniaal Verslag 1924*)
           It has been clear that PEB was a pro-government party and stand againts *Radical Concentratie*. Their mission is to ensure the economic and social growth among all citizens of Indies, to build trustworthy and collaboration, to spread foundation of

democracy and to maintain relation with mother country. At the time, one instrument to maintain law and order by spying political activity among party is *Politic Inlichtingen Dienst[2] (*PID). PID send agent to watch activity of political party, particularly when the meeting took placed.

5. *Het Indo-Europeesche Verbond (IEV)*
    Indo Europesche Verbond is an political organization that supported social, moral, intellectual adn economic progress. Most of its member mixture Indonesia-European blood. IEV promoted cooperation with other party and opposed againts every violence action adressed to Colonial Government. IEV was founded in 13 Juli 1919 and growt fastly. They have 10.000 member in 1923, made this party is one of the most well organized and popular party at that time. They published their idea in *Onze Stem*, propaganda news paper IEV. (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1926)

6. *Vaderlandsche Club.*
    It is a conservative association of Europeans in Netherlands Indies. This party founded in 1929 to promote Dutch interest in colony and to resist Indonesian nationalism and the expansion of Indigenous education. It had 9000 members in 1930. Though sometimes vocal, it had little influence on Government policy. (Cribb and Cahin; 2004, 446)

7. *Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij.*
    ISDV was set up as fraction of Sareket Islam. Founded in 1917 ISDV has growth to be the most popular party in Netherlands India. They gathered so many labour organization and concentrate them in one mission. That is the reasen this party was called Radical Contentratie. J W Stokvis is one of important person in ISDV. They fought againts draft Bill of Statecraft and invited many Nationalis Organization such as Budi Utomo and Sarikat Islam to join wtih them. SI, Budi utomo. In Party convention in Weltevreden on November 1922, that was attended by repersentatives from SI, PKI Sarikat Ambon dan VSTP they decided to held action againts all rules that obstructed the fredom of organization and the economical progress of the Local Peoples.In their conggres in14 Januari 1923 they declared manifest *Radical concentratie. Comitte Radical* concentratie consisted of repersentatives from Boedi Oetomo, NIP (Sarikat Hindia), Sarikat Islam, Sarikat Ambon, Sarikat Minahasa, Pasoendan, Partai Komunis India, *vakcentrale, Persatuan Vakbonden Hindia sepertai VSTP (Kereta Api dan Tremm) PPPB, PGB, Politie Bond, OIBA Kweekschoolbond, VIPBOW, Kleermakersbond, Typografenbond, and Havenarbeidbond.* (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1925)

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[2] Agent of Politic Bureau, special task to supervised political activities

8. *De Nationaal-Indische Partij(NIP)*

    Formed in 1923, member of Nationaal Indische Party came from the former defiance of Indo Europeesch Verbond. The main purpose of NIP was the freedom of Indie. The most important person of NIP is E FE Douwes Decker. The propaganda media of this party is "De Indier". The government confinced that NIP has provoked labour and certain group of people to strike. They also accused for took a non cooperation act and anti-government stands. Eventhough nationalisme was a soul of this Organization, government take firm decision to ban this Party on May 1923 based on (Besluit) *Government Decree* of 10 April 1923. (*Kolonial Verslag 1926*-26-30)

The institution of Local Parliament took placed in the same time with Municipal Government. At the first time in 1914, the Municipal government was lead by Asisten Residen. Since 1919, municipal government was govern by Mayor. At that time, there was no clear distinction between executive and legislative. Composition of *Stadsgemeenteraad* impressed the domination of Europeans over Indonesian and Chinese. There are 8 seat for Dutch, 4 seats for Indonesan and only 1 for chinese. First two Indonesian member in *Stadsgemeenteraad* are R.A. A. Soerijo Adiningrat dan R Soemodiprodjo. According to Stadsblad 1917 no 587, the number of parliamentary seats were added from 11 to 15. The new composition seats still gave majority to Europeans at least 9 to 4. But in 1929, numbers of seats for Indonesian were added from 4 to 6. (*Staatsblad 1929* no 98) According to the Wet, every member only have 4 years in office. Each member either European or Indonesian were chosen by election. Since 1938, nominee for member of Gemeentraad were recruit from Political Party. The aftermart 1938 local election showed the dominaton of IKP, IEV from European front and *Parindra, Boedi Oetomo* in Indonesian front. (Van Liempt: 1938, 120)

Name or Member	Political Party	Name of member (Indonesian)	Political Party
J A van Helsdingen	IEV	B Adam	Parindra 649 suara
WAA van Gessel	IKP	Mr J Latuharhary	Parindra 544
AE Kampschur	IEV	M F Oentoeng Rahardjo	Persatoean Politiek Katholiek Indonesia 489 suara
WR March	IKP	R Poeger	Parindra 524 Suara
W Thierry	IKP	R Sardjono Wirjohardjono	Parindra 524 suara
LPS Vroom	IKP	R Soedomo Prawirodirdjo	Parindra 524 suara

Name or Member	Political Party	Name of member (Indonesian)	Political Party
E van Vollenhoven	Vaderlandsch Club		
A van Weenen	Independen		
J Eftens	IEV		
Kho Sien Tjo	Chung Hwa Hui		
Tjan Eng Yong	Chung Hwa Hui		

IV. Young Javanese and local politic

One of the most important result of political reformation in 1920s is more Indonesian intellectual get into the circle of power. By the institution of Local Representative Body (*Stadsgemeenteraad*), indigenous people – mostly from noble and upper layer society, getting involved in the making of politic decision. *Stadsgemeenteraad* has authority to issued the Local Council Decree (*Gemeenteblad*), to formulate local budget and to give permition in case of people request. According to Decentralization Law 1903, 4 of 13 members of Local Representative Council must be Indonesian so that it give a chance to indigenous politicians learn how to manage the urban problem and to run the government.

There were several names of Indonesian Parliament member in *Stadsgemeenteraad* Malang that should be notes as follow. First is Raden Kartodipoera. The nomination of Kartodipoera as member of *Stadsgemeenteraad* has made controversy among the nobles. Some noble argued that he is not qualified to hold that position since has is not graduate from School of Law Weltevreden or MULO. Kartodipoera just hold certification from Native School no 2. One important reason for his assignment was because his position as Panitera Pengadilan Malang and his ability in speak Dutch. With this capability, Kartodipoera made a breakthrough by uplifted his social status from middle-lower office to the member of city council. (*Tjahaja Timoer* ,17 November 1920). Second member is R. Soemitro. He was installed as representative of Indonesian in Gemeente Malang. Soemitro is a graduated School of Law who work in Court of Justice (*Landgerecht*). He won the competition by defeated his two European rivals that nominated by mayor. Dutch Newspaper considered that this assignment is unfair because it more rely on the racial consideration than the competency. Soemitro also was condemned based on nepotism. He is a son of R Soenarto, head of District Turen who has discharged because of disagreement. It made the credibility of Soemitra was questioned. In Dutch Newspaper *De Oosthoekbode*, a conservative Dutch named Van Dijk " In the Edge of Liquidation" told in such way. It could be said that a son is not responsible or bear a sin from what has his father done or in the opposite terms. This moment showed that brown colour person has more opportunity

than that a white man has. Nowadays, we are living in the periods when Indonesian became more and more favorite than our countrymen. Process of Liquidation of Nederland India has began. We don't have to be worried about this. *(De Oosthoekbode*, 28 Maret 1931)

At that time, public was very sure that Soemitro has been nominated to be member of *Stadsgemeenteraad* because he had been backed by Governor. Van dijk said that struggle of white man was more difficult. Most of *Oosthoek Bode* reader expressed their resentment to what has been done by Indonesian lately. The Indonesian even dares to state their "rebel conduct". On one day, the pupil of *Landopvoeding Gesticht* (House for Orphan) sang the Indonesia Raya in their fluit instrument. Most of Dutch readers ask the director of that institution to punish their pupils for their inconvenient behave. They had received food, cloth and facilities from government, watched the football freely but they did not respect those gift. (*De Malanger,* 31 Maret 1931) A writer - with B initial, ask Head of Resident Malang to punish them as the Sawah Lunto local government did in the same case.[3]

Third famous person from Local Parliament member is Soekardjo Wirjopranoto. He is a prominent person both for Dutch and Indonesian. He was born in Cilacap on June 5th 1903. He began his political carrier as member of Budi Utomo. After the integration of Budi Utomo to Parindra in1935, he join to that Organization. He started his professional carrier as civil servant at bureau of justice, a lawyer of Supreme Court (*Raad van Justitie*) Surabaya since from 1929 to 1931. He was the first Indonesian who held position on ad hoc comitte at *Stadsgemeenteraad* Malang. (Koleksi Arsip daftar nama orang-orang terkenal di Jawa. ANRI). He was first Indonesian who has been asked by *Gemeente* to deliver speech in the 25th anniversary of *Gemeente* Malang. While all speakers gave credit and honor to *Gemeente*, he gave a critical stand on his speech:

> "A mayor is not a king, actually even though in relation with people, there was one similarity between two of them. Both of Mayor and King were responsible to keep their subject (save and welfare). Your honorable chairman of this Council, you are not failed to understand me. I will stand on my position to watch and critic your policy. I just accept the basic political principles that have been wrote in your Anniversary Book that I have received." (van Liempt: 1939, 125)

In different time, he recommend municipal to appoint inspector to supervise night market. The next outstanding persons are Mas Sardjono, Soenarko and Pandjie Soeroso. The fourth prominent member of City council is Sarjono. As a member of *Stadsgemeenteraad*, Sardjono has been known as a critical Indonesian spokesman, particularly on struggling

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[3] There were students from MULO marching in front of Assiten Residen of Sawah Lunto house. When they march in front of the building, they play orchestra of Indonesia Raya. Some of them were dispelled for singing Indonesia Raya in public area. At that time, singing Indonesia Raya was forbidden. (*De Malanger* 29 September 1933)

for his fellow Javanese people. With his fellow members in *Stadsgemeenteraad*, Rahadjo he urged the Mayor to pay more attention to Kampong by giving more share on the local budget to improve the Kampung facilities such as sanitation and lighting such as in Kampung Kasin, Sawahan and Sukun. His highest position on professional carrier was as Mayor of Malang in periods of Revolution (1945-1949).

The other prominent political leader is Mr Soenarko. Soenarko was the first Indonesian who held a position as Head of Resident Malang. Another political person was R.P Pandjie Soeroso. He was a Chief Organization "Poetera" in Japanese Occupation. He has had member of *Stadsgemeenteraad* Majakerta, before were install as member of *Stadsgemeenteraad* Malang. Mas Sardjono, Soekardjo and Pandji Soeroso were professional nobles (*priyayi*) that constructing their political terms and ideas as their involvement as member of *Stadsgemeenteraad*. For example they formulated the *Gemeente* Decree (*Gemeenteblad*), planed the development program, and discussed about the problem of the city. It made them experience in holding the Government in post colonial era. As the Dutch colonial government came to an end, they ready to fulfill their former master position. When the Japan came to dispel Dutch colonial government in 1942, they got a very high position in bureaucracy. Most of them have ability to speak Dutch, so they can share their ideas; getting information either inside or outside country, and communicate their ideas in network widely. According to Niesbet, the changing outside the society will inflict to the society if they were agent of change, The agent of change play important role to change internal perception of one society. (Nisbet: 1969, 276 dan 282).

V. Malang local parliamet member, their role and stand

Ordinary people oftenly assumed that the colonized wont be able to resist or protest againts the policy of Colonizer. By studying Municipal archives, we reveal some fact that even their people under the hegemonies of other nation, the Javanesse politician still have courage to came up with ideas that not in line with regime policy. This paragraph will describe the situation in the plenary session when the Javanesse board member expressed their critical opinion.

Prawirodirjo came up with an idea not give permition to everyone who want to open the kios unless they paid some money. He also support everyone – mostly Indonesian who want selling food and drink obtaining place for their *Kedai*[4]. Formerly, chairman of council proposed regulation draft to forbid any one to set up a stand infront of the shop for danger of fire. At that time, *Kedai* owner boiled water for hot coffe using firewood stove. Therefore, Prawirodirjo recommend to make requirement that anyone who want to held Kedai must equipped with a more secure stove. (*Notulen Stadsgemeente Malang* 1934) Prawirodirjo asked *Gemeente* to allow them making stand in front the shops. In other

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[4] Stand or small shop where someone selling hot coffe and foods

session of Parliament, **Soerodjo** a Indonesian board member ask for Gemeente not giving permition to anyone using car of *Eerste Behulp Ongelukt* (First Aid for Accident) other than for medical consideration. He responds Raadshoven, chairman of the local councle that propose to use car not for medical reson. But he will agree to chairman if these car not carrying a patient with infectious diseases. (*Notulen van Stadsgemeente Malang 1932*).

Two important issues that sparks debat are tax collection and public space. Local tax is very important to made all the activity in Local Government running well. In one session on *Stadsgemeenteraad* session, **Danoesastro** reject the ide to take tax for put the car, bycicle and chart in government land. This kind of tax collection include for using *Gemeente wasching en badplaatsen* (public bathing and washing place). But if Raadshoven insist to aplied this regulation, there must be low tariff said Danoesastro. But the odd fact revealed when **Prawirodirjo** agreed to the regulation that required eveyone pay some money for using public tiolet and parking they car, bicycle and cart in *Gemeente Standplaats*. In different time, Soerio Adikoesoemo ask *Gemeente* to appoint an inspector to reveal dan prevent the widespread of pemotongan gelap (illegal slaughterhouses). If the *Gemeente* let this practice contunied, *gemeente* will lose a lot of money. (*Notulen van StadsStadsgemeenteraad Malang 1934*)

Economic problems were the most issued discussed in Local Parliement. Making profit for each square of land in the city such as for pasar, parking land, renthouses, shop, restaurant, and many other are more important than social matter. **Soerio Adi koesoema,** one of many Coucil member said that the *gemeente* must intensified their inspection, particularly in many slaughter houses set up nearby the City. As mentioned in local regulation, *Gemeente* charged f. 0,25-0,5 for one slaughtered animal. Soekardjo Wirjopranato confirmed Adikoesoema's opinion that *Gemeente* need more inspector to prevent illegal slaughter. If Gemeente not improved this condition, they will losed potential local income. (*Notulen van Stadsgemeeteraad Malang 1931*). Wirjopranoto requested Gemeente to pay more attiention to Market Regulation. He said that traditional pasar has been a centre of economic activity because so many petty trader and vendor put their commocitis, merchandises and goods in this place since day break. This pasar spreads throughout the outskirt of Malang, for example Bunul, Dinoyo, and Kedung Kandang. Most of this pasar were out of Municipal controll. But Wirjopranoto proposed was not accepted by Chairman for some reasons. For making good control, we (*Gemeente*) need money for payed officer, inspector and supplied electricity for lighting. Income earned from pasar tax is not comparable with the expenditure for *Gemeente*-controlling since type of commodities and products offered in those pasar is not expensive. (*Notulen van StadsStadsgemeenteraad Malang* 1932)

Eventhough in many cases Indonesian local parliament supporting governments policy, particularly to make city as profit makers, some gaves critical stand againts the Local Governmet. This event took placed in 1922. At that time, Prawiroadinoto – one of

4 Indonesian Local Parliament member, protested the design of Semeroe – Kayutangan Straat roads. According to the plan, *Gemeente* must piled up the land for the roads 2,5 meter higher than initial posistion of land surface. In the end, the position of roads higher than the surrounding kampung so it would split kampung this in two different parts. If it the road finish, the people from this kampung must crossed this road by climbing up the stairs just to visit their neighbour. **Pawitroadinoto** suggest Gemeente to change this plan by making overpass so the shape of Kampung remain intact. But the mayor respond fiercely.

"Mr Pawitro, did you believe in what 've you have seen? Man cannot say seomething when the work have not finished yet. I think that is subjective objection mr Pawitro. You said when man walk climbing stairs (to cross the roads), he will crash by cars. For me it is different, lay out of kampong roads that end in a high way, as we've seen in *Onderling Belang* Kayutangan streets is more dangerous that what you have said. Therefore, like other requests that i have receive today, it is better if you wait the decision tomorrow. (*Tjahaja Timoer* 30 Januari 1922)"

Danoesastro supported Pawitro argue, that if the roads constructed not by overpass, it would make dangerous for children and people in this Kampung. From this paper, it can be conclude that Boestra, mayor of Malang has a different perspectif with Pawitro and Danoesastra in treating people of Kampung. But in briefline, all of them have learning much from the Local Council. They used their experience to make preparation for the independence Indonesia. Sometimes in the midst of traditional society, they were pioneers of modernization.

VI. Concluding Remark

Judging and concluding the effect of Dutch Colonialism to Indonesian, particularly in terms of politic and social environtment is very difficult question. This largely due to impact of Colonization that has changing mindset, shaping a new way of thingking, constructing cooperation between government and pople following Queen Wilhelmina Speech in 1903. On the other hand, the making of *Stadsgemeenteraad* (city council) has become seed of nationalism, and modernization. Nationalism grows fast since the distribution of seat reflected discrimination and inequality. From many debate in city council, the Indonesian politician learn to plead for Indigenous citizen right in the city. Even they are minority, they have courage stand to came up different idea. The inconsistecy in practice of modern democracy has been start point of Nation consciousness. Secondly, *Stadsgemeenteraad* play important role not only in nurturing nationalism, but also in "teaching'" them running modern bureaucration. They learn how formulate regulation, determine tax value, and design city plan. Despite their stand to support colonial regime for example promoting commercialization in every sector of life, most of them were key role in making post

colonial society. Many of them became the senior advisor of DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kotapradja*), the post colonial Regime City Council such as Kho Sin Tjo, Soekardjo Wirjopranoto and Sardjono. Their competency also unquestionble because they able speak Dutch and experienced in bureaucracy, and financial matter. Moreover most of PERDA (*Peraturan daerah*= Local Ordinance) were based on colonial periods product of law. Therefore, their role as first example of political person is very important to evade Indonesia became confusing country shortly after the fall of Japanesse Empire in Indonesia.

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The Factors Affecting Carbon Emission Disclosure

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Abstract

Disclosure of carbon emissions in Indonesia still voluntary. The aim of this study was to analyze factors that affect Carbon Emission Disclosure on companies listed on the Indonesia Stock Exchange 2012-2014. Type of the research is a quantitative research. The data in the study is a secondary data from www.idx.co.id. The analytical method used in this research is descriptive statistics, classic assumption test, multiple regression analysis, F test, t test and coefficient of determination. Samples companies in this study amounted to 20 companies. This study consists of five independent variables are media exposure, industry type, profitability, company size and environmental performance while the dependent variable is the carbon emission disclosure. Based on this research, media exposure, size of company and environmental performance partially affect the carbon emission disclosure because they has a sig each of <0.05 while the other independent variable (the type of industry and profitability) have partially no effect on carbon emission disclosure because they have value respectively sig> 0.05. Simultaneous testing (test F) obtained sig at 0.00 <0.05 so there is simultaneous influence between media exposure, type of industry, profitability, company size and environmental performance with carbon emission disclosure. Overall there are three independent variables that affect the carbon emission disclosure: media exposure, size of company and environmental performance, while two other variables have no effect the carbon emission disclosure (type of industry and profitability). Given this research suggested more attention to the company's disclosure of carbon emissions even if voluntary. The limitation of this research is the subjectivity of researchers in assessing the broad disclosure of carbon emissions because of their different points of view in assessing the broad disclosure of carbon emissions, this study only observed five variables, while the period of observation in this study only 3 years (2012-2014).

Keywords: carbon emission disclosure, environmental performance, industry

I.   Introduction

According to the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental crisis of global warming and the largest humanitarian happened today. The Earth's atmosphere is filled by heat being trapped by carbon dioxide gas that can threaten and catastrophic climate changes on earth. With the data in global average temperature at the earth's surface has increased by 0.74 ± 0.18 C, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPPCC) concluded that most of the increase in global average temperatures since the mid - 20th century, most likely caused by the increasing concentration of greenhouse gases due to human activities (Jannah and Muid, 2014). Public concern on earth against global climate change will bring tremendous impact that is characterized by the formation of a specialized agency under the United Nations on climate change, the UNFCCC (UN Framework Convention on Climate Change). Conference of the Parties (COP) in 1997 has resulted in an international agreement of global climate change with the document known as the Kyoto Protocol (Nugroho, 2012). Expected by the Kyoto Protocol would reduce average global weather between 0.02 C and 0.28 C in 2050 (Nature, 2003). One article of the Kyoto Protocol, expressed the importance of behavioral change human life to the concept of environmental economics. According to Ja'far and Kartikasari (2009), quoted by Dwijayanti (2011), the current economic activities and human consumption has been the main factor causing the global warming. In this protocol stated that the governments of the countries pe-ratification should take immediate measures towards the behavior of a new economic concept that environmental economic era is said to be Carbonomics Era and later became the era of Carbon Accounting (Dwijayanti, 2011). According to Louis et al in Dwijayanti (2011), Carbon Accounting is the process of calculating the amount of carbon released industrial processes, targeting the reduction, the establishment of a system and a program to reduce carbon emissions and reporting the development of the program. Thus, the company can determine the level of carbon emissions each company's reported and establishing strategies for carbon emissions. Disclosure of carbon emissions in Indonesia in the annual report is something that is voluntary so the presence or absence of this disclosure in the annual report depends on the policy of each company. Based on research Berthelot and Robert (2011), quoted by Jannah and Muid (2014) revealed that the company is doing the disclosure of carbon emissions are a number of considerations such as to gain legitimacy from stakeholders, avoiding the threats, especially for companies that produce greenhouse gases such as increased operating costs, reduce demand, reputation risk, law, as well as fines and penalties.

Luo et al (2014) compared the tendency of carbon disclosure between developing and developed countries where the use of eight independent variables are Developing Country, ROA, Leverage, Growth, Carbon Emission, Legal System, ETS and Newer Asset use the companies listed in the CDP report for the year 2009. Ghomi and Leung (2013) examined the determinants of voluntary disclosure of greenhouse gases in Australia 2009-2011 using

the independent variables are firm size, firm age, leverage, industry and ownership. Based on previous research, carried out further research on the factors that affect the company's disclosure of carbon emissions in Indonesia, among others, media exposure, type of industry, profitability, company size and environmental performance. The higher profitability of the company, the resources owned by the larger making it even easier for companies to disclose carbon emissions (Barako, et al in Zhang and Schoengold, 2013). Large companies will do more social activities in order to have influence on the parties internally and externally one of them people who have an interest in the company. Environmental performance is assessed through PROPER by the Ministry of the Environment (MOE) Indonesia. Companies with good environmental performance has a greater concern both to the public, the environment and labor.

II. Theory and hypothesis

2.1 Legitimacy and stakeholder theory

Legitimacy theory proposes a relationship between the disclosure of the company and community's value concerns that management should react to the expectations and concerns of the community (Deegan, 2001, 2002 in Suttipun, 2012). The theory believes that an organization's legitimacy (especially companies) will be able to last long and sustained if the surrounding community has a perception and belief that the organization is operating in the same value system and accepted by the community. The theory of legitimacy also focused the company towards its interaction with the community, so that an organization is able to create harmony between social values attached to activities with norms of conduct that exist in the social system in which the organization is part of the system (Iswandika et al, 2014).

Stakeholder concept was first developed by Freeman (1984) to explain the behavior of companies (corporate behavior) and social performance. Ghomi and Leung (2013) argue that stakeholders have different expectations of the company, to pursue the expectations of stakeholders can exert pressure on the company directly or indirectly in conducting environmental disclosure. To cope with this, companies are required to always cooperate with stakeholders so that the vision of the company in line with them.

2.2. Hypothesis

a. Effect of Media Exposure to Carbon Emission Disclosure
    The theory of legitimacy is widely examined the role played by the media news in a pressure increase caused by the public claim by the company. Media on the environment plays an important role in social mobilization movement, for example groups interested in the environment (Patten, in Jannah and Muid 2002b, 2014).

Results of Muid and Jannah's research (2014) explains that the Media Exposure positively effect on the disclosure of carbon emissions. This suggests that the role of the media can encourage companies to publicize its activities in the field of environment in order to get a positive response from stakeholders. Based on these descriptions, the research hypothesis is

Ha1 : Media Exposure effect on Carbon Emission Disclosure.

b. Effect of the Industrial Type to Carbon Emission Disclosure

Not all companies engaged in various fields of activity reveal if does not have a positive value for the company. For high-profile companies such as mining, manufacturing generates environmental damage and high carbon emissions more severe than low-profile company like that move in midwife services, trade and so forth (Jannah and Muid, 2014). Rankin et al (2011) suggest that the energy and mining industries have a greater tendency than other industries to voluntarily disclose information on carbon emissions. Companies that have high emissions tend to measure and disclose greenhouse gas emissions. Choi et al (2013) states that a company that has a very high emission intensive tends to reveal a voluntary disclosure of carbon emissions such as agriculture, mining, materials, energy, highways and transportation. Based on these descriptions, then the hypothesis in this study is

Ha2: Industry type effect on Carbon Emission Disclosure.

c. Effect of Profitability on Carbon Emission Disclosure

Companies with the ability to achieve better financial performance, the more likely it is to try to reduce the emissions of their company's activities. The ability of financial performance include various corporate initiatives to contribute to reducing emissions or in this case carbon emissions as the turn of the machines that are more environmentally friendly, or environmental actions such as planting trees to increase the absorption of CO_2 (Jannah and Muid, 2014). Choi et al (2013) suggest that firms with high profitability is more revealing of information because the company is well equipped to act on environmental pressures and willing to resolve the issue quickly. Based on these descriptions, then the hypothesis in this study is

Ha3: Profitability influence on Carbon Emission Disclosure.

d. Effect of Company Size on the Carbon Emission Disclosure

Large companies have a very high pressure from the public and stakeholders have high expectations of the management of carbon emissions. Large enterprises are more responsive in terms of disclosure requests where there is a positive relationship between firm size and disclosure of carbon emissions (Freedman and Jaggi 2005 in Luo et al, 2013). Companies are very common size as a determinant in both the voluntary disclosure of financial and non-financial nature. Companies that are very

likely to reveal information of greenhouse gas (Ghomi and Leung, 2013). Based on these descriptions, then the hypothesis in this study is

Ha4: Size effect on the company's Carbon Emission Disclosure.

e. Effect of the Environmental Performance on Carbon Emission Disclosure

According to Verrecchia (1983) in Permana (2012) says that the actors believe that a good environment to express their performance means describe good news for market participants. Therefore, companies with good environmental performance need to disclose the quantity and quality of the environment more than the companies with poor environmental performance. According to Clarkson et al (2008) in Jannah and Muid (2014), companies with superior environmental performance have a proactive environmental strategy. It encourages companies to inform investors and stakeholders other through voluntary disclosure about the environment. Based on these descriptions, then the hypothesis in this study is

Ha5: Environmental performance effect on Carbon Emission Disclosure.

Figure 1 The Research Model
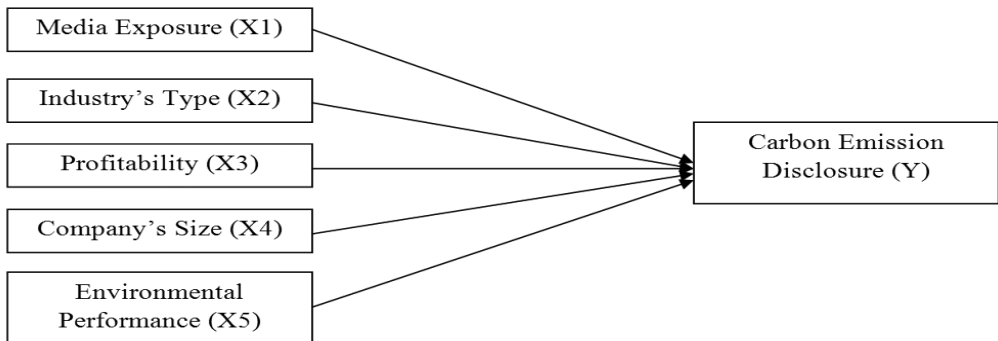
III. Research methods

This research is a quantitative research that measures the objective facts through a concept that was revealed at the variables and elaborated on the indicators with the aspect of reliability. Researchers processing data derived from annual reports (annual report) as well as ongoing reports (sustainability report) during the period 2012-2014. Researchers used the annual report can be accessed via www.idx.co.id and sustainability reports are provided on the company's website. The population in this study is all companies listed on the Indonesian Stock Exchange (BEI) during the period 2012-2014 which presents the annual financial statements as of 31 December each year. Selection of the sample in this study

was done by using purposive sampling and 20 companies that meet the criteria. In this study using classic assumption test, regression analysis, partial regression coefficient test and simultaneous and the coefficient of determination.

Table 1 List of Samples

No	Kode	Company's Name
1	AALI	PT Astra Agro Lestari Tbk
2	ASII	PT Astra International Tbk
3	AUTO	PT Astra Otoparts Tbk
4	BBNI	PT Bank Negara Indonesia (Persero) Tbk
5	BBRI	PT Bank Rakyat Indonesia (Persero) Tbk
6	BDMN	PT Bank Danamon Indonesia Tbk
7	CTRP	PT Ciputra Property Tbk
8	ELSA	PT Elnusa Tbk
9	INTP	PT Indocement Tunggal Prakarsa Tbk
10	JSMR	PT Jasa Marga Tbk
11	KLBF	PT Kalbe Farma Tbk
12	PTBA	PT Tambang Batubara Bukit Asam (Persero) Tbk
13	PTPP	PT PP (Persero) Tbk
14	SGRO	PT Sampoerna Agro Tbk
15	SMCB	PT Holcim Indonesia Tbk
16	SMGR	PT Semen Indonesia (Persero) Tbk
17	TLKM	PT Telekomunikasi Indonesia (Persero) Tbk
18	UNTR	PT United Tractors Tbk
19	UNVR	PT Unilever Indonesia Tbk
20	WIKA	PT Wijaya Karya (Persero) Tbk

Table 2 Operationalization of Variables

Variables	Measurements
Carbon Emission Disclosure (Y)	Carbon Dis = 18 checklist The highest score = 18 Source: Choi et al (2013)
Media Exposure (X1)	1 = information on carbon emissions through the website 0 = no information Source: Jannah and Muid (2014)
Industry's Type (X2)	1 = the company produces carbon-intensive industries (agriculture, mining, material, energy, highways and transport) 0 = except above Source: Global Industry Classification Standard – GICS, Choi et al (2013)
Profitability (X3)	ROA = EAT/ Total Assets Source: Murhadi (2013)
Company's Size (X4)	SIZE = Ln Total Assets Source: Andriani et al (2011)
Environmental Performance (X5)	PROPER = Score 1 – 5 1 = black 2 = red 3 = blue 4 = green 5 = gold Source: Puspita (2015)

IV. Analysis and Discussion

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev
Carbon_Dis	60	3	14	8.22	3.692
Media_Exp (X1)	60	0	1	.45	.502
Tipe_Ind (X2)	60	0	1	.50	.504
ROA (X3)	60	1.37	40.38	10.9076	9.05653
SIZE (X4)	60	29.05	34.32	30.9920	1.43789
PROPER (X5)	60	0	5	1.90	2.089

Table 4 Test of Hypothesis

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
	(Constant)	-25.506	7.215		-3.655	.000
	Media_Exp (X1)	1.503	.633	.200	2.337	.020
	Tipe_Ind (X2)	1.490	.820	.201	1.734	.078
1	ROA (X3)	.035	.047	.114	.784	.240
	SIZE (X4)	1.011	.231	.365	4.250	.000
	PROPER (X5)	1.078	.220	.610	4.800	.000

Table 5 Anova

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Regression	527.013	5	88.002	16.887	.000[b]
1	Residual	275.168	53	5.210		
	Total	802.181	59			

a. Dependent Variable: Carbon_Dis
b. Predictors: (Constant), Media_Exp (X1), SIZE (X4), ROA (X3), Tipe_Ind (X2), PROPER (X5)

Media exposure has sig = 0.020 < 0.05 which states that media exposure affect the carbon emission disclosure. The role of media in the form of a website is the medium used by companies to communicate the activities regarding carbon emissions and at the time of today's technological society very easily access the Internet. The entire sample of companies

in the study had their official website where one option in the website is the news option that contains the company's activities . The results support the legitimacy theory that to gain legitimacy, the role of media is very important in communicating a useful information for the public so that the media can be a means for the company to publicize activities related to carbon emissions and get a response to the stakeholders.

Industry type has sig = 0.078 > 0.05 which states that there is no influence between the type of industry and Carbon Emission Disclosure. Choi et al (2013) demonstrated that the characteristics of the industry is a very important factor in expressing voluntary disclosures regarding carbon emission. The more intensive carbon emissions released on the company expected the company more revealing disclosure of carbon emissions that lead to efforts in reducing carbon emissions. Not influential industry type to disclosure of carbon emissions could occur indication that the company is not subject to government regulations to reduce carbon emissions.

ROA has sig = 0240> 0.05 so there is no influence between ROA with carbon emission disclosure. The results of this study are not consistent with previous research Luo et al (2013) which states that there is influence between ROA with carbon emission disclosure where a company with high profitability tend to be more likely to pay for expenses related to carbon emissions. Companies that disclose carbon emissions would require additional costs to be incurred (carbon cost management) to streamline the CO_2 emissions in the use of raw materials, labor and overhead environment. Companies with a high profitability is certainly very ready to disclose carbon emissions compared with lower profitability. In this study, showed that profitability has no influence on the disclosure of carbon emissions it could be due to companies that have high profitability tend not disclose carbon emissions because it is considered as a cost burden that could reduce the profitability of companies that will be published to external parties such as shareholders plus again with the disclosure of carbon emissions is still voluntary means companies disclose or not disclose it depends on the policy of each company. While companies that have low profitability tend to not add to the costs associated with carbon emissions in order to maintain stability so as not to lower profitability.

SIZE has sig = 0.000 <0.05 which states that company size affect the carbon emissions disclosure. According Ghomi and Leung (2013) in the preparation of the necessary carbon emission allocation of resources with a high skill level where these resources more available to companies large. Large companies tend to be recognized by the government and society at large as a large polluter pollution and to gain legitimacy, the company with the size of large companies tend to disclose carbon emissions. The bigger a company, the company obtained the pressure of the stakeholders will be even greater. Stakeholders tend to force large companies to disclose carbon emissions plus more if the company is in the operational activities generate carbon emissions is high enough.

PROPER has sig = 0.000 <0.05 which states that PROPER affect the carbon emission disclosure. where according to Jannah and Muid (2014), a company with a low PROPER can reduce the motivation of companies to disclose their greenhouse gas emissions. PROPER is aimed to boost the level of companies' compliance with environmental regulations and to make environmental issues as one of the drivers of innovation and increased competitiveness of companies. PROPER divided into five categories: gold, green, blue, red and black where the higher the rank of a company such as gold PROPER course, the company has an excellent management of the environment even disclose activities on the standards that have been defined. While the company has such a low PROPER (black) then the company is badly in environmental management efforts and indicated that the company intentionally damage the environment. So the higher PROPER then companies tend to disclose carbon emissions compared to a low PROPER.

Table 6 Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.790ᵃ	.655	.597	2.270	1.824

a. Predictors: (Constant), Media_Exp (X1), ROA (X3), Tipe_Ind (X2), SIZE (X4), PROPER (X5)
b. Dependent Variable: Carbon_Dis

Adj R square discribed that 59,7% of independent variables can explain the changes of dependent variable.

V. Conclusion

Media exposure, size of company and environmental performance partially affect the carbon emission disclosure. Companies in this sample using media websites to communicate activities concerning carbon emissions so that the role of media in the form of a website can provide added value to gain legitimacy from the people. The more the higher the size of a company then the company is likely to make voluntary disclosures in this disclosure regarding carbon emissions. The higher the rank PROPER then companies tend to disclose carbon emissions.

The type of industry and profitability is partially no effect on carbon emission disclosure. Intensive companies that do not emit carbon and carbon-intensive issued no inclination to disclose carbon emissions. High and low profitability have no inclination companies disclose carbon emissions.

VI. Limitation

a. Researchers subjectivity in assessing the broad disclosure of carbon emissions.

b. The independent variables are limited to media exposure, type of industry, the profitability and the size of the company so it can not explain the factors that affect the disclosure of carbon emissions in a comprehensive manner.

c. Only three-years study period (2012-2014), so there will be not long enough to time series data.

VII. Recommendation

a. For BEI listed companies, can consider to disclose carbon emissions in its report.

b. Because the level of the company's desire to disclose their carbon emissions depend on media exposure, the size of the company and PROPER, then the government and environmentalists could focus their campaign and socialization about the environment bu considering these three variables.

c. For further research, it can add more independent variables, adding the period of observation and focus more on specific industry sectors (manufacturing, mining, etc.).

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Anova

Sources : Output SPSS

Family and Social Constructions in Indonesian Empowerment

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Abstract

Family is known as the first and ultimate environment for people to grow on the sides of empowerment. Aspects on families are the main social constructions that shape knowledge and self-consciousness of human beings. Moreover, social relations between people and their families also indicate human conditions itself. Human conditions are not just constructed but also contained opportunities to conform with wider societies. Meanwhile, family conditions in Indonesia are not equally well for children to grow to face complicated societies. On a hand, people grew from nice families with immediate minds of love through social constructions. Ethnical and religious backgrounds are indeed the main aspects of love applied in families. On the other hand, children have to face domestic violence so juvenile delinquencies could always be their favorites. Social constructions in families are not enough to empower people because outside aspects are strongly affecting children's educations. It is said that family is the most important aspect of all but how family is constructed by outside factors could not be ignored too. In today's era, children would prefer learning more from information and technology to listening to stories from their parents. From above explanations, a question has been raised; how could family be driver of Indonesian empowerment? This article will be answered through qualitative method by putting in descriptive and explorative ideas. Theories and concepts for analyses are theory of empowerment, theory of social construction, and will be bridged by psychoanalysis thought on family and individual. Theory of empowerment is not about getting more economic resources but how to make human more humanly. Theory of social construction will include intrapersonal, interactional, and behavioral aspects. Psychoanalysis thought will be taken to understand how family should empower children to face societies in adulthood time. The results of the analyses will emphasize on how family shapes people consciousness about the world. Human beings could never define themselves by ignoring their social constructions. Families are smaller societies as places to learn until people face the real great societies. From family, individuals learn how to behave in dialogues among people. In conclusion, family is indeed the driver of empowerment. In a family, individual sees herself through reflections of society. It is because empowerment is never about prosperity but how to make human more humanly.

Keywords empowerment, family, social construction, psychoanalysis

Concepts about today's Indonesian empowerment are emphasized on economic aspects of people through entrepreneurship. It has been like an ubiquitous aspect that is actually difficult to avoid (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995:572). To be empowered means to have better prosperity especially in economic eventhough empowerment itself is about social thing. Empowerment which actually means actions to build more power has been shaped only to make progress on life. That progress is to be prosper in developing abilities to earn more money. Moreover, its wide understanding on empowerment has been devastated from social participations to individual matters. While at first empowerment is to walk together with those who have no power then today has become help to become more prosper at all.

More than just about prosperity, empowerment is a process of understanding identities. It could be done by people looking at themselves or in reverse. It is because empowerment enable people to do something and it can not be separated with what they have believed until now (Nachshen, 2004:70). Besides, identities are seen in how people indicate their identifications on others. It may always change depends on how concepts and contexts shape identities. Empowerment never means to take out people from their roots so that the action should always consider identities beside just enable them to work and have more money.

The dualism of economic to social empowerment above shows passage about how empowerment is used to develop progress and to strengthen identities. That passage has been stated in many articles about specific issues both in economic and social aspects. Meanwhile, there is family as a part which actually shapes people. Family comes at first at birth and then when people have their own families. People is constructed by family and then people constructs their own families. It does not matter which one comes first because it is a simultaneous process as seen on identities of people. Both people and their families interactively and also socially construct each other.

As people are constructed by their families and in reverse, values are internalized through direct and indirect teachings on verbal and action-based activities. Families indeed have their own values based on identities and they would like to inherit it to their children as the main way to self-determination. Values then do not come by themselves but are taught through condition of living together in families. Values are not only known but also understood in everyday life and these aspects are the main condition in empowerment. Empowerment is not about being prosper at all but actually how to have power in building better relations with people socially and culturally (Lord and Hutchison, 1993:2). Those relations are on families as the main identities of people. From those explanations above, a question has been raised; how could family be driver of Indonesian empowerment? The importance of this question relates people with social construction and its surroundings.

Human beings could not totally constructs themselves because their knowledge and self-consciousness are shaped by interpersonal relations. It is family as the first and the ultimate surrounding which not only empowers people but also grows with them in order to always improve quality of life (Lord and Hutchison, 1993:4).

Family as Human Condition

Why family is important in empowerment relates to how people interact each other as human condition. Human condition does not always just mean presupposition of actions but also what could come after that. The process indeed is also the condition so surroundings of people is that the condition itself (Nachshen, 2004:68). That condition is not given at all but constructed through social understanding on identities. No parents teach something to their children unprecedently. There must be something or many things that shape teachings of parents to be told to their children. Some parents will teach about religious, ethnic, music, or even philosophical ideas as they also have been taught from their parents before.

Those precedented teachings above indicate that it is social construction that shape families. Family is not just about father, mother, brother, or sister, but also understanding among knowledge and consciousness. Knowledge is understood through what is knowingly seen by persons in family. This knowledge is not about concept but practice in everyday life which are told and done daily (Pettit, 2012:4). People are empowered everyday with enriched ideas in family. Family talks, discusses, and argues about many things. From those dialogues, knowledge is not only internalized but also negotiated so that family keeps its openness but not to erode their identity. Knowledge then is not actually defined but meant. It is not such a format that is given and totally ready to be consumed but is intersubjective as well as interpersonal.

Same as knowledge, family relates to each member's conciousness. This conciousness is not natural but cultural one. This side relates to self and others both conceptually and contextually. Respecting self is also about on others so that consciousness is both individual and plural. In concept and context, self is built on subjectivity as how someone could be subject for himself in specific place and time. This aspect tends to shape such egoism without respecting others (Fromm in Kuntoro, 1991:171). Meanwhile, aspect of others relates to intersubjectivity that put people to always be there for others. This aspect could also tend to altruism which will omit individual self. Beside just merely self or others, families are in between both of them. Persons in family indicate themselves with identities inside the condition by learning to respect each other. Self and others then are bridged by understood position of each member in families. Parents know their roles to guide their children and their children follow them. Beside that common roles, families walk together which appreciate individual person and collective persons.

For example, a campaign from Indonesian government to its apparatus to take their children in their first day at school shows effort to build better internal communication between parents and students and external communication between parents, students, and schools. Parents could come lately to their offices if the time is used to take their children to school. From that action, knowledge about what children need come together with conciousness for parents to always take care of their children. It is a good start to provide time for other family members instead of aking them to go alone. The message in participation which will produce experience shape closeness among persons (Zimmerman, 2012:47).

From the passage of knowledge and consciousness, family as human condition is exposed in identities which consist of fixed and open conditions. In fixed one, internalization is the main idea which could always strengthen identities. By circulating values among family members, every person has a chance to underline the circle among them. Strategy in this identity is to deepen every value by dictating every elements of it. At another point, this strategy indeed brings in negation to other aspects outside family as a consequence. To strengthen something always means to let go another too. If a family would like to identify itself, that family must differentiate itself from others. That identification then also reflects a universal concept which is suitable for every family member. It may be like doctrine which should always be obeyed and appreciated in order to keep family as a whole. That doctrine then is not used to force family members but to build such comfort zone inside. Indeed, having family is like having home which is totally comfortable after all. When the comfort condition is reached, any other purpose will easily be done in the family.

Open aspects on identities then is different from fixed ones as oppositions but not in controversial ways. Open aspects indicate that there is always chance for an identity to interact with another. It is true that an identity is closely related with specific space and time but as long as there are difference then openness could come to surface. While fixed aspects indicate normal condition in every family, these open aspects could be vary depend on contexts that people face. Chances to meet with other identities are possibilities of diversities. At this point, importance of family aspect in Indonesian empowerment becomes clear. While normal condition in fixed aspects remain in simple and normal life, open aspects shows more complex condition. The complex aspects could be understood in three conditions which is similar to what Erich Fromm asserted with having mode and being mode (Fromm in Kuntoro, 1991:134). First, family which is open to others because their identities told them so or only as compulsion as member of wider society. This point says that it is such a must to interact with others as long as it does not affect much to the family. The identities are meant to be closed because of certain rules that should always be obeyed. Second, family which is open to others because of open knowledge and consciousness. It is more than a must to interact with others because it is voluntarily done. It is like fifty-fifty condition which always consider bad and good aspects of everything. At

this point, family provides choices for each member to strengthen own identity or interact with others based on several values. Third, family which is just open to others without any terms and conditions. This family indeed has identity as human being and not just as label. At this point, it is true that identities should be kept but not too closed so that dialogues could always happen. The rules in this kind of family is so flexible that it seems no rule at all. Those three conditions indicate such gradation from totality in having mode to openness in being mode. While having mode is just accepting what is given to them, being mode is flexible in opening themselves to possibilities that they may face. Having mode remains simple in fixed ideas so that everything is already known. Being mode takes risks by clearing their places in order to prepare for any unique or just different idea that may be argued to their identities.

From those three conditions above, actually it does not really matter what kind of identities they are. The most important of all is the condition itself. Differences between slightly open and totally open family are located in how family and its members respect others. While closed family sees interaction as a must, open family may see it as an opportunity. Therefore, any kind of family may have identity inside of it but to see it from other's view is another different thing.

For example, in closed identities, those who are situated in higher prosperity class would just like to be friends with those in the same level. These people deserve themselves to do so because they do more attempts than another. Richness is identity that they think society should honor to. Some people from ethnic and religious family also have this view. They will let their children to have relationship only to children from the same ethnic and religion. They may have some rules that to be obeyed in order to keep goodness in themselves. Meanwhile, some families are so open in many ways. They may be related to ethnic status and religious way but those are just private labels which should not be mixed with public ones. Some of them even let their children to marry people from totally different ethic and religions. They think that to have others in their families do not automatically omit identities but it can enrich diverisities inside.

Family and Children Conditions in Indonesia

The main idea in why this article is written is about children position in Indonesian families. Children should always be understood as 'who they are' then 'what they have' (Fromm in Kumari, 2015:187). Children are never assumed before so their conditions must be stated as 'to be' which is 'to come' or 'become' and not 'already come'. The above passage about family as human condition is slightly different from Indonesian condition. Condition of Indonesia is more complex so is with families. In today's globalization era, even parents can not easily limits children's curiosity about everything. Growing information has shaped values and identities more than it should for children. In this article, concept of

children is not about little ones but also young and adult ones as children of parents. Little children are getting used to games in smartphones. Parents may think that information and technology should to be learned but its way to learn should be considered again. Many parents give electronic devices such as smartphones and gaming consoles to their children. It may be a nice way to study but it is also such spoil which may result to addiction and give access to unwanted sites. Young children are getting used to going on a date as a couple. Ideas about love are everywhere and those shape young people to be more adult than what adults usually do. There are young people who easily got frustrated about love. Dictations from television programs also worsen the conditions. Young people do many love things to free sex instead of studying well. Adult children are getting used to work really hard to earn more prosperity. By doing that, many adult children has abandoned their families and their parents too because it is more important to reach further achievements than to keep the best what they already have. There are some hardworkers in big cities of Indonesia who do not have any spare time for their children and parents. They think that achievements that they will reach will make their families happy but actually what families need are just attention and care.

While identity says that family is enough to shape children's values, the reality is quite different from that. Family as the ultimate specific space and time is contested with external aspect of persons. That external aspect is wider society. Family is not just totally closed but apparently prepares every person inside to face wider conditions. Family is actually about educations, values, mentalities, and identities. Those aspects do not affect parents as teachers in families but childrens as learners. On educations, it is getting usual that parents leave educations to formal ones at school altough most of the time is done at home. It may be true that formal education could prepare children to face wider world, but education is actually more than just study at school. The main idea in education is not just about teaching and studying but also accompanying as well as going side by side. This accompaniment is what has been ignored by parents to their children. While it is ignored by parents, values which are understood by children can no longer be known by parents. Parents do no longer understand what their children do, have, or even to be. Children do have interests in values outside families while their parents still emphasize doctrines about good and bad in their moral teachings. In this point, either children or parents would never meet each other's condition. In analogy, external values which come like a heavy rain are just anticipated by parents by pulling off little umbrella and giving it to children instead of going together with their children into that raining condition. Emporwent is not about telling others to do anything but to participate directly to improve others' life (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995:571).

More than values, mentality in family is about talking about freedom rather than respecting others today. Freedom is actually good to be learned because of responsibilities that it may result as beingness of human (Fromm in Kumari, 2015:189). Meanwhile,

young people today interpret freedom as a total condition which will automatically ignore otherness. Freedom is ability to do anything without any responsibility at all today. At first, mentality which is shaped by family is about to prepare children for better or even worse condition outside home. Now, parents loosen their children to do anything as long as every children's need is fulfilled enough. Parents let external aspects to shape children's mentalities while those do not shape anything at all. Children are only getting used to everyday consumptions without knowing such moral standard on society; as long as they are conformed with society than it is enough for them. Soft mentality is the result of above action. When mentalities have become identities, it will be difficult for parents to intervene children's life. Parents could no longer get involved in children's flow because both of them are located in different streams. Worsened by globalization era, progress on information and technology have dictated children to be individual subject who wil ignore togetherness in family. Children in their process to be adult persons will only rely on themselves because their parents do not care about them beside merely financial items which parents give. Some people think that it is good to spoil their children by fulfilling everything they need. It may be good to facilitate children but if it is too much then children is just accustomed to materials. When that condition reach its worst part, parents could not do anything again because it was too late to fix the condition.

Aspects from education to identity above show relationships between parents and children as families. The aspect of family itself indeed is contested with values inside family and progress outside family. Values inside family are related to inherited culture from time to time that are still believed unti last generation. Progress outside family are aspects which are so different that may change the way identities internalize family members. This is important to be asserted in order to show complex forms of family in Indonesia. There is not any family in Indonesia which is totally same from one to another. There are always differences on internal and external factors of family which shape conditions among persons. It is such inevitable condition that push family to be open for others for interactions.

Those internal and external aspects above do implicate importance of family in empowerment. In normal condition, children learn good values from their good parents. In wider condition, it will also be equally well for every child to be prepared enough in facing other people. Meanwhile, family conditions in Indonesia are not equally well for children to grow to face complicated societies. Families are so contextual so that a definition of empowerment never totally suits to any family. On a hand, people grew from nice families with immediate minds of love through social constructions. Anything that comes well will ends well too. Ethnical and religious backgrounds are indeed the main aspects of love applied in families. That love is applied through ideal habits among persons in families. For instance, ethnical aspect shows how identities should be applied and kept as well in life. By practicing that, it is already enough for people to face everything in

closed or open world. Religious aspect indicate basic moral grounds to regularly touch with other people. Those moral grounds are such guides and also limits to walk beyond families to wider circumstances. Identities in this kind of family are final solutions to everything because those include both theories and practices that are tought nice enough to be applied to any circumstance.

On the other hand, the context shows that it is easier to define empowerment in absence than in real action. Some children have to face condition which they may not bear in their lives. In psychoanalysis, these children are forced to understand images that remains dangerous and will be so in their life in future years. Some children have to face parents' divorce, inherited poverty, and domestic violence so that the families are never normal at all. Love that actually should be there has been drained out and left nothing. At this point, talking about empowerment in family is difficult because those children may not understand what a truly family is. Those children have to struggle for their own life and it may results to juvenile delinquencies. As children of any parents, they no longer have home where they can rely on. While normal condition include everything in good condition, this different condition relflects nothing but confusion of identities. Family which should shape identities for these children has lost and they can not find it anywhere. At this point, there is nothing that children can do beside imitating what otehrs have done to them. Violence then is prolonged by them as they are told so from their broken families.

Empowerment and Family Conditions in Indonesia

Empowerment in family is actually a process to empower each person socially and culturally (Nachshen, 2004:74). It is not such linear that a side will perfectly affect another but family is a condition that may provide chances to empowerment. In normal family condition, family shapes people's consciousness about the world. How people face wider world is by applying values that they have been told in families. People may be shocked in facing other new world but they already have identities as their standpoint (Giddens in Alrasyid,2007:2). Their identities are used to face other societies. At this point, empowerment can be done in asking people to learn any possibilities that they may face afterwards (McCobin, 2011:2). While today's people say that an identity is enough for any circumstance, external possibilities are ambiguous without any certain definition. People could not be let to do anything based on total freedom without respecting otherness. It is always nice to appreciate otherness by opening self to any possibility that may come. Human beings could never define themselves by ignoring their social constructions. By respecting others, people are appreciating themselves because human beings are socially connected to each other. Same to identity, social construction is so wide that consist not also internal families but also bigger societies.

Empowerment in this aspect is appreciation of everyday life beside just importing other external factors to family. Everyday life consists of cultural aspect in how people understand themselves, behave to others, and identify each other. Starting from family, understanding themselves is about to build awareness in role and position which someone may bear. From that point, behavior is attained to build more respect to other. Identification to each other's condition is meant to show how each person in family cares to each other. Family is small society as a place to learn until people face the real great society (McCobin, 2011:1). From this condition, people learn things about how they find definitions and meanings among everyday life. From family, individuals learn how to behave in dialogues among people. Dialogues are not just about communication but interactions which will shape intersubjective and interpresonal relations. Those relations understand others without forgetting own values because family is not only about nature but also nurture (Pettit, 2012:8).

In complex condition out of normal one, children have to face condition that they should not. Social constructions in family are not enough to empower people because outside aspects are strongly affecting children's conditions. There is failure and negligence of family that children have to bear. At this side, empowerment in family is useless because family can not do that wisely. Those children do not have any place to escape from wider societies. Wider societies are their home. Nuclear family which is normal for common people is just a dream for them.

They have to face realities in parents' divorce, inherited poverty, and domestic violence as their identities. They are already tied to it without any choices left. In divorce, children have to face reality that their parents are not together anymore. They may run to drugs and violence as their revenge to society. In inherited poverty, children who are used to play and study have to work for their daily life. Sometimes, their parents let, tell, or even support them to do so and it worsens children's conditions. They never really had much values to face another society. In domestic violence, children are victims of their parents. Parents used to hit them instead of teach them. Children are not seen as subjects but only as objects for parents. Children are actually alienated from their own roles as children (Fromm in Kumari, 2015:186).

Choices for empowerment in those above conditions are extraordinary family which is situated in the society itself. They can no longer return to family because it was broken too. Values that are internalized and socialized in normal condition have already gone and its orientation is too blunt to be approached (Zimmerman, 2012:44). There are two condition which could be applied as empowerment in this problem. First, family member should never neglect each other. It is the last stand for persons in the family to understand because they no longer have values to apply with. Parents should never see children as objects but as parts of the parents itself. Some comments say that children have to appreciate any parents' decisions. Meanwhile, if the decisions ruin children's life then those are just

nothing. Children should never be told to do adult's jobs. They have their own life which also want to be appreciated too.

Second, society is also family for people with no family. To help each other is an idea why human beings live. Society should not let children come with violence (Alrasyid,2007:5). Violence will do nothing but more violence afterwards. Empowerment in this side can be done in respecting each other. They may be labelled as diseases for society, but actually diseases are not to be put aside but o be cured. It is positive tolerance that should always be built in order to shape better relations among people including these childrens. By having positive tolerance, labels should always be considered to be told to others. There are many various or even mixed identities in Indonesia but value orientation of human beings should always be considered as ultimate active idea in change process (Zimmerman, 2012:45). To label something with any prejudice will just build bad stereotype for human relationship. Individual is actually the reflection of his society. It is function of society to shape human beings to be more humanly. That function should be put in social empowerment. Its purpose then is to present sense of autnomy and self-values which will make people appreciate themselves well (Pettit, 2012:4). It is important for these children to feel respected and also recognized. Integrity of themselves to others then is measured to be outcome which will make them ready again to face other people.

In those two sides above, Indonesian family is important in shaping someone's life. How family is developed and understood shows how human empowerment is measured. Empowerment is actually about human beings by growing labels of them as identities. There are no ultimate identity for every person especially in economic ideas (Pettit, 2012:2). Many examples which are explained above show that even rich families could face several difficulties because of their consumptive capabilities, just like the same with poor ones (Fromm in Kuntoro, 1991:140). Empowerment then indeed is about cultural aspects of people which family takes big role of it. No one could not live without family even if it just nuclear family or no perfect family at all. Going beyond economic prosperity, empowerment is how people get themselves in a condition as human beings. That condition includes people with their fixed, open, or even complex identities which may be different from one to another. Ultimately, empowerment is meant to shape condition more humanly for human beings.

Conclusion

Empowerment is important to do in family aspect of people. Beside society, family is the first condition that people face. Knowledge and conciousness are shaped in family's identities. It is human condition which family could relate to. Human condition is like a process where every kind of thing is talked or even negotiated. In this globalization era, human condition in family is getting more complicated. Progress on information and

technology has made children to be more consumptive. Consequently, children are getting more individual and ignoring their surrounding. Meanwhile, some children have to face extraordinary condition in their families. Parents' divorce, inherited poverty, and domestic violence are problems which have taken them to violence ways. Empowerment on family here could be a way out in taking care again every family member. Neglecting family members will break them and leaving them with despair. Besides, roles of society are also important in building more rational and tolerant places for people. People find reflections of themselves in family and if they do not find it there then they find it in society. If society already refused them then children from broken families do not find anywhere to go again.

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The Arma Museum:
Using Culture As an Economic Engine for The Community

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A river flows through the grounds of the ARMA Museum in Bali and winding paths follow the contours of its slopes. Because of its sacred location, the river is a source of holy water sought by local villagers to prepare cremation offerings. Small shrines are located throughout the complex. They are adorned with daily offerings of flowers and incense that give a palpable reality to the invisible world of spirits that share the space with human guests.

Members of the ARMA staff can often be seen wafting incense smoke towards the heavens with gently undulating movements of their wrists, a sign that the gods are being asked for their protection. These daily rituals echo images in the museum's collection that depict ceremonies connecting the Balinese people to their gods.

In India there is a river named Saraswati, reflecting a belief that knowledge should flow like a body of water that never runs dry. The river that runs through the grounds of the ARMA museum could be seen as a metaphor for the constant stream of rituals, seminars, exhibitions, and book launchings that contribute to the flow of knowledge about Balinese art, history, religion, and literature. The fruits of this knowledge are made available free of charge to the Balinese. Foreign visitors have to pay for the privilege but their contributions help to keep the river of knowledge flowing by financing the ceremonies that keep Balinese cultural traditions alive in the village of Peliatan. The Museum is an innovative model for the use of culture as an economic engine for the community.

A Living Museum

In an attempt the meet the need for balancing the traditions of the past with the needs of the future, Agung Rai has established the ARMA museum and resort in a plot of land near Banjar Tengah. Agung Rai sees the paintings as repositories of the collective knowledge of the artists who created them. In the same way that icons like the Barong can host the ancestral spirit of Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede, he believes the paintings at ARMA can host the spirits of their creators and the ancestral wisdom that went into their creation. "Art can be a *pratima*," says Agung Rai, using the word for sacred dwelling place that is also used for

the statues and masks that host ancestral spirits during ceremonial events like the walk to Tegallalang.

A great many of the participants in the procession are employees of ARMA, including Agung Mae, who took several days off from work to participate in the walk and other temple related activities. "I did not want to miss the chance to contribute to the ceremony," she explained. "I studied literature at university, and this ceremony is part of the culture that is preserved in Balinese literature."

Agung Mae is part of the younger generation that is negotiating the transition between the contradictory modernizing forces of westernization and efforts to maintain the traditional elements of Balinese culture that makes its identity distinctive. This is the generation that Agung Rai is attempting to reach by creating an innovative model for a tourist resort that is also a museum and repository of cultural memory. ARMA offers free lessons in traditional music and dance to local children, whosubsequently display that knowledge in their performances for the Pura Madya festival dedicated to Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede.

The museum is full of paintings that visually express the multiple meanings of the rituals and performances at Pura Madya. Other religious rituals occur throughout the year on and off the grounds of ARMA creating porous borders between the museum, resort, and village temple. "The foreign visitors to ARMA see where their money goes," explains Agung Rai. "Their dollars fertilize the traditions that make Balinese culture unique. Our museum creates an interaction between the visitors and the Balinese. They can see the process of making offerings every day. The cutting of the banana and palm leaves by hand is an act of creative mediation, a great skill being passed on to the children who are the future. In villages all over Bali people are creating these works of art. Every temple ceremony is an art installation, a community project and a sacred event. This is what visitors want to see, not McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken."

Tourists who come to the ARMA Museum and Resort are given the opportunity to witness the living traditions of the island, but they have to pay close attention to see beyond the obvious beauty of the artwork and the jarring influence of Western consumerism on Balinese behavior. Agung Rai notes that Balinese experience can be understood through the prism of a concept called "*Desa Kala Patra*" which could be translated as "Time Place Situation." Balinese adapt to the needs of the particular circumstances in which they find themselves. "You can find Balinese in jeans or in temple clothes, according to the situation," says Agung Rai. "They don't reject modernization, but they know how to filter it and when to use it and when not to. So outsiders don't have to look at the Balinese as primitive. They can be modern and individualistic when the time and place is appropriate."

A large statue of Saraswati stands at the entrance to the museum. The goddess of knowledge represents the "need to remember" that Ida Pedanda Jenggala said was essential to the ceremony for the *Barong* in Pura Madya on Saraswati day. The goddess is also

depicted in several paintings inside the museum. In her four arms Saraswati holds objects that symbolize the forms of knowledge that are celebrated both in the museum and in the rituals for Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede. In one hand Saraswati holds a palm leaf *lontar* manuscript, which is a traditional form for preserving sacred and secular knowledge in writing. Chanted readings from *lontar* texts are included in every day of the rituals at Pura Madya. In another hand Saraswati hold a stringed musical instrument called a '*wina*' that represents the importance of music and art in a complete understanding of the world. Like the chanting of the *lontar* texts, the playing of gamelan music is incorporated into all the ceremonies at Pura Madya. Saraswati also hold a circular string of prayer beads known as '*ganitri*' which symbolizes the eternal nature of knowledge that must continually be renewed. The links between past history andcurrent events at Pura Madya are a manifestation of the continuity of knowledge symbolized by Sarasati's *ganitri*. In her fourth hand Saraswati hold a lotus flower that represents the divine nature of wisdom that is rooted in nature. The lotus flower and its many sacred meanings are referred to in countless ways in each day of the Pura Madya ceremony devoted to Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede.

If instead of viewing *Barongs* collectively we consider a single *Barong* and its meaning to the community where it resides, "the most familiar and the most obscure" figure in Bali becomes somewhat less obscure and also less familiar. Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede, the *Barong* of Pura Madya, can be seen as the repository of a community's collective memory, a focal point for ceremonies that come to a climax on the day devoted to remembering Saraswati and pondering the meanings of rituals that are witnessed regularly but rarely understood in their entirety.

In Pura Madya the citizens of Banjar Tengah intertwine the honoring of *Barong* and Saraswati in a festival of memory that honors the multiple forms of knowledge embedded in the worship of Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede. And when the ceremony in Pura Madya ends, many of the same citizens of Banjar Tengah return in their daily lives to a place where sacred ceremonies and useful knowledge are also intertwined in a different manner. ARMA, where many of the temple worshippers are employed, is a living museum that exists at the intersection of tourism, traditional culture, and art. All the rituals in the ceremony of Pura Madya are depicted in the paintings in its galleries. Even the tourists that walked through the temple to take photographs are present in the satirical canvases of artists like Wayan Bendi. Long-term foreign visitors are represented in the room dedicated to German painter Walter Spies who came to Bali in the 1930's and had a profound influence on Balinese art and the ways in which it was perceived by Westerners. ARMA acknowledges that westerners are part of the history of Bali who should be remembered, and that the destructive and constructive influences of tourism are inseparable. So ARMA incorporates those influences into its structure, giving visitors the opportunity to experience some of the ceremonies that are depicted in its paintings simply by walking out the doors of their bungalows and making their way across a rice-field to Pura Madya or one of the other temples near the

museum grounds. They may experience the illusion that they are living inside a Balinese painting, watching the ceremonies that are painted in the ARMA collection, at the same time that their dollars are used to fund and "fertilize" both the creators of the paintings and the creators of the ceremonies.

And just as the Balinese are the objects of the tourist gaze, the tourists are the objects of the Balinese gaze, as they learn when they see themselves satirized in the paintings and performances. Westerners have long been a part the contradictory and sometimes antagonistic forcesrepresented by *Rangda* and *Barong*. In the historic past evoked by Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede the feuds between rival factions inside royal families were often fueled by the Dutch colonial government. The ARMA museum does not pretend that Bali can be preserved in a pristine way that excludes foreign influence. It incorporates foreigners into the museum grounds, letting them live side by side with the paintings and see themselves inside the frames of the paintings, at the same time that they can wander through the cultural, spiritual and physical landscapes that the paintings depict. For better or worse tourists are part of Bali's evolving identity and ARMA provides an innovative model for including them in a way that Agung Rai hopes will keep the culture fertile and alive. To do so requires all of Saraswati's four arms and the multiple manifestations of knowledge that she represents. Art, music, science, literature, religion, history are combined to honor Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede on Saraswati day. The museum functions as a reminder that honoring the goddess requires the application of her wisdom throughout the rest of the year as well. Foreigners who pass by the *Barong* exhibition at ARMA may marvel at the craftsmanship with which the masks are carved, but the Balinese understanding of the icon is more complex. Like the *Barong* in Pura Madya, all *Barongs are* guardians of Bali's cultural survival. Their masks are imbued with a hidden history linked to the island's ancestral past.

Cycles of Wisdom

One of the most unusual depictions of Saraswati in the ARMA museum is the one painted by Wayan Bendi, who embeds the goddess in a tumultuous collage of typically Balinese activities. Processions of women carry offerings on their heads. Men gather around a cockfight. A *dalang*performs a shadow puppet play. Barong and Rangda meet in a *Calonarang* drama. Everything that happens at the Pura Madya ceremonies can be found in Bendi's boisterous interpretation of life in Bali. But in addition to the traditional activities, Bendi also includes caricatures of tourists, who seem to find their way into every area of the canvas, pointing their oversized camera at everything in sight.

Bendi's canvas is a swirling, bustling, vibrant portrait of Bali, not unlike what a guest experiences at ARMA. There are corners of tranquility, but there is also the option of hiking through the rice fields that surround ARMA to watch the farmers at work, or following the path of a gaggle of ducks as they pass by the riverbank. There is no escaping the fact

that tourists are now a permanent element in the Balinese landscape. Artists like Bendi have ingeniously incorporated them into the fabric of his otherwise traditional paintings so that they are part of the composition, making their inimitable mark on the pattern being depicted without destroying its inherent beauty and vivacious energy. Agung Rai has developed a similar strategy for integrating tourists into the Balinese landscape by giving them the opportunity to blend into a setting that respects the balance between what is natural, what is human, and what is divine.

Observant visitors to ARMA can see themselves depicted in the artwork in numerous ways and choose which model to follow. There are the comically intrusive tourists in Bendi's painting, but there are also more serious foreigners who have demonstrated great respect for Balinese traditions. The museum dedicates an entire room to the German painter Walter Spies and his influence on Balinese painters. The Mexican painter and author Miguel Covarubbias has also been represented with an exhibition of sketches that he made while researching his classic book, "The Island of Bali." Visitors can see how their presence has the potential to impact the traditions of Bali in both positive and negative ways, and ARMA is designed to facilitate the most positive interactions possible. Guests are encouraged to participate in dance, music, and drawing classes at the same time that they watch Balinese children participating in the same classes. They are given the opportunity to watch performances presented especially for tourists on the Museum's Open Stage and their ticket fees help subsidize the performances of the same dancers and musicians at sacred ceremonies like the one at Pura Madya, where visitors making the effort to wear appropriate Balinese temple attire are welcome. The experience of tourists at ARMA helps them avoid becoming thecaricatures depicted by Bendi and adopt the more sensitive mode of participation pioneered by Spies.

Saraswati's wisdom flows in and out of the museum like the river that winds through the grounds of the resort. The visitor who pays attention can discover a rich storehouse of hidden knowledge at ARMA and in the communities that surround it. In one of her four hands Saraswati holds a *ganitri* string of beads symbolizing the endless and circular nature of knowledge. That infinite circularity is reflected in the interactive relationship between the art, architecture, rituals and performances found at ARMA and the events that take place daily outside the resort. Subsidized by the workshops they teach for tourists, Balinese painters, musicians and dancers offer free classes to village children, who in turn perform and take part in the temple ceremonies of Peliatan that sustain the local knowledge and traditions which have inspired and continue to inspire the artwork that appears in the museum.

"The young generation is our future," says Agung Rai. They are the ones who will keep the traditions alive." Although there are many gloomy predictions about the endangered traditions of Bali, those traditions flourish at Pura Madya during the ceremonies that reach their climax on Saraswati Day. The temple is full of families whose children participate

happily in the prayers and enjoy the performances. "No one forces them," says Agung Rai. "There are no preachers telling them what to do. They follow by example and are happy to be there."

The children at the festival display an eagerness that recalls one of the paintings of Saraswati in the ARMA museum. As in most depictions the goddess is playing music on her stringed *wina* with one arm and holding up a *lontar* manuscript, a lotus flower and a *ganitri* string of beads with her other three arms. Beneath her is a pond full of small fish with their mouths open wide, ready to receive the wisdom that Saraswati offers them. Like the children at the festival they are drinking in the knowledge that the goddess bestows in the form of art, literature, religion, and the natural world. Families have created a ceremony for remembering and putting into practice all that wisdom, giving their children the opportunity to absorb what appeals to them. In this context it is useful to note another dimension of Saraswati's character. The goddess is accompanied by a swan that is able to tell the difference between milk and water when the two are mixed together. That might be the most precious form of wisdom Saraswati could dispense, the ability to discriminate and choose wisely.

On the last night of the ceremony for Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede a toddler just learning to walk stumbled back and forth between his relatives holding a *kuanyin* offering of flowers wrapped in a palm leaf. His tiny shoes flashed colored lights with every step he took. The child's electric footwear provided evidence of his place in the modern world, while the flowered offerings maintained his link to a history he did not yet understand. He took great pleasure in both the shoes and the flowers as he was cradled in the arms of one relative after another underneath a white-fringed ceremonial umbrella where they all were waiting to pray. When the priest sprinkled the boy with holy water his mother held out her arms and cupped her hands for her son to drink from. Then she pressed wet rice onto his forehead and let him eat a few grains, the traditional sign that his worship is complete. The toddler had not yet learned to speak, but he soaked up everything around him with carefree enthusiasm: the fragrance of the flowers, the singing of sacred chants, the shimmering melodies of the gamelan gongs, and the red glow of the incense stick that competed for his attention with the flashing of his electric shoes.

Balinese babies are not allowed to touch their feet to the ground until their third month of life. It is believed that until then their souls have not yet fully descended from heaven. The spirit that animates the *Barong* mask of Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede also descends from heaven, and though the ceremonies at Pura Madya are meant to honor that divine visitor, perhaps the most important audience for all the rituals and performances are the toddlers with electric shoes and all the other children of Banjar Tengah, who will eventually be responsible for keeping the traditions of their ancestors alive.

Fostering Social Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation in Tackling Social Problems

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Abstract

The paper deals with a new emerging term within the field of entrepreneurship: social entrepreneurship and social innovation. Social entrepreneurship refers to individual or organizational activities which use a business model to realize social goals and values and thus have social effects on society, while social innovation is defined as innovative activities which can include tools, methods, ideas, or strategies used by individuals and the public to fulfill social needs and overcome social issues. By using social innovation, social entrepreneurs address various social problems and developmental issues. This paper is written by using exploratory approach using a review of the literature to understand the social entrepreneurship and social innovation and how both are used in tackling social and economic problems in the community.

Introduction

Social entrepreneurship term was first published 35 years ago in a publication titled *The Sociology of Social Movements* (Jones, Warner, & Kiser, 2010). Ever since, social entrepreneurship has evolved and has become a global phenomenon. Until to date, there is a growing body of literature and empirical study on the role of social entrepreneurship and social innovation addressing social and economic problem within the society. Despite the lack of theoretical foundation on the definition and statistical measurements on the role of social entrepreneurships in the economy worldwide, social entrepreneurships has been a topic of academic research over the past few decades (Defourny & Nyssens, 2008). Social entrepreneurship, defined as change action using business principles and models to meet social needs, solve social problems, and maintain social values (rather than purely economic values or private interests) through the innovation of creating new products and new markets (Dees & Anderson, 2006). Social innovation and social entrepreneurship have been considered having a significant role in addressing social problems (Phills Jr., Miller & Deiglmeier, 2008; Schmitt, 2014). The use of unique approaches and innovations by

social entrepreneurs to achieve their goals in both developed and developing countries has led to the social entrepreneurs being widely recognized. Social entrepreneurs use social innovation to fulfill society's needs which are ignored because of market failure. Social entrepreneurs employ creative methods of resource use to create social values (Dees, 2001; Mair & Marti, 2004). Though many types of innovations can overcome social issues, social innovations are considered the most effective and sustainable, as they can ensure the distribution of finances and creation of social values which can impact all elements of society (Phills Jr., Miller & Deiglmeier, 2008). This paper aims to better understand the social entrepreneurship and social innovation. In particular, this paper aims to answer the following questions: (1) what are the definitions of social entrepreneurship and social innovation? And (2) how is the possible connection between social entrepreneurship and social innovation?

Research Approach

This paper is drawn on a qualitative research approach that is an exploratory in nature. The exploratory in this paper attempts to understand the connection between the concepts of social entrepreneurship and social innovation. This approach is particularly appropriate for answering descriptive questions ("what", "why" and "how"). Questions such as these are exploratory by nature, and also descriptive in their relations with contemporarily developing phenomena (Yin, 2009; Robson, 2002; Myers, 2009). The results of explanatory and descriptive analysis produce new understanding and insight (Robson, 2002) as well as explorative knowledge of new phenomena (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The connections between social innovation and social entrepreneurship are examined in this article through a review of the related literature.

Theory

What is Social Entrepreneurship?

Social entrepreneurship is multidimensional in nature and refers to business activities (entrepreneurship) conducted to realize a social mission (Mort, Weerawardena & Carnegie, 2002). Despite the growing attention on social entrepreneurship, an agreed definition have not existed yet, thus definitions of social entrepreneurship always return to the definitions of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship (Abu-Shaifan, 2012; Santos, 2012). The most commonly used definition of social entrepreneurship is an act of change which is realized through entrepreneurial principles and models and is intended to fulfill social needs, overcome social problems, and maintain social values (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007). As in Mair and Marti (2004), the main priority of social entrepreneurship is the creation of social wealth creation, whereas other business activities (i.e. business

entrepreneurship) prioritize the creation of economic wealth. Santos (2012:341–342) emphasizes the main motivation of social entrepreneurs is to create value for society, rather than to capture value. The process of value creation can be undertaken through business activities, business organization, or business/venture management, all of which are done for the sake of social change (George, 2009). In terms of resource accumulation, social entrepreneurs are social investors who use their resources and capital to manage businesses which are primarily intended to support poor populations through constructive methods (Dacin, Dacin, & Matear, 2010).

Considering social entrepreneurship as products, Dees (2007:24), who is known as one of leading scholars in the field of social entrepreneurship, defines social entrepreneurship as a movement driven by the political, economic and social arguments which undertaken by individuals and organizations that aim to tackle social problems with their determination action and creativity. In line with this, Oxford Said Business School (2009) defines social entrepreneurship as output produced by individuals or organizations which overcome the market failures and government (institutional) failures in providing and distribution social goods.

Emphasizing on its process, Martin and Osberg (2007:35) define social entrepreneurship as a process which can improve people's social and economic lives in three manners: (1) identifying the causes of unjust equilibrium which becomes stabilized through exclusion, marginalization, and human suffering as a result of minimal financial and political access, access which should be used to promote the interests of these individuals; (2) identifying any opportunities which may be present behind this unjust equilibrium, developing programs related to social values, and promoting inspiration, creativity, direct action, and boldness, all of which can challenge the unjust equilibrium in society; and (3) creating a stable equilibrium capable of reducing the human suffering faced by the less fortunate through the process of imitation and the creation of a stable ecosystem, thus allowing a new equilibrium to be created and providing the potential for a better future for society.

Work by Haugh and Tracey (2004) defined social entrepreneurship as business activities which undertaken to realize social objectives. Social entrepreneurs combine innovation, entrepreneurship, and social objectives that aim to generate income through commercial activities so that they gain financial independence. If entrepreneurs have an advantage over business activities are carried out, then they usually will distribute the excess profits for the achievement of social goals in the community and not to be distributed to certain stakeholders in the business carried on. This indicates that the social entrepreneurship prioritizes social mission than the profit motives. General characteristics of social entrepreneurship are found in the definitions above. From the definitions, as an overall conclusion of social entrepreneurship meaning, the author proposed the following definition of social entrepreneurship "an individuals and/or organizational act which uses a business model to achieve social goals and values and thus effect on society". Social

entrepreneurship both as individuals and organizations are viewed as a source of innovation and social value creation through business activities (business ventures) whose purpose is to create revenue and economic benefits for society. This concept emphasizes the importance of social mission and social impact of entrepreneurship in society (Dees, 2001; Diochon & Anderson, 2009; Okpara & Halkias, 2011).

Who is Social Entrepreneur?

According to Dacin, Dacin, and Matear (2010), social entrepreneurs are social investors who use their resources and capital to manage businesses which are primarily intended to support poor populations through constructive methods. Philanthropic activities are thus an integral part of these nonprofit organizations which emphasize the importance of social impact created through strong business and management principles, venture capital, and strategic approaches.

As the first organization in the world to support social entrepreneurship, Ashoka defines social entrepreneurs as individuals with innovative solutions for the social problems which plague their societies. These individuals tend to be visionary, ambitious, and have a firmer understanding of the potential for a better future; as such, they are always seeking new ideas through which they can realize their vision and overcome social problems. Such a definition emphasizes the role of other agents (i.e. those outside the government and private sector) in seeking solutions to social problems. Social entrepreneurs can transform existing systems, offer other solutions, and call on other members of society to take action and change the direction of the social issues they face. As such, social entrepreneurs see the important value of ideas and use their ideas to cause social transformations through a "change of direction" (www.ashoka.org).

Nicholls (2006) defined social entrepreneurs as individuals who make efforts to address social problems by using their unique ideas. View as an institution, Yunus, Moingeon, and Lehmann-Ortega (2010) see social entrepreneurs as institution which implements any non-economic initiative to achieve social objectives within the society. According to Baldwin (2009:10), social entrepreneurs are individuals who want to achieve the values of economic and social value simultaneously by creating employment for disadvantaged communities. As individuals, Van Ham (2011) provides further details of social entrepreneurs as men and women who tackle social challenges by using entrepreneurial activities and mobilizing resources, finding relevant technology and collaborating with other institutions in creating change in the community. A more recent study by Nicholls and Ziegler (2015:2) define social innovation as "the development and delivery of new ideas and solutions (products, services, models, markets, processes) at different socio-structural levels that intentionally seek to change power relations and improve human capabilities, as well as the processes via which these solutions are carried out".

One of the key features of social entrepreneurs is the compassion of the social entrepreneurs are their vision for social improvement. This is as defined by the Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship provides definition of social entrepreneurs as individuals or organisations who aim to undertake action for social improvement. Include in its definition, social entrepreneurs are "*a leader or pragmatic visionary who (1) achieves large scale, systemic and sustainable social change through a new invention, a different approach, a more rigorous application of known technologies or strategies, or a combination of these; (2) focuses first and foremost on the social and/or ecological value creation and tries to optimize the financial value creation; (3) innovates by finding a new product, a new service, or a new approach to a social problem; (4) continuously refines and adapts approach in response to feedback and (5) combines the characteristics represented by Richard Branson and Mother Teresa*". To add with the definition of social entrepreneurs given by Schwab Foundation, Mirchandani (1999) argue that social entrepreneurs are those who possess characteristics similar to conventional entrepreneurs who are ambitious, independence, individualism, competitive, self-reliance and risk-taking behavior.

From the discussion on the definitions of social entrepreneurs above, it is understood that common across all definitions of social entrepreneurs is the main attributes encompass social entrepreneurs who use own or others' resources making efforts to create social values by using unique ideas through business ventures.

What is Social Innovation?

Defining social innovation is not simple, because social innovation as a concept is not located entirely within one academic field; aspects of social innovation have to do with a wide range of academic fields, including economics, management, sociology, politics, history, social psychology, business, and technology (European Union & The Young Foundation, 2010:18; Cajaiba-Santana, 2013). Despite the attractiveness of social innovation as a new field of academic research, there is a lack of consensus of definition and what constitutes social innovation. As such, social innovation being less understood than innovation in the fields of business, science, and technology and still in an infant stage of study in the field of entrepreneurship and still understudied (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007; Schmitt, 2014; Mulgan, 2006). Attempts to formulate a theory of social innovation cannot be separated from the writings of Joseph Schumpeter and his "theory of economic development", in which he introduced the concept of innovation (Howaldt, Kopp, & Schwarz, 2015). According to Schumpeter, economic and technological developments can improve the quality of life. These developments are part of what he terms creative destruction, a dynamic process in which innovational discoveries and new technologies "destroy" old ones (hence the name creative destruction) (Mazzucato & Wray, 2015:5; Schumpeter, 1994).

Innovation involves new technologies which are used for productive forces or productive means and are capable of producing new products, new qualities, or new markets. They are a way to realize new production factors, as well as a way to create new industrial organizations (Mazzucato & Wray, 2015; Howaldt, Kopp, & Schwarz, 2015). For Schumpeter, innovation is the product of outstanding entrepreneurs who cause structural changes in their societies and organizations (Howaldt, Kopp, & Schwarz, 2015:8). Innovation occurs during the course of seeking opportunities and new activities which can provide broader streams of income (Cantwell, 2002). From this above definition, it is clear that innovation is an improvement process in which existing things are transformed into better things or new things are created or invented.

Unlike other forms of innovations which used to address social problems, social innovation, however, can be used to tackle social problems together with distribution of financial and social value to the society (Phills Jr., Miller & Deiglmeier, 2008:39). They define social innovation as other innovation, thus it is also is a product and also a production process which can be in forms of a principle, an idea, legislation, a social movement, an intervention, or some combination of them.

Light (2008) argues that social entrepreneurship is a specific form of social innovation. To define innovation, he divides innovation into two: technical innovation and administrative innovation. According to him, technical innovation refers to ideas and actions in "what an agency does", whereas administrative innovation explains "how it does it". In its nature, social innovation is a combination of technical innovation and administrative innovation which is defined as actions of individuals or organizations, governments, nonprofits organization as well as businesses to tackle social problems.

Social innovation is understood as 'innovative activities and services" which produces "new ideas that meet unmet needs" and are undertaken to fulfill social needs (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007:4). A similar definition is used by Murray, Caulier-Grice, and Mulgan (2010:3), who understand social innovation as new ideas (be they in the form of products, services, or models) which are utilized to fulfill social needs and to create new linkages and social collaborations. Using this definition, social innovation can be seen as having a positive impact on capacity building in society.

In the literature, one idea which is often found in definitions of social innovation is "something new", such as new ideas, new strategies, new products, new methods, and new approaches, which are used either individually or non-individually to fulfill social needs and attain a social goal. Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, and Sanders (2007:8) identify social innovation as involving new ideas which are used to realize a social goal. They define social innovation as innovative activities and services which are employed to fulfill social needs, predominantly by organizations which are oriented predominantly towards social interests. According to Phills Jr., Miller and Deiglmeier (2008:36), social innovation can be understood as new solutions for social issues which are more efficient, effective, and sustainable than

previously existing solutions, and which create values that affect the entirety of society rather than utilize individual individuals. Here social innovation can be seen as a process for finding, gathering support for, and utilizing new solutions to fulfill social needs and overcome social issues. As in OECD (2010), social innovation is different from economic innovation. Economic innovation is defined as a way to get new production methods and market exploitation, being social innovation refers to the attempt to meet the needs that are not met by the market.

OECD (2010) provides a more comprehensive definition of social innovation as "a group of strategies, concepts, ideas and organizational patterns with a view to expand and strengthen the role of civil society in response to the diversity of social needs (education, culture, health)". This definition underlines important elements of social innovations including "new products and services", "new organizational structure" "new institutional forms", "new roles and new functions" and "new coordinating and governance mechanisms". Based on this definition, OECD addresses that social innovation is a means to solve social challenges; the social innovation itself encompasses science, technology, and research and innovation system governance (p.13-14).

The definition of OECD (2010), meanwhile, presents social innovation as traditional innovation in terms of 'value creation' by which ultimate goal is not only create economic value but also enhance social institution. Further, social innovation is important in realizing value creation because social innovation is new strategies, concepts, ideas and organizations that meet social needs of all kinds (p.16). More specifically, OECD (2010) defines social innovation as:

> "Social innovation seeks new answers to social problems by: identifying and delivering new services that improve the quality of life of individuals and communities; identifying and implementing new labour market integration processes, new competencies, new jobs, and new forms of participation, as diverse elements that each contribute to improving the position of individuals in the workforce. Social innovations can therefore be seen as dealing with the welfare of individuals and communities, both as consumers and producers. The elements of this welfare are linked with their quality of life and activity. Wherever social innovations appear, they always bring about new references or processes (p.20)."

In a different context, Groot and Dankbaar (2014) emphasize the use of social innovation to address social problems. According to them, social innovation is the discovery of new ideas in the form of products, services or models that can be used to promote the fulfillment of social needs, environmental protection and the creation of new social collaboration between individuals in society.

A different perspective is presented by Caulier-Grice, Davies, Patrick, and Norman (2012:18–21), who understand social innovation as the development of new concepts and strategies which can be used to create something previously inexistent to meet social, economic, and/or environmental goals and thus promote the development of individuals'/ groups' abilities. For them, the key characteristic of social innovation is "novelty". Social innovation need not be truly original or unique. Rather, it must only be new in several aspects. It may be new in and of itself, or may involve a new sector, a new area, or a new process "from idea to implementation" which transforms ideas into implemented practices such as financially sustainable services or initiatives. The goal of achieving social and environmental needs is explicit in social innovation's role in fulfilling social needs, which if left unfulfilled will cause social suffering. Also included is "effectiveness", with social innovations being more effective than previously existing solutions in promoting measureable improvements in quality, user satisfaction, adoption, expense reduction, prosperity and social cohesion. Social innovation can "enhance society's capacity to act", empowering its recipients by creating new roles, relations, and assets, developing abilities, and/or streamlining the use of assets and resources. Social innovation is a prelude to changes to social relations, particularly in governance, and increased participation from vulnerable, marginalized, and otherwise underrepresented social groups. In this understanding, social innovation involves the transformation of power relations and increase in recipients' socio political capacity and access to resources, which pushes recipients to better meet their own needs.

Based on the various definitions presented above, the author proposes a definition of social innovation which is also used in this paper, namely "innovative activities which can take the form of tools, methods, ideas, or strategies which are used by individuals or organizations, public or private, to fulfill social needs and/or to overcome social issues.

The Use of Social Innovation by Social Entrepreneurs in addressing Social Problems

Theory and empirical studies show that social entrepreneurs use social innovation in their business (see Cajaiba-Santana, 2014 among others)

As in OECD (2010), social entrepreneurs apply social innovation to an answer to many unresolved complex social problems and challenges in the society. Social innovation is needed because many social problems and challenges are failed to be addressed by using conventional approaches through market and bureaucratic mechanism and triggers various uncertainty within the society. Aside from the increased level of uncertainty in politics, the economy, and environmental development (Seelos & Mair, 2005), and the increasing variety of social needs, market failures also cause various social needs to go unfulfilled (Phillips, Lee, James, Ghobadian, & O'Regan, 2015). Market failures prevent certain social groups, particularly the poor, who do not have access to resources, from participating

and taking advantage of existing economic opportunities (Rauniyar & Kanbur, 2009). The failure of conventional methods, both those funded by public institutions and those funded by government institutions, in fulfilling society's needs, and these methods' negative effects on social life, means that social innovation must play a more important role in development than ever before (Hansson et al., (2014). As a process, social innovation is the application and also the implementation of new ideas and approaches to better fulfill social needs than possible with existing mechanisms. Mulgan (2006:154-155) pointed out that a process; although social innovations may be strangle at birth, it doesn't always happen easily, but it needs the right background conditions including propitious environment and organizational capacity. Various typologies of social innovations are used as an important basis for the field of social entrepreneurship (Dees, 1994; Caulier-Grice et al., 2012:12). The typologies are shown in the table below:

Types of social innovation	Examples
New products	Assistive technologies developed for people with disabilities (voice synthesizers)
New services	Mobile banking (MPesa in Kenya)
New processes	Peer-to-peer collaboration and crowdsourcing
New markets	Fair trade or time banking care
New platforms	New legal or regulatory frameworks or platforms for
New business models	Community interest companies Social franchising, or just in time models applied to social challenges

Source: Caulier-Grice et al., (2012:12)

More importantly, through various forms of social innovation, social entrepreneurs can produce innovative solutions to overcome society's most pressing social problems. As agents of change, social entrepreneurs make use of opportunities which others cannot. They also come up with new approaches and solutions to ensure social change and promote a better society (Warnock, 2013:18-19).

The question on how social innovations are used to address social problems can be framed the following views: *"social entrepreneurs are the agent (individuals or organizations) who attempt to achieve social values by using tools, ideas and new system (here, social innovation can be seen as process"*. **First**, one form of social innovations that can be used by social entrepreneurs are partnership (Nelson & Jenkins, 2006: 11). Light (2008:77) identifies three forms of partnerships: (1) cooperation is referred to the use of resources in supporting other agencies; contributing resources, promoting others and sharing information; (2) coordination as an organizing or combining resources activities to achieve mutual

goals and adjusting or combining existing programs, sharing resources, and producing projects collaboration; and (3) collaboration: the use of collective resources, undertaking responsibilities collectively, and creating new systems. Partnership has been able to accelerate learning and also build new competencies of partners. Through partnering, social entrepreneurs can reach low-income market (as initiated by Ashoka), improving global supply chain management and livelihood opportunities (for example SC Johnson and KickStart in Kenya), running social venture capital such as in Cisco system, harnessing technology in Nokia and mobilizing corporate competencies like implemented by Bank of America. From various experiences on social entrepreneurs' partnership, it is seen that partnership has created sustainable business together with the ability to generate income for non-profit activities. **Second**, social entrepreneurs use social innovation to undertake institutional change, or institutional context (Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2010). In their perspective, social entrepreneurs acts through institutionalisation by creating institutional environment that are needed to achieve social values. Such an institutionalization can take forms of new ways to reach aims, in particular new organizational forms, new regulations, and new lifestyles. This process then alters the direction of social change, solve problems and become new social practices or a routine (Schmitt, 2014:8).

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