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Social and Politic Department
 Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo

Editorial Address

Jl. Budi Utomo No.10 Siman Ponorogo Indonesia
 Email: aristo@umpo.ac.id
 Website: <http://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/aristo/index>

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Kata Pengantar

Assalamualaikum Warohmatullohiwabarokatuh

Perkembangan jurnal ilmiah saat ini telah memasuki era yang mempertemukan idealisme tata kelola jurnal yang baik melawan praktik komersialisasi jurnal, sehingga memberikan *challenge* terhadap pengelola untuk terus mempertahankan kualitas atau eksistensi dan juga keuantungan finansial dalam pengelolaan jurnal ilmiah.

Jurnal ARISTO (Sosial, Politik, Humaniora), merupakan salah jurnal ilmiah yang dikelola oleh Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo, saat ini Jurnal Aristo saat ini telah terakreditasi melalui SK-AKREDITASI NOMOR 164/E/KPT/2021, oleh karena itu ada beberapa hal yang kita upayakan supaya level dari jurnal ini terus meningkat dan menjadi lebih baik lagi, pada Volume 11 No 1 Januari 2023, kami menerima banyak sekali naskah, baik dari dalam negeri maupun dari luar negeri, dan kami mencoba mengembalikan proses editorial jurnal secara professional, supaya terbit tepat waktu dan bisa selalu menjaga kualitas, sehingga besar harapan kami, supaya Jurnal ARISTO kedepannya mampu mewedahi karya - karya terbaik penulis.

Editor In Chief

Yusuf Adam Hilman, S.IP, M.Si

An Analysis of Australia’s Foreign Policy through its Domestic Factors to Combat Child Sex Tourism in Project Childhood

Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri Australia melalui Faktor Domestiknya untuk memerangi *Child Sex Tourism* dalam *Project Childhood*



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Child Sex Tourism;</i> <i>Foreign Policy;</i> <i>Domestic Determinant;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT 2010 was the year Australia initiated and signed Project Childhood, a grant and partnership to protect children from sexual exploitation due to travel and tourism. Four countries in the Greater Mekong Sub-region, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, are in a sub-region where child sex tourism occurs a lot. The phenomenon of transnational borders will involve sending country as the country of traveling child sex offenders, and receiving country for victims coordinates to make serious law enforcement regarding this issue. In formulating foreign policy, domestic factors are one way of looking at why Australia provides funding, assistance, and initiate international cooperation to combat child sex tourism in GMS. Through this research, the authors will explain the domestic factors that influence Australia in initiating Project Childhood as its foreign policy, using domestic determinants as the level of analysis. Then, it will be divided into 3 sub-determinants, they are; highly stable, demonstrating an Australian responsibility for TCSO originating in the country. This is related to one of the demographic components that cause migration problems. Moderately stable, in relation to the domestic reforms that are actively being carried out in the context of enforcing the extraterritoriality. The last, unstable, the factor of public opinion which also has played an important role so that the government gives attention to this phenomenon.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Child Sex Tourism;</i> Kebijakan Luar Negeri; <i>Domestic Determinant;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK Tahun 2010 merupakan tahun saat Australia menginisiasi dan menandatangani <i>Project Childhood</i>, sebuah proyek bantuan dan kemitraan untuk melindungi anak-anak dari eksploitasi seksual akibat perjalanan dan pariwisata. Empat negara di <i>Greater Mekong Subregion</i>, yaitu Thailand, Kamboja, Laos, dan Vietnam adalah wilayah terbanyak terjadinya <i>child sex tourism</i>. Fenomena lintas batas negara akan mengikutsertakan <i>sending country</i> sebagai negara asal <i>travelling child sex offenders</i>, dan <i>receiving country</i> sebagai negara asal korban melakukan koordinasi untuk membuat serta melaksanakan penegakan hukum terkait isu ini. Dalam merumuskan kebijakan luar negeri, faktor domestik adalah salah satu cara untuk melihat mengapa Australia menyediakan dana, bantuan, dan menginisiasi kooperasi internasional untuk memerangi <i>child sex tourism</i> di GMS. Melalui penelitian ini, penulis akan menjelaskan faktor domestik yang memengaruhi Australia mencetuskan <i>Project Childhood</i> sebagai kebijakan luar negerinya, menggunakan <i>domestic determinant</i> sebagai level analisisnya. Kemudian, akan terbagi menjadi 3 <i>sub-determinant</i> yaitu; <i>highly stable</i>, menunjukkan sebuah pertanggungjawaban Australia atas TCSO yang berasal dari negaranya. Hal ini diyakini terkait salah satu komponen demografi yaitu timbulnya masalah migrasi. <i>Moderately stable</i>, berkenaan dengan reformasi kebijakan dalam negeri yang aktif dilakukan dalam rangka penegakan yurisdiksi ekstrateritorial. Terakhir,</p>

		faktor opini publik yang turut memainkan peran penting agar pemerintah memberikan perhatian akan fenomena ini.
Article History Send 15 th June 2022 Review 30 th June 2022 Accepted 11 th July 2022		Copyright ©2023 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya. 

Introduction

In 2010, Australia initiated and signed an aid and cooperation project aimed at Southeast Asian countries traversed by the Mekong River, namely the countries of the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) (Nicolls & Casey, 2013). Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia are countries that become the target of implementing this project. The project is called Project Childhood, whose main objective is to protect children from being vulnerable to sexual exploitation as a result of travel and tourism. The signing of this project in 2010 intends to be implemented in 2012 (Nicolls & Casey, 2013).

Travel and tourism is a way for the state and the private sector to experience accelerated economic growth, so it is not uncommon for this sector to be empowered by the state in such a way as to bring benefits in terms of state foreign exchange. Especially for them, the countries that are also the targets of Project Childhood are Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia. Since the last few decades, the increase in the number of tourists in GMS is in line with the economic growth of each GMS country (A, 2012). Of course, the government of each country welcomes the large number of arrivals, as well as the settlement of foreign tourists, especially in terms of tourism.

The significant impact of travel and tourism when viewed from the increase in the economy, is believed to make a positive contribution to receiving countries. Furthermore, the state will be quite open in terms of easy access for foreign tourists who want to travel in their country. In addition to access, the state also supports development and development of tourism potential in its territory to attract foreign tourists. However, at the same time as the economic benefits felt by the state and private, travel and tourism have in fact made a social issue begin to emerge among local communities (A, 2012). Local children are victims of this issue. Connectivity between child exploitation and tourism activities also arises which is also motivated by economic interests (Voelkel, 2017). The focus of this research is the sexual exploitation of children which can not only be found at the national level, but also at a wider scope, namely the transnational level (Mekinc & Music, 2015).

Child Sex Tourism (CST) arises because individuals from their country of origin, travel, and tourism to their destination countries are then involved in becoming actors in the sexual exploitation of local children of the destination country (A, 2012). Children from families who fall into the vulnerable category of being victims of this phenomenon are often commercialized to attract tourists' attention and the main aim is to increase the income of a tourism destination. When viewed from the legality, not one country that allows children to receive sexual exploitation.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2013) states that GMS is the dominant area for traveling sex offenders who want sex services for local children (UNODC, 2013). Technological developments are also a contributing factor to the ease of obtaining information and access to CST services. Unfortunately, the authorities often have difficulties in determining the exact number of victims of CST (George & Panko, 2011). A complex investigation process is required because of the involvement of both countries. In addition, particularly these cases are less concrete to prove. This is because the evidence is only from the victim's testimony. CST is not only found in big industries such as hotels and bars, but this phenomenon also makes it possible to interact with victims at home.

Ease of access to information technology is not only an advantage for the offender just. At least, a little hope to combat this issue is also realized due to the ease of access to information. The CST phenomenon then received the attention of the international community. Various forms of international conventions serve as output umbrellas for international corporations' efforts to deal with CST. UNICEF has begun to focus on the release of children trapped in the cycle of exploitation, and the formation of children End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) to campaign against the occurrence of CST in Asia (Davy, 2014).

Likewise, under international pressure, at least most of the receiving countries have taken steps to modernize the rule of law to protect children, but there are still many loopholes hinder the investigation process. The reality of the many obstacles in law enforcement by receiving countries shows that sending countries need to share responsibility for the offenders whose citizens trigger the CST demand (Koning & Wilsem, 2022). Child Wise, said that at the end of 2007, more than 250 thousand sexual tourism visits including CST were in Asia with many cases occurring in GMS. 13% of known offenders are Australian citizens (Davy, 2014).

In relation to its relationship with receiving countries, the responsibilities of sending countries can be carried out in various forms. Implementing extraterritorial jurisdiction is a means of expressing a country's diplomacy and foreign policy. More than thirty-two countries have enacted this to deal with prosecutions of perpetrators overseas in relation to CST cases. In addition, countries together with international organizations need to develop cooperation to issue new initiatives. Making agreements between sending and receiving countries, to the establishment of a special project that allows sending countries to provide special assistance related to funding or law to receiving countries for handling CST cases (Curley, Combating Child Sex Tourism in South-east Asia: Law Enforcement Cooperation and Civil Society Partnerships, 2014).

The increasingly trend of CSR cases seems worrying to have added to the urgency of Australia as a sending country to interfere in this issue. Australia through Australian Aid (AusAID) initiated a funding project of AUD \$7.5 million which will be distributed among two main pillars, namely prevention pillar and protection pillars. Through this project, the Australian government collaborated with UNODC and the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol) to join the protection pillar, and World Vision to join the prevention pillar (A, 2012).

Coinciding with the initiation of this project, in 2010, Australia has announced an amendment to the CST's domestic policy, make it stricter in law enforcement for perpetrators who origin from Australia (McNicol & Schloenhardt., 2012). Thus, even if a perpetrators commits a crime abroad, they will still go through the legal process in Australia. Mainly, considering the many incidents of CST in GMS by Australian offenders, it adds to author's concern to find out why Australia wanted a mechanism for cooperation in handling CST and providing funding assistance. Up to this point, it can be estimated, that domestic situation of a country might influence the direction of its foreign policy. There is a need for further studies related to this matter to find the reasons for the behavior of a country based on its domestic dynamics. Furthermore, the majority of previous studies have discussed how the efforts to handle CST, as a global phenomenon, by international organizations (UNODC, 2013). There are not many studies that explain how the sending country, as the country of origin of the perpetrators, is involved in handling CST in foreign policy, through the initiation of a cooperation project. In particular, to find out the dominant factors behind the reasons for these actions. Thus, this study aims to explain the domestic factors of Australia's foreign policy in combating CST in GMS through Project Childhood in 2010-2014. Foreign policy is a result of the state carrying out its foreign policy. Broadly speaking, foreign policy has similarities with domestic policy which is a structured arrangement in regulating state behavior, the difference is that this policy is related to the interaction of the state with parties outside the country by bringing certain domestic interests (Hudson, 2020). Domestic interests or what can be called the national interests of a country can then be reflected in its foreign policy.

Each country can have different directions in formulating its foreign policy. To study further, foreign policy formulation will be influenced by the underlying factors, namely the international and domestic determinants (Roberts, 2017). It is not enough just to look at the situation of the international system, the internal scope of a country is equally important.

Howard Lentner had classified it into 2 groups of determinants, foreign determinants and domestic determinants. This research focuses on how domestic determinants are shown by domestic situation support policy makers to formulate foreign policy. To explain further, domestic determinants are divided into 3 main points (Roberts, 2017).

(1) Highly Stable, shows the fixed components (will not change in a long period of time) in a country, such as geography (distance from the policy-making country to the policy destination country), climate, natural features, demographics of a country, availability of natural resources. (2) Moderately Stable, shows components that can change, usually in a matter of years because it follows the political situation of the government, such as: political culture, the leadership style of an official who is leading, the political process, as well as domestic policies. some foreign policies allow to be formed as a means of supporting the country's domestic policies based on a certain national interest. (3) Unstable is the most volatile of the previous factors. Uncertainty makes this determinant can appear suddenly in certain situations. This includes: the expression of the state's perception in the future, or an unintentional thing that appears to interrupt what has been previously determined. AS in many democratic countries, public opinion on an issue is the voice of the people which means that the government sometimes needs to provide facilities through the policies it formulates.

Method

This research was made with a descriptive type, derived from its characteristics of a phenomenon, then, used to describe the ongoing phenomenon (Nassaji, 2015). This research provides explanation about Australian foreign policy through its domestic factors in combating CST in GMS: Project Childhood 2010-2014. The authors are using Project Childhood as the case study to provide a limited focus on related phenomena. Therefore, the authors also could expect an incentive analysis process to draw accurate conclusions.

The research data was obtained by secondary data collection techniques, through information obtained from books, previous journal articles, reports from government agencies and Project Childhood, and media articles that have credibility. The authors obtained various forms of data from online search applications according to relevant keywords. However, the authors' criteria is sorted out the data based on its correlation to this research, such as how linear the purpose, in the same scope, technical format, and reviewed by accredited or trustworthy publishers. The validity of the data is also obtained from the official websites of governments and international organizations that issue official reports and articles. In addition, the journals that have been obtained from reliable online publishers such as the repository of a research

institute, Springer, Tandfonline, and Google Scholar, have gone through a review process from the author until they can be presented in a structured manner in this research.

Based on these data, the authors use qualitative data analysis techniques in order to become a comprehensive analysis (Hossain, 2011). Generally, this technique is used to describe the complexity of the relationship between research objectives. This research is suitable to be used qualitatively because it aims to understand behind Australia's behavior towards the countries in the GMS. Thus, the authors can draw accurate conclusions, in order to answer the problem that is right in this research.

Results and Discussion

Terminology of Child Sex Tourism

The emergence of CST problems was caused by requests from traveling offenders for commercial sex targeted at local children receiving countries. They are vulnerable to become victims of the recruitment of sex workers for traveling child sex offenders (TCSO). This problem also has an impact on the physical and psychological effects of children who should have the right to grow up in a safe and comfortable environment for education and self-development. The lack of protection in this regard has further resulted in children being trapped in a situation that is vulnerable to exploitation and abuse in the not-too-distant future (Holt & Massey, 2016).

At least, for more than 20 years, this issue has become a serious matter to be resolved. The perpetrators are generally foreign nationals who are enjoying vacations by traveling, traveling on business, or foreigners living temporary in receiving countries (Holt & Massey, 2016). This issue then afflicts local children with various factors, but what is commonly found is due to poverty. This is also exacerbated by the lack of education of children about the dangers of prostitution at their age. One of the GMS countries, Thailand, CST occurs a lot in rural areas where children hope on false promises to get jobs to help the family economy. The geographical location between GMS is also an advantage for travelers to easily mobilize between GMS countries (Curley, Exporting Harmful People, 2019).

In the book *Sexual Preference or Opportunity: An Examination of Situational Factors by Gender of Victims of Clergy Abuse* (2016) CST is divided into 2 categories (Holt & Massey, 2016). Most of those are the offenders are came from developed countries (Hawke & Raphael, 2016). First, the exploitation and sexual abuse of children by its preferential, usually called by pedophiles. They come deliberately to a tourist destination in the receiving country to look for local children who will be their targets. Preferential child sex offenders usually choose the local

children they meet to be taken to the inn by giving them a reward in the form of money or goods that the child wants (Holt & Massey, 2016). Next is what is done by the opportunistic sex offender. The perpetrators visit brothels or certain places to meet their targets. Often opportunistic sex offenders have a pretext to justify their activities because they are on vacation in another country. Exotic experience is an attraction for tourists to come, which has detrimental consequences for local children.

Since the last few decades, the increase in the number of CST cases has also attracted international attention. The complexity of the CST issue has prompted the formation of initiatives to address legal deficiencies in handling CST. The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which subsequently held various global conferences, especially to discuss the handling of child prostitution (Curley, *Exporting Harmful People*, 2019). This convention also facilitates a set of international legal norms in the context of state responsibility for the protection and welfare of children. In addition, this convention also expects the offenders to be held accountable for their actions abroad by prosecuting them (Kosuri, n.d.). CRC is almost universally ratified, from sending and receiving countries, such as Australia, Thailand, Philippines, etc. This also indicates that the state should have realized and needed to give serious attention to preventing and handling the CST phenomenon.

The continent of Asia is declared as an area where the most TCSO targets. Of course, it can be seen that local children in this area are very vulnerable to becoming victims. Especially in GMS, Thailand is one of the countries that is famous for the existence of the sex industry through tourism which is often associated with CST. Looking at its geographical location, the GMS country is in an area crossing the Mekong River, the proximity of the geographical distance indicates that access to mobilization between countries has also become difficult to limit, and is the cause of actors to simultaneously target the surrounding countries. Vietnam and Cambodia are countries experiencing increased attempts to enter offenders, as Thailand has begun to actively fight CST (Sofian, 2014).

Furthermore, Structural poverty, low education, and dysfunctional families are the main reasons for CST to occur in GMS, especially Vietnam. There are no exact data showing the number of children involved in CST, but child prostitution in Vietnam is common in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh, the most visited cities in Vietnam (Curley, 2014). CST is considered worrying because the bidding process can be done through the internet which can be accessed by children. In Cambodia, CST is caused by years of war, an increase in the number of tourists who expect low prices for CST, and weak law enforcement by the government compounded

by corrupt practices (Curley, 2014). Thailand, it is estimated that around 60,000 children under the age of 18 are involved in prostitution. The majority of children are forced to work as sex workers to fulfil the demand for child sex in recent times (Curley, 2014). Likewise in Laos, tourists and business people often ask school-age children and teenagers when ordering commercial sex services (Crispin & Thompstone, 2011). It is known that around 30% - 35% of prostitution that occurs in GMS affects those aged 12 to 17 years.

The state has an obligation to protect its citizens from all threats that come from within and outside the country. Law enforcement by the state is one of the things that needs to be highlighted to assess the extent to which the state fulfils its obligations after agreeing and even ratifying an international convention. Thailand, has a national action plan related to exploitation, anti-trafficking, and The Worst Forms of child labour as the implementation of the Optional Protocol on Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child pornography of CRC, for ratifying the CRC (Sofian, 2014). The Vietnamese government is considered to have a good legal basis for handling CST in line with the CRC (Finkel & Finkel, 2015). The Vietnamese government formed representatives from relevant institutions to plan and conduct periodic evaluations related to the prevention of child sexual exploitation, including CST (Sofian, 2014).

In Cambodia, the law focuses on punishing perpetrators, but focuses less on recovering victims. Until 2008 since the enactment of the Law on Combating Human Trafficking and Commercial Exploitation, at least the scope of authority of the officers was expanded. However, the biggest obstacle in handling CST in Cambodia actually comes from within the government, namely the rise of corruption cases, especially during the course of the investigation, which often changes the focus of the investigation (Davy, 2014). Laos, CST in Laos is actually still getting less public attention than in other GMS countries. But the government has imposed on foreigners who are found to have sex with Lao people without being married, at risk of being punished in Laos (Crispin & Thompstone, 2011).

Australia and GMS Countries in Project Childhood

Australia then initiated a relief and work project the same for countries in the GMS. Previously, the Australian Government was also one of the parties that actively provided funding assistance. Australia is the second largest donor country for development in every GMS member country. The aid has a total of \$344 million USD (Selvarajah, 2014). Similar to the assistance that Australia usually provides to GMS, through Project Childhood Australia provides funding of AUD \$7.5 million to carry out projects to combat CST. However, more than that, in this project Australia also invited several international organizations to lead the

existing work programs. Thus, Project Childhood can be categorized as one of Australia's foreign policies that does not only involve bilateral relations, but also multilaterally in order to combat CST in GMS.

Project Childhood has 2 pillars as the main implementers, namely: the prevention pillar coordinated by World Vision, and the protection pillar coordinated by UNODC, and Interpol (A, 2012) (1) Prevention Pillar, in general, World Vision cooperates with the government of GMS countries and the community to prevent local children from becoming victims of sexual exploitation due to tourism by increasing awareness and building community resilience (Rafferty, 2013). World Vision together with other member partners have developed and campaigned for Child Safe Tourism to more than 15 million global communities. Providing education, and empower more than 13,000 children and young people in the four targeted GMS countries about their rights as children who should receive protection from abuse, to know when they experience sexual abuse and what to do if they receive unpleasant actions from the tourists (Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2013). To more than 20,000 children and adults in Vietnam and Cambodia. This pillar provides peer-to-peer networks and edutainment to prevent sexual abuse against children. Provide discussion space for more than 8 thousand parents/representatives of the children. Provide training to more than 2.4 thousand people who work in the tourism sector because they are vulnerable to being facilitators. Establish partnerships with regional organizations such as ASEC (ASEAN Secretariat). Such as supporting local and national authorities regarding legislation and policies to reinforce security for vulnerable children, as well as supporting the protection pillar work program (Child Safe Tourism, 2014). (2) Protection Pillar, UNODC in cooperation with Interpol formed a new initiative in the four GMS countries to harmonize the framework and law enforcement in responding to TCSO in the GMS area. UNODC is tasked with providing technical assistance to strengthen the legal framework and enforcement of CST. Meanwhile, Interpol supports special law enforcement activities, and is the party that directly targets TCSOs in GMS through regional and international CST data collection (UNODC Office for Southeast Asia and the Pasific, 2012). Like any organization, Project Childhood has an organizational structure such as a technical director, program manager, national program officers, and staff and is complemented by the establishment of an office at GMS, all of which outline activities require approval from AusAID and the GMS country government. In the wider involvement of several relevant stakeholders, Project Childhood includes several local international law enforcement agencies, international tourism organizations, and United Nations (UN) agencies outside the region. All activities are under the supervision of AusAID, including the mechanism for

monitoring the distribution of aid funds from Australia in order to avoid corrupt practices of partner governments.

Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy Australian Government through Project Childhood

The Australian government is seen as quite ambitious in designing this project. A complex social problem that occurs in four countries is expected to be resolved in a short time and with a limited budget. In fact, this project also expects state institutional changes related to domestic and regional law enforcement on an issue. Efforts to combat CST are part of Australia's foreign policy, which is also a means to explore certain driving determinants for the Australian government to initiate this project.

Most scholars will see a factor behind foreign policy by looking at the international/foreign determinants. Domestic determinants are often seen as a secondary factor that comes after, like a level. However, this assumption underwent a change in perception in the post-Cold War era, namely that domestic determinants were considered equally important in contributing to the foreign policy-making process (Roberts, 2017). The dynamics of the situation that occurs in the country and its implications for the formulation of a foreign policy when associated with the existence of Project Childhood are as follows:

The responsibility of the state for problems arising from the migration of its citizens

One of several aspects of this determinant is demographics. Demography studies everything related to the population of a population, which in this case is of course the Australian community. Demographics are often associated with trends in the growth or decline of a country's population. However, what then becomes the focus here is basically population mobility. The population mobility in question is outside the country, namely migration (Kugler, 2016) Migration is one of the demographic components, which in practice, citizens can migrate for various reasons behind it. They can stay temporarily, for a period of years, or only visit according to the laws in force in the country of destination (Kugler, 2016)

As a tourist/foreigner, they can carry out various matters related to their needs, which should not commit violations, especially regarding human rights in their destination country. The problem arises that the ease of access to migration is misused by certain people. Migrating can make children in vulnerability (Down to Zero Alliance, 2018). If the matter is reported, further challenges related to law enforcement will also arise such as conducting an investigation

and in the process until the perpetrator gets the punishment he deserves. As is the case in Australia, in fact some TCSOs are identified with Australian citizenship.

Australia has since the last few decades faced operational challenges with all those responsible for CST law enforcement. This is because Australia has experienced an increase in the number of online reporting cases of child exploitation by Australian nationals (TCSO). However, Australia has difficulty tracking it, because cases of sexual exploitation of transnational children are not widely reported under the official law. Online reports show that TCSO is currently most prevalent in developing Southeast Asian countries (including GMS countries). Generally, TCSOs go for short visits, tours, investments, or those who plan to stay for a long time (Australian Federal Police, 2015).

The Australian Federal Police (AFP) is investigating and cooperating with local law enforcement agencies to identify and track local children who are in the grip of the facilitator's persecution. In relation to TCSO, Australia is a sending country, namely as a 'source' country, which means that more Australians travel abroad to commit sex offences on children (CST), than perpetrators from abroad who commit sex offenses in Australia (Australian Federal Police, 2015). Meanwhile, the receiving country is the destination country for Australians to commit sex offences, one of which is the GMS country.

In addition to fighting CST internationally, Australia has concern to combat CST, namely in this case caused by its citizens when traveling/migrating mainly in GMS. In general, if a foreign citizen commits a violation, then the country where the person commits the violation has the right to enforce the law on the foreign national. Likewise with the CST phenomenon, it is very possible for TCSO to be arrested, tried, and punished by law enforcers in the receiving country, or to be prosecuted in the sending country for committing violations in other countries (Sofian, 2014). In this case, Australia assesses that many countries, especially in Southeast Asia, still have not enforced the law properly even though they actually have legislation that regulates it. Problems related to population demography are then the basis for looking at the background of Australia's concern on Project Childhood.

Criminalization of Australian TCSOs in Extraterritorial Jurisdictions

Next, regarding the dynamics of Australia's domestic policy formulation on TCSO. In each of its reforms, the Australian government tries to look at a wider perspective and incriminate the perpetrators in order to create a deterrent effect (The Jakarta Post, 2017). Australian law says that the government criminalizes Australian citizen TCSOs, and facilitators

who engage and benefit from CST. Australia's criminalization of its citizens is the result of Australia's long journey of legal adjustment since the 1990s.

In late 1990, Australia ratified the CRC and proceeded to approve the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child pornography of the CRC which mandates the extraterritorial criminalization of the commercial sexual exploitation of children, of which the CST is a part (Australian Government, 2020). Of course, the Optional Protocol at this point can only be carried out in countries that have ratified it (Washington, 2018). So that in 1994, Australia became the third country to enforce extraterritorial jurisdiction, namely the Crimes Act 1914 to deal with TCSO. The Australian legislature then made this issue also a matter of state jurisdiction. At this time Australia was considered to be quick to respond, compared to other countries which only extended the CST to extraterritorial jurisdiction (McNicol & Schloenhardt., 2012).

In 2001, this rule was amended to become the Measures to Combat Serious and Organized Crime Act 2001. The amendments were made based on the criticism that this rule should also provide a mechanism for protecting victims or testimony against CST. Domestic debates regarding this legislation continued, until in 2006, the Court of Appeal decided that the violations committed by TCSO could be supported by international affairs (as stated in the Australian Constitution). Subsequently, the Australian Government introduced the Crimes Legislation Amendment (CST Offenses and related actions) to amend the CST violation law to be transferred to the Criminal Code however, coinciding with the federal election in the same year, it ended (McNicol & Schloenhardt., 2012).

In 2009, the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department discussed establishing a law substantially similar to the one in 2007. Finally, in 2010, the Crimes Legislation Amendment (CST Offenses and related actions) was reintroduced to the public. Through public consultation and available reports and data the Crimes Legislation Amendment (CST Offenses and related actions) was passed in early 2010. In April 2010, the Crimes Legislation Amendment Act 2010 received approval and endorsement by a representative of the Queen (under UK parliamentary law and so-called as Royal Assent) (McNicol & Schloenhardt., 2012). The regulation has the consequence for Australian TCSOs to be sentenced to up to 25 years in prison for individuals and fines of up to \$500,000 AUD for companies (Australian Government). Thus, through this legal framework, Australia is also making efforts to combat the CST phenomenon through the reduced TCSO number (Australian Federal Police, 2015).

Although this rule looks firm and visionary to practice, the success of enforcing the law depends on the willingness of the receiving country to determine to what extent they want to

do a corporation about their case. Australia's efforts to prosecute transnational crimes through extraterritorial jurisdiction lie at the intersection of international and domestic law (OHCHR). Thus, fighting CST is not limited to the power of the sending country over its extraterritorial jurisdiction, but it is necessary to expand the power of the receiving country while still taking into account the principle of its country's sovereignty (Ireland & Piper, 2010). As in the practice of monitoring TCSO, AFP, Australian law enforcement then has several Liaison Officers (LO) in several areas where many cases of CST violations by TCSO from Australia are found in GMS. Through LOs that are placed in each relevant country, the AFP is in partnership with relevant communities and NGOs (Australian Federal Police, 2015). This also shows that between Australia and GMS countries, cooperative bilateral relations have begun to develop to overcome the CST phenomenon. Thus, Project Childhood becomes a tool for the Australian government to support its extraterritorial jurisdiction.

Public opinion and Australian government's perception of CST

Liberal democrats believe that a foreign policy that considers democratic aspects will be more easily accepted by the public. Because at least, the public also plays a constructive role, so that objections to government policies will occur less frequently. The public in question can be from various parties, such as certain individuals/communities, advocacy activities of NGOs, the media, and all those involved in society in a certain scope. As the founder of a child protection organization, Bravehearts, has vocally in several local Australian media expressed his opposition to TCSO's behavior and said that they should have no place to hide (Mercer, 2010).

Furthermore, several parties in the Australian government have several times shown efforts to increase awareness both within the government itself and internationally (Koning, Public Perceptions of Child Sexual Exploitation Abroad: A Vignette Experiment on the Influence of Social Distance, 2021). Like the second deep reading of the Division 272 the Crimes Legislation Amendment Act 2010, The Australian Prime Minister who was serving at the time read out a speech that stated that reform through the law would ensure that Australian law would be enforced progressively in domestic and international practice (McNicol & Schloenhardt., 2012). Various advertisements in Australia's national newspapers also reported on the commitment of the Australian government to decisive efforts to combat CST that had been carried out, especially by its own citizens (Mercer, 2010)

Conclusion

As the result, we can conclude that the situation that occurs in the country can be a factor that plays a role in the formation of a country's foreign policy. Australia's policy in initiating Project Childhood has gone through various domestic dynamics to respond to an international issue/phenomenon. Domestic determinants are main of the ways used to categorize what are Australia's domestic factors in responding to CST in GMS. Highly Stable shows that Australia is responsible for the international phenomenon that is more or less caused by the Australian citizen TCSO. TCSO migration is part of the demographic problem with all the ease of access in the modern era. A country should be responsible to its citizen. That is a way to show the responsibility of government while its active role in international community.

Moderately Stable is showed by Australia's activities which have made several policy reforms. Extraterritorial jurisdiction is part of international law which for Australia is also a domestic policy aimed at regulating the behaviour of its citizens. Australia's efforts to enforce the law domestically must be supported with cooperation among receiving countries. As a global issue, Australia's extraterritoriality gives respect the receiving countries' sovereignty. Meanwhile, Unstable shows that previously, there has been a lot of public opinion on the issue of CST in Australia, and how the country's perception and commitment to responding to CST is shown in the dynamics of its policies. The authors believe, Australia has taken a precise action to combat CST, in handling the numbers of TCSO. Developed countries should play in a same role to decrease the number of TCSO in its country. Tourism could be a profitable way for the countries to get income or be known internationally. Tourism is not supposed to be a threatening area to the locals even to the children.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to express their gratitude to International Relations Department of UPN "*Veteran*" Jawa Timur who has already supported them to do this research.

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The Ability of Disaster-Resilient Village In Mitigating Landslides In Sirongge Village, Pandanarum Distrcet, Banjarnegara Regency In 2020



Kemampuan Desa Tangguh Bencana Dalam Mitigasi Bencana Tanah Longsor Di Desa Sirongge Kecamatan Pandanarum Kabupaten Banjarnegara Tahun 2020

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Disaster Mitigation;</i> <i>Lanslide;</i> <i>Disaster Resilience Village;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT This study aims to determine the extent to which disaster-resilient villages are capable of mitigating landslides based on Disaster Resilient Villages in Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District, Banjarnegara Regency, to mitigate landslides in the form of landslides. By using qualitative methods through interviews with four informants, namely the head of BPBD prevention in Banjarnegara Regency, the head of Sirongge Village, the Sirongge Village government and the Sirongge Disaster Resilient Village administrator, this research was carried out for one year, researchers found that landslide disaster mitigation activities in Sirongge Village were running well in 2020, especially in non-structural mitigation, these activities are carried out in collaboration between the village government, Disaster Resilient Village volunteers, and the community through coordination from the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD, the community also plays an active role in carrying out mutual activities. cooperation, because it is through the disaster-resilient village program, Sirongge Village is able to face and reduce the risk of landslides, the suggestions in this study include, The village government continues to look for new innovations as a means of mitigating landslides in Sirongge Village, the community needs to develop raise awareness of the Disaster Resilient Village program In Sirongge Village, the village government provides information boards in the form of posters on landslide disaster mitigation procedures.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Mitigasi Bencana;</i> <i>Tanah Longsor;</i> <i>Desa Tangguh bencana;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui sejauhmana kemampuan desa tangguh bencana dalam melakukan mitigasi bencana tanah longsor berbasis Desa Tangguh Bencana di Desa Sirongge, Kecamatan Pandanarum, Kabupaten Banjarnegara, melakukan mitigasi berupa tanah longsor. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui wawancara kepada empat informan yaitu kepada kasi pencegahan BPBD Kabupaten Banjarnegara, kepala Desa Sirongge, pemerintah Desa Sirongge dan pengurus Desa Tangguh Bencana sirongge, penelitian ini dilakukan selama satu tahun, peneliti menemukan bahwa kegiatan mitigasi bencana tanah longsor di Desa Sirongge berjalan dengan baik pada tahun 2020, terutama pada mitigasi non struktural, kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut dilaksanakan dengan kerjasama antara pemerintah desa, relawan Desa Tangguh Bencana, dan masyarakat melalui koordinasi dari BPBD Kabupaten Banjarnegara, masyarakat juga berperan aktif dalam melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan yang bersifat gotong-royong, karena hal tersebut melalui program desa tangguh bencana Desa Sirongge mampu menghadapi serta mengurangi resiko bencana tanah longsor, saran dalam penelitian ini meliputi, Pemerintah desa terus mencari inovasi baru sebagai sarana mitigasi bencana tanah longsor Desa Sirongge, masyarakat perlu meningkatkan kesadaran akan</p>

		adanya program Desa Tangguh Bencana Di Desa Sirongge, pemerintah Desa memberikan papan pemberian informasi berupa poster tata cara mitigasi bencana tanah longsor.
Article History Send 5 th February 2022 Review 21 th April 2022 Accepted 22 th July 2022		Copyright ©2023 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya. 

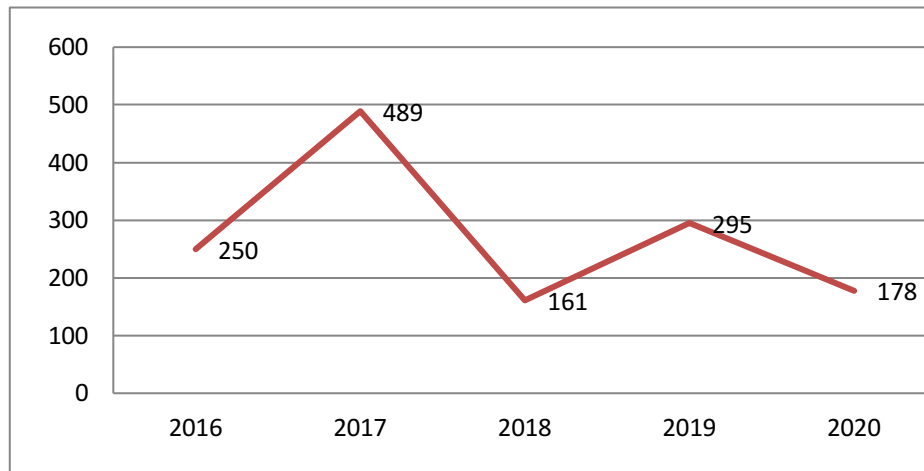
Introduction

This study is to find out how to mitigate natural disasters in the form of landslides in the form of the Disaster Resilient Village policy which was implemented in Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District. According to Law Number 24 of 2007, a disaster is an event or series of events that threaten and disrupt the lives and livelihoods of the community caused, both by natural factors and/or non-natural factors as well as human factors, resulting in human casualties, environmental damage, loss of property, and psychological impacts of disasters occur because of threats and vulnerabilities without the capacity of the community to cope with them.

According to BNPB Law No. 24 of 2007 explains that disaster management planning includes, assessment and identification of disaster threats, understanding of community vulnerability, analysis of possible disaster impacts, choices of disaster risk reduction actions, determination of disaster preparedness and mitigation mechanisms and allocation of authorities, tasks and resources. which exists. Meanwhile, according to the Regulation of the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency (Perka BNPB) Number 11 of 2014 concerning community participation in disaster management, which emphasizes the importance of community participation in the implementation of the disaster management system, starting from the pre-disaster stage, emergency response, initial and post-disaster recovery. -disasters, which can be carried out independently or in collaboration, and prioritize the main impact of disaster risk reduction.

The National Disaster Management Agency stated that Central Java province was the province most affected by natural disasters from 2016 to 2020, reaching 3693 disaster cases, the second was in East Java province with 2319 disasters, the third in Aceh province with 776 disaster events and the last is in the province of South Sulawesi as many as 498 disaster events. The National Disaster Management Agency also stated that Central Java is an area that has the potential for disasters to occur (BPS Central Java Province, 2021). It was recorded that from 2016 to 2020 there were 1,373 landslide events based on the table below:

Graph 1. Landslide Disaster Event Central Java Province 2016-2020



Source: National Agency for Disaster Management, 2021.

The data above shows that Central Java as a whole has a low to moderately high level of landslide potential. The most vulnerable district is Banjarnegara because the area is dominated by sloping to slightly steep slopes and has Latosol and Inceptisol soil types that are prone to soil erosion. Based on a study conducted by the head of BPBD Banjarnegara Regency 2019, Banjarnegara has 266 villages and 12 urban villages, there are 199 villages which are landslide-prone areas and there have been 163 cases of landslides in 2019. (Zain & Banyumas contributors, 2019). Based on the problems that have been raised, the purpose of this study is to determine the level of vulnerability to landslides in Banjarnegara Regency.

Knowledge of disasters is very much needed by the community, various information about types of disasters that may threaten the community, symptoms of disasters, recommended places to evacuate, and other information will greatly help the community in dealing with future disasters and can reduce the number of disaster victims. . Some of the main factors causing the emergence of many victims due to disasters are the lack of public knowledge about disasters and the lack of community preparedness in anticipating these disasters.

The researcher provides a summary of the results of previous studies related to the Disaster Resilient Village that disaster mitigation is divided into two aspects, namely the physical aspect in the form of mitigation of natural and structural conditions then the social aspect in the form of increasing community resources. (Nursa'ban, 2015). Disaster mitigation programs are implemented by villages or sub-districts so that the community is ready to face disasters (Noza et al., 2017). The concept of preparedness is carried out by examining village

capacities and capabilities (Comfort et al., 2010). The village government also needs to analyze the threat of disasters in their area (Buchari et al., 2017).

Disaster mitigation education is very important for public education (Suhardjo, 2015). One way to do this is to form a disaster-resilient community as a real form of community-based disaster mitigation (Maryani, 2016). After there is disaster education, the community is given participation to manage disaster mitigation activities independently (Twigg & Steiner, 2013). The most important thing in empowering the community is that equality and the aspirations of the community can be accommodated (Suhardjo, 2015).

For example, landslide mitigation activities in the Disaster Resilient Village need to analyze the season and rainfall (Susanti et al., 2017). There is also another analysis in the form of mapping that can be done using digital as a form of collaboration between technology and disaster (Chen & Huang, 2012). There are 2 aspects that determine landslide susceptibility, namely: natural aspects and management aspects. Natural aspects include: cumulative daily rainfall, consecutive days, land slope, geology, presence of faults or faults, soil depth to impermeable structures; on the other hand, from the management aspect, among others: land use, infrastructure, settlement density (Santoso et al., 2018).

Law No. 24 of 2007 Mitigation is an effort that is tried to reduce the impact of disasters, through the development of forms and increases as well as awareness of the ability to experience the threat of disaster to residents. With the existence of this law, a policy was issued by the adrift party as a new hope for better disaster management and can reduce losses caused by natural disasters (Herpita Wahyuni, 2021). Mitigation efforts can be carried out in non-structural forms, such as avoiding disaster areas by using ways to avoid disaster locations which can be identified through spatial and regional planning and by empowering residents and local governments (Putra & Podo, 2017).

Mitigation is defined as actions taken before a disaster occurs with the aim of reducing or eliminating disaster risks to residents and the environment. Mitigation is a step taken independently of an emergency situation (Puri & Khaerani Thalita Rifda, 2017). Mitigation is a series of efforts to reduce disaster risk, both through structural mitigation and non-structural mitigation in the form of awareness and capacity building to face disaster threats (Habibullah, 2013). Due to the low level of people's understanding of disaster mitigation, improvements need to be made such as conducting introductions and training on natural disasters, improving the environment and roads that function as evacuation routes, rehearsals for evacuation, making disaster-prone maps, installing cheap and simple early warning system tools and relocation (Nusantoro, 2020). North Dakota State University produces research and journals

on disasters, citing the role of technology in predicting and visualizing forensic engineering. In the development of disaster risk reduction, supporting technology is needed. This technology has a strategic role in making it easier for officers and the public to identify signs of a disaster. Prediction of the possibility of a disaster can be done through a tool called the Early Warning System (EWS).(Sulistiyani et al., 2017).

Disaster mitigation must be carried out properly because of the large number of losses caused. Law No. 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management describes that mitigation means an effort to reduce disaster risk both through physical and social efforts that include the people's ability to deal with natural disasters.(Sari et al., 2020). Currently the implementation of disaster management is more focused on the pre-disaster stage than the emergency response stage(Hardy et al., 2020). Disaster risk reduction concepts and practices of reducing disaster risk through systematic efforts to analyze and manage the factors that cause disasters. And this includes through reducing exposure to hazards, reducing the vulnerability of people and property, managing land and the environment wisely, and increasing preparedness for adverse incidents.(Friska et al., 2021). The skills and knowledge needed to occupy certain positions must be possessed by human resources. Skills and knowledge can be obtained from Education and Training. The use of the term education and training in an institution or organization which is better known as Education and Training (education and training)(Kristia & Mulyana, 2019).

A disaster-resilient village is an event for forming villagers to be more independent in dealing with disasters that hit the village, this event is carried out in villages that are claimed to be vulnerable to disasters.(Muhamad, 2020). A disaster-resilient village based on Perka BNPB NO.1 of 2012 is a village or sub-district that has the ability to organize people's resources to reduce vulnerability and increase capacity to reduce disaster risk and have the ability to be independent to deal with potential disaster threats.(Sinaga, 2019).

Disaster Resilient Village is a village or sub-district that has the independent ability to adapt and deal with potential disaster threats. The village or kelurahan must also be able to recover quickly from the various impacts of disasters(HB Ginting, 2020). For this reason, it is necessary to create a disaster-resilient village that has the capability in disaster management, it is necessary to develop adequate institutional capacity.(AH Ginting, 2020). Based on the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 81 of 2015 concerning Evaluation of Village and District Development. In terms of disaster response, villages must pay attention to village contingency planning, disaster risk maps, community-centred early warning systems, and evacuation infrastructure. In fact, village community empowerment, village development, and village community development are an inseparable

part of village governance. The success of implementing community development in the village cannot be separated from the role of the village government in its ability to empower community and community development to reduce disaster risk (Mahbubah et al., 2021). The establishment of a Disaster-Resilient Village is an effort to respond to the Government's response to various external challenges faced by the community in the village, especially in dealing with natural disasters experienced. (Ariyanti et al., 2021).

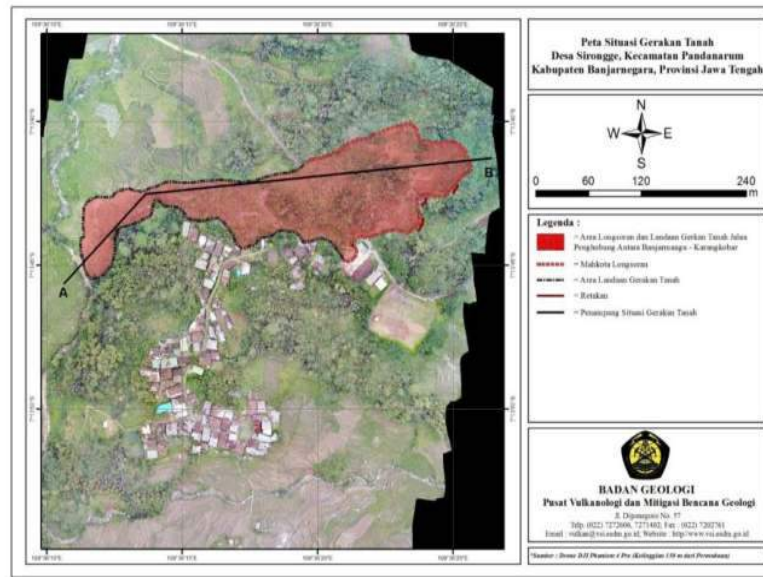
Organizing a disaster-resilient village event requires the energy of a facilitator to be a companion to the people during the activity process. In addition, involving the local district/city government, being the overall activity manager from the beginning to the end of the formation and commitment to replicate Destana in other villages/kelurahan. Provincial and Regency/Municipal Disaster Management Agency can make disaster-resilient village residents and facilitators become regional assets in disaster risk reduction efforts in their area. (National & Pillars, nd). Disaster-resilient villages have several main principles, including inclusion, taking sides with vulnerable groups, as well as justice and gender equality, where these 3 principles emphasize the importance of participation of all elements of society. This means that the entire community, including disaster-prone groups, will be involved in disaster management and disaster risk reduction in the village (Alifa & Wibowo, 2015).

The Disaster Resilient Village Event (Destana) is carried out using people's empowerment accompanied by technical assistance from the government through non-structural mitigation activities and structural mitigation. is, in parallel, it is necessary to strengthen the capacity of the community and strengthen the capacity of the environment by optimizing local wisdom so that the people have independence in dealing with disasters at the village level. (Hijri et al., 2020).

According to previous studies, disaster mitigation must be considered and carried out perfectly in order to minimize risk and must be carried out effectively, efficiently and actively so that people know and understand what preparations must be made when a disaster occurs, especially Sirongge Village which has a landslide risk. Therefore, this study would like to focus on efforts to explore and analyze the role at the kelurahan level from Destana as a social unit for disaster risk reduction in the local village/kelurahan in collaboration between the village government and the community.

In this case, the researcher chose a location in Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District, because this location is included in an area that is categorized as very vulnerable based on the geological map of Sirongge Village because Sirongge Village is a village located on a steep

slope and there are 2 points of land movement locations located in the middle of the hill. The following is a map of the ground motion in Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District:



Picture 1. Land Movement Map of Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District
Source: Research Documentation, 2021

Based on the BPBD of Banjarnegara Regency, at this time a Disaster Resilient Village is formed in Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District through the Regional Revenue Budget (APBD). Pandanarum sub-district, especially in Sirongge Village. Sirongge Village is the first village in the establishment of DESTANA in Banjarnegara. So that it can be said to be a pioneer in the formation of DESTANA (BANJARNEGARA DINKOMINFO, 2018), and has carried out a series of structured efforts such as, reporting to the Regional Government, Local Apparatus or Banjarnegara BPBD when soil cracks or ground movement occur, installing an Early Warning System (EWS), and conducting socialization on landslide disaster mitigation carried out in collaboration between the Banjarnegara BPBD with the Sirongge Village apparatus, especially with the Sirongge Village DESTANA party in dealing with landslides.

The urgency of this research is to identify in dealing with problems that arise as a result of the landslide disaster in Sirongge Village by using non-structural theory, namely in the form of spatial management and training to increase community capacity, through knowledge and attitudes of emergency planning and resource mobilization. In this study, landslide disaster mitigation efforts are not only the responsibility of the government or BPBD but a shared responsibility, therefore the government cooperates with DESTANA (Disaster Resilient Village) in carrying out disaster mitigation in Sirongge Village.

Method

The research method used is a qualitative method which is a research method that describes all research data in descriptive form to explain the results of the research. (Alhamdi at., al, 2020). Data collection techniques in this study were carried out through interviews to find out more deeply about the problems to be studied through information from customers (Alhamdiet., al 2020). The resource selection technique in this study refers to Sugiyono's theory, namely Purposive Sampling is a sampling method by determining characteristics that are in accordance with the objectives, for example the person is considered to know best about what information we need, so that the determination of informants who really master the information and are trusted to be a source of data (Sugiyono, 2012). The sample technique in this study uses purposive sampling. The resource person is the volunteer administrator of the Disaster Resilient Village. Then don't forget the target of this program is the community, the research sample is the village head who bridges the aspirations of the community.

This research was conducted in Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District, Banjarnegara Regency, this location was chosen as the object of research because Sirongge Village has a DESTANA-based mitigation method in collaboration with BPBD to overcome the problem of landslide disaster mitigation, not only relying on the government but also using local wisdom such as mutual assistance. royang with the community in mitigating landslide disasters.

The resource person who will be addressed is Junaedi as the head of BPBD prevention in Banjarnegara Regency because the field of prevention is more aware of things related to the field of natural disaster prevention such as disaster mitigation. Warno as the head of Sirongge Village who served as an advisor, village government administrator, implementer of development and community empowerment. Mardianto as the village secretary is a figure who understands the implementation of activities. Subur and Dirto as administrators of DESTANA volunteers in Sirongge Village who are the figures who understand the most about the implementation of disaster risk reduction and landslide mitigation in Sirongge Village, and use secondary data in the form of previous research and supporting data from primary data in the form of documentation in the form of photographs. photos obtained from the field.

- 1) The provision of information is a form of education for understanding public disaster through intermediary media.
- 2) Socialization, a form of direct public understanding of disaster.
- 3) Disaster Simulation and Training, related to disaster simulation or advanced activities from providing information to understanding the community which is applied in the form of disaster practice.

Results and Discussion

Sirongge Village is a village located in Pandanarum District, Banjarnegara Regency which is an area prone to landslides and moving land, the location with the potential for landslides is in Sawangan hamlet and the others are small landslides. According to the Head of Sirongge Village, that in Sirongge Village there are frequent ground movements that result in subsidence, Sirongge Village has a history of potential landslides with the type of crawling, soil movement which is influenced by soil slope, soil texture and rainfall. Based on the results of an interview with Ir. Junaedi, the head of the Banjarnegara district BPBD prevention section said that in Sirongge Village a Disaster Resilient Village was formed in 2018, to overcome or minimize the risk of landslides. During 2020, Sirongge Village carried out activities aimed at mitigating landslides based on disaster-resilient villages which included:

A. Providing information

1) Providing information using signs

There are various media that can be used as a solution in conveying information about the importance of education on landslide disaster preparedness actions to the community. One of them is poster media in which there are color images and short writing so that it is easier to understand.

While in Sirongge Village there was no poster as a reference, but there were only signs for evacuation routes for gathering points and evacuations, therefore it was necessary to improve further regarding the provision of information using posters, it is hoped that the community would understand better and understand how to mitigate landslide disasters. because there are no posters, the community must understand what to do when a disaster occurs, which is given when there is an association of citizens in which there are matters related to disaster mitigation.



Picture 2. Evacuation Route Sign
Source: Research Documentation, 2021

In Sirongge Village there are eight sign points including six evacuation route signs, one gathering point sign and refugee shelter signs, based on these signs, it is hoped that the people of Sirongge Village can comply with and carry out disaster mitigation in accordance with the signs that have been provided. These findings were also conveyed by volunteers. Sirongge Village Disaster Resilient Village:

Based on the results of interviews obtained from volunteer members of the Disaster Resilient Village. In Sirongge Village, there are eight evacuation route signs located in landslide-prone locations, namely in Sawangan Hamlet, the signs are evacuation routes, gathering point signs and evacuation shelter signs near SD Negeri 2 Desa. Sirongge.

In this case, the researcher concludes that the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD has carried out the tasks that must be carried out in mitigation efforts in landslide-prone areas in Sirongge Village in the form of installing evacuation route signs.

2) Village Conference

Providing information directly by conducting village meetings is also part of disaster mitigation, which must be carried out before mitigation efforts are carried out with the intention of being an early notification to the local community, so that misunderstandings do not occur due to the absence of communication. The Village Deliberation is the core of the Village idea which shows the results of the participation of a shared understanding to achieve common goals, the village meeting is attended by the village government, disaster Tangguh village volunteers and the Sirongge Village community.



Picture 3. Village Conference
Source: Sirongge Village Archives, 2020.

The material provided is about checking locations that are prone to moving soil, actively cleaning rivers and burying soil cracks, village deliberations are carried out in the context of public education which aims to increase public insight and understanding about

landslide disaster mitigation and can be carried out on various occasions both in official forums involving elements of the government and other related parties as well as in informal forums such as community associations. The purpose of village deliberations is to explain to the community as the target group of policies regarding the content of policies, village deliberations are carried out when the community submits reports on land movements to the village or destana, and the village government directly holds village deliberations to carry out mitigation executions in the field.

The following is the flow of providing information directly through development planning deliberation based on the results of interviews and then processed by researchers as follows:

Chart 1.Flow of Enforcement of Village Deliberation Results



Source: Processed by researchers, 2021

a. Village government

The Village Government conducts village deliberations based on instructions from the Village Head consisting of Village officials, DESTANA volunteers, RT and RW heads, village communities. The village government in the musrenbang conveys information from the district to the village in the form of mitigation directions that must be carried out and follow-up actions in the event of a landslide.

Not only that, the village and the village have a WhatsApp group containing village volunteer members and village officials which are used as a tool to communicate and discuss disaster and disaster mitigation.



Picture 4. Disaster Resilient Village Whatsapp Group
Source: Sirongge Village Archives, 2020.

In this case, the researcher found that the Sirongge Village government had used social media in conducting deliberations aimed at mitigating landslides, the WhatsApp group consisted of several village officials, Destana volunteer personnel, coordination related to disaster information was conveyed by the Destana volunteer management to village officials. and village personnel, which will then be reported to the community, so that the community understands what to do when a ground movement occurs, namely by burying cracked soil at vulnerable points.

b. DESTANA Volunteers

Disaster Resilient Village Volunteers in Sirongge Village participate in village meetings to manage the information provided by the village government by forming a mitigation strategy. Here Destana volunteers function as policy makers and field officers related to implemented mitigation or disaster management based on information from the village government. can't all be active because some of the members are nomads and here they complement each other.

This was also explained by the secretary of Sirongge Village, DESTANA Sirongge Village volunteers include village officials and community members who are willing to take part in education and training on disaster with BPBD Banjarnegara Regency, their function is to make the village strong and independent in dealing with disasters

and tasked with assisting the people of Sirongge Village. in order to be able to carry out mitigation properly and correctly so that in 2020 the community carries out landslide disaster mitigation activities appropriately.

c. Public

The community has a role to provide feedback on the situation on the ground as a policy reference material and has a role in participating in implementing mitigation policies so that all elements in Sirongge Village understand their respective roles and functions. There are findings based on interviews from the head of Sirongge Village, according to him, the community plays an active role in disaster mitigation, especially those that are mutual cooperation. This was also confirmed by the secretary of Sirongge Village that when the community received direction from the village government through village meetings in terms of disaster mitigation, the community would carry out such activities as construction of irrigation canals, rehearsals for waterways, and burial of soil cracks caused by soil movement, so that the movement of land that caused landslides in Sirongge Village in 2020 was reduced.

B. Socialization

Socialization needs to be carried out in landslide disaster mitigation activities so that people know the dangers of landslides and the delivery must be done repeatedly and carried out directly in certain villages which are prone to landslides. The success of socialization is influenced by several factors, ideally socialization What is done to the community should be done by providing adequate, accurate, and fair information. In addition to these factors, discretion is a factor that supports the success of socialization. Discretion is the flexibility of the village government and DESTANA to make decisions on matters related to socialization in accordance with the situation and conditions in the field. Socialization must be done flexibly.



Picture 5. Direct Socialization with the Community

Source: Sirongge Village Archives, 2020

In this case, socialization in disaster mitigation is very important so that people understand about the dangers of landslides and the actions that must be taken to prevent and minimize the impact of landslides. The researcher found that the village government conveyed socialization about the threats and signs of landslides as well as an independent simulation of handling landslides. There were interesting findings related to the socialization of landslide disaster mitigation delivered by the management of the Disaster Resilient Village Volunteers in Sirongge Village, the socialization of disaster in Sirongge Village was carried out on the sidelines of the village development planning deliberation.

Dissemination of disaster mitigation in Sirongge Village was pioneered by the village government which was then coordinated by DESTANA, so that DESTANA provided information to village heads and RT/RW so that disaster mitigation socialization was formed. DESTANA personnel, the hamlet head of Sirongge Village and the community. The socialization materials carried out in Sirongge Village are as follows:

1) Landslide Socialization

Landslide socialization was carried out so that the community had an understanding of landslide disasters, the material in this socialization included an explanation of what landslides were, which explained that landslides are disasters that can cause several risks if the handling is not done properly, what risks can be caused as a result landslides that explain the dangers that occur due to landslides such as damage to residential buildings, damage to facilities and infrastructure, environmental damage and casualties. The speakers in this socialization were the village head, Sirongge Village Government and DESTANA volunteers from Sirongge Village. The speakers in this socialization were

the village head, Sirongge Village Government and DESTANA Sirongge Village volunteers.

Date	Activity	Presenter	Participant
15 february 2020	Provide material about landslides and landslide hazards	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village Head, Village Government, Public
	Provide materials related to landslides and provide reports when landslides occur	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village Head, Village Government, Public
	Provide materials related to disasters, disaster mitigation efforts	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village Head, Village Government, Public

Table 1. Table of Landslide Disaster Socialization Activities in Sirongge Village
Source: Interview results of DESTANA volunteers in Sirongge Village

Not only that, there were findings submitted by the head of Sirongge Village which stated that the biggest landslide in Sirongge Village occurred in 2018 in Sawangan Hamlet which resulted in the interruption of the highway 232 people were displaced. The incident is expected to be a lesson for the people of Sirongge Village regarding the dangers of landslides, this socialization was carried out during village meetings. pioneered by the village government, the speaker in this socialization is the village head, so that the community is aware of the importance of mitigating landslides.

2) Disaster Resilient Village Sustainability Socialization

Socialization of the sustainability of the Disaster Resilient Village was carried out so that the community knew and understood what a Disaster Resilient Village was, explained about DESTANA, DESTANA is a policy made by BPBD as a means to deal with disasters, especially landslides, DESTANA volunteers, which are teams or members formed by BPBD through special training related to disaster and the function of DESTANA, explaining about Sirongge Village as a Disaster Resilient Village that must be able to be independent in dealing with landslide disasters, carried out when village meetings and participants attend through invitations from the village, held once a year. This socialization was carried out because the community did not really understand what a Disaster Resilient Village was, and what a DESTANA volunteer was.

Even though the DESTANA volunteer team is a team whose members were formed by BPBD with volunteers to help the village regarding all disaster-related efforts, the speakers in this socialization were filled by the Sirongge Village Government and Sirongge Village DESTANA Volunteers, this is because the community is not fully able to attend.

Date	Activity	presenter	Participant
Sunday, February 16, 2020	Providing materials related to disasters	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village Head, Village Government, Public
	Provide materials related to disasters and related to Disaster Resilient Villages as well as the duties and functions of DESTANA volunteers	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village Head, Village Government Public

Table 2. Table of Socialization Activities for Disaster Resilient Village Sustainability in Sirongge Village

Source: Interview Results of Disaster Resilient Village Volunteers in Sirongge Village

There are findings based on interviews with DESTANA volunteers from Sirongge Village which stated that the establishment of DESTANA was carried out by means of EDUCATION and Training conducted by BPBD, the organizational structure of DESTANA volunteers was structured including a soup kitchen team, evacuation, trauma healing.

The organizational structure of DESTANA volunteers in Sirongge Village has their respective roles and functions, namely the soup kitchen team functions as a regulator and maker of consumption that will be given to refugees when a landslide occurs, the evacuation team functions as a team that regulates the evacuation of disaster victims, and a trauma healing team which acts as a provider of information to disaster victims so that there is no panic or shock when post-land disaster occurs.

3) Mitigation Strategy Outreach

The socialization of landslide mitigation strategies in Sirongge Village is carried out so that the community knows and understands what activities must be carried out before a disaster occurs and when there are signs of a landslide disaster, this socialization is carried out during village meetings and the material is filled by the Government Sirongge Village and Members of the DESTANA volunteers from Sirongge Village.

Date	Activity	Presenter	Participant
Sunday, February 16, 2020	Provide materials related to disaster mitigation	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village head, Government Village, Community
	Provide material related to what will be done in disaster mitigation	BPBD Banjarnegara, Destana Volunteers	Village head, Government Village, Community

Table 3. Distribution of Activities and Participants in the Dissemination of Mitigation Strategies in Sirongge Village

ource: Interview Results of Disaster Resilient Village volunteers in Sirongge Village

In this socialization, it provides an explanation about finding the location of moving land in Sirongge Village, about field surveys related to soil cracks that must be buried as mitigation efforts, checking and maintaining the early warning system (EWS) tool, as well as being active in cleaning rivers with the Government. Sirongge Village, Pandanarum District Government, DESTANA volunteers and the community as an effort to mitigate landslides, so that in 2020 people understand what must be done in an effort to mitigate landslides.

C. Simulation and Training

1) Evacuation Simulation

The Sirongge Village evacuation simulation was carried out by village volunteers together with the community with guidance from the Banjarnegara BPBD to find out real conditions on the ground when a disaster occurred, know what to do when rescued yourself and function to reduce panic. There are findings related to the simulation based on the results of interviews by DESTANA volunteers in Sirongge Village, according to him. Evacuation simulations in Sirongge Village were carried out by carrying out the practice of evacuating fatalities and evacuating the most important items to be brought when a landslide occurred.

This was also confirmed by the Sirongge Village government. Evacuation simulations were carried out by bringing items that were really needed, in which direction to evacuate according to the signs provided and doing conditioning at the gathering point. Banjarnegara Regency, so that people only follow the instructions given and usually the evacuation site is in the safest area in the area, there is one refuge in

Sirongge Village, namely in the Sawangan hamlet adjacent to SD Negeri 2 Sirongge, Pandanarum District.

2) Training

a. Training related to basic disaster materials

This training was carried out by BPBD Banjarnegara with DESTANA volunteers totaling 30 volunteers from Sirongge Village. These volunteers received direct training by BPBD which was attended by the Social Service, TNI, POLRI and the Indonesian Red Cross.

No	Activity	Participant
1	Providing materials related to disasters from pre-disaster to post-disaster	Sirongge Village Government, DESTANA Volunteers, Sirongge Village Community
2	Providing materials related to the evacuation of landslide victims	Sirongge Village Government, DESTANA Volunteers, Sirongge Village Community

Table 4. Distribution of Activities and Participants of the Basic Disaster Materials Training

Source: Interview Results of DESTANA Volunteers in Sirongge Village

The training function is related to basic disaster materials so that DESTANA volunteers understand landslide disaster mitigation efforts, then provide training to the community in the form of knowledge regarding what a landslide disaster is, the potential that can make land prone to landslides, how to mitigate it, education related to evacuation signs and what actions should be taken in the event of a landslide. With this training, Sirongge Village will be able to be independent in dealing with problems that will occur when a disaster occurs. There were findings regarding training related to basic disaster materials obtained from interviews with DESTANA volunteers in Sirongge Village which stated that disaster training was carried out by the village government with DESTANA volunteers and monitored by the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD, In this case, the implementation of training in Sirongge Village can be said to be quite independent in carrying out training activities because it can share village funds for landslide disaster mitigation efforts, although it does not come entirely from village funds because it gets funds from the district, this training is carried out based on coordination between the village

government and the government Banjarnegara Regency, so that in 2020 thanks to the training, the community will understand what mitigation must be done.

b. Material training related to early warning system (EWS)

The implementation of the second training is related to the early warning system (EWS) tool, which is related to what an early warning system (EWS) tool is, how to know if a disaster will occur by using the tool and how to act when the siren sounds. Early Warning System (EWS) was installed to minimize disaster risk. If there is a ground movement that has passed the specified safe limit, this tool will automatically sound. This early warning from the EWS will alert the public to immediately move and save themselves. So it is hoped that if a landslide occurs the area will be sterile and there will be no casualties. This was also confirmed by the Sirongge Village secretary that, when a siren sounded on the early warning system tool, the Sirongge Village Government or DESTANA volunteers would immediately report the incident to the Banjarnegara BPBD, so that the Banjarnegara BPBD would go directly to Sirongge Village.

D. Landslide disaster mitigation capability in Sirongge Village

Researchers analyzed the ability of landslide disaster mitigation in Sirongge Village using the design concept of Disaster Risk Reduction (Mudzakir, 2018). By calculating the risk of disaster through the calculation of the threat (hazard), vulnerability (vulnerability), capacity (capacity) and risk (risk) of an area so as to know the risk of disaster. Landslides are natural disasters that can occur at any time in Sirongge Village (hazard), then the steepness of the slopes, rainfall, land slope in Sirongge Village, vulnerability (vulnerability). Capacity includes DESTANA volunteers, evacuation route signs, early warning system (EWS) tools. As well as risk, potential environmental damage, land damage, house damage, road damage in Sirongge Village.

The Sirongge Village Government stated that high rainfall can cause soil shifts, resulting in soil cracks that can lead to landslides, to minimize the occurrence of landslides, the Sirongge Village government, DESTANA Volunteers carry out landslide disaster mitigation in the form of checking locations prone to motion. , stockpiling of soil cracks and burial of irrigation canals as an effort to mitigate landslides.



Picture 6. Ground Movement Location Check

Source: Sirongge Village Archives, 2021

In this case the check is carried out by DESTANA volunteers accompanied by the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD. Checking the location of the movable land is carried out to determine if the ground movement can be said to be vulnerable, resulting in cracks that have the potential to cause landslides. Researchers found findings that the Sirongge Village government, DESTANA volunteers, and the community worked together to build irrigation canals, clean irrigation canals, repair soil cracks by filling them up, this was done in accordance with the policy of the Village government and mutual agreement between the Village Government, Tangguh Village Volunteers Disasters and the Sirongge Village Community. Monitoring, early warning and information dissemination are carried out by installing EWS in locations that are detected to have a high landslide susceptibility, there are 3 points of EWS installation locations in Sirongge Village, namely two in Sawangan hamlet and one in Gumelar hamlet.



Picture 7. Checking and Maintenance of Early Warning System (EWS) tools by BPBD Banjarnegara and Disaster Resilient Village Volunteers Sirongge Village

Source: Village Archives, 2021

The maintenance and checking of the Early Warning System (EWS) tool itself aims to prevent technical problems with the EWS equipment, such as shorting the device which

causes the siren to sound even though there is no ground movement, according to the Sirongge Village Disaster Resilient Volunteer, who stated that problems with the EWS tool are usually caused by small animals in the form of ants and people who are in the fields who accidentally touch the sensors on the tool. This activity is carried out based on coordination between the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD and Disaster Resilient Village Volunteers, here the Disaster Resilient Village Volunteers report to the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD if there is a problem with the tool so that BPBD goes directly to Sirongge Village to check. For the next activity, namely activities carried out in Sirongge Village in 2020, which are in the form of disaster socialization and training. The socialization is given with the aim of providing understanding to the community regarding disasters in order to minimize the risk of landslides, while disaster training is provided with the aim that the community must take appropriate actions to reduce the risk of landslides.

Conclusion

Based on the results of research on the ability of disaster-resilient villages in mitigating landslides in Sirongge Village, Sirongge Village has been able to be independent in dealing with landslide disasters, this can be seen from the absence of major landslides in 2020 but only in the form of soil movements and small landslides, landslide disasters. The biggest event in Sirongge Village occurred in 2018, based on the results of interviews from several sources, Sirongge Disaster Resilient Village has carried out landslide disaster mitigation efforts based on the direction of the Banjarnegara BPBD. Based on three non-structural mitigation indicators, namely providing information using three ways, namely providing information using eight signposts and village consultations carried out based on instructions from the village head, further socialization which includes landslide socialization material, socialization of the sustainability of Disaster Resilient Village and socialization material on mitigation strategies, and simulations and training in which there are several activities, namely evacuation simulations, training related to basic disaster materials and training related to the early warning system. by the disaster-resilient village Sirongge Sirongge Village, but there are still people who do not understand about DESTANA volunteers and the functions of the Disaster Resilient Village Program. The disaster-resilient village program in Sirongge Village itself is going well thanks to the collaboration between the Banjarnegara Regency BPBD, Sirongge Village Government, DESTANA volunteers and all elements of the Sirongge Village community, they coordinate with each other to carry out disaster mitigation.

Acknowledgement

Thank you to the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and all stakeholders who have supported this reseaech

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Policy Implementation of the Joint Community Movement Program to Overcome Dense Slums and Poor Areas in Tangerang Regency

Implementasi Kebijakan Program Gerakan Bersama Masyarakat Atasi Kawasan Padat Kumuh Dan Miskin Di Kabupaten Tangerang



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Implementation;</i> <i>Policy;</i> <i>Slums;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT The purpose of this study is to find out how the implementation of the GEBRAK PAKUMIS Program policy in Tangerang Regency. The theory used in this study is the Merillee S. Grindle theory which states that the implementation of a policy is determined by the degree of implementation ability of the policy. This study uses descriptive qualitative methods with data collection techniques: documents, observations, and interviews with program implementers and beneficiary communities. The results showed that the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program policy in Tangerang Regency showed that the community was more active in planning, and they could find out how to build a slum area. From the Content of Policy, there are problems in terms of resources, namely the lack of sufficient builder who has certification and the budget issued is still not sufficient. In terms of the Context of Policy or the policy environment, there are no significant problems and all have supported the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program policy.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Implementasi;</i> <i>Kebijakan;</i> <i>Wilayah Kumuh;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK Tujuan dari penelitian ini yaitu untuk mengetahui bagaimana implementasi kebijakan Program GEBRAK PAKUMIS di Kabupaten Tangerang. Adapun teori yang digunakan di dalam penelitian ini adalah menggunakan teori Merillee S. Grindle yang menyebutkan bahwa implementasi kebijakan ditentukan oleh derajat <i>implementability</i> dari kebijakan tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan teknik pengumpulan data: dokumen, observasi dan wawancara kepada para pelaksana program dan masyarakat penerima manfaat. Hasil penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa sebuah implementasi kebijakan program Gebrak Pakumis di Kabupaten Tangerang menunjukkan dimana masyarakat lebih aktif dalam hal perencanaan, dan mereka bisa mengetahui bagaimana membangun sebuah kawasan kumuh. Dari <i>Content of Policy</i> terdapat masalah dalam hal sumberdaya yaitu kurang mencukupinya tukang bangunan yang memiliki sertifikasi dan anggaran yang dikeluarkan juga masih belum mencukupi. Dari sisi <i>Context of Policy</i> atau lingkungan kebijakan tidak ada masalah yang cukup berarti dan semua sudah mendukung dalam pelaksanaan kebijakan program Gebrak Pakumis.</p>
<p>Article History Send 26th November 2021 Review 25th February 2022 Accepted 25th July 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 <i>Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora)</i> This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p> 

Introduction

The central government is considered unable to accommodate all the needs and requirements contained in the regional autonomy law (Wijayanti, 2017). Problems that are often happened in the areas most have one thing in common they place uninhabitable and slum settlements. The development process in Tangerang Regency, as in other urban areas in Indonesia, is strongly influenced by population (human) growth due to urbanization, especially migrants who eventually settle down (Eka, 2016). The problem of settlements is serious because it is feared that it will cause pockets of fatal poverty and then lead to the birth of various social problems beyond the control or ability of the city and district governments to handle and supervise these problems (Ilhami, 2021). Settlements do require special requirements so as not to become slum settlements, one of which is in handling settlements, the local community also works together to protect the environment so that it is not slum (Muta'ali & Nugroho, 2016).

Based on Law Number 1 of 2011 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas, it is stated that the state has a goal to realize order and provide legal certainty for all stakeholders, in this case, the administration of housing and residential areas is left to the government and local governments who have the responsibility as facilitator (Suryani, 2012). The explanation of slum settlements in Law Number 1 of 2011 Article 1 paragraph 13 is settlements that are not suitable for habitation due to irregularity of buildings, high levels of building density, and quality of buildings and facilities and infrastructure that do not meet the requirements. The character of the population who lives in slums is mostly part of a group of people with low income or less economy with a backward level of education, resulting in knowledge about healthy settlements that tend to be far from expectations. Housing and settlements have a very important role in the lives of Indonesian people considering the problem that often occurs is the level of housing needs that are not in accordance with the ability of the region to provide decent housing. The existence of slum settlements in general in an area is the result of a shift in the use of land and buildings in the area (Wardhana, 2019).

Studies on slum settlements generally cover three aspects, firstly the physical condition, secondly the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the communities living in the settlements, and thirdly the impact of these two conditions. The physical conditions can be seen from the very tight building conditions with low construction quality, unpatterned road network and poor pavement conditions, poor general sanitation and drainage channels, and poor waste management. While the socio-economic conditions of the people who live in slum areas include low-income levels, loose social norms, and a culture of poverty that characterizes their lives, which, among other things, appear from apathetic attitudes and behavior. These conditions often

also result in poor health conditions, sources of pollution, and deviant behavior, which have an impact on the life of the city as a whole. Therefore, slum areas are considered a city problem that must be addressed immediately (Wahyu, 2016).

Including the Tangerang Regency area, slum areas are also an interesting development problem to pay attention to. This problem will have a bad social impact if it is not handled properly. This condition encourages the Tangerang district government to make this issue a priority policy agenda. The Tangerang District government provides a budget of Rp. 20 billion in the 2020 APBD for a house renovation program with 1000 residences in 22 sub-districts and 36 villages, including the Joint People's Movement to Overcome Congested, Slum, and Poor Areas (Gerakan Bersama Rakyat Atasi Kawasan Padat, Kumuh dan Miskin – GEBRAK PAKUMIS) (Joniansyah, 2019).

This program is organized to deal with all problems in slum areas such as uninhabitable houses, and poor and inadequate infrastructure, and facilities which cause an impact on the lack of environmental health problems. So far, only 22 residential areas have been completed. Through this program, community empowerment can run. The empowerment approach used in the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program is considered the most appropriate approach, from a community development perspective (Setyati & Utomo, 2015).

The management of the Gebrak Pakumis program is budgeted from the Tangerang Regency Regional Budget, the allocation given is 15 million rupiahs per house which will be disbursed in the form of building materials. Based on Perbup Tangerang number 18 of 2017 Article 6, the Tangerang Regency Government already has criteria for selecting home renovation assistance (Perbup No 18, 2017). In Article 1 the Tangerang Regency Government gives the responsibility for planning the Gebrak Pakumis program to Bappeda and technical implementation to the Department of Housing, Settlements and Cemeteries. Then Perkim through the Technical Team will appoint an Activity Management Unit (Unit Pengelolaan Kegiatan-UPK) or Community Self-Sufficiency Agency (Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat-BKM) and a Facilitator Team for each sub-district as a unit that will assist the administrative process (Rusidah, 2020).

In the implementation of the GEBRAK PAKUMIS program polfromince 2011 until now, there have been positive impacts that have been directly felt by the people of Tangerang Regency. However, from the results of data and research with actors involved directly or indirectly, then the processed data can be illustrated in the following table:

Table 1. Data on Target Budget and Realization of the Gebrak Pakumis Program

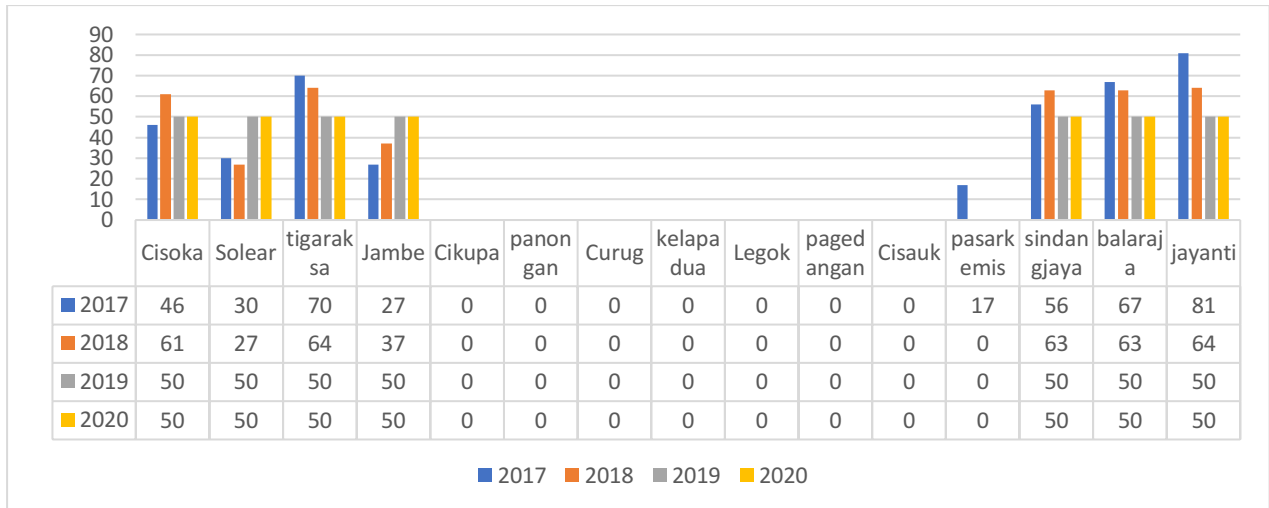
Years	Budget	Target	Realization
2017	Rp.14,300,000,000	1000 Unit	867 unit
2018	Rp.14,300,000,000	1000 Unit	890 unit
2019	Rp.19,000,000,000	1.044 Unit	916 unit
Amount	Rp.47,600,000,000	3.044 Unit	2.682 unit

Source: (Ilhami, 2021)

Based on the data above, it is explained that the Gebrak Pakumis program is very helpful for the community in overcoming slum areas in the Tangerang Regency area. The implementation of this program was previously carried out by the Regional Development Planning Agency (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah-BAPPEDA), but since 2017 the authority has been handed over to the Housing and Settlement Service (Perumahan dan Permukiman-Perkim). BAPPEDA itself has succeeded in building and rehabilitating 6,694 houses from 2012-2018 with a total budget of Rp. 88 billion or Rp. 1.2 Billion per year. The number of houses that have been repaired reached 22,992 units. Previously this program referred to the Regent's Regulation (Perbub) No. 42 of 2016 which at that time only focused on the physical, and has now changed to Perbub No. 63 of 2019. Below is data on the location of Uninhabitable Houses (Rumah RTLH) that have been built from 2017-2020.

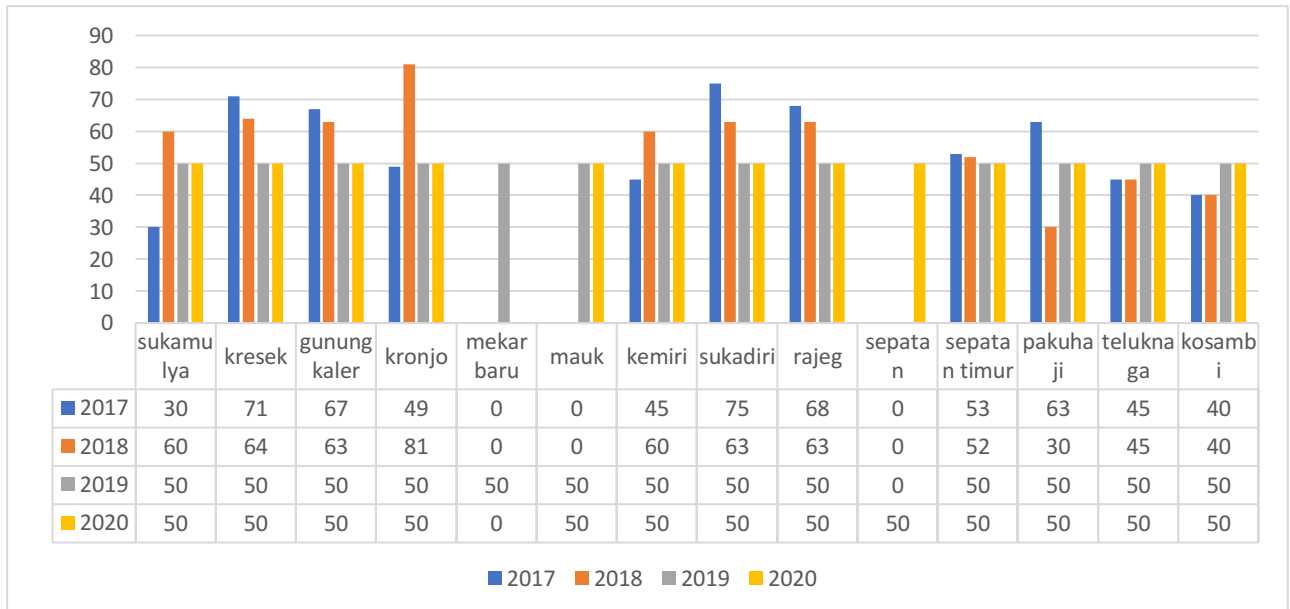
Based on the data above, it is explained that the running of the Gebrak Pakumis program is very helpful for the community in overcoming slums in the Tangerang Regency area. The implementation of this program was previously carried out by the Regional Development Planning Agency (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah-BAPPEDA), but since 2017 the authority has been handed over to the Housing and Settlements (Perkim) office. BAPPEDA itself has succeeded in building and rehabilitating 6,694 houses from 2012-2018 with a total budget of Rp. 88 Billion or Rp. 1.2 Billion per year. The number of houses that have been repaired reaches 22,992 units. Previously, this program referred to Regent Regulation (Perbub) No. 42 of 2016 which at that time only focused on the physical, and now it has changed to Perbub No. 63 of 2019. Below is data on the location of Uninhabitable Houses (RTLH) that have been built from 2017-2020.

Table 2. Uninhabitable Houses 2017-2020



Source: Dinas Perkim Kabupaten Tangerang 2020

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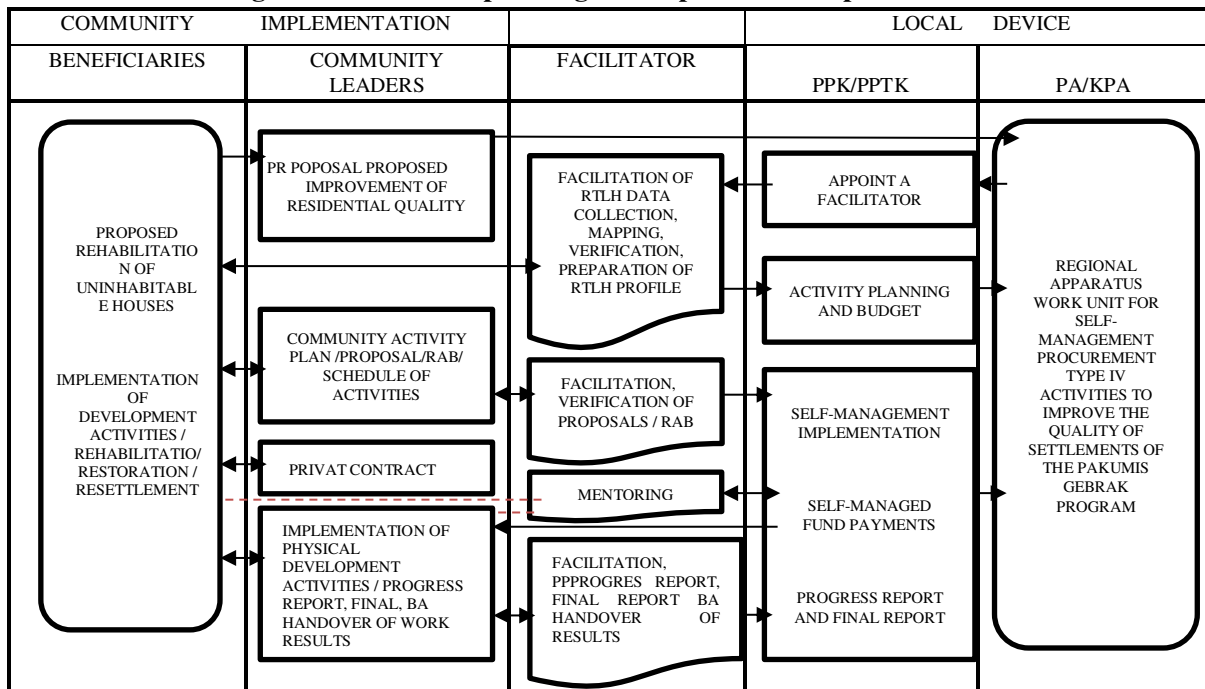
In choosing the target beneficiaries, the government has set the criteria, namely: the physical house that is still made of bamboo cubicles, the roof of the house is already in a badly damaged condition, the floor is still from the ground, not disputed land or state-owned land. The focus of the slum study includes three main aspects, namely (i) physical condition based on: very tight condition of residential buildings with very low construction quality, (ii) unplated and non-hardened network roads, (iii) sanitation and general drainage are not functioning, (iii) sanitation and waste management have not been handled properly. In addition, the social, economic, and cultural conditions of the people living on the site are assessed based on: (i) a fairly low-income level, (ii) loose social norms, (iii) a culture of poverty that colors people's

lives as seen from attitudes and behaviors that tend to be apathetic. This condition has a relationship with poor health conditions, sources of pollution, sources of diseases spread, and deviant behavior, as well as their impact on the life of society as a whole. In particular, the urban environment creates a very heterogeneous environment of socioeconomic and environmental conditions that can affect the transmission of diseases, depending on human water storage and wastewater management (Batara Surya, Syafri, 2020).

The Gebrak Pakumis program aims to improve the quality of slum housing and slums and improve socio-economic quality in a coordinated and sustainable manner, in line with the regional apparatus (PD) and related stakeholders through a participatory and collaborative approach. This program also aims to encourage the realization of livable housing and settlements and improve the economy of local communities (*Perbup 63 tentang pedoman pelaksanaan program Gebrak Pakumis*, 2019). The purpose of government administration is not only to achieve goals effectively and efficientl, but also to aim to provide good servicbyith the interests of the community (Syafi, 2013).

The following is an explanation of the flow of the planning process and implementation of the Uninhabitable House Rehab Stimulant Assistance (Bantuan Stimulan Rehab Rumah Tidak Layak Huni -BSR2TLH) Gebrak Pakumis Program in Tangerang Regency.

Figure 1. BSR2TLH planning and implementation process flow



Source: (Dinas Perkim Kab Tangerang, 2020)

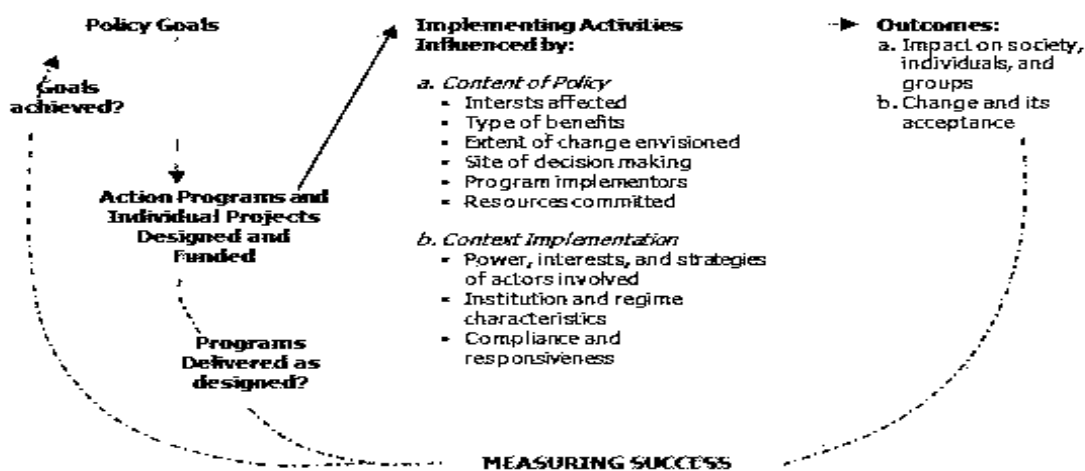
Based on the picture above, it can be explained that the Gebrak Pakumis Program has the following stages of implementation: preparation, implementation, supervision, and

reporting. This research focuses on seeing the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program at the implementation or implementation stage. The location of this study is in Sepatan Timur district and sukadiri district. This research discusses how the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program policy in empowering its community, especially in the sub-districts mentioned above (Ruth Roseline, 2019).

In the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program itself, several technical and non-technical obstacles occur. One of them is that the facilitator team does not get paid for the implementation of this program. In addition, it is less realized than the target being run. From this study, it is explained that the implementation of the program has not been fully successful and there are still some obstacles to its implementation. Previously, there had been researching on core searching empowerment through the Gebrak Pakumis program the in Balaraja district. This research looks more at workshop activities and assistance to the community regarding the socialization of the preparation and planning of thitselfam it self (Sukendar, 2019). Furthermore, it is research that looks at the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program policy in regional develop the ent in Tithe garaksa district. The research is more about how the construction of slum houses and the problems that hinder the process of implementing the program (Nurcahyo, 2018). The authors found a similar study that had been made, in a study entitled Implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis Program and social environmental empowerment in Rajeg district. The study explained what are the inhibiting and supporting factors, as well as their positive impact (Ramaezha, 2021). But the study did not show complete data.

In this study, the author conducted a different study that has not been carried out by previous researchers, where the context of the research location was chosen in the sub-districts of Selatann Timur and Sukadiri. In addition, researchers use a theory from Merillee S. Grindle which explains the performance of policy implementation can be seen from its content and context. According to Grindle, the success of public policy implementation can be measured by the process of achieving outcomes (achieving or not the goals to be achieved) (Imam, 2019). The success of a public policy implementation according to Grindle is also largely determined by the level of implementability consisting of the content of the policy and policy environment (*Context of Policy*) (Grindle, 2017).

Figure 3. Policy Implementation Process as an Administrative and Political Process



Model Merilee S. Grindle

Implementation activities are determined by the content of the policy (Content of Policy) and the policy environment (Context of Policy). Indicators of the content of the policy include the interests that affect it, the type of benefit, the degree of change to be achieved, the location of decision making, the implementation of the program, and the resources used. Of the Interests affected by the policy, It concerns the extent to which the interests of the target group are contained in the content of the policy (Trisnanti, 2016). These interests are closely related to various interests that influence a policy implementation. Indicators of these interests have the opinion that the impimplementation a policy inevitably involves many interests, as well as the degree of influence that such interests bring to its implementation (Agustino, 2020).

Furthermore, the type of benefit, in the content of the policy, the policy benefit seeks to show and explain that in a policy it is mandatory to have several types of benefits that contain and produce a positive impact by the implementation of the policy to be implemented. After that the degree of change is desired, the extent of the desired change from the existence of a policy. The degree of change to be achieved explains how much change is intended or wants to be achieved through the implementation of a policy and must have a clear scale (Trisnanti, 2016).

Then in the place of decision making. Whether a program is located is right or not. The decision-making process in a policy plays a crucial role in the implementation process of a policy, therefore it must be explained in this study where the decision-making of a policy will be implemented (Suaib, 2016). Finally, the content of the policy, namely the implementation of the program, in implementing a policy or program must be supported by the existence of policy implementers who have competence for the success of a policy. Finally, the resources involved,

whether a program is supported using adequate resources. The implementation of a policy must also be supported by adequate resources with the aim that its implementation can run well (Imam, 2019).

Meanwhile, the policy context represents the environment in which a policy process includes implementation. Indicators of the policy environment include the strength, interests, and strategies of the actors involved, the characteristics of the institutions and regimes in power, the level of compliance, and the presence of responses from the implementers (Pratiwi, 2018). In his explanation, how much power, interests and strategies of the actors involved in an implementation of a policy. In a policy, it is necessary to take into account the power or power, interests, and strategies used by the actors involved to smooth the implementation of an implementation (Trisnanti, 2016). From the strengths, interests, and strategies of the actors involved, it also takes the characteristics of the ruling institutions and regimes where a policy is implemented and influenc on thees success of a policy. And the last thing in the policy environment is the level of compliance and the response from the implementer. In this case, the response from the implementers is one of the important aspects in the process of implementing a policy to what extent is the compliance and response of the implementer in responding to a policy (Wahab, 2012).

Implementation requires attention to the interests of actors involved in policies and structured relationships. Implementation often requires consensus building, conflict management, and bargaining power among stakeholders located in different corners of the policy environment: members of budget committees and oversight in the legislature; formal and informal policy advisers to political leaders; affected organizations and interest groups; political officials in charge of implementing bodies; bureaucrats in various agencies; and beneficiaries both the strong and the helpless. The complex bargaining process required for implementation can result in "adaptation, modification, negotiation, replacement" or even undermining policy objectives (Reich, 2019).

Public policy implementation is one of the activities in the public policy process that determines whether a policy is in contact with the public interest and is acceptable to the public (Aneta, 2010). The implementation of the policy does not only concern the behavior of administrative institutions responsible for implementing the program but also concerns the participation of the community, political, economic, and social forces with various parties. The implementation of policies that are carried out on target and effectively will be able to solve a problem properly, the more complex the policy problem and the more in-depth the analysis used, the more theoretical and capital are needed that can explain the accuracy of the

implementation of the policy. The implementation of the policy does not only concern the behavior of administrative institutions responsible for implementing the program, but also concerns the participation of the community, political, economic and social forces with various parties. The implementation of policies that are carried out on target and effectively will be able to solve a problem properly, the more complex the policy problem and the more in-depth the analysis used, the more theoretical and capital are needed that are able to ensure the accuracy of the implementation of the policy.

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Implementation is also evidence of whether the government has the right response in helping the interests of the community. Meanwhile, policy evaluation is the final stage of the policy process. In this process, it can be seen how a policy implementation runs, the shortcomings, advantages, and results of the policy being implemented whether it has positive or negative benefits. Evaluation is also a benchmark for the next policies that will be taken by the government or implementers (Permatasari, 2020). Implementation is the implementation of basic policy decisions, usually incorporated in an organization but can also be an executive order or a court decision. Ideally, the decision identifies the problem to be addressed, sets the goals to be achieved, and in various ways structures the implementation process (Hill, 2014).

Friedrich in (Widodo, 2017) defines policy as "an action that leads to a goal proposed by a person, group, or government in a particular environment in connection with the presence of certain obstacles while looking for opportunities to achieve the goal to realize the desired goal". While Jones in (Tahir, 2014) states that "policy is a fixed decision characterized by consistency and repetition of the behavior of those who make and from those who abide by the

decision.". Lester and Steward (Winarno, 2012) stated that broadly the implementation of the policy has the meaning of implementing a law in which various organizations, procedures, actors, and techniques work together to carry out policies into achieve program objectives. Policy implementation is a series of activities carried out to the policy objectives that have been previously set. Through implementation activities, it is known that efforts are made to related parties to optimize the achievement of policy objectives (Aprina Y, 2020).

Method

From this method, the results of the study are displayed in a descriptive qualitative method. The researcher is an instrument of the research itself, and data collection techniques are carried out by triangulation, and data analysis is inductive. The reported results give more emphasis to the meaning of the conclusions that are generalizing in nature. The subjects of this study are communities within the administrative area of Tangerang Regency, especially those in Slums settlement areas.



Picture 2. Data collection techniques

First, the document review uses references from previous studies to be used as the starting material for this writing. The point is that researchers use documents related to the Gebrak Pakumis program. The documents used are from the law on slums and Gebrak Pakumis, from these documents the researchers looked at what are the influencing factors in the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program policy.

Furthermore, the author uses the direct observation method to find facts in the field. The instrument used by the researcher is the observation of passive participation where in this case the researcher is not directly involved in the activities carried out by the object of study. Observations were made during the process of implementing the Gebrak Pakumis program itself to see concretely how the process flow is and matters related to the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program itself.

The last step is an interview, the researcher conducts interviews with parties who can help to convey information about the Gebrak Pakumis program. These parties are informants who can convey a clearer understanding of this research, namely from the facilitator team, the technical team, and the beneficiary community. After the data collection is carried out, the researcher conducts data analysis. According to Miles and Huberman in (Sugiyono, 2016). Data analysis in qualitative methodology consists of four processes of activity:



Picture 3. Data Analysis

Data collection in this study intends that all data and information obtained from interviews and observations with the Perkim service and the implementation team are sorted and then compiled into different types depending on the source of information through 3 key informants and supporting informants. researchers conducted in-depth interviews on the Implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis Policy and were supported by direct observations of the Tangerang Regency area. The key informants of external parties at the central level are the Head of the PParkService and the Secretary of the Service, in addition to the presence of the chief executive and the technical team responsible for the Gebrak Pakumis program. The beneficiaries of the Gebrak Pakumis program were also interviewed to corroborate information related to the running of the program (Gamin, 2021)

Data reduction means summarizing, sorting out the main thing, organizing the data that has been reduced, and providing a clearer picture of the results of observations into themes. After the data is reduced then the next step is the presentation of the data. The presentation data presented in this study is in the form of a brief description, table, and graph about the number of recipients of the pakpa kumisrike in the Tangerang regency. Finally, the researcher draws conclusions made in this study that are still temporary and may change if there is valid evidence to support the data of the next study (Santoso, 2010).

Results and Discussion

Content of Policy: Influencing Interests

A policy implementation process will always be related to an interest. This indicator states that a policy on its implementation inevitably involves many influencing interests, and ultimately has an impact on the results of its implementation. The following is an explanation of the indicators of interest related to the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis policy. In this study, the authors interviewed an informant who asked about whether there were other interests taken by the implementers in running the Gebrak Pakumis program, and who were the targets of the policies of this program.

From the interview put forward by the Perkim Office as the implementer of the program, it was stated that: "I as the implementation team have no personal interests related to this program, Here my task is only to help the community. unthinkable with the interests of the other." (Results Of Information Interview 1, 2021)

In connection with the above, the team of facilitators and the technical team of the pakumis strike also stated that:

"The targets of this policy are: the first is a physical house that is still made of cubicles or bamboo, the second is the roof of the house that has been severely damaged, the floor made of soil, and the last is a house that is not allowed to be in dispute or a state-owned house." (Results Of Information Interview 2, 2021)

"No, I didn't think about that. Here my job is only to help the community. unthinkable with the interests of the other." (Results Of Information Interview 3, 2021)

Based on the information from the interview results, the author can conclude that there is no other interest or thing taken by the implementers of this Gebrak Pakumis program. The implementation team only performs their respective duties for a successful program. The target of this program is to improve houses that are still shabby or uninhabitable into clean and healthy settlements.

Types of Benefits obtained

A clear policy must provide actual benefits that are not only formal, ritual, and symbolic to the perpetrator but easier to implement than a less useful policy. A policy usually has inputs or results that are positive and can also be negative because this is closely related to the response given by the object of the policy (Syahril, 2021). In a policy, some benefits are expected to be realized, both for the general purpose and for the purpose in particular, both benefits for the implementer and for the community that is the object of a policy. A policy made by the government must be able to provide useful results and make a positive impact and be able to change in a direction that is better than the results of its implementation. Every policy

is certainly an effort or effort from the government to make something even better and can solve existing problems and produce benefits (Imam, 2019). Based on the results of interviews from the enters of the Gebrak Pakumis program and the beneficiaries.

"The benefits that were obtained from this program were previously many slums, now they have begun to be resolved. In terms of the community, with this program, they feel very helped. The house is also getting better. Settlements are becoming cleaner and more organized" (Results Of Information Interview 1, 2021)

"The benefits received from this program are to overcome slums and poverty. I am greatly helped by this program. My house is also no longer leaking."(Results Of Information Interview 4, 2021).

The results of the analysis from several informants interviewed about the Gebrak Pakumis program explained that the benefits obtained from this program are very good because it can help in terms of a more qualified and livable place to live. In addition, slum settlements can also be reduced with the running of this program.

Rate of Change

A policy cannot be separated from the existence of a target to be achieved. What we want to explain in this discussion is how much change is to be achieved through policy implementation and must have a clear formulation. The policy is expected to deliver good benefits unsustainably good implementation will provide good output for a short period of tiperiodime continuously and regularly (Mulyadi, 2018).

The Gebrak Pakumis program wants to change, namely reducing areas and sluinong the community, especially und among underprivileged people whose economic level is low. This program is expected to improve the quality of the program. Based on the results of interviews with implementers from the Perkim Office related to the expected changes from the existence of this program are.

"There have been significant changes to the reduction of shabby homes. It's just that it is more emphasized to improve the quality of the structure, but technically the building and its implementation are enough. And also hope that for the increase in the budget, for this year it will be 25 million per house, the hope is that it can rise to 30/35 million per house." (Results Of Information Interview 1, 2021)

In connection with the expected changes from the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program, the beneficiaries of the Gebrak Pakumis program said that:

"We hope that there are still many slums in the countryside that are characterized by the laranumber of uninhabitable houses for repairs. Therefore, the number of targets that must be set in determining the selection of slum houses must be increased, both in terms of the number of houses to be helped and the physical quality of the building, so that it becomes a useful program."(Results Of Information Interview 3, 2021)

Based on the information above, regarding the changes, researchers hope that they can interpret that the Perkim office as the implementer of the program wants the beneficiaries to be satisfied with the construction of their houses, as well as to better maintain the cleanliness of their environment. Meanwhile, the change expected by the beneficiaries related to the Gebrak Pakumis program is the existence of a program where the target number of houses that are still uninhabitable is to be increased so that all people in need.

Decision Making

In making decisions on a policy, it is an important role in the implementation of a policy where the location of decision making to be implemented must be explained first. Where the content of a policy will show the position of decision making. A policy is made certain because of the background that drives it. One of the questions regarding the location of this decision-making was found by the investigator through a question that included whether the location of this program was right in Tangerang Regency. The explanation here is seen from the perspective of the implementer regarding the existence of existing policies and whether their existence is appropriate or not. The following is the result of an interview with the executive of the Perkim Office itself.

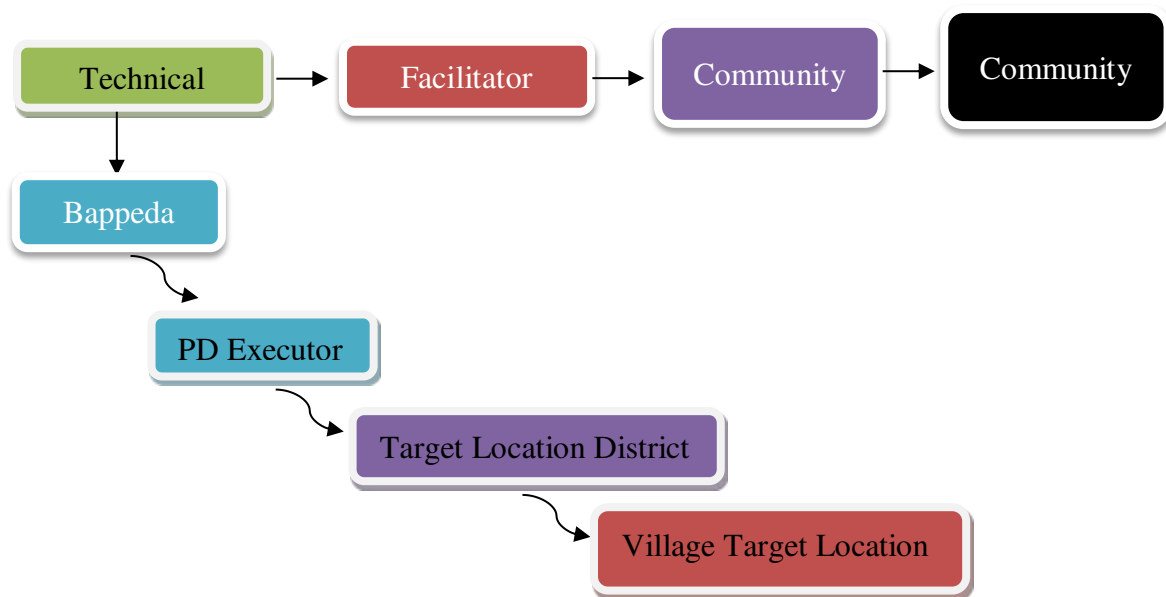
"The location of decision making in the Gebrak Pakumis program is right in Tangerang Regency. This program already exists in 22 sub-districts in Tangerang Regency. Because there are still many slums, the people also still have weak economic conditions. Therefore, we as the Perkim agency run this program to reduce slums." (Results Of Information Interview 1, 2021)

Based on the interview above, the location of decision-making in Tangerang Regency in the Gebrak Pakumis Program is assisted by a technical team and facilitators where those who are assigned each per sub-district to choose which is the right community that is feasible in providing this Gebrak Pakumis program. Because for the division of the percamatan itself as many as 50 houses were selected. Means per village gets a share of 5 houses to be built. In the construction of the Gebrak Pakumis Program itself, it is also that it is not only about building the house. But it helps the problem of poverty.

A policy is formed necessarily because of the background that drives it. a question in the interview about where this decision-making is located is generated by the researcher through a question that includes how accurate each program policy is contained in the library reference service. The changes here are viewed from the user's perspective about the existence of an existing policy, and whether its existence is appropriate or not.

Program Implementers

Program implementation is a very crucial thing in a policy because the program implementation is the driving force to achieving success that exists at the beginning of making a policy. These implementers are providers and those who provide services to the community in a program. Based on the Regent's regulation No. 63 of 2019 concerning guidelines for the implementation of the Gebrak Pakumis program, it is stated that the implementers related to the implementation of this program are:



Picture 4. program implementers

Based on the results of the analysis from the interview results with the informant, it was explained that the Bappeda element and the Implementing PD element did not have a big role in the implementation process, but these two elements entered into important elements in the planning of the Gebrak Pakumis program, while those who became implementers and took part in the implementation were official elements, sub-district elements, village elements and from the community.

Resources used

The implementation or implementation of a policy needs to be supported using resources that can have a positive and beneficial influence to launch in the implementation of an existing policy or program. Implementing a good policy, of course, requires sufficient resources (Ridwana, 2019).

Policy implementation can run well if the implementation of the program is assisted by adequate and qualified Human Resources (HR). Achieving the success of a program, of course, requires human resources by their abilities, who have the skito carry out a policy. Based on the results of observations and interviews with program implementers, it is stated that human resources are still lacking because of the builders themselves who do not have certification, but these problems can be resolved with the active role of the local community who help the process of building housing units from beginning to completion and can proceed according to the plan and time that has been set.

Context Of Policy

Power, Interests, And Strategies Of The Actors Involved

The implementation of a policy is never separated from the power, interests, and strategies carried out by actors, both from the policymaker, policy implementer, and even other actors outside of it, either directly or indirectly. The Gebrak Pakumis program is running well, it can help people in need. The hope is that this program can run well. The following are the results of interviews with facilitators and beneficiaries.

"My response to this program has been very good. The point is to help the underprivileged, and hopefully, it can be carried out continuously and there is equality in the determination of beneficiaries of the pakumis strike. The hope is that those who truly deserve help will come first. Regarding the strategy made from the perkim office itself related to this program, we coordinate with each team to carry out their duties well and of course, provide very satisfactory results for the community." (Results Of Information Interview 3, 2021)

"Our underprivileged society has been greatly helped. Regarding the strategy for implementing this program, the task of each of us already exists, and what our functions are here have already been determined. I think yes we have to commit to work." (Results Of Information Interview 4, 2021).

Based on the results of the analysis from the interview results stated that the strategy made regarding this program is how to make cooperation between each facilitator team and implementing team to provide better and certainly satisfying final results for the community.

Characteristics Of The Ruling Institutions And Regimes

In the implementation of policies that have been made, their implementation will be independent of the characteristics or roles of the policy implementers themselves. The characteristics of the actors involved are by the duties and principles of each relevant service or agency in carrying out their duties. The following are the results of interviews with the facilitator team and technical team of the Gebrak Pakumis program. (Pratiwi, 2018).

The Implementation Team, which is currently carrying out the task of running the Gebrak Pakumis Plus program, they have gone through a certain process by paying attention to the quality and quantity of individuals so that good implementers are obtained, the purpose of the selection process is so that the implementers can manage the Gebrak Pakumis program properly. The Gebrak Pakumis Program itself has a good organizational structure so that coordination in each implementer can run effectively and efficiently. The UPK team until now, has carried out its duties well, as evidenced by the achievement of targets that are always met with what has been set before.

The level of compliance and the presence of responses from implementers

Compliance and response from implementers are also considered to be a very important aspect in the implementation process of a policy, so what will be explained at this point is to what extent compliance and response from implementers in responding to a policy (Putri, 2016). As well as the response from the implementers of the Gebrak Pakumis program regarding the implementation procedure in Tangerang Regency, that the level of compliance from the implementers is good even though sometimes negligence is found, but it is still understood. It can be explained by the implementers who have complied with the rules that have been made, and always coordinate with each other to realize the success of this pa kumis breakthrough program. From the results of the interview with the Perkim Office itself, it is stated that.

"In my opinion, so far the facilitator team has been good in running the pakumis strike program. we are committed to realizing the success of the Gebrak Pakumis program. It is hoped that this program can continue, and all levels of society that are underprivileged can be netted so that their rights are fulfilled equally. The compliance of the implementers of this program has been good, although sometimes negligence is found, humanly understandable. Hopefully, in the future, it can be improved and can carry out their respective duties to the fullest to realize the success of this pakumis strike program." (Results Of Information Interview 1, 2021).

Based on the results of analysis from several informants that the level of compliance of the implementers themselves is good in carrying out their duties, it is expected to continue to maintain the level of compliance in undergoing this Gebrak Pakumis program.

Conclusion

Based on the description, analysis, and discussion that has been discussed in the previous chapter, the Implementation of the Joint Movement program policy for communities to overcome slum and poor dense areas in Tangerang Regency has been running well and

according to the target where the increase in uninhabitable housing of 50 housing units in each sub-district has been completed properly and on time as stipulated. In this study, there are inhibiting and supporting factors, as follows:

- a. The social, economic, and political environment, namely the people who support this program, actively participate in the implementation process so that it can make the Joint Movement Program a success to overcome slum-dense and poor areas.
- b. Attitudes and activities of the implementers, namely the attitudes shown by the technical team and the implementation team as implementers. And not to forget also communication between organizations that must work together in carrying out the Joint Movement Program to overcome slum-dense and poor areas.
- c. The policy in the Joint Movement to overcome slum-dense and poor areas that have Area-based boundaries, is a factor hindering implementation because it must have criteria where the recipient community must be in 1 slum area consisting of at least 15 uninhabitable dwellings in 1 area, if there are less than 15 dwellings then the Joint Movement Program overcomes slum-dense areas, and poor are unworkable.
- d. Resources, what is meant is a budget resource where every house that gets the Gebrak Pakumis Plus Program is given Rp. 25,000,000 which must be enough to build a house with a size of 6x6 within 2 weeks so that participation from the community is needed in every construction process

Acknowledgments

Thanks to the Tangerang Regency Housing, Settlement, and Cemetery Office for permitting this research, to the supervisor who helped with this preparation process, as well as to the informants and colleagues who helped a lot and provided information to the researchers to complete this research, I hope this research will be useful.

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A Study of Traditional Chinese Elements in Balinese Culture: An Acculturation Perspective

Kajian Unsur Tradisional Tionghoa dalam Budaya Bali: Sebuah Perspektif Akulturasi



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Acculturation; Balinese culture; Chinese elements; Characteristics; Reason analysis;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT <i>Using acculturation theory to study Chinese immigrant culture from the main culture of immigrant places, this paper is presented to interpret the characteristics and reasons for Chinese elements in Balinese culture. The exchanges between China and Bali, Indonesia, have existed since ancient times, and the continuous development of the ancient Silk Road has brought the two places closer together. From 2017-to 2019, the writer went to Bali to conduct cultural field research, observed and recorded Chinese elements in Balinese society, consulted literature, and explored the embodiment of traditional Chinese cultural elements in Balinese culture. The study found that Balinese people integrate traditional Chinese culture into their daily life and work, which is reflected in some aspects of local society and culture. They absorb traditional Chinese elements into Balinese culture with a Balinese style. This produced varying degrees of influence in Balinese religion, art, literature, language, and other fields and reflected the example of cultural integration and cultural co-construction carried out by the Balinese in the face of the heterogeneous culture of Chinese culture. Chinese immigration, the homogeneity of Chinese culture and Balinese culture, the tolerance of Balinese people, and the friendship of Chinese people have created favorable conditions for Balinese culture to absorb Chinese elements</i></p>
<p>Kata Kunci Budaya Bali; Unsur Tionghoa; Karakteristik; Analisis Alasan;</p>	<p>ABSTRAK Dengan menggunakan teori akulturasi untuk mengkaji budaya pendatang Tionghoa dan budaya asli, makalah ini disajikan untuk menginterpretasikan ciri dan alasan unsur Tionghoa berakulturasi dengan budaya Bali. Pertukaran antara Cina dan Bali, Indonesia, telah ada sejak zaman kuno, dan pengembangan Jalur Sutra kuno yang berkelanjutan telah mendekatkan kedua tempat tersebut. Dari tahun 2017 hingga 2019, penulis pergi ke Bali untuk melakukan penelitian lapangan budaya, mengamati dan merekam unsur-unsur Tionghoa dalam masyarakat Bali, berkonsultasi dengan literatur, dan mengeksplorasi perwujudan unsur-unsur budaya tradisional Tionghoa dalam budaya Bali. Studi ini menemukan bahwa masyarakat Bali mengintegrasikan budaya tradisional Tionghoa ke dalam kehidupan dan pekerjaan sehari-hari mereka, yang tercermin dalam beberapa aspek masyarakat dan budaya lokal. Mereka menyerap unsur tradisional Tionghoa ke dalam budaya Bali dengan gaya Bali. Hal ini menghasilkan berbagai tingkat pengaruh dalam agama, seni, sastra, bahasa Bali, dan bidang lainnya dan mencerminkan contoh integrasi budaya dan konstruksi bersama budaya yang dilakukan oleh orang Bali dalam menghadapi budaya heterogen budaya Tionghoa. Imigrasi Tionghoa, homogenitas budaya Tionghoa dan budaya Bali, toleransi orang Bali, dan persahabatan orang Tionghoa telah menciptakan kondisi yang menguntungkan bagi budaya Bali untuk menyerap unsur-unsur Tionghoa.</p>

Article History Send 14 th June 2022 Review 30 th June 2022 Accepted 4 th August 2022		Copyright ©2023 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya. 
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Introduction

The study of Chinese immigrant culture is carried out on the Chinese in foreign countries, and the main object of concern is the Chinese. The initial practice of immigrant groups absorbing, synthesizing, and integrating foreign cultures in order to survive and seek development is nothing more than trying to learn the common language or language of the main ethnic group (tribe) or powerful ethnic group in the place of residence in the shortest possible time (Rachman, 2019; Sujaya, et al., 2021; Lu et al., 2021). Historically, the Chinese who came to Indonesia through immigration, especially Bali, have been trying to integrate into the local life while adapting to the new environment (Yingmin & Malini, 2021). In Wang Dahai's *Hai Dao Yi Zhi*, the Indonesian Chinese "speak foreign languages, eat foreign food, wear foreign clothes, read foreign books, do not eat pork, believe in Islam, and behave in the same way as Javanese (Wang, 2022)." The records vividly describe the Chinese people who came to Indonesia and assimilated into the local Indonesian national culture. Therefore, they can survive locally and integrate into the local society. After the Chinese came to Bali, they faced a collision between the Chinese culture they carried and the local Bali culture. It is possible to integrate, assimilate, separate, or marginalize in the collision. This is also the main content of overseas Chinese cultural studies in China for many years. Indonesian Chinese culture is the way of life and behavior of Indonesian Chinese, the sum of the material and spiritual-psychological reactions that the Chinese accepted and created in the process of survival in Indonesia. It manifests in Indonesian Chinese in the system of understanding language, writing, art, religion, morality, ethics, craftsmanship, utensils, customs, and institutions. Chinese culture is an integral part of Indonesian culture, but it is also an immigrant culture, a multicultural integration of various ethnic cultures (Yang Qiguang). Up to now, there are 21 Chinese-style temples in Bali, following the traditional Chinese temple architectural style, including arches, carvings, and Chinese couplets. At the same time, the temples also enshrine the gods that the local people generally believe in and also put in gods of various religions. This is influenced by the harmonious local culture (*Tridharma*). Taking Satya Dharma Vihara as an example, it is originally a Buddhist temple, but it also enshrines the gods enshrined in Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. This can be seen as the influence of Balinese culture on Chinese belief culture. In addition, the Chinese who have lived in Indonesia for a long time have their own understanding and cultural development. China's Confucian culture is regarded as Confucianism religion in Indonesia, and Confucius has been deified and become a deity. Indonesia's strong religious beliefs influence this. People deified the

Confucian sage, Confucius, and they respected and created a new religion, which became a new heterogeneous cultural form created by them in the process of adapting to the new environment (Santoro et al., 2020).

However, will local Indonesian culture be influenced by Chinese culture? Will Chinese culture and Indonesian culture produce cultural fusion? The answer is yes, and a typical cultural co-construction scene has been formed (Cf. Blussé, 1991; Efferin & Hoppe, 2007; Yudhistira & Fatmawa, 2020). The heterogeneous culture brought by Chinese immigrants is recognized, accepted, and integrated into the local Balinese culture. In the daily life of Balinese people, until now, there are still many traces of Chinese culture. Sari et al (2018) stated that Chinese culture was even more well known during the reign of the Ming Dynasty. For example, porcelain, jars, plates, to cups from China. Many temples and buildings in Bali were made using these decorative plates on the walls. For example, the temple in Batur, in Balingkang, Bangli Regency. According to him, the Melanting Temple or Subandar Temple in Bali is a symbol of the Chinese Goddess of Fertility. In addition, Balinese people are also familiar with the legend of King Jayapangus' marriage to Dewi Kang Chi Wi. which then made Barong Landung Pratima.

Based on the existing cultural facts in Bali that are influenced by Chinese culture, the author makes a study and will try to introduce the performance and characteristics of the co-construction of the two cultures from the fields of religion, language, and literature, art, etc. The object of this study is the cultural components of the Chinese culture in Bali that have been absorbed and transformed by the local Balinese culture, that is, the observation and analysis of the material and non-material cultures after cultural fusion and cultural co-construction.

Method

The collection of data was mainly carried out through field investigation and literature review. The author lived in Bali from 2017-to 2019 to conduct cultural field research, collecting data and understanding the situation through interviews and observations. Document sorting, collecting relevant facts and data by reading reports and articles. Observation and experiential methods are used in the investigation process, and relevant cultural facts are recorded with words and cameras as research materials.

The comparative analysis method which will be used in this research is to compare two or more data and analyze the differences so as to reveal the development, change, and regularity represented by these things. In this article, the author compares different cultures

of China and Bali from different perspectives and conducts analysis and research in the comparison. This article is more inclined to adopt the method of cross-cultural comparison, which is a comparative study of two or more societies or cultures. This study borrows different research methods from different disciplines, such as textual analysis, historiography, historical analysis, and psychoanalysis. When discussing the social practice of living culture, it is appropriating the research methods of sociology (qualitative) and anthropology (ethnography).

Results and Discussion

Acculturation is the process of adapting to a new culture (Yan, 2020), the process of understanding the new culture's thought, belief, and feeling system and its communicative system (Ola, 2021), and the learner's relationship with the social and psychological integration of the target language community (Zanches, 2021). For article writing needs, several other concepts will be introduced.

Cultural acculturation refers to the cultural change caused by continuous and direct contact with the values, customs, and behavioral norms of two distinct cultures, which is manifested in the physiological changes reflected by diet, climate, residence, interpersonal communication methods, rules, and new cultural values and psychological changes. The process of changing the original nature and mode of different cultures through long-term contact, interaction, and adjustment, that is to say, the changes of one nation's culture under the influence of another nation (Chen & Rahman, 2018). Ward (2020), as stated by Zuraida et al. (2020) divides acculturation into four stages, (1) excitement at initial exposure to a new culture; (2) culture shock; and The resulting feeling of alienation and resistance to foreign cultures; (3) the gradual relief of cultural stress; (4) assimilation or adaptation to the new culture.

Cultural fusion refers to the phenomenon that "two independent cultural systems, through long-term contact, borrow and influence each other, have roughly reached a close degree. As a result of cultural fusion, a third cultural system may be produced, and the original one. The two cultural systems that existed in the past disappeared or became subcultures in the new cultural system (Nalenan et al., 2021).

Cultural co-construction is the coexistence of heterogeneous cultures in a common cultural environment. Each culture regards itself as a member of a new culture and jointly builds a new culture. This new culture is the result of the joint efforts of all parties. The original different cultural audiences have become the audiences of this new culture so as

to solve the problem of cultural recognition and the recognition of members of the original heterogeneous culture.

When studying the relationship between different cultures, a concept of cultural subjectivity is involved. Cultural subjectivity is a group subjectivity between individual subjectivity and quasi-subjectivity, with the nature of maintaining oneself and reducing or dominating other cultures. When cultures converge, there is usually more conflict (not acknowledgment) than acknowledgment. Therefore, in the process of cultural convergence, the biggest problem is not the communication and dialogue between cultures but the mutual recognition between cultures. The highest manifestation of this subject recognition among cultures is the fusion of different cultural audiences, and the opposite extreme is genocide and cultural genocide. Fusion means the identification of the subjectivity of the other party, placing the other party on the same subject position as oneself, and allowing it to coexist with oneself in a sense; on the contrary, if you do not agree with the subjectivity of the other party, you are unwilling to cooperate with the other party. To live on an equal footing and even need to eliminate the other party's existence implies the subject's survival instinct.

Another is the acculturation theory model. The theoretical acculturation model is a generalization and summary of the acculturation process. So far, the theoretical models of acculturation mainly include the "Cross-cultural Adaptation Model" of John W. Berry (Kunst et al.,2021), the acculturation process model of Colleen Ward of New Zealand, and the "Acculturation Theory to Unfamiliar Cultures" of Dieter Danckwortt of Germany (Fargion & Nuttman, 2020). These three theoretical models basically cover the core content and model construction of international cultural adaptation issues. This article will use Berry's "Cross-cultural Adaptation Model" to explain and illustrate the cultural adaptation between China and Bali, starting from the Balinese. Canadian cross-cultural psychologist Berry draws on the theories and methods of anthropology based on his investigation and research on immigrants and indigenous peoples. He proposes a "cross-cultural adaptation model". In his theoretical model, acculturation mainly divides the types of acculturates from the two dimensions of immigrants maintaining their own traditional culture, the tendency of identity, and the tendency to communicate with other ethnic and cultural groups. According to whether the answer to the two-dimension questions is affirmative or not, cultural adaptation is divided into four kinds of cultural adaptation: Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalization (Yoo, 2021). Among the four acculturation types, the integration model (individuals who believe that they are willing to establish close

relationships with members of the mainstream culture, accept their values, and maintain the integrity of their own culture without giving up their original values and identities) is a type of individual who performs best in the process of cultural adaptation. It builds good communication between the original and mainstream cultures to adapt to sales.

Berry (2019) believes that the complete concept of acculturation should include two levels: one is the acculturation at the cultural level or group level, that is, the changes in social structure, economic foundation, political organization, customs, and other aspects after cultural contact; the other refers to cultural adaptation at the psychological or individual level, that is, the changes in behavior, values, attitudes, and identity of individuals after cultural contact (Maedge, 2021). The core subject of this theory is outsiders, which is the mainstream of acculturation research. However, the adapted side of cultural adaptation has received little attention. For example, how the holders of the mainstream culture face the heterogeneous culture under the cultural collision and what coping strategies they adopt. Berry (2019) believes that the acculturation process actually impacts the two cultures that come into contact with each other, but the dominant culture has little influence. Therefore, his two-dimensional model pushes acculturation research to a more comprehensive and detailed stage. Chinese immigrant culture has received a lot of attention, but less attention has been paid to the influence of Chinese culture on the mainstream culture in Chinese immigrant areas. Therefore, the research of this paper draws on the above theories and starts from the holders of the mainstream cultural perspective (Bali people) to analyze their attitudes and adaptive strategies in the face of foreign culture (Chinese culture). The research of this paper belongs to the type of case study.

There is still controversy over the concept of culture. The Indonesian word for culture is "budaya," which is derived from the Sanskrit "buddhaya," which is the plural form of "buddhi." "Buddhi" means wisdom and morality, so culture is all human behavior and things related to wisdom and morality. "In a broad sense, culture refers to the sum total of material wealth and spiritual wealth created by human beings in social and historical practice. In a narrow sense, it refers to the ideology of society and the corresponding institutions and organizations." This article will use the Indonesian interpretation of "culture" and use the broad cultural concepts, including religion, music, dance, literature, customs, festivals, architecture, trade and so on. The acculturation of the Balinese to Chinese culture is reflected in the cultural performance in various fields, for example, as shown in figure 1.

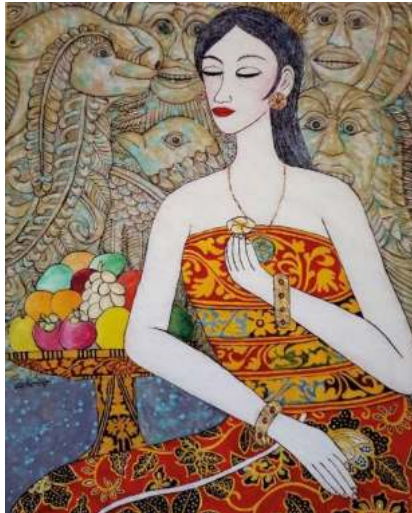


Figure 1 The cultural picture that reflects Balinese and Chinese acculturation
(Source: <https://www.nowbali.co.id/revealing-chinese-and-balinese-cultural-connections-through-art-with-tjandra-kirana/>)

Next, in the following, the author will introduce the performance and reasons for the influence of Chinese culture on Balinese culture.

A. The Influence of Chinese Culture on Balinese Culture

a) The influence of Chinese Culture on Balinese religion

Bali Hinduism combines local animism, ancestor worship, Buddhism, and other traditional beliefs, representing a unique form of Hindu worship. Before being officially named "Bali Hinduism," Balinese religions also included Shiva-Buddhism. It was not until 1962 that the government of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesia) officially recognized the religion of Balinese Hinduism. Although the Indonesian population is mainly Muslim and Christian, more than 80% of the residents of Bali believe in Balinese Hinduism. Therefore, when discussing the influence of Chinese culture on Balinese religion in its long history, I will use the title of Balinese religion to avoid misunderstanding. In terms of religious belief, the Balinese have incorporated elements related to Chinese culture into their own belief system, which is the recognition and introduction of foreign cultures.

i. Treat those who once arrived in Bali and contributed to Bali as gods.

In the past, the relationship between China and Bali was mainly carried out through economic and trade exchanges. Balinese people know Chinese people as people who are good at trade. There are reasons to believe that Ratu Gede Subbandar and Ratu Ayu Subbandar (Sulistyawati, ed., 2008: 10-20) are not the real names of the Chinese. However, the great name was given to her/by the

Balinese according to the local belief, "Subbandar" means "port," "Latu" means ruler, manager, and "Gede" means "big" and "noble" in the local language. Not only that, but the Balinese also regard them as their ancestors and built Pelinggih in the temple of the gods, dedicated to worship and worship. No definitive historical records have been found about Ratu Gede Subbandar, but there is a household story in Balinese folklore. According to legend, in 1181 AD, Sri Aji Jayapangus succeeded Jaya Sakti as the ruler of the Varmadewa Dynasty. He fell in love at first sight and was willing to marry Kang Cing Wie. Kang Cing Wie was the daughter of a businessman, and her class status was uncertain, which aroused the worries of the elders in the dynasty, angered the local god, and cursed the kingdom to perish. However, the two insisted on their love and got married. Kang Cing Wie brought Chinese agriculture, architecture, art, religion, and other civilizations to the Balinese and was loved by the people. Unfortunately, they were unable to have an heir for many years, and the two went through hardships to seek an heir. Finally, both died. Balinese people firmly believe that Ratu Gede Subbandar is the Kang Cing Wie, and other ancient temples are dedicated to Ratu Gede Subbandar.

In addition, there is a shrine in the northwest corner of the Pura Segara Ulun Danu Batur temple in Batur Lake, Bali, which enshrines a brightly colored deity called Ratu Ayu Subandar, who is considered to be a messenger of the gods, a commercial Patronus. According to legend, in history, Bali once belonged to an Indianized country on the island of Java. The northern coast of Bali was a port and a trading center. With the help of the Song Dynasty, the king sent a Song Dynasty official to be the head of the port and also gave its royal family golden belts, which are to said be treasured in temples. Ratu Ayo Subbandar has guarded the economic and social prosperity of the Balinese for generations. Based on this historical background, the Bali Provincial Government chose to hold the "Balingkang Chinese Culture Festival" on February 6, 2019, in front of the Ulun Temple, inviting Chinese tourists to Bali to visit and show the fusion of Bali and Chinese culture. In order to inherit the historical friendship between China and Bali and demonstrate the achievements of China-Indonesia people-to-people and cultural exchanges.

ii. The Influence of Chinese Culture on Balinese Religion Dance

Religious dance is an important form of religious art. Religious dance not only has the symbolic meaning of religious culture and art but also contains the aesthetic consciousness of people of different nationalities, regions, and times. In Balinese culture, Chinese Baris Dance and The Landung Barong Dance are religious dance art forms that combine a lot of Chinese cultural elements.

Residents of the Indigenous village of Renon, Denpasar, have a unique and authentic cultural heritage, namely the Chinese Baris Dance. The people of Renon still preserve this unique art to this day. This sacred dance is believed to be influenced by Chinese culture. The origin of the name of the dance is related to the entry of the Mongolian army of the Yuan Dynasty into Java at the end of the 13th century. The Yuan Shizu Kublai Khan's war against Java failed. Some Mongolian soldiers stayed and lived in Indonesia for a long time, and some crossed the Bali Strait to settle in Bali. After the arrival of the Mongolian soldiers, they still kept the tradition of training in line and choreographed it into a unique Balinese dance -- Chinese parade dances. To this day, Chinese parade dances are performed at important religious ceremonies and celebrations. The Chinese Baris Dance is only performed at certain places and at certain times, must be accompanied by Gong Beri, and all the dancers must be men wearing round hats like Mongolian warriors of the Yuan Dynasty when the dancers speak similarly to Chinese (Wicaksana, 2021). The dance movements contain a lot of Chinese martial arts elements. At the same time, long sleeves and yarmulke with patterns and trims are typical of traditional Balinese dress. The Chinese Baris Dance is a dance composed of the spiritual core of Bali and the shell of Chinese culture. It is a typical representative of cultural integration.

The Landung Barong Dance is one of Bali's characteristic dances. Landung means "high." The core props of the Landung Barong Dance are two 3-meter-high statues, both with masks a dark faces, the prototypes of this pair of Balinese gods are the Balinese king Jayapagos and the Chinese, girl Kang Cing Wie. Barong Landung is the embodiment of the Ruler of Bali, Sri Jayapangus. King Jayapangus, with the title Pāduka Śri Māhārāja Haji Jayapangus Arkaja Cihna/Lañcana, was a king of ancient Bali who became a symbol of ethnic harmony and cultural assimilation as well as Bali and China at that time, so that Bali was safe and peaceful. At that time, king Sri Jaya Pangus ruled the Kingdom

of Balingkang. During his reign, the life of the community was very prosperous. The government was at peace in terms of military resilience to its trade. From this trade relationship, rumors about the prosperity of this work were heard by the Chinese state. The Chinese merchants also decided to come and establish friendly relations with the government ruled by Sri Jaya Pangus. From this relationship, sooner or later, Sri Jaya Pangus found a Chinese woman he adored. This woman was named Kang Ching Wie, the daughter of a wealthy Chinese merchant. The king of Balingkang finally decided to propose to the merchant's daughter to be his queen. Sri Jaya Pangus and Kang Cing Wie are also symbolized as a couple who have true love. To always remember the king's services, the people of Balingkang finally decided to manifest it into a barong. Remembering Raja Sri Jaya Pangus and Kang Cing Wie were cursed by Dewi Danu, from that statue, the people of Balingkang made a pair of sculptures, so this sculpture is called Barong Landung. King Jayapangus is embodied in Barong Landung, a visualization of a large black doll with hollow teeth, while Kang Cing Wei is a beautiful, tall, slender doll with narrow eyes and always smiling with the character of a Chinese girl. Kang Cing Wie is a girl from China. The combination of a Balinese king and a Chinese girl is a symbol of the fusion of Balinese culture and Chinese culture. However, the status of the Balinese king shows that Balinese culture is the main culture. This is in line with the cultural characteristics of subjectivity. Therefore, Bali culture, as the main culture, always puts itself in the main position when absorbing Chinese cultural elements.

iii. Balinese Society Preserves the Cultural Attributes of Copper Coins in Religious Sacrificial Ceremonies

Chinese kepeng money (Chinese copper coins) has a flat round shape and a hole in the middle. This form of Chinese kepeng is a Chinese coin that is commonly found in the archipelago and Bali in particular. According to the Chinese themselves, the round shape symbolizes the sky or heaven while the rectangular hole symbolizes the earth, so according to the Chinese, the shape of the currency symbolizes the earth and sky. The existence of Uang Kepeng in Bali is thought to be due to trade relations between the archipelago and China. Starting from the port areas in North Bali, such as Julah and Manasa villages, to the interior in Sukawana Village, Kintamani. Some literature mentions that the relationship

between Bali and China occurred in the medieval, classical era, around 900-1250 AD. Bali's trade with China occurred before Majapahit conquered Bali (Danes, 2018). At that time, Uang Kepeng was used to exchange goods and services and for completeness of offerings. However, in its development, Uang Kepeng is no longer used as a medium of exchange but only in certain traditional ceremonies at the temple. Money kepeng is now also changing its function into handicrafts in Bali (Suarbawa et al., 2018).

Copper coins, ancient copper auxiliary coins, refer to all kinds of square-hole round coins after the Qin and Han dynasties. The casting period of square-hole round coins extended to the early years of the Republic of China. Chinese copper coins are also called "Five Emperor Coins," which refer to copper coins with round, square holes. Ancient copper coins are cast according to the "outer circle and inner square" and "the unity of heaven and man," whichever is like heaven, law, and earth. In ancient folk, there has always been the custom of using ancient copper coins to exorcise evil spirits and bring blessings (Huang, 2022).

Usually, five copper coins are strung together to represent the power of the five directions and five elements. Chinese copper coins are called Pis Bolong in Bali, which means "coins with a hole in the middle" in the Balinese language. Until the early 20th century, Chinese copper coins were still one of the currencies circulating in Bali and served as a medium of exchange. Afterward, the Balinese gradually applied Chinese copper coins to various rituals such as religious sacrifices and prayers in Bali. First, the Balinese offered the copper coins as a tribute to the supreme god to express their gratitude to the gods; Outline the gods or objects that symbolize the sacred or as decorations for the gods or sacred objects; the third is that the copper coins are used by the Balinese as a sacred object for good blessings. The different words on the copper coins give different meanings, form a collection, and take root among the people. For example, "Taiping Tongbao" in the Northern Song Dynasty means "a better life," and "Zhi Yuan Tongbao" from the Yuan Dynasty symbolizes "happiness." The use of Chinese copper coins in Balinese culture is similar to the understanding of copper coins in Chinese civil society. It not only played a role as a trading tool but was also used in beliefs, retaining Chinese copper coins' social, spiritual, and cultural characteristics.

b) The Influence of Chinese Culture on Balinese Language, Literature, and Music

i. The influence of Chinese culture on the Balinese language is reflected in Bali's names of places, plants, people, and kingdoms. Such as "Desa Songan", Songan is a village in Kintamani District, Bangli Regency. The name "Songan" comes from "Song-an." It is likely to be "Song-an(宋安)" in Chinese. In ancient times, "Song An" was very common as a place name. In the sixth year (470 years) of Song Taishi in the Southern Dynasty, Song a County was set up and belonged to Xiangzhou. In the eighth year of the Ming Dynasty (464), Song'an County was relocated. Emperor Tai of the Song Ming Dynasty was promoted to Song. In the third year of Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty (583), Song'an County was abolished, and Lening County was directly under the jurisdiction of Yingzhou. The Southern Dynasties Liang set Song'an County, which belongs to Gwang Zhou (Jianguo, 2021).

"Desa Pinggan" is a village located in the Kintamani sub-district, Bangli Regency, Bali province. The sound "Pinggan" is similar to the pronunciation of "平安Ping-an" in Chinese. In Chinese, "平安Ping-an" means peace, a happy and healthy life. After the Chinese came to Bali island, they settled there and named the place with the name "Ping An." The name contains the pursuit of happiness and safety of these wanderers far away, which is their long-cherished wish.

The botanical name "Leci." Leci is from the word "Litchi," Litchi (scientific name: *Litchi chinensis* Sonn.) is distributed in the southwest, south, and southeast of China, with the most abundant cultivation in Guangdong and southern Fujian. In Bali, Melinggih Village, Payangan District, Gianyar, for decades known as the village of Leci. This is because most of the residents' roads and yards have lychee trees that were planted and imported from China.

The Chinese community in Bali is partly well assimilated by using Balinese names, namely Putu, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. They also use Balinese as their mother tongue and not Chinese. The names of people such as "I Putu Liong", "Wayan Encik", etc. Putu and Wayan are the characteristics of Balinese names, while "liong" is from the Chinese Family name "梁Liang." Liang is one of the Chinese surnames. In Hokkien, women born to the same parents who are older than themselves are called "阿姐Ajie," pronounced [a-tsi], and pronounced [a-tsé]. The word "Encik" in Balinese names is supposedly from the word "阿姐

Ajie ."According to the reference from the Indonesian Dictionary, "Encik" are equivalent to "eldest sister" in Chinese and is generally used to address males/females who do not know each other. The Balinese also use this name in their personal names, which is obviously influenced by the Chinese local language and culture. Chinese surnames or kinship appellations contained in the names of Indonesian Chinese or Balinese in Bali are the absorptions of Chinese culture and the innovation of Chinese culture. The former is absorption. The latter is innovation because in Chinese tradition, no appellation is put in the name, and this is the adjustment and innovation of Chinese culture in Bali, which is a typical practice of cultural adaptation.

- ii. Balingkang, the ancient kingdom of Bali, according to research, "Kang" in the name "Balingkang" comes from the Chinese "皇" (emperor), "bali" is Bali, and Balingkang means "King of Bali", which has a lot to do with the marriage of Jaya Pagus and Kang Cing Wie. Until now, there is a temple in Bali still use the name "Balingkang", that is Pura Dalem Balingkang, it is located in Pinggan Village, Kintamani District, Kab. Bangli – Bali. In Bali, Palinggih adalah tempat bersemayam dewa. Struktur palinggih berbentuk gedong dan beratap rendah, tidak seperti palinggih kebanyakan di Bali. Kekhasan Pura Dalem Balingkang adalah adanya ornamen dan beberapa interiornya berciri Tionghoa seperti dominasi warna merah dan kuning yang merupakan warna khas kelenteng atau wihara.

The classical Chinese literary work "Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai" ("Liang Zhu") were widely disseminated in Bali. Generally, "Geguritan Sam Pik Ing Tay" in Bali is performed in the Balinese language in the form of a combination of singing accompanied by narration. Geguritan Sam Pik Ing Tay is regarded as an important part of Balinese literature today.

The art and culture of wayang potehi came from China and continue to live in Indonesia until now. Potehi itself comes from three syllables. "Pou" means cloth, "te" means bag, and "hi" means puppet. So that means wayang potehi is a puppet with a medium in the form of cloth dolls. Where the puppeteer will put his hand so he will play the puppet. The name "botehi" in Indonesian is a transliteration of Hokkien's name for puppetry. Botehi's Hokkien pronunciation is "boo dei hi" it is a kind of puppet show that originated in Quanzhou, Fujian, China, in the 17th

century and is the most commonly seen puppet show. One of the Han folk opera performances. It is one of the traditional local dramas of the Hokkien language. The puppet show has a very long history. It is recorded in the ancient Chinese books *Wulin Old Stories* and *Dong Jing Meng Hualu* that there is a palm puppet show on the gift list of the court banquet in the Song Dynasty (Fan & Long, 2022). Butehi is precise because the puppets of this type of performance in the early days are very similar to "bags made of cloth," so they have the general name of cloth puppets (Ardhana, 2020).

- iii. Gamelan music is the most representative Indonesian music widely popular in Java and Bali, played by various instruments. The Gamelan popular in Java and Bali has its own characteristics. Among them, the Beri Gong is one of the characteristics of the Bali gamelan. The Beri gong is a metal instrument shaped like a compass, which is concentrated in Denpasar, southern Bali. Reno Township originated from the battle gongs used in ancient Chinese wars. With the continuous popularity of Chinese parade dances in religious ceremonies, the role of Beri gong has changed, mainly for the accompaniment of Chinese parade dance performances. It should be mentioned that the Beri Gong has a strong religious meaning, can only be played in religious ceremonies, and cannot be freely enjoyed by people as ordinary music. Because of its inseparable relationship with Chinese parade dance, we believe that Beri Gong was introduced to Bali along with Mongolian soldiers at the end of the 13th century. Besides, Gamelan Angklung is one of Bali's characteristic percussion instruments. It combines the Angklung and Gamelan instruments with the celesta and the Zhubo Lagog. It is usually played in large ngaben funerals. It is also used as an accompaniment in some sacrificial dances. Incorporating the elements of Angklung bamboo musical instruments into funerals is inspired by Chinese funeral culture, which has a tradition of playing bamboo musical instruments. The Balinese Rindik is similar to the Chinese Bamboo Flute.

c) The Influence of Chinese culture on Balinese Architecture and Decorative Arts

- i. Chinese porcelain has exquisite craftsmanship and beautiful patterns and is loved by people from all over the Southeast Asian countries, and Balinese society is no exception. Since ancient times, Chinese porcelain plates have been regarded as valuable things in Balinese society. In addition to being placed at home, they are often

inlaid on the surface of the gates of temples, palaces, or private residences, symbolizing the noble status of the building or the social status of the owner. Porcelain plates are embedded in the red bricks of the walls, giving the impression that the porcelain plates are integrated into the building. The Balinese attach great importance to the inheritance and protection of ancient cultures. Until today, walls decorated with porcelain plates can be found inadvertently everywhere in Bali.

- ii. The prototype of some buildings in Bali may come from China, such as Meruta, Anku-Ankumen, Balai Gugu, and so on. Chinese pagodas inspire Meruta religious architecture. Bali Meruta, also known as Balingji Meru, is one of the main buildings in Balinese Hindu temples. It is based on brick and stone, and the tower structure is built from bottom to top with wood. Each floor is covered with thatch. Meruta is shaped like a mountain, representing Mount Meru, the holy mountain of Hinduism, and is the temple of the gods. The doors of traditional Balinese houses are narrow wooden doors called Anku-Anku, which are similar to the doors of courtyard houses in northern China. To this day, the Balinese still continue this tradition, but they will carve out a spacious gate on the wall beside the Angu-Angu Gate to facilitate the entry of vehicles such as cars and motorcycles. In addition, in the corner of every traditional village temple in Bali, there will be a high drum pavilion building called Balai Gugu. A cracked wooden barrel hangs in the center of the pavilion made of rocks or bricks, which is used to wake up and convene the masses. Or engage in religious activities or hold assemblies with communication functions. Balinese scholars believe this is similar to the Chinese Bell and Drum Towers, where huge bells or drums were placed to beat the drums for alarm or to report the time on time (Zhang et al., 2019) During Chinese New Year, Pura Ulun Danau Batur comes alive with Chinese celebrations and parades.
- iii. In addition, there is a unique style in the Balinese architectural relief art called "patra cina," which is explained in the Balinese dictionary as the so-called Chinese leaf carving refers to that in the carving, the plant vines extend to the surrounding, the trees The branches are stretched, the petals are round, and each flower has three petals. New buds are often attached to the middle of the branches. There is also a method called patra mesir. Although it is called Egypt, it is a carving method from China, and this carving method cannot be found in Egypt. According to Professor Putra Agung, a descendant of the Karangasem Palace and an Indonesian historian, in an interview, the so-called Chinese leaf carvings and Egyptian leaf carvings were named after Cik

A Tuang, a craftsman from China. was named after the construction of the Karangasem Palace to distinguish two different carving techniques.

- iv. The Acculturation Characteristics of Balinese Culture to Chinese Culture, Bali culture is the main culture of acculturation and is in the core position, while Chinese culture is the foreign culture and is in the auxiliary position. Every culture has its own strong spiritual core. In the process of cultural fusion of Chinese culture into Balinese culture, Balinese only select those parts that are integrated with the Balinese core spiritual and use a Chinese culture as a tool or auxiliary means in Bali. In the form of culture, it plays an auxiliary role. Tari Baris Cina or Beri Gong is used to serving Indonesian religious rituals. In fact, China and Bali are all male-dominated societies. In the love story between Jaya pangus and Kang Cing Wie, Jayapangus is the king and the supreme person of power, while Kang Cing Wie is a stand-in supporting role. From the perspective of the combination of the two, it symbolizes the Balinese culture as the subject and Chinese culture as the second subject.

Cultural integration is the main form of Balinese acculturation to Chinese culture. The influence of Chinese culture on Balinese culture is extensive, involving religion, language, literature, music, art, and other fields, which shows that Balinese people's attitude towards Chinese culture is open and inclusive, and they have not adopted an attitude of hostility and exclusion. It can be inferred that after the Chinese came to settle in Bali, they lived in harmony with the Balinese, recognized each other, and learned from each other, including each other's civilizations. This is completely different from excluding Chinese people in other parts of Indonesia, especially Java Island. The author went to the village of Desa Pinggan in northern Bali, where the Chinese lived, and observed that the Buddhist temple of the Chinese and the Hindu temple of the Balinese are in the same village, not far away, and they live together in harmony. The trust in the target culture in cultural adaptation is the underlying reason for cultural integration. The Chinese culture has been admired and imitated by the Balinese in the past. From the fact that Balinese people worship Chinese business officials and girls with good character as gods and enshrine them in temples, it can be seen that people believe that these "immortals" from China can bless Balinese people with prosperity. Chinese copper coins are an indispensable role in the spiritual life of Balinese people from the past to this day. People believe these coins from China will bless not only the Chinese people but also the Balinese. From the architectural decoration of Karangasem Palace, the porcelain vases displayed on the whole island

and the porcelain plates hanging everywhere, as well as the absorption of Beri Gong into Gamelan, the main musical art form in Bali, we can see that the Balinese are pursuing Chinese art forms, and they even called the art form that originally came from Egypt, not China, as "patra cina ."Balinese believe that the beautiful things that Chinese people think are valuable and beautiful. They also think that they are valuable and beautiful. All of these fully reflect the Balinese's trust in Chinese culture and are the core factors for the development of cultural adaptation towards cultural integration.

B. Analysis of the reasons for cultural integration between Bali and China

1) The history of exchanges between China and Bali

Chinese immigration to Bali is the material premise for Bali culture as the main culture to integrate foreign Chinese culture. Therefore, it is necessary to sort out and introduce the historical exchanges between China and Bali. The exchanges between China and Bali have created opportunities for cultural integration and cultural co-construction. Bali is located in Indonesia and borders the island of Java in the west. It has become a famous international tourist destination because of its unique religion, culture, and art. In ancient Chinese books, Bali is called "婆里洲Polizhou," "婆利poli," "女人国Women's Country," "猫厘Maoli," "巴利岛Bali Island," "小爪哇Little Java," and "苗里岛Miao Li Island," etc.(Qin Weifen, 2020), the people-to-people exchanges and cultural integration between China and Bali have continued to this day. In the Tang Dynasty, with the development of maritime traffic and international trade, southern coastal areas such as Fujian and Guangdong began to migrate to the ports of Southeast Asian islands to engage in commercial or handicraft activities. In the late Tang Dynasty, the Huang Chao insurrectionary army and the turmoil in the south led to a large number of Chinese being forced to go south, and some of the rebel armies also fled to Indonesia's Balinbang (today's Palembang) and other places after their failure. During the Northern Song Dynasty, with the development of shipbuilding and navigation, the government encouraged overseas trade. It promoted southern coastal residents to visit Southeast Asia for business or settlement.

During the Yuan Dynasty, troops were launched many times overseas. In 1293 (the 30th year of the Yuan Dynasty), 20,000 troops were sent to the expedition to Java, and thousands of warships set off from Quanzhou. After the war was defeated, many soldiers

stayed in Java in Goulan Mountain (Wang Dayuan). Among them, Some have also been relocated to Bali, near the island of Java. The Ming Dynasty set up the Municipal Shipping Division in Quanzhou and other places, allowing limited tributary trade with a few countries, but later, in order to consolidate the coastal defense and prevent Japanese pirates from invading and harassing, it imposed a sea ban, restricted overseas trade, and strictly prohibited private merchants from going to sea. After Chengzu of the Ming Dynasty ascended the throne, he sent three treasure eunuchs, Zheng He (he is called "Chenghoo" in Indonesian), to lead the fleet to the West seven times to visit Southeast Asian countries. Zheng He's voyage to the west is the largest and longest sailing voyage in China in ancient times. It is also the largest maritime exploration in the history of the world before the voyage in the late fifteenth century. Each time they passed through Indonesia. Island and Sumatra are the main ones, and some Chinese people are concentrated near the port of Bullerang in the north of Bali to facilitate business. In the late Ming Dynasty, with the development of the maritime spice trade, the Netherlands, represented by the Dutch East India Company, invaded Indonesia, occupied Jayakarta after Ambon, and changed its name to Batavia (today's Jakarta) in order to bring The building of Batavia became a central point of colonial plunder. In order to solve the shortage of labor force and the need for urban construction, the Dutch East India Company bought, sold, and plundered the population along the southern coast of China, and a large number of Chinese were sold to Batavia as "pigs". In the Qing Dynasty, more and more businessmen went to the Indonesian archipelago to do business. Farmers and handicraftsmen went to the South Ocean to seek wealth because of their livelihood. After the Opium War, there was even a wave of large-scale southward migration. The number of people was 180, increasing year by year, and by 1902 it had exceeded 120,000, a very astonishing number. Although it is not certain that these people have gone to Southeast Asia, it is certain that Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, is the main immigration destination.

According to the population statistics of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) by the Dutch colonial government in 1930, there were more than 1.23 million Chinese in Indonesia. Although the relationship between China and Indonesia has experienced a long and tortuous process, the number of Chinese people who went to Indonesia has continued to increase. According to the results of the 2010 Indonesian census, there are 2.83 million Chinese and overseas Chinese in Indonesia, accounting for about 1.2% of the total Indonesian population, ranking 18th in the number of Indonesian ethnic groups.

Indonesia's Chinese and overseas Chinese are mainly from Fujian, Guangzhou, Chaozhou, and Hainan. The Chinese in Bali are mainly concentrated in three areas: Karangasem, Bangli, and Klungkung.

The bronze mirror unearthed in Buleleng County of Bali shows that China and Bali have had exchanges at least at the beginning of the Han Dynasty. After that, many Tang Dynasty porcelains were unearthed in the Branjang area, and some pieces of 7th-10th century ceramics were found in Sanur Town, which further shows the trade between China and Bali has never been interrupted from the Han Dynasty to the Song Dynasty. After the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Indonesia in the 1990s, more and more Chinese traveled to Bali. Especially after President Joko Widodo came to power, he unilaterally implemented a tourist visa-free policy for China, and the number of Chinese tourists to Bali increased rapidly. The total number of tourists from China increased from 387,000 in 2013 to 1.38 million in 2017 and fell slightly in 2018, still as high as 1.36 million. People-to-people exchanges between China and Bali have reached an all-time high.

According to the population statistics of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) by the Dutch colonial government in 1930, there were more than 1.23 million Chinese in Indonesia. Although the relationship between China and Indonesia has gone through a long and tortuous process, the number of Chinese who went to Indonesia has continued to grow. According to the 2010 Indonesian census results, there were 2.83 million Chinese and overseas Chinese in Indonesia, accounting for about 1.2% of the total Indonesian population, ranking 18th in the number of Indonesian ethnic groups. The Chinese and overseas Chinese in Indonesia are mainly from Fujian, Hakka, Guangzhou, Chaozhou, and Hainan. The Chinese in Bali are mainly concentrated in three areas: Karangasem, Bangli, and Klungkung (Katadata.co.id: 2017). The bronze mirror unearthed in Buleleng County, Bali, shows that China and Bali have had exchanges at least at the beginning of the Han Dynasty. After that, many Tang Dynasty porcelains were unearthed in the Branjang area, and 7-10 pieces were found in Sanu Town. Century ceramics, etc., further shows that the trade between China and Bali has never been interrupted from the Han Dynasty to the Song Dynasty. After the resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Indonesia in the 1990s, more and more Chinese traveled to Bali. Especially after President Joko Widodo came to power, he unilaterally implemented a tourist visa-free policy for China, and the number of Chinese tourists to Bali increased rapidly. , increased from 387,000 in 2013 to 1.38 million in 2017 and fell

slightly in 2018, still as high as 1.36 million. People-to-people exchanges between China and Bali have reached an all-time high.

2) Social distance and psychological distance as two factors affecting cultural acculturation

Cultural integration is one of the integration forms of acculturation. Social distance and psychological distance are two basic concepts in acculturation model theory (Meiella et al., 2020). Two factors affecting cultural acculturation are as follows. First, the social distance and acculturation. Social distance refers to the status of the cultural group's society relative to the target culture community or the degree to which the cultural group is accommodated and in contact with the target culture community (Magee, 2020). Social distance is determined by a series of social factors that reflect the relationship between the cultural group community and the target cultural community, including:

Social dominance means that in the fields of politics, economy, culture, technology, etc., the learner community and the target culture community are equal. Not one is superior to the other. Integration pattern, also called Marriage pattern, refers to whether the target culture community assimilates the cultural group community, retains its way of life and values, or both, which not only adapts to the target culture but also follows its own culture in its own life circle. The cultural acculturation between China and Bali is carried out under the background of mutual acceptance and respect between the two groups. The ethnic fusion of Chinese and Balinese has created a soil for cultural fusion and cultural co-construction. Acknowledging the subjectivity of culture is, first of all, under the premise that every culture has the right to exist and develop, that is, it recognizes the diversity and rationality of cultures, recognizes that any culture has its own characteristics and values, that different cultures play an equally important role in their respective peoples, and that there is no difference between advanced and backward cultural traditions. Acknowledging the subjectivity of each other's culture is a key point for cultural coexistence and reducing cultural conflicts. Recognition of cultural subjectivity must mean giving up dominance over the other side and believing in equality between subjects. The three villages with the largest concentration of Chinese in Bali are Baturiti and Carangsari dan Padangbai. According to Professor Wayan's investigation, the ancient Chinese were known for their good at commercial

trade after they settled in Bali.

The Chinese still gather near the traditional market to facilitate the trade of agricultural commodities. The ancestors of the Chinese people in Carangsari were respected by the royal family and were given spears and Kris swords, and a special cemetery was designated for the Chinese in the village. The Chinese living in Bali have been intermarrying with the locals in the rolling wheels of history. Even today, in some places, it is impossible to tell which is Chinese and which is Balinese by appearance. Padangbai is a village in Bulerang County, Bali. It used to be the largest trading port in Bali when it was prosperous. Chinese people gather here today. Putu Nik Wijaya, a descendant of the Chinese, said that the Karangasem royal family has close relations with the Chinese. For this reason, King Karangasem set aside a place in the royal temple Sekara Temple to allow the Chinese to build a shrine (Bale Pawedan). Until today, the descendants of the Chinese still guard the altar. In addition, the Chinese also set up shrines (palinggih Ratu Subandar) in pura Tanjungsari. It can be seen from this that the local Balinese are tolerant of their beliefs, fully respect the Chinese, and even allow the Chinese to express their beliefs in the most sacred territory they consider. It also shows that after the Chinese came to Indonesia, what they brought was peace and friendship, which brought many benefits to the development of the local society, and was highly welcomed and fully recognized by the Balinese as the main cultural body. Next, culture congruence. Culture congruence refers to whether the cultures of two societies are similar or different. Many factors in Chinese culture are compatible with Balinese culture and easily understood and accepted. This is a cultural harmony type. The Chinese and the Balinese have a tradition of ancestor worship and religious belief, and different forms of music, art, and painting are used to express ancestor worship and deity worship. Diligence, simplicity, love of life, and pursuit of beauty have led to the fusion of the two cultures.

The psychological distance and cultural adaptation. Psychological distance refers to the overall psychological feeling of the individual learner towards the target culture and its community. It is related to the individual culture holder's adaptability to the adapting task and belongs to the personal emotional variable (Chu & Yang, 2018). Several psychological factors mainly determine psychological distance. Culture shock refers to the confusion and fear that culture holders experience when using the target culture. Culture shock (culture shock) refers to the anxiety and loss

of culture holders when they come into contact with a new culture. An important concept when dealing with culture shock is motivation. Motivation refers to the culture holders' learning of the target culture and their efforts to achieve the purpose. Balinese are open and tolerant of foreign cultures. Immigration is the manifestation of globalization, the interaction process between immigrant individuals and the individual or collective of mainstream society, and the process of interaction and adaptation of various cultures (Grigoryev, et al., 2022). Cultural fusion results from mutual recognition and appreciation among different cultural subjects in the same cultural environment. It is the main mode of cultural harmony and adaptation and achieves true social and ethnic fusion. Facing the foreign Chinese culture from the Balinese society, it integrates some elements into the local cultural form. It faces Chinese culture with an open and inclusive attitude, making it possible to integrate Chinese culture into Balinese culture.

Many factors in Chinese culture are compatible with Balinese culture and easily understood and accepted. This is a cultural harmony type. The Chinese and the Balinese have a tradition of ancestor worship and religious belief, and different forms of music, art, and painting are used to express ancestor worship and deity worship. Diligence, simplicity, love of life, and pursuit of beauty have led to the fusion of the two cultures. Balinese use their cultural thinking to understand and introduce Chinese culture. The borrowing of cultural elements is not copying but adapting them. For example, porcelain as a decoration is one of the uses of Chinese porcelain. However, it is Balinese originality to inlay the porcelain plate on the wall's surface or hang it in the living room for decoration. Copper coins were the medium of exchange in ancient Chinese society and were often used for sacrifices or prayers. Copper coins also used to be used as a medium for commodity exchange in Bali, but over time, the social role of copper coins has changed. Bali people not only use copper coins as an important tool for blessing and sacrifice but also carry out various activities related to gods. At the same time, the production material of copper coins was changed, the aluminum alloy was used as an alternative material, and the shape was still the shape of copper coins. Therefore, when the Balinese passed on their own culture, they borrowed copper coins with Chinese cultural characteristics or the inspiration brought by copper coins. The latter introduced concepts, not real objects. Moreover, migration of ancestor worship. Ancestor worship is a primitive religion with the core content of sacrificing the dead ancestors and praying for shelter. It is a

primitive religion composed of totem worship, reproductive worship, and soul worship. The indispensable spiritual force of production and the production of human beings has had an extremely extensive and far-reaching influence in the history of human civilization development. Ancestor worship is a major feature of Balinese culture. In absorbing Chinese cultural elements, this practice has been transferred to Balinese people to sage or even deify the "capable people" in Chinese culture that are well-known to Balinese people and worship them in the form of god worship. Such is the cult of the Balinese to Ratu Gede Subbandar and Ratu Ayo Subbandar.

Conclusion

The presented data and discussion above have revealed that the culture of Bali, in some cases, is mixed with the culture of Chinese. The Chinese who settled in Bali brought Chinese culture to Bali and at the same time absorbed elements of Balinese culture into Chinese culture, thus giving Balinese Chinese culture its unique characteristics. For example, every Chinese New Year, Chinese families in Bali will hang high Penjor in front of the gate, and they will not be taken down until the Lantern Festival. The benjiaer is a woven fabric hanging in front of the door during the grand festival in Bali. The difference is that the Chinese will hang a big red lantern on the benjiaer. The names of the Chinese and their descendants are gradually becoming Balinese, and unique names and words that only Balinese people can use will be added to the names, such as Wayan Mader, who is the eldest, second, and third and fourth in the family such as *Made*, *Komang*, and *Ketut*, or *Ni* for women and *I* for men, etc. The temples and houses built by the Chinese also fully reflect the architectural characteristics of Bali. Looking forward to that from this article, more scholars are interested in overseas Chinese culture and participate in the research. At the same time, as described and analyzed in this paper, Balinese, in turn, absorb Chinese cultural elements. Open and tolerant attitudes, they integrated Chinese cultural elements into Balinese religion, art, and daily life, enriching the local culture. They raised cultural integration and cultural co-construction to new levels. It provides a model for the integration of civilizations around the world.

Acknowledgments

Throughout the writing of this manuscript, I have got a great support from my tutor, professor Shao Yi, whose expertise was invaluable in formulating the research questions and methodology. Moreover, I would express my sincere gratitude to the publisher of ARISTO, which gives me a big chance to publish my research. At last, I would like to thanks the ARISTO's reviewers, who have spent time making valuable corrections dealing with technical writing styles or ideas about this writing.

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The Case of Holywings Bar and Its Existence Upon the Legal and Socio-Political Perspectives in Indonesia



Kasus Bar Holywings dan Eksistensinya dalam Perspektif Hukum dan Sosial Politik di Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFORMATION

Keywords

*The Case of Holywings;
 The Existence of
 Holywings;
 Socio-Politics;
 Legal Perspective.*

ABSTRACT

The case of Holywings Bar is an issue that has garnered public attention following their social media promotions on alcoholic beverage products by including the names of Muhammad and Maria. This case is considered as a sensitive issue in a country with the majority of its population are Muslims. Thus, by the initiative of several community groups, this issue has been reported to the legal apparatus to stop all its operations in Jakarta and other big cities entirely. Based on the issue, this study is conducted to obtain a profound understanding toward the case of Holywings bar and its existence in Indonesia viewed from the legal and socio-political aspects. In discussing the problem of this study, we collect information from various newspapers and other legal and socio-political science publishers as the supporting data. Then, we analyze the data through phenomenological approach and draw conclusions believed as the best answer for the problem. Finally, the researchers conclude that the case of Holywings Bar is declared as having violated the law and business licensing regulations for bars that sell alcoholic beverages. According to several experts, the closure of Holywings Bar can be viewed from the legal and socio-political perspectives related to the 2024 presidential election, since the majority of voters for presidential candidates are from Islamic groups who support the closure, and they are closely related to one of the presidential candidates in 2024. Hence, the results of this study are expected to be beneficial toward the development of similar studies in the future.

Kata Kunci

Kasus Holywings;
 Keberadaan Holywings;
 Sosial Politik;
 Perspektif Hukum.

ABSTRAK

Kasus Holywings menjadi perhatian publik setelah bar ini mempromosikan produk minuman beralkohol dengan mencantumkan nama Muhammad dan Maria dalam promosi media sosial. Kasus ini dianggap sebagai isu sensitif di negara yang mayoritas penduduknya beragama Islam, sehingga atas inisiatif beberapa kelompok masyarakat, hal ini telah diajukan ke aparat hukum agar semua operasi di Jakarta dan kota-kota besar lainnya dihentikan total. Berdasarkan permasalahan tersebut, kami melakukan penelitian ini dengan maksud untuk mendapatkan pemahaman yang lebih mendalam tentang kasus Holywing Bar dan keberadaannya di Indonesia dari aspek hukum dan sosial politik. Untuk membahas masalah penelitian ini, kami memperoleh informasi sebagai data pendukung dari berbagai surat kabar dan penerbit ilmu hukum dan sosial politik lainnya, kemudian kami mempelajari secara fenomenologis dan menarik kesimpulan yang kami yakini telah menjawab masalah dengan baik. Akhirnya dapat disimpulkan bahwa kasus Holywings telah dinyatakan melanggar hukum dan peraturan perizinan usaha mengenai bar yang menjual minuman beralkohol. Menurut beberapa ahli, keberadaan mereka telah ditutup dan dilihat dari perspektif hukum dan sosial politik dalam pemilihan presiden 2024 karena mayoritas pemilih untuk calon presiden berasal dari kelompok Islam, yang saat ini tampaknya memiliki hubungan dekat dengan salah satu dari para calon presiden tahun 2024. Dengan demikian, hasil penelitian ini diharapkan dapat menjadi masukan yang berarti dalam pengembangan penelitian sejenis di masa mendatang.

Article History

Send 11th July 2022
 Review 29th July 2022
 Accepted 23th August 2022

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Introduction

The case of Holywings bar has shocked the virtual world following its promotions on alcoholic beverage products, causing the case to become a legal case (Batubara, 2022). The allegation that initiates a controversial issue is the promotion of alcoholic beverages by mentioning the names of guests as Muhammad and Maria. In the aftermath of the issue, six Holywings's promoting staff are named as suspects by being charged with double articles, including Article 14 Number 1 and 2 of the 1945 Republic of Indonesia Law and Article 156 of the Criminal Code. Moreover, Holywings bar is also subjected to article 28 paragraph 2 of the Republic of Indonesia law number 19 of 2016 concerning changes to the law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2008 on the IT law. Thus based on the law above, Holywings is threatened with a maximum sentence of 10 years in prison. Additionally, it is essential to know the actions and role of the promotions, which has caused controversy in various media. Regarding the Kotamobagu portal, Hotman Paris's Instagram account, Holywings is a business group with three kind of businesses: bars, nightclubs, and restaurants. There is other news saying that Holywings plans to open 100 branches throughout Indonesia. This possibly makes Holywings exists in all major cities in Indonesia to perform music concerts and invite famous musicians in Indonesia. Hence, the bar increasingly becomes a business that colors nightlife by getting several national investors as shareholders (Rachmawati et al., 2022).

As a glimpse into its history, Holywings was founded in 2014 and had a beer house, nightclub, and lounge. Previously, this beer house was located in the Kelapa Gading area, North Jakarta, under the name Kedai Opa (Kusnadi, 2021). Since then, Holywings has worked under the name PT. Aneka Bintang Gading (Holywings Group), as a restaurant and bar company. Through the Holywings YouTube channel, Ivan Tanjaya, the Co-Founder of Holywings, provides information about the history of Holywings. Then, Holywings suddenly went viral and was highlighted by the public after promoting liquor by defaming the holy name of Religion and Christianity. As a result, the restaurant's business license was revoked, which caused many Holywings outlets to be closed in various areas. According to the General Manager of Holywings Indonesia Project Company, Yuli Setiawan, Holywings's clubs and restaurants have problems with licensing, causing all outlets in the Jakarta area to be sealed and closed. The management of Holywings Bar and Restaurant adds that the six employees, who are named as suspects related to the promotion of free alcoholic beverages with SARA nuances, have been dismissed even though currently Holywings in Indonesia has 36 branches of Holywings Bar and Club outside Java, including Medan, Pekanbaru, Batam to Makassar (Handayani & Erwita, 2021; Iva, 2018).

After receiving public attention in various mainstream media as well as social media regarding the racist promotional element (Christian S, 2017), eventually by following the direction from the governor of DKI Jakarta, the police acts decisively. This act is also taken based on the recommendations and findings from two of DKI Jakarta provincial legal apparatus who examine the licensing service for 12 Holywings restaurant outlets in Jakarta following the provisions and laws enforced in the DKI Jakarta government. This examination is conducted through a field review by the government collaborating with other governmental elements such as the DKI Jakarta civil service police unit. After the review, several violations were found, which became the basis for the DKI Jakarta government to revoke Holywings's operational permit (Arrum, 2019).

As viewing the results of the study and performing a research on the online licensing documents, the Online Single Submission Risk-Based, and field monitoring, there are several Holywings group's outlets located in the city of Jakarta. It is verified that there are several outlets with no standard certification based on the Standard Classification of Indonesian Business Fields, number 56301, relating to the type of bar business (Rahmawati, 2019). Thus eventually, the city government of DKI Jakarta officially revokes the operating license for the Holywings business in the city of Jakarta. The revocation is executed by the DKI Jakarta City's Investment and One-Stop Integrated Service Office based on the findings and recommendations from the two regional institutions, including the Tourism and Creative Economy Department as well as the Cooperative Trading Industry and MSME Service. On this basis, the city government, through the police, closes the 12 Holywings business operations (Sarbini et al., 2019).

Observing the political climate in Indonesia as a country with a majority of Muslim population, any changes both in terms of government and society are closely related to the interests of the majority of the Indonesian population (Koehrsen, 2021). In other words, something huge about politics and other changes can be correlated with the issues of religion and power such as politics. In this case, these two entities experience a process of mutually supporting each other, considering that religion in Indonesia is not only a matter of spiritual life between humans and God, but also a link between the individual identity as a human being and the state life pattern as well as other social affairs (Zuhdi, 2018). Hence in Indonesia, Islam holds a strategic role in making any changes, thus it provides nuances of values and norms in building the state politics and the order of the socio-cultural life of the Indonesian people. Countries dominated by elements of strong religious power will create a country that tends to produce leadership with the ethical position of Islamic religious leaders (Bruinessen, 2013).

Up to this day, the leader with visible act of leadership is Anies Baswedan, who is theologically and materially very conservative in favor of the majority of the Indonesian Muslim community, especially in the city of Jakarta. It has become a problem for the secular groups who are immediately marginalized, since majority of the political elements will become more dominant (Hasyim, 2020). Correlated to the political and religious matters, the issue on the closing of Holywings can be considered as very conservative, although we live in a modern life. It can be used as the instrument to be dominant in politics. However, politics shall be based only on the concept where people can lead a democratic life that is free from various aspects outside the state. Therefore, religion-related issues that become political issues are things that must be realized to have interrelated impacts, once Islam is considered in politics. The idea of integrating religious values into governmental affairs can be seen in the acts of Jakarta's governor, Anies Baswedan. He, in his governance, tends to favor the majority, the Islamic group, which is the current dominant element in determining political policy in the country, with having no favor in state managed by other parties, including the secular ones (Mujani, 2020).

In other words, most Muslims refuse the idea of religion being separated from politics and the state, assuming that religion is not only a private matter concerning the interests of the society with the God (Witro, 2020). According to the notion of Muslims in majority, religion is not only a ritual affair describing the existence of humans with their God, but also a religion with a system that regulates the colorful journey of the Indonesian nation to date. It is imprinted in the previous arrangement of the Jakarta charter which declares the obligation in conducting Islamic law for its adherents, replaced later with the obligation in believing the God almighty. What happened to the former governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahya Purnama, is one evident of Muslims supporting its notion. Thus, there is an awareness that those who lead a country with Muslims in majority shall be a Muslim (Friedell, 2014).

Hence, when it is correlated to the leadership of the president in the future, this becomes a scourge for political opponents from the modern era to break every element of Indonesian educational leadership from the Islamic majority, a.k.a the conservative groups (Keohane, 2017). This is a maneuver carried out by many national political figures, such as in the 2009 presidential election when the moderate groups tried to win sympathy by choosing a presidential candidate from Islamic figures. It is not credible. This is the political system in our homeland, where the conservative clerics or 'ulama' are considered. Thus, the main purpose of this study is to see the nuances of the majority interests performed by the supposed presidential candidate, in this case is the current governor of DKI Jakarta, by closing a nightclub which is

found guilty of violating the operational rules. In other words, this act will possibly affect the favor of Muslims in majority in selecting the president and leadership which can be seen in the daily life of a figure close to the Islamic parties in the homeland (Keohane, 2017).

Through a study aimed to gain a deep understanding toward the case of Holywings Bar and its existence from the legal and socio-political perspectives and as an audience based on legal and socio-political knowledge, at least it will be obtained factual information through a series of studies on cases related to religious blasphemy, such as participating in promoting alcoholic beverages by mentioning the names of Islamic religious figure, Muhammad, and Maria from Christian public figures. Based on the understanding on the legal status of Holywings Bar, having no license to operate is an absolute act of violating the law, thus it is reasonable to stop its operation. Anything happens in this country must include the elements of causes and problems as well as solutions and consequences. As an individual or audience with a background in law and socio-political science, this study is seen as significant since it is related to the issues of violations affecting the security and the comfort of people's lives. The author believes that this study has been conducted by following the correct methodology and will a gain a different result, by reading or following the developments of various media broadcasts (Sovacool et al., 2018).

The understanding or knowledge obtained through a series of studies that go through a scientific methodological process will undoubtedly become new information or understanding that will provide critical input in the study of legal science and politics in Indonesia. By understanding the problems above, we would like to gain an in-depth understanding on the case of Holywings Bar and its existence from a legal and socio-political perspective in Indonesia. For this reason, we will review some works of literature from various sources such as books and other scientific papers until we gain data for us to make new knowledge. The question is, what and how does Holywings Bar exist from a legal and socio-political point of view in Indonesia?

Method

In the following section, we will explain the steps and stages in carrying out the study to understand the Bar Holywings case and its existence in terms of legal and socio-political perspectives in Indonesia. To discuss the problem of this study, the authors first decide the understanding on the Holywings issue and the study's objectives mentioned above. Furthermore, the data is collected by searching some literatures and information sources to complete this discussion, such as news communication in various sources as well as the

publication of books and scientific journals related to the issue of religious torture, violation of government regulations related to business desires and aspects behind the cases experienced by the Indonesian (Parry et al., 2014).

After collecting the data, we tried to analyze it by using a phenomenological approach to find the answers for something phenomenal from a large amount of data to reply to the study's central question. After writing the discussion, which is a draft process until it is finished, we conduct various traditions to see the relevance between the discussion and the purpose of the study (Bryman et al., 2011). After making a revision and displaying the right decision, it is submitted by editing and providing. Then, we state that the writing process of the data has met the article writing standards. Hence, those are the steps in writing this paper. It is designed in a descriptive qualitative format following the previous reports and writings on qualitative studies regarding issues which attract the public concern in Indonesia viewed from the country's social and political perspectives (Jakob et al., 2020).

We can state that the results of this study are valid, for the reason that this study has succeeded in obtaining findings by reading sources with high credibility. The data and information obtained are originated from various publications mentioned above, thus the quality of the study results is transparent and trustworthy. We examine several data through an analysis and interpretation performed carefully, therefore as we verify, we believe that the element of validity in this qualitative study can be accounted for the sense that it will produce similar output with less differences. The technique conducted is to examine by evaluating the data correctly to ensure the accuracy of all data. We use a phenomenological approach and common data coding combined with qualitative studies to seek the validity of the findings. Hence, we have similar findings in the Holywings study and the status of its existence in Indonesia as it is examined by other parties. Indeed, from the results, it can be seen that there are many similarities, and the truth of reality is not always to be precisely the same or singular yet can be understood with various truths (Bryman et al., 2011).

Results and Discussion

The Holywings case and the favorable law in Indonesia

As seen from a positive law's point of view in Indonesia, the case of Holywings Bar, which has been reported to the state police by a team of Indonesian youth advocacy associations, is also related to the case of alleged blasphemy (Lala, 2017). The complainants stated that they had reported the management of the Holywings cafe for committing blasphemy through social media, as currently being discussed by many circles (Adinugraha et al., 2021).

The reporting party stated that the alleged blasphemy of religion included the names of two religious leadership figures highly respected by the two major religions in Indonesia. As the report that lead to the case of alleged blasphemy, racism and hate speech is submitted and received, the articles suspected is immediately arranged, such as article 28 paragraph 2, article 45 paragraph 2 of law number 19 of 2016 (Azis, 2016). The temporarily alleged articles related to this report include the criminal act of blasphemy through electronic media channels with a penalty of 5 years in prison. In promoting every product sold at the café, it should have gone through a mechanism of procedural decision-making by the management. Moreover, the outlet manager shall know the ranks of subordinates carrying out the promotion as well as the policies given to the Holywings Bar company outlet. Therefore actually, not only ensnaring the ordinary employees, but it is also necessary to search to the top management (Azis, 2016).

Furthermore, talking about the legal violations committed by Holywings, especially before the case of promoting free alcohol by mentioning the names of Muhammad and Maria, the management has already made three mistakes resulted in the public opposition. Previously, Holywings had violated the original movement restriction rules during Covid-19 in 2021. They had violated the policy of implementing restrictions on the community activities. It was found that several Holywing branches located in the Jakarta area had violated the rules three times, in February and September 2021. Indeed, the branch manager had admitted the errors due to activities that passed the operational hours set by the government policies. Holywings was sanctioned by the DKI Jakarta government and was exposed to a fine of 50 million rupiahs (Setiyanto et al., 2017).

Another case prior to the blasphemy occurred with Holywings received a warning from the mayor of Bogor, as the Bogor city government would not permit its operations since Holywings sells alcoholic beverages of 5% and above. There is also the case of molester at the Holywings Bar in Jogja (Soenartho & Sitabuana, 2022). It happened in early June last year, when there was an abuse against the son of the principal commissioner of Bank Jatim Supratman at the Holywings Yogya areas. However, the case had nothing to do with Holywings since the abuse occurred between fellow visitors, and the victim came to discuss other collaborative work. As someone came to their table, the victim told them to leave, but a dispute ensued until, finally, there was a beating. As known by many people, Holywings had uploaded a promotion for free alcoholic drinks that had gone viral. In the promotion, it is clearly shown a picture of an alcoholic drink bottle with a post description using capital letters, mentioning the names of Muhammad and Maria ordered to go to Holywings immediately (Zulkarnain et al., 2021). This promotion initiates contra and criticism from various parties in the community

making the Holywings Indonesia to apologize to the public and the police to name six suspects related to the promotion case (Aminuddin, 2017).

Holywings permanently closed

The government's policy of sealing the Holywings bar and restaurant in Surabaya, East Java, has changed to a permanent closure. This action is taken since Holywings' businesses in the three locations in Surabaya have no operational permit for selling and serving alcoholic beverages on-site (Purnama, 2018). The three Holywings locations are permanently closed as the business premises have no business registration number (BRN) and standard certificate (SS) through the Online Single Submission Risk-Based Approach or licensing in an integrated network with a risk-based approach. Holywings does not have a business license, a commercial license, or an operating license following the line of business without a NIB. Thus, the integrated apparatus of East Java and Surabaya can take firmer action against Holywings. The business boards at the three locations have been removed, preventing Holywings from continuing to operate (Nainggolan et al., 2021).

The authority of Jakarta city confirmed that Holywings could not be reopened to operate. The reason is that some Holywings cafes violate some permits. It cannot be opened again. Meanwhile, as already mentioned, the police have named six Holywings employees as suspects in the alleged blasphemy case related to the promotion of liquor for the names of Muhammad and Maria. Public attention has now shifted to who owns Holywings. It was revealed that the name of the presenter artist Nikita Mirzani and one of the leading advocates, Hotman Paris became a shareholder of Holywings. Holywings restaurant is viral and is still in the spotlight after promoting liquor aliases named Muhammad and Maria. As a result, the restaurant's business license was revoked, which caused many Holywings outlets to be closed in various areas (Indonesia, 2022).

The alleged political overtones at the closing of Holywings Bar

The Jakarta authority's decision to close Holywings due to its viral alcohol promotion case is deemed as appropriate. The closure is considered as the right decision, thus the social problems related to the issue can be stopped. This decision must be taken since it is a sensitive matter (Asih & Asih, 2015). The authority's move to close the Holywings Bar is appropriate to prevent any bigger religion-related social problems. The policies taken regarding the case of Holywings must be based on the law, since any decision based on the law would not be politically difficult. However, many people disagree with Holywings to be permanently closed

in case they are willing to obey the laws and regulations of business orders in Indonesia (Sinaga et al., 2020).

That public perception cannot be eliminated, it is clear and concrete, yet the decision made by the regional government is the right one. Even if the option is permanently closed, it would not be appropriate if there is no a strong warning first (Enrici & Hubacek, 2016). The 13 Holywings outlets in Jakarta are closed by the government for a reason, and it is a matter of business license with the Holywings Bar is said to have licensing problems. Based on the results of the study and through the examination of Online Single Submission Risk-Based Approach licensing document as well as field monitoring, several Holywings Group outlets located in the Jakarta area are proven to have no standard certificate of classification of the Indonesian economic activities 56301 regarding verified bar business (Yovellia Londo et al., 2019).

Facts about the existence of Holywings

The existence of Holywings in several cities is quite interesting to understand. One example is on the presence of a Holywings bar in North Sumatra, Medan City, which currently has been closed by the authorities in the city of Medan. Judging from the Holywings case as released a few days ago which they became the spotlight due to one of the promotional activities for alcoholic beverages by mentioning the names of Muhammad and Maria, the governments of both the city of Medan and the governor of North Sumatra agree to close the Holywings operation (Rachmiatie et al., 2021). In fact, based on the statement of Medan city authority, this contradictory bar has no permit to operate. Futhermore, according to the provincial government of North Sumatra, until the Holywings controversial issue emerged, the provincial government of North Sumatra had never given a permit for the operation of Holywings bar in the city, thus its existence could be immediately evaluated (Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015).

Due to the absence of such important business permit, eventually based on the considerations and decisions of the provincial government of North Sumatra and the mayor of Medan, the Holywings bar is closed for operations. According to the government regulation number 52 of 2021 regarding the implementation of licensing and risk-based business, the Holywings permit should be issued by the province of North Sumatra. However, Holywings in the Medan city area was existed before the government regulation number 5 of 2021 published, yet they were still related to the permits implemented at the district level of Medan city (Yunari et al., 2022). However, based on the following fact revealed by the mayor of Medan, it is said

that based on the inspection conducted by his party, the Holywings operational permit is not following the agreed commitments. Unfortunately, the mayor of Medan did not specify the obligations violated by Holywings, which operates the night pub, restaurant, and club sector (Manurung et al., 2022).

Therefore, Holywings has stopped its operations and collaborated with the security authorities of Medan city. It urges Holywings to stop operating until the following change. By law, Holywings, in case they want to work in a business field that provides a risk-based licensing business with selling alcoholic beverages, the authority in charge of giving the permission is at the provincial government level of North Sumatra (Praise et al., 2022). The government has enacted the regulation number 28 of 2018 in the city district level, and according to the old government regulations, there has been no confirmation from Holywings. Further, the Hollywood nightclub company has not yet mutated its existing license from being a cafe to a nightclub. The handover refers to Holywings, who must limit their operational permits, to the province as regulated by law, then the Medan city authorities shall seek a solution for this company to be closed. The closure of Holywings in the city of Medan is purely a matter of law and permission. It has nothing to do with popularity and other socio-political elements (Patunru et al., 2012).

Anies' political image to religious groups

The closure of Holywings due to the case of violating the rules for business licenses in selling the alcoholic beverages, according to an analysis by the executive director of Indonesia's political parameters, it is stated that before the political year of the 2024 election, the presidential candidates commonly head for public attention, one of them is the current holder of the Jakarta city authority (Kurniawati et al., 2022). This can be interpreted from various points of view. From a political perspective, this is a decision desired by religious-based or conservative voters. This group still maintains conservative values by supporting the government's movement to stop any business activities oriented to blasphemy and risky activities, such as bars selling alcoholic beverages and any entertainment activities that violate regulations and wishes (Ruchiandean & Samputra, 2020). With the bold move of closing outlets like Holywings, the Holywings case could become a highly politically sensitive case, and the movement can be seen as an act of the presidential candidate siding with the religious or conservative groups. For example, in case Anis wants to win the election, Anis shall be able to stand automatically in front of the major population in Jakarta, who are the Muslims. This will strengthen Anis' religious image as he cares and is close to Islamic groups. This is very

reasonable as viewed from a political perspective and challenging for a prospective leader like Anis, who as a presidential candidate must be ready facing both moderate and liberal groups (Sahasrad, 2020).

That is the basis for future presidential candidates in Indonesia, to think or stay affiliated with Muslim voter groups, like happened in the Jakarta gubernatorial election (Kristiyanti et al., 2019). It is undeniable that the current governor of Jakarta, Anies Baswedan, has shown a leadership attitude close to the Islamic groups in Jakarta. However, based on the opinion of the director of the Indonesian survey agency, from a political point of view, the governor's decision to close the circle (Holywings) is an unfavorable political move. The director of the Indonesian survey agency see that the closing of Holywings has shifted from grazing on various issues, not only violations of the law but also humanity and others, such as the impact of the closure which causes the employees worked in the Holywings to become unemployed. This is according to an analysis by the Directors of the Indonesian Survey agency (Samosir, 2021).

Several groups of Survey Institutions, for example, also conducts the same running. Supposedly, the presidential candidates must be able to consolidate supporters from both Islamic group affiliations as well as the moderate groups, thus this becomes a joint ownership regardless of the point of view in the needs of specific figures to achieve the desired popularity achievement. Hence, with each strategy, presidential candidates will be able to compete for the presidential election without any negative impressions of hostility, as happened to the closure of Holywings, which full of religious nuances, laws, violations of business rules, and other impacts (Buchan et al., 2014).

Conclusion

The case of Holywings and its existence viewed from a legal and socio-political perspective in Indonesia is the central core of this study. By searching the data of the study in various sources, such as online newspapers and literary sources such as publications in the form of books and scientific articles related to the issue of law violations, night entertainment business permits, and blasphemy, we are able to answer the research problem supported by various facts of thought and studies by scholars—expert as a researcher in the fields of law, social culture and politics. We got a new understanding, among others, regarding the case of Holywings Bar and its existence in an excellent legal area in Indonesia. The first is that the promotion of Holywings Bar is a pure violation to the positive law in Indonesia, where the management of this night entertainment bar has deliberately mentioned two names with religious symbols, including the name of Muhammad (the prophet of Islam whose name is

highly glorified by the majority of Muslims in Indonesia) as well as the name of Maria (a noble name in Christianity). Furthermore, the existence of Holywings Bar as an entertainment and business bar that sells alcoholic beverages holds no complete permits regarding the business license and operations.

Finally, at the end of this section, we conclude the core of the discussion of our study, which aims to gain an in-depth understanding on the case of Holywings bar. Based on our study, Holywings Bar has violated the positive law as well as raised the sensitive aspects and issues in social and political views. On the other hand, there are many different views from some specialists or experts which some say that this closure has a political connection. It is assumed to gain the political support and popularity for the Jakarta's Governor, Anies Baswedan, in smoothing his way to the 2024 presidential election by obtaining the support from the conservative Islamic groups. However, despite the consequences and the authority, the regional government has closed the bars that sell alcohol related to the case of blasphemy. We also conclude that, among other things, the Holywings bars in Medan and other cities are forced to close due to violating the operating license, as the nightclub bar operates outside the specified hours. Additionally, we also find opinions that the case of closing the bar is related to the political efforts of the Jakarta's governor, Anies Baswedan, in building his image and political nuances for the 2024 presidential election as one of the prospective candidate.

However, we also find data showing that Anies' action to close the Holywings Bar has no impact in his political electability. At least, to summarize the conclusions of this study, we recognize that this study still lacks and has many limitations, ranging from the problems raised in the research methods to the reporting results. Therefore, we are expected for some feedbacks for our future improvements.

Acknowledgments

The author receives funding assistance for this project from the government through the Ministry of Education, Directorate of Higher Education in Indonesia. We thank for all your support and encouragement.

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The Politics of Clean Water Management: A Critical Review on the Scarcity of Clean Water in Kedungringin Village

Politik Pengelolaan Air Bersih: Tinjauan Kritis terhadap Kelangkaan Air Bersih di Kampung Kedungringin



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ARTICLE INFORMATION

Keywords

*The Politics of Clean Water Management;
 PDAM;
 Cluster Housing;*

ABSTRACT

This paper will examine the politics of clean water management, a review on the scarcity of clean water quality in Kedungringin Village, Sukawangi District, Bekasi Regency. This study is conducted due to a problem occurred in Kedungringin Village regarding the lack of access to clean water both in quality and quantity. Various efforts have been taken by the villagers of Kedungringin, such as constructing boreholes with the help of benefactors. However, this is insufficient to meet the needs of clean water for all residents. In this case, the role of PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi is limited as not being able to reach the Kedungringin Village area due to the far distance of Clean Water Pipeline from the location of Kedungringin Village. By these problems, this study will examine the efforts taken by PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi and the authority of Sukaringin Village in fulfilling the need of clean water access in Kedungringin Village. The research method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative research method with a case study approach. The results of this study indicate that the efforts taken by PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi in fulfilling the need of clean water for the villagers in Kedungringin have not been realized yet. This is for the reason that in constructing a new clean water pipeline, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi only reaches the housing/cluster area in Sukaringin Village. Hence, the clean water is unable to flow to Kedungringin Village since PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi prioritizes the cluster housing areas by collaborating with developers. This means that the well-financed community will be prioritized over the low-financed community.

Kata Kunci

*Politik Pengelolaan Air Bersih;
 PDAM;
 Perumahan Cluster;*

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini akan mengkaji tentang politik pengelolaan air bersih sebuah tinjauan atas langkanya kualitas air bersih di Kampung Kedungringin Kecamatan Sukawangi Kabupaten Bekasi. Alasan penelitian ini dilakukan adalah karena terjadi persoalan di Kampung Kedungringin yakni tidak adanya akses terhadap air bersih baik secara kualitas maupun kuantitas. Berbagai upaya telah dilakukan oleh masyarakat Kampung Kedungringin seperti membangun sumur bor dengan bantuan dari para dermawan. Namun hal ini belum cukup untuk memenuhi kebutuhan air bersih bagi seluruh warga. Peran PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi pun dalam hal ini belum mampu menjangkau wilayah Kampung Kedungringin karena Saluran Pipa Air Bersih jauh dari lokasi Kampung Kedungringin. Dengan permasalahan tersebut, maka penelitian ini akan mengkaji terkait bagaimana upaya yang dilakukan PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi dan Pemerintah Desa Sukaringin dalam memenuhi akses kebutuhan air bersih di Kampung kedungringin. Metode Penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa upaya yang dilakukan PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi dalam memenuhi kebutuhan air bersih bagi masyarakat Kampung Kedungringin belum terealisasi. Hal ini dikarenakan PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi dalam pembangunan saluran pipa air bersih baru sampai ke wilayah perumahan/cluster di Desa Sukaringin. Air bersih belum bisa mengalir ke Kampung Kedungringin karena PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi lebih memprioritaskan Kawasan perumahan cluster bekerjasama dengan pengembang. Itu artinya kelompok masyarakat yang mempunyai uang akan lebih diprioritaskan daripada kelompok masyarakat yang tidak mempunyai uang.

Article History

Send 8th June 2022
 Review 30th June 2022
 Accepted 24th August 2022

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Introduction

This paper will examine the Politics of Clean Water Management: A Critical Review on the Clean Water Shortage in Kedungringin Village. This study is important to be conducted as it is related to the politics of clean water management which is associated with the accessibility perspective. The accessibility perspective is used to see the role of PDAM in providing clean water from various aspects of convenience in providing facilities and infrastructure. Empirically, the problem occurred in Kedungringin Village is the crisis of clean water experienced by the villagers for years. This problem becomes serious since the role of the local government and PDAM as the supplier for clean water is proven insignificant by providing no clean water to Kedungringin village. The problem in the scarcity of clean water should become the concern of the village as well as the district government. Yet in fact, up to this day, Kedungringin Village only receives financial assistance from donors in providing the clean water. Thus, it is interesting to see why this happens and how the clean water in Kedungringin Village is managed so far.

A previous study discussing the accessibility perspective is not related to the politics of clean water management, yet it is related to the water security (Eloise M. Biggs, 2013). The next study is a research on the role of village women in providing clean water. The results of this study indicate that it is important to consider gender issue in the management of clean water (Kathleen Kevany, 2013). Other study is about the public participation in the water management. The results of this study show that the public participation in the management of resources is considered as the main pillar in sustainable development. Water management is a primary example, and women globally are the main users as well as protectors of water. However, the effectiveness of participatory water management practices is rarely examined from a feminist perspective. This article sets out a methodological framework for such investigation, based on the theory of ecofeminism and the Brazilian concept of 'feminist transformative leadership' by considering gender, racial and class aspects of the participatory water management in Brazil (Andrea Moreas, 2007).

Water has a highly strategic role and must remain available in a required quantity, thus it can support the human's life and the implementation of development both in the present and the future. The fulfillment in the need of clean water for a particular community becomes a reference in determining whether the community in one location or village experiences a shortage or not. In the chain of life, water is very important. The need for water certainly continues to increase from time to time. This is not only caused by the increasing population, but also due the use in the industrial, agricultural and fishery activities. The United Nations has

reported that in 2002, there were more than one billion people having no access to clean water. This indicates that the clean water crisis is a serious issue, as water is not evenly distributed in the world (Endaryanta, 2007). The Regional Drinking Water Company (PDAM) as the organizer of Water Supply System (SPAM) (sihotang, 2018) must provide maximum service both in the terms of water quantity and quality for the community, especially the customers, both in providing water for the community needs and ensuring the water quality in accordance to the water quality standards. This is for the reason that people have the right to enjoy a clean and healthy water to fulfill their daily lives. The scarcity of water in some regions become a leading source in the economic and political instability.

The problem of water, both in terms of quantity and quality, is not a new thing in big cities, for example in Bekasi including Bekasi City and Bekasi Regency. Bekasi Regency is located in the northern part of West Java Province with some areas, including the coastal areas, undergo a problem in providing resources for clean water. Water is a scarce and precious commodity in the arid Western states. Unsurprisingly, water policy making is such a great challenge due to a number of reasons (Davis, 2001). The availability of water in Bekasi Regency comes from two sources, including the ground water and and the surface water from rivers. However, a problem occurs regarding the availability of clean water in Bekasi Regency area, especially in Kedung Ringin Village, Sukawangi District, Bekasi Regency. Clean water is considered as a luxury item in the area since the villagers has experienced water crisis for years. Moreover, in some areas of Babelan District, the availability of clean water is also insufficient, such a great lacking compared to the basic need, due to the good housing for residents resourcing from the PDAM water. Additionally, the water quality is still far from the standard of clean water quality as the water is muddy. Therefore, the problem in providing clean water should become a concern for the state as well as the local governments since these actors are primarily responsible for contributing the wastewater (Morris, 2022). The problem in managing clean water for consumption is also an issue in many countries, such as in Germany. In Germany, clean water management involves the role of government and the political relationship with local authorities. The existence of political relationship between the local mayor and the regional drinking water company (PDAM) has resulted in a higher price of clean water for drinking in the city. Although this is not the main cause for the increasing price of drinking water in the city, but it still contributes to the expensive price of the water in the city (Michael Hellwiga, 2021).

The supplier of clean water in Bekasi Regency is called as PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi. Tirta Bhagasasi is known as a supplier of clean water services for industrial, business and

residential areas in Tirta Bhagasasi's operational territory, covering Bekasi Regency and some parts of Bekasi City. Tirta Bhagasasi always strives to provide the best service by providing water for the public needs guaranteed in terms of quality and quantity. This is a part of Tirta Bhagasasi's small steps to make the Indonesian people healthy. All these efforts are performed by Tirta Bhagasasi to meet the customer satisfaction.

The scarcity of clean water in Kedungringin Village is certainly a big question for researchers since Bekasi Regency, as the category of urban areas and having easy access to various public facilities, is still lack of clean water. In urban areas, access to clean water should be easy, yet what happened in Kedungringin Village is just the opposite. This condition will become the problem raised in this study, to realize the politics of clean water management in Kedungringin Village, Bekasi Regency.

Method

This research applies descriptive qualitative research method combined with a case study approach. A case study approach is used in order to explore the problems studied (Dr. Drs. Imail Nurdin, 2019). The data sources used are the primary data sources in the form of in-depth interviews and observations to obtain data in the field. The secondary data sources are obtained through various literatures relevant to the research focus. There are two interviewees from PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi, from the Department of Research and Development of PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi and the Head of KCP Tambelang. Both informants are selected for the reason that these two people are the people in charge and realize the issues raised in this study. For example the Head of KCP Tambelang, he is the person in charge of providing clean water services to Kedungringin Village through a pipeline connected from KCP Tambelang. In the other side, the Head Department of Research and Development of PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi is interviewed as he has the understanding in the clean water management policy at PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi. Additionally, other research informants are the villagers of Kedungringin, including Mr. R and Mr. A as the representatives of youth leaders, as well as Mrs. I and Mrs. Y as the residents of Kedungringin Village. These informants are selected for the reason that they are the residents of Kedungringin Village who experience the clean water crisis directly. Moreover, the Karang Taruna (the youth community) representatives are the representatives of the clean water source's management in Kedungringin Village. They are the organizers who manage and take care of the clean water sources in the form of drilled wells in Kedungringin Village. Based on the research objectives mentioned above, this research is conducted at the PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi Office, Jalan Kalimalang BTB 25 Kp. Tegal Danas, Central Cikarang, Bekasi

Regency, as well as in Kedung Ringin Village, Sukawangi District, Bekasi Regency. The time period for this research is three months, from January to March 2022. The obtained research data from the field is processed by using data analysis techniques with data reduction stages, by simplifying the data, thus it can fit the needs and make it easy to obtain the required information. The next step is the data presentation, as the researcher presents data that has been reduced or simplified in the previous stage, and the last one is drawing conclusions (Sugiyono, 2006).

In this research, the validity test used is the triangulation technique to verify the validity of data by checking or comparing the data obtained with other sources or criteria outside the data, to improve the data validity. The triangulation technique conducted in this research is the source triangulation, by comparing what is said by the subject with what is said by the informant. The intention is to make the obtained data be trusted, since the data is not obtained only from one source of research subjects, but also from some other sources including the neighbors or the subject's friend. The triangulation method is performed by comparing the observation data with the data resulted from interview combined with the contents in the relevant documents. In this case, the researchers are trying to find back the data obtained through interviews (Moleong, 2014).

Results and Discussion

Kedungringin village is one of the areas that since 8 years ago experiencing drought and lack of clean water both in terms of quantity and quality. In dry season, people must line up in a very long queue if they want to get clean water. The only source of clean water owned by the villagers of Kedung Ringin comes from the drilled wells by the help of satellites from donations through *waqf* land and clean water.

The water quality in Kedungringin Village, Sukawangi District is yellow, smelly, and even black, thus it is unfit for consumption. According to the information obtained from the research informants, people are accustomed to using poor quality water to meet their daily needs such as bathing and others. If they use the water for bathing, their fingernails and toenails will turn yellow and their bodies will experience itching (Suryati, 2022). Sometimes, due to urgent needs, some people are forced to filter the black colored water by using very simple tools such as white sand, foam and used clothes placed in buckets that have been perforated and connected with pipe. This process must be repeated three times to obtain clear water. However, even though it has gone through a filtering process, the water still smells. Looking at this condition, the people of Kedungringin Village have also tried to dig wells in their

respective homes. Yet, according to them, digging deeper wells is also not an option as the water quality remains poor. Likewise, groundwater is pumped through a pumping machine. The depth of 100 meters did not produce water with a good quality. Only with the deep of 120 meters, clean water can be obtained (Baskoro, 2022).

The scarcity of clean water in Kedungringin Village has touched the heart of one benefactor coming from the outside of Bekasi Regency. The benefactor provides two drilled wells for the people in Kedungringin Village, especially for the residents of RT 03 RW 05. Each of the two drilled wells in RT 03 RW 05 has a water reservoir (torn) resulting from generous *waqf* (Islamic charity). Each drilled well drains 40 houses, thus up to now, only 80 houses have the access to clean water or around 251 residents hold this clean water access from a total of 884 residents. This counts only 28% of the total residents of Kedung Ringin Village RT 03 RW 05. The management of clean water involves donors that visited the Kedungringin Village. Jordan is also one of the countries that involving donors in the management of clean water sources with the help of the Association of Non-Water Users (P3A) in the Jordan Valley (Mustafa, 2016).

The scarcity of clean water in Kedungringin Village is occurred due to the difficulty in accessing clean water caused by the far distance of clean water channels. Heretofore, clean water pipes were still far enough from the Sukaringin Village and only in 2021, KCP Tambelang submitted a request for additional water pipe installations for the Sukaringin area by sourcing the pipelines from KCP Tambelang. PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi then developed a pipe installation in the Sukaringin Village area with the pipe connections coming from KCP Tembalang. Thus, when Kedungringin Village have this pipe installation later, the access will be closer. In terms of easy access to infrastructure for the clean water supply in Kedungringin Village, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi has tried to provide clean water, although in its implementation, not all areas in Sukaringin Village have the access to clean water, including Kedungringin Village. The cause of clean water scarcity in Kedungringin is certainly different from what happened in Syria. Syria's water scarcity is a consequence of the ruling Ba'th party's continuous promotion on water-intensive agriculture (Barnes, 2009). Meanwhile in Sao Paulo, Brazil, the state implements the reduction of pressure in water pipes as opposed to formal rationing (Millington, 2018).

Accessibility is the ease and convenience of getting or reaching a location/goods/other thing desired. Furthermore, the accessibility perspective in this research is related to the availability of clean water realized as the ease in providing the access to clean water. Referring to the explanation related to accessibility, it can be seen that the scarcity of clean water in

Kedungringin Village is due to the difficulty in accessing clean water caused by the far distance of the clean water channel. Heretofore, the clean water pipes were still far enough from Sukaringin Village and only in 2021, KCP Tambelang submitted a request for additional water pipe installations in the Sukaringin area by sourcing the pipeline from KCP Tambelang. PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi then developed a pipe installation in the Sukaringin Village area with pipe connections coming from KCP Tambelang, thus when Kedungringin Village have this pipe installation later, the access will be closer. In terms of easy access to infrastructure for the clean water supply in Kedungringin Village, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi has tried to provide clean water, although in its implementation not all areas in Sukaringin have access to clean water, including Kedungringin Village.

Considering the distant location of Kedungringin Village from the water source of PDAM Bhagasasi, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi conducts a collaboration with PT. BST in providing clean water in Sukaringin areas. This collaboration is carried out in the provision of pipe connector installations. The cooperation with private sector is conducted since the capital participation for PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi from the Government of Bekasi Regency and Bekasi City has never been realized since the last six years, from 2016-2021. In the other hand, clean water services for the residents can't be stopped, even the service continues to be improved by relying on innovation and own capabilities.

According to the research informant, Mr. Hasanudin, the Head of KCP Tambelang, KCP Tambelang as part of PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi is committed to adding water pipe installations in response to the consumer demand for clean water in Sukaringin areas. In improving clean water services, his party continues to adjust targets in line with the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan of the Bekasi Regency Government. Currently, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi has more than 300,000 customers and is the largest PDAM in West Java. Every year, the number of customers increases by an average of 30,000 SL. Even in 2022, it is estimated that there will be additional new customers of up to 50,000 SL more, although the capital participation from the two regional governments is full of uncertainty.

The commitment of PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi through KCP Tambelang in adding clean water pipelines in Sukaringin Village, turns out to be only responding to the consumer requests from housing developers in Sukaringin Village. Cluster/complex housing developers submit a request for clean water to PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi as the availability of clean water for their housing is one of their marketing strategies in selling their housing. In this case, the developers use the availability of clean water from the PDAM as a promotional tool for housing that will be offered to consumers. The developers include information related to the availability of clean

water from PDAM in their advertising brochures, thus it may attract the consumers to buy the houses offered in the brochure. Most of the cluster/complex housing in Bekasi Regency include the availability of clean water from the PDAM in their promotional media, therefore in this case, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi prioritizes the availability of clean water for the cluster/complex housing rather than for the domestic area settlements or non-cluster/complex housing. In response to the developer's request, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi through KCP Tambelang has added a clean water pipeline in Sukaringin Village. The additional Water Pipe Installation (IPA) in Sukaringin is still in progress and its affordability is limited to the cluster/complex housing areas. PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi prioritizes the cluster housing due to the direct request from the developers for the availability of clean water.

Kedungringin Village itself, even though it belongs to the Sukaringin areas, has not been able to get access to clean water since the Village is included in the criteria of domestic housing area. Hence, Kedungringin village has no access to clean water from PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi. It is necessary to submit a collective proposal through the local authority to PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi. Nevertheless, the required support from the local authority cannot be seen yet as up to this day, there has been no proposal from the Sukaringin local authority regarding the clean water supply from PDAM to Sukaringin areas, especially for the domestic housing. This support is required in accordance with the procedure from PDAM Bhagasasi stating that PDAM water will flow to Kedungringin Village if there is a request from the local authority. This is due to the status of Kedungringin Village as a non-cluster/ domestic housing area, thus the request for clean water to PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi must through a collective submission from the local authority. However, until now, the proposal on the need of clean water for Kedungringin Village has not yet been submitted to PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi. This becomes another factor influencing the poor availability of clean water in Kedungringin Village that resulted in the scarcity of clean water, as well as the reason why PDAM water is unable to flow in the Kedungringin area.

The unresponsive act of the local authority in providing clean water for Kedungringin Village has caused the villagers to only rely on the donors in providing clean water. This is different from what happened in China as the rural water management in this country involves the role of local authority. The local authorities in China build the China Rural Drinking Water Safety Project (RDWSP) as an effort to control the water, and it works as a force tool to push the rural populations towards the national goals (Qinhong Xu, 2022). Then, in the highland province of southern Caar, CENAGRAP, there is an intention to provide clean water there. The existence of this drinking water association is assisted by the local political alliances and the

local authorities to improve the clean water services (Geoff Goodwin, 2022). For the sake of providing clean water, the government in Sao Paolo, Brazil, even implements an incentive system for the upstream farmers producing clean water (Teresa Cristina TarléPissarra, 2021). Thus, it is necessary to have a good performing management from the government agencies, thus the problem of clean water scarcity in Kedungringin Village can be addressed immediately (PekkaLeviäkangas, 2021). In this case, the need for cooperation and coordination between the local authorities and stakeholders in providing clean water is really emphasized (Eko NurSurachman, 2022).

The clean water policy in Bekasi Regency still prioritizes the cluster housing compared to the domestic housing. The reasons are as the following: 1) The far distance of the resident settlement to the clean water pipeline. The settlements in Kedungringin Village gain no access to clean water. The main cause is the distant location of the clean water pipe from PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi to Kedungringin Village, with the closest location of the clean water pipe is in Tambelang; 2) The low ability in paying for the clean water services. Some of the people in Kedungringin Village are still classified as poor. This can be seen from their ability to get clean water services. Having no access to clean water from PDAM, they are even incapable to dig their wells deeper to obtain clean water. This causes the clean water unable to flow in Kedungringin Village. Furthermore, PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi prioritizes the cluster/complex settlements since their ability to pay for clean water services is higher than the domestic settlements. Hence, the accessibility of clean water to domestic housing is still low. Based on the explanation above, the politics of clean water management in Bekasi Regency is considered as unfair. The public policies should contain multiple objectives, including a fair and balanced policy in encouraging the life progress of all people (Rahmawati, 2017).

Thus, in preserving accessible and available water sources, a superior administration system is required. Commonly, water problems occur because of poor water administration. Data on water consumption shows that the demand for water in various countries is increasing day by day. The rapid expansion of urban areas, insufficient water conservation, population growth and climate change are the main causes of clean water scarcity. As a result, urban water management becomes a major challenge. A sustainable approach is necessary to address water security and offer better services to residents (Richa Saxenaa, 2022), since the need for clean water is part of human rights (Leite, 2022). Therefore, clean water management must be sustainable (Yuksel, 2015).

Conclusion

The politics of clean water management, as viewed from the accessibility perspective, prioritizes the complex/cluster housing over the domestic housing, leading to the low accessibility of clean water to the domestic housing. Furthermore, the causes of low accessibility in clean water to domestic housing in Kedungringin Village are due to the far distance of the clean water pipe installation, the ability to pay for the clean water services, and the expensive price to get the clean water.

The challenges faced by PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi in providing clean water to Kedingringin Village are related to the distance between Kedungringin and the Water Treatment Plant (IPA), the lack of capital owned by PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi since the funding is only supported by the private sector heretofore, rather than by the Regional Government of Bekasi. Moreover, the raw materials for water treatment at PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi are still limited, as they are only rely on Kalimalang. Hence, the low accessibility of clean water to domestic housing in Kedungringin Village indicates a thesis that clean water can only be enjoyed by the well-financed people. Thus, it is expected that PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi can be more righteous and fair by reaching all levels of society in determining clean water management policies in Bekasi Regency. By this way, water crisis is primarily caused by the institutional designs and political decisions that prevent equitable and sustainable usage of the limited water resources. The first step of analysis suggested is to identify the governance structure, in other words, conducting an ‘institutional mapping’ of the actors and organizations involved as well as their mutual relations (Sehring, 2009).

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank the Polgov Fisipol of Gadjah Mada University for giving the opportunity to contribute to the studies on water politics. Hopefully, this research may become a consideration for PDAM Tirta Bhagasasi in making the clean water management policies that can be enjoyed by all levels of society.

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The Popularity of the Regent Figures and Slogans in the Perspective of Socio-Cultural Mediatization



Popularitas Figur dan Slogan Bupati dalam Perspektif Mediatisasi Sosia Budaya

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Regent Figure; Regent's Slogan; Mediatization; Tulungagung;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT <i>The purpose of this study is to find out the popularity of the figures and slogans of the Tulungagung regents. This study elaborates previous researches stating that figures and slogans are forms of messages in the peripheral route that influence the people's political attitudes. This study argues that the communal culture of the people corresponds to the processing of information through the peripheral route. This study uses a mixed method that quantitatively surveys 192 respondents to find out the popularity of the regent figures and slogans in the last 23 years, as well as qualitatively applies the concept of mediatization to understand the socio-cultural context underlying the way people interpret the figure and the slogan of the regent. This study finds that the people have experienced a peaceful and harmonious social situation during the reign of Heru Tjahjono who coined the slogan "guyub rukun". The people are trying to raise the spirit of togetherness and harmony by reconstructing the slogan of "guyub rukun" in various sites and activities. This makes Heru Tjahjono and "guyub rukun" popular in the people's daily lives.</i></p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Figur Bupati; Slogan Bupati; Mediatisasi; Tulungagung;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK <i>Tujuan studi ini adalah mengetahui popularitas figur dan slogan bupati Tulungagung. Studi ini mengelaborasi kajian sebelumnya yang menyatakan bahwa figur dan slogan adalah bentuk pesan dalam rute peripheral yang mempengaruhi sikap politik masyarakat. Studi ini berargumen, budaya komunal masyarakat sesuai dengan pemrosesan informasi melalui rute peripheral. Studi ini menggunakan metode campuran yang secara kuantitatif melakukan survei pada 192 responden untuk mengetahui popularitas figur dan slogan bupati dalam 23 tahun terakhir dan secara kualitatif menggunakan konsep mediatisasi untuk memahami konteks sosial budaya yang melandasi cara masyarakat memaknai figur dan slogan bupati. Studi ini menemukan bahwa masyarakat mengalami situasi sosial yang damai dan harmonis pada masa pemerintahan Heru Tjahjono yang mencetuskan slogan guyub rukun. Masyarakat berupaya membangkitkan semangat kebersamaan dan keharmonisan dengan terus merekonstruksi slogan guyub rukun di berbagai situs dan aktivitas. Hal ini membuat Heru Tjahjono dan guyub rukun populer dalam keseharian masyarakat.</i></p>
<p>Article History Send 28th July 2022 Review 13th October 2022 Accepted 20th November 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p>



Introduction

Scholars such as Amălăncei, et al., (2017), Olokungboye (2019), and Newsome (2002) explain the importance of political figure and slogan for a leader. During the campaign, slogan and figure images become brands that distinguished each candidate from becoming a leader. The goal is that political figures and slogans can attract attention, motivate, and mobilize voters to support in turn. After being elected, the leader then may use the slogan during his/ her reign as a discourse or social mechanism to regulate people's actions (Billig, 1995). Likewise, a leader can create a mass base and participation for the success of the government.

Figures and slogans are political symbols or information that can persuade people's cognition (Hamad, 2008). Referring to the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), information can persuade and have a certain impact on society through two routes. First, people use the central route to process information actively and critically. Information in the central route will arrive at a cognitive structure that ultimately influences people's attitudes or actions strongly and hardly to change. Second, people who have a low ability or motivation tend to be interested in information from the peripheral route. As a result, attitudes and actions influenced by the information from the peripheral route are more volatile or easily to change.

In ELM, people's motivation in processing information includes three elements. First, there is a personal tendency, referring to the character of someone who prefers to think critically using the central route. Second, there are relevance and involvement, referring to someone who has relevance to a topic, figure, or involvement that will tend to use the central route. Third, there are differences of opinion, referring to someone who will think critically (using the central route) when many people talk about the information.

This study is interested in examining the information processing of the Tulungagung people as they interpret the regent figure and the political slogan. This study argues that the information processing is closely related to the socio-cultural context of society. The researcher associates three socio-cultural situations underlying the background of this study. First, in 2018, the people gave more votes to Syahri Mulyo as a candidate for regent who was suspected of corruption ahead of the election day. In addition, the Governor of East Java inaugurated Syahri Mulyo in the period of detention imposed by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) for less than five minutes. After that, Syahri Mulyo handed over the position to the deputy regent and served a period of detention again. By giving the explanation about Syahri Mulyo, it does not mean that this study is interested in studying his character. Nevertheless, this study will examine the interrelationship between the socio-cultural context and the information processing as the people construct meanings for the regent figure.

Second, the average number of people participating in the election of regent is still below the target. Tulungagung people's participation is only 73.46% (Sari, 2019) below the target of the regional General Election Commission (KPU) by 77.5%. Scholars are concerned that the below-target participation rate will reduce the effectiveness, legitimacy (Arif, 2020) and the degree of community representation in the local governments (Ardiantoro, et al., 2017). The number that has not reached the participation target also indicates the need for studies on the political communication and the media - especially regarding the information processing through the peripheral route related to the low motivation and involvement of the people of Tulungagung in choosing the regent.

Third, related to the political information on the peripheral route, the researcher observes the existence of several cultural sites bearing the regent's slogan. A slogan can be a government tool to integrate, mobilize, and generate public participation to play an active social role. On the other hand, the slogan is also meaningful as a spirit to maintain the social harmony and togetherness (Kriyantono & McKenna, 2017). In the last 40 years, the names and slogans of the Tulungagung regents are stated below in Table 1. Interestingly, not only the current regent's slogan that is written on parks or bus stops, but also the communities, radio and social movements have named themselves after the slogans of the previous regents.

Table 1. Names and Slogans of the Tulungagung Regents

Name of the Regent	Regent order	Year	Slogan
Moh. Ch. Poernanto	26 th	1983-1987	Bersinar Ingandaya
H. Jaifudin Said	27 th , 28 th	1987-1999	Bersinar Ingandaya
Budi Soesetyo	29 th	1999-2003	Bersinar Ingandaya
Heru Tjahjono	30 th , 31 st	2003-2013	<i>Guyub rukun</i>
Syahri Mulyo	32 nd	2013-2018	<i>Ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto</i>
H. Maryoto Birowo	33 rd	2018-2022 (now)	<i>Ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto</i>

Source: Interview with the staff of Protocol and Communication Section

The three reasons mentioned above become the research interest backgrounds to examine the interrelation between the sociocultural context, the information route and the information processing that increase the number of political participation. The researcher hopes that further studies can elaborate the interrelation between the three aspects for other contexts in Tulungagung or other regions.

In the context of Tulungagung, the political information processing through the central route and the peripheral route each has a role in influencing the decision to choose a regent. Related to its socio-culture, Tulungagung as a rural community has a communal culture.

Scholars explain that people within the communal cultures tend to prioritize the needs of other people or groups (Wilczewski, et al., 2017). Communal people also uphold the values of togetherness, cooperation, and harmony. In practice, communal people like to have discussions, community service, public dialogues, or face-to-face meetings. In the context of political elections, Ni'amah's study (2018) shows that communal cultures affect 56% of young voters as they “are interested” and 11% “are very interested” to vote with friends in the 2018 regional elections. It can be said that the people of Tulungagung with a communal culture have joint activities or group referrals as a form of information media from the central route.

Meanwhile, people's voting behavior can be analyzed from three approaches (Asfar, 2006). First, the sociological approach (traditional) emphasizes the socio-cultural closeness and tends to not consider aspects of political, economic, or welfare policies. Second, a critical-rational approach that considers various alternatives and makes a decision choice with a deep thought. Third, it is an economic rational approach that pragmatically considers and chooses based on the greatest benefits from political choices.

Referring to the mediatization argument - which states that there is an interrelation between the communication practice and the media development in one hand as well as sociocultural transformation in the other hand (Hepp, 2019; Krotz, 2017; Lundby, 2014) - this study assumes that the people of Tulungagung have a sociological (traditional) approach in interpreting slogans or choosing a regent. More comprehensively, this study will realize the socio-cultural context underlying the way of the people of Tulungagung in interpreting political information, conducting campaign practices, choosing media, and packaging campaign messages.

Method

This study quantitatively surveys 192 respondents to find out the popularity of the regent figures and slogans in the last 23 years, as well as qualitatively applies the concept of mediatization to understand the socio-cultural context and the information processing routes that shape the way people interpret the regent figures and slogans. This study also examines data from the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) of Tulungagung Regency regarding the number of Permanent Voter List (DPT) and suffrage users. The information obtained from KPU becomes the secondary data to analyze the trends and distribution of political information processing routes. Then, this study describes the popularity of the figures and slogans of the regents who have ruled since 1999. This study sets the limits for the period of government since 1999 by considering the age of the respondents and the repetition of

slogans of two regents who served from 1983 to 1999.

This study conducts a survey on people aged 17 years and over in one central district and one suburban district. The age criteria are based on the requirement for the people to have the right to vote from the KPU. Moreover, people aged 17 years and over can take the advantage of or potentially get any information from various media about the history of the Tulungagung Regency as well as the previous regent figures and their slogans.

Meanwhile, the selection of the district characters is based on the consideration that the candidate for regent has more access, mobility, and opportunities to interact directly with the community in the central district. Direct interaction is an important campaign media, considering that digital media developed in 2000s in Tulungagung. Thus, the possibility of people having a central route will occur in the central district, that is the Tulungagung District. On the other hand, this study is also interested in comparing any different findings that possibly occurred with the people in suburban districts. The following Figure 1 is a map of the districts in the Tulungagung Regency.



Figure 1. Map of Districts in the Tulungagung Regency
Source: Tulungagung Regency in Figures 2022

Geographically, Tulungagung Regency is bordered by Kediri Regency in the north, Trenggalek Regency in the west and Blitar Regency in the east. Meanwhile, there are four districts - Besuki, Tanggunggunung, Kalidawir, and Pucanglaban - in the south which are located on the outskirts and directly adjacent to the Indian Ocean. Other suburban districts - in

the sense that they are not located around the central district or have long distances - are Sendang, Pagerwojo, Rejotangan, and Bandung. Among the eight districts located far from the central district, this study chooses Kalidawir as it has a large population and demographic condition of mountains and seas. Due to the geographical condition of Kalidawir, some of its areas experience limited mobility, lack of media infrastructure and internet access. Meanwhile, Rejotangan, which also has a large population and is located far from the central district, is not selected as the locus of this research since it is located in the provincial access and close to Blitar Regency. This means that it is easier for the residents in Rejotangan to move to the central district and get the internet access or other media infrastructure.

This study calculates the population in Kalidawir and Tulungagung Districts from the number of suffrage users, not from the number of permanent voter lists. This study takes into account the large number of Tulungagung people who become migrant workers abroad thus they are potentially unable to vote (Ardiyanti, 2019). Sari's study (2019) shows that in the period of 2011-2016, around 41.425 migrant workers are settled for an annual period abroad. This number is increasing related to the pandemic situation in Indonesia. From January-April 2022, the number of migrant workers from Tulungagung is increased by 2.000 people - throughout 2021, it is increased by less than 2.000 people (Radar Tulungagung, 2022).

The following Table 2 shows the number of suffrage users in each district in the 2018's Tulungagung Regent election.

Table 2. Number of Voters and Suffrage Users

District	Number of voter lists	Number of suffrage users	Percentage of suffrage users (%)
Bandung	38.401	28.703	74,7 %
Besuki	30.630	21.748	71 %
Boyolangu	63.832	48.240	75,5
Campurdarat	45.165	34.691	76,8
Gondang	46.382	35.473	76,4
Kalidawir	59.510	41.844	70,3
Karangrejo	33.997	25.516	75
Kauman	40.521	31.330	77,3
Kedungwaru	69.608	51.382	73,8
Ngantru	44.322	33.998	76,6
Ngunut	63.605	44.245	69,5
Pagerwojo	25.414	19.389	76,2
Pakel	42.078	32.425	77
Pucanglaban	20.935	14.490	69,2
Rejotangan	63.058	42.914	68
Sendang	37.480	28.186	75,2
Sumbergempol	55.533	38.723	69,7
Tanggunggunung	20.109	15.270	75,9
Tulungagung	48.533	35.191	72,5

Source: *The General Election Commission of Tulungagung Regency*

From the number of voters in the Tulungagung and Kalidawir Districts above, this study quantitatively determines the number of samples by using the Frank Lynch formula (Irawan, 2006). From a population of 35.191 in the Tulungagung District, samples of 96 people are obtained. Likewise, the Kalidawir District with a population of 41.844 shows a sample size of 96 people.

In term of depth interview, this study selects informants with a purposeful strategy (Patton, 2002). This is for the reason that the researcher has an interest in the knowledge of the informants in explaining the social and cultural context related to the awareness of the people of Tulungagung in voting for the regent. Table 3 below describes the profiles of the informants.

Table 3. Profiles of the Informants

Informant	Profile
Informant 1	Lecture, writer and director of the Institute for Javanese Islam Research
Informant 2	Radio announcer, media manager of the Department of Communication and Informatics (Diskominfo) Tulungagung Regency
Informant 3	Deputy chairman of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD), party leader of Gerindra (Tulungagung Regency)
Informant 4	Head of the Department of Communication and Informatics (Diskominfo) Tulungagung Regency Cultural writer & activist
Informant 5	

Source: Research Data

Results and Discussion

This study finds that there is no significant difference between the respondents' answers regarding the popularity of the regents' figures and slogans both in Kalidawir and Tulungagung Districts. This is possibly due to the culture of the Tulungagung people which is homogeneous and communal. The character of the people will appear in more detail from the answers of the survey below.

In the conducted survey, respondents were asked to mention three remembered names of all the regents who have ever ruled Tulungagung. As shown in Chart 1 below, Syahri Mulyo's name appeared the most (153 times), followed by Maryoto Birowo (144 times) and Heru Tjahjono (140 times).

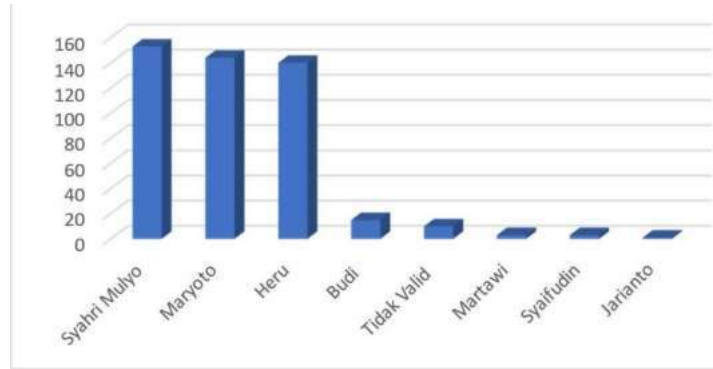


Chart 1. The Popular Regent Figures
Source: Research Data

The findings of the study show that among all the names, the people mostly remember the three regent figures, including Maryoto Birowo, Syahri Mulyo, and Heru Tjahjono. Maryoto Birowo is the current regent. Meanwhile, Syahri Mulyo, aside of being the previous regent in 2013-2018 and the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in 1999-2004, also becomes the public buzz due to a corruption case. In the other hand, Heru Tjahjono was a former regent who served for two terms, from 2003 to 2013. Those three names are regents who served in the latest periods.

The above three names of regents have a percentage of popularity with slight differences. It can be related to the age of the respondents who experienced the reign of the three regents. Moreover, it is possibly due to the reason that the people still often see the slogans of the three regents in various places or sites. Hence, those slogans continuously reconstruct the figures of the three regents. This confirms that the popularity of the regent figure is related to the socio-cultural situation of the Tulungagung community.

Chart 2 below shows that most respondents recognize the regent figure from the environment (neighbors, friends, relatives, family, community by 55.2%), the public facilities (parks, trucks, rickshaws, cars, billboards, posters, banners by 38.5%) and the success team/campaign and media for individuals (t-shirts, calendars, umbrellas by 34.9%). Meanwhile, at least respondents receive information about the regent figure from the national mass media (tv, newspapers, radio by 14.1%).

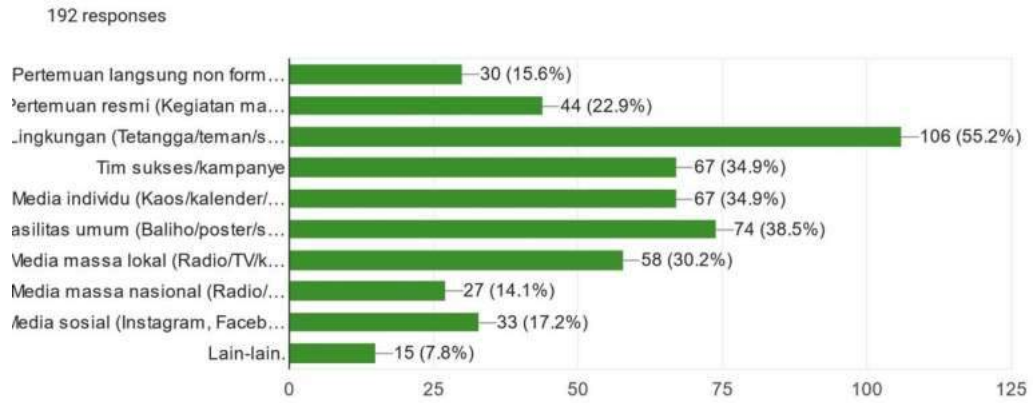


Chart 2. Information Sources for the Regent Figures

Source: Research Data

The people gain information about the regent figures from their social environment. Thus, the above findings emphasize that communal culture is still very strong among the people of Tulungagung. In the context of their daily life, communal culture can also be seen through the habits of the Tulungagung people who like to spend their time in coffee shops (*warung kopi*). Moreover, Tulungagung is known as the city of a thousand coffee shops - in 2003, there were 1.456 coffee shops and the growth of coffee cafes in 2017 reached 699 units (Anjelita, 2020; Kurniawan, 2021). Coffee shops represent the communal culture in the sense that people from various social backgrounds gather, discuss and interact with each other. A coffee shop is also one of the people's spaces and media to exchange information, including about the regent figure.

Meanwhile, the second and the third options are that the people obtain information about the regent figure from public facilities, success teams and campaign media for individuals regarding the campaign period and government. As for the last option, people have a slight knowledge about the regent figures from the national mass media. It is for the reason that the news about socio-political dynamics in Tulungagung is not widely broadcasted in the mass media. It is including the news about the Tulungagung regent that never becomes a national issue. However, this does not apply for the corruption case by Syahri Mulyo that appeared in several national media. Thus, the public is very enthusiastic in discussing Syahri Mulyo's news uploaded by the mass media.

In this study, respondents aged 17 years and over should be able to answer the names of the regents in the previous years. This is related to the purpose of the study, which is to find out the popular regent figures among the Tulungagung people. People aged 17 years or older may have known the names of the regents in the last twenty

years. However, people can also access information about the history of the regency through the digital media. The three names of regents mentioned by many people have left some legacy bearing the slogans of their government. This most likely becomes the reason why the people still remember the names of the three regents.

Figure 2 below shows the slogan of Heru Tjahjono - that is *guyub rukun* - as the name of (a) the radio (Radio Guyub Rukun) and (b) the logo of the Regional Leader Coordinating Forum (the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), the Police, the Attorney General's Office and the Indonesian National Armed Forces Territorial Unit (TNI) in the Regions). In addition, the slogan of both Syahri Mulyo and Maryoto Birowo - that is *ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto* - also appears in (c) the park and (d) bus stop.



Figure 2. Regents' Slogans as (a) the Name of the Radio, (b) the Institution Logo, in the (c) Park and (d) Bus Stop.

Source: Research Data

In the conducted survey, respondents were also asked to name the three most remembered regents' slogans. The current regent's slogan - *ayem, tentrem, mulyo, lan tinoto* - is mentioned 76 times, followed by *guyub rukun* 57 times and *Bersinar* 39 times as shown in Chart 3 below.

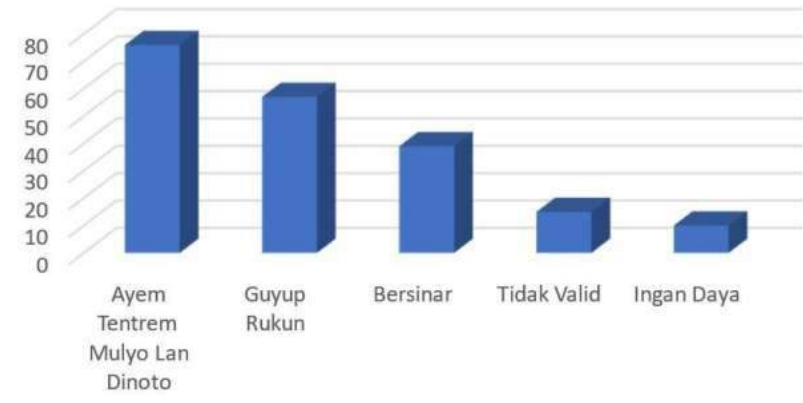


Chart 3. The Popular Regents' Slogans
 Source: Research Data

Interestingly, respondents answer that *guyub rukun* - the previous regent's slogan - is the slogan that best describes the life of the people of Tulungagung (43.8%) as shown in Chart 4 below. This finding is interesting since it only differs by 5.3% from the current regent's slogans: *ayem, tentrem, mulyo, lan tinoto* (38.5%). Thus, the slogan *ayem, tentrem, mulyo, lan tinoto* is written in various places, such as bus stops, parks, or other public facilities.

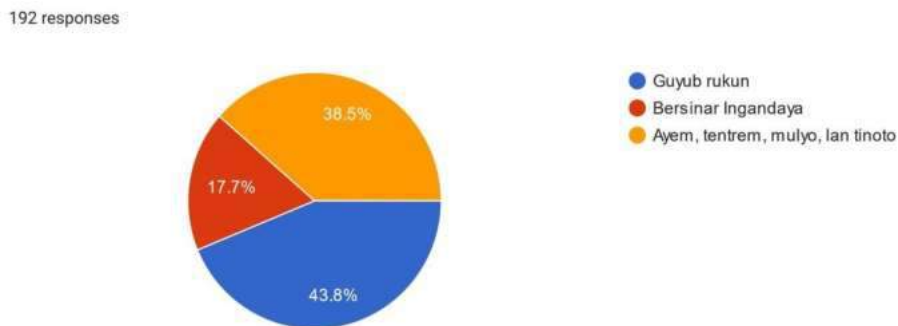


Chart 4. The Slogans that Best Describe the Life of Tulungagung People
 Source: Research Data

The above findings can be analyzed from the context of mediatization. First, it can be seen from the use of social media for the dissemination of *guyub rukun* in 2003-2013 through social instruments. In that year, the t-shirts of the cleaners, parking attendants and the rickshaws are mostly written with the *guyub rukun* slogan. Rickshaw is a popular public transportation. This means that the rickshaws have routes in the central district area. Meanwhile, other people's transportations such as buses or urban transportations only have certain routes.

People who meet and use rickshaws or other local instruments every day gain the remembrance of the slogan *guyub rukun*. In other words, the rickshaws and other social instruments reconstruct the discourse of *guyub rukun* continuously. Referring to Bengtsson's

(2020) statement, the media that is frequently used by people in their daily lives is a tool to construct an effective discourse. Thus, this study observes that the government's way of calling through the writing of *guyub rukun* on the rickshaws -as a local instrument- is an effective step in the process of disseminating slogans. People will also remember easily and unconsciously since the slogans are generally listed in their daily routines (Billig, 1995).

Second, culturally, *guyub rukun* has become the local wisdom. The slogan *guyub* means togetherness and *rukun* means harmonious social life. The people implement this local wisdom in their daily routines and habits. Thus, the community becomes related to the discourse of *guyub rukun*. Informant 1 explains *guyub rukun* as the local wisdom that can move the people in every social movement.

'Guyub rukun' becomes a social structure. In Tulungagung, whose power is it? Whose structure is it? There isn't any. Yes, the slogan itself is the awareness structure of the Tulungagung people and the strength to move the community in various social activities. (Informant 1, March 14, 2022)

Third, the people did not experience significant social conflict during the two periods of Heru Tjahjono's reign. A peaceful and harmonious life becomes a pleasant experience. The people then interpret Heru Tjahjono's leadership - which is identical to the slogan *guyub rukun* - as a cognitive idea of an ideal government. Informant 4 addresses Heru Tjahjono as a kind-hearted and generous figure.

Pak Heru is "lomo" (generous), helpful and easy-going. He is smart in, for example, discussing or treating different people. (Informant 4, 23 February).

Chart 5 below shows that the people's knowledge on slogans is also aligned with their knowledge on the regent figures. At the highest, the people receive information on the slogans from the social environment (47.9%), public facilities (44.3%) and media for individuals (39.6%). At the very least, the people recognize the regent's slogan from the national mass media (9.4%).

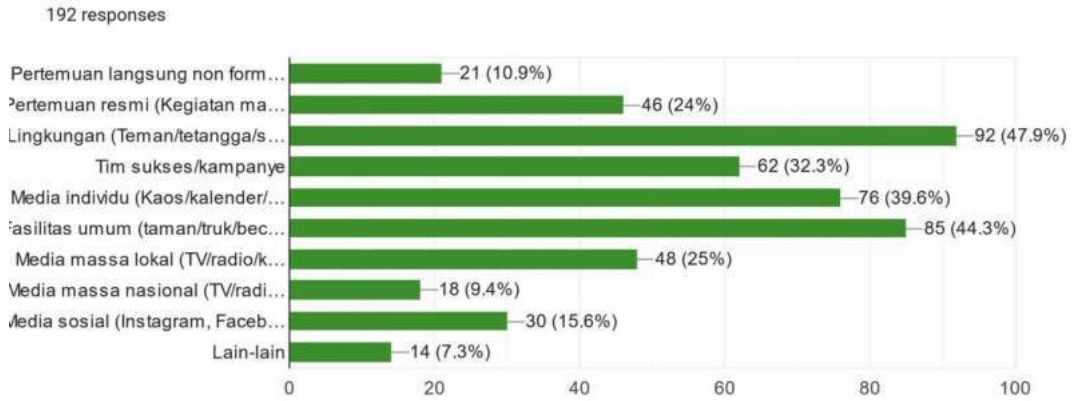


Chart 5. Information Sources for the Regents' Slogans

Source: Research Data

Interestingly to discuss is that the people's knowledge on the regents and slogans comes from the local media. This is related to the media involvement of rural people which is still closely related to the local wisdom (Seto, 2017). Thus, in addition to media development, socio-cultural aspects are more visible in encouraging and shaping the mediatization of rural people. Moreover, people prefer media that cover local information (Sen, 2003). Radio, for example, is still an effective medium on the regional or rural scale, as its local content makes people feel psychologically and culturally close.

The above explanation shows that the people's knowledge on the regent figures and slogans is conveyed through various media. The people, through the route of central thought, will process the media that contains information in a substantive, detailed, and comprehensive manner. This is because the receiver of the message will have a deep thinking and manage profoundly the substance of the information. Therefore, the information on the central route is more effectively to be conveyed directly to facilitate interaction, dialogue, or discussion. In the context of the Tulungagung regent election, people who have access or the opportunity to communicate directly have the potential to gain more information from the central route.

Concerning the participation rate in the regent election in Table 2 (column 4), the data shows that none of the sub-districts has a participation rate above the target (77.5%). However, 13 districts have a participation rate above the average (73.46%). Meanwhile, among the six districts that have a participation rate below the average (73.46%), four of them are in the suburbs (Besuki, Kalidawir, Pucanglaban, Rejotangan). Meanwhile, the level of people's participation indicates no big differences (68%-77.3%).

The above level and range of participations show that the people of Tulungagung have participated below the target. Scholars state that the below-target participation rate requires a communication strategy to avoid its impact toward the political dynamic or the local

government (Arif, 2020; Ardiantoro, et al., 2017). As Tulungagung people have communal culture, it is easier for them to process information via the peripheral route. This means that the people are easier to accept and trust information from groups or media in the surrounding environment. Furthermore, the low participation is possibly due to the lack of motivation and involvement, or due to the presence of certain social issues. Thus, a leader figure also requires a direct and interactive approach as well as builds personal closeness.

The above explanations indicate the reason why at the last regent election, the information about the arrest of the candidate Syahri Mulyo became a news and concern yet did not change the public's choice on him. This is for the reason that Syahri Mulyo already has an experience as a previous regent and builds a close relationship with the voters. Those experiences and relations become the information in the peripheral route that construct Syahri Mulyo's image as an inseparable part of the people. Sari's study (2019) shows that the information from the peripheral route becomes the background behind the people's decision to choose the regent in 2018. On the other hand, corruption cases also cause no conflict in the wider community. This can be seen through the communal society that in general, they still feel a calm and harmonious atmosphere. Thus, there is a possibility that the community feel no impact related to the corruption case.

The level of people's participation with no big differences (68%-77.3%) also indicates that the Tulungagung people have a homogeneity or communal culture. The majority of the people in various sub-districts still have a cohesiveness to respond or adapt to the social dynamics, including participating in the election of regent. This interpretation is emphasized by Sari's (2019) study showing that the communal character makes people tend to be neutral in some debates and are reluctant to follow political trends on social media. Referring to Ting-Toomey (2005), an attitude that tends to avoid conflict in people's media is a characteristic of collectivistic societies. In establishing relationships and resolving conflicts, collectivistic societies prioritize the values of harmony, group togetherness and the dignity of others. Thus, collectivistic societies will resolve conflicts or debates internally, not through open media such as social media.

In Tulungagung, a slogan does not only represent the figure of the regent. However, the slogan also reflects the government's focus, socio-cultural values and the cognitive ideals of the Tulungagung people. Informant 5 gives an example on the slogan of *ingandaya*, stating that *ingandaya* is related to the situation and the direction of development.

Each slogan represents the situation in its time. For example, Ingandaya is a slogan when the regent focuses on building industries, the food sector, especially agricultures, and cultures. Later when the people's situation or the regent's policy changes, the slogan must also adjust accordingly. (Informant 5, February 24)

Until 2003, the regent of Tulungagung focused on developing the industrial, food, and cultural sectors. For example, at that time, the regent was developing small and medium enterprises (SMEs), agricultures, promoting vocational schools and preserving cultures. Meanwhile, the slogan of *guyub rukun* reflects the socio-cultural values of the people that are far from conflict by maintaining harmony and togetherness. Informant 3 explains that the spirit of *guyub rukun* popularized by the Regent Heru Tjahjono is inherited and continued by the next regents, Syahri Mulyo and Maryoto Birowo.

The slogan of the Regent Heru is 'guyub rukun'. Yes, today, Syahri Mulyo and Maryoto Birowo's slogan "ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto" also continues the guyub rukun. It's just both have the same spirit, but on a different term. The spirit of getting along in guyub rukun is still there. The difference in terms does not matter, because it is the nature of the Javanese people to get together harmoniously, especially in Tulungagung. (Informant 3, 19 May 2022)

There is an interrelation between the socio-cultural values and the slogan construction process. In one hand, the regent absorbs the social values of the people and implements the values in a slogan to make the people feel related. At the same time, people who feel related to the slogan then live and affirm the values in it through the practice of everyday life. The people create a pattern of interaction and communication that avoids any conflict or debate.

The characters that fit the slogans of harmony, togetherness, calm and peace also underlie the way people use the media. Regarding the detention of the regent candidate, Syahri Mulyo, media managers in Tulungagung use a more subtle (tone-down) narrative that give no highlight toward the term of corruption. News about Syahri Mulyo appears in chronological form as shown in Figure 3 below. This means that the media managers carry out the function of disseminating information, but to a certain extent, they do not form opinions.



Figure 3. Syahri Mulyo’s News on Local Media
Source: @radartulungagung IG account

Informant 2 as a media manager confirms that there is a reluctance to upload information that potentially causes any polemics. Thus, the manager prefers to upload information other than the news of Syahri Mulyo's arrest.

It's better to broadcast a positive news. It does not cause a commotion or social conflict. We convey information what the people need to know. But for things that have the potential to conflict, we minimize it even if we can avoid it. At least, for things that are important yet pro and contra, we will convey them factually without leading to any opinions. (Informant 2, February 17)

This is different from several mainstream mass media on a national or regional scale which reported Syahri Mulyo’s case with dramatic narratives as shown in Figure 4 below.



Figure 3. Syahri Mulyo’s News on National Media
Source: tempo.co

The election result of Syahri Mulyo as a regent, who has been found guilty in a corruption case, can not only be understood through reading the news in the media. However, scholars need to observe the socio-cultural context of the Tulungagung people. The study of mediatization can be an alternative in understanding the social practices behind the victory.

Likewise, the people consider *guyub rukun* as the slogan that best describes the life in Tulungagung because of the feeling of psychocultural closeness. The slogan *guyub rukun* was discoursed during the regent of Heru in 2003-2013. Nevertheless, the use of various media has reconstructed the discourse of *guyub rukun* and makes it still exists in the dynamical lives of the society, even in a variety of social practices or activities.

Conclusion

This study examines the interrelation between socio-culture context and information processing routes in the political context. This study shows that the peripheral route is suitable for people who have a low motivation and involvement, or are exposed to certain issues. Messages on the peripheral route prioritize audio-visual displays that are attractive, contain light substance and easy to understand, one of which is in the form of political slogans.

The people perceive the political figures and slogans as a form of awareness and cognitive ideals. The people will have an interest toward the slogans that are close to the nuances of the previous regent's slogan. Likewise, the candidate for regent will use the previous slogan as a reference to maintain the relay of relations, motivation and people's trust in the next government. The pattern -the political slogan- continues to be a mechanism for the community to maintain the group values. Reciprocally, the society forms a system that allows socio-cultural values to continue to be constructed.

Tulungagung society, as the character of rural cultures, has a communal and collectivistic character. Thus, the political approach can be through reference groups, communities or community leaders. Communal societies also take into account the social, cultural and personal closeness values. The implication is that the community is more related to the political messages reflecting the socio-cultural values and the local wisdom. At this stage, the mediatization occurs. It is when the people live and practice the political slogans in their daily lives - in the practice of communicating and using the media. Communication and the use of media also shape people's lives within the framework of local wisdom and socio-cultural values.

This study implies the importance of political and media literacy by having a sociocultural perspective and knowledge. Thus, this study recommends the study of political communication or media to understand the socio-cultural values contextually and specifically. Candidates for regent are also expected to pay attention toward the messages in the peripheral route, by having a social approach through figures, groups or communities in the society.

Acknowledgments

The researcher would like to deliver a big gratitude toward the people who are willing to fill out the survey. This research is also accomplished due to the willingness of the informants to share their knowledge on the media and the social, cultural and political life of the people of Tulungagung.

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Implementation of E-Government Policy from Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) Era to Governor Zulkieflimansyah Era in West Nusa Tenggara Province

Implementasi Kebijakan E-Government Era Gubernur Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) Sampai Era Gubernur Zulkieflimansyah di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>e-Gov Policy;</i> <i>SPBE;</i> <i>Muhammad Zainul Madji;</i> <i>Zulkieflimansyah;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT <i>This article tries to explain the implementation of e-Government policies from Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) era to Governor Zulkieflimansyah (Bang Zul). Four dimensions are measured to determine whether the implementation of e-government in the era of Muhammad Zainal Madji is well implemented, namely, the Policy, Institutional, Planning, and Application dimensions. In contrast, the Zulkieflimansyah era is measured by the Policy Domain, Governance Domain, and Service Domain. It uses a comparative descriptive method with a qualitative approach and using literature analysis. The results of the study show that the e-government policy of the NTB Province from the Muhammad Zainul Madji Era to the Zulkieflimansyah Era shows the results of "Very Poor, "less," and "Good" with a National 5 rating in 2020 in the implementation of electronic-based government.</i></p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Kebijakan E-Government;</i> <i>SPBE;</i> <i>Muhammad Zainul Madji;</i> <i>Zulkieflimansyah;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK <i>Artikel ini mencoba menjelaskan implementasi kebijakan e-Government dari Era Gubernur Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) sampai Era Gubernur Zulkieflimansyah (Bang Zul), ada empat dimensi yang diukur untuk mengetahui implementasi e-government era Muhammad Zainal Madji terlaksana dengan baik yaitu, dimensi Kebijakan, dimensi Kelembagaan, dimensi Perencanaan dan dimensi Aplikasi, sedangkan era Zulkieflimansyah diukur dengan Domain Kebijakan, Domain Tata kelola, dan Domanain layanan. Menggunakan metode deksriptif komparatif dengan pendekatan kualitatif, dan menggunakan analisis kepustakaan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan e-government Provinsi NTB dari Era Muhammad Zainul Madji sampai Era Zulkieflimansyah menunjukkan hasil dari "Sangat Kurang, "kurang", dan "Baik" dengan peringkat 5 Nasional pada tahun 2020 dalam pelaksanaan pemerintah berbasis elektronik.</i></p>
<p>Article History Send 15th June 2022 Review 7th July 2022 Accepted 30th November 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p>



Introduction

The digital era is marked by the Internet, which has influenced changes in human life. Almost every aspect of human life is now inseparable from the use of information technology and the Internet in it. One of these aspects is communication. Suppose that in the past, communication was predominantly done directly, now in the digitalization era. In that case, communication is starting to lead to indirect communication by utilizing smartphone technology, computers, and other information technology, such as social media, to communicate face-to-face, even though separated by long distance but still able to connect and communicate (Nuryadin, 2017; Baharuddin et al., 2022; Widayat et al., 2022).

The digital progress of the Internet has brought a new world that is full of openness, anything can be entered on the Internet, and anyone can and is free to access it without the need to incur additional costs or be limited by copyrights and patents (Smitz et al., 2016; Baharuddin, 2020). The Internet is even considered to be a new medium replacing conventional media. As a new medium with open source, the Internet can be used in various fields, such as politics, business, marketing, and government (Sari, 2017; Baharuddin et al., 2022). The digital era has not only brought about changes in the Private Sector (Company/private) but has also impacted changes in the governance system. Initially, the government was very rigid, hierarchical, and bureaucratic and conventionally carried out public service activities, now since the digitalization era on all fronts, The government has inevitably adopted electronic (Internet)-based government or what is called E-Government as a form of bureaucratic reform and at the same time to improve excellent public services, as well as public information disclosure. "The local political-administrative agenda aims to promote transparency and participation as fundamental values for interaction between municipalities and citizens through the mechanisms available through the electronic government. Thus, the municipalities have promoted citizen participation with initiatives through their websites, using them as a repository of information and interactive channels (Tejedo-Romero & Araujo, 2020).

In 2018 there were 193 United Nations (UN) member countries developed E-Government, including Indonesia. At the world level, Indonesia is ranked 107th out of 193 countries, and at the Southeast Asian level, Indonesia is ranked 7th out of 11 countries. The ranking position. The ranking position shows that Indonesia is still far behind Singapore (13th), the Philippines (19th), Malaysia (32nd), Vietnam (72nd), Thailand (82nd), and Brunei Darussalam (97th) (United Nations, 2018). Meanwhile, the results of the 2015 E-Government Indonesia (PeGI) ranking showed that 15 out of 21 LPNKs whose implementation of E-Government was in the excellent category, while the rest were in the less and inferior category

(Prihanto, 2012). If we break it down again at the provincial level, the implementation of E-government in Indonesia in 2010 is seen from the aspects of policy, institutions, infrastructure, applications, and planning; West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is ranked 18th out of 27 provinces (Damayanty et al., 2021).

Studies conducted on the application of e-government programs in most countries need to pay more attention to the importance of obtaining a stable vote ranking in supporting the quality of government decision-making regarding implementing its various strategies. This is because government decision-makers often have different views on their priorities and their selection of appropriate strategies to ensure the successful implementation of various government initiatives, including e-initiatives. Therefore, this study came to address the importance of obtaining a stable vote ranking to address the difference of views among government decision-makers and their priorities regarding selecting appropriate strategies for the successful implementation of the e-government program (Elsheikh et al., 2022).

Despite the enormous potential of e-government to transform government-citizen interactions, it has mainly remained unstructured. In addition to structuring the current literature, this study conceptualizes e-government as a multidimensional construct. The three underlying dimensions identified—empowered citizenship, hyper-integrated networks, and evolutionary systems architecture—develop an understanding of e-government from a demand perspective and position of e-government at the intersection of public administration and services marketing (public service delivery), having characteristics of credence services. Contrary to earlier notions of e-government as a phenomenon (Carter & Bélanger, 2005), i.e., government-to-citizen (G2C), government-to-business (G2B), this study argues that interactions via e-government are not limited to two parties; instead, they involve channel partners' alias intermediaries to enhance the accessibility and quality of core services (Malodia et al., 2021). Since governments work in partnership with many local and global public, private, and NGO institutions, all government partners must also digitize and digitalize their way of doing things. For example, e-education in Rwanda could be achieved through digitizing education practices and digitalization to change education's administration and delivery processes (Uwizeyimana, 2022).

The results of the ranking of E-Government achievements by the province in Indonesia can be seen in the table below:

Table. 1
Data on E-government Achievement Levels Based on Province Classification in Indonesia Based on Aspects of E-Government Implementation

Provincial	Institutional	Policies	Infrastructure	Planning	Applications
East Java	3,33	3,20	3,05	3,22	3,25
Yogyakarta	3,29	3,07	2,76	3,26	2,92
West Java	2,58	3,13	3,24	3,22	2,83
DKI Jakarta	2,75	2,87	3,10	2,59	3,08
East Kalimantan	2,79	2,93	2,76	2,37	3,17
West Nusa Tenggara	1,92	1,87	1,86	1,70	1,00

Source: Prihanto, 2012

The table above shows that the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is in a "less good" position in implementing E-Government. However, each period from year to year, West Nusa Tenggara Province continues to innovate and take various steps to improve excellent and clean government services through the implementation of electronic-based government (E-Government). This can be seen from the ranking conducted by PeGI, in 2010, the position of the Province of NTB was ranked 18th; in 2011, it was ranked 14th; in 2012, it was ranked 13th; in 2013, it fell again to rank 14th, and in 2014 it slightly rose to rank 11th, so that its previous status was in the "Not good" zone to "Less ."Even though in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) in the RPJMD of the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government, a performance indicator related to the development of e-government of West Nusa Tenggara Province was the achievement of the PeGI index at rank six until 2018. This fact shows that many strategic issues still need to be addressed. Moreover, research results (Saputra & Nafisah, 2020) assessing 242 respondents with a total performance of 40.2% assessed that the public services provided needed to be better and the implementation of e-government needed to be categorized as ideal.

In this research, the authors try to look at a policy of the Regional Government of West Nusa Tenggara Province regarding the implementation of an electronic-based government system or commonly called e-government, with the use of information and communication technology in almost every work unit. The government has utilized information and communication technology to facilitate work that is not merely administrative, planning, managing, monitoring, and evaluating up to the stage of taking strategic leadership policies.

The implementation of e-government in West Nusa Tenggara Province from the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji to the current era of Governor Zulkiflimansyah has fundamental differences from the point of view of planning, application development, institutions, and policies; this is due to the development of innovation and technology that continues to develop. This research differs from previous studies, which only looked at e-government implementation policies from one leadership period. In contrast, this research examines more from a comparison of e-government implementation from the two leadership regimes of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji to Governor Zulkiflimansyah, as well as differences in the evaluation of the implementation of e-government. -government by the central government, where the evaluation of the success of e-government at the Regional Government level during the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji was assessed by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, while the evaluation of the success of implementing e-government in the era of Governor Zulkiflimansyah was assessed by the Ministry of Administrative Reform Bureaucratic Reform. So that in implementing e-government by utilizing information technology from the two governor regimes, many governor regimes have built ICT infrastructure, from just computer hardware devices and medium-scale Internet to the development of various types of applications to support the ease of function of administrative services, management, legislation administration, development management. , financial management, and personnel management. The goal is expected to act as a catalyst for improving the quality of public services and government processes that are efficient, transparent, and accountable (Sari, 2017).

Electronic government or popularly abbreviated as E-Government in the view of the Word Bank, is known as a Government-owned or operating system of information and communications technologies (ICTs) that transform relations with citizens, the private sector, and other government agencies to promote citizen empowerment and improve service delivery, strengthen accountability, increase transparency, or improve government efficiency (Elysia et al., 2017a; Nasrullah, 2016). From this definition, it can be concluded that the general principles in implementing E-Government from Government agencies, namely (a). The use of information and communication technology by a government agency in the context of developing government advice and infrastructure in the field of ICT. (b). There is a transformation of relations between the public, the private sector, and government institutions to establish harmonious, effective, transparent and accountable relations. (c). The ultimate goal of implementing E-Government is to encourage community empowerment, improve public services, increase transparency, community participation and accountability, and efficiency in

good and clean government governance. The positive impact of E-Government on society, the business world, and the government agencies themselves will look like the image below:

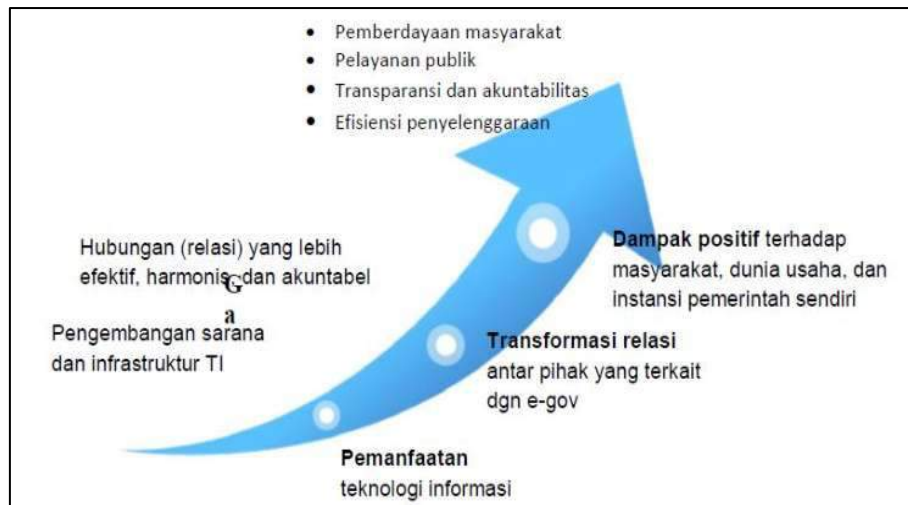


Figure 1 E-Government Transformation
Source: Processed From Sharing Sources, 2021

E-government utilizes tools and systems in information communication technology to provide more public services to the community and the private sector (Kurniasih, 2010). E-government can also be interpreted as a collection of concepts for all actions in the public sector (both at the central government level and government at the regional level) which involve information and communication technology in order to optimize public service processes that are efficient, transparent and effective (Sari, 2017; Setiawan & Santoso, 2013).

E-government is a vehicle for information technology capable of producing good management and governance networks (Damayanty et al., 2021). Effective e-government involves a series of process and organizational rethinking, as well as behavioral changes, so that public services can be delivered more efficiently to the people who need them and, if properly implemented, enable all citizens, companies, and organizations to do business with the government more easily, quickly and lower costs (Sari, 2017), because the Electronic Government standard is to describe the government working, providing information and providing services to internal and external parties (Aini, 2019).

E-government significantly impacts government governance in the world, both in developed and developing countries, because e-government is a combination of communication and information technology with government management functions (Pratiwi, 2020). The application of e-government in Indonesia at both the central and regional government levels is focused on making applications for integrated G2G, G2B, and G2C

services so that e-government services can be effective, efficient, accountable and transparent to lead to the best service quality (best practice (Elysia et al., 2017b).

The use of e-government is expected to be able to increase the productivity and efficiency of the bureaucratic process and is also expected to support economic growth. Because the basic concept of e-government is a stage for improving the interaction between government and society (government to citizen), government and private sector enterprises (government to private sector enterprise), and inter-agency relationships (Elysia et al., 2017a). Increasing the use of e-government is one of the government's steps in improving a more open, cleaner, and more accountable bureaucratic environment. The purpose of implementing e-government is to increase the effectiveness of government processes and services provided to the community (Wirawan, 2020).

The Provincial Government of West Nusa Tenggara, which is also part of the Indonesian government, continues to improve in improving excellent and clean governance through the implementation of E-government; this can be seen starting from the leadership of the era of Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) in the vision and mission related to communication technology and informatics (ICT), which is the elaboration of the missions of the 3 (three) provinces, namely "Continuing efforts to reform a clean and serving bureaucracy, uphold justice in law, strengthen security stability ."In this third mission, one of the goals to be achieved is "The availability of regional data and information services based on information and communication technology ."Moreover, the policy direction strategies to achieve these goals are facilitation, socialization, and publication of information and communication technology-based regional data and information services aimed at providing, utilizing, and developing e-government. In the era of Governor Zulkieflimansyah, improvements and refinements continued (Rachmawati & Junio, 2016).

This can be seen starting from the policy, institutional, infrastructure, application, and planning aspects of organizing and looking for a suitable model for implementing e-government so that all OPDs within the province are connected to the developed public service application. In 2020 the Position of West Nusa Tenggara Province in Ranking by the Ministry of State Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, the Province of West Nusa Tenggara was already in position 5 (five) on a "GOOD" scale from the previous TGB era of "very lacking" and "insufficient" (NTB ministry of science, 2020). The purpose of this study is to explain the implementation of policies and the use of information technology in the form of E-government from the era of the governor of TGB to the era of Governor Zulkieflimansyah to realize bureaucratic reform and excellent public services. There are two indicators to measure the

achievement or implementation of e-government in the era of the two governors; where in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB), it was measured by indicators by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics based on PeGI standards, namely dimensions, (a). Institutional Dimension, (b). Policy Dimension (c). Planning Dimension (d). The application dimension, while the indicators for the implementation of e-government in the era of Governor Zulkiflimansyah (Bang Zul) are measured by the indicators set by the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, namely (a). SPBE Policy Domain, (b). Domain Governance, (c). SPBE Service Domains.

Research conducted by Lia Amalia Solihat explained that the implementation of State-Owned Corporation (BUMN) Online was able to meet the needs felt, both by the State Ministry for BUMN and the public, regarding information transparency. Another result obtained was that there were obstacles in developing BUMN Online in terms of the need for more support from the technical officials of the Ministry of BUMN and BUMN management for the existence of BUMN online. The weakness in this study is in terms of the approach used where this research approach is qualitative, even though it will be more visible if it uses a quantitative approach based on the theory of transparency. In data collection, the researcher only interviewed two respondents from the community, even though the community is an essential factor in assessing transparency. Nevertheless, the discussion in this study is quite good in terms of analysis (Solihat, 2006).

The second research is by Muhammad Husni about the implementation of Electronic Government in DKI Jakarta Province. This study aims to identify the implementation of E-government in DKI Jakarta Province based on the aspects of the complexity and benefits of E-government and to determine the factors that influence the success and failure of E-government implementation in DKI Jakarta Province. The qualitative approach uses data collection techniques from library studies and field research using in-depth interviews. The conclusion of this study is based on the aspects of the complexity and benefits of E-government, where DKI Jakarta Province has implemented e-government quite well; the implementation of e-government in DKI Jakarta Province has reached a level where stakeholders can interact through internet media, and DKI Jakarta has advantages in terms of e-government infrastructure funding. This study needs to improve in terms of method; namely, researchers use a qualitative approach, but researchers analyze based on the theory used so that it is contrary to the essence of the qualitative approach itself. Nevertheless, the discussion given is good enough.

The third research is about the Implementation of Electronic Government by Wahyu Mahendra. This study aims to provide an overview of the e-government implementation of the City Government of Depok and the obstacles in implementing e-government. The quantitative approach uses data collection techniques from library studies and field research with in-depth interviews and observations. This study concludes that the implementation of E-government in Depok City is seen from 10 indicators, where only seven indicators have a good rating, two are not good, and one cannot be measured. The obstacles experienced in the implementation of E-government consist of: inadequate socialization for employees, traditional culture still maintained, the position of the Diskominfo not being strategic, policy products not yet precise, making nomadic agencies an excuse, the burden of expensive VPN fees, and the budget is not yet well prioritized. The weakness of this study is that researchers should have interviewed the public, namely the Depok community themselves, as the goal of E-government in the city of Depok, mainly because the method used in this research is quantitative. However, in general, the discussion of this research has been excellent and detailed.

E-Government is a public service carried out by all government agencies that are optimally coordinated with one another using telematics technology. E-Government must be seen as a means, not as an end. For the implementation of e-government to be carried out properly, it is necessary to pay attention to technical and non-technical factors that can influence success. In general, non-technical factors are more domain than technical factors. Therefore an in-depth understanding of non-technical factors is needed when designing and implementing e-government. The implementation of e-government, which is associated with efforts to meet the needs of all sectors of activity both in government and society, requires patrons from leaders who can set an example and share commitment.

According to Layne and Lee in Wahid, the development of E-Government in a country can be viewed from several stages of evolution, namely starting with the presence of the government in the form of a web that provides primary and relevant information for the public (Wirawan, 2020). The term E-Government, as well as the term E-business, on the other hand, has the risk of being over-exploited, making it ambiguous. This relatively simple article attempts to correct wrong perceptions about E-Government and examine in more detail the concept of E-Government itself. Furthermore, this article invites readers to look at the constraints and obstacles that developing countries like Indonesia face in implementing this concept and offers some temporary solutions deemed appropriate.

E-Government Development Strategy In the operational category, several things that receive attention in the development of E-Government include a. The organization and work procedures of the provincial government need to facilitate E-Government services efficiently

and effectively. b. Human resources (as the man behind the gun) need to develop their expertise and skills in managing information and communication technology and pay attention to rewards (remuneration) and career paths. c. The budget for device maintenance is as important as the budget for development, so an adequate budget is needed to continuously maintain the quality of E-Government services, including creating new versions of software (to meet the increasing demands of service users and accommodate policy changes), updating data to adapt to changing conditions, and adapting some of the technology used for newer technologies as demands for competition between regions and nations. d. Encouraging various parties to increase their ability and willingness to develop, managing, and updating data and information content on an ongoing basis so that what is needed by related parties is available in real-time.

Wahidi (2019) concluded that E-Government is a form of application for carrying out tasks and governance using telematics technology or information and communication technology. E-Government applications provide opportunities to improve and optimize relations between government agencies, the relationship between the government and the business world and society. The mechanism for this relationship is through information technology, a collaboration or merger between computers and communication network systems (Wahidi et al., 2019).

E-Government Technology has caused much bureaucracy to be reorganized. One or far fewer people can now do many things that once had to be done by many people. Many activities that generally take time can be done in a flash. Distance becomes less relevant. Data can be more quickly and accurately obtained and processed. All of this affects the bureaucratic system. Problems can be detected earlier, preventing them from growing bigger. Public services can be better, faster and easier. In this case, e-government is a new trend in state administration. Darell M. West, an e-government expert from Brown University in the United States, explained that e-government refers to delivering information and services online through the Internet or other digital means. Based on the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) defines it more simply, namely, E-government is the application of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) by government agencies. Meanwhile, leading software vendors such as SAP have pretty a unique definition. E-government is a global reform movement to promote internet use by government agencies and everyone who deals with them. A complete definition stated by the World Bank, namely E-government, relates to the use of information technology (such as wide area networks, the Internet, and mobile communications) by government agencies that can transform government relations with citizens, business actors (business), and other government agencies.

This technology can have a variety of purposes, including providing better government services to its citizens, increasing interaction with business and industry, empowering communities through access to information, or more efficient government management. The expected results can be reduced corruption, increased transparency, convenience, revenue, or reduced costs. Thus, implementing e-government will be able to help: eliminate barriers to the exchange of information between communities and between regions of the country, and thus various forms of gaps originating from an imbalance in opportunities to obtain information can be overcome in stages, increase the availability of information and public services as well as broaden and deepen their outreach; increasing productivity, efficiency, and innovation capabilities in the production sector, as well as expediting the distribution chain; increasing transparency and improving the efficiency of public services; facilitating interaction between government agencies, both at the central and regional levels and with the community. Talking about the study of e-government implementation in Indonesia, the birth of e-government in Indonesia was initiated by Presidential Instruction No. 23/2003 concerning National Policy and Strategy for e-government development.

Concept and Implementation of e-Government E-government is the government's effort to get closer to the community. This is in line with the spirit of decentralization, where the central government has handed over several authorities to regional governments, especially those relating to public services. Public services that have had problems, such as slowness, non-transparency, and difficulties in accessing the community, are trying to be solved using this electronic-based technology. In line with this (Sufianti, 2007) states that e-government is a government program to develop electronic-based governance and carry out transformations to facilitate community and business activities to create a knowledge-based economy. In addition, (Sulismadi et al., 2017) basically, implementing the e-Government concept is a transformation challenge. The function of information technology within this framework is not only to support existing government management but rather to act as a driver of change or as something that offers fundamental changes to the process of administering government in the modern era.

Method

This article departs from the results of descriptive comparative research comparing the same variables for different samples with an approach that uses qualitative methods, the data collection technique used is library research. The library materials collected were in the form of documents related to the policy directions of the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial

Government in the development of e-government during the periodization of the Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji Era and the Governor Zulkiflimansyah Era based on different indicators from the two regimes. First Era Muhammad Zainul Madji e-government policy standards are measured by standard indicators of the Indonesian Government Ranking (PeGI) implemented by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, namely, the institutional dimension, the policy dimension, the planning dimension, and the application dimension. Meanwhile, in the era of Zulkiflimansyah's leadership, e-government policy standards were measured based on those set by the Ministry of Administrative Reform, namely, the SPBE policy domain, the Governance Domain, and the SPBE service domain. The method used can be seen in (Table 2) below:

Table 2 Research methods

Method	Library Research
Comparative descriptive with a qualitative approach	Book Scientific journal articles Bulletin Regulation of the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara West Nusa Tenggara Province Long Term Development Plan (RPJMD). Government Publication Reports Relevant previous research SPBE Official Website (government system West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government Official Website Online news Survey results

Source: Secondary Data

Results and Discussion

E-Government Era Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB)

Institutional Dimension

In the institutional dimension, it will be explained that it is closely related to the existence of an organization that has authority and responsibility in developing and utilizing information and communication technology as a formulation in implementing e-government. In the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB), based on Governor Regulation Number 21 of 2008 and Governor Regulation Number 11 of 2012 concerning details of the duties, functions and work procedures of the existing agencies within the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), it is known that two institutions are given the main task and function in the management of information and communication technology within the Province of West

Nusa Tenggara, namely, the General Bureau at the Regional Secretariat of the Province of West Nusa Tenggara and the Office of Transportation and Communication and Informatics. Then it is further explained that the functions in which there are also functions related to electronic data management, communication and informatics, and to carry out these tasks & functions, in the organizational structure of the General Bureau, there is a Secretariat and Electronic Data Processing section. In contrast, in the organizational structure, The Department of Transportation, Communication and Informatics has a Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD) of the Electronic Data Processing Center.

In carrying out its duties and functions, the Secretariat and Electronic Data Processing Section at the Regional Secretariat General Bureau of the province of NTB or abbreviated as K & PDE, has the task of preparing materials and materials for preparing policy formulation, coordination, coaching, monitoring evaluation in the field of ciphers, telecommunications, electronic data processing and procurement services goods/services electronically (LPSE) as well as expeditions and archives, bureau administration, travel, and reporting. Meanwhile, the UPTD Center for Electronic Data Processing under the West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Transportation and Information Communication Service has the task of carrying out some of the NTB Province Transportation, Communication and Informatics technical duties Service in the field of electronic data processing and assistance tasks. From the point of view of the rules for the existence of the Secretariat and Electronic Data Processing Section at the General Bureau, the authority is to carry out administrative functions and coordinate activities. In contrast, the technical functions of information technology and communication are the affairs and responsibilities of the Office of Transportation, Communication and Informatics. However, in practice, many technical programs related to information and communication technology activities on a regional scale are also carried out by the Secretariat and Electronic Data processing division of the General Bureau. It can be said that there is an institutional dualism that has the responsibility and authority to manage technology and information in the implementation of E-government in the TGB Governor Era, and this has an impact on the ineffectiveness of e-government implementation. Following are the results of the institutional dimension values during 2011-2014.

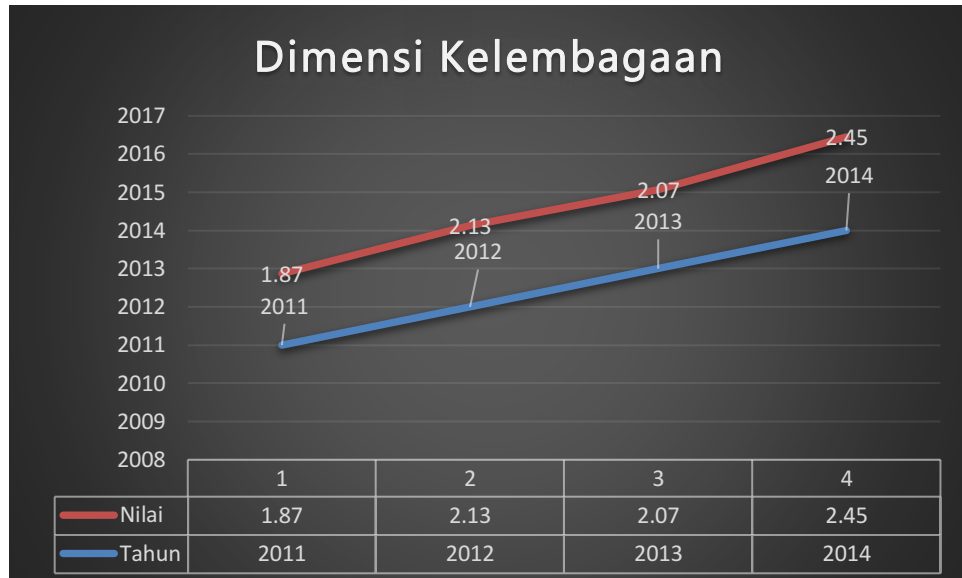


Figure 2

Rating Value of Institutional Dimensions of E-Government Implementation in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji 2011-2014
Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

Based on Figure 2, the value of the institutional dimension of e-government in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) from 2011-2014 has yet to reach what has been the target of expectations. Only in 2014 the value increased to 2.45, but it still received a value of "Less". This means that the management of e-government in the institutional dimension needs to be better coordinated and integrated because two institutions oversee the management authority of e-government. It can thus be analyzed that there will be conflicts of interest, the impact of which is the lack of institutional governance values.

Dimensions of E-Government Policy

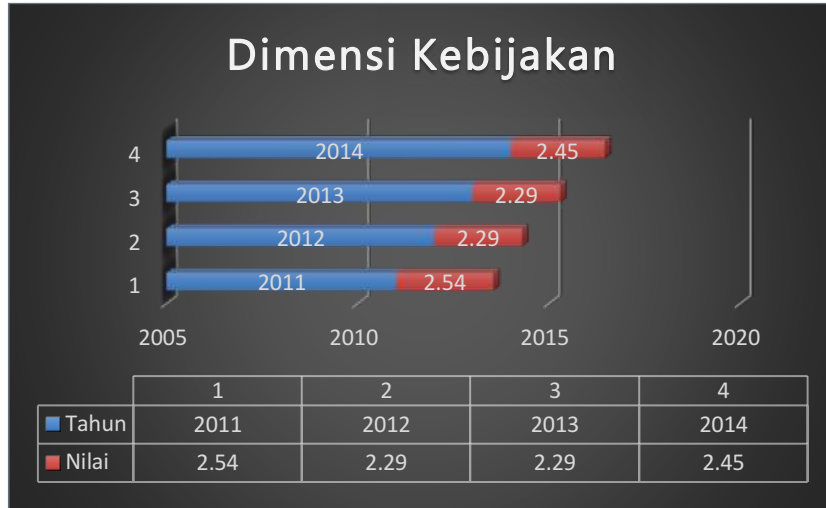
This section will explain the legal basis or policy that was issued by the Governor of NTB in the era of Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) and Zulkifliemansyah (Bang Zul) in terms of developing electronic-based government (e-government). Policies or regulations are critical as a basis or basis for implementing tasks under (services) in carrying out public services so that public implementation standards are genuinely according to procedures and based on existing rules. The following are the policies that existed from the Muhammad Zainul Madji era (TGB) to the Zulkieflimansyah era (Bang Zul) in the table below:

Table 3
Existing Policies Related to Information and Communication Technology in the Implementation & Development of E-Government in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB)

The Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB)	Information
Governor Regulation No. 4 of 2014 concerning Implementation of Communication and Informatics	
Governor Regulation No. 6 of 2012 concerning Guidelines and Technical Instructions for the Implementation of an Electronic Procurement Service System (LPSE) within the Provincial Government of West Nusa Tenggara	
Governor Regulation No. 10 of 2012 concerning Regional Health Information Systems	
Governor Regulation No. 35 of 2012 concerning Guidelines for Information Management and Documentation within the Provincial Government of West Nusa Tenggara	All regulations have not been integrated with the master plan for an electronic-based government system
Governor Decree No. 050.13-112 of 2014 Concerning the Formation of a Working Group Team for Compiling, Collecting, Managing, Updating, Analysis of Regional Development Information Systems for the Province of West Nusa Tenggara	
Governor Decree No. 73 of 2012 concerning the Establishment of the Regional Development Data and Information Forum	
Circular Letter No. 555/139/UM/2014 Concerning the Implementation of the “NTB in My Hand” Strategic Information System	
Circular Letter No. 555/292.B/UM/2014 Concerning Integration of Fingerprint Attendance Machines	

Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

Based on the policy made in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) regarding Information and Communication Technology in the context of implementing E-government, there were only a few policies that were well integrated, so what happened was overlapping. All existing OPDs had yet to be able to take advantage of the application and designed website. Likewise, in governance, there needs to be a mechanism aimed at evaluating the development of E-government in the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) in a comprehensive and coordinated manner within the province. Moreover, the following is the value of the policy dimension based on PeGI's ranking in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) as follows:



Picture. 3

Rating Value of Policy Dimensions of E-Government Implementation in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji 2011-2014

Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

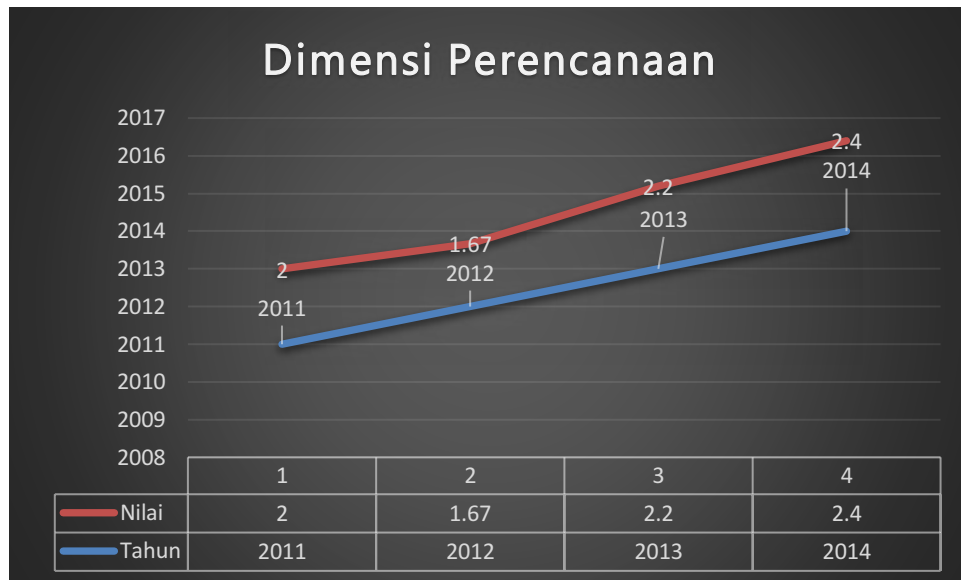
Based on the figure above, the average policy score from 2011-2014 was only able to be at 2.45, although the average score was still higher than the "institutional dimension" score. From the policy score, only in 2011 was it able to reach 2.54 even though the value was still in the less category, while in 2012-2013, the value fell to 2.29 and in 2014 slightly increased to 2.45.

Dimensions of E-Government Planning

The Planning dimension is directly related to the governance of e-government planning management which is carried out in an integrated and mutually sustainable manner. Evaluation of the planning dimension is carried out on the existence of a planning process in the development and utilization of information and communication technology that is carried out in a natural way, such as the existence of procedures and standard and regular work mechanisms. In addition to achieving careful planning, it is necessary to have a complete needs assessment and strategy for implementing information and communication technology which contains goals, objectives, benefits, an overview of current conditions, technology selection, resource requirements, appropriate approaches, prioritization, and costs, and long term blindness.

The Government Era of Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) did not yet have a master plan for developing information and technology in the implementation of E-government as a policy and technical basis for building, developing and implementing information and communication

technology throughout the scope of the regional apparatus organization (OPD) of NTB Province. The only one that can be used as a reference as the basis for the development and utilization of information and communication technology is the Provincial Strategic Plan contained in the Regional Long Term Development Plan (RPJMD), but it is still general. The following is the value of planning dimensions in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) follows:



Picture. 4

Rating Value of Planning Dimensions of E-Government Implementation in Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji's Era 2011-2014

Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

The image data above explains the value of the "Planning" dimension of e-government in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji from 2011-2014. The results on this dimension experienced stagnation in 2011; the value was 2.0 (less), and in 2012 decreased to 1.67 (less). In 2013 rose again to 2.20 (less), and in 2014 increased to 2.40 (less).

Dimensions of E-Government Applications

This section will be explained in connection with the availability and level of utilization of application software that supports the implementation of e-government services, both directly and indirectly. In the Era of Muhammad Zainul Madji's Leadership (TGB), Applications or computer software were developed and made available by each Regional Apparatus Organization within the West Nusa Tenggara Province with various types and functions according to the needs of the tasks and functions of each work unit. Even though the authority and responsibility for technology and information lie with the General Bureau of the Regional Secretariat and the Office of Transportation, Communication and Informatics of West

Nusa Tenggara, each Regional Apparatus Organization (OPD) is allowed to hold their applications without having to coordinate with the last agency that has responsibility. in the Information and Communication Technology sector. The following table lists applications made during the TGB Government era when he led the Province of West Nusa Tenggara.

Table. 4
List of Government Computer Applications West Nusa Tenggara Province Era
Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB)

Application Type	Regional Apparatus Organization (OPD)
1. Service Application	
SIKNAS, Web base, Linux/ Windows, SQL Server	Public health office
SIKDA Generic, Web bas, Linux/Windows, MySQL	Public health office
Samsat application, Desktop, Windows Server, SQL Server	Income office region
Information Service System and Investment Licensing (SPIPSE), Web Base, Windows, Linux	Coordinating body integrated investment & licensing
Regional Investment Potential Information System, Web, Windows/ Linux	Coordinating body integrated investment & licensing
Short Message Service or SMS Center, Web Base (local), Linux, MySQL	General bureau
SIMLUH, Web Base, Windows, SQLServer	Secretariat of the Coordinating Agency for Agriculture, Fisheries and Defense Extension
Information Management and Documentation Officer Information System (SIPPID), Web base, MySQL, http://ppid.ntbprov.go.id/	Department of Transportation, Communication and Information
Information System & Registration for Training on the use of the LPSE Application (http://pelatihanlpse.ntbprov.go.id/), Web base, Linux, MySQL	General bureau
Trouble Ticketing System (Complaint Service LPSE West Nusa Tenggara Province)	General bureau
Library Management information system	Library and Archive Agency
Information System "Kampung Medi"	Department of Transportation, Communication and Information
2. Application Administration & Management	
e-Mail (http://mail.ntbprov.go.id/)	General bureau
Center for Agricultural Data and Information Systems (Pusdatin)	Department of Agriculture
Public Relations Management Information System	General bureau
Strategic Information System "NTB My Hand" http://inmyhand.ntbprov.go.id/	All Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD)
Poverty Reduction Integrated Management Information System http://simpadu.bappeda.ntbprov.go.id/	Regional Development Planning
Consumables Supply Information System	General bureau
3. Legislation Administration Application	
Legal Product Information System http://jdih.ntbprov.go.id/	General bureau
4. Development Management Application	
Electronic Procurement Services (LPS) http://lpse.ntbprov.go.id/eproc/	General bureau
Regional Development Monitoring & Evaluation Information System (SiMONEV)	Regional Development Planning
National Development Information System (SIPNAS)	Regional Development Planning
Regional Development Planning Information System (SIPPD)	Regional Development Planning
Geographic information system	Regional Development Planning
e-Planing	Public health office
5. Financial Management Application	
Simda finances	All Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD)
Simda Goods	All Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD)
SPM	All Regional Apparatus Organizations that receive APBN
RKA-RKL	All Regional Apparatus Organizations that receive APBN
PP39	All Regional Apparatus Organizations that receive APBN
SABMN	All Regional Apparatus Organizations that receive APBN
6. Application of Personnel Management	
Simpeng	Regional Employment and Training Agency, General Bureau, organizational Bureau, Public health Office
Information system & Fingerprint Attendance Online	All Regional Apparatus Organizations

Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

The Provisional Government of West Nusa Tenggara in the era of Muhammad Zainul Madji already had a website with the address www.ntbprov.go.id, which was managed directly by the Secretariat and PDE of the general bureau. Website information, in general, is in the form of government profile information, government resources, and news on the governor and deputy governor's activities. However, the website does not yet contain information supported by the back office in real-time, so there are reports that the official West Nusa Tenggara website has security vulnerabilities and has been detected as a dangerous site. Regarding handling public complaints, they still use the SMS center service managed by the Secretariat and PDE of the General Bureau regularly; the information is published on the website ntbprov.go.id. The Short Message Service (SMS) center is also used as a medium for coordination between the governor and the Deputy Governor and across Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD).

Procurement of applications in the Secretariat and Electronic Data Exchange (PDE) systems is carried out through independent manufacture or development by employees with expertise in the field of programmers. However, some applications are purchased or made by third parties, as well as in existing OPDs; applications are generally procured through purchases or creation by third parties. In the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB), there were no standard policies or standards in making or developing applications that applied to all Provincial OPDs. However, the secretariat and PDE of the General Bureau have Operational Standards related to software development, although they are only limited to software development within the General Bureau. So that at that time, the NTB Provincial Government did not yet have a data governance policy (government data) that explained the Provincial information data needs, roles and responsibilities and OPD authorities for managing data, and how proper data processing and exchange should be and along with application dimension values e-government era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji.

Table. 5
Rating Value of Application Dimensions of E-Government Implementation in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji 2011-2014

Year	Dimension	Value	Description
2011		1,73	Less
2012	Application	2,43	Less
2013		2,57	Less
2014		2,59	Less

Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

The table above describes the value of the "application" dimension in the implementation of e-government in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB); in 2011, it only scored 1.73 (low). In 2012 it rose to 2.43 (low). In 2013 it increased to 2.57 (less),

and in 2014 it increased to 2.59. Even though the value continued to increase, this figure was still in the "less" category. Let us look at all four dimensions of the PeGi e-government assessment of the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) from 2011-2014. The results will be obtained in the table below:

Table. 6
E-Government Ranking Results for West Nusa Tenggara Province in the Era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) 2011-2014

Dimensions	2011	2012	2013	2014
Institutional	1,87	2,13	2,07	2,45
Policy	2,54	2,29	2,29	2,45
Planning	2,0	1,67	2,20	2,40
Application	1,73	2,43	2,57	2,59
National Rating	14	13	14	11

Source: Processed Data From Secondary Data, 2021

Judging from the results of e-government implementation above, it shows that the Provincial Government of West Nusa Tenggara in the era of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji has tried to continue to improve the quality of public services through the use of information technology or electronic-based government, seen from the 2011-2014 curve of Nusa e-government achievements. West Southeast has increased even though the value obtained is still in the "less" category. Based on the research results, provincial governments are progressing fast. However, some still need to improve in implementing e-government. Some have only understood the implementation of e-government as limited to building websites. This condition is due to the development and development of e-government according to the characteristics and readiness of each local government concerned (Damayanty et al., 2021).

E-Government Era of Governor Zulkiflimansyah (Bang Zul)

In the era of the Government of Governor Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB), the evaluation of the implementation of e-government was assessed based on the ranking of Indonesia's e-government (PeGI) conducted by the Ministry of Information. In contrast, in the era of Governor Zulkiflimansyah, the implementation of e-government or now called the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) was assessed and evaluated by the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB), the legal basis used to carry out the evaluation and implementation of e-government or an electronic-based government

system (SPBE) in Indonesia, namely Pan-RB Ministerial Regulation Number 5 of 2018 which was revoked and PAN-RB Ministerial Regulation Number 59 of 2020 and has indicators or aspect domains that are assessed, namely, first, the SPBE Policy Domain includes; (a). SPBE governance policy (b). SPBE service policy. Second, Governance Domain includes; (a). Institutional (b). Strategy & planning (c) ICT. Third, the SPBE Service Domain includes (a) Service Administration (b). Public service.

As an alignment of the Regulations from the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) in the context of realizing an electronic-based government (e-gov), at the regional level of West Nusa Tenggara Province also issued various rules or policies regarding the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE). The first policy issued by the West Nusa Tenggara provincial government in the Zulkiflimasnyah era related to the governance of an electronic-based government system (SPBE), Governor's Decree Number 5 of 2018 concerning the E-government Committee of the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government. Then there is Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2018 concerning Electronic-Based Governance, and finally, Governor Regulation No. 59 of 2019 concerning the Grand Design of an Electronic-Based Government System, which includes the SPBE master plan, Strategic Plan, Plan Map, and SPBE Architecture. The following are the results of the 2018 West Nusa Tenggara Province Electronic-Based Government System Assessment (SPBE).

Table. 7
West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government Electronic-Based Governance System (SPBE) Index Value in 2018

Index	Value
SPBE	2,95 (Good)
SPBE Policy Domain	2,71
SPBE Governance Policy	3,00
SPBE Service Policy	2,50
Governance Domains	2,57
Institutional	2,00
Planning Strategy	3,00
ICT	2,67
SPBE Service Domains	3,21
Government Administration	3,43
Public service	2,83

Source: Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB)

The table data above explains the acquisition of the West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) index score in 2018 with a value of 2.95 with the title "Good." Even though the results of the SPBE Provincial Government of NTB received an excellent title, there are still many weaknesses in its implementation based

on the recommendation of the PAN-RB Ministry regarding the implementation of the 2018 NTB e-government, namely, in the Governance domain, all policies related to SPBE governance have not been assessed internally and has not been evaluated regularly, in the Service Policy domain, the NTB Provincial Government still does not have internal policies regarding official script services, staffing management, and the Whistle Blowing System. In the institutional domain, the SPBE steering team has not performed regular monitoring and evaluation, and integrated workflows or business processes still need to be implemented in all work units. In the Planning Strategy domain, the implementation of the SPBE master plan has not been monitored and evaluated, whether it is by the road map or ICT planning and budgeting, which has not been monitored and evaluated regularly. In the information and communication technology (ICT) domain, the performance of data center services has yet to be monitored, evaluated, and improved regularly and continuously. In the Government Administration domain, all Electronic-Based Government administration services have yet to be evaluated and repaired regularly. In the Public Service domain, there is no Whistle Blowing System (WBS) service to process complaints submitted by the public either directly or indirectly.

Implementing E-government or an electronic-based government system (SPBE) utilizing information and communication technology can provide several benefits. First, able to improve the quality of public services to the community, the business world, and industry, especially effectiveness and efficiency. Second, increase transparency, control, and accountability for good governance. Third, significantly reduce the total costs of administration, relations, and interactions carried out by the government and stakeholders for daily activities. Fourth, increasing public trust in the government (Suciska, 2016). The following are the results of the 2019 electronic-based government system (SPBE) assessment for West Nusa Tenggara Province.

Table. 8
West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government Electronic-Based Governance System (SPBE) Index Value in 2019

Index	Value
SPBE	2,77 (Good)
SPBE Policy Domain	2,71
SPBE Governance Policy	3,00
SPBE Service Policy	2,5
Governance Domains	2,71
Institutional	2,5
Planning Strategy	2,5
Information and communication technology	3,00
SPBE Service Domains	2,82
Government Administration	2,43
Public service	3,5

Source: Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB)

The table data above shows the results of the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) for the Province of West Nusa Tenggara in 2019, with a score of 2.77 with the title "Good." When compared to the 2018 SPBE value, the 2019 West Nusa Tenggara Province SPBE value has decreased, especially in the SPBE service domain value, the value is only 2.82 as well as with a government administration value of 2.43 and a service value; meanwhile, in 2018 the SPBE service domain value is 3, 21 and the value of government administration 3.43. Based on the evaluation results and records from the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) in the public service domain, there is still no Whistle Browing System service to process complaints submitted either directly or indirectly in connection with acts that violate laws regulations/standards, codes of conduct, and policies, as well as other similar actions in the form of direct threats to the public interest, corruption, collusion and nepotism that occur. In electronic-based government administration, periodic evaluations and improvements have yet to be carried out. Whereas in 2020, the value of the SPBE rating for West Nusa Tenggara Province was very significant and very high compared to 2018 & 2019, as shown in Table 9.

Table. 9
The Nusa Province Government's Electronic-Based Governance System (SPBE) Index Value for 2020

Index	Value
SPBE	3,45 (Good)
SPBE Policy Domain	3,18
SPBE Governance Policy	2,86
SPBE Service Policy	3,40
Governance Domains	2,71
Institutional	2,50
Planning Strategy	3,00
Information and communication technology	2,67
SPBE Service Domains	3,91
Government Administration	3,57
Public service	4,50

Source: Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB)

Based on the results of the West Nusa Tenggara Province Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) index score for 2020, it is pretty significant, with an SPBE value of 3.45 with a "Good" predicate. If seen from the average value of each domain, the average indicator maturity level score is 3. The results above still have notes that need to be corrected based on the evaluation results of the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) in 2020. Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform states that the implementation of E-government in West Nusa Tenggara Province is not yet

fully optimal, such as the absence of a grand design for the Development of Electronic Based Government Systems (SPBE) and several applications that are not yet integrated (LHE PAN-RB, 2020). However, according to Najamuddin Amy, who is the Head of the West Nusa Tenggara Province Information and Statistics Communication Service, in fact, the West Nusa Tenggara Province already has a grand design for the development of e-government, this is evidenced by the issuance of Governor Regulation No. 55 of 2019 and its attachments. The Governor's regulation, especially in Article 4 Paragraph 6 (page 4), explains the Electronic-Based Government System Architecture (SPBE) as part of the SPBE master plan. The contents of the SPBE architecture are further described in the attachment to Pergub No. 55 of 2019 in chapter VII. The architecture of the Electronic-Based Government System, starting on page 63, includes Restra, Plan Map, and SPBE Architecture (Amy, 2020).

Governor Regulation Policy No. 55 of 2019 and all of the attachments were made and designed as a master plan for an electronic-based government system that integrates all regional apparatus organizations (OPD) within the West Nusa Tenggara Province, centered or whose authority is exercised by the Information and Statistics Communication Service by forming an Electronic-Based Government System Committee which carry out the functions of supervision, evaluation, and planning and development of E-government. The Governor Regulation also explains that the architecture of the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) is a basic framework that describes the integration of business processes, data and information, SPBE infrastructure, SPBE applications, and SPBE security to produce quality and integrated e-government services. One of the goals of the master plan for the development of an Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) is to build a comprehensive, integrated electronic-based provincial government of West Nusa Tenggara to realize clean, effective, transparent, accountable governance, as well as quality and reliable public services.

Conclusion

The use of Information and Communication Technology as the basis for implementing E-government started in 2011 during the Government of Muhammad Zainul Madji (TGB) era. During his leadership period from the first to 2014, the national ranking of the E-government of West Nusa Tenggara Province from rank 14 to rank 11 (less); this was due to several factors, such as human resources, institutions, infrastructure, and policies that did not have a master plan related to the development of e-government, so that the implementation of e-government at that time was not fully optimized. In the era of Governor Zulkieflimansyah, Governor Regulation No. 55 of 2019 as the grand design of the master plan regarding the architecture of

the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) and the results from 2018-2020 the average value of the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) which includes the Policy domain, the Governance domain, and the SPBE Service domain received a score of "Good" and the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is ranked 5th Nationally based on the results of the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) rankings. However, the challenge is that the community has yet to fully utilize all applications and websites in the province as public service media. This is influenced by socialization, which is considered not maximally carried out by the relevant agencies.

With further research on E-government policies in West Nusa Tenggara, a new model will be developed to implement excellent and clean governance. The government also needs transformation to maximize e-government implementation, especially on other related topics, namely Mobile Government.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the Institute for Research and Community Service (LPPM), the Muhammadiyah University of Mataram, for funding this research activity so that it was carried out well, as well as all parties who have helped this research to its completion.

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The Mass Media News Framing Analysis of Polemic of Regulations on Prevention and Handling Sexual Violence in Higher Education

Analisis Bingkai Pemberitaan Media Massa Polemik Permendikbudristek Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Perguruan Tinggi



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Framing; Tempo & Republika; Newspaper; Sexual Violence;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT <i>Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Permendikbudristek) Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual/PPKS) in Higher Education, which was signed in August 2021, raises pros and cons in society. The phrase "without the victim's consent" is considered to promote free sex in the campus environment. Then the mass media was busy reporting the issue. Some media think the regulation needs to be supported. However, there are also media outlets that urge the need for revisions to the polemical use of the phrase. This study examines how mass media with different ideologies frame the issue of Permendikbudristek PPKS. Using Robert M. Entmen's framing analysis and the theory of social reality construction, this study analyses the polemic coverage of the Permendikbudristek PPKS period 5 to d. November 12 2021 in Republika and Koran Tempo. The results showed that the ideologies adopted by Republika and Koran Tempo were different, thus constructing the Permendikbudristek reporting differently.</i></p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Framing; Tempo & Republika; Sexual Violence;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi (Permendikbudristek) Nomor 30 Tahun 2021 tentang Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual (PPKS) di Lingkungan Perguruan Tinggi yang ditandatangani Agustus 2021 menimbulkan pro dan kontra di masyarakat. Penggunaan frasa “tanpa persetujuan korban” dinilai melinggungkan seks bebas di lingkungan kampus. Media massa kemudian ramai memberitakan isu tersebut. Sebagian media menilai regulasi tersebut perlu didukung, ada pula media yang mendesak perlunya revisi atas penggunaan frasa yang menimbulkan polemik itu. Penelitian ini meneliti bagaimana media massa dengan ideologi yang berbeda membingkai isu Permendikbudristek PPKS. Menggunakan analisis framing Robert M. Entmen dan teori konstruksi realitas sosial, penelitian ini menganalisis pemberitaan polemik Permendikbudristek PPKS periode 5 s.d. 12 November 2021 di <i>Republika</i> dan <i>Koran Tempo</i>. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ideologi yang dianut <i>Republika</i> dan <i>Koran Tempo</i> berbeda sehingga mengonstruksi pemberitaan Permendikbudristek dengan cara yang berbeda pula.</p>
<p>Article History Send 28th March 2022 Review 15th May 2022 Accepted 14th December 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 <i>Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora)</i> This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p>

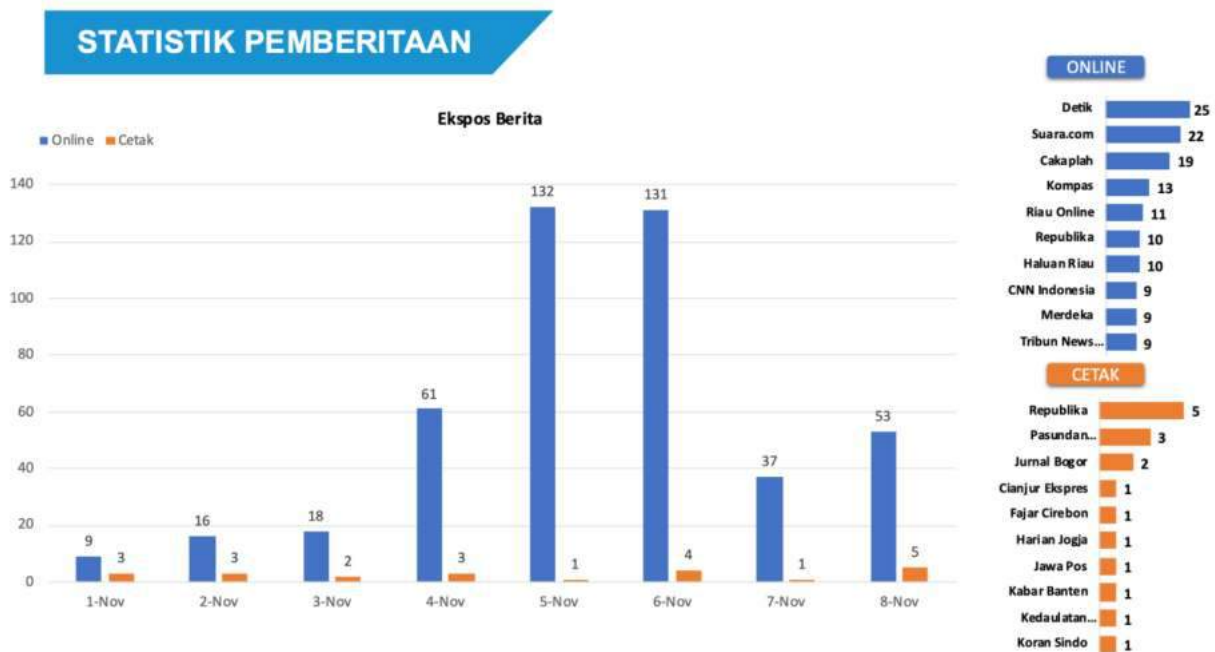


Introduction

In early November 2021, reports on many news websites about the statements of Islamic community organisations that rejected the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in the Higher Education Environment (referred to as Permendikbudristek PPKS) (Tejomukti, 2021). The part criticised by islamic organisations is the use of the diction “without the consent of the victim” which is contained in Article 5 paragraph 2 in the definition of sexual violence. According to them, this indirectly legalises adultery and promiscuous sex in the campus world (Widianto, 2021).

After the statement, media reports continued to appear massively. The amount of media attention is indicated by the amount of news aired in print and online media. As shown in figure 1, news about the issue of violence and the Permendikbudristek PPKS from 1 to August 8 2021 amounted to 457 online news and 22 print news.

Picture 1. Statistics on News of Violence and Permendikbudristek PPKS 1-8 August 2021



Source: Media Monitoring Report, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology

In the news presented, some media support the enactment of the regulation. This is shown by the selection of speakers who state that the Permendikbudristek PPKS is considered very progressive in preventing and handling sexual violence in favour of victims, one of which is because it regulates consent (Bramasta, 2021). In other media outlets, the part highlighted is

precisely the criticism filed on this regulation. The words in the news are 'revoke', 'cancel', and 'reject' the Permendikbudristek PPKS (Widianto, 2021; Sakinah, 2021).

From several mass media that reported on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS, *Republika* newspaper and *Koran Tempo* framed the issue with different points of view. Since criticism of sexual assault regulations on campus has surfaced, almost every day *Republika* has raised the topic in their eight-day publications. *Republika*, a media born from the Muslim community (Mayasari, 2017), consistently presents news headlines criticising the regulation. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo* offers a news frame that welcomes and supports the passage of the regulation signed by the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology on August 31, 2021.

The pattern of reporting on these two mass media, according to Nurlutfiyah (2013), cannot be separated from the ideology of the media. The press has different ideologies, so each media views an event from a different point of view (Nurlutfiyah, 2013). The news presented is the result of the influence of the internal policies of the media organisation and the external influence of the media itself. The media tends to choose issues, information, or other forms of content based on the standards of its managers (Musfialdy, 2019). The mass media will construct the same reality, event, or phenomenon differently depending on the factors that influence it (Sanusi & Muhaemin, 2019). The selected text, illustrations of the images displayed, and the point of view of the news are strongly influenced by the ideology of the mass media concerned (Syuderajat, 2017). The media may construct the same event differently due to their ideological differences (Mubarok & Wulandari, 2018).

Mulyana in Eriyanto (2018) wrote, the process of selective perception carried out by journalists and editors, consciously or not, contributes to highlighting news headlines; font size in the title; news placement position (whether on the home page, inside, or back); the length or shortness of the news; which statement of the source will be delivered and will be left out. This would at least position the media's partisanship; and what designations the media chooses to prosecute those they defend or corner disliked.

As Shaw & Giles stated in Aristi et al. (2021), media framing includes selecting a number of elements of reality that are considered newsworthy, and guiding the reader to certain aspects and meanings. Media framing can be interpreted by referring to framing theory thinking which states that media reporting is selective on various topics with a subjective meaning and adopts a thematic perspective. According to Johnston in Aristi et al. (2021), this perspective focuses on case studies with attention directed at parties in solving social problems.

Mulyana in Eriyanto (2018) said that framing analysis is used to see which parties are in power and vice versa, which groups benefit and which are harmed, what public policies should be supported and what should not, and so on. The Indonesian mass media is very rich in discourse, if unearthed with this analysis knife, it can be seen how the constellation of power changes between elements of the nation, society, or class. For this reason, researchers judged that the framing analysis knife was appropriate to use in this study.

Research that explains a perspective with framing for topics of sexual violence has been conducted by researchers before. One of them is a study that analyses the reporting of sexual violence cases on two news websites, namely okezone.com and kompas.com. Research conducted for the news period of April to April to October 2020 resulted in the conclusion that the focus of the narrative of reporting sexual violence in the two media is still far from partiality towards victims and fair law enforcement (Aristi et al., 2021). Meanwhile, research with framing analysis for topics related to government policy has been carried out, for example on the news of demonstrations against the ratification of the Job Creation Law. This research was conducted to analyse how liputan6.com and tirto.id highlight certain parts of their news, construct reality, and frame the rallies. The results showed that the two media framed the event with different glasses. The objectivity of news can be shown by tirto.id, while liputan6.com tend to focus on the chaos that occurs and put aside the news about what the masses demand during demonstrations (Widiyaningrum & Isnaini, 2021).

Based on the background above, this research question is how the differences in the ideology of *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* affect the frame of reporting on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS? To answer this question, the researcher elaborated the research question by referring to the framing model of Robert M. Entman, as follows: 1) how to define the problem (define the problem) carried out by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* regarding the polemical news of the Permendikbudristek PPKS; 2) how to identify the causes of problems (diagnose causes) by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* in the polemical reporting of the Permendikbudristek PPKS; 3) how the moral values presented (make moral judgement) *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* in explaining the polemic of Permendikbudristek PPKS in its news; and 4) how the treatment recommendations offered by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* in the polemical news of the Permendikbudristek PPKS.

Researchers have widely used the theory of the construction of social reality to explain why one mass media with another mass media differs in reporting the same issue (Fikri, 2014). Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann introduced this theory, departing from the assumption that reality is the result of creative human creation through the power of social construction of

the surrounding social world (Berger & Luckmann, 2011). Another assumption that Berger and Luckman put forward is the existence of a relationship between human thought and the social context in which it arises, is developed, and institutionalised. In addition, there is an assumption that people's lives are constructed continuously (Santoso, 2016). The next assumption is to distinguish between reality and knowledge. Reality is defined as a quality contained in reality that is recognised as having an existence (being) that does not depend on our own will. While knowledge means the certainty that reality is real and has certain characteristics (Siregar, 2018).

Social reality is the result of a construction that involves a continuous dialectical process consisting of three things, namely externalisation, objectivisation, and internalisation. First, externalisation (self-adjustment) to the sociocultural world as a human product. Second, objectivation is social interactions that occur in an intersubjective world that is institutionalised or undergoes a process of institutionalisation. While third, internalisation is the process by which the individual identifies himself with the social institutions or social organisations of which the individual is a member (Berger & Luckmann, 2011).

In relation to mass media, the construction process is carried out through several stages, namely the stage of preparing construction materials, the stage of construction distribution, and the stage of construction formation (Santoso, 2016). From this process, the attitude of the mass media towards a reality or event that occurs in society is reflected in the news it produces.

Framing is a method of knowing how to tell a story or story telling from a medium to an event. Reese states in van Gorp & Vercruyssen (2012), that in communication science framing in a broad sense refers to the way the media and the public represent a particular topic or issue. Framing analysis is an analysis used to see how the media works in constructing a reality. How an event is understood, and how it is framed can be known using framing analysis (Eriyanto, 2018). From the point of view of communication, framing analysis is used to find out the way the media goes through its ideology when carrying out the construction of a fact. This analysis pays attention to selection strategies, protrusions and how to connect facts to a news story, so that the news will have more meaning, be more interesting and memorable. This is done to make the reader's interpretation according to the desired perspective of the media. Framing is an approach to understand the point of view used by journalists when selecting content and writing a news story (Sobur, 2018).

The concept of framing was first introduced by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) who argued that social frameworks provide important background information that helps members of society understand the world around them (Taylor, 2019). Entman (1993) explains

that framing is a way of selecting a number of perceived aspects and making them look more important in a text communicated in a certain way, to encourage the definition of a particular problem, the interpretation of its causes, moral judgments and the recommended problem solving. According to Pan & Kosicki (1993), framing is considered as the placement of information in a unique context so that certain things of a problem get a larger allocation or portion. Meanwhile, according to William A. Gamson in Scheufele (1999), media framing is a way of telling stories or organised centralised ideas that give meaning to the ongoing chain of events. The frame shows what the controversy is about, and what is the essence of the matter. The way of telling stories is manifested in a thing called a package or packaging, a scheme of understanding that a person uses to construct the meaning of a message, and interpret the meaning of the message received. Scheufele & Tewksbury in Mutua & Ong'ong'a (2020) mentions that the micro-level construction of framing outlines how people use the information they receive to create impressions about problems and events, thereby contributing significantly to public perception.

There are two aspects to the framing approach, namely the selection of facts and the writing of facts. In the selection of facts, the process is based on the assumption that a journalist always sees an event using perspective. This means that there will be 2 possibilities that occur in the selection of facts or reality, some are chosen and some are discarded. Then, in the writing of facts, the process is related to the way in which pre-selected facts are presented to the audience. Some of the methods used include words, sentence arrangements and prepositions, which can be helped by the use of photos or illustrative images that support it. The facts that have been chosen are then given emphasis in their use, for example in the use of headlines, labeling, repetitions, and the use of images or words that are quite striking (Eriyanto, 2018).

In Ardèvol-Abreu (2015), Scheufele and Tewksbury describe the frame used by the media as a macro-construct, which is necessary to reduce the complexity of the problem and adapt it to the needs and constraints of the media and audience. Erving Goffman (1974) in Eriyanto (2018) revealed that "frames" help reduce the level of complexity of information while functioning as a two-way process, that is, helping to interpret and also reconstruct reality. This means that there is a resolution and waiver of other issues that actually exist. The issues that have been selected are then emphasised with various discourse strategies. The concept of framing, according to Entman, can be seen as the placement of information in a typical context, making certain issues get greater attention than others. Framing governs the understanding of how communication accentuates certain interpretations of reality through the interaction of existing individual schemes (R. M. Entman & Usher, 2018). Basically, framing refers to

defining, explaining causes, evaluating and recommending in a discourse that leads to a certain frame of mind on an issue. Therefore, according to Entman, there are two big dimensions in the concept of framing, namely the selection of issues and the protrusion of certain aspects of one problem or issue (Eriyanto, 2018).

From the aforementioned concept, Entman divided the framing device into four elements. The four elements are define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993; Knüpfer & Entman, 2018). The first element is define problems, which is the element that can be seen first in framing and is the main frame. This element explains how an event is interpreted and understood by journalists. Journalists' understandings can differ on the same event. That difference will result in the formation of different realities (Eriyanto, 2018).

The second element is diagnose causes or estimate the cause of the problem. This element serves to frame the cause of a problem or event. The cause of the problem can be someone/who or it can also be something/what. How events are understood will largely determine what or who is considered the source of the problem. Differences in understanding and definition of a problem will lead to differences in the causes of the problem (Eriyanto, 2018).

The third element is make moral judgment or make moral choices. This element is used to provide justification or argumentation from defining the problem created earlier. The problem that has been defined, as well as the cause of the problem has been found, then argumentation is needed to strengthen and legitimise the idea. The arguments made relate to things that are familiar and known by many people as a moral judgements. The fourth element is treatment recommendation. This element is used to assess what journalists want for the resolution of the problem or issue raised. The resolution largely depends on how an event is defined and what causes the problem (Eriyanto, 2018).

Table 1. Robert M. Entman's Concept of Framing Model

Elemen	Description
<i>Define Problems</i>	How and as what is an event viewed? What is the problem seen as?
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	What is an event seen about? What are the causes of the appearance of the problem? Who plays the cause of the problem?
<i>Make Moral Judgment</i>	What is the proposed moral value to explain a problem? To legitimise or delegitimise actions, what moral values are used?
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	What solutions or solutions are offered to solve the problem? To solve the problem, what path is proposed and should be taken?

Source: Eriyanto, 2018

Method

This research uses a constructivist paradigm as a research perspective. In this paradigm, each individual seeks an understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop a subjective meaning of their experience (Creswell, 2013). Those meanings can be varied and consist of several kinds, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of the view rather than narrowing the meaning into several categories or ideas.

Proponents of constructivism believe that entities exist only in the minds of people who reflect on them (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). This paradigm sees meaning and interpretation as constructed, not discovered (Gray, 2013). Morissan in Satriya (2021) explained that this paradigm is also used to see an event that has been framed by a party who has an interest in the methods and goals created by that party. As Tony Bennett, quoted by Eriyanto (2018) in his book, the media is not just a channel of information, but is seen as an agent of social construction that defines reality. The focus of the analysis on the constructivist paradigm is to discover how the event or reality is constructed and how the construction is formed (Eriyanto, 2018).

In the constructivist paradigm, the approach used is usually qualitative research methods, including in this study which also uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Qualitative research in this study uses the media text analysis method, namely framing analysis. The model used is Robert M. Entman's Framing Model, which has four elements: Define problems, Diagnose causes, Make moral judgement and Treatment recommendation. Santi (2020) said that the Entman model framing analysis method could explain the power of the text contained

in the news. From the results of the initial analysis, there is a fairly strong selection of certain issues carried out by the media in the Permendikbu reporting, which then leads to the protrusion of issues, in this case related to sexual consent. Entman's concept of framing model that focuses on issue selection and protrusion of certain aspects of issue selection is appropriate and suitable for seeing how the selection and protrusion of these issues work in a news story. In addition, researchers also see the concept of framing the Entman model as appropriate and suitable to see how the construction of the media in reporting polemics of the Permendikbudristek PPKS because it has a short but complete research style in meeting the rules of information it contains (5W + 1H).

The analysis unit and data sources in this study are from news in *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* that report on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS. Through digital searches, these two media reported on the issue from November 5 to 12, 2021. The selection of news periods is determined based on the first news published until the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS begins to subside, both in cyberspace and print media. The research data source is from *Republika* print accessed at <https://epaper.republika.co.id/> and *Koran Tempo* accessed through <https://koran.tempo.co>.

Results and Discussion

This research analyses the news about the polemic of the Permendikbudristek Number 30 of 2021 concerning Sexual Violence in the Higher Education Environment presented by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo*. News searches are carried out digitally by accessing epaper.republika.co.id and koran.tempo.id using the search feature on the page with the keywords of the minister of education and culture of sexual violence on November 15, 2021. From the search results, there are five reports and one editorial in *Republika*, as stated in table 1, as well as three news reports and one editorial in *Koran Tempo*, as shown in table 2. After searching, the researcher reads the entire article and then analyses it. The analysis outlined four subjects according to Robert M. Entman's framing analysis model: define problems, diagnose problems, make moral judgement, and make treatment recommendations.

Construction of Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Republika*

Table 2. News of the Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Republika*

No.	Date	Title
1.	November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik
2.	November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbud No 30
3.	November, 8 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30
4.	November 9, 2021	Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30
5.	November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek No 30
6.	November 12, 2021	Tajuk: Revisi Permendikbud Nomor 30

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Based on Robert M. Entman's framing analysis tool, the results of the overall news framing are as follows:

Define Problems

Republika constructed the Permendikbudristek PPKS as a problematic and controversial regulation. The framing by *Republika* can be seen from the titles that directly define the problems around the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS through the diction used by *Republika*. Of the six news stories published by *Republika*, there are three whose titles directly point to the problem. In those three titles, the choice of the words “criticised”, “question”, and “highlight”, became the thing that *Republika* emphasised. In addition to the title, the diction “premature” also appears in the subheading, which further confirms that this regulation has quite a crucial problem.

In addition, in every news, *Republika* always starts with things that tend to be negative about the Permendikbudristek PPKS. *Republika* also framed the regulation as a multi-interpretive and dangerous rule. Multi-interpretation is a different interpretation of one thing in common. Meanwhile, it is dangerous because it is considered to lead the younger generation to a context that does not conform to existing norms. Even by the MUI, represented by its Wasekjen Ikhsan Abdullah, in an excerpt of his statement in a news article dated November 8, 2021 entitled “MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30”, stated that Permendikbudristek PPKS is considered unnecessary because Indonesia is considered to already have a number of laws and regulations regarding sexual violence.

Republika defines the issue of permendikbudristek PPKS as seen more clearly in the header he issued on November 12, 2021. Where the issuance of this regulation is appreciated as an effort to prevent and handle sexual violence, but it is considered to cause controversy and is contrary to Islamic law, Pancasila, and many existing laws and regulations. The Permendikbudristek PPKS in the frame of the *Republika* is a premature rule that is problematic both from formal and material aspects, much criticised and highlighted, which causes multi-

interpretation and ambiguity so that it is dangerous, and contrary to sharia, and existing laws and regulations.

Table 3. News Text of Define Problems of Republika

Date	Title	Define Problems
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	The main point criticised and rejected regarding the Permendikbudristek was related to the paradigm of free sex based on consent (sexual consent).
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbud No 30	Jejen emphasised that the prematureness of this rule made criticism and protests from various parties very prevalent.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	According to the MUI Secretary General for Law and Human Rights, Ikhsan Abdullah, Permendikbudristek No. 30/2021 is unnecessary.
November 9, 2021	Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30	According to him, the logic built in Minister Nadiem's policy tends to be liberal so it becomes controversial.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek No 30	The Chairman of Commission X of the House of Representatives, Syaiful Huda, asked Nadiem first to change the formulation of the definition of sexual violence, as stipulated in Article 5 Paragraph 2 of the regulation. Because, he said, that point has the potential to trigger multi-interpretation in the community.
November 12, 2021	Editorial: Revisi Permendikbud Nomor 30	According to the Chairman of the MUI for Fatwa, KH Asrorun Niam Sholeh, Permendikbudristek No. 30 of 2021 has caused controversy because the procedure for forming the regulation in question is not following the provisions of Law No. 12 of 2011 as amended by Law No. 15 of 2019.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Diagnose Causes

The source of the problem that Republika wants to emphasise is the diction of consent or sexual consent in the definition of sexual violence in Article 5 paragraph 2 of the Permendikbudristek PPKS. The article is considered to legalise free sex in the campus environment. This cause is always alluded to in every news published by *Republika*. This is considered to be the reason why the Permendikbudristek PPKS has problems and becomes a controversy. The phrase “consent” is considered to allow sexual relations in the campus environment when it is based on a sense of consensuality. That point is considered to have the potential to create a new mode in the phenomenon of promiscuous sex, especially in the campus environment.

Republika then divided the causes of the problem into two kinds, namely formal and material, which was mentioned in a news article on November 9, 2021 entitled “Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30”. Here's the statement in the article.

“The Higher Education Council for Research and Development (Diktilitbang) PP Muhammadiyah assessed that the regulation contains problems in two aspects simultaneously. The regulation (Permendikbudristek No 30/2021) has formal and material problems.” (Rizqa, 2021)

The cause of formal problems, for example, in drafting regulations that do not meet the principle of public openness because they do not involve related parties broadly and completely. In addition, the Ministry of Education and Culture also did not convey sufficient information in the design stage. Another formal aspect is in terms of the constitution.

Permendikbudristek PPKS is considered to regulate things that should be regulated at the statutory level, precisely on the norms of sexual violations. Meanwhile, the cause of the material aspect is in the formulation of sexual violence norms in article 5 paragraph 2 which can be considered to legalise immoral acts and promiscuous sex due to the pretext of consent.

The phrase consent is also considered prone to multi-interpretation. The phrase seems to lead to the interpretation that acts of sexual violence can be justified as long as there is consent. This legalises promiscuous sex because if there is consent, it is not considered sexual harassment. In the frame of *Republika*, the phrase is not in line with Islamic law, the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, and other laws and regulations.

Table 4. News Text of Diagnose Causes of *Republika*

Date	Title	Diagnose Causes
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	If not clearly explained, this regulation will stigmatise society that free sex is not prohibited because it is not listed in that sense.
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbud No 30	The criticism from many circles is because the phrase in this regulation seems to allow sex in a campus environment if both are equally consensual.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	According to him, that point has the potential to create a new mode in the phenomenon of promiscuous sex, especially that which may occur in a campus setting. The existence of Permendikbudristek No. 30/2021 is also feared to be a pretext for the academic community to have free sex, as long as it is based on consensual, with different individuals and the same sex.
November 9, 2021	Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30	According to the professor of FEB UGM, the article actually gives rise to the meaning of legalisation of immoral acts and free sex under the pretext of victim consent.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek No 30	Member of Commission X of the House of Representatives, Ledia Hanifah, said the existence of the phrase seemed to lead to an interpretation, acts of sexual violence can be justified as long as there is 'victim consent'.
November 12, 2021	Editorial: Revisi Permendikbud Nomor 30	According to her, it is potentially dangerous. According to Kiai Asrorun, the provisions based on the phrase 'without the consent of the victim' in the Permendikbudristek are contrary to the values of Shari'a, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, other laws and regulations, and the Indonesian nation's cultural values.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Make Moral Judgement

The moral that is trying to be highlighted in this framing is the role of religious norms in the formation of a rule. Rules are made as a legal umbrella to protect society, but they still need to be based on religious norms. This moral frame shows the value supporting the argument that the Permendikbudristek PPKS needs to be reviewed and revised. In all the news presented about the Permendikbudristek PPKS, *Republika* chose speakers who opposed the rule but with different backgrounds. Of all the arguments of *Republika*-interviewed sources, it was repeatedly asserted that this rule is contrary to religious norms. Even in some news, it is stated that this rule is a liberal logic, not following the ideology of the Indonesian state. This use of "contrary to sharia" diction shows that *Republika* wants to give a moral message that every human action should be based on religious sharia as a Muslim-majority country. This argument is reinforced by the opinion of Ijtima ulama about the teachings in Islam which are made to be

good for all people. Apart from a religious point of view, this rule is also considered far from the Indonesian state ideology. In the *Republika* news on November 5, 2021, it was explained that every precept in Pancasila has been described by the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) to become a guide in the way Indonesian people behave and make decisions. *Republika* shows this kind of moral value because it fits the background and vision of those who construct their reporting based on Islamic ideology. Although it is a national media, Islamic ideology is essential for *Republika* in presenting news.

Table 5. News Text of Make Moral Judgement of *Republika*

Date	Title	Make Moral Judgement
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	Some of the content in the Permendikbudristek, according to him, is far from the values of Pancasila and tends to be liberal. Moreover, he said, the regulation does not include the foundation of religious norms in the principles of prevention and handling of sexual violence contained in article 3.
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbudristek No 30	The rule has the potential to give birth to a new phenomenon, namely the creation of a new mode and the protection of those who have free sex in the name of consensual.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	The logic built into the law tends to be liberal so it becomes controversial.
November 9, 2021	'Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30'	Article 5 of the regulation actually gives rise to the meaning of the legalisation of immoral acts and promiscuous sex under the pretext of the consent of the victim.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek	The consent of both parties to sexual intercourse must be linked in official rules, both in terms of state and religious legal norms so that it (has) binding legal force.
November 12, 2021	Revisi Permendikbudristek Nomor 30	Ijtima Ulama Fatwa Commission throughout Indonesia also assessed that the material and content of the regulation are contrary to Shari'a, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, other laws and regulations, and the cultural values of the Indonesian nation

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Treatment Recommendation

Republika offered a solution in the form of the need to revise the Permendikbudristek PPKS. *Republika* repeatedly uses the diction of "needs to be revised" and "re-examined" in its news. Each source featured in the six reports suggested that the preparation of the Permendikbudristek PPKS needs to invite experts from various backgrounds, both from religious experts and from legal experts. That way, the Permendikbudristek PPKS can be accepted by everyone, especially if the phrase "with the consent of the victim" can be omitted. Later, the Permendikbudristek PPKS can become a legal umbrella for victims of sexual crimes

in the scope of education and remain based on religious sharia regardless of whether both parties have a mutual liking to avoid free sex or adultery.

Table 6. News Text of Treatment Recommendation of *Republika*

Date	Title	Treatment Recommendation
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	There are still some substances that need to be reviewed, such as the meaning of the definition of sexual violence.
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbudristek No 30	Permendikbud No. 30/2021 was postponed first considering that the Sexual Violence Bill is still being discussed in the Dpr.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	MUI asked the government, namely the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Dikbudristek) to review the recently issued regulations.
November 9, 2021	'Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30'	Lincoln said that his party recommended that Permendikbudristek No. 30/2021 be revoked.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek	There is nothing wrong with Mr. Nadiem revising the Permendikbudristek quickly to further emphasise consensual norms to have more binding power.
November 12, 2021	Revisi Permendikbudristek Nomor 30	Ijtima ulama asked the government to revoke or at least evaluate or revise the regulation, in compliance with the procedure for establishing regulations.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Construction of Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Koran Tempo*

Table 7. News of the Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Koran Tempo*

No.	Date	Title
1.	November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus
2.	November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual
3.	November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri
4.	November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Based on Robert M. Entman's framing analysis tool, the results of the overall news framing are as follows:

Define Problems

Since the beginning of the publication, the Permendikbudristek PPKS has reaped pros and cons in the community. *Koran Tempo* highlighted this debate from the beginning of the news about handling sexual violence cases in universities. Although in its reporting, *Koran Tempo* chooses sources from different camps, it raises more pro-figures and opinions. In addition, the partiality of *Koran Tempo* is also evident in its editorial writings. *Koran Tempo* constructed this regulation as a solution to the handling of sexual violence cases in universities that are increasingly rampant.

The framing of *Koran Tempo* tends to be shown from the news titles which have a positive impression as a form of support the regulation. To strengthen its promotion, *Koran Tempo* also selected speakers from universities, NGOs and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Not only that, the news always starts with raising opinions from the pro side rather than the contra side.

Table 8. News Text of Define Problems of *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Define Problems
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	This regulation is expected to be the basis and reference for reporting and handling cases of sexual violence in universities. This Ministerial Regulation is a concrete step to breaking the chain of sexual violence on campus.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	Some universities have expressed their commitment to implementing the new provisions. Several public and private campuses began to form task forces and draft rector's regulations to create a safe campus.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	Nizam said that this approach was taken to explain the Minister of Education Regulation Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in the Higher Education Environment. This could be an impetus for the House to discuss the Sexual Violence Crime Bill.
November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	The regulation issued by Minister Nadiem Makarim is not only a breath of fresh air for the disclosure of sexual violence cases on campus, but also regulates protection and recovery for victims.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Diagnose Causes

Koran Tempo's partiality with the issuance of the regulation is because there have been many cases of sexual violence in education sector, especially in universities, which have not been appropriately handled. The source of the problems raised by *Koran Tempo* is more in terms of the need for regulations or a fairly clear legal basis for handling sexual violence. With the issuance of this regulation, *Koran Tempo* wants to show the government's commitment to overcoming these problems. That is why the selection of speakers from the Ministry of Education and Culture is quite dominant in its reporting.

Tabel 9. News Text of Diagnose Causes dari *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Diagnose Causes
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	Annisa referred to the release of the National Commission on Violence against Women in October 2020 which showed that as many as 27 percent of sexual violence complaints occurred in universities in the 2015-2020 period.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	A number of cases were hyped in the mass media and social media, such as the case of sexual violence against Agni.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	(sexual) violence using power relations does occur a lot, in fact there have been many. Khotimun added that, from LBH APIK's experience, victims of sexual violence in universities often choose silence because there is no complaint channel available on campus.
November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	The results of a survey by the Directorate General of Higher Education, Research, and Technology of the Ministry of Education in 2020 stated that 77 percent of lecturers admitted that there was sexual violence on campus and 63 victims did not report their cases to university administrators. The issuance of this regulation can be a strong foothold to advocate for victims to dare to speak out.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Make Moral Judgement

In this section, the device is used to present arguments on the definition of the problem produced by the media. Based on this device, *Koran Tempo* made a moral decision that there is nothing wrong in the Permendikbudristek PPKS. This can be seen from the selection of sources and quotations taken to support the definition of the problem set by *Koran Tempo*. In the news presented, *Koran Tempo* stated that the Permendikbudristek PPKS is an adequate

protection and recovery regulation for victims and can reduce the risk of sexual violence on campus. The use of the phrases “step forward”, “strategic step”, “create a safe campus”, “welcome” was chosen to legitimise the inclusion that surrounds this news. *Koran Tempo* also explicitly stated that despite protests from Islamic mass organisations and political parties, support for this regulation has arrived.

Other arguments presented in the news of *Koran Tempo* include the submission of data released by a number of institutions regarding cases of sexual violence that have occurred so far. In the news, *Koran Tempo* wants to show that the cases of sexual violence that occur are quite high, for this reason, the issuance of this regulation can be a strong foothold in advocating for victims so that they dare to speak out. This statement is contained in the editorial section of *Koran Tempo*. Another statement that further clarifies the position of *Koran Tempo* is also seen in the article in the editorial rubric, where the phrase "worthy of support" is placed in the first sentence. The editor also presented supporting data stating that cases of sexual violence in universities are worrying and need concrete steps to overcome this problem.

Table 10. News Text of Make Moral Judgement of *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Make Moral Judgement
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	This ministerial regulation is a concrete step toward breaking the chain of sexual violence on campus.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	Through this policy, ITB wants to build awareness, education, prevention, and handling in the event of a case.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	Naila argued that the rule is a step forward in protecting victims of sexual violence.
November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	In the midst of increasing cases of sexual violence, this regulation is urgently needed, even though it only covers universities.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Treatment Recommendation

This tool aims to assess the steps to solve what journalists want regarding the problem. As seen in its reporting, *Koran Tempo* tries to show its readers that there is support from the campus for this regulation. By the campus, the signing of the Permendikbudristek PPKS was followed up by revising the existing campus regulations and adjusting the content of the rules in it in accordance with ministerial laws, for example, forming a task force consisting of at least five people with a total number of women 2/3 of the total members; facilitating financing and means for the implementation of the duties and authorities of the task force; the obligation to report to the minister; and the substance of sexual violence and the types of sanctions that must be given to perpetrators. In addition, in its news, *Koran Tempo* also showed a statement that the presence of the Permendikbudristek PPKS gave the campus confidence to sign the rector's regulation on sexual violence immediately.

A number of problem-solving statements were also featured in this report through sources who supported the PPKS regulations, for example, statements to stop the debate because the topic began to shift from preventing sexual violence to a morality issue. Another statement seen in this device is the editors' conclusion that this regulation is essential and necessary, even though its scope is limited to universities.

Table 11. News Text of Treatment Recommendation of *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Treatment Recommendation
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	This regulation is expected to be the basis and reference for the system of reporting and handling cases of sexual violence in universities.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	A number of universities have expressed their commitment to implement the new provisions. Several public and private campuses began to set up task forces and draft regulations to create a safe campus.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	The representative of the Civil Society Coalition Against Sexual Violence (Kompaks), Naila Rizqi Zakiah, said the debate over the Minister of Education's regulation must be stopped because the conversation has begun to shift from the matter of preventing sexual violence to a morality issue.
November 11, 2021	Editorial Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	The issuance of this regulation can be a strong foothold to advocate for victims to dare to speak out.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

DISCUSSION

In the theory of the construction of social mass media, there are four stages carried out by the mass media, the first is the preparation of construction materials. This stage was carried out by the editors of the mass media: *Republika* and *Koran Tempo*. In preparing the material, the editors discussed the polemics about the Permendikbudristek PPKS, then determined the editorial policy taken. Furthermore, the editor assigns its journalists to search for information and news sources, as well as appropriate sources.

The second stage is the distribution of construction. The product of journalists' reporting in the form of news in accordance with the main principle at this stage is to be spread in real-time. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* are print mass media (although *Koran Tempo* changed its format to digital) that are published daily, so the distribution of construction is still carried out in real-time, even if it is delayed, in the next day. However, the concept of actuality or speed of conveying information to the public remains because it is the nature of daily newspapers.

The third stage is the stage of formation of the construction of reality which is further divided into three stages. First, the construction of reality. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* see an issue in the Permendikbudristek PPKS. The difference is that the construction of reality presented by these two mass media is different. *Republika* formed the construction of reality from the Permendikbudristek PPKS as a regulation that must be revised, while *Koran Tempo*

formed the construction of this regulatory reality as a policy that needs to be supported and immediately applied to the university environment. Second, willingness is constructed by the mass media. That is, the characteristics of the reader of these two mass media are considered to have a construction or thought that is in line or almost in line with the mass media he chooses to read. Third, construction as a consumptive option. In this section, both mass media try to take advantage of their readers' habits in consuming news to change their mindsets. From those who were previously not interested in government policy issues, it can be changed slowly. At the next stage, that is, the formation of image construction. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* display data and arguments from each strong source to be presented in their reporting that supports the arguments and finally confirms the image of the mass media itself as a media with its own reporting policies. In this case, *Republika* builds its image as a mass media that upholds Islamic religious values, while *Koran Tempo* builds its image as a critical and independent mass media.

This was confirmed in interviews with both editors. *Republika* accommodates the voices of Muslims who have concerns about the existence of the phrase "without the consent of the victim" in the regulation signed in August 2021 (*Republika* Interview, 2021). The provision of this "space" is carried out in accordance with the concept of *Republika* which provides a special rubric, namely "Khazanah" to embrace the opinions of its segmentation audience. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo* facilitated the votes of the camp that supported the publication of the Permendikbudristek PPKS through its reporting in the "National" rubric as the main rubric of the newspaper. *Koran Tempo* thinks that this rule is important, so there is no need to question the issue that becomes a polemic, instead focusing on the regulations regulated in the Permendikbudristek PPKS (*Koran Tempo* Interview, 2021).

The fourth stage is confirmation. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* view the Permendikbudristek PPKS as important, considering that sexual violence has become increasingly concerning. Both mass media realised that regulations to prevent and deal with sexual violence need to be complemented by regulations. However, *Republika* argues that there is something that needs to be revised from the Permendikbudristek PPKS so that the content in it does not cause confusion in the community. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo* thinks that this regulation is appropriate and must be immediately followed up by the campus and the community. At this stage, the two mass media present different speakers to confirm the construction of the media to be produced. Meanwhile, from the reader's side, there is a collective awareness as a member of society towards the issue of sexual violence. Researchers assessed that the arguments presented in the news in *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* aroused readers to criticise the contents of the Permendikbudristek PPKS or support the regulation.

The difference in construction displayed by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* cannot be separated from how the media captures the reality behind the news. Starting from searching, collecting and delivering messages involves news framing agents, journalists and editorial teams, so that news includes both parties' perspectives in interpreting social reality (Shoemaker & Resse, 1996).

From the findings mentioned above, the researcher further confirmed the editors of the two media, *Republika* and *Koran Tempo*. *Republika*'s confirmation results show alignment with the results of the study. The editors of *Republika* consider that the PPKS Minister of Education and Culture does need revision, and the main source of the problem is the phrase victim approval in article 5. On the one hand, the government through the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology wants to prevent sexual violence, but on the other hand, the Permendikbudristek PPKS also provides room for debate with the phrase victim consent, which is very multi-interpretive. This is what *Republika* criticises.

Before taking a stand against PPKS, *Republika* did not necessarily only follow the opinions of certain parties who disputed the regulation, but the editors also researched to explore the part in question. As a result, *Republika* did find that something needed to be revised in the Permendikbudristek PPKS, namely the phrase victim approval, so that was what *Republika* encouraged in its reporting on the Permendikbudristek PPKS. The frame and position of the *Republika* is influenced by its media ideology, namely moderate Islam, which is based on Islamic morals and sharia.

The findings of this study also show that the frame constructed by *Republika* also determines the selection of news sources and interviewees. According to Shoemaker & Resse, one factor that influences media content is the extra media factor and the ideological factor (Firdausi & Setianingrum, 2018). The extra media factor can be seen in the selection of speakers (Nugraha et al., 2022). Based on interviews with *Republika* editors, the choice of sources was based on the *Republika* frame of thinking that the Permendikbud PPKS should be criticised. In addition to being authoritative (having the authority to speak), other considerations in determining the speakers are stakeholders of the people, for example, the campuses affected by the regulation and observers of Islamic education. In addition, although *Republika* also raised a statement from the authorities in this case, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the portion was small when compared to those who criticised the Permendikbudristek PPKS. This is not only due to the difficulty of taking statements from the Ministry of Education and Culture, but also because of the placement of news in the *Khasanah* rubric, which is devoted to voicing more people's voices. Basically, *Republika* supports the

implementation of the Permendikbudristek PPKS, but there must be a revision to the phrase "without the consent of the victim" in article 5.

Meanwhile, from the results of confirmation to the editors of *Koran Tempo*, it was conveyed that *Koran Tempo* as a mass media does not solely report or explain what is happening in the community, but must take a stand to show the direction to the right path. This attitude of the media is again shaped because of the ideological basis it has. According to the editor, in the polemic case of the Permendikbudristek PPKS, it is clear which direction is correct. This kind of stance has also been taken for other regulatory polemics such as the KPK Bill and so on. Even so, *Koran Tempo* still holds the principle of covering both sides, so that it not only displays sources from the pro side, but also from the cons.

Koran Tempo considers that the existence of the Permendikbudristek PPKS is a rule that is able to improve the current chaotic situation, protecting lecturers, education staff and students on campus from sexual violence. This pro attitude is what the editors of *Koran Tempo* further conveyed both through the issues raised, the selection of sources to the editorial. The reasons editors take this stance are more in the editorial. To strengthen this editorial writing, even the editors in the editorial special meeting consulted with *Koran Tempo*'s team of experts from academics outside the editorial. This explanation further confirms the framing carried out by the editors of *Koran Tempo* in the polemical reporting of the Permendikbudristek PPKS based on the media ideology.

The media consciously frames the reality on the ground as a message and further gives the assessment the editorial team wants. This assessment process is very subtle and the public is not aware that they are being led to assess the issue according to the media they are reading. Complex, dimensional, and irregular realities are displayed in a simple, orderly, and logical-fulfilling news. Through this simplification, readers can easily understand reality according to the constructs that the media develops (Mubarok & Adnjani, 2012; Suprpto, 2019).

Conclusion

From the construction process carried out by the two mass media on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS above, it can be seen that this is related to the differences in ideology adopted. The ideology of the mass media then determines the media's vision or view of reality (Santosa, 2016). Ramaprasad in Syam et al., (2021) found that ideological differences will affect media reporting. *Republika* as an Islamic-based media (Wahid & Yakut, 2018) which focuses its reader segment on the Muslim community (Syam et al., 2021), only highlights things that are criticised, questioned, and highlighted by the public regarding the use

of the phrase “without the consent of the victim”. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo*, a media that prioritises independence, freedom, and humanism, views the Permendikbudristek PPKS as a solution to handling sexual violence cases in universities that are increasingly rampant.

Each mass media has its ideology reflected in the media's vision and mission (Marsun et al., 2022). *Koran Tempo* has a vision and mission to be a reference in increasing people's freedom to think and express opinions and build a society that values intelligence and dissent (Fathurokhmah, 2018). Meanwhile, *Republika* is a national newspaper born by the Muslim community as the culmination of long efforts among Muslims to realize the media vision, namely Modern, Moderate, Muslim, National, and People's Affairs (Rahmawati, 2020).

The results of this study support the research of Wahid & Yakut (2018) and Syam et al. (2021). The study states that ideology has implications for news produced by the mass media. This research also further strengthens Entman (1993) findings that media ideology will influence the media frame in reporting.

Researchers limited the research to only two mass media, *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* and the timeframe for the news selection timeframe was only eight days since the polemic appeared. For this reason, researchers recommend that in subsequent studies, they can examine a longer duration of reporting to see the dynamics of existing news and affect the construction of mass media. In addition, research is also limited to the analysis of media texts without considering other factors contained in the media. For this reason, researchers recommend that there be further research that analyses the news production process in mass media editors.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Padjadjaran University and the parties who helped during the process of making this research.

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I'm From Ngruki, but Don't Judge Me As A Terrorist: Critical Victimology Study of Muslims Community in Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Indonesia

Saya dari Ngruki, tapi Jangan Tuduh Saya Teroris: Studi Viktimologi Kritis Masyarakat Muslim Ngruki, Sukoharjo Indonesia



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ARTICLE INFORMATION

<p>Keywords <i>Victimization;</i> <i>Symbolic Violence;</i> <i>Critical Victimology;</i> <i>Identity;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT <i>The Ngruki area has been in the spotlight after the Bali bombings and several acts of terrorism. Causes there are perpetrators who are caught by police in Ngruki. Also, there is a boarding school led by Abu Bakar Bakar Ba'asyir who become convicts of terrorism. This puts Ngruki Muslims associated with, even often accused of radicalism and terrorism. Ultimately, it made them uncomfortable with the behavior. The problem is accused of the Ngruki community by other people, making them perceive suffering. It is indicate that they experience victimization. This paper aims to describe the experience of the Ngruki people, who received victimization. The question is, how is the victimization experienced by the Ngruki community?. This study uses the conceptual approach of critical victimology initiated by Sandra Walklate. This study uses a qualitative method to explore the victimization experiences of from the Ngruki community. by conducting in-depth interviews with five people who experience bad behavior due to their Ngruki identity. This study finds that their identity as Ngruki makes them victims. They get bullying, ribbing, and even discrimination from other people. Nevertheless, there are no resistances, and realize that is normal. It shows that found "misrecognize" such as symbolic violence.</i></p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Viktimisasi;</i> <i>Kekerasan Simbolik;</i> <i>Viktimologi Kritis;</i> <i>Identitas;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK <i>Wilayah Ngruki menjadi sorotan pasca Bom Bali dan beberapa aksi terorisme. Penyebabnya, terdapat pelaku yang tertangkap. Juga, terdapat pondok pesantren yang dipimpin Abu'bakar Ba'asyir yang menjadi terpidana terorisme. Hal ini mejadikan masyarakat muslim Ngruki sering dikaitkan dengan radikalisme dan terorisme. Pada akhirnya membuat mereka merasa tidak nyaman dengan hal itu. Permasalahannya adalah, tuduhan tersebut membuat mereka merasakan penderitaan. Hal ini mengindikasikan bahwa mereka mengalami viktimisasi. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui pengalaman viktimisasi mereka. Pertanyaannya adalah bagaimana pengalaman viktimisasi yang dialami mereka. Tulisan ini menggunakan teori viktimologi kritis yang digagas Sandra Walklate. Tulisan ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan wawancara terhadap masyarakat Ngruki yang pernah mengalami perlakuan buruk. Studi ini menemukan bahwa identitas mereka sebagai Ngruki membuat mereka menjadi korban. Mereka mendapatkan intimidasi, ejekan, dan bahkan diskriminasi dari orang lain. Namun demikian, tidak ada perlawanan, dan menyadari bahwa itu normal. Hal ini menunjukkan adanya "misrecognize" dalam kekerasan simbolik.</i></p>
<p>Article History Send 30th November 2022 Review 12th December 2022 Accepted 17th December 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 <i>Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora)</i> This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p> 

Introduction

This paper explains the broader definition of victims from terrorist incidents. What is so interesting about this research is that terrorist incidents not only cause direct victims but there are forgotten victims. Namely, Muslims are labeled as terrorists. The findings from the article (Mythen et al., 2009) "I'm Muslim but I'm Not Terrorist" explain that victims of terrorism do not only represent one party, Muslims who are often associated with terrorists also become victims of the victimization. This case will be explained as the problem concerning the victimization of Ngruki communities who get labeled terrorists. The uniqueness of this paper is that it discusses from a critical victimology perspective the impact of the terrorist label received by the Ngruki community. Which is rarely discussed in sociology, criminology, and even victimology studies.

As starting the problem, phenomenon of radicalism and terrorism was first actively discussed globally due to the 9/11 incident that occurred in America. This incident occurred on the morning of September 11, 2001. A total of 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial airliners. They crashed two planes into the top floors of the North and South Towers of the WTC complex and a third plane into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. The top of the Twin Towers collapsed from the crash. The fourth aircraft, Flight 93, crashed into an empty field in western Pennsylvania about 20 minutes by air from Washington, DC. As a result of this attack, there were 2,977 people from 93 countries, namely 2,753 people, died in New York; 184 people were killed at the Pentagon by offenders, and 40 people were killed on Flight 93 by offenders (Krisnawati, 2021).

The incident of 9/11 sparked the association of terrorism with Islam. Indeed, it happens had a reason. The actions of 9/11 led to the suspicion of the perpetrators of Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network in Afghanistan, which led to Islam (Chomsky, 2017). This is what causes terrorism always to be associated with Islam. (Kaufman & Niner, 2019) also explained that in November 2016, the American government accused terrorist acts of being carried out by Muslims because they disliked America, and the American government banned Muslims from entering America.

Muslims are getting accused of being the perpetrators of acts of terrorism which is harmful to Muslims. The negative impact of the accusation is that there is discrimination against Muslims, and in the end, it causes suffering. Work on Awan and "We are accused of being ISIS terrorists" The experiences of non-Muslim men who have Islamophobia because they look Muslim" (Council, 2020) describes the various discriminations experienced by people who look like Muslims in the United Kingdom (UK). From insults that think they are

related to terrorism, or related to murder, to being banned from traveling to the United States. As in his interview with Samuel, a Muslim living in the UK:

“Being held at the airport consistently and being treated as a suspect. Because I’m mixed race and I look Muslim, I get stopped and get abused at airports. The association with looking like a Muslim is a problem for me. (Samuel)”(Council, 2020)

These interviews show that the image of Muslims is described as what has happened so far (radicalism and terrorism). So the identity as Muslim often receives discriminatory treatment. This discriminatory treatment is influenced by accusations of Muslims, who are always associated with acts of terrorism. Besides that, (Mythen et al., 2009) “I am a Muslim, but I'm not a Terrorist': Victimization, Risky Identities and the Performance of Safety” also describe how Muslims are always the target of accusations of violent or terrorist behavior. This can be said that Muslims who experience discrimination are victims.

In Indonesia, The link between Islam and terrorism is due to the news about terrorism. News of terrorism against Islam in Indonesia occurred due to the Bali Bombing as the perpetrators were a network of “Jama'ah Islamiah” associated with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Of the various acts of terrorism in Indonesia, the police concluded that Islamic groups were involved (Wibowo 2015: p 21). The connection between Islamic groups and terrorism leads to one of the Ngruki Islamic communities in Solo, Central Java.

In the last 15 years, mass media has often discussed the Ngruki community about terrorism. Ngruki has become famous on a national and international scale since the 2001 Bali Bombing tragedy. The names of the perpetrators included Fathur Rahman Al-Ghazi, Ali Gufron (alias Mukhlas), Hutomo Pamungkas (alias Mubarok), and Asmar Latin Sani (Purwaidada, 2014; Purwawidada, 2014). Meanwhile, in the Ngruki area, there is the Al Mukmin Islamic Boarding School led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is well-known because of his association with the terrorist organization Jama'ah Islamiah. In this case, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir became one of the advisory boards of Jama'ah Islamiah and Darul Islam, which constituted terrorism in Indonesia (Purwaidada, 2014). Because of this, Ngruki received a label and stigma as terrorist territory. From here, the label and stigma become the identity image of the Ngruki communities associated with terrorism.

Furthermore, research (Windiani, 2016) explains that the people of Solo and its surroundings, who are always reported on terrorism by mass media, admit that their area is labeled as terrorist by other people. 54% of them realize that their area gets labeled terrorism. It is described that the arrest of perpetrators from Ngruki caused them to receive labels and stigma. Besides that, labels and stigma often experience polarization of identity, so it causes

generalizations about what has been labeled or stigmatized (O'Leary, 2021) In this context, the label or stigma has generalized the identity of the Ngruki community as radicalism or terrorism. In the end, the identity of the Ngruki people is always associated with terrorist incidents.

Besides that, labeling has a harmful impact on one's identity. Worked (Bernburg, 2009) that people who are labeled tend to be treated and viewed negatively. The label of terrorism, embedded into the group's identity, causes them to be seen and treated differently. It was explained (Council, 2020) that Muslim identity which is labeled as a terrorist, causes different treatment to people with that identity. Explained by (Mythen et al., 2009) that terrorist incidents have polarized Muslim identities because of the existence of labels and stigma against them. In the end, the label of identity as terrorism has an impact on their daily lives.

In this case, the impact of labeling terrorism was also experienced by the Ngruki people. Their identity as Ngruki residents who incidentally received the label of terrorism makes them feel uncomfortable, ashamed, and afraid of their identity. Only 40% of them do not feel uncomfortable and embarrassed because of the label of terrorism (Windiani, 2016). Meanwhile, the negative impact of labeling on the Ngruki community also affected their interactions with other communities. In (Suri, 2009), it is explained that the Ngruki people often experience accusations, undesirable behavior, and even discrimination. Unpleasant behavior, such as being accused of making a bomb, related to terrorism and other incidents. On the other side, discrimination is like a ban on going to the island of Bali (Suri, 2009). It indicates the risk of victimization experienced by society due to the impact of the label terrorism. The other word that Ngruki's Communities be in the victim's position

This paper's problem is that labels and stigma have resulted in more comprehensive victims of terrorism. Phenomenon problems arise because of the terrorist label embedded in the identity of the Ngruki people, who often do not see the side of the definition of the victim. In (Walklate, 2007; Milanovic 2000) explained that the victims are harmful and lose their rights as a human. The argument in this paper leads to the fact that Ngruki communities who get labeled and stigma in terrorism-related crimes are victims. Basically, not all forms of victimization lead to physical injury. However, the powerlessness to choose symbols and values constructed in social form is the turning point that shows they are neglected victims.

Therefore, This article addresses victims of label and stigma terrorism. In this case, describe in perspective criminology studies with a critical victimology approach. In criminology, a critical victimology approach defines a broader victim. In this case, They are Ngruki communities who get harmful and lose their right to get the same rights. In this paper, Ngruki communities are people who have Ngruki identity and belonging Ngruki residents. This

paper aims to describe the experience of the Ngruki communities, who received victimization because of the label and stigma of terrorists. The question is, how do the Ngruki communities experience victimization because of labels and stigma as terrorists?

Before entering into the discussion of critical victimology, we need to study victimology. In the study of victimology, there is something called victimization. Victimization is an asymmetrical interpersonal relationship that is abusive, painful, destructive, parasitic, and unfair (Karmen, 2010: p. 8). Besides that, victimization is defined as the process of becoming a victim (Rock, 2012). In simple words, victimology studies reveal an understanding of victims of crime and the process of becoming a victim.

Over time, victimology studies have also renewed regarding the definition of victims. One of them is by criticizing the definition of victims. As explained by (Ballinger et al., 2016; Mawby & Walklate, 1994; Miers, 1989, 1990; Victimology, 1992; Walklate, 2007) that, during this time, victimology has only looked at victims in the criminal justice system. The definition of the victim only looks at the relationship between crime and criminal justice. So the victim is only seen from what is defined based on criminal justice by positivist victimology. It makes for a critical approach to understanding victims.

Critical victimology is a paradigm with a critical perspective to explain victims in the scope of victimology and criminology. This concept exists from a critique of conventional victimology. Critical victimology sees the failure of conventional victimology in defining victims of crime. The conventional paradigm only sees victims as those directly affected by crime (Mawby & Walklate, 1994; Victimology, 1992; Walklate, 2007). As explained (Ballinger et al., 2016, p. xi), the conventional victimology paradigm fails to reveal the definition of victims experienced daily. That there are actors who cause a person to experience suffering and loss. In simple terms, Spencer & Walklate would like to address that Critical Victimology cannot be separated from the role of social agents that cause suffering and loss experienced by someone.

Meanwhile, Quinney 1972 (Ballinger et al., 2016; Walklate, 2002, 2012) explains in the article "Who is the victim?" that Victims are the result of social construction. It means that the existence of victims cannot be separated from the existence of social construction carried out by agents in producing crime. So that the victim is no longer only seen in the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of the crime. However, the victim is seen from the social construction that causes loss and suffering to be experienced by someone. In comparison, Constitutive Criminology explains that the victims are a social construction of the crime effect. Constitutive criminology articulates that crime is suffering. The definition of crime as suffering

defines victims into two (1) reduction and (2) repression. (1) The reduction of crime occurs when a person loses some of the quality of life they currently have. (2) The crime of repression occurs when someone experiences restrictions and prohibitions that prevent them from getting the quality they want (Henry & Milovanovic, 1996, 2000)

On the one hand, victims of social construction cannot be separated from society's social, cultural, and political structures. It is what critical victimology uses in explaining victims. Critical victimology uses the structural theory approach by Giddens on the experience of victimization (Walklate, 2007, p. 161) The point is that critical victimology in viewing victimization cannot be separated from the process of social, political, and cultural structures in society. This process creates a social construction of victims. On the other hand, critical victimology tries to discover the process of victimization that has been going on invisible. Low material conditions and experiences of suffering that others ignore (Walklate, 2015, 2019; Woolford & Wolejszo, 2006). Simply put, Critical Victimology sees a process of victimization that doesn't show that they are victims while their suffering is neglected. Therefore, critical victimology prioritizes looking at victims broadly. It is not only related to what is defined in criminal justice between the perpetrator and the victim. However, looking at it from another perspective seen from social construction includes social, political, and cultural structures. That there is a process of victimization in social construction that puts them in a victim position

According to critical victimology, there are three concept approaches. First, examine the state's role in the social construction of victimhood. Second, looking at the broader scale of the victim of crime, including those unaware of being victims. Third, looking at the broader scale of the victim of crime include those unaware of being victims critiquing the victim's blaming (Ballinger et al., 2016)It means there were other unseen victims, in other words, those who had been forgotten. Such as people who get stigma as a terrorist. They have more risk become victims.

Furthermore, this is also related to the existence of symbolic violence that is received because of the terrorist label. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167) explain that symbolic violence is defined not as physical violence but rather as the involvement of the dominant group by using a symbolic system. So, violence is a legitimate form (Anderson, 2013, p. 691). Symbolic violence is centered on analyzing the theory of domination (Anderson, 2013, p. 691). Bourdieu sees social practices as central to the reproduction of society. In this context, power is important in social interaction (Joyce, 2005). What's more, Foucault (Foucault, 1980) and (Bourdieu, 1979) add that power arises because of different relations in people's social interactions.

Symbolic violence occurs because of the symbolic power possessed by the dominant group. (Bourdieu, 1979, 1990, 1991) explains that symbolic power practices are often considered an aspect “taken-for-granted” for culture and, therefore, often hidden or “misrecognized” (Link & Phelan, 2014) and recognized as something legitimate. Individuals experience various forms of violence (limited in their social mobility, treated as subordinates, etc.) and instead see what is happening to them as usual. Symbolic violence forces the party that dominates to accept domination from the dominant party with the internalization of values set by the dominant party itself and the diffusion of general knowledge and beliefs, and rules that have been made to be obeyed by all (Moukarbel, 2009, p. 162). When the dominant group constructs the perspective of the dominated group, which in turn makes power relations occur naturally (Sturzaker & Shucksmith, 2011).

Bourdieu reveals that symbolic power is subordinate power that incarnates, for example, through “misrecognition” that are legitimate from other forms of power (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170). Bourdieu explains that stigma and labeling are formed from the existence of power relations that lead to symbolic violence. Also enhanced by Bourdieu (1987), that symbolic power or symbolic power is the ability to impose on others a legitimate and justified purpose or vision of the social world and the divisions within that world. Symbolic power has implications for understanding stigma or labels. First, regarding Bourdieu's theory of "cultural distinction of value and worth" is one of the mechanisms by which power is carried out. Stigma presents a statement about "value" and "worth" made by stigmatizers against people who are stigmatized (Link & Phelan, 2014).

Second, according to Bourdieu, people who experience disadvantage because of symbolic power are often influenced to accept a cultural assessment of the value of their position in a social order without realizing it. According to (Corrigan & Watson, 2002a, 2002b) stigma and labels are evidence of 'internalized' or 'self-stigma'. (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2013) added that many ways could be used to drop, exclude, avoid, reject, and discriminate against people; that is, when motivation and power are available, stigma processes and labels offer ways to get that desire (Link & Phelan, 2014, p. 25).

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with phenomenological methods. Phenomenological methods seek answers to phenomena that occur in society and identify objects based on their experiences (Creswell, 1998). The phenomenon studied is victimization due to the impact of labeling and stigmatization as terrorism. In this study, data collection was

carried out through observation and interviews. The observation aims to find out the general description of the Ngruki community. Interviews were conducted with the Ngruki community to examine their experiences of victimization. In the interview, informants were chosen deliberately by the researcher. Sampling was carried out by purposive sampling, where the selection of informants was determined based on special considerations. Methodologically, this technique can be interpreted as a sampling process by first determining the sample to be taken, then selecting the sample based on a specific purpose as long as it does not deviate from the characteristics that have been previously determined. the Analysis data uses deskriptive analysis with discribe of experiences Ngruki Communities along phenomenon labeling, stigmatization, and victimization, then drawing conclusions from the interview data.

In this case, data collection was carried out in two stages. The first stage by observing the Ngruki community. Observations were made for approximately one month. Observations were also made to determine the informants to be interviewed based on recommendations from community administrators (Hamlet head). From the observation, it was determined that five interviewees met the criteria for the interview; they were people who had experienced lousy treatment because their identity as Ngruki residents was associated with terrorism. This study uses a triangulation technique to validate the data. Triangulation was carried out by comparing the results of observations with interviews, and the results of interviews with the first informant with subsequent informants, until the data experienced saturation, and then validity was carried out again against community administrators (Hamlet heads) on their recommendations. After that, the data analysis and interpretation process is carried out using critical victimology theory and symbolic violence. Data interpretation is made by narrating the findings into a patterned story. The first step in analyzing data is to collect data. Second data reduction. Third, presentation and analysis of data. Fourth, drawing conclusions.

Results and Discussion

Critical Victimology and Victimization of Muslims as Terrorism

Before entering into further explanation and discussion, it is necessary to provide a disclaimer in this explanation without reducing respect and justice for the real victims of terrorism. The development of victimology with the paradigm of critical victimology helps explain the victims of terrorism more extensively than we know (Ewald & TurkovicfEds, 2006, p. 57)(McGarry & Walklate, 2015). In this case, there are invisible victims of terrorism occurrence.

(McGowan, 2022, p. 51) had been explaining that in the two decades after war-on-terrorism, victims of terrorism had failed to look more comprehensively. As long after an occurrence terrorist attack, Victims was defined as just those directly becoming victims by positivist. They look at the victims who are only get attacked directly. However, there are people at risk of becoming victims in this situation. This study opens our critical view against the invisible victims of terrorism. They are a community that gets the label and stigma because of their identity (O'Leary, 2021).

In this case, the Muslim community is at risk of becoming a victim of terrorism effect (McGowan, 2016, p. 15). In simple terms, McGowan explains that Muslims are at risk of becoming another victim of terrorism. This is based on anti-Muslimism and discrimination that arose after acts of terrorism that occurred in America and European countries. It shows that critical victimology sees victims of terrorism not only as those who are directly affected. Critical victimology sees Muslims as a person or group at risk of victimization. Critical victimology tries to explain that victims of terrorism do not only represent one party. More than that, the victims of terrorism are the wives of the perpetrators of terrorism, in which they become victims of the treatment of their husbands, which makes them terrorists (Taskarina, 2020).

Besides that, Critical Victimology also sees that the victims of terrorism are Muslim groups who often get hate crimes, anti-Muslim, and discrimination. (Kaufman & Niner, 2019) tries to analyze using a critical victimology framework to explain the position of Muslims towards hate crime and anti-Muslim crimes influenced by terrorist incidents. The fact that effect of terrorism incidents is more comprehensive than we know. Meanwhile, the writings of (Mythen et al., 2009) explain how young Pakistanis suffer because of accusations of being terrorists. For Mythen, G., Walklate, S., & Khan, F., critical victimology sees that victims of terrorism do not only represent one party. However, other parties have suffered because of the accusations they received. So it is necessary to listen to the voices of other parties who feel they are victims.

It is similar to what will be discussed in the next part, that the Ngruki community experiences the same as Muslims in Amerika and Europe. The Ngruki community is often accused of terrorism incidents in Indonesia by people. Their identity as Ngruki people often gets unpleasant treatment and even experiences discrimination. It is that their identity makes them experience victimization.

Ngruki Community Victimization

This chapter will explain the result of interview with people of Ngruki who victimization experienced because of label and stigma as terrorism. The victimization occurred within questions, even the point of discrimination because of their identity as Ngruki people. Every Ngruki resident who meets other people and introduces himself as coming from the Ngruki residents, they will ask about his connection with terrorism and are constantly accused of acts of terrorism. From their bearded appearance and their clothes, they were always accused of being terrorists. Not only that, in this chapter there is also an acknowledgment of people who have been discriminated against so that they feel disadvantaged by this.

Evi, as respondent currently studying at the Indonesian Arabic Education Institute (LIPIA) Jakarta. Her status as a resident of Ngruki makes him feel uncomfortable with the status as a resident of Ngruki. Because when the respondent reveals his true identity, people's questions will go directly to the terrorism cases that are developing in the media. In fact, because of this, respondents then prefer to "blur their identity" as Ngruki residents and claim to be Surakarta residents (Suri, 2009).

"As usual, if I admit that I am from Ngruki, they will immediately ask about the making of the bomb. (Do you know the terrorists who came from there?) Moreover, the longer the conversation leads to accusations of religious knowledge studied at Ngruki. So I chose to confess from Solo, which is safer." (Evi; LIPIA Jakarta student, resident of Ngruki, October 2008 Suri, 2009)

The same thing happened to Syafiq, whom we interviewed in August 2022. He admitted that until now, he still feels the accusations from the Ngruki community regarding terrorism. When he meets people, not from Ngruki or solo, he is often surprised and asks about the Ngruki people, who have a culture of radicalism and terrorism.

"Last time, during the Asean Para Games, many of my colleagues came from Jakarta. At first, I admitted that I was from Solo, then they asked me which Solo?. I answered from Ngruki. They were astonished and surprised at my home. They immediately worked on the truth. Is it true that the Ngruki people have radicalism and terrorism?, I'll just answer those people who happen to live in Ngruki. They asked again, (jokingly) (do you know Pancasila by heart?) Suddenly I was shocked and just spoke to myself (not all Ngruki residents are like that). I just answered, memorized, I don't understand radicalism" (Syafiq; Ngruki resident who works as an Event Organizer, August Interview, 2022)

Not only Syafiq who experienced something like that. Our investigations and interviews also found that their identity as Ngruki residents makes them seen as radical and carrying terrorism. So often, other people see them as they have been so far. It was disclosed by Rusdi,

one of the sources we interviewed. Rusdi is an alumnus of Al Mukmin Junior high school and lives in the Ngruki area. He often encounters situations that always corner him because he never went to school and lives in Ngruki.

“Perhaps, feel often, when I meet people outside the area. But what I remember the most when I was visiting Jakarta. Incidentally, I joined a student organization and often visited student organizations outside the city. Long story short, because they know that I am an alumnus of Ngruki and also live there, they directly corner me with the teachings of radicalism and terrorism. From what was said, I had a strong understanding of being accused of being able to make bombs. Maybe they thought that everyone who came from there could build a bomb. Because Ngruki is known for its radicalism and terrorism.” (Rusdi; University Students X Alumnus of Al Mukmin Ngruki Boarding school and Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

Negative stereotypes about Ngruki as radicalism and terrorist make people related to Ngruki's identity always seen as they have been so far. They think the treatment is normal because of a negative image attached to their identity. It is what often makes them afraid of their identity as Ngruki residents. They always feel uncomfortable when they claim to be from Ngruki.

It is not only accusations and sayings of making bombs and having radical views. Their identity as Ngruki Ngruki residents makes them feel afraid of their identity. As is the research case (Suri, 2009, p. 78) most of them claimed to be from Solo because when they came from Ngruki, the conversation became lengthy, and accusations related to radicalism and terrorism arose. In tracing the interviews, they also preferred to admit they were from Solo or outside of Ngruki.

“ So every time I meet new people, especially people from other regions, I better admit that I come from Solo. I was a little scared when I claimed to be from Ngruki because, every time I come from Ngruki, questions and discussions have always led to the relations of the Ngruki community and radicalism and terrorism.” (Rusdi; University Students X Alumnus of Al Mukmin Ngruki Boarding school and Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

However, their identity has always been associated with the perpetrators of the bombing. Moreover, when they were looked at have whiskers and wore flood pants. as did one of the informants we interviewed. he shared that his identity and appearance were always said to be part of a radicalization.

“ At that time when I had work in Jakarta. Incidentally, I handled the election for Governor Anis. there were some people who saw me wearing a beard and wearing cropped pants. they directly linked it to my identity as a Ngruki resident. "This must be one of the radical groups of Ngruki brought by Anis." because at that time it was thick with religious identity politics. I only responded by joking. because it couldn't be helped, they already prepared that Ngruki, his cropped pants, and beard must be radical” (Iwan; Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022).

Meanwhile, interviews with Ngruki residents found that few Ngruki residents were afraid of their identity as Ngruki residents. It is due to the traumatic Ngruki residents who are always associated with radicalism. In the end, they do not admit their identity. Also, keep silent when getting questions surrounding radicalism and terrorism related to the Ngruki community.

“The people of Ngruki choose to be silent, sir, because the discussion of radicalism and terrorism for the residents here is a sensitive matter. It is possible that they are afraid of being associated with terrorists and then being accused and arrested as perpetrators of terrorism. Also, when asked, most people here would admit they are from outside the Ngruki area. According to them, admitting Ngruki risks being accused of being part of radicalism or terrorism. Some residents here are afraid of their identity as Ngruki residents, so they change their identity to become solo residents.” (Darsono; Halmet Heads Ngruki Communities, Cemani, August *Interview*, 2022)

Furthermore, the Ngruki area's connection with acts of terrorism means that the Ngruki people sometimes receive discrimination and different treatment. One of the sources we interviewed admitted that he was having difficulty when he was about to fly to Bali. The existence of strict supervision of the sources made them feel the impact they received because of their identity as Ngruki residents.

“My job as a car rental driver makes me often take guests outside the area, especially Bali. My experience is three to four times mas. Every time I crossed to Bali, I was always detained for a long time at the Gilimanuk port, Banyuwangi. Because the officers saw my identity as a resident came from Ngruki. A situation like this makes me feel a bit disadvantaged because I, along with my customers. So I feel bad for my mass customers.” (Pujiono ; Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

Meanwhile, Ngruki residents who will apply for jobs get different treatment. According to him, one of the sources who did not want to reveal his identity had experienced very discriminatory treatment. His identity as a resident of Ngruki made him receive several job rejections. As his confession follows:

"Maybe I am one of the Ngruki residents who feel the negative impact because the Ngruki area is often associated with terrorism. It might be said that it happened a while ago when the news about Ngruki was so hot. At that time, I had just graduated with bachelor's degree, I happened to have a job interview call in Jakarta and Bandung. Long story short, the company I applied for alluded to my regional origin in Ngruki. In the end, they considered accepting me. They just said they would be called again if accepted. But for several months there was no call again, mas. I saw during the interview that they were a bit surprised when my address came from Ngruki. It seems they are afraid that I will be related to radicalism and terrorism" (Informant; Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

From tracing the interviews with the informants, it was found that their identity as Ngruki people made them receive unpleasant treatment. Although it is not clearly can describe, this can illustrate the process of victimization experienced by the Ngruki residents. It is what is said (Ballinger et al., 2016) the experience of the Ngruki community is included in a wider process of victimization that has not been seen so far. In this case, there were insinuations, accusations, and even unpleasant treatment of the Ngruki people. Even regarding (Henry & Milovanovic, 2000, p. 272) it was a "reduce of crime" Because they lost something that became their right.

It is like what was said by (Bourdieu, 1989, 1990, 1991) the treatment received by the Ngruki community defined that there was symbolic violence. They did not realize that getting violent. It was Bourdieu's said as (misrecognized). Also, (Bourdieu, 1990) said, "taken for granted" when they receive consent. According to them, it was already usual because they misunderstood the Ngruki community and generalized each person as the same. As simply, Ngruki's community gets dominated when they mention their identity. This research is based on the theoretical framework that Ngruki's community is the victim. Victims of domination from other people who generalize as a terrorist. Finally, this research has already shown that critical victimology (Ballinger et al., 2016; Mawby & Walklate, 1994; Walklate, 2007) and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1979, 1989, 1990, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) can define the position of Ngruki's community as victims.

Conclusion

Based on what has already been explained above. This article argues that the experience received by the Ngruki people could be more evident and is only felt by those who experience it. However, the Ngruki community experienced a process of victimization based on the social construction of the community. The existence of satire, always associated with matters related to radicalism and terrorism, makes the Ngruki people feel insecure and even afraid when they

claim to be Ngruki residents. In this case, the victimization experienced by the Ngruki people is symbolic. Indirectly they receive symbolic violence from society which generalizes Ngruki society.

Indeed what has been said regarding critical Victimology that the crime of terrorism has made the people who are Ngruki in the position of the victim wider than we know. People's understanding of the Ngruki community is misinterpreted, which puts them at risk of becoming more comprehensive victims. The widespread stigma against the description of the Ngruki area causes people with the Ngruki identity to feel the effects of the social construction that has existed so far. People's views of someone who comes from Ngruki are always associated with problems they have never done.

In conclusion, it is essential to realize that the Ngruki people are a diverse society. This article describes what happened to the Ngruki people who interacted with the majority community in general. They accept this treatment because they are aware of (reconciled) what has been happening, and there has been news about the Ngruki area, which is a hotbed of radicals and terrorists. However, with a critical victimology perspective, we can see that victims are not only those who are accurate. They are the Ngruki people who experience stigma every day that is always associated with radicalism and terrorism.

Finally, this conclusion explains this research's contribution to the criminology field, especially victimology. However, in criminology studies, labeling and stigma are only discussed regarding secondary deviants. This paper also expands on the writings by Burnberg that labels cause discrimination and make the lously. Moreover, with a critical victimology approach, we can see forgotten victims. Their status as victims is never seen or observed. Also clarifies the contribution of this research to constitutive criminology, the fact that crime as harm is a product of society itself which ultimately creates more comprehensive victims

Declaration

Conflicts of Interest The authors declare no competing interests

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank all parties, especially the sources as the author's informants. The author also hopes that this research can be developed further so that it can be used as material in a wider discussion about victims. Especially stigma and labels in criminology

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Risk Management For All Levels Of Business, Underestimated Perspective

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Title : *Risk Management in Small and Medium Enterprises*
Author : Chiara Crovini
Publisher : Routledge
Year : 2019
Pages : 107
ISBN : 978-0-367-22679-4

Send : 10th October 2022
Review : 11th November 2022
Accepted : 08th December 2022
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Introduction

Risk management, in general, is often assumed to be needed only for large enterprises or enterprise classes (Berard & Teyssier, 2017). However, risk management is also needed for all classes of companies, both small, medium and large. Because accurate risk calculations will minimize possible failures (Lund et al., 2011).

Risk analysis is needed in enterprises and various fields, including military, information technology, financial institutions and investments (Berard & Teyssier, 2017; Lund et al., 2011). So proper learning about risk is needed in various fields, both by implementers and decision makers. Although the risk is a probability science that may occur and may not occur, the uncertainty must still go through an appropriate assessment so that it can be a preparation for all parties involved in the activity (Aven, 2010).

Therefore, a book on risk management was chosen in this review that specifically discusses risk management in medium and small companies. Because not many books discuss risk management in that scope specifically, it is worth discussing to open the insights of small and medium entrepreneurs, as well as academics, that risk management in that scope also needs to be

studied in depth. In addition, given that the publisher of this book is the leading publisher (Routledge) in the field of academic books, there is no doubt about the book's quality in general. Thus, it is hoped that the results of this book review can pave the way for academics and practitioners to further explore and find more about risk management references in the scope of small and medium enterprises.

In addition, this book also has advantages that are different from other books that both discuss risk management. One of the main advantages is the relatively minimalist size of the book, but the discussion is very precise to the main theme, because this book is the result of research, so previously it was confirmed that it had gone through the review phase first. This book also has concrete case studies, so it not only displays from the theoretical side of risk management, but also directly discusses the application in the company. This of course makes it easier for readers to more quickly understand the main material offered.

Review Points

This book, which has a total of 106 pages (including the bibliography), has six chapters that begin with the introductory chapter, theoretical foundations, case studies to conclusions (Crovini, 2019). In general, this book is a monograph book or research result of the author, but there is no specific mention of the company used as the research object. Thus, making the results and conclusions of this book generic can be a consideration in learning risk management for practitioners and academics. Another interesting point about this book is that the discussion is not verbose but can still present important points for the reader. This is done by depicting various diagrams that are easy to understand and showing the important points of the captions described in the drawing section.

Part One

In the first part, especially the Preface chapter and the Theoretical Background chapter, the author briefly explains the RP (Research Problem) that is trying to be explained in the monograph book. Two important RP points are trying to be answered, namely whether it is true that SMEs (Small and Medium enterprises) require risk management in their operations and whether later risk management will be able to trigger the implementation of special procedures and specific processes in SMEs.

This is supported by various previous research supports that risk management is indeed needed in SMEs. Risk management in SMEs is still needed, evidenced by various empirical research results that state this (Beck, 2007; Dankiewicz et al., 2020; Hudáková & Dvorský, 2018;

Rehman & Anwar, 2019). SMEs that implement risk management well have also proven to be stronger in performance than SMEs that do not (Rehman & Anwar, 2019), so the statement in the book affirming this is indisputable.

The Theoretical Background Chapter also confirms that SMEs are an important component in various countries (Wang, 2016), even in continental Europe, which is dominated by developed countries. It is stated that SMEs can attract more workers and be more productive in their performance (Crovini, 2019). So that in this first part, the author is able to emphasize the purpose of his research, not just explain the theoretical foundations in general. In addition, it was also mentioned that the basis of the interviews conducted in this study used the DECIDE framework, which was previously adapted from the framework produced by Kristina Guo (Guo, 2020).

Part Two

The second part of this book consists of chapters on Case Study and Key Emerging Issues, both of which, in general, discuss the application of risk management to SMEs from the empirical and theoretical sides. There are three companies used as case studies in this book, all of which are categorized as SMEs and are from Italy. However, the three companies are disguised by name so that they only become the initials of companies A, B and C. The three companies have an unstable number of net assets and a production scale that is not large, and this can be seen from the number of employees owned as well as the growth in EBITDA and also net assets in the last five years.

Based on the data obtained and the results of intensive interviews with company leaders, the author of this book conclude that there are several things that are of concern in handling SME risks. Companies A and B prioritize risks stemming from employee recruitment, job environment safety and product differentiation strategies due to the intense level of SME competition. This makes the operational level the focus of the risk management they manage. Meanwhile, company C further steps in managing risk management. This is evidenced by the concern for work planning and analysis of costs constantly and periodically. This risk management ultimately brings company C to more stable in growth and able to face the challenges of business competition so that it is stronger in the decision-making process.

So, in the end, the conclusion in the next chapter states that risk management should be more integrated with the company's strategy and fully integrated with the company's management. Risk management that only focuses on the operational level and is not implemented holistically can affect the performance of the company as a whole (Arfiansyah, 2021). Especially for SMEs who often underestimate the existence of risk management and tend not to care at the strategic level (De Vincentiis et al., 2019). Whereas empirically, it is proven that the application of good

risk management can have a significant effect on company performance.

This book also reveals a new model obtained from the results of research that has been carried out, namely a model that can be applied in SMEs, as shown in figure 1. The model consists of six stages, namely: Understand, Problematize, Evaluate, Decide, Act and Monitor. The six components synergize with each other and must be supported by intense communication within the company as well as a company culture that cares about risks that can occur at the operational level and strategic levels.

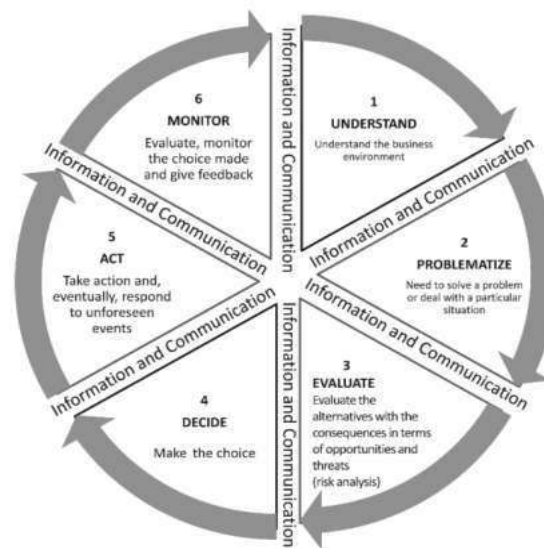


Figure 1. Risk Model for SME (Crovini, 2019)

Part Three

The third part of the last chapter in the book is the conclusion and summary of the results of the research that has been carried out by the author of the book. In this chapter, the author tries to write down the results of a review of the research that has been carried out in the three companies. It is stated that risk management is important for SME business actors to be agile and able to survive in competitive business competition (Khairi & Syahwani, 2019; Schön et al., 2020). However, based on the results of the study, SMEs found it difficult to formalize risk management either in the form of flowcharts or official procedures due to the size of the company and limited resources.

In addition, it is stated that risk management needs to be understood by every individual in the company, not only by the owner or leader of the SME. Because in risk management, there are uncertainties that must be faced both at the operational level and at the strategic level (van Daelen & Van der Elst, 2013), it is necessary to develop a better risk management framework in the scope of SMEs.

Conclusion

This *Risk Management in Small and Medium Enterprises* book as a whole is a monograph book that is very easy and light to read for both practitioners and academics. The research carried out is packaged in sentences that are not convoluted but in accordance with the goals set at the beginning of the book.

Another thing that is important to note in this book is that the case studies given are of a qualitative type, so they are obtained based on the results of in-depth observations and also interviews with decision-makers in the company that is used as the object of research. On the one hand, it provides very in-depth results in terms of culture and reasons regarding the application of risk management, but on the other hand, it also requires empirical studies quantitatively to provide justification for the results obtained. However, the weakness of this book is the lack of detailed discussion of the theory in the early chapters. For readers who are really beginners in the field of risk management and are just learning, then this will be an obstacle in itself in further understanding. So for novice readers, it is advisable to keep reading other books on theoretical risk management in order to be helped in understanding the content of the book comprehensively. Especially about the types as well as measures of the risk analyst in applying the expected conditions. Overall, this book is well worth reading for academics who have just studied risk management, as well as SME business practitioners who want to understand the importance of risk management at the operational and strategic levels. In addition, case studies that are very easy to understand can also make this book a worthy reference for research in the scope of risk management and SMEs, both operational and strategic scopes.

Acknowledgement

Thank you to Ma Chung University and Makasar State University as supporters in writing this article

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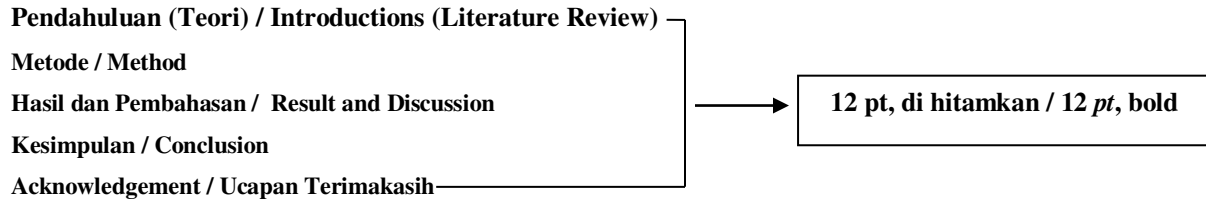


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1. Introduction (Theory) (bold, 12 pt) / Pendahuluan (teori) (bold, 12 pt)

The introduction must contain a general background and a literature review (state of the art) as the basic of new research question, main research problems, and the hypothesis. In the final part of the introduction, the purpose of the article writing should be stated. (12 pt)

Bagian pendahuluan berisi latar belakang dan tinjauan pustaka (*state of the art*) sebagai dasar utama terkait kebaharuan penelitian, masalah utama penelitian, dan hipotesis. Pada bagian akhir latar belakang harus dijelaskan terkait tujuan penelitian secara jelas. (12 pt)

2. Method / Metode (bold, 12 pt)

Contains the research design used (methods, types of data, data sources, data collection techniques, data analysis techniques, measurement of variables) written in the form of flowing paragraphs (not numbered). (11 pt)

Metode berisi design penelitian yang akan dilakukan, dengan beberapa poin yakni: (jenis data yang digunakan, sumber datanya, teknik pengumpulan data, teknik analisis data, hingga pengukuran variabel) ditulis dalam bentuk paragraf (bukan nomor). (11 pt)

3. Literatur Review / Studi Kepustakaan (bold, 12 pt) (Especially Studi Kepustakaan)

Literature review articles contain an analysis and commentary of the publications on a specific area of research (latest trends 10 years). In larger subject areas, the review may point to significant works in that topic. However, new and emergent areas might have a small enough body of knowledge to be covered in its entirety. The purpose of the literature review article is to describe the general or condition of the topic under consideration and to analyze and critique the latest trends and developments in that topic. (11 pt)

Tinjauan literatur artikel mengandung analisis dan komentar dari publikasi pada wilayah tertentu penelitian (tren terbaru 10 tahun). yang menjadi subyek kajian dan memiliki kajian yang menarik, walaupun masih sangat minim kajiannya. Di dalam studi kepustakaan akan memberikan gambaran secara umum tentang kondisi kajian dalam melakukan pertimbangan, melakukan analisis serta kritik terhadap kajian atau isu – isu terbaru. (11 pt)

4. Results and Discussion / Hasil dan Pembahasan (bold, 12 pt)

Contains the results of empirical research or theoretical studies that are written in a systematic, critical analysis, and informative. The use of tables, figures is only as a support to clarify the discussion and is limited to supporters who are truly substantial, for example tables of statistical test results, images of test results of models etc. Discussion of the results is argumentative concerning the relevance of the results, theories, previous research and empirical facts found, and shows the novelty of the findings. (11 pt)

Berisi hasil penelitian yang disajikan secara empiris atau teoritis, kemudian dituangkan dalam sebuah studi yang sistematis, analisis kritis, dan informatif. Penggunaan tabel, gambar hanya sebagai pendukung untuk memperjelas kajian, dan hanya contoh yang relevan secara substansi yang di tampilkan, seperti: hasil pengujian statistik, gambar dan hasil dari uji model dan lain – lain. pembahasan terkait hasil argumentatif yang berkaitan dengan hasil penelitian dengan teori yang ada, atau mencoba menemukan teori baru, sehingga bisa menemukan hasil yang penelitian yang terbaharui. (11 pt)

Tabel 1. Jumlah Pengujian WFF Tiga NA = 15 atau NA = 8 (9 pt, bold) (Kosong satu spasi, 6 pt)
Table 1. Number of Testing of WFF Triple NA=15 or NA=8 (9 pt, bold) (one blank single space line, 6 pt)

NC	NP			
	3	4	8	10
3	1200	2000	2500	3000
5	2000	2200	2700	3400
8	2500	2700	16000	22000
10	3000	3400	22000	28000

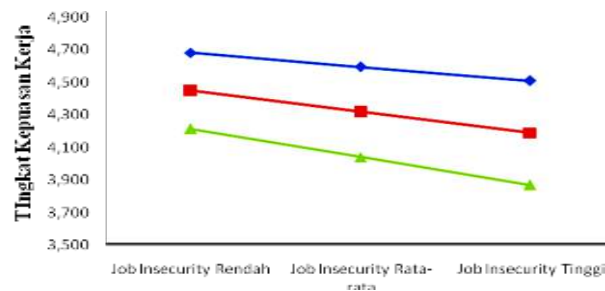
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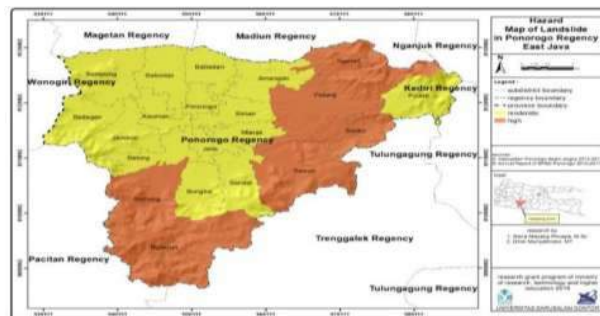


Figure 1. Mapping Disaster in Ponorogo Regency (9 pt, bold) (two single space, 10 pt)

Gambar 1. Pemetaan Bencana di Kabupaten Ponorogo (9 pt, bold) (dua spasi tunggal, 10 pt)

5. Conclusion / Kesimpulan

Contains conclusions with extensive deprivation of the discussion of research results that are written briefly and clearly, showing clarity of the contribution of findings, sparking new theories and the possibility of developing research that can be done in the future. (11 pt)

Berisi kesimpulan terkait hasil penelitian yang ditulis secara singkat dan jelas, selain itu juga memberikan gambaran terkait kontribusi penelitian terkait pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan atau keilmuan baru, serta pengembangan kajian di masa yang akan datang. (11 pt)

6. Acknowledgement / Ucapan Trimakasih

This part the matter thank you to all sides for the in favour of solving the articles. (11 pt)

Bagian ini berupa ucapan terimakasih kepada semua pihak yang telah mendukung penyelesaian artikel. (11 pt)

References / Daftar Pustaka

The references used are listed in the alphabetical order of the author's name with the sample format (books and journals) as is common in the bibliography. The bibliography used last 10 years with 50% of journals, Examples of writing a references are as follows. (10 pt)

Referensi ditulis secara alphabet sesuai dengan ketentuan umum yang berlaku, Daftar pustaka minimal 10 Tahun terakhir dengan mengikuti tata aturan yang ada. (10 pt)

The reference writing must be in accordance with APA (American Psychological Association) format. The references should use the primary sources (journals or books). Can use the mendeley, Endnote, and Zotero application. (10 pt)

Penulisan referensi harus sesuai dengan APA (American Psychological Association) format. Referensi harus menggunakan sumber - sumber primer (jurnal atau buku). Dapat menggunakan aplikasi mendeley. (10 pt)

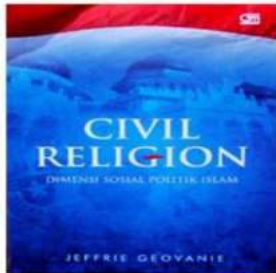


Template Book Review

Mengakar Kembali Perdebatan Konsep *Civil Religion* Robert N. Bellah & Jean Jacques Rousseau

Author
Afiliasi
Alamat Lengkap Afiliasi
Email:

Contoh Profile Buku



Judul Buku : *Civil Religion* (Dimensi Sosial Politik Islam)
Penulis : Jeffrie Geovanie
Penerbit : PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama
Tahun Terbit : 2013
Jumlah Halaman : 328
ISBN : 978-979-22-9639-6

Sistematika Review Buku

Pendahuluan

Berisi pentingnya kajian yang ada di dalam Buku.

Poin Review

Hal – hal substantif yang menjadi sub bahasan dalam proses review, bersumber dari buku – buku dan karya ilmiah yang ada.

Daftar Pustaka

Rujukan yang dijadikan sebagai bahan analisis, pembanding dalam proses review Buku.

Pedoman Penulisan Review

1. Menuliskan judul review
2. Menulis Identitas, Mulai Nama Lengkap, Afiliasi, surel.
3. Mencantumkan identitas buku secara lengkap ditambah cover buku yang dimaksud.
4. Mengikuti sistematika penulisan Review Buku.