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Joko Widodo Views on Women's Interests Before and During the Pandemic Based on Social-Media

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Abstract

The COVID-19 Pandemic has had many impacts on Indonesian women. As one of the pilot countries for the HeForShe project campaigned by UN Women, it is interesting to analyze how the President of Indonesia responds to this phenomenon. Many studies focus on the impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on women. But, there is a lack of research on how the government responds to women's interests during the Pandemic compared to the situation before the Pandemic. Using a qualitative approach, this study analyses how the President of Indonesia views women's interests before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Two official social-media of the President of Republic Indonesia Joko Widodo: The Official Twitter Account of the President of Indonesia @jokowi and The Official Facebook Account of The President of Indonesia @Jokowi · Minat are used as the primary data sources. The findings indicate that before the COVID-19 Pandemic, President Joko Widodo gave significant attention to strategic women's interests such as subordination and gender equality. But the situation changed during the Pandemic. The President views the fulfillment of daily needs such as food and health as more urgent for women in the COVID-19 Pandemic than strategic interests. This study highlights that in a crisis, the focus of the government policy is safe for the people first (women and men) to fulfill their basic needs. The gender equality agenda is becoming marginalized.

Keywords: Indonesian Government, Women's Interest, COVID-19 Pandemic, Social Media

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 Pandemic has brought many shifts in the national agenda of countries in the world. The main priority is on health issues, namely handling COVID-19 cases to decrease the number, providing health services for COVID-19 sufferers, and providing economic and social assistance to communities affected by the Pandemic. In Indonesia, the pandemic risks are reversing the country's progress towards poverty reduction and human development. Many families are experiencing economic hardship, marginal groups are experiencing barriers to

accessing health services, parents and children face challenges related to distance learning, and women face greater responsibility because children learn from home. A survey conducted by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Economic Development (PROSPERA), and Smeru Research Institute reported the impact of pandemics on jobs, small businesses, food security, health access, education, and social safety nets. The report also evaluates the impact of pandemics on households with children, women, and vulnerable groups, namely people with disabilities. More than 85 percent of Indonesians have received government social assistance from Indonesia's National Economic Recovery Program. Half of the families (50.8 percent) receive cash transfer assistance. The poorest households receive the most help. A total of 90 percent received at least one form of assistance (cash and in goods), and 62 percent received cash assistance. Nearly three-quarters of households (74.3 percent) said they have lower income compared to January 2020. Families with children (75.3 percent) and those living in urban areas (78.3 percent) lost income. In addition, 12.6 percent of families surveyed said they should struggle to feed their families (UNICEF, 2021).

The COVID-19 Pandemic has had many impacts on Indonesian women. COVID-19 has increased the burden of housework, and women should bear more. Water and food needs are increasing due to COVID-19. School closures have also shifted children's educational responsibilities to parents, especially women. According to the survey, 39% of women and 29% of men spend more time teaching their children at home. COVID-19 also resulted in the vulnerability of women in the labor market, especially informal workers: 36% of women in informal jobs experienced a decrease in income, compared to 30% of men in informal jobs. The impact of the lockdown also further makes women vulnerable, especially those who are married, low income, and aged 31-40 (UN Women, 2020).

It is interesting to analyze how the states respond to this phenomenon. Moreover, Indonesia is one of the pilot countries for the HeForShe project campaigned by UN Women. In 2016 President Joko Widodo was elected as one of the HeForShe ambassadors from the UN Agency for Gender Equality and Women Empowerment (UN Women) through the program "Impact 10x10x10". The program engages world leaders, companies, and universities to mainstream gender justice. The world leaders, including U.S. President Barack Obama, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, and President Joko Widodo, have committed to fighting for gender equality and ensuring equal opportunities. They conducted a national campaign on women's rights. Joko Widodo has committed to three measures to improve women's lives, including achieving at least 30 percent of women's representation in parliament, reducing maternal mortality and improving access to reproductive health services, as well as ending violence against women and girls (Yulius, 2016).

Many policies have been taken to handle the COVID-19 Pandemic. But a survey conducted by CARE (2020) found that not all of the countries surveyed comprehensively dealt with COVID-19 concerning gender aspects. Of the seven countries — nearly 25% of the sample — CARE found no evidence of gender-dimensional policies. The majority of countries surveyed — 76% — have given at least one gender-specific policy commitment but still don't have specific measures to mitigate the impact of a pandemic that weighs more on women. Meanwhile, funding commitments and state policies vary in scope and scale, and countries' policy commitments also vary.

Women are a group that feels the impact of COVID-19 in the community (UN Women, 2020a). The lockdown policy affects many formal sector industries: travel, tourism, restaurants, and food production. These industries employ the majority of women. Women also dominate the informal sector in markets and agriculture fields worldwide. In developed and developing countries, many informal sector jobs — domestic workers, babysitters — are done mainly by women. The majority of them have no health insurance and do not have a social safety net. At the same time, women usually shoulder a more significant burden of care. On average, women do three times more homework caring for children than men, even in the days before the Pandemic. Female-headed households are more vulnerable. Women are also vulnerable to health safety. It is difficult for women to access maternal health services, and contraception can become impaired. In addition, most frontline health workers — primarily nurses — are women, so the risk of infection is very high.

UN Women recommends actions governments can take to address these issues: First, ensure that the needs of

female nurses and doctors during the task of addressing pandemics are more attentive, talk to caregivers, listen and meet their needs. Second, ensure that hotlines and services for all victims of domestic violence are prioritized as "essential services" and remain open. Law enforcement officials need to be more sensitive and responsive to victims. Third, the bailout and stimulus package should include social protection measures that reflect an understanding of women's particular circumstances and economic recognition of care. And fourth, leaders must involve women in decision-making (UN Women 2020a, 2020b).

All these efforts are related to women's interests. The women's interests encompass issues linked to women's bodies, sexuality, the nature of giving birth, and the position of women in the public sphere, especially concerning the labor market and welfare state policy. This article focuses on analyzing how President Joko Widodo viewed women's interests before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic based on President Joko Widodo statements on the official account of Twitter and Facebook on issues concerning women's interests. Many papers describe the impact of COVID-19 on women and gender relations. Likewise, there are many studies on government policies to deal with the COVID-19. But it rarely analyzes how the government framed the women's interest in the Pandemic compared to the situation before the Pandemic. This paper aims to fill the gap in government policy and gender studies by looking at how the state responds to the global agenda of gender equality in a normal situation and how the COVID-19 Pandemic affects the focus of policies carried out by the government.

2. Method

This study uses a qualitative method to discover the issues that developed during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Indonesia and what was highlighted from the case. The primary data sources were The Official Twitter Account of the President of Indonesia @jokowi (<https://twitter.com/Jokowi>) and The Official Facebook Account of The President of Indonesia @Jokowi · Interests (<https://www.facebook.com/Jokowi>). The Official Twitter Account @jokowi joined in September 2011, with 58 following and 15.7 M followers. In comparison, The Official Facebook Account @Jokowi · Minat has 10,561,242 followers with 10,229,564 likes. The data collected are the tweets and statements of the President related to the handling of COVID-19, views on the role of women, and gender relations amid the COVID-19 Pandemic. These two sources of social-media data are used because they are complementary, and not all posts on Twitter are equally uploaded on Facebook and vice versa. The account chosen is the official account of Indonesian President Joko Widodo because his statement reflects the government's voice. Joko Widodo is also one of the country's leaders who have the mandate to succeed in international programs, namely a campaign to support men for gender equality programs known as HeForShe.

The COVID-19 Pandemic has prompted governments of various countries to take policies to overcome the impact of the Pandemic. Lockdown policies, providing economic subsidies to free vaccines, have been implemented. However, research in several countries shows that the government's lockdown policies or financial subsidies are not always effective in overcoming the effects of the Pandemic, especially the socioeconomic impacts (Awoveso & Irabor, 2020; Elkhachen et al., 2020; Sharma & Paul, 2020). The success in fighting the COVID-19 Pandemic is rooted in several factors. First is the government's ability to carry out a narrative campaign that a pandemic is a war (Hapal, 2021). Second is the existence of domestic and transnational administrative cooperation, involving authorities at various levels to complement domestic, regional, and global governance policies (Alarcon et al., 2020). Third, the policy to wear masks as a disease prevention measure and expand the production capacity of masks. Fourth the use of big data and technology to improve the effectiveness of disease prevention and detection measures. And fifth, strong state-of-the-community relations that support transparency, communication, and collaboration (Yen, 2020; Letouze, 2020).

For women, the Covid-19 pandemic affects many aspects of life. From the health aspect, the Covid-19 pandemic causes stress for pregnant women and nursing mothers (Mortazavi & Ghardashi, 2021; Kotlar et.al, 2021; Martins-Filho, Santos & Santos, 2020). The Covid-19 pandemic has also affected socio-economic aspects. The impacts felt by working women and their families due to job losses include growing debt, heightened emotions and the increasing workload on women (Azeez & Negi 2021, Gakhar & Jagga, 2021). The negative impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on health and economic conditions is more severely felt by women than men (Peck, 2021; Churchill,

2021). These findings prove that the Covid-19 pandemic has implications for women's interests.

Some studies differentiate between women's practical interests and strategic interests (Molyneux, 1985; UNESCO, 2003). Practical interests refer to fulfilling daily living needs such as water, shelter, and food. At the same time, strategic interests refer to fundamental issues related to the subordination of women (or although rarely, it can also be men) and gender injustice. Strategic gender interests are long-term, immaterial, and require structural changes in society about women's status and equality. These changes include the availability of laws guaranteeing equal rights, reproductive choices, and increased participation of women in decision-making. According to Molyneux practical interests arise from the concrete conditions of women in the gender division of labor (1985, p. 233). In contrast, strategic interests derive from analyzing women's subordination (1985, p. 232).

But what is meant by women's interests depends on the context and the people who interpret it (Beckwith, 2011). Women's interests include life chances for women and their choices for action, preferences, and freedom of movement, among other alternatives. Interest is not part of the essentialist understanding of "women" as a group but also the recognition of the state of women's lives and the appreciation of women's opportunities to improve their abilities and choices as human beings to act and improve their life chances.

The fulfillment of women's interests depends on how the country's leaders communicate socioeconomic issues to the public. There is a fundamental difference between male and female leaders in looking at economic and social welfare issues during pandemic times and how they communicate them to the public (Dada et al., 2021). All leaders recognize the economic impact of pandemics, but female leaders are more likely to pay attention to the effect on a micro-scale, on individuals and families.

This research studies how President Joko Widodo viewed women's interests before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Some steps have been conducted. First, examine the statements of President Joko Widodo on Twitter and Facebook from 2016-2019 (before the Pandemic) using the keyword "women." Second, analyze the general statement during the Pandemic. And third, study the selected material for statements that reflect or relate to women's interests from April 2020 to July 2021. The reasoning is that April 2020 became the first month after President Joko Widodo declared that COVID-19 infected Indonesia in March 2020. Despite this, April is a meaningful month when the Indonesian women celebrate Kartini Day (a women heroine of Indonesia that struggled for women's rights in the Dutch colonial period). The tweets or statements of President Joko Widodo on Twitter and Facebook using the keyword "women" from March 2016-December 2019 are used to compare the content regarding "women" before and during the COVID-19.

And finally, the statements posted on the two social-media: Twitter and Facebook, were manually coded based on the content and divided into two categories: general issues and woman-specific issues. The next stage is to compare posts related to women's interests before and during the Pandemic to determine if there are differences in the focus of the President's attention. Data analysis was carried out descriptively by interpreting data and synthesizing it with relevant theories.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The View of Women's Interest before the COVID-19 Pandemic

Throughout 2016-2019 gender equality statements reflecting the strategic women's interest were posted by President Joko Widodo on his official Facebook. President Joko Widodo made posts about women's interests on social-media at a certain momentum, especially in commemorating World Women's Day March 1, Kartini Day April 21, and Mother's Day December 22. But there are also posts related to the interests of women beyond that momentum (see table 1).

Table 1: Posts about Women in President Joko Widodo's Official Facebook Account 2016-2019

No	Date	Context	Content
1	March 8, 2016	Commemorating International Women's Day	Happy International Women's Day. The elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women cannot be delayed any longer. Women are the pillars of the country. The future of Indonesia is also supported by Indonesian women.
2	March 8, 2018	Commemorating International	Women's Day Happy International Women's Day. It's time for women to be more active in their work and get the right to live a peaceful, prosperous, and more just life
4	December 22, 2018	Commemorating Mother's Day	for mothers and amazing women who have fought to raise the spirit of nationalism, fight for justice for women and the nation, who constantly remind the unity and diversity of Indonesia, I wish you a happy Mother's Day on December 22.
5	March 5, 2019	Receiving a Visit from Taruna Nusantara High School students	in Indonesia, women have the same role and are seen in the same position as men. There is no difference... In this country, the role of women is highly valued and recognized.
6	March 8, 2019	Commemorating International Women's Day	For women in Indonesia and around the world, it's time to fight together to better humanity. <u>#balanceforbetter</u>
7	April 21, 2019	Commemorating Kartini Day	For Indonesian women, mothers of the nation: let's continue to inflame the fighting spirit of Ibu Kartini. The fighting spirit of building family, community, nation, and advance the next generation.
8	December 22, 2019	Commemorating Mother's Day The	The face of Indonesia today and in the future is a face that is also shaped by mothers women who have broad access and opportunities...They are empowered in the economic, political, social, and social fields... Women empowered is a form of advanced Indonesia.

Source: Official Facebook Account of President of The Republic of Indonesia
<https://www.facebook.com/page/390581294464059/search?q=perempuan>

The contents of President Joko Widodo's uploads on social-media focus on the struggle for gender equality and women's rights. When commemorating International Women's Day, the President stated in his upload: 1) The elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women cannot be delayed any longer, 2) It is time for women to be more active in their work and, 3) to get the rights to a peaceful, prosperous and more just life. This statement confirms President Joko Widodo's commitment to supporting 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) programs which include 1) no poverty, 2) zero hunger, 3) good health and well-being, 4) quality education, 5) gender equality, 6) clean water and sanitation, 7) affordable and clean energy, 8) decent work and economic growth, 9) industry, innovation, and infrastructure, 10) reduced inequalities, 11) sustainable cities and communities, 12) responsible consumption and production, 13) climate action, 14) life below water, 15) life on land, 16) peace, justice, and strong institutions, and 17) partnerships for the goals (<https://sdgs.un.org/goals>).

Gender equality is one of the main concerns of President Joko Widodo. Moreover, in 2016 President Joko Widodo was elected as one of the country's leaders who became ambassadors for the United Nations HeforShe program. This program encourages countries in the world to improve gender equality. In this program, Indonesia is committed to improving gender equality through the involvement of women in parliament and government, reducing maternal mortality, increasing access to health, and ending violence against women (<https://www.heforshe.org/en/node/75>). In uploads on Facebook commemorating International Women's Day on March 8, 2019, the President displays the hashtag #balanceforbetter. President Joko Widodo also expressed his pride in the role of mothers and women in an upload commemorating Mother's Day, December 22, 2018. Indonesian women are described as mothers and remarkable girls who raise the spirit of nationalism, fight for justice for women and the nation, and remind Indonesia's unity and diversity. President Joko Widodo praised Indonesian women who have contributed roles in various fields for the development of Indonesia. They are not weak creatures but are empowered women who have a strategic role in determining the face of Indonesia in the future.

President Joko Widodo statements emphasized women's rights, equal roles between men and women, respect for women, and recognition of women's abilities in various fields. These statements were conveyed infirm and repeated sentences at every moment of commemoration of World Women's Day, Kartini Day, and Mother's Day. The President defines the situation that there is a strategic interest that must be fought for or women, namely gender equality. The statements align with Indonesia's commitment as an agent of HeforShe's campaign to achieve gender equality.

3.2 General Issues Regarding Pandemic on Social-media

Since the COVID-19 Pandemic, President Joko Widodo's post on the official account of the President of Indonesia has been dominated by calls to follow health protocols, efforts to prevent the spread of COVID-19, and campaigns for vaccines. Other posts related to government policies to overcome community economic difficulties due to pandemics.

The first case of COVID-19 appeared in Indonesia on March 2, 2020. Since then, the number of infected people has continued to grow. In just a month, the number of infected people has reached 1,677 people, 103 people recovered, and 157 patients died (kemkes.go.id). Until early August 2021, the number of people infected with COVID-19 in Indonesia reached 3.69 million people, 109 thousand of whom died. This number puts Indonesia at number 14 in the world (worldometers).

To suppress the spread of COVID-19, the Indonesian government has taken several policies. In April 2020 President Joko Widodo established a policy of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar*/PSBB). This policy is regulated in Government Regulation Number 21 of 2020, signed by the President. Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) are rules regarding prohibited activities during the corona outbreak. When the PSBB is enforced, the community must limit their work, study, worship activities outside the home and replace them with activities at home (CNN Indonesia, 2020). Through the Minister of Law and Human Rights, the Government of Indonesia, Yasonna Laoly, has issued a temporary ban on entry or transit in Indonesia for foreigners. This policy reduces the spread of the coronavirus (Covid-19) in Indonesia.

Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy due to The Covid-19 Pandemic has limited various activities, including worship. Religious organizations such as Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia/MUI) issued Fatwa Number 14 of 2020 regarding the organization of worship in the COVID-19 outbreak situation. In a condition where the spread of COVID-19 is uncontrolled in a life-threatening area, Muslims are not allowed to hold Friday prayers until the condition returns to normal and replace Friday prayers with Zuhr prayers in their residences (Muala, 2021). Some religious leaders support the government's policy to pray at home, but others reject the closure of mosques. President Joko Widodo posted tweets about worship during the Pandemic: "The global Covid-19 Pandemic is still ongoing during the month of Ramadan. So while fasting, let's keep trying to break the chain of the spread of this global virus by living a healthy life, worshipping at home, keeping a distance from others, and praying that this Pandemic will soon pass" (Widodo,

2020a).

The tricky thing to handle was prohibiting people from mudik (a tradition for going home to the homeland) to celebrate Eid al-Fitr. Through the Minister of Transportation, the Indonesian government issued a ban on going home for Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr 2020 for regions that do Large-Scale Social Restrictions, red zones, and their agglomerations (Qodar, 2020). All Indonesian people are prohibited from returning home (*mudik*) with any vehicle. At the entrances to the inter-city border, the police conduct inspections of passing vehicles (Azanella, 2021). President Joko Widodo has repeatedly urged the public not to go home on his official account: "Not going home is the wisest way to protect families in the village. By patiently holding back longing overseas, we have played a role in breaking the chain of the spread of Covid-19. We don't go home because we love our family" (Widodo, 2020b).

In early 2021, the number of COVID-19 increased again after the Christmas and New Year holidays. The government stipulates the implementation of Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) in Java and Bali. In contrast to the province-based PSBB, PPKM leads to limited community activities based on city and district. Regions implementing PPKM must limit office activities by implementing Work from Home (WFH) by 75 percent and working in the office (Work from Office/WFO) by 25 percent. Learning activities are carried out online. For essential business sectors related to basic needs, they can operate 100 percent, but with more stringent regulation of working hours, capacity, and implementation of health protocols. Restaurant activities eating or drinking on site are only allowed by 25 percent—restrictions on operating hours for shopping centers or malls until 19.00 WIB. Places of worship are limited in their capacity by 50 percent with stricter implementation of health protocols (CNN, 2021).

Regarding the polemic of Large-Scale Social Restriction in 2020 and Emergency Community Activity Restriction in 2021 to prevent the widespread of COVID-19, Presiden Joko Widodo explained it as the best choice. President Joko Widodo said in a Facebook post: "After receiving a lot of input, I decided to impose an Emergency Community Activity Restriction (PPKM) in Java and Bali from July 3 to July 20, 2021. The government will immediately mobilize existing resources to overcome the spread of Covid-19."

Massive efforts made by the Indonesian government to overcome the COVID-19 Pandemic are vaccinations. At the beginning of the introduction of the vaccine program, various concerns arose among the public, especially regarding the effects that occur after a person is vaccinated (CNN, 2021). President Joko Widodo has repeatedly assured the public not to worry. On Twitter and Facebook, President Joko Widodo conveyed a persuasive message about the importance of vaccines, their impact, and halalness. President Jokowi, in a tweet, stated that the public should not doubt the vaccine and encouraged the people to do the vaccine: "And I -- again -- will be the first to receive the COVID-19 vaccine. Why is the President the first? You don't want to put yourself first alone, but so that everyone can be sure that this vaccine is safe and halal. So, get ready" (Widodo, 2021a)

What is still a difficult task for the Indonesian government is to overcome the Pandemic's economic impact. The sector closely related to the effect of the spread of the COVID-19 virus is the economy and the decline in the level of social welfare of the community. One in 10 people in Indonesia lives below the national poverty line. The negative impact on the socioeconomic situation of the Pandemic could be much worse if there is no social assistance from the government (Smeru 2021). Facing a problematic socioeconomic situation due to the Pandemic, the Presiden said: "The COVID-19 Pandemic has brought not only public health problems but also broad economic implications. Therefore, every government policy in overcoming this Pandemic in the country, always taking life into account community economy" (Widodo, 2020c).

3.3 The View of Women's Interest during the COVID-19 Pandemic

During the COVID-19 Pandemic, President Joko Widodo did not post many issues about women on his Twitter or Facebook accounts. Since the COVID-19 Pandemic hit Indonesia in early March 2020, the President of Indonesia has focused more on health, economy, and society. The government's attention to the women's interest has focused more on public interests to meet basic daily needs, such as health, fulfillment of basic needs, and access to

education for children. The government issued a Social Assistance program to overcome economic difficulties for the community. President Joko Widodo said on Facebook:

Ten months have passed until the world changes to 2021, the world has not come out of the Pandemic.

Many small to large business actors are burdened by declining turnover and income in our country. That's why while trying to deal with this Pandemic, the government assists affected communities through a social assistance program that was started in July 2020. Yesterday, in the first week of 2021, I handed over working capital assistance for micro and small businesses from Jakarta. Hopefully, the capital assistance can ease their burden (Widodo, 2021b).

This morning, many residents were seen queuing in an orderly manner, keeping their distance from each other and wearing masks. They are beneficiary families who receive cash social assistance from the government, and I, who came to review, had a chance to talk with some of them. I hope that with this cash assistance, people's purchasing power will be maintained until later when domestic consumption returns to normal (Widodo, 2020d).

President Joko Widodo's statement on Facebook emphasized the government's attention to people with lower socioeconomic status. During the Pandemic, this community group experienced financial difficulties meeting their daily needs. Based on data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 5,970 female workers lost their jobs. In addition, as many as 32,401 Indonesian Migrant Workers were repatriated from various countries, of which 70.4 percent were women. Many women later became the backbone of the family because their husbands were unemployed, isolated, or died due to COVID-19. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection has conducted a survey of 2,073 home industry players from 45 districts/cities. In general, information is obtained that there has been a significant decline in income. In addition, business actors have also experienced a decrease in sales. The price of raw materials has increased or is challenging to obtain, has difficulty sending products to sales centers, and has difficulty paying installments (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection June 19, 2020). The data also shows that most Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises are women. Data on the Development of Micro, Small, Medium and Large Enterprises in Indonesia in the 2014-2018 period, as many as 99.99 percent of Indonesia's 64 million business units are Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs). Women manage about 60% of the number of MSMEs. Based on the experience of Indonesia's economic crisis in the past, MSMEs have an essential and strategic role in national economic development. Women entrepreneurs of MSMEs in Indonesia are instrumental in supporting the nation's economy (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection February 12, 2021). The government views women as having a central role in managing the household economy and contributing to national development. As mothers and as entrepreneurs, women are seen as requiring financial and capital support to ensure the survival of their families and develop their businesses. This perspective encourages the government to provide social assistance and business capital.

The nuances of identifying women as mothers are also seen in President Joko Widodo's uploads on Facebook. When commemorating Kartini Day on April 21, 2020, and Mother's Day on December 22, 2020, the statement made by President Joko Widodo was about the challenging role of mothers due to the Pandemic. On Kartini Day, president Joko Widodo quoted Raden Adjeng Kartini's statement: "Sometimes, you have to feel difficulties before happiness perfect comes to you." (Widodo, 2020e).

Another statement of President Joko Widodo uploaded in his official Facebook celebrating Mother Day December 22, 2020:

This year will soon pass but will always be remembered as a year full of challenges. The year the world was hit by a pandemic. In this year, too, my beloved mother passed away. A mother who is always present, giving a blessing, reminding, strengthening, and praying for me every step of the way.

Greetings to all mothers and all Indonesian women who remain solid and enthusiastic. With the power of prayer, hope, and endeavor together, we will get through these difficult time (Widodo, 2020f).

President Joko Widodo's statement implies that the COVID-19 Pandemic has put a heavy burden on mothers. This statement is relevant to the results of a study by the SMERU Research Institute, which found that during the COVID-19 Pandemic, Indonesian women experienced additional responsibilities and duties in childcare roles. Mothers are three times more likely to raise children than fathers. As many as 71.5% of households answered that mothers are the prominent figures who play a more role in helping children learn at home, compared to 22% of households who answered that fathers played a more critical role. Half of the women are also involved in work to

support the family. They have difficulty balancing the demands of housework and other additional responsibilities that arise from school closures, so children have to study from home (SMERU, 2021). President Joko Widodo's message shows that women have a challenging task during the Pandemic. Women should be appreciated for their noble duties as mothers.

As Molyneux explained during the COVID-19 Pandemic President Joko Widodo paid less attention to the strategic women's interest. This situation can be seen from the tweets and statements on Twitter and Facebook during the 2020-2021 period. Only onetime President Joko Widodo delivered a statement regarding the strategic women's interest when he welcomed World Women's Day on March 8, 2021 (see figure 1): "In an increasingly open and modern world, everyone, male or female, has an equal opportunity to take on roles and achieve dreams. All equivalent give color to civilization (Widodo, 2021c).



Figure 1. Tweets of President Joko Widodo Welcoming World Women's Day 2021

In his upload, President Joko Widodo included a poster with International Women's Day on March 8, 2021. In the poster, there are pictures of women in various professions. This poster illustrates the opportunities for Indonesian women to have a career in any field. President Joko Widodo also quoted the hashtag #ChooseToChallenge, the theme of International Women's Day 2021. This message means that women can choose to support other women and challenge any injustice experienced. In the context of Indonesia, the message in commemoration of World Women's Day has a significant meaning. The National Commission for Women noted that violence against women is still high. Throughout 2020 the number of cases of violence against women was 299,911 cases. The majority of cases occur in the personal realm or are called domestic cases/personal domains. The increase in cases of trafficking in persons also increased compared to the previous year, from 212 to 255 cases (Nurita, 2021). President Joko Widodo's statement shows the government's concern for women's needs for protection, justice, and the right to determine their way of life.

In general, during the COVID-19 Pandemic, President Joko Widodo did not mention much about women's strategic interests. This condition is different from the years before the Pandemic. The additional emphasis on women's interests in the posts on the official Twitter and Facebook of the Indonesian President shows a shift in framing women's interests. Since the COVID-19 Pandemic, women's interests have been portrayed differently and more subtly conveyed. The government sees Indonesian women as having an essential role in dealing with various economic difficulties due to the Pandemic, both as mothers and as citizens. Therefore, efforts to fulfill women's interests are interpreted as efforts to build women's economic power by fulfilling the basic needs they need. Citing the concept of women's interests put forward by Maxine Molyneux (1985), there was a shift in government attention from strategic interests to practical interests. But are practical interests not strategic interests? Here, it is

necessary to redefine what is considered strategic women's interests and what is considered as practical interests. If there is an assumption that efforts to meet daily needs are in the practical interest of women, then what about the pandemic situation? Is that not of strategic importance? This is where Beckwith's (2011) argument is justified, that women's interests depend on the context and who defines it. In the case of Indonesia, the framing that women play an important role as mothers who maintain family survival and as citizens who contribute to the revival of the national economy has prompted the government to take various national policies. This proves that so-called practical interests can be strategic interests in different contexts.

4. Conclusion

The Covid-19 Pandemic has resulted in a shift in the priority of President Joko Widodo attention to women's interest, namely from strategic interests to practical interests. Through tweets and statements on the official Twitter account and official Facebook account of President Joko Widodo, it can be concluded that the President interprets the fulfillment of practical interests as more urgent for women in the COVID-19 pandemic situation than strategic interests. This situation can be detrimental to women because, during a pandemic, women are more prone to face various forms of violence and injustice that require government intervention to ensure that women's strategic interests are accommodated.

Learning from the case of Indonesia, it can be seen that the commitment to efforts to mainstream gender and gender equality is strongly influenced by the socioeconomic context that is being faced by a country. Various steps, strategies, and campaigns for gender equality that President Joko Widodo has massively carried out since 2016 through the HeForShe program have to deal with a pandemic situation that makes the President no longer intense with this program. The focus of the President's attention on efforts to overcome the COVID-19 Pandemic is inevitable that policies are more focused on health programs and socioeconomic impacts. This is a challenge in itself for efforts to realize gender equality.

The case of Indonesia is also an example that the definition of the concept of women's interests is very fluid. There are many kinds of women's interests, both interests related to the needs of daily life to the interests of self-actualization, freedom, equal rights, security, and recognition. In normal situations, the fulfillment of daily needs is seen as a practical interest. However, in a pandemic situation, the meaning of women's interests can shift. What is usually called a practical interest can be interpreted as a strategic interest when dealing with a pandemic situation because the definition of women's interests is very dependent on the context at hand and who defines it.

The results of this study open up opportunities for further research on women's responses to the socioeconomic assistance provided by the government during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Does the assistance provide benefits to women's lives, what are the women views on social assistance and working capital provided by the government, and is the stimulant correlated with increasing public recognition of the role of women? In terms of government policy, the results of this study provide a way for research on netizen responses on social-media to government policies in handling the COVID-19 Pandemic.

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Leadership Styles and Organizational Performance: An Empirical Assessment of The Trauma and Specialist Hospital in Ghana

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Abstract

Purpose: This study examines the effect of leadership styles on organizational performance at the Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba (TSHW). Five main leadership styles were examined thus the transformational, transactional, participative, instrumental and supportive leadership styles. **Methods:** The study adopted the cross-sectional survey design. A sample size of 216 full-time employees of TSHW were selected using purposive sampling and simple random technique. Data were collected using the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), with additional questions to evaluate the organizations performance. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics and Pearson correlation from Statistical Package for Service Solutions (SPSS) version 20. **Conclusion:** The study revealed that the most dominant leadership style at TSHW was the participative leadership style, though managers and unit heads exhibited all five leadership styles. **Implication:** It was recommended that the participative leadership style should be practised as it involves and gained the support of employees, and therefore naturally contributed to the good performance of the hospital.

Keywords: Leadership Styles, Organizational Performance, Employees, Managers, Specialist, Trauma

1. Introduction

Performance generally connotes the idea of outcome, achieved through goal and quality (Ion & Creveanu, 2016). Concerns over organizational performance play an essential role in managing organizations because of perceptions that the organization may fail. To avoid organizational failure, especially in hospitals, the onus lies on the leadership to ensure that the needs of clients seeking healthcare are accomplished both physically and psychologically as well as their social needs (Alharbi & Yusoff, 2012). Nonetheless, for every organization, performance is usually based on specific criteria to be achieved with leadership having the mandate to ensure their

achievement are met. Therefore, ensuring a successful organizational performance hinges on not only leadership but on the leadership style that is practiced at the hospital as well (Balsanelli & Cunha, 2015).

Due to the changing variables of situation and culture, leaders must always seek to introduce and implement new leadership styles which will not lower the performance of their organizations (Thuijsman, 2015). In addition, the leader must strive to get the cooperation of workers and stakeholders as a necessary prerequisite for performance (Chatterjee, Suy, Yen, & Chhay, 2018), which can be achieved through the leadership style (s) adopted. As far as the healthcare environment is concerned, leaders and their style of leadership are very important in institutional performance. The healthcare environment basically deals with clients of diverse nature, who play different roles towards the achievement of goals. The healthcare environment described as turbulent, presents a challenging situation and therefore the need for an appropriate leadership style (s) (Alharbi & Yusoff, 2012).

In Ghana, there has been an increasing public demand for improved healthcare delivery in various healthcare facilities within the country. This can be achieved through the appropriate leadership styles practiced in the hospitals. Essentially, the form of leadership style determines the organizations performance. This is because the leaders' style of directing the use of resources, guiding members to implement strategies, and convincing members of the organization to work towards expected outcomes will shape the performance of the organization and the staff. (Aberese-Ako, Agyepong, & Dijk, 2018). Productivity and efficiency scores in several hospitals in Ghana have shown that organizational performances in hospitals are generally very low (Ministry of Health, 2007). Studies conducted on district hospitals in Ghana indicates that about 56.2% out of 128 hospitals recorded efficiency scores below average (0.50) (Novignon & Nonvignon, 2017). Also, the low productivity in the health sector is backed by the World Bank Health Worker Productivity report, which indicates that in regions, districts and cadres in Ghana, the results of low performance are the low standards of care recorded for clients (Saleh, 2013).

Moreover, factors like inadequate resources and inaccessibility of health facility explains the low performance of healthcare organizations. Leadership style is another significant factor that this research examines (Aberese –Ako, Agyepong & Dijk, 2018). Even though various researches have been conducted on leadership style and job performance little can be associated with the Health sector of Ghana hence the need for this research to assess the effect of leadership styles on job performance in the health sector of Ghana. This study contributes to closing the gap in literature determining the relationship between leadership style and Hospital performance, by focusing on the Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba (TSHW). The rest of the study is structured as follows: Section two provides a review of the relevant literature on the subject matter. Section three discusses the methodology used in the study. Section four analyzes the results. Section five discusses the findings of the study and finally section six concludes and makes recommendations for policy and practice.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Leadership

Academics and practitioners have attempted over the years to ascertain the concept of leadership, bringing to bear a set of traits an individual owns to influence other people in a situation to act or obey their desired manner (Alharbi & Yusoff, 2012). Again, Ghiasipour (2017) started that leadership as a long-term process of persuading people toward accomplishing a mission or goals of an organization. He further indicates that the process includes setting aims and strategies, enhancing commitment, ensuring compliance to set goals and objectives and productivity, and also promoting the culture of teamwork and acceptance of dynamic ideas and methods.

Leadership is also seen as the process by which individuals' effectiveness is amplified, while sustaining, if not increasing motivation, work satisfaction and other forms of psychological well-being' (Asamani, 2015). These indicate that a leader can be described as someone who has the capability to lead his employees and direct their behaviour. Leadership is exhibited by individuals by their talents and abilities, and is very important for all organizations especially in realizing set goals and performance. Having considered the countless concept of leadership, the common elements of leadership include the fact that it is a process, and the core responsibility of leaders are influencing others, especially junior colleagues to achieve expected targets of the institution or organization. It however expressed in different styles and indicated in the next sections.

2.2. Leadership Styles

The nature of humans and the environment they find themselves have led to various leadership styles being espoused by researchers (Beakana, 2017). The various leadership styles; thus autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire leadership styles. Thus, beyond this, other styles such as the transformational, transactional, participative, instrumental and supportive leadership styles have emerged.

Autocratic Leadership Style:

This leadership style can be seen as one where leaders instruct their employees on what to do. Employees are told what to do, and therefore act in accordance with what they are told to do. Also, such leader could be seen as self-centered, and the leader makes decisions concerning the organization. Additionally, employees and subordinates are supervised more closely (Vliert, 2016).

The Democratic Leadership Style:

The democratic leadership style was stipulated by White (2000), and has been defined to induce 'group involvement, dialogue, and group decision encouraged by the leader' (Choi, 2007). This positions the democratic leadership style as the direct opposite of the autocratic leadership style. The democratic leaders consult with employees or subordinates, and seek their opinions in order to make decisions concerning the organization. As the name suggests, there is an open access by all employees to feel free in making decisions and partaking in the decision-making process. However, the democratic leadership style can be problematic if time required to achieve a goal is stretched or extended due to the laxity in operations.

Laissez-faire leadership Style:

This form of leadership style has been defined as one that allows employees or subordinates to work independently. Therefor the leader does not interfere with the work of subordinates, however, there is room for consultation when needed (Malcalm & Tamatey, 2017). The leader plays a key role by providing all the needed resources, but gives the employees or staffs the rights and the powers of making decisions to do their work and also to attain the goals of the organization. It has been explained by (Beakana, 2017) that, for the laissez-faire leadership style to work perfectly, the culture of the organization must be one that promotes commitment and loyalty. Also the organizational culture must ensure that employees have the requisite skills and be experienced or at best, be specialists in their field. Leaders who use this style must perform the task of effectively monitoring their employees and measuring their performance without interfering with their work.

Transactional Leadership Style:

This form leadership style has three elements including contingent reward, management-by-exception (active form) and management-by-exception (passive form). The use of this leadership style entails the leader identifying an obligatory change, creating a vision to direct the change by inspiring others, and gradually effects the change with the effort of members of his group (Thuijsman, 2015). A transactional leader uses rewards to achieve organizational performance, and appreciates good performance. The problem with the transactional leadership style is that it may prevent creativity amongst employees and also decrease job satisfaction.

Transformational Leadership Style:

This form of leadership style has to do with developing staff or subordinates whiles attending to their needs. It is a style where, "one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality." Transformational leaders are therefore concerned with the growth and development of their employees or subordinates and their value systems (Vliert, 2016). Transformational leaders have the 'ability to overcome organizational and individual limitations. Thus, they push their subordinates to achieve more than they set out to achieve. Employees are encouraged to do more to overcome and go beyond intended goals.

Participative Leadership Style:

By the use of this leadership style, leaders involve employees on diverse levels of the process of making decisions as well as taking action in order to accomplish intended goals of the organization (Nemaei, 2012). In other words, participative leaders take into consideration the views and concerns of their subordinates, as well as their values and include them in attaining organizational goals. Participative leaders are endowed with consultative manners and therefore consult subordinates for ideas before making a definitive decision, although, they retain final decision authority.

Instrumental Leadership Style:

The instrumental leadership is concerned mostly with the tiniest details in achieving organizational goals. The instrumental leader pays particular attention to the 'whats' and 'hows' of leadership and finding out or dealing with any details that may be concerned with achieving organizational goals. It is asserted by Rowold (2014) that there are two main dimensions to the instrumental leadership style. These include strategic leadership, which involves environmental monitoring to understand the environment of the organization, as well as the limits and delimits of the environment, and how it can fully be utilized. Strategy formulating and implementing is also done in this dimension to achieve organizational goals. The second dimension involves the facilitation of work, where workers tasks are clarified for them, resources and information are provided, and effective monitoring is done, all in the bid to make workers achieve goals of the organization.

Supportive Leadership Style:

This type of leadership style is one that enhance a positive organizational environment. It is the culminated character and steps taken by leaders to provide employees with the necessary assistance that they need in order to work effectively and be productive. Supportive leadership involves leaders going the extra mile to make work satisfying for followers and also treating followers in the same way and respecting their position (Northouse, 2016).

3. Empirical Literature Review

This empirical review focused on leadership in hospital organizations and their impact on organizational performance.

Leadership in Health Organizations

In a study by Tate (2004) at William Harvey Hospital in Ashford, Kent, where a considerable number of 30 women patients were maimed as a result of the hospital's culture where consultants were highly valued over other workers, and junior staff were afraid of reporting the truth about activities in the hospital. The findings of the study indicated the consultants were the ones directing the affairs of the hospital which was affecting the growth of William Harvey Hospital.

A similar study by Beakana (2017) which focused primarily on nursing leadership at Kenzie's City Hospital. This study examined the intensive care department of the hospital for the reason that different cases are reported with different levels of severity. They recognized that the right or effective leadership is needed in order that the best results can be achieved. Recognizing the critical nature of the health environment, (Maboko, 2011) suggests that managers in the health sector, specifically nursing managers need to learn about other recent leadership styles like the transformational and visionary leadership styles. These he believes are more suitable for a hospital setting, than the use of autocratic leadership style used by nursing management in the hospital where the research was carried out.

Also, in recognizing the relevance of hospital leadership in playing a role in the administration of hospitals and for achieving expected outcomes, Kowalski (2017) examined the importance of leadership in preventing healthcare-associated infection. By examining leadership styles used in fourteen (14) hospitals in the United States, it was established that those performing well, cultivated a culture of clinical excellence. This culture was made known to all staff, overcame barriers and dealt with staff who resisted leadership or factors that obstructed prevention, motivated their subordinates to work, and also introduced strategies that would eventually lead to the success of the organization. Thus, successful hospital leadership meant a combination of multi-faceted practices.

Further studies have shown that effective leadership equally enhances greater work satisfaction and performance (Ahmad, 2013; Namusonge, & Iravo, 2016). This study adopted descriptive design and used a stratified sampling technique to select 384 employees from level five hospital as well as Kenyatta National Hospital was part of the study. Findings from the study revealed that poor relationship between leaders and their subordinates influence the performance of Kenya health sector. This research forms the basis of understanding clearly the link between leadership styles used and the effect it can have on the job performance of employees and the facility in general. Prior to this Kenyan study by Namusonge, & Iravo, 2016, Asamani (2015) had carried out a study in relation to leadership styles adopted by nurse managers and also determine the influence of Nurse Managers' leadership on Nurses' perceived productivity level. This identified diverse leadership styles to be employed based on the situations. The prominent leadership styles identified to be practiced by nurse managers included supportive leadership style, achievement-oriented leadership style, participative leadership style and directive leadership in chronological order. Also, the only leadership style that accounted for variance in perceived productivity level was achievement-oriented leadership style.

4. Conceptual Framework

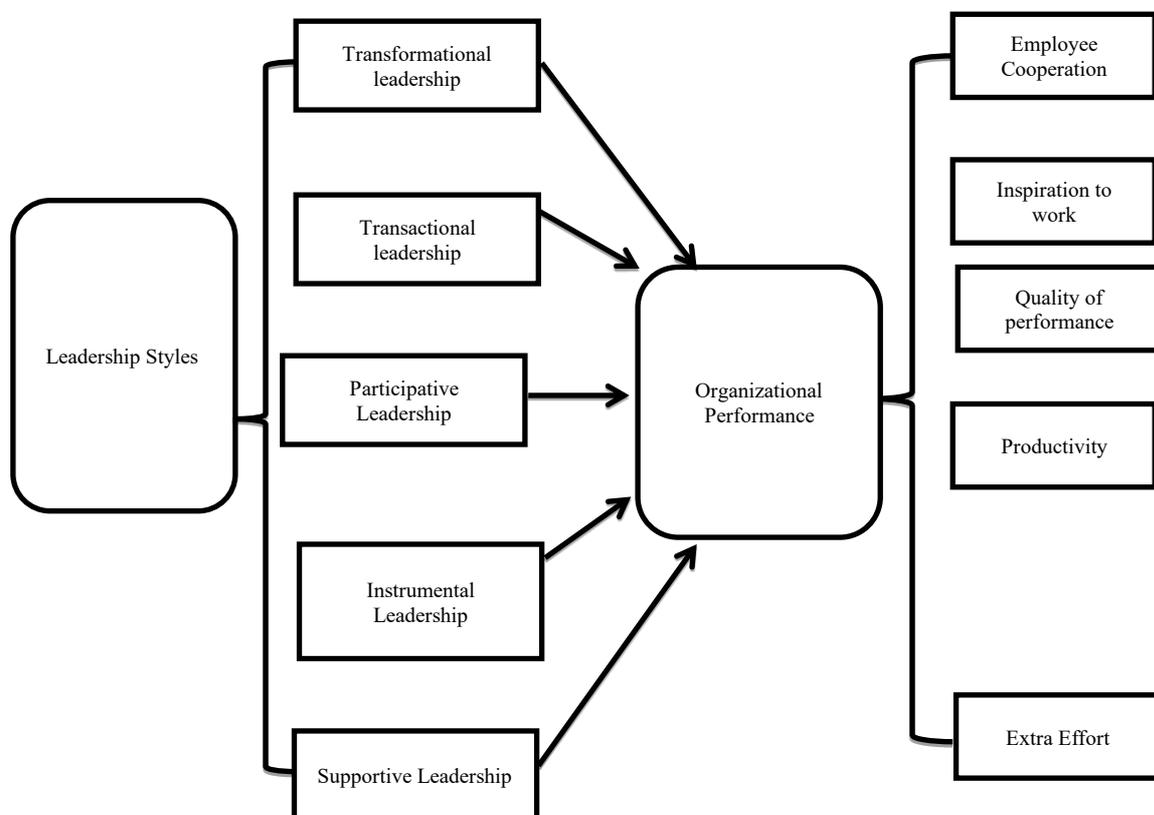


Figure 1: Conceptual Model on Leadership styles and organizational performance

Source: Adapted from the main components of Path-Goal Theory (Northouse, 2016).

As depicted in Figure 1, the conceptual framework explains the connection that exist between leadership styles and organizational performance or outcomes represented by worker cooperation, inspiration to work, quality of performance, extra effort and productivity. The dependent variables in this framework are employee cooperation, inspiration to work, quality of performance, extra effort and productivity, whilst leadership style is the independent variable. Leadership styles may direct influence on performance. Considering the diverse opinions on the influence of leadership styles in the performance of hospitals, this current study seeks to ascertain which leadership style is highly practiced and impacts on performance of a critical care giving health facility like the Trauma and Specialist Hospital in Ghana. This was done using the following methods.

5. Methodology

This section presents an overview of the study, the method of data collection and the method of data analysis.

5.1. Research setting

The aim, design and setting of the study

The paper aims to examine the link between leadership styles and organizational performance at the Trauma and Specialist Hospital in Ghana. Primary data were sourced from the field of study through questionnaire administration. The researchers sought for permission from the municipal directorate of health to engage with employees of Trauma and Specialist Hospital within the municipality. A written permission was granted. At the preparatory stage, the questionnaires designed were tested to make sure participants understood the demands of the questions in the questionnaires.

5.2. Research Approach

The study adopted the quantitative research design to collect data and answer research questions pertaining to the effect of leadership styles on staff performance. Quantitative data is employed especially as a result of the large number of respondents, and because the research problem involved using questionnaires to assess the link between leadership styles and the organization's performance.

5.3. Research Design

Cross-sectional survey design was adopted for the study. Cross-sectional survey allows the researcher to use the questionnaire to examine diverse variables at the same time.

5.4. Population

The population for this study made up of all the staff of the Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba (TSHW) totaling 216 full-time employees.

5.5. Sampling and sampling size

In all 216 respondents were selected using purposive sampling and simple random. The purposive sampling was used to select the various heads of the units in the hospital while simple random was used to select other employees. A modified structured Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) 5X propounded by Bass and Avolio (1997) was used. Questionnaires were administered to staff. Items in the questionnaire were close ended with some on three and four-point Likert-scale. How was performance measured please? It not so clear the time interval for assessing the leadership styles (is it that all these different styles were occurring concurrently or at different times?). I'm asking because you examining different leadership styles in the same organization. What were the indicators for performance within the stipulated period(s)? Please call me when you are free so we discuss.

5.6. Data Analysis

The data collected was sorted, edited, cleaned and coded to ensure accuracy and clarity before they are analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Service Solutions) version 20 for descriptive statistics for the objectives while to test the hypotheses, inferential statistics such as Pearson Product Moment correlation was used.

5.7. Ethical Considerations

Permission was sought from management of the hospital as well as the individuals that were used for the study. Approval was also sought from the deputy director in charge of division of human resources through an introductory letter collected from the University of Ghana, Legon to introduce the researcher to the hospital and the heads of the various departments/units within the hospital. The consent of the staff was sought through their respective superiors and the purpose and objective of the study were communicated to them. Respondents were

encouraged respond objectively and that was also told it was not mandatory to partake. They were therefore allowed to withdraw their consent at any time and without any form of adverse consequence.

6. Analysis of Results

This chapter presents analysis of the data as well as the findings and divided into three broad sections; general demographic and work experience of the respondents, dominant leadership style in the facility, relationship between Leadership style dimension and Organizational Performance, and the overall findings of the data is presented.

6.1. Demographics and work Experience

For the researcher to know the leadership styles practiced at the hospital, respondent working experience and number of years worked at the hospital were examined. Data gathered indicating that 76 (35.2%) had 1 – 5 years working experience. The second highest numbers of respondents, 64 (29.6%) had between 11 – 15 years working experience. Again, 42 (19.4%) had 6-10years working experience while 34 (15.7%) had 16-20 years working experience.

6.2. Leadership style that is dominant at the hospital

This section sought to find out the dominant leadership style used at the hospital and whether it should be encouraged.

Table 1: Leadership Styles

	Frequency	Percent
Transformational leadership	18	8.3%
Transactional leadership	34	15.8%
Participative Leadership	64	29.6%
Supportive Leadership	48	22.2%
Instrumental Leadership	52	24.1%

Source: Field Data, 2020.

(N = 216)

The findings revealed that the most dominant leadership style used at Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba (TSHW) was the Participative leadership style where 64 (29.6%) of respondent revealed that it was frequently, if not always used. The second most used leadership style was the instrumental leadership style which had 52 (24.1%) as indicated by respondent. Again, supportive leadership had 48 (22.2%) while transactional leadership 34 (15.8%).

Table 2: Relationship between Leadership style dimension and Organizational Performance

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
Organizational Performance	3.1505	.53390	1					
Transformational Leadership	2.8674	.61008	.442**	1				
Transactional Leadership	2.4329	.58087	.248**	.460**	1			
Participative Leadership Style	2.9941	.76561	.445**	.718**	.327**	1		
Supportive Leadership Style	3.1299	.74206	.443**	.718**	.331**	.720**	1	
Instrumental Leadership Style	3.1726	.65733	.406**	.679**	.280**	.699**	.709**	1

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

The result shows correlations between the following leadership styles; transformational, transactional, participative, supportive, instrumental and organizational performance. Correlation among them is as follows; transformational leadership (.442**), transactional leadership (.248**) participative leadership (.445**), Supportive

Leadership (.443**) and Instrumental Leadership (.406**). They all have some significant correlation with organizational performance. The findings show that leadership styles used had positive and significant influence on the organizational performance of Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba.

7. Discussion

The first objective sought to find out the dominant leadership style used at the hospital and whether it should be encouraged. The findings revealed that the most dominant leadership style used at Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba (TSHW) was the Participative leadership style. The results indicate that leaders at the hospital should ensure that responsibilities are shared and also delegated by including everyone. In addition, to ensure participation of all employees, continual consultation on major issues and decisions are done together with the staff, even though the leaders have the final say. Despite Participative leadership style being the most used, the findings also support other findings that have argued or indicated that managers or unit heads use several leadership styles depending on persisting conditions (Asamani, 2015). That is, the participative leadership style is also the dominant style exhibited by management and unit heads at TSHW. Therefore, the participative leadership style is frequently used by leaders at TSHW, and also has a greater effect on performance than the other leadership styles assessed. What this means is that, leaders at the TSHW consult with their subordinates for ideas and alternative measures before taking any ultimate decision. Additionally, they share responsibilities amongst their subordinates by involving them in preparatory, decision-making as well as implementation stages of the work in order for the hospital as an organization to perform (Lumbasi, K'Aol, & Ouma, 2016).

The second objective was to find out the relationship between Leadership style and Organizational Performance. The findings show that leadership styles used had positive and significant influence on the organizational performance of Trauma and Specialist Hospital, Winneba. These findings are in line with earlier studies showing the substantial relationship that exist between leadership styles and organizational performance (Khajeh, 2018; Obiwuru, Okwu, Akpa, & Nwankwere, 2011). This finding also confirms the views of Blanchard and Hersey (2006) on situational approaches to leadership. This leadership model proposes that there is no single approach to leadership, and the type of leadership used becomes necessary depending on the situation (Gachingiri, 2015).

8. Conclusion/Implications

The study focused on the effect of leadership styles on organizational performance at TSHW. It primarily focuses on the five leadership styles thus, the Transformational, Transactional, Participative, Instrumental and Supportive leadership styles. The study revealed that all the forms of leadership styles had a positive effect on organizational performance. However, the participative form of leadership has a greater influence on performance at TSHW.

Since the participative leadership is recognized as the leadership style that achieves very high organizational performance, it is suggested that it should be maintained at the TSHW. The implication is that, the organization would survive and achieve the goals of the organization if the leaders continue to use the participative leadership style, where management and unit heads continue to motivate staff by their continuous inclusion of employees in preparation and decision making process as well as they using their skills to go beyond expected performance.

9. Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, it is recommended that:

1. Leaders at TSHW should consider seriously the use of the participative leadership behaviours at TSHW. Even though leaders have used the transformational, transactional, instrumental and supportive leadership styles at TSHW, the participative leadership style has proved more worthwhile and influenced significantly the performance at TSHW, and must be considered above others.
2. The management at the TSHW must be able to have a balance between the styles of leadership they use to reflect their interest of development of their subordinates equally, so as to enhance and grow the organizations performance. Simply put leaders must give equal attention to getting work done, and

keeping the subordinates happy or satisfied.

3. Feedback on performance on regular basis should be encourage across all management levels of the hospital. This would ensure the regular feedback indicating how leadership styles are affecting the performance of the organization and direct which procedures should be used to ensure the continuous positive performance of the organization.

Well done. Just put back the areas you removed and only be careful not to exceed 7000words overall.
Thanks

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Enforced Disappearances: A Major Human Rights Issue in Balochistan

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Abstract

Ever since Kalat rulers gave away the rule of their Kalat state comprising Balochistan, in the hands of Pakistan in 1948, the people of Balochistan have been demanding freedom and to declare it as an independent nation. Their demand slowly converted into a violent struggle and separatists resorted to insurgency, commonly known as 'Baloch Insurgency'. Pakistan too resorted to counter insurgency, commonly known as 'Pak Counter Insurgency.' Pakistan adopted enforced disappearances as a major tool to suppress the violent struggle, by forcibly abducting family members of the suspect. The menace of enforced disappearance has now engulfed entire Balochistan province and no day goes without such acts of kidnapping, abduction, sexual assaults, killings and enforced disappearances, at some place or in some area of Balochistan. There is no end to such atrocities and genocide. There are severe violations of the human rights in the province. In the context, enforced disappearances of the people are a major human rights issue in Balochistan.

Keywords: Enforced Disappearances, Extra Judicial Killings, Human Rights, OHCHR, VBMP

1. Introduction

Balochistan is currently a province of Pakistan which is a Islamic State having its borders with neighboring Iran to the west, Afghanistan to the northwest and north, China to the northeast, and India to the east and southeast. Balochistan is a natural resources rich region with natural reserves of gold, copper, oil, valuable stones, chromite and natural gas. Its oceanic coastline stretches along with the Straits of Hormuz which is regarded as one of the world's most important shipping routes. Balochistan occupies 44% land area of Pakistan with a meager 6% of population of entire state of Pakistan. Presently, the province of Balochistan is passing through a very rough time at the hands of authoritarian rule of Pakistan. Day in and day out, Baloch people are being subjected to atrocities by way of rapes and genocide. Unwarranted raids are made on rural villages, houses being searched, people being dragged out of their homes, women and girls being sexually assaulted and villages being put on fire by the security forces, military men and barbaric authorities on the orders of Army, ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence), CTD (Counter Terrorism Department) and FC (Frontier Corps) (UNPO, 2014). It's not the end of the woes but armed

forces abduct the Baloch people from their homes, markets or even from the roads or forests. The search operations are not limited to rural population only but spread over towns, cities, universities, colleges, hostels, schools and even libraries. The students, women and girls, all are facing the detentions and excesses of authorities. The Baloch people, in such a way, become subject to enforced disappearances.

2. Background Leading to Conflict in Balochistan

Ever since Kalat rulers gave away the rule of their Kalat state comprising Balochistan, in the hands of Pakistan in 1948, Balochistan has been in confrontation with the state of Pakistan. The people of Balochistan have been demanding freedom from Pakistan and to declare Balochistan as an independent nation. Today also, majority of Balochs consider that the state of Pakistan annexed their land forcibly against the will and desire of their people. The Baloch nationalists have never accepted this annexation, and as a result, Balochistan province has been in turmoil. The present-day crisis in Balochistan is the result of waves of insurgencies that have occurred over a period of time. The first insurgency broke out in March 1948, after Balochis were reluctant to join Pakistan in 1947. The last ruler of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, declared independence on 15th August, 1947. In 1948, Pakistan army was sent to the province to forcefully join Pakistan. The showdown between Kalat and Pakistan came on April 1, 1948, when the Pakistan Army ordered its garrison commander in Balochistan to march on Kalat and arrest the Khan unless he signed an agreement of accession (Harrison,1981). Therefore, the Instrument of Accession was signed by Khan of Kalat. His younger brother, Prince Abdul Karim declared revolt against Pakistan and went to Afghanistan. However, he could not secure support from Kabul.

The second insurgency erupted in late fifties. It primarily stemmed from the establishment of One Unit. Commonly known as Jhalawan disturbance, the insurgency was confined to the districts of Kalat, Khuzdar and Kohlu. It was temporarily terminated in March 1960 after declaration of general amnesty and surrender of Sardar Nauroz Khan. He was given life imprisonment and later died in Pakistani prison. Poor handling of Sardar Nauroz Khan and his family by the government laid the seeds of lack of trust in Balochi people towards the Federation of Pakistan. The decade of sixties again found Balochistan gripped into the third insurgency. Its causes revolved around removal and arrest of tribal chieftans, Nawab Akbar Bugti, Khair Bakhsh Marri, AttaUllah Mengal and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo on the charges of supporting Sardar Nauroz Khan. Geographically, the area engulfed by the insurgency included districts of Kalat, Khuzdar, Kohlu and Dera Bugti. Dissolution of One Unit and general amnesty, again gave Balochistan a brief spell of peace with the formation of Baloch Government in 1972 (Matheson 1999).

The fourth insurgency erupted in 1973 due to state's inability to find lasting solution to the provincial problem. In 1970 general elections, National Awami Party (NAP) and Jamat- Ulema-i-Islam Party (JUI) secured the majority of seats in the Balochistan Assembly. A coalition government was formed in the province. It started after the pre-planned removal of Balochistan government headed by Atta Ullah Mengal with Ghaus Bakksh Bizenjo as governor, by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in February 1973 and encompassed general areas of Kharan, Sibi, Dera Bugti, Khuzdar and Kohlu. This insurgency could have lasted longer but the declaration of general amnesty by General Zia ul Haq normalized the situation but without addressing the root causes (the Express Tribune, 2013).

The fifth and ongoing insurgency began in 2004 during the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf. According to the reports of Human Rights Watch (2010), the struggle has engulfed the whole of Balochistan since Musharraf began operations in 2006. In a military operation, Baloch politician, Akbar Bugti was killed and the problem became more severe. The situation further aggravated after the development of Gwadar Port, without addressing the concerns of locals coupled with disappearance of Nawab Akbar Bugti from the provincial landscape in 2007. According to Bansal (2006) "The current spate of insurgency in Balochistan is a product of repressive policies coupled with historical grievances that have led to increased alienation amongst the Baloch and general perception that they were being exploited."

3. Enforced Disappearances

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) a wing of United Nations in the field of human rights, defines an enforced disappearance as, “an act of encroachment of liberty of any person against his/her will by any of the authorities by involvement or an acquiescence and further to refuse to acknowledge such a deprivation of liberty by concealing his/her whereabouts.”(OHCHR | Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, n.d.) According to Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances (COIED) a constitutional body of Pakistan, Enforced Disappearance/Missing Person means such person as has been picked up/taken into custody by any Law Enforcing/Intelligence Agency, working under the civilian or military control, in a manner which is contrary to the provisions of the law. (About Us – COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES, n.d.).

Keeping the law, rule and constitutional rights of the nationals and citizens of Pakistan at bay, the authorities and security forces high handedly deal with the Baloch people depriving them of their liberty at gun point. Even if one is just a Balochi, whether a common man, a teacher, a journo or an activist, every one of them carrying Baloch tag is seen with a suspected eye. The person is treated as if one is criminal. The disparity continues at all levels not only in the region of Balochistan but also everywhere else. Balochis are either eliminated in most parts of the world where ever Pakistan authorities can lay their hands or are put on a hit list of the ISI. The modus operandi as adopted by the authorities and its allies is simple in nature; identify Baloch tag, follow it by intelligence sources and once the Baloch person or family is suspected to have separation ideology or reported to be participating in liberation activity; then forcibly disappear one, more or all of the family, without any trace. It is alleged that tens of thousands of persons are missing in Balochistan by way of enforced disappearances.

Since beginning of the year 2019 itself and till 31st August 2022, over 2000 people have undergone enforced disappearance in Balochistan. Most of the cases go unreported in the absence of witnesses which fear for their own lives and the stringent policy of authorities who do not register the FIRs as long and as far as possible. The reported figures as per HRCB reports suggest, 568 persons forcibly disappeared in 2019, another 480 persons in 2020, over 442 persons in 2021 and over 350 in the year 2022 (till 31st of August).

Table 1.1: Enforced Disappearances in 2019 - 2022 (Till August 2022)

Year	Enforced Disappearances (in numbers)	Persons Released (in numbers)	Whereabouts not known
2019	568	Not Known	568
2020	480	32	436 (*12 feared dead)
2021	442	170	272
2022 (Till August)	350	Not Known	346 (*4 feared dead)

Source: HRCB reports of respective years

There are plenty of instances where influential people have been kidnapped, disappeared, tortured and killed. Some of them are illustrated here:

3.1. Jalil Reki Baloch

Jalil Reki Baloch son of present day VBMP vice chairman Mama Qadeer Baloch (founder of VBMP), was abducted and disappeared in the year 2009. Subsequently Jalil Reki Baloch was killed in the year 2012 by the agencies and his body was found near Iran border. The surviving father of deceased Jalil Reki, Mama Qadeer Baloch organized a long march of over 3300 km, from Balochistan to Islamabad which started on 27th October

2013 and reached Islamabad on 28th February, 2014. A large number of Baloch women and men participated in the march to show their unity and anger against such enforced disappearances inflicted by the authorities.

3.2. Zahid Baloch

Then Chairman of Baloch Students Organization-Azad, Zahid Baloch was abducted along with Asad Baloch from Quetta, the capital city of Balochistan, on 18th March 2014. Banuk Karima Baloch had been an eyewitness in whose presence Zahid Baloch had been abducted. The whereabouts of Zahid Baloch are not known till date and whether he is alive, is suspected. Karima Baloch strongly took up the case of Zahid Baloch and closely followed it from her exile abode in Canada till her disappearance and death in Toronto in December 2020.

3.3. Bhanuk Karima Baloch

A nominee in 2016 BBC's prestigious list of hundred most influential women in the world, Bhanuk Karima Baloch was living in exile as political asylum since 2015. She had played different roles at Baloch Students Organization and as Central Chairperson when BSO decided to send her abroad due to threat to her life. Her fate brought her end in Toronto on 21st December 2020 when her body was found in a lake. Karima Baloch was last seen live in Toronto on 20th December 2020 and since then disappeared. It's a mystery how she met her end and is questioned by different activists' forums of the world.

3.4. Sajid Hussain

A prominent journalist Sajid Hussain had been living in Sweden in political asylum since 2017. For the sake of his life, he fled from Pakistan in the year 2012 and stayed in hiding in Oman and Africa before he could be granted political asylum by Sweden. On 2nd March 2020, Sajid Hussain went missing from Uppsala city of Sweden without a trace. It is unfortunate, Sajid Hussain's body was later found in a river on 23rd April 2020, considerably after a lapse of 52 days from the date of his disappearance from Uppsala, Sweden. Many journalists' forums from different countries suspect and blame Pakistan and ISI for their involvement in such disappearances in foreign lands, citing another example of Karima Baloch who disappeared in Toronto, to be found dead the next day.

Impact of such enforced disappearances or killing of activists taking place in different parts of province of Balochistan, whether in hiding or in exile elsewhere in other country, leave deep impression on young minds as well as differently on people, in two ways round. On one hand some of the family members of some families withdraw from the revolution whereas on the other hand some take vow to never stop freedom struggle even if their lives get sacrificed for the cause. Many new young minds join the violent struggle including women who are ready to sacrifice their lives even by suicide bombing. The case of Shari Baloch is too fresh to reckon with, when Shari Baloch took to suicide bomb blast at Karachi to target Chinese teachers working at University of Karachi's Confucius Institute, on 26th April 2022 (Who was Shari Baloch, 2022).

On 21st February 2022 at Quetta, lawmakers, politicians, academics, lawyers, rights activists and political analysts took part in a discussion on a research report relating to identity and regional sensitivities to bridge the gap between Baloch youth and leadership. The participants agreed that Balochistan's youth were resorting to violence due to wrong policies of the state (Shahid, 2022).

4. Extra Judicial Killings of Balochis

'Extra Judicial Killings' can be termed as an act of crime arbitrarily inflicted against the humanity, by any authority in power or its agent, to undertake killing of an innocent, an activist or his family, any suspect or his family, an abducted or kidnapped person, an enforced disappeared person, an under-trial or a person in custody; without providing proper legal help or justice to the person or his family members as permitted and provisioned under law of the land or an international law. During unlawful searches and abductions by the armed forces, the forces drag out the family members of the suspect from their homes and assault them with heavy weapons, sexually assault

the women and girls of the family and kill the person or persons who try to resist such operations (Jha, 2021). Extra judicial killings have become strong feature of the Death Squad, Intelligence agencies and security forces of Pakistan. ‘Kill and Dump’ policy is in vogue. It is alleged that security forces and arms forces never bother for judiciary or the law enforcement authorities during such shoot outs and extra judicial killings, in Balochistan.

The province has witnessed such killings decade after decade. Such extra judicial killings mostly get no records or FIR’s because no government authority registers any complaint against such incidents, easily. Protests and rallies do take place at different places of the region, the capital cities and many important locations of the world to draw their attention, but to no avail. Some voluntary organizations viz. HRCB compile some data from their own sources. Media continues to remain banned in Balochistan and Pakistan.

The data as gathered from HRCB reports for last four years i.e. 2019 to 2022 are enumerated here.

Table 1.2: Extra Judicial Killings during the year 2019 - 2022 (Till August 2022)

Year	Number of persons killed
2019	241
2020	177
2021	336
2022 (Till August)	89

5. Human Rights Issue in Balochistan

Human rights are considered as basic rights granted to all human beings across the world. International human rights law legally binds the governments of all states to act in certain ways and restricts them to not act in certain ways that violate humanitarian laws. This helps in promotion and protection of fundamental freedom and human rights of individuals as well as groups. United Nations has created a comprehensive body of human rights law to promote and protect these rights and bound the states to carry out their responsibilities. The state of Pakistan is mostly alleged for human rights violation and abuse of power in Balochistan in various forms such as, unlawful search and detention, torture and physical abuse, and abduction and enforced disappearances.

5.1. Unlawful Search and Detention

It is unlawful to search a house of a person or his family without a proper search warrant issued by the authorities concerned. It is alleged that houses of residents, activists of Balochistan and their families and even women are searched at odd hours or early hours before dawn, by military forces or police without carrying warrants. The persons are carried to unknown places and detained for days, without a trace.

5.2. Torture and Physical Abuse

Torture is one of the most common forms of human rights violations. “No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” states Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. It is alleged that the detained persons are subjected to torture, inhuman treatment and physical abuse including sexual assaults.

5.3. Abduction and Enforced Disappearance

Abduction and kidnapping are other forms of human rights violations, which are commonly prevailing in Balochistan. So abducted or kidnapped person, activist or his/her family member either remain detained without trace and without any legal help or just disappears without any acknowledgement from the authorities (United Nations, n.d.).

It is alleged that the whereabouts of so abducted or kidnapped person is never made available to the family of the victim. Authorities even refuse to accept such an act of abduction or detainment. The Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, which is United States' department, publishes country reports of various countries, including that of Pakistan. The bureau in their report on Pakistan for the year 2020, observed that government of Pakistan and its agents commit arbitrary and unlawful disappearances. The security force of Pakistan commits extra judicial killings throughout the country. The Frontier Corps (FC) and the local police, supposedly security providers and law protectors, become law breakers and perpetrators, amounting to grave human rights violators. (Country Reports of Pakistan, on Human Rights Practices for 2020 by United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor).

Number of cases of human rights violations have been reported by the human rights organizations active in the region of Balochistan.

HRCP Report -Year 2019

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in their report of the year 2019 has pegged the enforced disappearances in Balochistan at 47,000 Baloch so far, which is a huge human rights issue. Around 35,000 Pashtuns were also missing a figure indicated by HRCP in the same report (Jalil, 2022). Xari Jalil is a journalist who reports from Karachi and Lahore. She is also co-founder of Voicepk.net, a non-corporate/non-profit digital platform for human rights.

HRCB Report -Year 2020

According to HRCB annual report 2020 as many as 177 persons were killed by the security forces and army, of which 109 persons including one student was shot dead by FC across Balochistan, during the year 2020. The young university student was Hayat Mirza a Karachi University student and who had returned to Turbat to be with his family. On August 13, a military convoy came under an attack in which three military persons were injured. In retaliation, three army soldiers attacked the orchard in which Hayat was working. Hayat Baloch was dragged out to road, blindfolded and eight bullets were pumped into his body by one of the soldiers. No mercy was shown to standby parents who begged and begged for the life of Hayat (HRCB, 2021).

Even women and children were no exceptions and were executed during 2020. To set the example, Shahina Shahin, was killed in Turbat, Balochistan, on 5th September 2020. She was a popular female journalist, poet, artist and campaigner for women's rights. She had started a 'girl- only' organization, Dazgwar. She also started publishing a magazine 'girl-only' for aspiring women writers. She was shot two times in the chest and breathed her last in Civil Hospital in Turbat. On 18th October 2020, Asia Bibi was shot dead in Tump, by a police constable who is still at large. On 7th December 2020, two teenage boys Ameer Bakhsh, 16, and Haneef Meeran, 13, disappeared while traveling to Turbat from Tejaban area of district Kech. Their mutilated bodies were found the next day under a bridge in Herronk, 20 miles away from Tejaban. Both the boys were allegedly abducted by members of a local death squad for being family members of political activists.

COIED Report - Year 2021

The Commission of Inquiry of Enforced Disappearances (COIED) registered 952 new complaints of enforced disappearances from across the country during January 2021-April 2021. While Government of Pakistan had been claiming that the issue of enforced disappearances had had been resolved, the report of COIED indicated the enforced disappearances other way round. Mir Muhammad Talpur, a senior political worker of 1970s, from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, stressed that in hard reality there are many disappearances in the smaller areas of the province and not just in the cities or larger districts of Balochistan. Talpur further categorically stated that the abductions and enforced disappearances have neither stopped in Balochistan nor in other provinces of Pakistan" (Jalil, 2022).

VBMP Report – Year 2022

VBMP who is leading the campaign for Baloch Missing Persons at Quetta club and rotating the hunger strike by family members of the victims of enforced disappearances, have completed long dark 4,756 days of their struggle till 10th September 2022. Its over ten years they started the campaign. Zubair Baloch Chairman of BSO Pajjar and eminent lawyers, other men and women participated in the camp to express their solidarity with family members of the people in dismay without any trace whatsoever. Mama Qadeer Baloch, VBMP Vice Chairman, expressed his anguish against cruelty, disappearances, detainment and killings which are same as in past and increasing more and more month by month. The State does not look serious about breaking the chain. Mama Qadeer equivocally said that such atrocities and genocide is continued by authorities to keep fear in the minds of Baloch people but the ‘Voice of Baloch Missing Persons’ cannot be silenced by such barbaric acts of security forces, army, FC and ISI. Baloch people will struggle for their rights till their last breath (Zrumbesh Broadcasting Corporation, 2022).

6. Analysis and Impact of Reports

These reports by different human rights organizations and forums are not just mere reports but are eye openers that how year after year human rights are more and more getting violated and how sufferings of Balochis are increasing in Balochistan. These reports suggest that searches and detentions are not alone limited to men in action but expands to students, girls, uprising women and intellectuals. It is an intimidating tactics adopted by authorities to warn the major section of the society that, persons or their kids developing an ideology of separatism or supporting such cause for liberation would never be spared. The organizations working for welfare of the society and human rights, loud such violations worldwide and at United Nations, requesting them to direct the authorities in Pakistan to restrain from such violations of human rights in Balochistan and to curb the spreading of high-handed dealing of Baloch fraternity. The analysis of reports also suggests that an activist, a separatist leader, a sympathizer of liberation struggle, a journo supporting cause of freedom or a head of Balochistan liberation forces, any one whether in hideouts or in exile in some other country of the world, is always under lenses of ISI and other intelligence agencies of Pakistan and facing threat of elimination from such agencies.

Impact of such reports can be well seen that United Nations and its agencies send their observers to Balochistan and Pakistan from time to time to gauge gravity of the situation and to suggest corrective measures to authorities to safeguard life and interests of the people. In this context, on 25th June 2008, then United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Louise Arbour, had visited Pakistan for three days to meet top government officials, members of civil society and other interlocutors to discuss a various human rights issues and advised the authorities to stop human rights violations across Balochistan and elsewhere in Pakistan (OHCHR, 2008). The provincial government of Balochistan also, recently on 17th August 2022, appointed a commission for enforced disappeared and missing persons in Balochistan. The commission will be headed by the provincial home minister of Balochistan and include two members of provincial assembly, one from the ruling government party, yet another from the opposition party. The commission is supposed to report and submit its findings to chief minister of Balochistan as early as possible. This is the result of the protest by the families of the victims and Baloch activists who have been protesting in front of the Governor’s House in Quetta for over three weeks (The Balochistan Post, 2022).

7. Role of Local Organizations and World Societies

In the times of conflicts and war-like situations or a cold war in any region or country, many inhumane acts do take place. That increases woes of the people located in those areas tremendously. In such times of suppression or aggression, in the first place, local organizations can play a big role voluntarily. Next are world organizations, mostly located far away from the scene of such acts of atrocities, as such, might take considerable time to play their roles as a mediator or as a peace maker. Extending immediate help at the point and place of dispute is one thing, which can be offered and monitored by locals and local organizations whereas helping to solve the conflict and crisis of the aggrieved as a long-term solution, remains another matter which world societies and world organizations can take up at a later stage. There are local organizations viz. VBMP, HRCB, HRCP and COIED in

the state of Pakistan. OHCHR is an entity of United Nations and operates with headquarters in United States of America in the field of human rights world over.

7.1. Voice for Baloch Missing Persons (VBMP)

Voice for Baloch Missing Persons (VBMP) was founded by veteran activists Nasrullah Baloch and Mama Qadeer in 2009. VBMP is a non-governmental organization which represents family members of people who have been subject to enforced disappearance in Pakistan's province of Balochistan. VBMP records data on enforced disappearances, releases press statements, organizes protests, rallies, and hunger strike camps and facilitates the submission of first information reports and cases to Pakistani police stations and courts. VBMP Chairperson is Nasrullah Baloch and its Vice Chairperson is Mama Qadeer. (Hashim, 2014).

The present role played by VBMP is undisputable. Yet, a sit-in campaign which is in its 11th year from starting and on rotating hunger strike on daily basis by family members of the enforced disappeared people and sympathizer activists is not getting required response or desired results. In fact, federal government of Pakistan has proposed a bill in parliament to restrain such campaign which might need permission from local authorities to campaign. Giving cognizance and passing of such bill in parliament, it is believed, is nothing but a direct encroachment to fundamental right of free speech by the people (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

VBMP needs to expand its wings by mobilizing youth to voicify its demand for authorities to trace the victims, declare their whereabouts, provide medical and legal help and ensure safe return of the missing persons. Right to free voice and peaceful campaign must never be curtailed. While sitting on campaign women must be encouraged to do some handicraft work to mobilize funding of ongoing campaign for over 4675 days.

7.2. Human Rights Council of Balochistan (HRCB)

Human Rights Council of Balochistan (Hakpaan) is a non-profit and non-partisan human rights group based in Balochistan, Sweden, UK and France. It collects reports from Balochistan by its own sources through its network of volunteers and supporters. Pakistan government does not allow any media and HR group to visit Pakistan or Balochistan or to report about any of the atrocities and human rights violations. HRCB who is active in the region follow the various foul and inhumane acts of authorities, security forces and intelligence agencies and publish online reports from undisclosed locations. HRCB also assists families of the victims to complain and file FIRs against human right violations to the relevant authorities (Human Rights Council of Balochistan, n.d.). HRCB is playing its role at its full capacity. HRCB and its volunteers strive hard to collect desired information as early as possible and circulate among allies for their necessary perusal.

7.3. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)

Established in 1986 and registered in 1987, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) is an apex independent human rights body of Pakistan and is a non-political, not-for-profit organization actively engaged in protecting human rights in varied fields of civil life as well as in protecting one's political, economic, social and cultural rights. HRCP does not distinguish citizenship or nationality of an individual but equally protects rights of all persons present in the country. The Constitution of Pakistan guarantees certain fundamental freedom and rights which HRCP uses for protection of people's rights and advocates charter of international human rights instruments for which Pakistan is a member nation (HRCP, n.d.). HRCP too is playing its role without disparity amongst all people whether of any nationality and presently residing anywhere in Pakistan including any part of Balochistan.

7.4. Commission of Inquiry of Enforced Disappearances (COIED)

The Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances is formed in March 2011 to trace the whereabouts of the disappeared persons and hold the responsible accountable for this heinous crime. But, in its nine years, the

commission has failed to hold a single perpetrator accountable or address the impunity. Moreover, the families have reported harassment and misbehavior during the hearings of the Commission (HRCB report, 2022).

As per a document of Government of Pakistan regarding any allegation or complaint in respect of Enforced Disappearance etc.; “ whoever files a complaint or gives information that proves to be false he or another person has been subjected to Enforced, Forcible or Involuntary Disappearance, or an attempt has been made in this regard, he shall be guilty of an offence punishable up to five years imprisonment and fine up to Rupees One hundred thousand.” (Ahmed, n.d.). So, this guideline is broadly used by officials of COIED to dispel the person whosoever comes to give information of enforced disappearance. They are so intimidated that there would never be found any evidence or witness against guilty authorities and the complainant might be proved false, punishable up to five years imprisonment. The offence thus goes unreported and correct number of enforced disappearances can never be enumerated.

Meanwhile, according to HRCP, serious allegations were levelled by a woman Tayyaba Gul who had approached Justice Iqbal, COIED chairman, in connection with a missing relative. Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of the National Assembly was stunned by the testimony of Tayyaba, who disclosed under oath that she was treated inhumanely and even strip-searched by officials of the accountability bureau.

7.5. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is one of the leading entities of United Nations for Human Rights issues across the world. It has a unique mandate for promotion and protection of Human Rights of all the people. OHCHR has the authority to deploy United Nation’s peacekeeping forces in Balochistan to curb such serious human rights violations in Balochistan and other areas of Pakistan (OHCHR,- Homepage, n.d.).

8. Conclusion

Enforced Disappearances which has gripped Balochistan as a pandemic do not look to be eradicated soon. So is the virus, of seeking freedom, running in the blood of Baloch fraternity looks to recede or to gets cured. The inhumane act of disappearances coupled with extra judicial killings is, outright an act of human rights violation in Balochistan. Without barriers, it has now reached to Khyber Pashtuns and Sindh. They too are now emerging revolutionary against the state and the government authorities. The paper has projected such treatment by way of enforced disappearances meted by security forces and authorities to Baloch people as a major human rights issue in Balochistan and a need to pay greater attention by local bodies and world organizations to pressurize the government of Pakistan to implement immediate corrective measures.

In this context, Preamble message from the Commission of inquiry on enforced disappearances which was constituted by the Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan on the Supreme Court’s directions in March 2011, stands highly relevant. The commission had recommended that all the stakeholders including Ministries of Interior, Defense, Law & Human Rights in the Federal Government, all Provincial Governments, Armed Forces – ISI, MI and Frontier Corps) should sit together and evolve a comprehensive mechanism to eliminate the menace of enforced disappearance (About Us – COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES, n.d.). On the face of it, this preamble message and recommendation looks highly impressive that how concerned government is, how sincere officials heading such commission would be and how helping the entire mechanism might be!! But coming to facts in real sense and practice, the officials proved themselves of the dubious character. In long standing of ten years as of now, not a single perpetrator has been brought to book of law. But opposite to this, the chairperson of the commission himself was captured recently in abuse of power and sexual assault, where modesty of the woman, who was following the case of her enforced displaced relative, was put at risk. Reports said, she was strip searched just to have an audience before the high-ranking chairperson of the commission to follow up her relative’s disappearance case. It is another matter, the chairperson in question has recently been summarily dismissed by government of Pakistan. When such corrupt and dishonest people supposed to be defender of human rights in Pakistan do exist, how one can expect justice or return of disappeared people back to their homes.

The situation of enforced disappearances and human rights violations are beyond control in Balochistan. Unless and until some other strong country jumps into the fray for the rescue of Balochis and help the conflicting entities to reach a political solution and peaceful resolution, no improvement in the situation can be foreseen in Balochistan. To come out of this rotten situation prevailing for almost seven decades, Balochistan needs an external military help from outside, to confront the local forces inflicting atrocities and violating human rights. World has seen many governments coming tumbling down when any major world power has interrupted and many heads of countries either fleeing and taking asylum or getting captured, punished or eliminated. Pakistan should have by this time learn lesson from the past.

United Nations must think of posting their peace keeping force in Balochistan to keep watch and act against perpetrators. Countries and agencies providing financial and other military aids to Pakistan, must go for sanctions. In place of utilizing aids received from abroad for welfare of the people, Pakistan is using it against the people. Pakistan needs stern warning from the world and United Nations, lest Pakistan corrects its ways, it might face world's ire and United Nations jointly with some world power would not hesitate to initiate action under international laws to declare Pakistan as a war criminal against the society. Pakistan should mend its ways and eliminate the policy of enforced disappearances which is arbitrary and highly discriminatory in nature and in violations of human rights in Balochistan

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News Trading in Indonesia's Media: A Business in Shaping Public Opinion

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Abstract

The news trading phenomenon committed by journalist and media is also found in Indonesia. The news trading all this time has been regarded as one of the violations of journalist ethics. However, the news trading actually is one of the business type performed by Indonesia media. This study is a qualitative research using primary and secondary data. The primary data was obtained from in-depth interviews with the nine resource persons. Meanwhile, the secondary data was taken by conducting literary studies and document studies. The data processing technique in this study utilized Nvivo qualitative data analysis software. The result of the study revealed that there is media and journalist involvement in the news trading because of several factors such as lack of journalist idealism, media owner's interest, and financial needs. Meanwhile, the advantage of journalists doing news trading is a monthly stipend, free services and facilities, political benefits, and incentives eventually.

Keywords: Media Corruption, News Trading, Journalism

1. Introduction

Mass media institutions have a close relationship with the economic and political system (McQuail, 2000) by involving power relations in the production, distribution, and consumption of information (Mosco, 2009). One of the characteristics of political economy of media is that it is oriented on morals, social values and social practices to fight for the public interest. (Mosco, 1996).

emphasized that the study of the political economy of media has concerns on the balance between capitalist efforts and public intervention, which indirectly explains the presence of political economy forces outside the media. These forces include the domination of the elites over society by using the media as a controller tool (Agung, 2008).

The utilization of media by politicians eventually refers to various interests, given the ability of the media to create the preferred effect through news. Media effects (Potter, W., 2012) can affect individuals, the public, and institutions. Academics called media effects including cognitive, affective, and conative effects (Grossberg et al, 1998), effects on knowledge, attitudes, opinions, and behaviour (Lazarsfeld, 1948), attitude, emotional, and physiological effects (Bryant and Zillmann, 2009). The various effects here generated power that later could influence public in general, both in a positive and negative way and the expected and the unexpected one.

Angela Romano (2000) conducted research on the behaviour of journalists in Indonesia who viewed the common phenomenon of giving gifts from resource persons to journalists which later called as envelope culture. The findings of this study have explored the complex issues of social, economic and institutional conditions that preserve the bribery and corruption culture in Indonesia. This study revealed that the envelope culture could lead to the exploitation of resource persons or journalists and even generate a vicious criminal subculture.

The result of Romano's research 13 years later was confirmed by Rafiudina through the publication of his research entitled *Journalists in a Bribery Siege: The Power of Envelopes within the Journalists habitat* (2013). The term "envelope" here referred to a form of bribery that probably affects the content of the news written and according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary is defined as "uang sogok (bribes)" (remotivi, 2016).

Romano and Rafiudina studies are the reality of many Indonesia Journalists, both from small and corporate media, reporter or even senior journalists, the media chairman until the media owner. Pramesti (2013) who studied on this phenomenon ("envelope"), stated that the bribery practices on journalists have already been found in Indonesia since 1950s. Nevertheless, the majority of the bribery practices found in the 1950s dealt with moral support and government protection for the "republican press" in the form of financial aid to buy paper, finance printing, or pay employees salary if needed. This was performed as the media would like to help Indonesia's resistance against the Dutch colonialism. Meanwhile, the bribery practices found nowadays in the current era of media industrialization is profit-oriented (Pramesti, 2013).

Mandes (2013) stated that media and journalists are not immune to corruption. The media is frequently confronted with the combination of factors that create flourishing atmosphere for corruption. For instance, lack of training and technical skills, low professional standards, limited financial resources, unclear ownership, and inadequate and undemocratic laws.

2. Method

The approach used in this research was the qualitative one. This qualitative approach was chosen as it is considered as a naturalistic method in which the research process is implemented in natural setting conditions. The qualitative approach also leads the researcher first to put efforts into capturing all social phenomena and then theorizing them based on what they observe (Maxfield, 2009). Data collection techniques used were literature studies and in-depth interviews. The literature studies were used to collect data via books, international journals, and documents related to the phenomenon under study. Meanwhile, the in-depth interviews were conducted to explore the experience and knowledge of the informants on corruption practices committed by the media or their journalists.

This study deployed 9 resource persons that came from various professions but they shared the same experience and knowledge related to mainstream media in Indonesia. Then, the data analysis technique used Nvivo qualitative data processing software. Therefore, the interview results from the informants will be codified based on the code that has been made. The code is then observed to see the relationship and description using the tools provided by the software.

3. Results

3.1. News Trading in Indonesia

News as a journalistic product that is traded directly, packaged in journalistic transactions that diverge from its functions and responsibilities as a transmitter of truth, is a form of abusing professional power as well as betraying public trust. This long-standing practice has been entrenched due to the low commitment of each journalist to enforce the bribery ethics as stipulated in article 6 of the Indonesian Journalistic Code of Ethics: Indonesian journalists shall not abuse their profession and shall not accept bribes. This sentence is interpreted in the following statements (1) abusing the profession is every action aimed to take personal advantage of information obtained from duties before publishing or becoming public issue; and (2) bribes are all gifts in the form of money, objects or facilities from other parties that affect independence (kompas.com, 2021). In addition, several factors led the envelope culture remain exist such as lack of the practice code from the media, lack of supervision from the professional organization, commercial pressure, and lack of social sanction from community.

The reality of the envelope culture or the news trading within the media actually shows that the work of journalism is vulnerable to corruption. Studies by Shoemaker and Reese (1996) on the hierarchy-of-influences model and Andresen et al. (2017) on 'transitional journalism' confirmed it, they stated that the journalism work could be influenced by individual factors, media routines, organizations, extra media, and social systems. The extra media here referred to political, economic, and cultural factors that influenced the independence of journalists (Milojević, & Krstić, 2018).

The practice of buying and selling news in Indonesia that has been established for decades – hereinafter referred to as the news trading – has recently showed a tendency to get stronger due to the political relations between the media and power, especially in local, regional and national political contestations. Many buyers (actors) requested the media to raise certain issues so that it transformed into a public agenda, or attracted attention, or influenced public perception, or even provoked an issue that could move a public action. The news trading practices could also be carried out for the opposite purpose such as conducting counter issues, constructing rival issues to divide public attention on certain issues, or diverting issues, or building media darlings to cover negative aspects.

The results of this study indicated that in general, subscribers conducting the news trading transactions aimed to build public opinion even though the types of services used were various as can be seen in the following table;

Table 1: The purposes of the news trading

Codes	Involvement = Never (n=2)	Involvement = Several times (n=3)	Involvement = Just once (n=1)	Involvement = Always involved (n=3)	Total (n=9)
○ Branding	25%	37,5%	0%	37,5%	100%
○ Counter Issue	20%	20%	0%	60%	100%
○ Hide Issue	16,67%	33,33%	0%	50%	100%
Total (Unique)	25%	37,5%	0%	37,5%	100%

The table revealed that the informants who were always involved in the news trading stated that 60% received orders to counter certain issues that were happening and they were considered harmful to the buyers. In addition, 50% of journalists who were always involved in the news trading received orders to hide issues, meaning that certain issues were drowned out and no longer discussed by the media. Finally, 37.5% received orders to improve branding or enhance the profile of the buyer or certain parties.

The news trading is getting more common these days in Indonesia. This practice does not only cover the understanding of buying and selling news, but also involves transactional aspects of the news itself. In the business world, the CA informant (11/01/2022) shared his experience as an agency in constructing the message of a United States (US) brand by implementing a marketing public relations strategy related to factors beyond marketing that can enhance the product sales performance. At that time (1998-1999) several issues related to local ingredients and culture were vulnerably sensitive, including sentiments against the US as they did many attacks on Palestine.

“Every time the US attack was launched, the demonstrators demonstrated at the US Embassy and at the stores of our clients, especially those in Sarinah, Thamrin. Thus, how did we anticipate these factors? We collaborated with several major media to let them know that we were on the same boat. For example, we... include an outlet where the female employee was required to use hijab. We blew it up... everywhere, even reaching the grass root media.” (interview with CA, 11/01/2022).

The news trading is getting more popular as in essence the media are on two opposing sides. Apart from being a public institution that accommodates social aspirations and responsibilities, the media is also a business industry that pursues for profit. The tug-of-war between the normative interests and a capitalistic business model often leads the media into a dichotomy of interests. It is not easy for the media industry to provide an equal share in both aspects amidst the growing pressure, politics and economy intervention in Indonesia.

In the last few years, particularly since 2014, almost all media owners have had political and economic resources at the same time. The map of media power and authority has experienced significant changes with the increasing number of political elites and businessman running the media business. The power of the media is increasingly important for them in this era. The media could be used as a tool to control public and simultaneously transform into a pressure group against the authorities in order to get a certain share of power and authority. This was later revealed in this study in which the informant admitted that since 2014, the government's approach (the owner of power) towards the media has changed. For instance, the intervention of the previous authorities reached the editorial structure of the media, starting from reporters to the editor-in-chief. Meanwhile, now the authorities are more interested to intervene the media owners directly. This is not surprising since the majority of media owners in Indonesia are political elites and businessmen or those affiliated with power who certainly have certain interests, both from political and economic aspects.

The current form of intervention by external structures is not only related to the news content, but also to frame policies or an issue as a part of the media politics. This intervention was experienced by almost all media in Indonesia, starting from the reporter to the media owner. Some media managed to package the intervention through implicit content presentation, but some of them showed their alignment publicly with the persons/parties that ordered a particular issue.

Informants mentioned that even influential political elites visited media offices to do media political calculations against the ruling regime. The main discussion on the level of media owners usually talks about business and political interests and it rarely touches or interferes with the news content. Even if it might be found, they will pass on the interests to the editor although there are some rejections. The rejections are given as it is not in accordance with the vision or goals that the media wants to maintain or achieve. *“It means that the government is smart enough... they don't interfere the editors anymore just like the old days. they have already levelled up their target, to the businessman to be specific... In the past, we were phoned by 'Kapuspen' (the chief of police information centre)... Who is not afraid of getting phoned from the army chief?”* (interview with NJ, 8/09/2021)

Meanwhile, on the reporter level perspective stated that an informant from a group that ordered news admitted that he had become an intermediary party. He bridged the interests of political elites with a network of reporters from a number of media. The customers even formed a media network consisting of about 20 media, both print, online and television from Sabang to Merauke. The function of the media network is to control public opinion on certain issues or policies and figures. In order to support the media network, journalists were given facilities in the form of monthly incentives, ranging from Rp. 1 million to Rp. 5 million per person. While, editors or editor-in-chief could earn Rp. 20 million. Wait! This is not the end. If the issues are special and important, the bids can reach hundreds of millions. The partnership lasted for a very long time and reached decades unless other provisions were found.

“...The network that I can handle is from Sabang to Merauke. The news from the media from Jayapura to '0 km Aceh', I can handle all of them... I would like the news talks about A, tomorrow what comes out is from Sabang to Merauke... All A. As long as it is taken from TV, there are still many of them go national, right? so it's easier.” (interview with DD, 6/09/2021).

Gathering dozens of journalists or even meeting media owners is not easy. The confession of several informants summarized by the researcher explained that the news customers approached via friendship relations first in order to convey their interests. It is difficult for them to do the news transactions without using the friendship relations. At the very least, they need to know first the media owners and their structures. The first step of how they work is done by inviting a discussion meeting at a coffee shop or having lunch at a restaurant. They do not directly state their actual intent and purpose of their action at the first meeting. It takes time and a longer process so that both parties are fluid enough discussing issues. Moreover, this approach is carried out on media owners. The flow and process take longer than approaching the editor or reporter. Therefore, a news customer is a reliable marketing communication agent.

After successfully synchronizing perceptions, the next step is to amplify issues in the form of a press release to the media networks. The issues generally are news trends so that they are always published by all the media. The pitch of the issue will be adjusted to the actual political conditions as well as the response to the existing problems. When the issue reaches the community, the news customers will see the response. When the response given is bad, they will prepare a strategy to counter it or they also let the issue roll around until things get better. Then, they release another issues that are considered more positive. Payments releases are usually adjusted to the actual situation. Some will pay immediately when the release is published, but some will pay monthly or for a certain period of time. Sometimes bonus is given to journalists or the media in the form of money, provision of facilities, transportation, accommodation, and other forms of gratification. In some other cases, media affiliated with elites usually receive special services. For example, they are financed by the state to cover overseas cost, such as how the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudjiastuti financed dozens of media coverage trips for government events abroad.

The description of the news trading is an uninterrupted and repetitive process. The structure of media institutions at various levels starting from the level of reporters, editors, editor-in-chief, allows the owner to play a role in accepting the news customers. After an agreement is reached, the issue will be processed as news in the newsroom. The process of transforming issues into news itself is the construction practices of phenomena and facts according to the interest of the news customer. The types of construction that might be in the form of agenda setting, framing, building, and priming. Sometimes, they also have their own agenda so that journalists just rewrite it. Besides, the news customers could set with whom the interviewee should be interviewed, or what questions and expectations of answers are preferred. This process is very complex, involving multiple layers of media structure within the newsroom organization.

The reality of news trading has illustrated that the media industry is inseparable from the reflection of political economy. It is such an open secret that media owners capitalize on media institutions for their short-term interests without considering the normative aspects. The logic of capitalism makes the media dominated by economic goals that are intertwined with political interests. Waisbord (2019) used the term “the vulnerabilities of journalism” to describe a range of media vulnerabilities against the commercialization of news, the rise of anti-democratic forces, and anti-press violence.

Although the media industry consists of people who know journalistic products, realistically they work based on the capitalism principle. One of the indicators is that many of media employees work for financial reason. That’s why, the possibility of bribery, gratuity, and bribery on preferred position remains exists. “*Well, are there any interventions such as giving bribes, envelopes? Yes, there are, whether it is done publicly or confidentially, known or unknown. Some don't realize it until it's suddenly in their bag or goody bag. That's it.*” (interview with DS, 15/09/2021).

The same situation happened as this case involved Edy Nasution (Clerk of the Central Jakarta District Court) as the defendant in the bribery scandal at the Jakarta Corruption Court in 2016. During the hearing, a witness named Slamet Wibowo admitted that he had bribed a number of mass media so that they would publish positive information about the Lippo Group. These media are considered as the national media that are quite credible. In his statement, Slamet admitted that he has many relationships with journalists and his team can handle the media. Slamet stated that at least Rp. 600 million had been given during the May-July 2016 period to pay for a number

of print media. Meanwhile, during 2010-2015 period the amount of money given reached Rp. 10 billion to Rp. 15 billion. However, some months later, the testimony was denied. After there was a rebuttal, the news on this bribery was no longer discussed.

The secret that Slamet Wibowo revealed was true. According to the reserach informant, they usually build a special exclusive relationship with journalists. The network is well-maintained, including from the aspect of financial needs or journalists' welfare. The Lippo case for example, it was proven that the corporation was held back by the Meikarta case. The national media that have business affiliations with Lippo have never reported the case. It was certainly that there was no news about cases affecting corporations as they were big donors to the media. It was possibly part of a strategy to reduce negative issues regarding the reputation of corporation. The SM informant (28/04/2022) stated that the media received much advertisements from the Lippo Group, the value was around the trillions. The big media have never reported negative issues related to it. *"Finally, the KPK revealed it instead"* (Interview with SM, 28/04/2022).

It has become clearer that the media is a weapon for capitalism and the elites to hide their flaws. Media which is regarded as an instrument of policy checks and balances, justice and social balance have shifted into a capitalist tool to accumulate social capital. This might happen since the media is controlled by capitalists, including the state managers group (Dreier (1982). In that context, the media may look weak and helpless to the capitalists, but at the same time the media has actually transformed into a powerful tool for the capitalists to exploit justice, silence the truth, and violate the professional code of ethics. The strength of economic interests and political power (Barak, 1994) were actually some reasons why the media was eventually difficult to be neutral, honest, fair, objective and open. These political and economic interests that controlled the information contained truth (truth) or false awareness (pseudo-truth), representing facts or twists facts, describing reality or simulating reality (Piliang, 2003). The fact that the news trading has swept the world of Indonesian journalism is in accordance with the Mandes findings (2013) which stated that the media and journalists are not immune to corruption. In developing countries, the media is often confronted with a combination of factors that create flourishing atmosphere for corruption such as lack of training and technical skills, low professional standards, limited financial resources, unclear ownership, and inadequate and undemocratic laws. As the reserach informant said, the nature of journalists' work reflects what is happening in society or the country. In other words, the knowledge system produced by the media is a reflection of the cultural reality that lives in society. Therefore, the culture of corruption that develops in a society will implicitly be reflected within the journalistic products generated by the media industry. *"That's why, the reflection of the media is also a reflection of the people. If the people are sick, the media will also get sick since the media, journalists are born from society. That's how the feedback works."* (Interview with DD, 6/09/2021)

3.2 News Trading Benefits

The news trading practice certainly has motives, goals and targets to be achieved, and surely benefits both socially, politically and economically. *"Yes, let's just take an example from the easiest one such as violation related to 'envelopes'. That's one motive, economic, financial, right? Well, apart from that, there are also political motives, do they appear? Because I'm involved in a political party and so on, have they ever come up?"* (interview with SM, 28/04/2022).

The results of the Nvivo analysis revealed that there were 3 top reasons. For instance, lack of journalist idealism, which is the most mentioned reason by journalists. Then, the social and political interests of media owners, and financial needs.

Table 2: Reasons on the journalist involvement in the news trading

Codes	Involvement = Never (n=2)	Involvement = Several times (n=3)	Involvement = Just once (n=1)	Involvement = Always involved (n=3)	Total (n=9)
○ Financial Needs	31,25%	31,25%	6,25%	31,25%	100%
○ Lack of Journalist Idealism	0%	20%	10%	70%	100%
○ Media Owners Interest	31,58%	15,79%	13,16%	39,47%	100%
○ Political Influence	21,43%	25%	25%	28,57%	100%
Total	25%	21,74%	15,22%	38,04%	100%

These three motives were the most dominant factors in why the news trading practices happened in Indonesia. These three motives were found in all almost media both from the mainstream and the online one based on the information obtained from the research informants. This showed that the media industry in Indonesia has been fully involved in the practice of aberrant journalism and could potentially drag the democracy and press freedom down.

The lack of idealism factor could be observed from several research informants that have been interviewed. Even though there were some media stating that they were independent from any interference, it turned out that there were some flaws found. *“The idealism of the journalists was no longer strong, both big and small media based in my opinion was no longer independent. Some independent media such as Tempo, Kompas..., is there any chance to interfere their news? Yes, it is as there are some flaws where the journalist could be bribed.”* (interview with DD, 6/09/2021)

In this study, the research informants also talked about the ‘interests’ referred to motives and purposes of the news trading within the media structure. *“I am so sure that there are some motives in all media both from internal factor and the external one. This is related to the interests, even in my opinion there will always be interests found in all media.”* (interview with DS, 15/09/2021).

Meanwhile, the second reason is media owner’s interest, which of course affects all media policies. *“It depends on the owner, dude. If the political direction is right for example, it is clear that there is interference, dude. Even the angle of the news must be controlled.”* (Interview with YI, 3/11/2021). The mainstream media in Indonesia clearly showed their political alignments when broadcasting news. *“Surya Paloh has now entered politics. So the framing is clear, right? To support the government, huh? Then, Hary Tanoë went into politics as well. That's right. Thus, it is clear that the orientation is to use the media as a tool to support political activities.”* (MM interview, 11/03/2022).

In fact, the issue of media bias has also been observed by the Indonesian Press Council, so that several editor-in-chiefs from several media who are considered to create a non-objective report have been summoned and questioned. However, it turned out that the problem could not be solved. *“In the past, metro tv, tv one, and others had already been gathered at the press council, at KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission), but nothing happened, why? their owners are ordered by the owner”* (NJ interview, 8/09/2021).

Every media owner is also a businessman so that he or she needs good relations both with the authorities and the government elites.

“he (the government) must build friendship with any businessman in charge, otherwise he will lose. That's why the government is quite smart to take advantage of it, the intervention is to the current owner, the owner pressures us, we can be fired, the owner can do whatever they want if we don't obey, right? then you can continue with your work. For me, when I worked at tvone, i had this principle: if it is related to us, related to tvone or the owner of tvone, it will be better if we do not report it.” (NJ interview, 8/09/2021)

Meanwhile, the third reason is the financial needs of the journalists. Many journalists are consciously involved in the practice of news trading as their welfare is still relatively low. A journalist who works in the capital city of Jakarta with a salary of Rp. 4 million per month has to pay for the needs of his wife and children.

The low wages of journalists have not been improved for a long time. It was seen from the survey results of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) since 2000 and the Press Council survey in 2008 which also provided a more or less similar figure (Manan, 2012). The majority (about 75%) of journalists earn less than Rp. 750 thousand per month. Only 13.8% earn more than Rp. 1 million (Manan, 2012). Meanwhile, research by Thomas Hanitzsch found that most of journalists' salaries (86%) ranging from Rp. 1 million to Rp. 3 million. However, there are also some journalists (3.5%) who are paid for less than Rp. 500 thousand. Because of that, 77 percent of journalists stated that they were satisfied, and 22.6 percent stated that they were very satisfied (Manan, 2012).

Furthermore, a research conducted by AJI and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) in 2005 deploying journalist respondents from 17 cities in Indonesia found that 1.5% of journalists earned less than Rp. 200 thousand. The number of journalists who earned less than Rp. 599 thousand was also quite high, 22.5%. In fact, when the survey was conducted, the highest provincial minimum wage at that time was DKI Jakarta with Rp. 711,843 thousand and the lowest minimum wage was Central Java, Rp. 390 thousand. Journalists who earned less than Rp. 200 thousand were in Papua (5%) and the largest was in Palu, Central Sulawesi (25%). Even in Jakarta, most (55%) journalists earned less than Rp. 1 million, and only 5% of journalists earned Rp 3.8 million to Rp. 4.1 million. (Manan, 2012).

Thus, journalists that were involved on the news trading obtained several financial benefits and facilities for free.

Table 3: The benefits of the news trading for Journalists

Codes	Involvement = Never (n=2)	Involvement = Several times (n=3)	Involvement = Just once (n=1)	Involvement = Always involved (n=3)	Total (n=9)
○ Incentive Eventual	18,75%	31,25%	6,25%	43,75%	100%
○ Monthly Stipend	0%	16,67%	0%	83,33%	100%
○ Political Benefits	29,17%	16,67%	8,33%	45,83%	100%
○ Services & Facilities	0%	30,77%	0%	69,23%	100%
Total	16,95%	23,73%	5,08%	54,24%	100%

The above table revealed that 83.3% of journalists who were always involved on the news trading obtained monthly stipends from clients and it was considered the top one. Furthermore, they got services and facilities and it was in the second position with a percentage of 69.23%. The services and facilities here referred to free airline tickets and free hotels accommodation from clients. The third position was the political benefits with a percentage of 45.83% and the last position was the eventual incentive of 43.75%. The political benefits might be seen later when some of several former journalists served as commissioners or other important positions. *"I am going to help you but promise me, you're going to help me later, you know that I always really want to be this or that commissioner. Don't worry, I'm going to give you a better position later."* (DS interview, 15/09/2021). Meanwhile, the last was incentives that were given occasionally, for example during Eid al-Fitr, Christmas, and New Year's or whenever they needed a certain amount of money.

4. Conclusion

The news trading business has been performed for a long time in Indonesia. The reason why journalists are involved in this kind of practice is due to lack of journalist idealism, media owner's interest, and financial needs. The charm of the media to shape and influence public opinion makes the news consumers in Indonesia attracted to do the transaction. Meanwhile, journalists gain financial, political, and service benefits as well as facilities. *"Even if a friend for example owns the corporation, and then it has much money, the business principle is still applied. For me, it's not right or wrong, this is purely a business process between supply and demand. I have the resource and you don't have it, I am going to increase my price as it is reasonable. This is a business process and I don't think this is a crime, right? The journalists here are doing what is called as a business process between supply and demand. So, it's normal if for example we are hired by a supplier as we have the goods and maybe we will also increase the price, huh?"* (CA interview 11/01/2022)

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Increasing the Human Development Index Through the Rural Community Literacy Improvement Program

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Abstract

The Human Development Index (HDI) can be increased in various ways, one of which is the community literacy improvement program. Literacy and literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy are proven and highly effective in promoting the efforts to increase the Human Development Index. The six basic literacy are not only effectively applied to the world of formal education, but can be actualized in society in general. This study involved 56 communities representing each hamlet in one village determined by purposive sampling technique with certain criteria. The results of this study indicate that improving literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy are proven to increase the Community Development Index. Improving literacy skills is carried out by providing various kinds of basic training according to community needs. The basic training provided can stimulate the community to be more concerned with developments in the surrounding environment.

Keywords: Human Development Index, Literacy, Indonesia

1. Introduction

In the last period, the Human Development Index (HDI) of the Province of North continued to increase from year to year. The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) noted that in 2021 the Human Development Index of North Sumatra was at 72.00, an increase of 0.23 points from the previous year's 71.77. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the Human Development Index ranks of North Sumatra's 15th on a national scale. Within the scope of the North Sumatra Province, the Community Development Index of Labuhanbatu Regency is ranked 7th out of 33 Regencies in North Sumatra. As shown in the following table:

Table 1: Human Development Index

No	City District	Human Development Index (New Method)		
		2019	2020	2021
1	North Sumatra	71,74	71,77	72,00

2	Nias	61,65	61,93	62,74
3	Mandailing Natal	66,52	66,79	67,19
4	South Tapanuli	69,75	70,12	70,33
5	Tapanuli Tengah	68,86	69,23	69,61
6	North Tapanuli	73,33	73,47	73,76
7	Toba Samosir	74,92	75,16	75,39
8	Labuhan Batu	71,94	72,01	72,09
9	Asahan	69,92	70,29	70,49
10	Simalungun	72,98	73,25	73,40
11	Dairi	71,42	71,57	71,84
12	Karo	74,25	74,43	74,83
13	Deli Serdang	75,43	75,44	75,53
14	Langkat	70,76	71,00	71,35
15	South Nias	61,59	61,89	62,35
16	Humbang Hasundutan	68,83	68,87	69,41
17	Pakpak Bharat	67,47	67,59	67,94
18	Samosir	70,55	70,63	70,83
19	Serdang Bedagai	70,21	70,24	70,56
20	Batu Bara	68,35	68,36	68,58
21	Padang Lawas Utara	69,29	69,85	70,11
22	Padang Lawas	68,16	68,25	68,64
23	South Labuhanbatu	71,39	71,40	71,69
24	North Labuanbatu	71,43	71,61	71,87
25	Nias Utara	61,98	62,36	62,82
26	Nias Barat	61,14	61,51	61,99
27	Sibolga	73,41	73,63	73,94
28	Tanjungbalai	68,51	68,65	68,94
29	Pematangsiantar	78,57	78,75	79,17
30	Tebing Tinggi	75,08	75,17	75,42
31	Medan	80,97	80,98	81,21
32	Binjai	75,89	75,89	76,01
33	Padangsidempuan	75,06	75,22	75,48
34	Gunungsitoli	69,30	69,31	69,61

Source: North Sumatra BPS data, 2022

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the increase in the human development index in Labuhanbatu Regency only experienced a slight increase, namely an average of 0.07%. Starting from this, various programs to increase the human development index are things that must remain the attention of all groups. The human development index figure at the district level is certainly strongly influenced by the level of development index of each sub-district in the district, then the level of the human development index at the sub-district level is certainly influenced by the community development index of each village in the sub-district area.

Various research results and community service have shown that increasing the community development index can be started from the village with various methods and training. As the results of research conducted by (Melliana & Zain, 2013) suggest that increasing the human development index can be done by increasing the school participation rate (APS), quantity of health facilities and infrastructure, percentage of households with access to clean water, labor force participation rate (TPAK), and GRDP per capita. From these findings, there are the most basic things about various ways of increasing the community development index, namely employment and per capita GRDP where this factor is one of the indicators of people's life expectancy.

Increasing the community development index will be easier to do if the community has maximum economic resilience, there is life expectancy and the creation of mature community economic resource management,

increased knowledge related to the management of economic resources and the creation of various new financial sources for the community.

The national literacy movement is a milestone in the creation of an equitable increase in knowledge for the community. Today the literacy movement is no longer only focused on the school level and other levels of education. The literacy movement is currently targeting various levels of society, even rural communities. Village communities must be more proactive and concerned with the times. A developed society must have sufficient knowledge in managing and improving their standard of living economically. Literacy and well-being are two things that are interconnected. People or nations who study hard (literate) will surely achieve prosperity. Prosperity can be seen from two sides, namely physical prosperity and inner prosperity. Therefore, the program to increase the community development index will be carried out through rural community improvement programs which include, among others, reading and writing literacy (Sari, 2020), cultural and civic literacy (Rokhmawan & Firmansyah, 2017), numeracy literacy (White, 2010), financial literacy (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2011), scientific literacy (Holbrook & Rannikmae, 2009) and digital literacy (Martin & Grudziecki, 2006).

2. Literature Review

2.1 Human Development Index

Development is defined as an activity in an effort to improve the welfare of the community in various aspects of life which is carried out in a planned and sustainable manner by utilizing and taking into account the capabilities of resources, information and advances in science and technology, as well as paying attention to social developments (Bappenas & Dunia, 1999)

The human development index (HDI) is one of the measuring tools that can be used to assess the quality of human development, both in terms of its impact on human physical conditions (health and welfare) and non-physical ones (education) (Melliana & Zain, 2013). Development that has an impact on the physical condition of the community, for example, is reflected in the life expectancy and purchasing power of the community, while the non-physical impact can be seen in the quality of public education.

The Human Development Index is a measure to see the impact of regional development performance which has very broad dimensions, because it shows the quality of the population of an area in terms of life expectancy, education, and decent living standards (Novitasari & Khikmah, 2019). The Human Development Index is a composite index that is calculated as the average of three indices that describe the basic human ability to expand choices, namely the life expectancy index, the education index, and the decent standard of living index of the Central Statistics Agency (BPS, 2008).

2.2 Literacy

Literacy and well-being are basically two things that are interconnected. People or nations who study diligently (literate) will surely achieve prosperity (Febriyanti, 2020). Prosperity can be seen from two sides, namely physical and spiritual prosperity (Faroji, 2019). Prosperity is related to fulfilling life needs, maintaining health, and having material that exceeds the minimum standard requirements so that you can save and invest, while inner prosperity is related to feeling happy, happy, safe, peaceful, and peaceful (Rasyidah, 2019). Reading is one aspect of literacy activities (Hakim, 2021). People who read a lot will feel well. Minimum welfare in the inner context, for example getting inner satisfaction, peace of mind, and increasing insight or knowledge.

Literacy is the ability to read and write. The UNESCO expert meeting in Paris Prancil hinted at the broader meaning of literacy. In this context, literacy is no longer only related to reading and writing, but includes the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate, calculate and use various printed and written materials related to various contexts. Literacy also involves a continuum of learning that allows an individual /

individual to achieve goals, develop his knowledge and potential, and participate fully in society and the wider organization (Harjono, 2018); (Keefe & Copeland, 2011); (Koltay, 2011); (Hastings et al., 2013).

3. Method

The research method is carried out starting from identifying the problem and then conducting an initial measurement of the level of the human development index from a literacy perspective such as literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy. Measurement using interview techniques and filling out questionnaires that have been prepared (Sugiyono, 2017). The research sample was determined by purposive sampling method (Sugiyono, 2017). The sample in this study was taken evenly, namely the hamlet heads of 14 hamlets in Tanjung Medan Village, West Bilah District, North Sumatra, with 3 residents who were considered capable and understood what was being studied. So that the total sample in this study amounted to 56 people. The research method carried out can be described in the following flow chart:

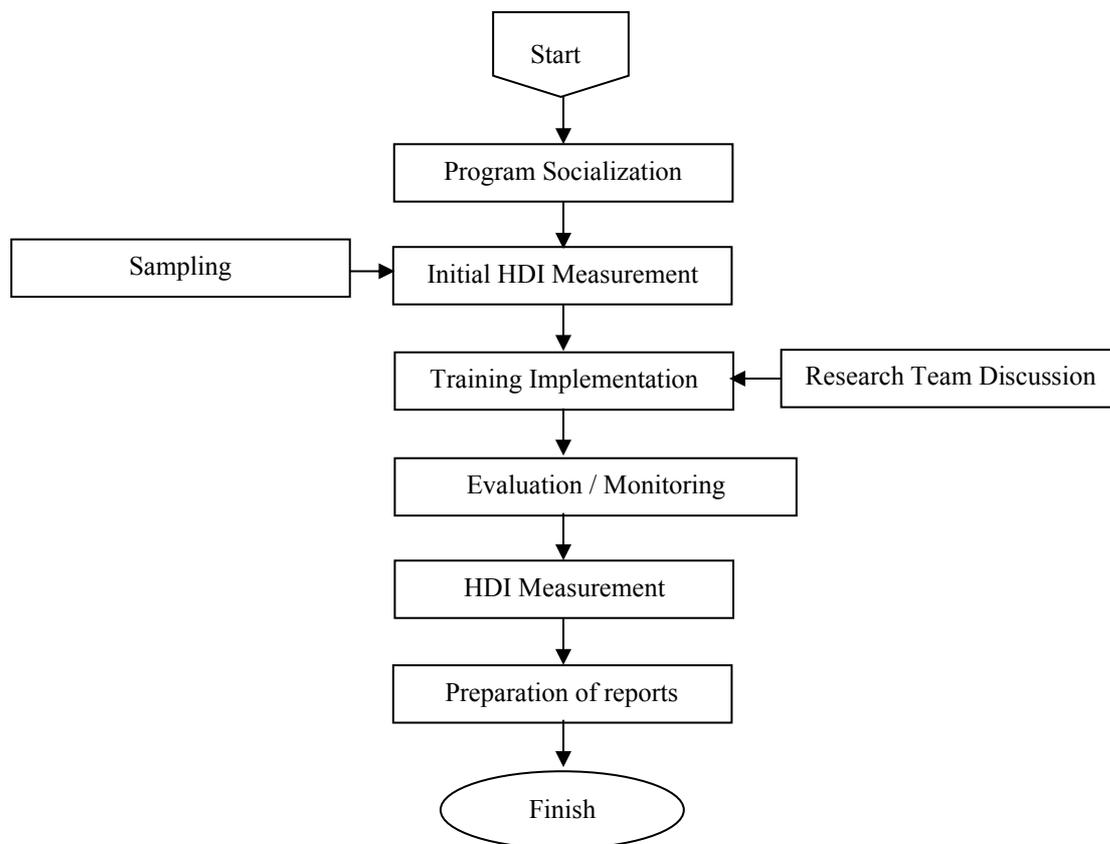


Figure 1: Research Implementation Methods

3. Results and Discussions

The results of the implementation of this research will be described below in accordance with the steps or methods of carrying out the research carried out. In parsing respondents' answers, the categorization formula is used (Azwar, 2010) which are grouped into 3 categories, namely high, medium and low with the following formula:

Table 2: Three Tier Categorization

Formula	Category
$X \leq (\mu - 1\sigma)$	Low
$(\mu - 1\sigma) < X \leq (\mu + 1\sigma)$	Medium
$X > (\mu + 1\sigma)$	High

Source : Azwar 2010

3.1 Results of Measurement of Human Development Index. Initial Stage (Pretest)

The initial HDI measurement was carried out by giving a number of questions and statements to the respondents to be filled in and answered according to their abilities and knowledge. The results of the initial HDI measurements were obtained as follows :

a. The result of reading and writing literacy measurement

The implementation of the literacy pretest was carried out in order to see the literacy level of the community. From the results of the pretest, it was found that the highest score was 48 and the lowest score was 30. The standard deviation was 4.547 and the mean was 40.02.

Table 3: Categorization of Literacy Literacy Pretest

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 45$	High	7
2	$35 < X \leq 45$	Medium	36
3	$X \leq 35$	Low	13
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

b. Results of measuring cultural literacy and citizenship

The implementation of the cultural literacy and citizenship pretest was carried out in order to see the level of cultural literacy and citizenship of the community. From the results of the pretest, it was found that the highest value was 59 and the lowest value was 33. The standard deviation was 5.548 and the mean was 48.20.

Table 4: Categorization of Cultural Literacy and Citizenship Pretest

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 54$	High	11
2	$42 < X \leq 54$	Medium	36
3	$X \leq 42$	Low	9
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

c. Numerical literacy measurement results

The implementation of the numeracy literacy pretest was carried out in order to see the level of community literacy literacy. From the results of the pretest, it was found that the highest value was 39 and the lowest value was 21. The standard deviation was 3.405 and the mean was 31.70.

Table 5: Numerical Literacy Pretest Categorization

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 35$	High	4
2	$27 < X \leq 35$	Medium	47
3	$X \leq 27$	Low	5
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

d. Financial literacy measurement results

The implementation of the financial literacy pretest was carried out in order to see the level of public financial literacy. From the results of the pretest, it was found that the highest value was 70 and the lowest value was 40. The standard deviation was 8.909 and the mean was 52.45.

Table 6: Categorization of Financial Literacy Pretest

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
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1	$X > 61$	High	12
2	$43 < X \leq 61$	Medium	35
3	$X \leq 43$	Low	9
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

e. Digital literacy measurement results

The digital literacy pretest was carried out in order to see the level of digital literacy of the community. From the results of the pretest, it was found that the highest value was 56 and the lowest value was 30. The standard deviation was 5.512 and the mean was 40.05.

Table 7: Digital Literacy Pretest Categorization

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 46$	High	6
2	$34 < X \leq 46$	Medium	44
3	$X \leq 34$	Low	6
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

f. Scientific literacy measurement results

The scientific literacy pretest was carried out in order to see the scientific literacy level of the community. From the results of the pretest, it was found that the highest score was 70 and the lowest value was 43. The standard deviation was 7.269 and the mean was 58.70.

Table 8: Categorization of Science Literacy Pretest

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 65$	High	7
2	$51 < X \leq 65$	Medium	36
3	$X \leq 51$	Low	13
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

3.2 Identification of Availability of Literacy Books in Each Hamlet as a Source of Knowledge for Village Communities

Based on the results of identification and interviews conducted with each hamlet head and representative community that there are no books related to literacy such as literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy in their hamlet. Books related to literacy are only available at the Village Head Office (Village Library) in a limited number, these books are obtained from donations from the Regional Library and Archives Service which are only related to certain programs or technologies. So that people really expect the availability of reading materials in each hamlet to make it easier for people to read in order to gain knowledge that can help improve community literacy.

3.3 Implementation of Training Activities to Improve the Community Development Index

In order to increase the HDI of the village community, various types of training were carried out for the community, especially the sample in the study. There are various types of training carried out by presenting several resource persons who have the ability in the field to be trained. The training is related to literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy.

3.4 The results of the measurement of the Community Development Index. Final Stage (Posttest)

The measurement of the Community Development Index of rural communities is carried out after carrying out various types of training activities related to literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy within a period of 8 months starting from February 2022 to September 2022.

a. Reading Literacy Measurement Results

The implementation of the literacy literacy posttest was carried out in order to see the literacy level of the community. In improving the literacy of the community, activities / training on proposal preparation are carried out, both proposals for activities for an event and the preparation of grant proposals. In addition, various discussions were held on increasing interest in reading in the village community. From the results of the posttest, it was found that the highest value was 49 and the lowest value was 34. The standard deviation was 4.157 and the mean was 42.68.

Table 9: Categorization of Posttest Literacy Read and Write

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 46$	High	11
2	$38 < X \leq 46$	Medium	36
3	$X \leq 38$	Low	9
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

b. Results of Measurement of Cultural Literacy and Citizenship

The implementation of the posttest of cultural literacy and citizenship is carried out in order to see the level of cultural literacy and citizenship of the community. In improving the cultural literacy and citizenship skills of the community, various activities/trainings on Nasyid and Albarzanji readings which are the culture and local wisdom of the village community are carried out as well as training on making bulletin boards in each hamlet with the aim of making it easier for the community to get the latest information both from the village government and nationally. It is also intended that the community is more concerned with the development of information and the latest laws and regulations that are directly related to the village community. From the results of the posttest, it was found that the highest value was 59 and the lowest value was 37. The standard deviation was 4.832 and the mean was 51.88.

Table 10: Categorization of Posttest Cultural Literacy and Citizenship

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 56$	High	16
2	$47 < X \leq 56$	Medium	34
3	$X \leq 47$	Low	6
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

c. Numerical Literacy Measurement Results

The implementation of the numeracy literacy posttest is carried out in order to see the level of literacy in the community. In improving the numeracy literacy skills of rural communities, activities/training on land area calculation are carried out for the application of fertilization of agricultural land and tax calculations. This is intended so that the community better understands how to effectively apply fertilizer to agricultural land which is the source of income for the majority of rural communities and better understands the obligations of rural communities to the state in the form of tax payments. From the results of the posttest, it was found that the highest value was 39 and the lowest value was 23. The standard deviation was 3.038 and the mean was 31.93.

Table 12: Numerical Literacy Posttest Categorization

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 34$	High	14
2	$28 < X \leq 34$	Medium	38

3	$X \leq 28$	Low	4
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

d. Financial literacy measurement results

The implementation of the financial literacy posttest was carried out in order to see the level of public financial literacy. In order to improve the financial literacy of rural communities, activities / training for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises are carried out which are focused on making various kinds of products that have economic value to serve as a new source of income, while also being given training on the formation of Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises as a means of distributing community products. The community is also given banking and investment training to stimulate the public on the importance of a safe new source of capital for their business. From the results of the posttest, it was found that the highest value was 73 and the lowest value was 45. The standard deviation was 7.549 and the mean was 61.34.

Table 13: Categorization of Financial Literacy Posttest

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 68$	High	15
2	$52 < X \leq 68$	Medium	34
3	$X \leq 52$	Low	7
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

e. Digital Literacy Measurement Results

The implementation of the digital literacy posttest is carried out in order to see the level of digital literacy of the community. In improving digital literacy skills, village communities are given training in designing and creating village websites that aim to help promote village and village community businesses digitally (Digital Marketing). Furthermore, socialization of wise reading on social media aims to provide an understanding of the importance of information and be wiser in filtering the existing information. Subsequent training relates to computerized financial reporting for Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises to make it easier for the public to control their business performance. From the posttest results, it was found that the highest value was 58 and the lowest value was 34. The standard deviation was 5.259 and the mean was 48.29.

Table 14: Digital Literacy Posttest Categorization

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
1	$X > 53$	High	9
2	$43 < X \leq 53$	Medium	42
3	$X \leq 43$	Low	5
Amount			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

f. Scientific Literacy Measurement Results

The implementation of the scientific literacy posttest was carried out in order to see the level of scientific literacy of the community. In improving the scientific literacy skills of rural communities, training on freshwater fish farming is carried out as a solution and a new source of income for the community by considering the availability of natural resources that are suitable for freshwater fish farming. Another training that was carried out was training on the manufacture of organic fertilizer for the community as a solution in maintaining rubber plantations and community oil palm plantations, so that people no longer depended on chemical fertilizers whose prices were increasing. From the results of the posttest, it was found that the highest value was 73 and the lowest value was 47. The standard deviation was 7.038 and the mean was 61.68.

Table 15: Categorization of Science Literacy Posttest

No	Average Score	Category	Amount
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1	$X > 68$	High	12
2	$54 < X \leq 68$	Medium	35
3	$X \leq 54$	Low	9
Total			56

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

The comparison of pretest and posttest scores is the comparison between the scores before the training and the scores after the training related to literacy literacy, cultural literacy and citizenship, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy within a period of 8 months starting from February 2022 until September 2022. The comparison can be seen in the following table:

Table 16: Comparison of the Number of People in each Literacy Pretest and Posttest

Literacy Type	Category	Pretest	Posttest	Information
Literacy Read Write	High	7	11	The mean pretest value is 40.02 and the mean posttest is 42.68
	Medium	36	36	
	Low	13	9	
Cultural Literacy and Citizenship	High	11	16	The mean pretest value is 48.20 and the posttest mean value is 51.88
	Medium	36	34	
	Low	9	6	
Numerical Literacy	High	4	14	The mean value of the pretest is 31.70 and the mean value of the posttest is 31.93
	Medium	47	38	
	Low	5	4	
Financial Literacy	High	12	15	The mean value of the pretest is 52.45 and the mean value of the posttest is 61.34
	Medium	35	34	
	Low	9	7	
Digital Literacy	High	6	9	The mean value of the pretest is 40.05 and the mean value of the posttest is 48.29
	Medium	44	42	
	Low	6	5	
Science Literacy	High	7	12	The mean pretest value is 58.70 and the mean posttest is 61.68
	Medium	36	35	
	Low	13	9	

Source: Data Processed By SPSS For Windows 20

From the comparison table of pretest and posttest scores above, it can be seen that the value of each in each literacy has increased in the high category. Literacy reading and writing increased the number in the high category by 4 people and decreased the number of medium and low categories. The results of this study are in line with the results of research conducted by (Chrystomo et al., 2020) which states that literacy training can improve the Human Development Index. In cultural literacy and citizenship there was an increase in the number in the high category by 5 people, and a decrease in the number in the medium and low categories. This result is in line with the results proposed by (Herwina, 2020). In numeracy literacy, the number in the high category also increased by 10 people and the number in the medium and low categories decreased. This proves that the increase in the Human Development Index with numeracy literacy training can be actualized. This result is in line with what was stated (Afría, 2021). Furthermore, there was an increase in financial literacy in the high category by three people and a decrease in the number in the medium and low categories. This indicates that the training provided on financial literacy can effectively increase the Human Development Index. This is in line with the results of the research/environment conducted (Ary et al., 2021). In digital literacy, there was an increase in the number in the high category by 3 people and a decrease in the number in the medium and low categories. This means that the effectiveness of increasing digital literacy skills can increase the Human Development Index. This is in line with what was stated (Nurulita, 2021); (Marsono et al., 2021) in his research related to digital literacy in improving the Human Development Index. Furthermore, in scientific literacy there was also an increase in the number in the high category by 5 people and a decrease in the number in the medium and low categories. This proves that an increase in the Human Development Index can be done with a program to increase community literacy (Atika et al., 2019); (Statistik, 2020).

So it can be concluded that the program to increase community literacy is very effective in increasing the human development index, especially the people of Tanjung Medan Village, West Bar District, North Sumatra. The community literacy improvement program is intended to involve the six basic literacys, namely literacy, cultural and civic literacy, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy.

4. Conclusion

Based on what has been stated previously regarding the research objectives, it can be concluded that the increase in the human development index can be carried out with programs to increase community literacy, both literacy literacy, cultural literacy and citizenship, numeracy literacy, financial literacy, digital literacy and scientific literacy. The six basic literacys can be actualized to the community as one of the bases for the formation and improvement of the community development index from the village level. Based on this, the literacy improvement program should not only emphasize education but must be able to reach the village community evenly. Future research is expected to consider a wider number of samples and a more varied sample selection in order to obtain more comprehensive information and data

Acknowledgments

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Opposition in Contemporary Indonesia Post-2019 Presidential Election

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Abstract

The 1998 reform has sparked new hope for the freedom of opinion and expression. The accompanying rhetoric fuels an encouraging situation for the existence of the opposition. This study analyses the dynamics of the opposition in the post-2019 presidential election. This article describes the existence of the opposition, which comprises two political parties at the government level) and three mass organizations at the community level, as well as evaluates several policies. By using the qualitative method, the primary data was gathered through interviews with several opposition figures and secondary data through documents, scientific articles, and media publications related to the agenda and political attitudes of the opposition parties. This study concludes that the drive to stand in opposition to political parties is not composed to single reason. Instead, this article contends that the motivation for standing in opposition is to serve the role of checks and balances

Keywords: Opposition, Democracy, Policy, Checks and Balances

1. Introduction

Post–New Order political life in Indonesia has provided opportunities for the presence of opposition groups. These opportunities have snowballed as a result of popular concern after the fall of Soeharto regime toward freedom of opinion and expression. At the initial phase of the reformation, the opposition was composed of parties who opposed President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), in particular those that had opposed the president before his downfall. Almost all parties served as the opposition except National Awakening Party (PKB) and Love the Nation Democratic Party (PDKB), which supported the government. In the Megawati Administration (2001-2004), almost all parties were part of her cabinet, left PKB and PDKB that played role as opposition.

During the tenure of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014), Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), and People’s Conscience Party (Hanura), stood outside the cabinet and operated consistently as opposition. However, according to some experts, although some parties

declared themselves as opposition, the real opposition actually did not occur, replaced by the tendencies of cartel politics (Ambardi, 2009).

After the 2014 Presidential Election, parties that initially part of Prabowo Subianto (Prabowo) coalition, such as Party of Functional Groups (Partai Golkar), PKB, United Development Party (PPP), and National Mandate Party (PAN), eventually joined Joko Widodo (Jokowi) Administration (2014-2019). Only Gerindra and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) acted as opposition. Meanwhile, Democrat Party (PD) did not declare its position as the opposition despite standing outside the government.

In the 2019 Presidential Election, there was a rematch between Jokowi and Prabowo and most of the parties that had contested in the 2014 Presidential Election, indicating a typically similar composition of support. During the campaign, the two camps embraced different perspectives, visions, and missions. These disparities created a strong fanaticism on each side and illuminated an emerging division. In this situation, there is hope for the emergence of opposition forces to serve as critical partners with the government in the function of providing checks and balances. People expects the existence of this opposition would contribute toward the enforcement of democratic conditions, presenting a more aspirational and productive government.

However, not long after the presidential election, Prabowo expressed willingness to join Jokowi's government. This was unexpected considering the previous expectation that the emergence of a stronger opposition seemed to have vanished when Prabowo joined the government. This development certainly had an impact on Gerindra's position, as the party that won the second largest vote in the 2019 election, which could not play an opposition role.

Moreover, the occurrence was compounded with the introduction of Sandiaga Uno (Sandi), the pair of Prabowo in the 2019 presidential election and also one of the leaders of Gerindra, joined the government during the cabinet reshuffle of December 2020. This situation seems reflected a pattern of political life in Indonesia, where those who had been political opponents during the presidential election eventually returned to become part of the government coalition. However, some parties still actually stood as opposition and showed their eagerness to play that role. Not only that, some mass organizations which represents civil society element also emerge as part of important opposition after the 2019 Presidential Election.

In regards to those phenomena this paper will address the reasons behind the commitment of some elements at the state level (political parties) and society level that continue to act as opposition after the 2019 Presidential Election. This article will also discuss motives by evaluating their position on some important issues which indicating the antagonistic attitude towards government policies.

1.1. Literature Review

Study of the opposition in Indonesia has long been conducted, as evidenced through earlier studies conducted by van der Kroef (1977), Uhlin (1998), and Aspinall (2000), which discussed the opposition in Indonesia, especially in the Pre-New Order era and ahead of the Reformation era. Those studies mainly discuss the reasons behind the rise of opposition during that time, indicating the existence of opposition groups at the state and society level. At the state level, two non-government parties, namely PPP and Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI) played opposition role.

The regime's oppression towards society did not recede people or NGO to be critical and voiced their thought. At the society level, the main agenda of the opposition was to criticize the New Order policies, which regarded as filled by collusion, corruption and repression tendencies. Opposition was also aimed to rebuild Indonesia democracy. The scattered opposition consisted of varied groups with different affiliations, characteristics and ideologies background.

Since 1998 scholars have studied the opposition as a resistance movement, (Törnquist, 2001) the existence and role of parties as opposition in parliament (Admojo, 2016; R. S. P. F. V. R. Putri, 2018; Tuswoyo, 2013), and the prominence of having an opposition in the era of democracy (Noor, 2016).

However, studies examining the opposition in Indonesia have been limited following the 2019 presidential election—in particular, research has yet to combine a discussion of the opposition at both the state and societal levels. Therefore, this study will examine on of the latest opposition situation in Indonesia, with a focus on the period following the 2019 Presidential Election.

1.2. Some Relevant Studies

According to Dahl (1971), the emergence of opposition in politics is an inseparable part of democratic life and is often recognized as a polyarchy. Young (2002) pointed out that Shapiro's study in democratic justice affirmed the significance of emphasizing two important issues related to democracy: participation and anti-subordination. Thus, in democracies, opposition is inevitable.

In general terms, opposition means “opposite” or “something that has a different position towards something else”, which is also interpreted as an opponent or resistance toward something (Rooney, 2001, p. 1020). According to Barnard (1972), political opposition refers to a form of contestation related to or guaranteed in the constitution. Constitutional opposition refers to those who accept the legitimacy of the state and are willing to work within the political structures and processes determined by the constitution. Opposition could be directed against the government, but not to replace it; rather, to influence the attitudes of the government (Norton, 2008).

Thus, the main role of political opposition is to control and balance the course of government or power. The control aspect is more related to the evaluation of government policies. Meanwhile, as a balance of power, the opposition plays a role in providing alternative thoughts or attitudes, thereby preventing government policies from deviating from the national interests. Consequently, standing in opposition is manifested by providing criticism, offering alternative policies, and exerting control over the administration of the government.

In addition, despite standing in different positions with the government, the opposition shall not be perceived as an enemy of the state; rather, it should be seen as merely representing different perspectives by holding basic insights such as the freedom of speech, the rule of law, and the equal protection under the law (Kiiza, 2005). Additionally, the opposition is essentially perceived as a “government-in-the-waiting” (Kiiza, 2005). However, there are times when the opposition penetrates the government to overcome a potential crisis (Fontana, 2009).

Although numerous definitions have been offered, most of the classic definitions of political opposition have been limited to issues of change of power, majority–minority relations, formal political institutions, and formal oversight. These definitions have been unable to address the nature of the development of the opposition.

Several alternative views have surfaced regarding the political context, particularly in the western world, in which it is considered vital to establish a new understanding of opposition (Brack, 2011). This article employs the definition developed by Weinblum and Brack, which refers to opposition as “a disagreement with the government or its policies, the political elite, or the political regime as a whole, expressed in public sphere, by an organized actor through different modes of action” (Brack, 2011).

In keeping with this definition, the opposition includes those who are organized, whether they are political parties or non-political parties, that criticize the government for its positions or policies. This oppositional attitude is exercised both inside and outside the parliament, either in the form of statements, demonstrations, or preferences of different options during parliamentary voting. In addition to political parties, political opposition includes various actors but excludes those who are not organized and those who submit complaints or criticisms outside the public domain (Brack, 2011).

At the state or governmental level, the role of the opposition is performed by the parties in the parliament. At the community level, the role of the opposition is played by a number of parties that have different perspectives than the government and that regularly criticize government policies. In the case of Indonesia, the role of the opposition is at the state level and includes the parties and the community, such as critical mass organizations, both of which criticize government policies and provide feasible alternatives. However, in the context of community opposition, providing alternative policies has been challenging because there are often divisions among the people themselves, which leads to authoritarian forces ultimately persisting (Elanza, 2008).

2. Methods

This study using qualitative research methods to explore primary data through interviews and secondary data through documents, scientific articles, and media publications related to the agenda and political attitudes of the opposition parties. The interviews took place from August to November 2021. The researcher interviews several opposition figures from political party, in particular PKS and PD; and NGO/mass organizations, namely the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), 212 Alumni Brotherhood (PA212), and the Coalition of Saving Indonesia Action (KAMI). These three organizations were selected because of their consistent stance in opposing the Jokowi-Ma'ruf government. The researcher analyses views, criticisms, interpretations, and opinions about the role of the opposition based on the interviews conducted.

3. Result

3.1. *Opposition at the State Level*

3.1.1. The Prominent Actors

The opposition in Indonesia is currently formed by PKS and PD, which supported the Prabowo-Sandi pair during the 2019 presidential election. PKS, an Islamic party founded by *dakwah* (preaching) activists, is a continuation of Justice Party (PK) established on 20 April 1998. After the 2014 presidential election (which was won by Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla), PKS demonstrated consistency by preferring to become the opposition. Along with Gerindra and PD, PKS was not part of the Jokowi-Kalla cabinet. As the notable opposition parties, both PKS and Gerindra voiced critical views toward the government. In the 2019 Presidential Election, PKS again took the initiative in supporting Prabowo, this time by partnering with Sandi. In subsequent years, PKS has remained as the opposition.

PD was declared in 2003, initiated by General Yudhoyono. In the 2019 presidential election and was the last party to express support for Prabowo-Sandi. After the Constitutional Court officially rejected the lawsuit for the 2019 presidential election dispute that Prabowo-Sandi supporters had filed, PD stated that it was open to the possibility of a closer move with the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin side should an offer to join the government arise (Ihsanuddin, 2019). However, in its development, this party has been increasingly perceived as an icon of opposition.

3.1.2. The Underlying Reasons

The PKS opposition stance was rooted in the Prabowo-Sandi loss in the 2014 presidential election. PKS attempted to maintain consistency in its position as the party who did not support Jokowi as the president. According to PKS, each political party supporting Prabowo should play a role as the opposition, which means standing outside the government. Moreover, the main aim to be opposition is to conduct the checks and balances function (Sera 2021). PKS believes that having control over the government is the main reason to be opposition "Interview with Mardani Ali Sera."

Moreover, exercising the option to become opposition represents a form of commitment to upholding democracy. According to PKS, this is very important for Indonesia. Authoritarian government had historically been incompatible with the expectations of Indonesian people, as exemplified during the era of Guided Democracy (1959–1966) and New Order (1966–1998) (Sera, 2021). Hence serving as an opposition, according to PKS, is also

related to faithful efforts in serving the people's interest through the implementation of checks and balances government, ensuring the president functions in accordance with the constitution and people interest (Iman, 2020).

However, the ideal opposition according to PKS does not solely criticize and act contrarily from the government, but also offers rational alternative ideas (Iman, 2020). In this role, the opposition will support government policies that have a positive impact on the people but will also criticize and demand revision if the policies deviate from the interests of the greater Indonesian people. Thus, PKS expects that the government will conduct its function as an executive, while PKS, as part of the legislature, conducts its function as a controller (Wijanarko, 2015).

PD has also positioned itself outside the government since the first term of President Jokowi's administration. This role was based on the belief there must be a party that embraces opposition role as a conduit for the aspirations of the people. In addition, this party has undertaken an oppositional stance with the aim of ensuring that checks and balances offset President Jokowi's government, which is perceived as important and healthy for democracy (CNN Indonesia, 2021).

For PD conducting control towards government is very essential in our democracy. This is to ensure that the government holds correct policies that could offer massive benefits for people and no one left behind (Putra, 2021). According to PD the opposition is intended to perform its role as a supervisor and counterweight to the Joko Widodo government (Putra, 2021). However, despite the PD preference to be in opposition, it does not necessarily need to be at odds with the government. According to Putra (2021), PD will criticize any government policies and attitudes that are less beneficial to the Indonesian people.

3.1.3. Political Position Arguments on Government Policies

The opposition's stance was apparent when PKS and PD rejected or criticized several government policies. This refusal was due to several reasons, as will be further discussed. In some cases, the opposition simply exhibited strong resistance to various government arguments. However, the criticism was also intended to correct or demonstrate dissatisfaction with the approved policies. This article uses three important cases, that became public discussions, as examples of the opposition attitude of these parties towards government policies.

3.1.3.1. "Restructuring" the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)

One government policy that has been in the public spotlight and is opposed by anti-corruption activists and the opposition is to approve the revision of the KPK Law, which was enacted by DPR. The law was officially promulgated by itself for 30 days after it was ratified by DPR (CNN Indonesia, 2019b). For the government, this policy aims to further encourage the effectiveness of the KPK's performance, sustaining this institution as more in line with the interests of the government rather than becoming an independent institution that has the potential to conflict with the national interests (Erwanti, 2019).

However, for some the revision of the KPK Law had become an entry point for weakening the KPK by disrupting its independence. This policy would make KPK lost its independency, since it became part of the government's institution. Not long after this policy stipulated, the weakening of the KPK became even more substantial after President Jokowi was silent when 57 KPK officials were dismissed because they were accused failed to comply with the Nationalism Insight Test (TWK) (Prasetya, 2021). Many people regarded it as the continuation of the declining independence of KPK.

The TWK was seen as an attempt to dismiss figures who had been critical and outspoken toward the KPK leadership, and also as an effort to "tame" rather than to enforce the KPK's role (Guritno, 2021). According Usman Hamid, the Coordinator of Amnesty International Indonesia there is human rights violations potential and nuances of discrimination in this process, considering that the dismissal applies to figures with highly credible record of performance with different perspectives from the leaders (Kawilarang, 2021).

In relation to this policy, PKS voiced disagreement (Sera, 2021). PKS believed that KPK should stay as an independent body. According to Sera, since the complexity and damaging impact of corruption for the nation, Indonesia needs for a corruption-eradication commission that strong, and independent from any intervention, including the government (Sera, 2021). The KPK's work has also started to shape the cautious attitude of public officials and is reflected in high levels of public trust in the KPK.

The dismissal of the 57 KPK officials through the TWK was considered by PKS as a further effort to weaken the KPK. Moreover, PKS rejected this outcome as based not on objective standards because many of the officials who did not pass the TWK were officials with strong backgrounds and records of achievements (Sera, 2021).

Similar to PKS, PD believed that the revision of the KPK Law should not be the entry point for weakening the position and performance of this body (Setiawan, 2019). PD stated that the party did not expect the KPK to become an uncontrolled institution, but also believed that it should be strengthened not weakened (CNN Indonesia, 2019a).

Regarding the use of the TWK that later resulted in the officials' dismissal, PD expressed its disappointment and perception that it was an unprofessional mistake. The party believed that the TWK should not be used as the basis for dismissing officials. The Chairman of PD, Agus H. Yudhoyono, stated that TWK results should only be implemented to determine a person's character or personality, not as a measure for candidacy to become a KPK official (Dirhantoro, 2021).

3.1.3.2. Omnibus Law Case

In the 2020, government stipulated a set of regulation that consisted of several regulations, including the Job Creation Act (*Undang Undang Cipta Kerja*), popularly known as UU Omnibus Law. The government considered the ratification of the Omnibus Law, which consist of thousands of verses, as necessary to create a conducive climate for economic investment in Indonesia that will help it achieve economic growth targets, job creation, and other economic goals. (Asmara, 2020). However, this policy was rejected by several elements of the society, including the labour organizations. They believed that this policy would bring many disadvantages for them, including uncertainty in terms of the continuation of having job.

As opposition parties, PKS and PD had consistently objected to the ratification of the law. According to PKS, this law had a potential to violating the interests of the Indonesian people and the sovereignty of the nation, since it will provide a lot of concession for the investors rather than labours. For this reason PKS believed that this policy is a pro-elite, not pro-people (Sera, 2021).

In addition, PKS believed that ideally many of the contents of the bill should be carefully considered. However, PKS noted that process of stipulating this law has been rushed and was not inclusive of all parties. PKS argued that access to the discussion of this law was limited, allowing minimal public participation in offering input, corrections, and improvements (Prima, 2020). This haste and lack of public participation finally became evident. In November 2021, the Constitutional Court stated that the Omnibus Law had violated the law or was unconstitutional, one of which was due to the above two reasons (Rastika, 2021).

PD also objected to the ratification of the Omnibus Law. According to PD not only that this policy has no urgency, but also it has a potential to change numerous laws, which would result in a regulatory vacuum, since it would suspend many previous regulations. (Sani, 2020). Moreover for PD, it was substantively not pro-labour policy, since it only provided advantages to big entrepreneurs and ignored a sense of justice (Sani, 2020).

Moreover, similar to PKS, for PD discussion mechanism of this bill was flawed. PD agreed that simplifying permission stages to make business easier to hold is important, but it needs a proper time to stipulate. There are a lot of drafts of chapters on the bill that really need to be intensely discussed, to ensure that this regulation is in line with the people's interests. For PD the attitude of the government to limited the policy making process in relation to this bill was not appropriate and could not be accountable for in the legislative point of view" (Putra, 2021).

3.1.3.3. The Arrest of M. Rizieq Shihab and the Disbandment of FPI

After returning to Indonesia in 2020, M. Rizieq Shihab, one of the prominent opposition figures, was entangled in the case of mass gatherings in Petamburan (Jakarta) and Megamendung (Bogor). Shihab was accused of violating Law No. 6/2018 on Health Quarantine. On December 10, 2020, the police officially named Shihab as a suspect in triggering the mass gathering (Dharmastuti, 2021). After being detained for months (Detik.com, 2021), Shihab was also found guilty of spreading false news regarding the results of the swab test at Ummi Hospital.

Shihab was later sentenced to four years in prison. Moreover, on December 30, 2020 the government dissolved the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) organization, led by Shihab, without a proper trial. Parties that joined Jokowi Government did not make any critical statements for this, and in fact eagerly supported this policy.

PKS firmly opposed the detention of Shihab and the disbandment of FPI. According to PKS, the legal treatment was discriminatory and unfair. Although Shihab was entangled in a mass gathering case, other parties had been allowed to go free, as exemplified by the cases of the Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa (Kurniati, 2021), or the Mayor of Bekasi, Rahmat Effendi (Kurniawan, 2021). According to PKS, Shihab should have been treated fairly and equally to the others, and therefore should not have received the sentence that was imposed (Sera, 2021).

In the relation to FPI disbandment, PKS perceived it as a violation of the presumption of innocence. This also indicated that there was a violation of the spirit of the rule of law because it is the court—not the government—that holds the right to dissolve a large organization like FPI. In the FPI case, the court had not yet ruled when the government disbanded the organization instead of allowing the case to be processed in court. To PKS, this significantly endangered democracy and law enforcement efforts in Indonesia (Sera, 2021).

Regarding the arrest of Shihab, PD gave a statement reminding listeners that the legal process should not be intimidating to anyone and that the principle of the presumption of innocence should be maintained. The public should not underestimate the potential for intimidation and should not ignore the presumption of innocence in the Shihab case (Akhmad, 2020). PD indicated that Shihab's case has a strong relation to the violation of civil liberties and law enforcement. Based on the constitution, no one could be treated unfairly. It is in this context that the Shihab controversy lies (Putra, 2021).

In the case of the FPI disbandment, PD's official stance was as an opponent, maintaining that the dissolution violated the constitution and the essence of a democratic state. The rule of law does not justify the disbandment in such a way; moreover, the existence of FPI itself is a consequence of democracy. Rachland Nashidik, the Chairman of the PD Advisory Council, stated that the government's move to dissolve and ban FPI significantly endangered constitutional rights. He firmly pointed out that PD had excluded the government's method of "sacking the FPI" on the grounds of democracy and human rights (Sucipto, 2021).

3.2. *Opposition at the Society Level*

3.2.1. The Prominent Organizations

Opposition at the society level is represented by many groups. This paper has selected the three most important opposition organizations, in particular at the commencement of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf government, namely KAMI, FPI, and PA212. These three organizations were selected because of their consistent stance in opposing the Jokowi-Ma'ruf government.

KAMI is an organization formed in Jakarta and declared on August 18, 2020. The founders and the member figures of KAMI have a record of being critical figures or at least as having distance from the government, including Gatot Nurmantyo, Din Syamsuddin, Rocky Gerung, Refly Harun, Chusnul Mariyah, Syahganda Nainggolan, Sri Bintang Pamungkas, and Adhi Massardhie (Wardah, 2020). One of KAMI's main activities is responding to several government policies. Not long after the declaration, several KAMI activists were imprisoned, including

Jumhur Hidayat, Syahganda Nainggolan, and Anton Permana (Wardah, 2020). They were accused of being part of the party that was responsible for the rampant demonstrations in various regions, especially the demonstrations related to the Omnibus Law.

FPI established on August 18, 1998 in Tangerang, Banten. FPI has been widely acknowledged as an Islamic group that performs street actions, which are often accompanied by violence and lead to public unrest. For FPI, these actions serve as a form of moral responsibility for the existence of disobedience that has not been completely maintained by law enforcement elements. Shihab, a preacher who is the leader of FPI, has political concerns and has not hesitated to criticize various government policies. Regarding FPI's tough stance, people believes that FPI and Shihab are icons of the opposition to the Jokowi leadership (Rosyid, 2019). During the 2019 presidential election campaign, FPI supported Prabowo and remained consistent in standing as Jokowi's political opponent after the presidential election.

The 212 Alumni Brotherhood (PA212) was established in Jakarta on December 2, 2016. This organization is a collection of alumni who attended the mass action and who come from various Islamic religious backgrounds, as a response to Governor Ahok's statement in Kepulauan Seribu, which has been considered harassment of the Muslims. The core element of PA212 was the former member of the National Movement to Guard the *Fatwa* of the Indonesian Ulama Council (GNPFMUI), led by figures such as Bahtiar Nasir, Shihab, Yusuf M. Martak, Zaitun Rasmin, and Haikal Hassan. In 2019 Presidential Election, PA212 was Prabowo-Sandi proponent. Several PA212 figures have ideological tendencies that are critical toward Jokowi and his supporters.

3.2.2. The Underlying Reasons

As an opposition figure, KAMI believes that during the Jokowi administration numerous problems emerged. These problems ranged from the weakening of the implementation of *Pancasila* ideology, social justice, and state sovereignty to environmental issues. In response to these problems, this coalition was formed to save Indonesia (Muflih, 2020). Therefore, KAMI declared eight demands to President Jokowi, to be resolved immediately due to their urgency¹.

According to Chusnul Mariyah (2021), one of KAMI's founders, although KAMI does not aim to overthrow the government, it has never been reluctant to be labelled as the opposition. With the eight demands and offer of an alternative agenda, KAMI substantially acts as the opposition. Some people argue that KAMI's emergence is relevant given the reduction of opposition in parliament, which is limited to executing the role of checks and balances. KAMI's presence is thus perceived as unique because it dares to take a stand against the authorities (Rasi, 2020).

The main reason FPI became an opposition movement was because of the results of the IV Ulama Congress, which did not recognize the results of the 2019 Presidential Election because it was considered to be fraudulent. Moreover, FPI regarded President Jokowi as a president who has a less concern for the Muslim aspirations. It is indicated by some treatments towards Islamic preacher, teacher or activists who were treated inappropriately, including experiencing criminalization and persecution (Alatas, 2021).

Similar to the FPI, the result of IV Ulama Congress was the main foundation of PA212's opposition. PA212 could not support the government based on the results of the alleged fraud. PA212 hence preferred to be the opposite party to the government and refused to conduct post-election reconciliation. Bamukmin, one of the main leaders of PA212 asserted that "the election was a fraud and created many victims. For these reasons it is impossible for us to do reconciliation" (KumparanNews, 2020).

¹ The eight demands cover the following issues: (1) Consistently implementing the 1945 Constitution; (2) Seriously dealing with COVID-19; (3) Responsibility for the emergence of economic recession; (4) Revising legal products that are not in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution; (5) Operating against corruption; (6) Not providing opportunities for the rise of communism, anti-Pancasila ideology, or separatism, and stopping the stigmatization of religious groups as intolerant, radical, and extremist; (7) Maintaining the Pancasila ideology; and (8) Carrying out the Presidential Oath seriously.

3.2.3. Political Position Arguments on Several Government Policies

After the 2019 election and the commencement of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin administration, there were several prominent cases that were highlighted by various parties, including critical circles at the community level. Among them included the case of the establishment of the Omnibus Law and the implementation of the 2020 Regional Head Elections. Both cases are regarded as national cases that have received high-profile criticism from the opposition at the government and community levels.

3.2.3.1. Omnibus Law Case

Despite Omnibus Law being believed by the government and its supports would provide advantages, including simplifying regulations for doing business activities in Indonesia, many people regarded this policy as a problematic both in terms of substance and the ratification process. Based on these two issues, they firmly rejected the Omnibus Law. This refusal exemplifies the firmness of the opposition toward the government's policy.

For KAMI, the Omnibus Law would raise the potential for creating opportunities for free competition between foreign companies and national or local companies. Free competition would further create inequality and would not be profitable for national companies considering that most national or local companies are weak compared to international enterprises. In this context, For KAMI this bill reflected the government's weak commitment to protecting state sovereignty and labour rights by providing provided broad opportunities for foreign entities to open businesses in Indonesia (KumparanNews, 2020).

One of the main consequences, according to KAMI, this law might harm the interests of workers or laborers as it opens opportunity for foreign labours to get jobs in Indonesia. If this occurs, it would be detrimental to local workers. For this reason, KAMI rejection to this law was based on the rationale that this regulation would potentially deteriorate national sovereignty, increase social gap among people, and deteriorate the bargaining position of the laborers"(CNN Indonesia, 2020a).

In addition, KAMI criticized the procedure for enacting this law for not involving sufficient public participation (CNN Indonesia, 2020a). Whereas the law consists of roughly 80 regulations and around 1,200 articles, it only took 167 days to finalize (C. A. Putri, 2020). The criticism of minimal public participation also views the enactment as violating the rules of policymaking that require broad public participation.

FPI regarded the Omnibus Law as potentially harming local laborers. The main concern of FPI was that the laborers' bargaining position weakened before the big companies, which eventually made them easy to be fired. In addition, FPI believed this law does not protect national industries; instead, it had the potential to strengthen the domination of foreign entrepreneurs. In addition, the process of enacting the law was quite brief and reflected the elite's interest in the process (Detik.com, 2020).

PA212 also criticized the Omnibus Law, believing that the process of constructing this law was elitist because it did not allow for wide participation during its discussion. In addition, the substance of the Omnibus Law was detrimental to Indonesian laborers because the law provides a significant opportunity for the entry of foreign workers.

Therefore, along with FPI, GNPF *Ulama*, and HRS Center, PA212 advocated for the Omnibus Law to be annulled (JPPN, 2020). PA212 also supported the actions of workers and students in performing strikes and demonstrations (WE Online, 2020). In fact, they actively undertook the part in demonstration against the Omnibus Law (Firmansyah, 2020). Their demands included supporting the people's action against the Omnibus Law, immediately withdrawing the Omnibus Law, demanding Jokowi's resignation, and demanding that parties supporting the Omnibus Law dissolve themselves (Detik.com, 2020).

3.2.3.2. The 2020 Simultaneous Local Election Implementation

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the government forced a simultaneous local election (Pilkada) in several districts. For the government, the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada served as a constitutional right of the people to determine the course of government. The government also believed that the establishment of a definitive government through local elections would maintain the preservation of people's economic life.

However, for the opposition groups, the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada would generate numerous problems. According to KAMI, the 2020 Pilkada was an elitist, since it was not in line with the people's aspiration. Several influential mass organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and MUI rejected it (Helmi, 2020). Also, based on numerous surveys, the public generally did not view the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada as something urgent. In this regard, Din Syamsuddin, Head of KAMI who also former the Chairperson of Muhammadiyah (the second largest Islamic organization in Indonesia) the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada was coercive (Wibowo, 2020), and even represented a form of "constitutional dictatorship" (Harjanto, 2020).

Moreover, KAMI was also concerned that the implementation of the regional election would endanger the safety of the public because it will be performed in 14 electoral areas where COVID-19 cases are categorized as red zones (Dwianto, 2020). COVID-19 cases could widely spread due to the low level of discipline in public health protocols during the campaign, which lasted for 71 days. With this situation, the policy for implementing the 2020 Pilkada essentially went against the essence of the constitution and violates the government's assurance to protect all citizens, especially from the dangers of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Similar to KAMI, the implementing the 2020 Pilkada for FPI was not an urgent matter because the community does not consider it so. According to FPI, the most important agenda for the people is overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, FPI insisted that saving people's lives be the government's top priority compared to political and economic issues (Budiman, 2020). FPI stressed the 2020 Pilkada was forced to be implemented during the pandemic due to the politicians' ambitions to win the electoral contestation. It is inconsistent with the government policy itself related to imposition of restrictions on community activities (Alatas, 2021).

PA212 believed that the 2020 Pilkada would potentially harm the community, and it characterized the agenda as the "Death Pilkada." According to the Deputy Secretary General of the PA212, Novel Bamukmin, the COVID-19 pandemic had wreaked havoc and threatened the lives of the Indonesian people. Therefore, the government's main task was to prevent the pandemic from further endangering all citizens and ensuring their safety. However, this guarantee of safety tends to be disregarded by the government, which continues to impose the 2020 Pilkada (Suryarandika, 2020).

With these considerations, FPI and PA212 called on the public to boycott and ask for a delay in implementing the 2020 Pilkada. They asked the public not to be involved in the entire series or process of the 2020 deadly elections and call for a postponement and stop the entire series/stages of the 2020 deadly elections that are taking place (CNN Indonesia, 2020b). It is apparent that the opposition's attitude among the public is based on the argument that there is no urgency in implementing the 2020 Pilkada when the COVID-19 still become a serious threat for the people.

4. Discussion

Research result Indicates that despite political reconciliation after the 2019 general election, there are various groups that claim to be in the opposition. As mentioned before the meaning of the opposition in this article is related to those who have a disagreement with the government or its policies, the political elite, or the political regime as a whole, expressed in public sphere, by an organized actor through different modes of action (Brack, 2011). Indonesia current situation, opposition groups still consists of those who are organized, whether they are political parties or non-political parties, that conducting activities to criticize attitudes, perspectives, or policies of the government.

These opposition groups are generally the former supporters of Prabowo's presidential candidacy, a figure who is symbolized as an alternative to Jokowi. However, this impression faded when Prabowo amalgamated with the

Jokowi government. Moreover, the opposition groups generally have a record of being the opposition long before the 2019 Presidential Election and remained after that election was implemented.

The determination to become an opposition is based on motives related to democratic ideals. What remains, especially for the opposition at the state level, is the desire to conduct the checks and balance role. For the opposition at the community level, distrust of the 2019 election results has become one of the main reasons for taking a stand as an opposition. Apart from that, the current government raises numerous basic problems that harm the interests or aspirations of the people.

The ideological backgrounds of these oppositions are diverse. Some are based on religious values, especially Islam (PKS, FPI, and PA212). Others are based on nationalism, such as PD, which sometimes also claims to be a nationalist-religious party. Meanwhile, KAMI is an organization founded by prominent figures and supported by groups with varying ideologies and aspirations. From an ideological background, this researcher concludes that the post-2019 election opposition is not monolithic. Ideological motives are also not dominant, although it is inarguable that PKS, FPI, and PA212 are representatives of groups with ideological views.

Contrary to the assumptions of some parties, authenticity forms the basis for opposition that is based on practical rather than ideological interests. The reason for the rejection of the Omnibus Law, for example, is due more to the potential harm it could bring to the labour group. Meanwhile, the objection toward the implementation of the Pilkada is more due to the threats to citizens' health and lives. In addition, the implementation of the Pilkada is likely to be postponed considering that the citizens themselves do not see the urgency of its implementation.

This study also demonstrates that the opposition is not always composed of one voice. They may be synergistic or cooperative in some cases, but in other cases, they are not. The Omnibus Law case truly unites the opposition at the state and societal levels because they share a similar view. On the other hand, in the case of the 2020 Pilkada, the opposition at the state and societal levels was divided. The opposition at the state level approved its implementation, while the opposition at the community level rejected the policy.

In the case of the 2020 Pilkada, parties have a strong interest in participating due to the possibility of obtaining political interests. The desire to obtain the position of regional head serves as the basic consideration that distinguishes the opposition at the state and community levels. This indicates that there is a gap between the two levels of opposition. The existence of this diversity confirms the view that differences are feasible within the different opposition groups, which are generally driven by their respective interests.

Although the existence of the opposition remains visible after the 2019 Presidential Election, the continuity of the opposition at the community level remains vulnerable, as demonstrated by the government's discriminatory treatment toward the opposition groups. The case of Shihab's arrest proves the vulnerability of opposition groups at the community level due to the state's treatment, depending on the perhaps capricious attitude of the regime.

5. Conclusion

This discussion above illuminates the reasons that PKS and PD have become the opposition. One of the obvious motives lies in the expectation that the essence of democracy will be enforced and executed. In addition, the two parties believe that several government policies have violated the spirit of democracy and human rights, mainly regarding public participation and equality before the law. Although these two parties support some government policies, in the cases above, both have objected for various reasons. This further emphasizes that PKS and PD are committed to standing as the loyal opposition to Jokowi's government.

On the other hand, there is a mixture of motives for becoming the opposition at the society level. The first motive stems from the implementation of the 2019 Presidential Election that is considered to have been flawed, thereby creating interest in taking a position opposite the elected government. The second motive involves the capability of the government, especially Jokowi's administration, which is perceived as incompetent. For KAMI, the second

factor is considered the most important concern, which is in contrast with FPI and PA212, both of which emphasize the first factor as the main consideration.

Meanwhile, their attitude toward government policies is generally based on reasonable reasons. The opposition groups believe that there was a problem with the process and substance of the Omnibus Law. For the 2020 Pilkada, the oppositions believe that there was no urgency and that its implementation created the potential for danger because it was performed during the COVID-19 pandemic. The presence of oppositions, with the complexities indicates that critical groups in Indonesia are not perished after Prabowo decided to join the government.

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The COVID-19 Infodemic: Women and Digital (Health) Literacy

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Abstract

The COVID-19 infodemics and gender make it challenging to promote science and health via social media. The objective of this study is to analyze the effects of infodemic exposure on women and men. We argue that an inclusive society is equipped with reliable digital literacy that enables women and men to participate in preventing COVID-19. This quantitative research carried out a survey in June–September 2020, with 440 social media users as respondents in Bali, Indonesia. The approach aims to evaluate attitudes regarding the COVID-19 infodemics. We calculated an error margin of less than +/- 5% at a level of confidence of 95% by combining the online questionnaires and survey analyses. According to the official website of Indonesia's Ministry of Communications and Information, users are grouped based on their age. For sample distribution, trends, and cross-tabulation, a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was also used. We discovered that women are more inclined than men to accept the material in the COVID-19 infomercials as accurate. Men were more likely to practice the advice given in the infodemics than women, despite the fact that women believed the infodemics to be factual. However, more women than men reported being likely to spread the erroneous information, which indicates that women are more likely than men to do so. When given incorrect information about COVID-19, both men and women react almost exactly the same. When putting the COVID-19 advice into practice, male and female respondents responded in the same way. To empower individuals to disrupt infodemic flows, COVID-19 needs to promote the digital literacy of both men and women.

Keywords: COVID-19, Digital Literacy, Health Promotion, Infodemics, Women

1. Introduction

The World Summit for Social Development coined the term “inclusive society” to describe a society for all, in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, plays an active role (UNDESA, 2008). The COVID-19 presents challenges for society to adapt to any way of life, including digital epidemic behaviors. Worldometers has released the number of COVID-19 cases in the global reach (November 2020): 60 million cases, 1.5 million deaths, and 45 people recovered. The new cases every day are around 500.000, with 8.436 deaths each day. This number has been increasing since the pandemic hit the world. The virus is affecting 218 countries around the world.

Eysenbach (2002) argued that infodemiology concerns over infodemics or outbreaks of misinformation are almost as old as the World Wide Web itself. This new emerging research discipline and methodology elaborates on the determinants and distribution of health information and misinformation—which may be useful in guiding health professionals and patients to quality health information on the Internet. The World Health Organization (WHO) describes the infodemic as an overabundance of information, both online and offline. To undermine the public health response, the information attempts to be false. WHO (2020) emphasizes that this epidemic situation may be more dangerous for people with physical and mental health problems. It can even endanger countries' ability to stop pandemics. In September 2020, there was a joint statement by WHO, UN, UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO, UNAIDS, ITU, UN Global Pulse, and IFRC on "Managing the COVID-19 Infodemic: Promoting healthy behaviors and mitigating the harm from misinformation and disinformation." In March 2020, the Spanish government declared war on hoaxes. After the government declared war on COVID-19 fake news, citizens began to become aware of and look for information related to false information (Gracia et al., 2020). This outbreak was extremely concerning. In April 2020, the UN Secretary-General will submit the United Nations Communications Response to counter the deployment of the infodemic. In the next month, the United Nations also launched a guidance note on addressing and countering COVID-19 related to hate speech, and a WHO member issued Resolution WHA 73.1 regarding the COVID-19 response. These findings demonstrated that controlling the epidemic is critical in this pandemic era. According to the WHO, false information causes public distrust, a lack of trust in testing, and a decrease in immunization campaigns, allowing the virus to thrive. It costs the lives of many people.

This pandemic is spreading widely through the digital sphere. There are too many sources and sites that obtain information about COVID-19, but many of them give incredible information such as misinformation or rumors (Karasneh et al., 2020). The digital sphere is being used in two ways: as a large-scale media to keep people safe, informed, and connected during the pandemic, and as a tool to spread information globally. Korea uses digital technologies to integrate containment and mitigation strategies effectively (Heo et al. 2020). Video applications such as YouTube can be a valuable tool in providing information on COVID-19, but they can also disseminate misinformation. False beliefs or misperceptions disseminated via YouTube can spread mistrust toward authorities, generate confusion, and heighten public anxiety. YouTube can be a powerful tool to keep the public informed during a crisis in a controlled and reassuring manner. However, to do so, accurate information must be made available on such platforms. Therefore, governments should have a stronger presence on social media and produce more online videos to reach a wider audience (Moon & Lee, 2020). For these reasons, social media can be a powerful weapon in spreading epidemics and can be destructive to public health efforts, especially during a pandemic. Abd-Alrazaq et al. (2020) suggested that governments and health systems should also "listen" to or monitor the tweets from the public that relate to health, especially in a time of crisis, to help inform policies related to public health (e.g., social distancing and quarantine) and supply chains, among many others.

Health literacy has many dimensions, including what it means to be able to read, understand, and communicate important medical and health information during different phases of life. Health literacy is central to multiple health system priorities, including quality, cost containment, safety, and patients' involvement in health care decisions (Parker *et al.*, 2003). Information and communication technologies (ICTs) play a role in network theory research, where target audiences are a major contributor to the online health communication arena, shaping the conversations with individual sentiments and social engagements (Roberts et al., 2017). This current study suggests the importance of digital health literacy for women and men in preventing infodemics. In response to the COVID-19 infodemics, we conducted online questionnaires, SPSS analysis, and survey analysis of social media users' behaviors. This study aims to provide insight into how digital literacy among men and women needs to be improved for the purpose of breaking infodemic flows.

2. Method

The research was quantitative, conducted by conducting a survey of 440 social media users in Bali, Indonesia, between June and September 2020. SPSS, online questionnaire analysis, validity, and reliability testing Demographic variables of interest in this study comprise gender and age (17–60 years old). The behavioral variables of interest are social media usage, which will be used to determine how respondents reacted when they

were exposed to false information about the COVID-19. There were various types of false information in different contexts, such as health, national policy, other country policies, the impact of the COVID-19 on tourism, places to avoid due to the COVID-19, and lockdowns issued in some places.

There were 12 false statements in some questions to all the respondents, such as: "Did they believe them?", "Did they practice what has been suggested in the information?", and "Did they share and verify the information they received?". The false information being tested is that: 1) Drinking water every 15 minutes will make the virus drift to our digestion, 2) The COVID-19 would die if it were exposed to the sun, 3) Hot lemon tea can cure people who get infected by the COVID-19, 4) We can simply test if we get infected by holding our breath for 10 seconds, 5) We will be immune to COVID-19 if we eat a boiled egg, 6) A thermogun aimed at our brow will cause brain damage, 7) You should not go to Renon Square because a lot of people have been infected, 8) Vladimir Putin released 800 tigers and lions to make people in Russia stay at their homes, 9) A list of hotels being sold due to bankruptcy because of COVID-19, 10) Bali will be lockdown, 11) Access to Bali from Java has been restricted, and 12) Policy to obtain the requirement to receive free electricity. We tested the information on all of the women and men in the sample. The data were processed with SPSS to obtain a distribution sample, trends, and a cross-tabulation.

The Pearson correlation product with two-tailed significance was used to test the data's validity. According to the validity test, all questions were declared valid, so the r count was greater than r . The reliability test result using SPSS shows that the number of Cronbach's alphas is 0.820 from 48 questions. It was above 0.6, so the data can be used and is reliable. The data were compared after processing to see how men and women responded differently. This paper is discussing how women react when exposed to infodemics or false information about COVID-19.

Denpasar's population ranges from 15 to 25 years old, with high school and undergraduate education being the most recent. The occupations are quite diverse, dominated by private employees at 27.3%, followed by college students at 22.3%, and entrepreneurs at 15.3%. Denpasar people have various incomes; however, 24.8% of them earn between IDR 2.500.000,00 and IDR 4.000.000,00; 24.3% of them earn IDR 1.000.000,00 to IDR 2.500.000,00; and 21% of them earn IDR 500.000,00 to IDR 1.000.000,00 per month.

There are various social media platforms. Social media: Facebook is the most widely used, with an ownership rate of 76.3%, followed by Instagram at 70%, YouTube at 66.8%, Twitter at 66.8%, and TikTok at 22%. For message services, WhatsApp is the most widely used in Denpasar, reaching 97% of the population, followed by Facebook Messenger (56.3%), LINE (55%), and Telegram (41.5%). According to 39% of the population, most people in Denpasar spend 2 to 4 hours per day on the internet, followed by 25% who spend 4 to 8 hours per day, 19% who spend less than 2 hours, and 16% who spend more than 8 hours.

3. Results

We measured and analyzed how people reacted due to the COVID-19 epidemic by comparing how women and men responded. We asked some questions, such as, "Did they believe them?" and "Did they practice what has been suggested in the information?" and "Did they share and verify the information they received?"

According to misinformation about the COVID-19, women have a higher number than men. Women tend to believe it more than male respondents. For almost all of the 12 false information items, the number of female respondents who believed it was true was higher than the number of male respondents. Even though there are some issues, men and women have the same number, such as the information that talks about the COVID-19 dying if exposed to the sun, and if we eat boiled eggs, we will be immune to the COVID-19. Only in one data set was the number of male respondents likely greater than the number of female respondents. It was about a list of hotels that were being sold due to bankruptcy because of COVID-19 (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of respondents that believing the false information about COVID-19

Infodemics	Women	Men
Drinking water every 15 minutes will make the virus drift to our digestion.	11%	8%
The COVID-19 would die if it were exposed to the sun.	41%	41%
Hot lemon tea can cure people who get infected by the COVID-19	19%	14%
We can simply test if we get infected by holding our breath for 10 seconds.	9%	7%
We will be immune to COVID-19 if we eat a boiled egg.	3%	3%
A thermogun aimed at our brow will cause brain damage.	6%	5%
You should not go to Renon Square because a lot of people have been infected.	13%	9%
Vladimir Putin released 800 tigers and lions to make people in Russia stay at their homes.	6%	5%
A list of hotels being sold due to bankruptcy because of COVID-19	13%	15%
Bali will be lockdown	14%	13%
Access to Bali from Java has been restricted	34%	32%
Policy to obtain the requirement to receive free electricity	19%	17%

Female respondents are more likely than male respondents to believe the COVID-19 infodemics are true, according to Table 1. Despite the fact that female respondents believed the information to be true, male respondents were more likely than female respondents to put the information into practice. Drinking water every 15 minutes to keep the virus from drifting to their digestion, eating boiled eggs to be immune from COVID-19, and not checking their body temperature with a thermogun in the forehead are the issues that men practice more than women. Women respondents are more likely to have problems drinking lemon tea on a regular basis, and they did not visit Renon Square because there are a lot of infected people there. issues or information with the same number is that they hold their breath for 10 seconds to see if they have the virus or not (Table 2).

Table 2: Percentage of respondents who practicing what has been suggested in the false information about the COVID-19

Advices	Women	Men
Drinking water every 15 minutes will make the virus drift to our digestion.	22%	23%
Hot lemon tea can cure people who get infected by the COVID-19	47%	39%
We can simply test if we get infected by holding our breath for 10 seconds.	22%	22%
We will be immune to COVID-19 if we eat a boiled egg.	8%	13%
A thermogun aimed at our brow will cause brain damage.	2%	8%
You should not go to Renon Square because a lot of people have been infected.	24%	21%

Table 2 shows that there is no difference in the reactions of male and female respondents to the information suggested in the COVID-19. However, when it comes to spreading information, the number of women respondents who are likely to share infodemics outnumbers the number of men respondents who share false information. In almost all of the 12 false pieces of information, the number of female respondents who shared the false pieces of information was greater than the number of male respondents. Even though there are some issues, men and women have the same number, such as false information that they should not go to Renon Square because a lot of people have been infected there. There are four false statements: that the number of male respondents is likely to be higher than the number of female respondents. It was about a list of hotels being sold due to bankruptcy as a result of COVID-19, how pointing a thermogun in our forehead will damage our brain, how access to Bali from Java has been closed, and how Bali will be placed under lockdown (Table 3).

Table 3: Percentage of respondent who shared the information

Infodemics	Women	Men
Drinking water every 15 minutes will make the virus drifting to our digestion	10%	6%
The COVID-19 would die if it exposed to the sunshine	28%	26%
Hot lemon tea can cure people who get infected by the COVID-19	15%	12%
We can simple test do we get infected by holding our breath for 10 seconds	7%	3%
If we eat boiled eggs, we will be immune from the COVID-19	4%	2%
Pointing thermogun in our forehead will damage our brain	4%	6%
Should not go to Renon square because a lot of people have been infected	9%	9%
Vladimir Putin released 800 tigers and lions to make people in Russia stay at their home	4%	2%
List of hotels being sold due to bankruptcy because of the COVID-19	6%	8%
Bali will be lockdown	8%	12%
Access to Bali from Java has been restricted	14%	15%
Policy to get electricity free obligation	12%	9%

Table 3 shows women are more likely to share false information through social media than men. Before sharing the information, we should verify it first. According to the COVID-19, more than half of the respondents, both men and women, were checking or verifying the information they received. It shows that both women and men have a mutual awareness of the need to check or verify the information they get. Data also show that a higher percentage of women than men do not verify the information.

Table 4: Percentage of Respondents Checking/Verifying Information About the COVID-19

Sex		Checked and verified the information about COVID-19			Total
		Yes	No	Sometimes	
Men		54%	7%	37%	100%
Women		53%	8%	37%	100%

Table 4 shows that the reasons given by men and women respondents for verifying the information are nearly identical. Most of them thought it was important to verify the information because they were aware that there was a lot of false information on social media about COVID-19. There were 32 % of respondents, both men and women, who were skeptical, so they did not easily believe all the information they got.

Table 5: Reason Why Respondents verified the information

Sex		The reason why verified the information				Total
		There were a lot of false information	Source is lack of competence	The information unbelievable/	I do not believe easily	
Men		45%	11%	12%	32%	100%
Women		46%	8%	13%	32%	100%

Health literacy was coined in 1974 by Simonds (Frisch, et.al., 2012) at a health education conference discussing health education as a social policy issue. Media literacy, information literacy, science literacy, cultural literacy, and political literacy are needed to retrieve dimensions included in the concepts of these domains and to understand how health literacy research can profit from the dimensions. The women expressed a reluctance to send images to healthcare providers. This is because some women believe that images of women should not be circulated among men who are not direct relatives (e.g., husbands, sons, brothers). Another cultural consideration relates to how men should be integrated in the design processes related to their wives' health (Talhouk, et al., 2016). As seen in Table 5, both men and women are motivated to verify infodemics and lack competence in information sources that lead to 'do not believe easily'. Verifying means comparing the old and the current ones to distinguish and filter the infodemics. Finding appropriate languages and innovative approaches to dealing with infodemics are two of the challenges that health professional educators face.

Table 4 shows both women and men have almost the same reaction when receiving false information about the COVID-19. Even though most of the respondents verified and checked the false information, there are still people in Denpasar who believe the information to be verified and checked the false information. Women are more likely than men to believe false information, and women are more likely than men to share false information with other social media users. But men practice the false information they get more easily than women. Women have a greater role to play in stopping the pandemic by not easily sharing false information and increasing awareness to verify every piece of COVID-19 information they receive. Meanwhile, the digital divide and health information could be tackled by 1) using more sources of information (magazines, books, television, radio, and interpersonal resources), 2) using a variety of search strategies in addition to googling, 3) judging the information on the internet more critically and using more criteria for evaluating health information, and 4) experiencing more outcomes and a higher level of satisfaction because of using the internet (Neter & Brainin 2012). There are four important aspects of health literacy. First, people need to not only be able to obtain relevant health information, but they must also possess the motivation to do so. Second, the health-literate individual will be able to understand the information that he or she is motivated to gather. Third, health literacy also involves the confidence and competence to utilize health information. Finally, these definitions suggest that possessing the motivation and ability to gather, understand, and use health information in the appropriate ways should have a positive impact on health and wellbeing (Bodie & Dutta, 2008). Nowadays, most people spend time on social media platforms. In this article, we discuss how the flow of health information during COVID-19 can be widely distributed by Facebook, followed by Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, and TikTok. How can we absorb all of the information presented in such a short period of time? Collaborations of health educators, scientists, governments, physicians, and citizens are needed to prevent the digital divide and infodemics.

4. Discussions

Salathé (2018) predicted infodemics, or false information, about pandemics spreading through the digital sphere. The amount of data generated on the internet, particularly on social media, is rapidly increasing, which is helping to fuel the growth of digital epidemiology. The implementation of digital epidemiology into the daily workflow of public health authorities is perhaps the key goal of digital epidemiology in the future. Therefore, the field needs to focus on finding ways to make data openly accessible, at least to health authorities and researchers, and ideally to the community at large.

Eysenbach (2020) defined infodemics as part of infodemiology, an important emerging scientific field and critical area of practice during a pandemic. He posted four pillars of infodemic management: (1) information monitoring (infoveillance); (2) building eHealth literacy and science literacy capacity; (3) encouraging knowledge refinement and quality improvement processes such as fact checking and peer review; and (4) accurate and timely knowledge translation, minimizing distorting factors such as political or commercial influences. The current infodemic is a crisis to distill the sheer quantity of information, which is occurring on four levels: (1) science, (2) policy and practice, (3) news media, and (4) social media. The use of digital interventions can also help people who are traumatized by the disruption caused by this pandemic. They also inform governments, health professionals, agencies, and institutions on how to react to the current COVID-19 pandemic as well as future pandemics (Oyebode et al., 2020). consumptions based on the most recent COVID-19 information provided by scientists that

flows in a circular fashion from one node to another. Understanding and filtering information before sharing it with contact lists can be proposed as a potential solution to reduce the risk of infodemics.

It is important to consider how to continue to use social media in a positive way as a public teaching tool to raise awareness about the interprofessional team and the different roles and possible variations of professions involved in the delivery of healthcare (El-Awaisi, et al., 2020). The main difference is that, whereas most traditional health technologies required a health professional gatekeeper to gain access, digital health interventions have a greater direct impact on patients. There is still a paucity of research and evaluation of digital technologies for health (Azzopardi-Muscat & Sørensen, 2019). Another changing aspect is the shift to the human side of medicine. In the traditional setting of healthcare, patients were not involved in decision-making about their own health and disease management. Medical professionals had to take on the burden and all the responsibility concerning medical decisions and consequences. This insecurity and exposure to decisions out of their control served as the primary motivation behind patient empowerment that included the use of disruptive technologies, which were also becoming available (Meskó, et al., 2017). Meanwhile, telehealth services are currently provided through Zoom and Skype. As a result, ransomware like Maze, Mummy Spider, AZORult (information-stealing malware targeting coronavirus online map trackers), Zloader, and data theft and breach (visiting calls, hijacking video conferences, and phishing) are becoming more common (Hakak et al. 2020). Measures of information-seeking behaviors should be expanded to include the ability to assess the quality of the information one finds, as well as the ability to use this information to alter health behaviors (Rosenbau, et al., 2019). The complexity of the risks during the pandemic necessitates more assistance for internet users in consuming COVID-19-related information. Trends toward believing harmful conspiracy theories also potentially polarize society and drive violent extremism.

The stay-at-home policy increases the number of internet users, and COVID-19 has isolated people in many parts of the world. It makes people rely on information and socialization through social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter (Croucher, et. al., 2020). Wearesocial and Hootsuite recorded in October 2020, there are 4.66 billion people using the internet in the world, an increase of 7.4% compared to October 2019. There are 4.14 billion social media users worldwide, up 12.3% from October 2019. The netizen recorded 47% more time spent on social media and 46% more time on messenger services. There are more women than men who use smartphones or mobile phones. Facebook is the most popular social media platform. Women were more likely than men to have liked a post in the previous 30 days on Facebook. Women are more likely than men to comment on and click on Facebook advertisements. This figure applies to all age groups, from 25–34 years old to more than 65 years old. Wearesocial also recorded that women users are more likely to comment on Facebook than men, especially those who are between 35 and 65 years old. In the 45–54 age group, women are nearly three times more likely to comment than men. It shows that women are more active when using their smartphones compared to men.

As a result, women are more vulnerable to an infodemic than men. Women can spread the infodemic unknowingly, and not just by being exposed to it. Given that Kibbe (2020) highlighted the fact that women in COVID-19 are less aware of how this virus evolves, it may be vulnerable. Women with children may be conducting less research, participating in the management of fewer clinical trials, and engaging in fewer local, regional, or national committees and societies. The difficulties that women as parents face in providing clinical care are also significant. Women worried more about childcare, while men were more concerned about paid work and the economy. The COVID-19 pandemic is affecting women more heavily than men, not only at the physical level of work (e.g., but women are also reducing more paid work hours than men) (Czymara, et al. 2020). Kurnia et al. (2020) studies' in Indonesia said that women tend to ignore misinformation, even though each respondent responds in numerous ways to misinformation and hate speech depending on the context. Kurnia also found that the intensity of the use of WhatsApp is the strongest factor influencing digital competence. The more active use of WhatsApp predicts a higher score of digital literacy competence and a stronger correlation. As women's behaviors are shaped by socio-cultural and material practices that are embedded into their everyday lives, it is important that digital health design interventions carefully consider this embeddedness and experiential knowledge to explore the design space on how to support women's literacy on the COVID-19 in their ongoing efforts to navigate social relationships, information, and advice at different levels and from multiple sources (Bagalkot, et al., 2020). The social networks of men and women can be a tool to map and identify the most powerful node(s), who deliver information more

frequently than others. Digital methods and methodologies can be applied for further studies to tackle infodemics, cyberattacks, and conspiracy theories.

5. Conclusion

Women play important roles in disseminating this information to their families. As a result, when a woman becomes a mother, she becomes a reference point and a source of knowledge for the family. Their ability to break the infodemic chain that is harmful during this pandemic will increase if their digital literacy skills are improved. Women will be trusted parties and a place to verify families and children in addition to being able to distinguish between different types of information, particularly when it comes to false information about viruses that, if ignored, will reduce the effectiveness of government efforts to combat the virus while also decreasing public compliance with health protocols. The emergence of infodemics or incorrect information, revolves around the role of women. According to the principle of two-step flow communication, it's crucial to empower women and raise their digital literacy in order to stop the infodemic in the largest circle, namely the family.

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Revealing Women Participation in Tourist Village Establishment

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Abstract

The tourism sector provides opportunities to develop inclusive communities, including Tidar Campur. The initiative of establishing tourist destinations is proposed as an effort to reduce slum areas in Magelang City, Central Java, Indonesia. The idea of initiating an educational tourist village comes from the local societies who believes that there is a promising potential from tofu enterprises. This study depicts how a participatory approach with three primary components work in tourist destination establishment. Community participatory was used as a framework of this paper. The qualitative method was implemented through interviews, observations, and three times of Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The result shows that women play an essential role in tourist activities. However, the women place themselves in the passive group in the public discussion of tourism establishment in which agreement, strategy, and decision-making are discussed.

Keywords: Indonesia, Participatory Approach, Tourist Village, Women

1. Introduction

Gender equality is a fundamental right that is used as an indicator to see the sustainability of people-centered development. According to Equality in Tourism (2018), the attention of reducing masculine domination in organizational is to decreased imbalance and reduced gender-based promotion positioning in tourism and hospitality. Moreover, gender equality is also promoted in order to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, where all gender has equal opportunity to involve in tourism sector (World Tourism Organization, 2019). Therefore, tourism is considered as a sector where women and men have equal positions at work.

In developing country, tourism significantly contributes one-third to the economy income. Some developing countries also place tourism sector as the primary source of foreign exchange (Cole, 2017). The economic growth has influenced by the international tourist exchange by 5.6% in 2017 and expanded to more than 1.4 billion in 2018, especially in the Asia Pacific region (OCDE, 2020). The stakeholders, either government or

private company gain many profits this sector. As an impact, the employment opportunities for society are increased.

Indonesia places tourism sectors in an essential position. According to OCDE (2020), tourism sector earned IDR 536.8 trillion or 4.1% of Indonesia's total GDP in 2017. Furthermore, in 2018 the international arrivals have reached 15.8 million, 12.6% more than the previous year. The government considers infrastructure as one of important aspect to develop regional interconnectivity, which is expected to improve the tourism potential in remote areas (Ollivaud & Haxton, 2019). This priority influences the local government's policy.

Magelang city, which is located in Central Java, also considers tourism as the utmost target. It has many natural and cultural potential for tourism sector. The government promotes thematic villages to increase the potency in each area and reduces poverty in several areas in Magelang Regency, including South Tidar. Based on geographic data, South Tidar was located in South Magelang that crossed the Magelang district border. It has a developing area of 1.157.189,52 (68,58%) and non-developing area of 530.172,70 (31,42%). The local government stated that Tidar Campur in South Tidar will be developed as a tourist village with tofu entrepreneurs as an icon.

Tofu entrepreneurs in Tidar Campur have many potentials in economic and social-cultural aspects. Tofu production has promising sale-value if the local can create more innovation, such as make a tourist destination where visitors can see the process of tofu production. However, based on the early discussion and observation with the local people, there are some obstacles regarding the development of tourist destinations. First, people are lack of innovation since they produce tofu as a home business without any expansion. They also stated that they cannot make an innovation because they still struggle in covering production costs, particularly in purchasing soybeans as raw materials of tofu. Second, the issue comes up from the origin of tofu entrepreneurs who are newcomers. They are centralized in one neighborhood alongside four neighborhoods (native) in one hamlet. The tourist village program designates one hamlet as a tourist destination so that it requires the collaboration and support from all society who live in that area. Moreover, the tofu factory is located at the corner of Tidar Campur, so the tourists need to pass other areas to reach it. The clean environment and the hygiene of products is the third issue that has to be solved. The residual waste yields a terrible smell that could be a problem in tourist programs.

Apart from tourists' benefits and challenges, some inequality practices are related with gender-based issues in many aspects. According to People 1st (2017), women work in 65 percent of part-time jobs in the hospitality and tourism sector, 82 percent in contract food and service management, and 72 percent in hotels. However, men and women have payment discrepancy in the tourism and hospitality sectors. The report of UNWTO (2010) depicted that 54% of women work in tourism, however women earn 14.7% less in similar sectors. Despite an income issue, inequality in tourism sector also occurs in self-development concerns. Five years of research started in 2015 on women development in the workplace. The study shows that gender-biased continuously becomes an obstacle for women's advancement, particularly to reach the manager level (Huang, Krivkovich, Starikova, Yee, & Zanoschi, 2019). The inequality obstructs women's self-actualization to show and improve their capability in the workspace.

Women are also considered as less participative in decision-making and leadership. Women's participation in the past eight years showed that 23% of tourism ministers are women, although women's participation in a broader context is minimal (UNWTO, 2010). The data from Korn Ferry (2020) shows that the number of female senior executives in tourism sub-sectors such as hospitality, travel, and leisure is still low, such as 29.5% for travel companies, 28% for leisure, 26.8% in transport, and 21.7% for food service.

Tourism industry design is initiated for all elements within diverse levels. Women's participation is essential for the sustainability of the tourism wheel. In Tidar Campur, establishing a tourist village is a trigger to a more significant tourist destination implication. Based on the observation, the men dominate the tofu enterprise in Tidar Campur. Therefore, this study aims to identify women's participation in the process of designing tourist destinations in Tidar Campur.

This study highlights a community development approach to see how local people participate in establishing tourist destination in Tidar Campur. The background above underlies women's participation as the prominent subject within this article. The community development term is initiated by Paulo Freire, who suggests the education for adult in remote area in North-eastern Brazil (Freire, 1993). He proposes that the community is important to be involved in the development processes. Equality and freedom of expressing idea are the critical concept in participatory approach. Participatory development is defined as people's involvement in creating, undergoing, and controlling in a collaborative framework. There are two key concepts of participatory development; 1) people's collaboration and 2) derive initiative independently based on their thought and deliberations (Oakley, 1991; Dinbabo, 2003). Those two concepts can be a challenge for community if there is no leadership.

Participatory concept has raised both in theoretically and practically. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is the one result of enlarging the approach. The principles emphasize local community authorization to deliver, discuss, augment, analyze, and determine their purpose and action (Tufte & Mafalopulos, 2009). The power is perceived as strengthening the people's capacity to negotiate and control what they expect for their lives. Unfortunately, communication is less considered as an essential element in the participatory approach. It is because there is no an absolute definition of participation, such as the endeavor to limit hierarchies of knowledge, power, and economic distribution; create inclusivity in decision-making processes (Thomas & Fliert, 2014); boost opportunities for local people to propose their plan until it is implemented (Chambers, 1994). In fact, the standpoints varieties emerge from the program's different contexts, characteristics, and goals. Every country also extends the approach related to local issues and development policy. For example, in the Philippines, community development leads to a community-based and participatory approach, particularly in education and organization (Quimbo, Perez, & Tan, 2018). Furthermore, the interview results with community development workers in five countries confirms that "the framework is fluid and situational" (Moore, 2002). The situation is related to society's characteristics, economy, and culture. Tidar Campur as a potential tourism village also has a different way of development.

In Tidar Campur, the asset-based community development (ABCD) is used as an approach to trigger the dialogue during the program. During collecting preliminary data, some rejections from the tofu entrepreneur appeared. Their voice is trapped within their problems and ignoring alternative solutions. Furthermore, in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD), the ABCD perspective is assumed can help finding the solution that is expected by local people. This framework is used to create a sustainable strategy for the community and encourage them to understand and identify their capacity and assets to build their community. The second power of the ABCD approach is to drive the community to get support from policymakers.

This article explores the data with three essential PRA components include *methods, behavior and attitudes, and sharing* (Chambers, 1994; Thomas & Fliert, 2014). The participatory methods relieve local people's analysis that employs the methods to adapt to the local situation. The second basic is the behavior attitudes of outsiders. The outer stakeholder is obligated to serve freedom space for local people to speak up confidently. The participatory program was conducted by the academician from the university. The third component is sharing. It includes knowledge and experience. The transfer of power in the sharing process has to be balance. An outsider could not take a role as a leader, but they place themselves as partners of dialogue.

2. Method

In 2018, Government of Magelang Regency decided Tidar Campur as a potential tourism location on their planning. A qualitative approach was used to explore the field data from people who live in one hamlet that consists of 5 neighborhoods. Based on the observation, every neighborhood in Tidar Campur has its specialty, such as a rainbow village with beautiful drawing and coloring home's wall, aloe vera and orchid cultivation, organic crop cultivation, blind massage services, and tofu entrepreneur. This study focused on one neighborhood that becomes the home of tofu entrepreneurs. The government believes that they have a potential as an icon for a thematic tourist destination.

The data was collected for approximately eight months, from April until November in 2018. The data were collected through interviews, observations, and three times of focus group discussions (FGD). FGD in the participatory program was conducted by Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana. The first FGD aimed to investigate and collect information about the potential of one hamlet in Tidar Campur. The participants who actively involved in community development were selected as respondents. This FGD was used to discuss each potential that can be strengthened in the integration format. FGD helps to build stronger connection between each groups. Furthermore, asset-based thinking approach was applied in the discussions. Asset-based thinking builds people's awareness towards their most assets. On the other hand, it can empower a group to improve the community's positive development (Publication Glasgow Centre For Population Health, 2012). Tidar Campur that consists of five neighborhoods with five different potentials should have same vision and mission to build their village.

The second FGD was done to gain an integration voice in the community to strengthen them as a group at a focal point. The participants were focused in one neighborhood of tofu enterprise area and some representatives of four other neighborhoods. The tofu entrepreneurs need to deliver their perception, interest, roles, and goal to build group identity. Asset-based thinking in the second FGD is expected to synergize their potential to develop their village. The discussion involves the preparation for future innovation and difficulties prevention that may be faced by tofu entrepreneurs. The last FGD aimed to remind the mutual agreement between the community.

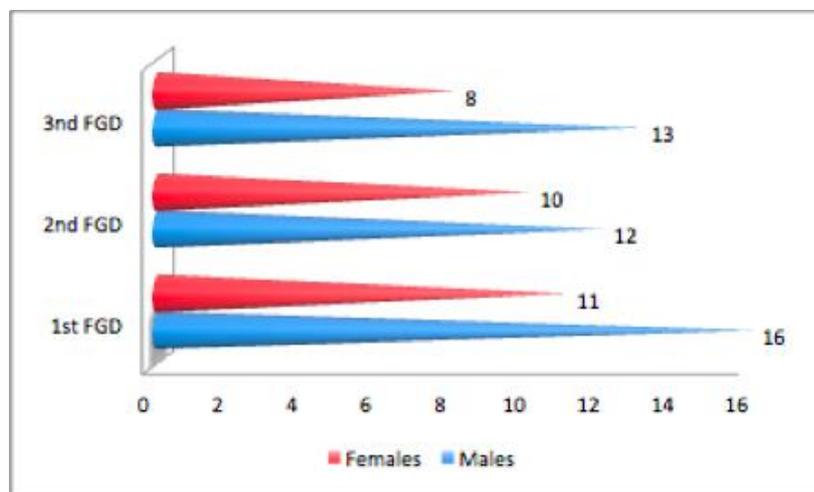


Figure 1: The participants of FGD

The total participants in FGD were 70 persons, which consisted of 29 females and 41 males. Quantitatively, males dominated the FGD. The measurement of numbers is perceived as a crucial tool in depicting gender participation gaps, even though their participation quality is also essential (Omair et al., 2020). The information aimed to determine the assessment for the progress.

3. Results

3.1. The rejection empowers inhabitants to build village

The Minister of Public Works and Human Settlement with the Magelang government has initiated the development of Kotaku (Kota Tanpa Kumuh). This program aims to reduce slum issues under the Constitution No 1 2011 chapter VII about prevention and quality improvement of slum housing and slum settlements. The discussion between the government and Tidar Campur's inhabitants trigger the ideas to develop "*kampung wisata*" (tourist village) in Tidar Campur that benefits the small tofu industries. The first idea comes up from the local inhabitants. However, some local people refused the idea because of several problems, particularly economic issues.

Since 2014, the effort to empower local inhabitants has been held through government training program sessions. As a result, the local inhabitants beautify the environment by creating mural art and coloring their

walls, cultivating orchids and aloe vera, building waste-bank management, and producing tofu. Moreover, the community provides a public space with an Internet connection. Those facilities are expected to attract the visitors to come as they can take pictures at the catchy spots.

In the cultural aspect, the local inhabitants contrive cultural events named *Sadranan* and *Grebeg Tahu*. It performs traditional performances and traditional dance. They also built giant cones from tofu then paraded it around villages. The media then publish the information regarding the tofu festival. The cultural performances bring positive results to attract the visitors both local and foreign tourist.

3.2. Participatory methods in establishing tourist destination in Tidar Campur

The participatory program aims to formulate the concept of a tourist destination in Tidar Campur as an alternative way of increasing local people's wellbeing. As an icon, the tofu enterprise becomes the central identity to be developed. However, hygiene of tofu production is still the issue. Furthermore, several discussions with local people have been conducted to build their awareness about the importance of hygiene in food production. The discussion was not directed to inform their problem that could be a challenge if they established tourist destination. However, the academicians asked them to describe and imagine their big dreams for the future. It was an effort to avoid a didactic way.

The didactic method is conducted in the program when they learn about media branding. The academicians who worked with media practitioners teach them how to operate media technically, such as graphic editing training to create a logo. Some young people who have a fundamental skill in the editing process participated in the university's media training. They transformed the idea of the logo into graphic design as media branding.

In the program, the academician conducted a discussion forum through FGD as well as interpersonal communication with local people. Communication is the core of the participatory method for answering "voiceless" issues in the development process (Tufté & Mafalopulos, 2009; Hidayati et.al., 2019). Based on the FGD, the tofu entrepreneurs refused to discuss the plan for establishing a tourist destination in their asset's spectacles. They stated that they never belong an asset. The participants state that:

"Stop talking about how to gain profit; we do not have more capital because we have many debts."
(Participant 1, FGD 1, May 2018)

"We eat every day, so we are required to earn money every day. This program is impossible to bring to reality. We will be hunger." (Participant 2, FGD 1, May 2018)

Every statement of tofu entrepreneur indicated that they face the tourism program pessimistically. However, other neighborhoods (non-tofu entrepreneurs) shows opposite excitement. They believe the program will increase community income.

"In [name of the neighborhood], we have many assets. We create a rainbow village so every tourist can come and see it. Several months ago, some tourists came and took pictures of us. They are from [name of country] and some other countries. We also contact tourist agents to bring their guests here."
(Participant 4, FGD 1, May 2018)

"We develop our potential in traditional dancing. Every year some tourists enjoy our performances at formal events. Not only local tourists but also from abroad." (Participant 5, FGD 1, May 2018)

During the conversation, two group received and refused the idea of a tourist destination. One group expressed their happiness and acceptance with high expectation that tourism support their welfare. On the other hand, another group expressed their anxiety and distrust towards the program.

The communication process was in contrast with the habit in society. In Javanese tradition, 'harmony' is the essential concept that is maintained in daily life. Moreover, harmony is executed through avoiding conflict and negative feeling. As a result, pseudo-harmony emerges on the surface of social and cultural relations. However, society remains stressing 'togetherness' as an essential instrument (Lestari & Faturochman, 2013). It happened in the discussion in which some people restrain their voice to keep the more intense debates.

The dialogue process actually depicted that each group achieved the capability to share and listen to their members. As facilitators, the academicians maintain the debate and ensure each participant has a similar chance to talk. Expressing opinions aloud in a public forum could be considered as their participatory action. At the first experience, the shocked faces are captured. It was hard to contravene Javanese social-cultural behavior. However, the fluent talking alleviated all participants to put empathy. Afterward, the resistance group remained calm and would like to participate in innovation quest.

The expectation comes from hamlet's head. According to the observation, participatory methods were employed progressively in Tidar Campur because of his role in leadership. He is a tofu entrepreneur who understands the social-economic conditions of the tofu entrepreneurship. His networks with many stakeholders improve his knowledge of the tofu business at the macro and micro levels. He accommodates the willingness and anxiety of local inhabitants through discussions. Furthermore, his negotiation with the government also helps the hamlet obtains some training programs and financial assistance.

3.3. Behavior and attitude in participatory development

Dialogue is considered as a way to develop the village. Development is not a monolithic process (Bandura, 1989). Interpretation, response, and impact of the development process are diversely connected with personal background and experience. In fact, the comprehension of the development exposure could facilitate analysis until the individual level. Therefore, collaboration between local people and all stakeholders is important.

The academicians who act as facilitator in PRA are non-local people. The local people bring significant role in the participatory program. Outsiders' domination indicates the participatory program's failure to oppress society's innovation without considering local peculiarity. Imposing ideas that succeed in another place without considering and adapting the local value can be an obstacle. Society has various socio-psychological, thus empowering active participation becomes a challenge to be solved (Chambers, 1994).

In Tidar Campur, FGD offered discussion space in which the academicians act as communicator. For example, in the first FGD, some tofu entrepreneurs still perceived personal profit and rejected collective value. The FGD revealed how the local inhabitants understand the assets. The rejection of some local people could be addressed with two ways communication. The discussion led them to focus on their potential by mutual consent. Asset-based thinking deal with improving micro-civic acts to gain recognition and feel confident with the community condition (Alevizou, Alexiou, and Zamenopoulos, 2001). The academicians realized that the primary actor in those activities were local people. The objectives and sustainability program are in their hand.

3.4. Sharing: an essential component of the participatory approach

In the third FGD, the local society tried to create a logo for local branding. The logo represents their willingness, desire, and dream towards this program. The facilitator gave a paper to the participant and asked them to write down their imagination. They mentioned symbols to represent their prospect, such as 'success,' 'blue sky,' 'water flow,' and 'Gatotkaca.' *Gatotkaca* is a famous hero in the Javanese folklore. All FGD participants include the facilitator, then apprehend the meaning of the symbols through listening to each other. This process is a way to get to know the insight from local people. Discussing the logo helps local people to place themselves as a part of a group. Collective values are needed to grow self-belonging. The feeling would stimulate their energy to embody a collective action and groupthink. In this concept, collaboration is assumed as group members' willingness to work together (West & Turner, 2010). A groupthink also helped a person to take a role according to their capability. The opinion strengthened by a statement from participant who stated:

"I agree with the government program; we can try to implement it in Tidar Campur. Moreover, I know the main selling product of this area is tofu. So, we will support each other." (Participant 3, FGD 3, June 2018)

The sharing process engaged the local people to explore their potential. After they shared their feelings and their future dreams, the participants were asked to write their opinion of assets. They focused on their assets instead of

the problems. As a result, they realized that sharing and group discussion could help them understand the strengths of their potential. In contrast, at first, they presumed that assets are in form of physical materials, but then they realized that group supports are also the asset that they have. Some of them wrote that unity was one of the assets. They realized that building an educational tourist destination requires cooperation and collaboration among them. Every capacity will strengthen the community. They stated that the production of tofu has to be underpinned by a hygiene process and clean environment.

Through sharing, local people could get deeper into their identity. The last FGD showed that every member of Tidar Campur dealt with their assets as their identity to create cohesiveness. The realization of two groups with different direction encourage researcher to bring different way to show their potential. Identity is fundamental to reach their goal as a group of an educational tourist destination established by a sense of community with the same awareness of asset and togetherness. A sense of community is an individual experience in the community (Barbieri and Zani, 2015). The different voices will enrich the strength of the community if they found their unity through sharing. FGD with its asset approach help the community construct their collective identity, which further triggers collective action. Collective identity supports the power of the community to fight for their goals (Castells, 2010).

Two ways communication helped all elements in the program transfer their knowledge and experience. Either local people or facilitators, they worked with an awareness of all participants' capacity. Appreciation prevented high self-esteem and professional possessiveness. The processes opened a dialogue among local people and outsiders, including all stakeholders being involved. It taught self-critic to every participant that knowledge and experience could emerge from everyone.

4. Discussion

According to the processes of participatory program, there was an important note that appeared. In Tidar Campur, the men dominated the tofu business. They handled almost all processes of tofu production. In the first FGD that depicted several refusals, the men expressed his anger to the facilitator. They explained their reasons to resist the thought of tourist innovations linked with tofu industries. They voiced aloud to emphasize restlessness in the public domain where the neighborhoods listened. In this condition, the male hamlet's head tried to appease the anger. The conversation in public continued with the conversation dominated by the male group.

Contrary, women behaved actively in the implementation of tourist activities. They played an essential role. However, in the formal or public meeting to design the big picture of a tourist destination, they tended to keep silent. The FGD facilitators have encouraged them to deliver their ideas, but they were reluctant to share their voice.

In the implementations of tourist villages, women took a significant role. In waste bank management, women built the system to decrease the waste in their surroundings, which was mainly plastic waste, through a handicraft process. They provided a house as a public workspace to create the handicraft. The double benefits were reached with this activity since sanitation and income could be obtained from craft selling. In addition to the 'waste bank,' women created '*kampung organik*' (organic village) named Soya Mekar. They learned to produce organic fertilizer and cultivate the plant with it. To add various processed tofu, women also tried several experiments to increase value-added for tofu products. They tried new recipes made from tofu. The products could be further developed to processed food options if Tidar Campur is going to start a culinary business in the future.

Women's participation in tourist activities portrays their active contribution in developing tourism. They built the idea independently. Collaboration as a key to community participation is conducted through their involvement in some government and academic trainings. The relationship constitutes the goal of the stakeholders that were intended for the community development. Every element takes benefits from the collaboration based on their purposes and interests.

However, there is a special note in the FGD process. Different from the other activities, women tended to be voiceless during discussions. Silence could be perceived in multiple meanings, either powerful or powerless. Susan Gal constructed silence as "a symbol of passivity and powerlessness" (Mahoney, 1996). The process creates the amalgamation between personal and collective memories. Silence represents power when the person handles the control to decide their actions. Otherwise, the social experience could deploy unconsciousness and unwillingness to express the voice.

In FGD, the participatory process provided equal opportunity to express their voices. The facilitators asked them to deliver their thought and their critics during the program, nevertheless they chose to stay passive in public forums. However, they deployed their ideas and suggestions through interpersonal communication out of the public discussion. Women's subordination has situated women as objects rather than the subject in daily conversation in the patrimonial hierarchy of social, economic, and cultural tradition. They learn socially and culturally to restrain their emotion and behavior as a woman or a girl. In Javanese culture, society arranges women's expression. Women, in the traditional way, are depicted as an ideal image. Otherwise, "modern women" who can deliver their expression have been labeled as intruders.

5. Conclusion

This research explained how a participatory approach was implemented in the establishment of tourist destinations in Tidar Campur. The results and discussion showed that three essential components of the participatory approach came up in the program. All stakeholders involved in the program appropriately played their roles. Even though restlessness from tofu entrepreneurs emerged in the first discussion, the sharing process helped them understand their willingness without outsiders' interventions.

However, the critical note reveals how women participated in tourist activities in Tidar Campur. Women had confidence in deliberating their ideas in some activities. Unfortunately, it contrasted with their participation in the public discussion wherein they chose to react passively. Women need to increase their capacity to express their ideas in public discussion. It shows an indication that women find it hard to express their aspirations when dealing with arguments in public discussion. The inequality in social and cultural experiences could be the reason. This situation needs to be changed for women's good. It is because this condition can harm women as decision-making in public impacted the agreement and strategic chances for women in tourism policy.

In the discussion, asset-based was considered to be the appropriate approach for the Tidar Campur community to reduce pessimistic feeling. Finally, they excavated their understanding of community assets and improved their intention to succeed in an educational tourist village with tofu as an icon. To motivate the community, using this approach can be one solution. However, it has a weakness in the future as external challenges cannot be predicted.

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Digital Collaborative Governance of Library in Developing E- Library in the Technical Implementing Unit of Universitas Sebelas Maret's Library

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Abstract

Abstract: Rapid information technology development leads to temporally and spatially borderless information. Library is required to manage library and information technology-based services innovatively. This research aims to study digital collaborative governance of library in developing e-library in Technical Implementing Unit of Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) Library. The research method used was descriptive qualitative. Data collection was conducted using observation, in-depth interview with users, librarians, and IT manager of UNS' library, and documentation. Data was validated using source triangulation, and data were analyzed using an interactive model. The result shows library activity managed using information technology-based hybrid system, in which the collections were transferred into digital media with online- and offline-based library service. Technical Implementing Unit of UNS Library facilitates the need for smooth and fast internet access, software and hardware are always updated, and socialization about UNS e-library is conducted through website: library.uns.ac.id. Intense collaboration of digital libraries between universities, schools, governmental and private institutions is improved and sustainable. In digital maintenance of library, IT Division of library collaborates with IT Division of UNS Communication Center. Digital collaborative governance of library makes the library services faster, more efficient and systematic.

Keywords: Digital Collaborative Governance of Library, Library Service, Hybrid Service

1. Introduction

Library development is an attempt of improving library resource, service, and management, either quantitatively or qualitatively. The development is conducted based on characteristics, function, and objective, and in accordance with the user's and the public's needs by utilizing information and communication technology (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 43 Tahun 2007 Tentang Perpustakaan [Republic of Indonesia's Law Number 43 of 2007 about Library], 2007)

The development of information technology creates acceleration in various aspects of life. Library development is inseparable from information technology development and thereby, the library should change the old paradigm related to its management. Originally, library was a place for storing a collection of information, and then, it develops into semi-modern library using catalogue in its searching process. Information development encourages library to apply technology to get convenience and to provide information service in the form of online information search (Azwar, 2018).

Library as the provider of information for the users is inseparable from the use of information technology. As the information center, library always follows technology advance (Ismaya Ridwan et al., 2020). It is a collection of information managed, stored in digital format and accessible and serviceable through network (Arms, 2000). Digital library is the one whose collection content and management process are all presented in the form of combined digital data. Library management gives more convenience through the library's automating function, and thereby make the library management process more efficient (Arum & Marfianti, 2021). This digital library is developed in the library to facilitate the users to search for information, procedure of borrowing, and utilizing library for 24 hours.

Hybrid library is a combination of conventional library or the one with printed-form collection materials and digital library where information packaged in electronic or digital and printed media are used simultaneously and in overlapping manner (Pendit, 2017). Providing a variety of digital collections can be done without abandoning the printed-form collection using system to meet the users' need for information without temporal and spatial borders, and technology will help the performance of library. The printed collection materials are still needed as the source of reference until today. Printed collection material is also a unity inseparable from library and the use of printed and non-printed collection materials is called hybrid library.

Internet service is a digital service available most widely in the library, and most of librarians have computer operating skill. However, inadequate electricity supply becomes the main problems affecting digital service in the university library (Atanda et al., 2020).

The three factors underlying the implementation of collaborative governance in improving information literacy are inadequate human resource, budget, and policy regulation. The strategies taken to improving information literacy, are among others, to increase the quantity of collection, constructing reading corner, mobile library service, library as the activity center to hold competition and to cooperate with each other. Collaborative governance is a starting condition, an institutional design, a facilitative leadership, and collaboration; supporting factors are stakeholders, information sharing, and private grant and the inhibiting factors are inadequate support from village government and inadequate commitment from the management of village library (Sekedang, 2021). Open Library makes collaboration to improve the library's service and as the branding to make its existence more recognized. Collaboration is built by referring to a specific strategy. The selection of collaboration partner refers to the shared vision and mission. The type of activity done is to hold a variety of literacy events for academic community and people, and to improve access to information source. Evaluation process is conducted by holding a meeting following the completion of an event and distributing questionnaire to the participants. The constraint often encountered is misunderstanding, and thereby good communication and relation should be established with all partners. Open Library has public relations librarian serving actively to built collaboration (Komariah et al., 2021). Digital era makes presenting service in digital form an imperative; it is in line with the following statement: *"E-government refers to the delivery of government information and services online through the Internet or other digital means"* (Nico, 2007).

This article aims to analyze digital collaborative governance of library in developing e-library in the Technical Implementing Unit of Sebelas Maret University's Library

2. Method

The research method used was descriptive qualitative. The subjects of research were user, library staff, librarian, and IT organizer in UNS's Library. The research was conducted in April-July 2022 in UNS' Library Technical

Implementing Unit (thereafter called UPT Perpustakaan UNS). The instruments of research were observation and in-depth interview. Data validation was conducted using source triangulation and data analysis using an interactive model of analysis.

3. Results and Discussion

Technology development and situation occurring in Universitas Sebelas Maret campus environment require the library to be creative and innovative in improving a variety of library services. The availability of internet and information technology-based applications facilitate everyone to access information without the need for coming to the library closely related to the presence of staff, opening hours, and technology utilization, because they can get it regardless temporal and spatial borders. Varying information can be accessed easily from home, boarding house, office, shop and even restaurant, as long as internet and its connecting equipment are available.

A library, as an institution that should update various services, is required obligatorily to catch the technology development. Library provides books/journals (printed collection) and completed with e journal/e book collection (electronic collection) that can be accessed through cellular phone or computer. Seeing majority of people are smartphone users, library prepares the service applications that can also be accessed through smartphone. Smartphone will be a standard vehicle to access internet replacing computer-based ware soon (Kubat, 2017).

In addition, the activities held offline previously in the library can be held in hybrid system in the presence of varying technologies, for example the organization of webinar and online workshop. Workshop can be held online by utilizing communication applications like zoom, Gmeet and other applications. The availability of such applications enables the consultation to be done online as well. Technology use in library service aims to facilitate the users to access various services provided by library more effectively and efficiently. Technology advance accelerates the use of library resource, improve library performance, and improve academic performance and service, and thereby improve the productivity of library services (Zhang, 2022)

UPT Perpustakaan UNS provides a variety of collections, either printed or electronic. Printed collection is provided in each of collection rooms and the facility of searching data of literature material in UPT Perpustakaan UNS through link: <https://unsla.uns.ac.id>. Electronic collection can be accessed at <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/> (local content collection). e-journal and e-book collections are electronic journal or book collections packaged in the form of electronic file and the information can be traced using internet network, and can be accessed at <https://ezproxy.uns.ac.id/>.

The borrowing of collection is conducted manually by borrowing directly to the library staff, and then the staff processes the book. All collections managed gradually to be borrowed and returned independently. Currently, only few collections have been served independently using RFID (Radio Frequency Identification). The extension of collection borrowing can be done directly by both coming to the library and using Telegram application.

Due to Covid-19 pandemic occurring globally bringing many changes, the library is required to keep existent to provide service without face-to-face contact with the users. The presence of communication technology becomes a vehicle to provide service conveniently that has been done rarely or never been done before. User education, as an activity to introduce library to the students, particularly new students, can be done online compared with that done face-to-face previously, even the library tour activity to the new students, can also be done online (virtual library tour) (Foley & Bertel, 2015). Seminar and workshop events are also held online. Some online activities held by UPT Perpustakaan UNS are, among others, Online Workshop series to improve the literacy of UNS academic community in using journal database and tools that can be used to help research and lecturing such as database Scopus, turnitin, and etc (UPT Perpustakaan UNS, 2022b), User education, the activity to introduce collection and service provided by UNS library to the 2021/2022-generation new students was held online (UPT Perpustakaan UNS, 2022a) and some others library activities are held using digital devices.

Digital era leads the people in this era, particularly college students, to have lifestyle inseparable from internet. Technology becomes a tool that can help hold some activities, particularly teaching-learning process. It makes

internet the basic need of students. UPT Perpustakaan UNS is equipped with wifi facility available for free, using Single Sign On (SSO) UNS. The students can access wifi for free by registering using SSO they have.

Some hardware needed are, among others, electricity network, internet network, computer network to connect data and to store data of manuscript that has been scanned. Scanner is used to scan the page that will be transferred into other media. Rope to bundle the manuscript that has been cut to be scanned to prevent it from being mixed with other manuscripts. The collection digitalized is the collection of final projects and Javanese manuscript. Meanwhile, to provide the paper cutting tool, the library cooperates with the third party. Software available includes digilib system and application in pdf format to convert the file. The procedure of digital media transfer in UPT Perpustakaan UNS can be seen in Figure 1.

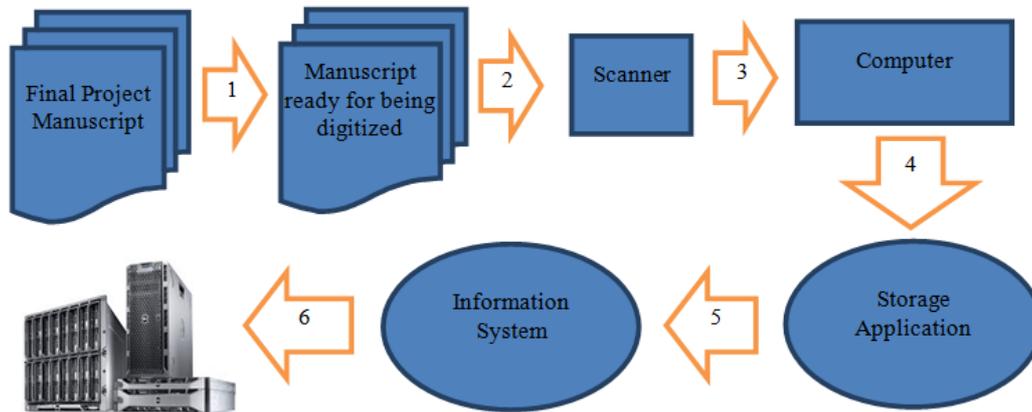


Figure 1: Procedure of media transfer for the final project

Notes:

1. The manuscript of final project is released from its bundle
2. The pages of manuscript are scanned
3. The scanned manuscript is stored in the computer
4. The output stored in the computer is then processed in such a way using the application employed, such application to collate and to give watermark.
5. Soft-file is then uploaded into system
6. Storage is in the server

UPT Perpustakaan UNS always collaborates with many government institutions and colleges or universities, either public or private. The signing of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) is conducted with various institutions including, among others, UMS (Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta) library, Politama Surakarta, and the libraries of STIKES (Health Science College) Kusuma Husada, STIKES (Health Science College) BHM, Universitas Wahidiyah Kediri, STIE AAS (Economics College of Surakarta Academician Mandate), STKIP PGRI Pacitan (Teacher Training and Education College of Republic of Indonesia Teacher Association of Pacitan), and Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Ekonomi (STIE) (Economics College) AMA Salatiga, PT. Telkom, Regional Library and Archive Board (BPAD) of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Special Region), SMPN 3 (Third State Junior High School of) Karangpandan Karanganyar, Musamus University and other institutions. Through the collaboration, mutualistic symbiosis is expected to grow between the two institutions and thereby can improve institutional relation in both formal and non-formal education, research, and service to the people, library field development in the term of providing joint collection utilization service and library development.

In addition, building closer cooperative network is related to institution accreditation, campus development, sharing the library's collection, and optimizing information and communication technology mastery. Institutional collaboration and access to information literacy as widely as possible particularly the parties, and thereby can create a smart, superior, and competitive generation and can provide entrepreneurship library and provide income

generating to the library. The cooperation is expected to be synergic and sustainable (UPT Perpustakaan UNS, 2016).

It is in line with BF, a student of International Relation, Faculty of Social and Political Science, UNS, stating that the presence of collaboration can support the existence of digital library because in ever-changing era, the library is required to follow the existing development. Library needs to make some innovations particularly in developing its digital feature to keep surviving. In creating the innovation, collaboration is, of course, needed. Collaboration needs to be done to create more interesting innovative ideas. For example, both government and public or private company have collaborated to provide digital reading sources, digital journal, and turnitin service desirable to the students. The collaboration should be prevented from producing undesirable output to the market.

In this ever developing era, all institutions, groups, units and even company should collaborate. Collaboration is intended to share knowledge and idea to be shared (exchanged) to create new innovation. For example, the government has had Freedom-to-Learn – Independent Campus activity (Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka or MBKM) with collaboration being the main point. This opportunity should be used by UNS library to exchange knowledge and idea with other university. Thus, digital service knowledge/technology existing here and in other universities can be overlapping and create advance.

However, in collaboration, sustainability aspect is required to make the collaboration running not only once or twice but continuously particularly with new parties and thereby results in new innovations that makes digital library surviving in facing the change of time.

Digital libraries should always collaborate in the attempt of improving literacy, this collaboration is made through one data library with national coverage using big data technology, and thus, the availability of data or information originating from one data library can improve knowledge, help the author access all digital information, help solve information gap, and enable the information to be accessed evenly by the users (Wasitarini, 2019).

The requirement of students' graduation is, among others, to write scientific work in the form of Final Project to Undergraduate (Diploma) students, Minithesis to Graduate (S1) students, thesis to master (S2) students, and dissertation to doctorate (S3) students. A very wide space is required to store these works. The more the works produced, the more overloaded the space will be. UNS yields \pm 1,000 students annually. The number is followed with the number of final project manuscript received by the library. In the attempt of storing the students' work, the Chairperson of UPT Perpustakaan UNS makes a policy to convert the existing works into other media, while for the further works, the manuscripts are delivered in electronic format that can be uploaded independently online through sending it via email. The work will be stored in the repository that can be accessed at digilib.uns.ac.id. The content that has been uploaded or stored in the digital library application is then stored in the existing service in Information and Computer Technology-Technical Implementing Unit of UNS, including all database available in the library.

It is in line with DH, a student of History Study Program, FKIP UNS, stating that the maintenance of digital library is required between IT of Library and UPT ITK UNS when IT of Library finds unsolvable technical problem. Thus, cooperating with UPT ITK UNS can make the problem solved well and immediately.

UPT Perpustakaan UNS always updates itself as it is required to serve everyone who needs information, from the manual one originally into the technology-based one; thus, the users will expectedly acquire information needed and the existence of library can be maintained amid the very large number of other information providing institution. If library does not follow the development, it will be abandoned by its users.

The presence of digital collaborative governance will offer the users the convenience to access electronic sources, and thereby can improve the users' satisfaction in using library. The users utilize information sources regardless the operating hour of library, and they can access it anywhere, anytime regardless spatial and temporal border as long as the computer internet works well. Through handphone (cellular phone), the users can access information

existing in the library. Digital library is a solution to the problem of limited access. Somehow, library will keep innovating to develop the users' appeal to use library more and more.

It is in line with AV, an accounting student of FEB UNS, stating that there is an increase in the use of facilities and infrastructures in UPT Perpustakaan UNS during the transition period from online to offline learning activity. For example, the return of book conducted using self-service concept in the entrance of library lobby is something new to the students. In addition to being more efficient and effective, such self service-based service builds digital library's future image among the users.

The digital-based information tracking service in UPT Perpustakaan UNS, OPAC SLiMS 8.5 (Akasia), is available to facilitate the search for library collection. Online Public Access Catalog (OPAC) is a facility to search for the data of literature collection. OPAC can be accessed at <https://unsla.uns.ac.id>. Computer facility is provided to access OPAC in every room; in addition, the users can use their own gadget and it enables the users to search for the collection material needed easily. OPAC will provide information related to the collection owned by UPT Perpustakaan UNS.

The procedure of searching using OPAC starts with entering one or more keywords from title, author, or subject, and then clicking search; in addition, it can be done through specific search. Furthermore, the detail of collection selected will appear, if the status of available appears, it means that the collection is available in the room and on the shelf, and ready to be borrowed, but if the status of borrowed appears, it means that the collection is borrowed and has not been returned.

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The students can get recommendation, after they have fulfilled certain conditions. The requirements or conditions to be fulfilled by the students who will attend graduation ceremony are to submit the file of final project that has been approved, not borrowing any book, not having fine to be paid for the delayed book return, and submitting the donation of book. Meanwhile, the students who will move to other university or resign should meet two conditions: not borrowing book and not having fine to be paid for the delayed book return.

The service of free-of borrowing statement (surat bebas pustaka) is implemented online during pandemic through the email of library. The students who want to get the free-of borrowing statement but still have book borrowed and fine to be paid can send the book they have borrowed through expedition service like gosend, JNE, post office, etc. The payment of fine for the delayed book return can be transferred to the bank account specified. The submission of final project file is done via the library's email. Meanwhile, book donation program is nullified during pandemic, but for the students who have submitted donation, it will be received and processed further.

The students who will attend graduate ceremony, move to other university and resign are required obligatorily to submit the free-of borrowing statement. D3, S1, S2, and S3 students who have graduated should upload their final project scientific work (minithesis, thesis, dissertation) independently, because the library no longer receives it in hard copy or printed format. Since January 2022, the UPT Perpustakaan UNS has applied the procedure of uploading final project independently through <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/> by login SSO; the procedure also applies to the process of free-of-library book borrowing.

In the presence of independent upload service, the students can upload the document of final project report independently, without the need for coming to the library. Librarian will verify the document uploaded and then the students can print the statement of final project submission to the library themselves. This independent upload service is expected to facilitate the service to the users.

UPT Perpustakaan UNS always attempts to facilitate social media such as telegram application to provide book borrowing extension service independently. Thus, the students no longer needs to come and to bring the book to the library to extend the book borrowing period, as it can be done anywhere and anytime. The regulation of extension through telegram is as same as the manual one, in which the borrowing period can be extended twice since the first borrowing for a seven-day period since the date of extension, as long as the borrowing period of the book to be extended has not passed the borrowing due date. The book borrowing extension service using SMS is no longer effective since September 2, 2019 and transferred into telegram application.

Book delivery order is a delivery service for borrowing and returning book. It is a service adapted to follow information technology development aiming to facilitate the users in the library basic activities, book borrowing and returning. The book borrowing activity during pandemic takes a sufficiently long time because the users should come to the library to search for and to find the information on the book needed.

The delivery order service in UPT Perpustakaan UNS is a solution to the problems occurring in online book borrowing service system. Using the book delivery order system, the users can borrow and return the book without coming to the library, and everything can be done quickly and appropriately.

Scientific literature clinic is a service providing consultation and guidance to all S-1, S-2, S-3 students and lecturer likely still finding difficulty in accessing e-journal and e-book subscribed by UNS. The Scientific Literature Clinic Service Program is intended to accelerate and to empower all subscriptions of electronic journal and book subscribed to all academic community and to improve the students and the lecturers' reading interest and need to make library the center of reading, research, community service, and information service.

During pandemic, librarian consultation can be done through whatshap, sms, phone, email and chatting. Librarian can serve direct (offline) consultation during operating hour only, but online consultation can be done anytime and anywhere according to the agreement. This online consultation involves consultation about access to electronic information, plagiarism checker, and reference tools (zotero/mendeley), administration service, and final project writing.

UPT Perpustakaan UNS provides turnitin software to check scientific and writing works of students, lecturer, and other academic community. Every student who is writing final project is required obligatorily to check his/her work to ensure it is free of plagiarism in the library. Lecturers and librarians can get this service for free. The file of scientific work can be sent to the library's email, and then the staff will check the plagiarism rate using software existing in the library. The result of checking will be sent to the email of corresponding persons.

UPT Perpustakaan provides Self Access Terminal(SAT) room to give internet access to users and academic community and non-academic community of UNS to trace information online. SAT is currently located in the first (1st) floor of UPT Perpustakaan UNS west building. The users can access it using their own laptop or PC available, in which internet cable and wifi are available for fast and good internet connection.

4. Conclusions

The information technology development can be caught as an opportunity of innovating. Library serves to provide service to all stakeholders either online or offline; thus, the users' need for information supporting the learning process can be fulfilled for lecturer, students, and educating staff. Service and collection are developed into digital format gradually. E-library can be built through digital collaborative governance, through collaborating with related units such as Information Technology and Computer Technical Implementing Unit (UPT Teknologi Informasi dan Komputer) in developing digital service, students, and other institutions. The improvement of devices is needed, including hardware and software, to ensure that the system can run smoothly. The intensity of digital library collaboration between universities, schools, government and private institutions should be improved and sustainable. The collaboration in developing e-library can improve service into the faster, more efficient and systematic one.

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The Strengthening of Capacity Election Supervisory Body in Regional Head Election of Kuantan Singingi Regency

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Abstract

Election law violations always occur in every election in Indonesia. One of them is Riau Province, specifically the Kuantan Singingi Regency which is directly adjacent to the Province of West Sumatra and Jambi Province, Kuantan Singingi Regency has a fluctuating number of violations and the same violations in every general election. Thus, the need to strengthen the capacity of Election Supervisory Body in the 2020 Regional Head Election of Kuantan Singingi Regency by carrying out and extra for the election. This study aims to describe the capacity building of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency to strengthen election capacity, to describe the factors that affect the capacity building of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency to strengthen election capacity. Thus the research method uses qualitative methods. The object of the research is the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency. Result shows that the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency to strengthen the election process by conducting and through training, technical guidance, coordinator meetings, recruitment and selection and socialization of participatory strengthening. The influencing factors include leadership, commitment, networking and media information and communication. The suggestions given are the socialization of participatory supervision of supervision carried out in public open spaces and improvement of regulations related to the authority of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency to impose sanctions for violators of the Regional Head Election Law.

Keywords: Capacity, Election, Supervisory Body

1. Introduction

General Election is a means of implementing People's Sovereignty which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly. Elections are held with the aim of electing people's representatives at both the

central and regional government levels, as well as to form a democratic, strong government, and gain popular support in the context of realizing national goals as mandated by the preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Elections implemented by the Indonesian state in the context of realizing people's sovereignty as well as implementing democratic principles or values, increasing people's political awareness to actively participate in general elections for the realization of the ideals of a democratic Indonesian society.

Through the election, it is hoped that the ongoing political process will give birth to a government that is legitimate, democratic and truly represents the interests of the voting community. In order to achieve an independent and free from the influence of various parties, an institution that plays a role in supervising the implementation of the election in accordance with the laws and regulations is needed. The General Elections Supervisory Body of the Republic of Indonesia (Election Supervisory Body) is one of the election organizers that is independent and free from various parties as well as related to the implementation of its duties and authorities. The implementation of Election Supervisory Body's duties and authorities is regulated in Law number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections.

In order to carry out the mandate of Presidential Regulation number 29 of 2014 concerning Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies, Election Supervisory Body has the obligation to independently plan, implement, measure and monitor performance and report it to higher institutions. This is stated in the Government Agency Performance Report. Election Supervisory Body provides an explanation of the achievement of the RI Bawaslu performance during the 2018 fiscal year. The 2018 performance results are measured through the 2018 Performance Agreement as a benchmark and description of the success rate of Election Supervisory Body's performance achievement for 1 year.

Direct elections are one form of efforts to improve the quality of a democratic country. Direct elections are the basis for granting the right to the people to participate directly in political life. The purpose of direct elections is that governance can be based on the will and needs of the people. Thus, holding direct elections is not only a requirement for fulfilling democracy. Formally but also must be in accordance with the essence of democracy itself, namely based on the principle of fairness and justice based on the will of the people's heart.

However, the reality of direct elections does not necessarily run according to the rules of election law. Many deviations from direct elections have led to conflicts and electoral disputes both horizontally and vertically. Deviations in the implementation of elections always occur with the same types of violations in every election administration. It can be seen and observed in the surrounding environment that there are many cases such as money politics, black campaigns and negative campaigns, the neutrality of the state civil apparatus, violations during the campaign and the existence of voters who are not registered in the DPT. The violations that occurred in the implementation of the election were never ending. The same violations always occur in every election.

The similarity of violations in every election administration shows the ineffectiveness of supervision carried out by the Election Supervisory Body. Central Java Province has a fluctuating number of violations in every election administration. This can be seen from the data processed by the Election Supervisory Body of Central Java Province regarding reports of alleged violations in the 2013 gubernatorial election as many as 181 reports, the 2014 presidential and vice presiden elections as many as 148 reports, and the 2015 simultaneous regional head elections as many as 488 reports. This data is the reason that the capacity development of the Central Java Provincial Election Supervisory Body in carrying out the election supervisory function needs to be carried out. The purpose of election supervision carried out by the Election Supervisory Body is an effort to realize democratic elections. The mandate of the people who want the election to run cleanly without money politics, peacefully without conflict and fair without fraud is the responsibility of the role of the Election Supervisory Body. Election violations are an important task for the Election Supervisory Body because these violations can injure the essence of election administration. Thus, it is important to develop the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body because as an election supervisory agency, the Central Java Provincial Election Supervisory Body has a central role in the implementation of elections. Efforts to develop the capacity of the Central Java Provincial Election Supervisory Body in carrying out the election oversight function are carried out through systems, organization and human resource development programs.

2. Research Method

The research method uses qualitative research methods with a research background in the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency. The focus of the research includes (1) strengthening the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency in carrying out the function of election supervision, (2) factors that affect the strengthening of the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency in carrying out the function of election supervision. As well as the data collection is done by using the method of interviews, documentation and observation, while the validity of the data test using triangulation of sources and techniques. Data analysis includes data reduction, data presentation, conclusion drawing and verification. Informants in this study included the Coordinator of the Prevention and Inter-Agency Relations Division, the Coordinator of the Organization and Human Resources Division, the Coordinator of the Violation Enforcement Division, and the Assistant Division of Organization and Human Resources.

3. Results and Discussion

Strengthening the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency is seen from the capacity and ability of a person, namely the existence of a policy which means that someone who has policy or power can do everything that is realized by action, and can increase work capacity. Therefore, capacity building is an effort to improve one's skills so that Election Supervisory Body employees have more productive skills in order to achieve predetermined goals, Nasution (2011; 1). Thus, research on strengthening the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency aims to describe capacity building or commonly referred to as capacity strengthening described by experts. According to several experts, capacity building is a capacity building, capacity strengthening, and capacity building. However, there are differences in the meaning of the word building, and broadly what is being discussed is the discussion of the capacity itself. Specifically, capacity is defined as a person's ability to carry out something in order to achieve the expected orientation. This is as described by Grindle in Haryono (2012:39) "capacity building is intended to encompass a variety of strategies that have to do with increasing the efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness of government performance". strategies that can improve the efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness of government performance). In the process and stages of capacity building or capacity building, there are components that can be considered, namely:

- a. performance capacity, whether tools, money, equipment, consumables etc. are available to do the job.
- b. Personal capacity, i.e. the individual is knowledgeable, skilled and confident enough to do something right.
- c. Workload capacity, whether there are staff with broad enough skills to cope with the workload.
- d. Supervisory capacity, reporting and monitoring systems in place, clear accountability for physical supervisors to monitor staff under them and effective incentives and sanctions in place.
- e. Facility capacity, whether the training center site is large enough with the right staff in sufficient numbers.
- f. Support service capacity, whether there are laboratories, training institutes, administrative staff and facilities.

From the opinions of the experts above, it can be understood that capacity building is a process or activity to improve the ability of a person, group, organization or system in order to create better performance and be responsive to environmental changes so as to achieve goals. There are three things that can be understood from capacity building or capacity strengthening, namely: increasing human resources, strengthening organizations and systems, namely institutional reform. In this case, according to Grindle dal Haryono (2009:39) suggests that a strengthening or development of human resource capacity is "initiatives to develop human resources generally seek the capacity of individuals to carry out their professional and technical responsibilities". The movement to develop human resources in general seeks to increase the capacity of individuals in carrying out their responsibilities professionally and improve their technical abilities. Haryono (2012).

In various terms of capacity and capacity building of human resources, it can be seen that capacity building is seen through a cycle of capacity development stages consisting of five stages, namely stakeholder involvement, capacity assessment, determining capacity development responses, implementing capacity development responses, and evaluating capacity development. In this case, strengthening the capacity of human resources is

also needed by the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency, namely with strength and policies, which means that someone who has the policy or power can do everything that is realized by action, can increase work capacity. Therefore, capacity building is an effort to improve one's skills so that employees have more productive skills in order to achieve predetermined goals, Nasution (2011: 1).

Strengthening the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency in carrying out the function of election supervision, based on the results of research carried out through efforts to develop human resources and organizational development. This development is an effort by the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency to achieve the goal of its supervisory function, namely the creation of democratic elections. Meanwhile, UNDP in Haryanto (2014: 20) explains that capacity monitoring is a process to improve the ability of a person, organization or system to achieve a predetermined goal. In this case, efforts to achieve the goal of creating democratic elections through strengthening the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency in carrying out the function of strengthening and supervising elections are carried out as an initiative to improve supervisory performance.

Meanwhile, the notion of performance According to Nawawi (2013) performance is a result achieved by the employee in a particular job, employee performance can be seen from the following indicators:

- a. Decisions on all the rules that have been set by the organization
- b. Can carry out tasks or work without errors or with the lowest error rate
- c. Determination in carrying out tasks

In this case, according to Gibson (1996) employee performance is the desired outcome of the perpetrator. Employee performance is the level against which employees achieve job requirements (Simamora: 2004). Performance appraisal generally includes both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the performance of the work. According to Mathis (2006: 113) the factors that influence employee performance are the employee's ability to work, the level of effort devoted, and the organizational support he receives. Employee performance is how he does everything related to a job related to the organization. Performance (performance) is a description of the level of achievement of the implementation of a program of activities or policies in realizing the target. The goals of the organization's vision and mission are outlined through the strategic planning of an organization. Sutrisno (2015). According to Marsono (1996:2) the general election is a tool whose use should not cause damage to the foundations of democracy and even cause things to tell the people, but must ensure the success of the New Order struggle. 32, namely the upholding of Pancasila and the preservation of the 1945 Constitution. Election supervision is a process in determining performance measures and taking action to support the achievement of the expected results in accordance with the performance targets that have been set. In the next section, supervision is a process to ensure that all activities carried out are in accordance with what has been planned. Yosa (2010).

In the context of public management, supervision is an important aspect to keep government functions running properly, so that supervision is important with the implementation of good governance. Sadjijono (2008). Meanwhile, according to the administrative law approach, supervision or strengthening is defined as a process of comparing activities against what is carried out, implemented, or carried out with what is desired, planned or ordered. The results of supervision must be able to show the extent to which there is a match and a mismatch, to further find the causes of the problems that arise.

In Law No. 15 of 2011 concerning General Election Organizers Article 1 paragraph 16 it is stated that Election Supervisory Body is an election management agency tasked with overseeing election organizers throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Election Supervisory Body has organizational equipment, including Provincial Election Supervisory Body, Regency/City Election Supervisory Committee, Sub-district, Field Election Supervisor located in village or other designations as well as Overseas Election Supervisor on duty in other countries.

Based on Law No. 15 of 2011 it is stated that Election Supervisory Body and its staff are tasked with overseeing the implementation of the General Election in the context of preventing and taking action against violations for the realization of a democratic election. In accordance with the slogan that is often conveyed in various Election

Supervisory Body forums, namely "result-oriented prevention and process-oriented action". Furthermore, in election supervision according to Article 1 Number 25 of Election Supervisory Body Regulation Number 11 of 2014 concerning General Election Supervision, it is the activity of observing, reviewing, examining and assessing the process of organizing elections in accordance with the laws and regulations.

In a process to define what is to be achieved, and its approach to managing and strengthening people in a way that can increase the likelihood that the goals will be achieved within a certain period of time either short or in the future. Performance management processes can be used to communicate and reinforce organizational strategies, values and norms and integrate individual and organizational goals. One of the implementations of technical guidance carried out is related to the 12 election monitoring modules. Through technical guidance carried out by the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body to the Sub-district supervisory body, the strengthening of election supervision can be communicated regarding how and strategies to be carried out so that the monitoring targets and targets can be achieved in accordance with the 12 election monitoring modules.

This is as Dharma (2013: 25) argues that performance management is a process to determine what must be achieved, and its approach to managing and developing human beings in a way that can increase the likelihood that goals will be achieved within a certain period of time, both short and long. Third, the coordination meeting is a capacity building on the organizational dimension in the form of developing organizational culture. One example of coordination meeting activities is the coordination meeting for monitoring the updating of data and voter lists. Based on the research results, the coordination meeting is intended to ensure that every citizen who meets the requirements as a voter is registered in the voter list. Through the coordination meeting, the organizational culture that will be realized is the alignment of perceptions of supervision from the submission of DP4 (Data on Population Potential Election Voters) which has been consolidated, verified and validated by the government to the KPU, to the supervision of the determination and announcement of the DPS (Temporary Voters List), DPT (Permanent Voter List) and additional voter registration. The coordination meeting for monitoring the updating of data and voter lists was conducted to equalize perceptions of the methods and steps for monitoring the updating of data and voter lists as well as to align perceptions of the follow-up to reports of alleged violations found. With this common perception, there will be limits to the control of actions that can be taken which is a shared commitment among election supervisors.

Siagian (2004: 65) states that a strong organizational culture has the function of determining the limits of acceptable behavior, fostering a sense of belonging, increasing the ability to make commitments for the success of the organization, maintaining social stability within the organization, and controlling and supervising the behavior of members of the organization concerned. It can be said that the coordination meeting is one of the efforts to form an organizational culture in the supervisory function. Fourth, the recruitment and selection of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Body is a capacity building on the human resource dimension. Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency by conducting open recruitment of Sub-district Election Supervisory Body. Recruitment is carried out to attract prospective employees who have the abilities and criteria that are in accordance with the needs of the organization. Thus, the open recruitment conducted by the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency is intended to attract many applicants for prospective members of the Supervisory Committee who have high integrity in accordance with the needs of supervision. This is as stated by Simamora (2001: 212) that a series of activities in the recruitment process include finding and attracting job applicants with the motivation, abilities, skills and knowledge needed to cover the deficiencies identified in staffing planning. Recruitment activities begin when candidates are searched for and end when their applications are submitted. Through recruitment, individuals who have the required skills are encouraged to apply for available job vacancies. The results of the recruitment are a group of job applicants who will be selected to become new employees. The recruitment process carried out by the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body selection team began with the socialization of registration, the implementation of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Body registration to the submission of files by applicants.

This is because in the selection applicants are asked to write a paper which must then be presented and be able to account for what they have written. The selection of candidates for the Sub-district Election Supervisory Body must produce members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Body who have high integrity in supervising the

election, so the selection process must be carried out selectively and competitively. The selection process is as conveyed by Triyono (2012: 44) that in a series of employee selection processes, companies or organizations must be able to choose the best prospective employees and in accordance with the required fields and eliminate applicants who are considered inappropriate to be accepted in a job in the organization or organization. company. The selection process is basically a systematic effort carried out to better ensure that those who are accepted are considered the most appropriate, either with predetermined criteria or the required number. Strengthening the capacity of the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body in carrying out its supervisory function is certainly inseparable from the factors that influence it. Several factors that influence the strengthening of the capacity of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency in carrying out the election oversight function include leadership, joint commitment, networks and information. Adaptive leadership is carried out by providing wide opportunities for every component of the organization, including personal resources to initiate the development of institutional capacity towards.

Achievement of desired organizational goals. The leadership of the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body in addition to providing direction and guidance also has the authority of a leader who can be used as an example. The ideal leader will be able to place as an example, advisor, mentor and motivator for those he leads. Second, the joint commitment made by each member of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency is to reduce the number of election violations through a violation prevention strategy. This commitment was carried out well by all leaders and employees of the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency. The shared commitment of each member of the Election Supervisory Body Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency is as stated by Haryanto (2014: 30) that joint commitment can be carried out through the involvement of all organizational actors in supporting the success of the institution's capacity building program. Shared commitment is the basic capital that must be continuously developed and maintained properly because it will be the basis of the entire design of activities that will be carried out by an organization. Third, the network of cooperation. The network of cooperation is carried out by the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body with several universities, mass organizations and local governments. This is done with the aim of conducting supervision in terms of prevention or handling of violations. Through this collaboration, the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency has developed a broad supervisory function, not only for the institution itself. This is as stated by Haryanto (2014: 31) that the institutional capacity development process cannot be carried out by institutional ego, but needs to be carried out in collaboration with stakeholders. Fourth, information and communication media. Submission and receipt of information at the Election Supervisory Body of Kuantan Singingi Regency is carried out transparently and easily accessible to the general public. Through the ease of access to this information, it is possible for the public to provide feedback based on the environmental conditions of the community related to the information they receive.

4. Conclusion

Strengthening the capacity of the General Elections Supervisory Agency (Election Supervisory Body) of Kuantan Singingi Regency in carrying out the function of monitoring and strengthening elections is carried out on strengthening organizational capacity and human resources. First, strengthening organizational capacity consists of strengthening capacity in organizational performance management through technical guidance activities and capacity building on organizational culture through coordination meeting activities. Second, strengthening human resource capacity consists of capacity building in human resource education and training through training of trainers for members and assistant supervisory divisions as well as socialization activities for participatory supervision and strengthening to the community, and capacity strengthening in the recruitment and selection of members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Body. The capacity building carried out by the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body is an effort to optimize the supervisory function both carried out by the Kuantan Singingi Regency Election Supervisory Body and the election supervisory institutions under it. Factors that influence the strengthening of the capacity of the General Elections Supervisory Body (Election Supervisory Body) of Kuantan Singingi Regency include: (1) representative leadership with three leaders in each field and democratic leadership, (2) shared commitment of each Election Supervisory Body member Kuantan Singingi Regency in making efforts to reduce the number of election violations through prevention strategies, (3) establishing a network of cooperation with local governments, mass organizations and universities in carrying out

supervisory functions, especially in preventing election violations, and (4) Through the media of information and transparent and easily accessible communication through social media such as websites and Facebook as well as monthly newsletters. Suggestions in this study are that participatory supervision socialization activities should not only be carried out through socialization activities in closed spaces, but can also be carried out in open spaces, and an improvement in the regulation of Law No. 15 of 2011 concerning Election Organizers related to the articles of authority of Regency Election Supervisory Body in impose sanctions.

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Targeted English Language Development Professional Development Matters: The Impact of English Language Development-Content Based Teaching and Learning (ELD-CBTL) on Teachers' Self-Efficacy in Teaching Secondary Level English Learners

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Abstract

This study is situated in an educational context where secondary Latinx English learners' enrollment has dramatically increased. However, many face limited access to quality education and lack the skills to be college and career-ready. To tackle this problem, the English Language Development-Content-Based Teaching and Learning (ELD-CBTL) model is designed and implemented to help shift teachers' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and practices of using appropriate ELD strategies in a career academy to ELs. The ELD-CBTL model is rooted in the teacher change theory and aligned with the California Principles of the English Learner Roadmap, which included professional development on ELD, ELD instructional training, and coaching support. Findings show that the participating teachers' self-efficacy shifted when they applied the instructional skills, which made them more confident with providing rigorous EL content that meets the requirements for college admission.

Keywords: Differentiated Professional Development, Content-Based Instruction, Emergent Bilinguals, Collective Teacher Efficacy, Adult Learning, College and Career Readiness, Integrated English Development Instruction

1. Introduction

General education systems and practices have long been criticized for inadequacies in educating diverse learners (Olsen, 1997, 2000, 2010). The initial stages of implementing the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) created a shift from the punitive accountability mandates of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) to a devolution process that put states in charge of creating and managing the new federal accountability mandates. The ESSA represents a new paradigm shift from federal to local control, which provides flexibility in developing local accountability measures, thus resulting in the decentralization of accountability of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

(ESEA) to the state and local levels concerning educational decision-making. Political culture impacts how programs are designed to meet the outcomes of the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), and the underlying foundation of the CCSS are the college and career readiness anchor standards, which align curriculum with college and career goals (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2010). The college and career readiness anchor standards define the general, cross-disciplinary literacy expectations for students in preparation for college and the workforce. There is much discussion and deliberation among educators and research scholars concerning what constitutes college and career readiness and how it can be measured to monitor student progress toward meeting its goals. The stated aim of the CCSS is to define the knowledge and skills students should acquire to graduate from high school ready to succeed in entry-level, credit-bearing academic college courses that do not require remediation (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2010; Conley, 2005, 2007, 2010) and in workforce training programs. However, career readiness pertains to the knowledge, skills, and learning strategies necessary to begin studies in a career pathway, which differs from work readiness and job training in the workplace (Lombardi et al., 2012).

A critical issue of inadequacies in educating diverse learners is prevalent in major cities and urban public schools that have experienced a dramatic increase in Latinx enrollment. California has the largest English learner (EL) student population in the nation. In California, Latinx students make up over 55% of the student population (California Department of Education, 2021). While these demographic changes have led to significant gains in access to higher education, racial and ethnic disparities continue in both high school graduation and college completion (Fry & Taylor, 2013; Villalpando, 2010). For Latinx students with limited English proficiency, graduation rates have trended upward since 2010–2011. However, in most states, the percentage of ELs who graduated on time (within 4 years) was only 67% (United States Department of Education, 2016). Beyond the challenges of gaining linguistic and academic proficiency, many secondary-level Latinx ELs face limited access to quality education like college preparatory courses (Callahan, 2005) and lack the skills to be college and career-ready (Mendoza, 2016).

2. Review of Literature

2.1 College and Career Pathways

As educational institutions seek programs that meet the threshold of providing college and career readiness for all students, programs like career pathways have been touted as meeting and even exceeding these aims (California Center for College and Career Readiness, 2012). College and career pathways seek to improve high school graduation rates and increase successful transitions to a full range of postsecondary education opportunities, particularly for low-income and disadvantaged youth (Guha et al., 2014, p 1). Career pathways have existed for more than 30 years and have been implemented in more than 1,500 high schools across the country. Students are placed in cohorts that participate in the same grade level and career-themed course of study. Teachers in these programs support the development of student peer-to-peer networks and teacher–student relationships that enhance student learning. Career pathways provide an integrated instructional approach by combining core content academic courses with an occupation-related career emphasis.

A career academy is a school “that provides a college-preparatory curriculum with a career-related theme” (Stern et al., 2010, p. 4). In recent years, career academies have led high school reform efforts to prepare all students, including Latinx EL students, for both college and careers (Kemple, 2001; Kemple & Snipes, 2000; Stern et al., 2000, 2010). According to Grubb (2008), career academies use various strategies to deliver a curriculum that integrates college-preparatory and career technical education that has the potential to benefit immigrants and ELs. Secondary programs of study need more opportunities for students to match what they are learning to their aspirations, interests, and ambitions. This aim, as Olsen (2010) and later Conley (2014) state, is particularly important for high school ELs who need to acquire college and career readiness skills in a program of study in which their interests, aspirations, and engagement are integrated into their learning. Career pathways are designed to integrate core content courses with career/technical courses centered on a particular industry sector. This integration of core and career/technical-themed courses provides students with opportunities to refine their career readiness skills as they participate in work-based learning.

2.2 Challenges Faced by English Learners

Pivotal to the belief that all students need access to college preparatory courses, ELs are denied access foundationally due to language policies, which act as barriers for ELs (Mendoza, 2016, 2019). For ELs at the secondary level, accessing career pathways constitutes barriers due to structural factors that either limit access to career pathways or design the English language development program as a pullout strategy. Callahan (2005) found that EL students were “tracked” (p. 310) into lower academic classes based on linguistic abilities. ELs enter U.S. schools with two tasks to complete: learn the English language and learn academic subject content. When EL students at the secondary level have limited opportunities and are placed in low-track courses, this frequently results in exposure to less rigorous content and fewer learning opportunities. Olsen (2010) indicated that ELs who are “stuck” (p. 18) in the English language development (ELD) ghetto have less opportunity to be engaged in school, and their academic progression is significantly reduced.

A study by Thomas and Collier (1997) found that English as a second language (ESL) taught via content-area instruction (social studies, math, science, etc.) is associated with higher long-term educational attainment than ESL pull-out programs. However, the prevailing method of providing ELD courses predominantly uses the pull-out strategy rather than programs that teach English via content-area instruction (Thomas & Collier, 1997, p. 32). The result is, as researchers such as Menken and Kleyn (2010) and Umansky and Reardon (2014) have shown, that many EL students remain in ESL programs on a semi-permanent basis—as long-term English learners (LTELs). Mendoza (2016) argues that EL students are not accessing core academic courses or electives such as career pathways due to the competing language development policies and related program compliance mandates. At the same time, English language acquisition itself is treated as a “gatekeeping process for access to college preparatory content” (Rodriguez & Cruz, 2009, p. 2392), so if students are not reclassified, their access to rigorous curricula is restricted (Kanno & Gromley, 2015). Due to the competing mandate of implementing Title III policies, ELs are not accessing core academic courses or electives that provide engaging and relevant preparation for college and career readiness.

It is noteworthy to highlight the programmatic conflicts of implementing a mandated program like the Title III policies based on a restrictive strategy of offering pull-out ELD courses to EL students that have not been reclassified as English proficient. However, for ELs at the middle and high school level, the lack of access to courses that provide college and career readiness is a significant barrier to meeting graduation requirements and college admission criteria.

2.3 English Language Development–Content-Based Teaching and Learning Model (ELD–CBTL) Aligned With the California EL Roadmap

Scholars have stressed the need to shift paradigms on how language is taught to secondary-level ELs. Mendoza (2019) developed the English Language Development–Content-based Teaching and Learning (ELD–CBTL) model, as illustrated in Figure 1. ELD–CBTL is designed to support schools and teachers as they work to ensure access and equity while effectively supporting multilingual students. The uniqueness of the ELD–CBTL model is that it provides professional development training on ELD strategies for the teachers of the content, technical, and ELD course in the career academy. Prior designs have had the ELD teacher work outside of the cohort of core and technical teachers. Conzemius and O’Neill (2002) state that collaboration involves people relying on each other to achieve these goals, creating an environment through structures, systems, processes, and policies where everyone contributes skills, knowledge, and experience to improve student learning. Teachers engaged in career pathways require key skills and proficiencies, including using inter- and intra-disciplinary collaboration in curriculum design and delivery; developing lessons using problem- and project-based learning; creating industry and postsecondary education partnerships; and developing learning experiences that integrate career-technical standards, academic standards, and work-based learning experiences (Almond & Miller, 2014). Utilizing the ELD teacher within the career academy is a collaborative structure that reinforces the integration of language development for EL students in all content and technical areas, including ELD instruction. Professional development that is inclusive of collaborative teams is a cost-effective, pragmatic, and sustainable approach to increasing capacity (Harris & Sullivan, 2017) to instill knowledge and skills in ELD content-based teaching and

learning. The ELD–CBTL model is also used to support secondary-level ELs through college preparation and career tech education courses that integrate the ELD framework while addressing the California Principles of the English Learner Roadmap (California Department of Education, 2017). The roadmap consists of four principles; within each principle, various “elements” clarify the principle’s intent. In March 2020, the California Department of Education showed its continued support of the policy by awarding 10 million dollars in implementation grants (California Department of Education, 2020a). The EL roadmap delineates expected outcomes but gives individual schools and districts freedom regarding how they choose to implement the policy.

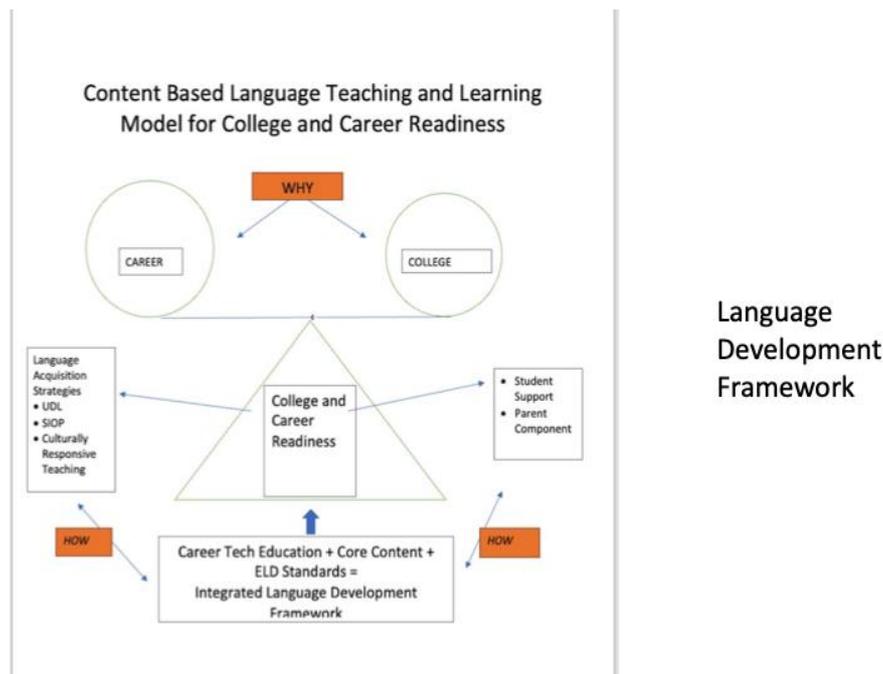


Figure 1: Language Development Framework: Content-Based Teaching and Learning Model for College and Career Readiness (Mendoza, 2019)

Note. From “Language Development Policies and Practices Impacting Long-Term English Learners (LTEL’S) in Secondary Schools for College and Career Readiness,” by C. Mendoza, 2019, *Educational Leadership Administration: Teaching and Program Development*, 30(1), 14–34 (<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1206778>). Reprinted with permission.

2.4 California Principles of the English Learner Roadmap

Principle One: Assets-Oriented and Needs-Responsive Schools. Building on Knowles’s (1990) adult learning theory, specifically the (5th) principle stating that individual needs differ among individuals and learners must be served based on their needs, Principle One: Element 1. B’s statement that no single program or instructional approach works for all EL students. The implementation of the ELD–CBTL model addresses the need to provide professional development training on ELD instructional strategies to the teachers so they can differentiate instruction and be responsive to EL students’ needs.

Principle Two: Intellectual Quality of Instruction and Meaningful Access. Principle Two of the EL roadmap provides specificity regarding expectations for instruction for ELs, emphasizing the intellectual quality of instruction and meaningful access. Related to teaching practices in subject matter learning that is integrated across the curriculum (Element 2.A). Intellectual quality involves instruction, curriculum, rigorous, standard-based materials, and pedagogy and teaching that is scaffolded that increases comprehension (2.B) and integrated with content (Element 2.F). Meaningful access to the curriculum (Element 2.C and 2.D) refers to students having the opportunity to engage with content through supports such as integrated and designated ELD. Principle Two addresses how an institutional factor can be addressed by analyzing how programmatic and placement policies

can ensure meaningful access for ELs. The shift for this particular study was that the leadership of the school allowed the participation of the ELs into the career academy regardless of English language proficiency, addressing a shift of institutional factors previously practiced in barring ELs from participation in the college and career academy due to limited English proficiency.

Principle Three: System Conditions That Support Effectiveness. Principle Three speaks to systems that need to be in place for effective teaching and learning for ELs to occur. It provides how resource allocation for professional development can be utilized to support ELs and their needs. Element 3. D suggests that systems are responsible for the capacity building of educators, including professional development and collaboration time. Professional development that specifically addresses ELs' needs. The ninth-grade media technology academy teaching team participated in the ELD–CBTL initiative. All five teachers received professional development training and implemented designated and integrated ELD strategies in the content courses of English language arts, biology, algebra, media technology, and ELD. From the onset of the training, the teachers received over 100 hours of professional development (PD). The PD services included monthly ELD instructional strategies training provided by a team of experts who conducted classroom observations and debriefing sessions with the teachers on implementing ELD–CBTL model teaching strategies.

Principle Four: Alignment and Articulation Within and Across Systems. Principle Four emphasizes the need for better alignment across educational segments to create a more cohesive, articulated schooling experience for ELs. Principle Four also charges schools with providing college-readiness pathways for ELs. When students are tracked into ESL courses, they can receive limited access to rigorous content and often lack the 'a–g' courses required for college (Callahan & Shifrer, 2016; Mendoza, 2016, 2019). Element 4.B asks administrators to reallocate funds to support ELs and their teachers toward PD for researched-based language development practices, such as the ELD–CBTL model, which integrates language with rigorous content.

2.5 The Change Environment Model

Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) designed the change environment model. Clarke and Hollingsworth investigated how teachers grow professionally and the conditions that support and promote that growth. Most PD consisted of one-shot workshops aimed at teacher mastery of prescribed skills and knowledge. According to Guskey (1986), PD attempts, based on the one-shot workshop, are considered a deficit model for teacher change. However, the ELD–CTBL PD consisted of over 100 hours of PD, consisting of direct ELD instructional training, classroom observations, and teacher reflection and collaboration. The change environment model suggests that change occurs through the mediation processes of “reflection” and “enactment” in four distinct domains that encompass the teacher's world: the personal domain (teacher knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes); the domain of practice (professional experimentation); the domain of consequences (salient outcomes); and the external domain (sources of information, stimulus, or support; Guskey, 1986). Self-efficacy can be tied to the change model as the teachers change their knowledge and beliefs based on the external domain (EL PD), domain of practice (experimentation with EL strategies), and domain of consequences (changed perception of salient outcomes related to the classroom ELD instructional pedagogy).

In the amended change model by Guskey (1986), the author triangulated how PD training with integrated English language instructional strategies provided teachers with ELD pedagogy growth and impacted the change environment model. As illustrated in Table 1 and Figure 2, specific strategies that influenced the teachers' self-efficacy impacted the change environment domains.

Table 1: Change Environment Domains and Application in ELD–CBTL

Change Environment Domains	Application in ELD–CBTL
External Domain: External Source of Information or Stimulus	<u>Teach them</u> : Provided ELD instructional training
Domain of Practice: Professional Experimentation	<u>Coach them</u> : Experimentation with teaching ELD strategies and collaborative group work
Domain of Consequence: Salient Outcomes	<u>Positive outcomes</u> : Changed perception of salient

Personal Domain: Knowledge, Beliefs, and Attitudes	outcomes related to classroom practices <u>Changed attitudes and beliefs:</u> Increased teachers' attention to the needs of ELD strategies and impacted new knowledge and beliefs of teachers/self-efficacy
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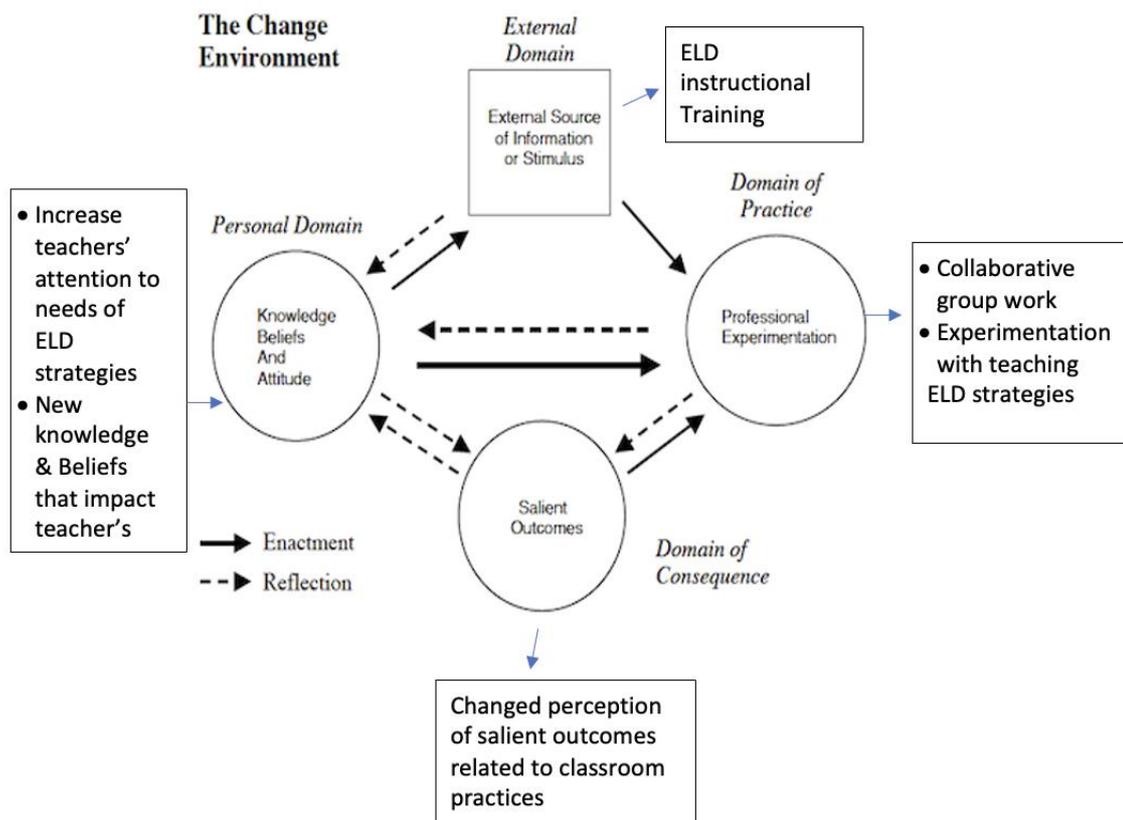


Figure 2: Adapted Change Environment Model

Note. The interconnected model of professional growth adapted from “Staff Development and the Process of Teacher Change,” by T. R. Guskey, 1986, *Educational Researcher*, 15(5), 5–12 (<https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X015005005>). Copyright 1986 by Educational Researcher.

3. Methods

3.1 Research Design

As part of a large mixed method research project that took place in California and was designed to promote secondary EL students' college and career readiness, this paper utilizes interview data collected from five participating career pathway teachers to examine the teacher outcomes of CBTL and the alignment between the teachers' instructional pedagogy and the California EL roadmap principles. The analytic strategies for this paper are in accordance with adult learning theory and collective efficacy. This research is a qualitative case study conducted at an urban high school in California. The research design centers on the integrated language development framework, including career technical education, core content, and ELD standards. Based on the environmental change model, we consider the external stimuli as PD and coaching. Five teachers in the media technology academy participated in PD training on how to co-create lessons and unit plans on the design and implementation of ELD strategies into the integrated/thematic lessons/units. Teachers learned how to unpack the English language standards and incorporate them into the integrated ELD pedagogy.

A significant shift is in the role and function of the ELD teacher. The ELD teacher will be part of the teaching team and offer ELD coaching to the core and technical teachers on developing English proficiency strategies for the EL students. Two qualitative research instruments will be used to assess the teacher's knowledge and growth of the ELD integrated and designated standards and instructional strategies. One instrument is a survey administered to all five media technology academy teachers (core subjects of English, biology, social studies, media technology technical teacher, and ELD strategist). Individual and group focus interviews will determine the knowledge and skills in developing lessons with ELD strategies embedded in language-inclusive instructional pedagogy.

Research Question: What are the impacts of implementing the ELD–CBTL model on teacher self-efficacy?

4. Purpose of the Study

As we engage readers in the forthcoming discussion, we stress that the often-unintended outcome of only recognizing one avenue for language development is a structural factor and is the further stratification of an already marginalized adolescent population.

When reviewing structural factors which are explicit, intentional, or operational features of a school which for this study landed on policies within a school that disparate opportunities or inequitable student access to competent, appropriate, and rigorous teaching and learning experiences for English learners (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 2022). In addition, institutional factors are commonly accepted and deeply ingrained norms, values, and beliefs of teachers. As an example of institutional factors, a study by O'Brien (2009) found that 94 out of 121 (76.5%) social studies teachers indicated that EL students should not be included in core courses until they have attained a minimum level of English proficiency. This study focuses on the institutional factors related to teachers' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and practices of teaching ELD strategies in the career academy to ELs (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 2022, p. 64). However, when a new paradigm disrupts these beliefs or practices, school leaders and teachers embrace the opportunity to teach ELs in the core content areas as they simultaneously learn the English language.

Consistent with the state's aims to strengthen policies (California Department of Education, 2017, 2020a) programs and practices for ELs, this project focuses on both structural and institutional factors investigated in developing the English Language Development–Content-based Teaching and Learning (ELD–CBTL) inclusive model designed to integrate ELD into the academy model (core, technical, & ELD) for college and career readiness for EL students. Shifting how teachers perceive their knowledge and beliefs of how to teach ELD in their content courses shifts the paradigm of how EL's language and cultures are an asset, contradicting the traditional deficient perspective regarding ELs that pervades schools (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006).

4.1 Context and Participants

The research study was conducted at an urban high school in California, serving over 1,983 students with diverse learning needs. The high school has career academies as a school reform design model to address students' college and career interests and readiness. The socioeconomically disadvantaged rate was 70.0%, and the ELs were 17.2%. Of the 17.2% ELs, the Level 1 beginning stage was 36.8%. Eleven ninth-grade ELs in Level-1 were identified and enrolled in the media technology academy for the 2018–2019 school year. The students (EL research student group) had the same college preparation courses in English Language Arts, biology, algebra, media technology, and ELD teachers that participated in the ELD–CBTL research initiative (see Table 2).

Table 2: Participant Demographics

Pseudonym of Participants	: Taught	Teaching experience 1–3 yrs.; 4–7 yrs.; 8 and more yrs.
Teacher A	Biology	2 years
Teacher B	Algebra	5 years

Teacher C	English	8+ years
Teacher D	Media Technology	8+ years
Teacher E	English Language Development	8+ years

What is salient about this model is the inclusion of the ELD teacher with the core content teachers in the technology media academy. Researchers Thomas and Collier (1997) found that ESL taught via content-area instruction (social studies, math, science, etc.) is associated with higher long-term educational attainment than ESL pull-out programs. The five ninth-grade teachers of the media technology academy participated in the differentiated PD in the ELD–CBTL initiative during the 2018–2019 school year (see Figure 3).

ELD Specialist as a resource and coach to content teachers and ELL students

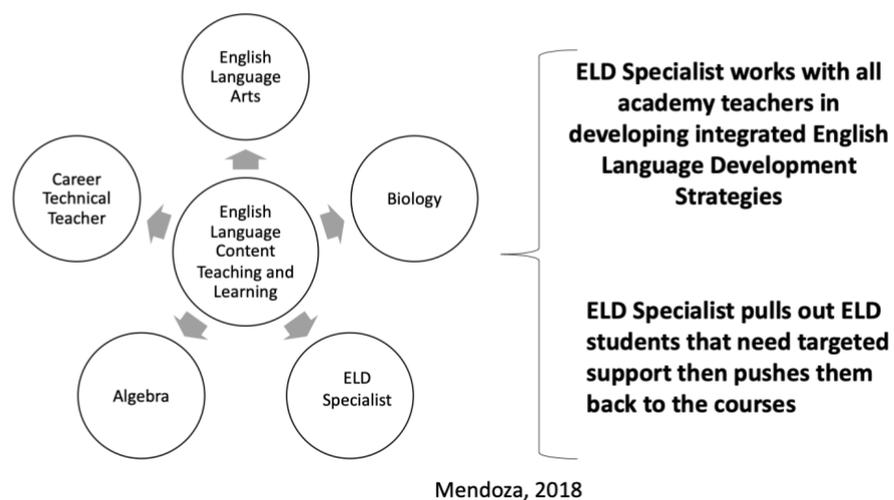


Figure 3: Inclusion of the ELD Teacher as a Resource and Coach to the Content Teachers in Implementing the ELD Strategies

Note. From “Language Development Policies and Practices Impacting Long-Term English Learners (LTEL’S) in Secondary Schools for College and Career Readiness,” by C. Mendoza, 2019, *Educational Leadership Administration: Teaching and Program Development*, 30(1), 14–34 (<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1206778>). Reprinted with permission.

4.2 Data Collection Strategies

The data shared in this paper was collected within the 2018–2019 school year through semi structured individual interviews and focus group interviews after participants completed the training. The interviews focused on teachers’ growth from the PD they received and the implementation of integrated language development strategies.

4.3 Data Analysis

The primary sources of data reported in this article are semi structured interviews and focus group interviews with five participating teachers, but for this paper, the data was mainly from four teachers in the cohort. The data were entered into NVivo 12 to establish a coding scheme, identify themes, and examine the alignment between the interview and the California English learner roadmap (ELR) principles.

In the initial coding, one author used the operational questions as guides and read through all transcripts to assign codes to the text segments that seemed to fit together to describe the ideas (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 194). Discourses that contained outcomes of CBTL and the pathway teacher's instructional pedagogy for ELs were coded. In the second phase of coding, the focus is on identifying how the career pathway teachers are demonstrating ELR principles in action. Two authors and one ELD specialist coded passages that contained ideologies and practices that reflect ELR principles and elements. In the third coding phase, one author used integrated language development strategies as a guide and coded the descriptions of the pathway of teachers' instructional pedagogy that are relevant to each feature. In the fourth final coding phase, the authors used the interconnected model of professional growth as a framework for examining teacher changes. Once the data was saturated with base-level codes, the authors began the next phase of the analytic process, which focused on examining the alignment of ELR codes and structured instruction observation protocol (SIOP) codes. As the data analysis process proceeded, themes were developed to answer the research questions.

5. Discussion

This section begins by presenting results about changes in the teachers' self-efficacy through the ELD-CTBL professional development and then describes the alignment of the ELD-CTBL with the ELR principles.

5.1 Impact of ELD-CTBL on Teacher Efficacy

This section describes all five participating teachers' experiences participating in ELD-CTBL. A summary of their professional experimentation with new teaching ELD strategies is first offered. Next, the teachers' increased self-efficacy regarding ELD is discussed. Finally, some salient outcomes related to classroom practices and teacher collaboration are described.

Teachers' Experimentation with New ELD Strategies. The five participating teachers of different core subjects (English, biology, social studies, media technology technical teacher, and ELD strategist) stated that after the ELD-CBTL training, they began to incorporate more techniques to make content concepts clear, including using virtual reality (VR) field-trips, a lot of visuals, body language, flashcards, manipulatives, and hands-on activities. Some of them also put more emphasis on key vocabulary by "incorporate[ing] a word wall so that our main words that we use all the time, the students would be familiar with it, and they could reference the definition if they needed to on the wall," stated Teacher B. The teachers also became more intentional about linking past and new learning concepts across different subject matters. As Teacher E described, "I think I'm able to make more connections between different classes in my room. I can make references to things I know they're studying in their other classes."

In order to scaffold students' understanding and promote higher-order thinking skills, the teachers designed a variety of questions or tasks, such as "building models and putting puzzle pieces together to learn a concept or to show their understanding" or "[ask students] to bring those words in their head, down onto the paper, and then share them with another student, and then go back to their paper," said Teacher A. They also utilize different grouping strategies, such as think-pair-share or small groups, to allow students to engage with one another and learn from peers of different abilities. Furthermore, the teachers provide multiple opportunities for students to demonstrate what they have learned. For example, Teacher A said:

Instead of taking a multiple-choice test, the students could draw a picture, they could send me an audio clip, they could write a little story, they could show me a different way that they understood [the] material based on what they were comfortable doing.

Increased Self-Efficacy of the Teachers. In the personal domain, the teachers' increased self-efficacy started with their attention to the need of ELs and their advocacy for them.

Teacher A commented:

I really did firmly believe in my heart that they did not advance the way they would, and all my bilingual friends who came here speaking only another language are 100% sort of a sink or swim model. So, not that I believe in throwing kids out there and they'll figure it out, but putting them out there with the

support, so they do have the opportunities to have everything that our other kids have was really important to me personally.

Teacher C said:

I found that really exciting and motivating. And I think that we demonstrated that, with the right support in place, these kids are just as capable as any of our kids. There will be some that don't progress as fast as others, but that's gonna be with our primary English speakers as well. But letting them know that if they work hard enough and if they want it badly enough, they can go to a four-year university. They can be part of the fun classes, which we call electives. They can be part of the school community and not be isolated among just a school within a school of students who don't speak the primary language. Then, the most notable change in teachers' new knowledge lies in teachers' recognition of the importance of defining and displaying language objectives. As Teacher A expressed: I think it's a lot easier than it was at the beginning of the year, especially when I look at having a language objective because I never thought about having one before. But just thinking about how my students are going to show that they understand something, as opposed to just giving them the content objective.

This awareness prompted several teachers to define, display, and review language objectives with their students.

Teacher B also noted:

With the training that I received this school year, I was able to identify more of what our learners really need, like putting up a language objective and just the vocabulary words in our math classes and how I need to not just translate them for our EL students.

Both Teacher A's and Teacher B's comments indicate that the ELD professional development training they received built their understanding of how to scaffold the development and inclusion of content and language objectives. The teachers also pointed out that the training helped them reflect on and improve their own teaching practices. For example, Teacher B noted, "I think my delivery was enhanced in a sense that I talk fast, so I slowed down a lot. I used more academic vocabulary."

Teacher C also indicated:

I was more aware of the use of English in my class and cognizant of how I was going to address the language needs and making sure that my lessons were varied enough to meet the needs of all my learners.

This type of change even became more natural toward the end of the training. "I think for me, it's just become more automatic, even when I'm not working with ELD students. It just feels much more natural" [e.g., Teacher E].

Salient Outcomes Related to Classroom Practices and Teacher Collaboration. As the teachers became more comfortable implementing newly learned ELD strategies and aware of the need for ELD, they seemed to notice some enhancement in their students' English proficiency levels. Teacher C noted:

When we first started [the program], they couldn't speak English, and they would bring their phones up to me. But once they got together as a group, then it seemed like things took off, and they excelled above everyone else in the classes.

Teacher B also mentioned:

I've seen the growth and even just the language; I'm not even necessarily talking about math. Like one of our students would not speak to me at all in English. She would show me her phone every time she had a question, and by the end of the year, even today, she was speaking English to me. It wasn't the best English, but she has come so far.

In addition, the teachers reported observing that students' participation increased.

Teacher B said, "... they are more willing to participate in class. Like we were talking about comfort ... they're not afraid to speak out and answer, whether it's right or wrong."

Teacher C shared:

And I would say they're more apt to ask me questions now, where in the beginning they would only ... I would be standing right next to them, and they insisted on asking the paraprofessional, and they wouldn't let me stumble through my Spanish, while they stumbled through their English. And now, I would say more consistently they ask me instead of the paraprofessional. So, that has been a real change that I have enjoyed seeing. So, their comfort in stumbling through has gotten much better.

Closely related to students' engagement, three teachers felt that students' collaboration with peers also increased. As Teacher B mentioned, "They're more comfortable with, you know, the other students in the class." Teacher E also added that "... they have really taken each other under each other's wings. Especially the students that are a little bit weaker or more recently arrived, really have been taken care of by the other students, and I think that's really wonderful."

Finally, as the result of ELD-CBTL implementation, the co-planning approach and coaching role of the ELD specialists promoted the collaboration and communication of the whole media technology academy teaching team and further supported EL students. For example, as Teacher C mentioned:

It's really nice to have Teacher E (ELD specialist) as a designated teacher to support the [EL] students in [different content areas]. So, it's not just me trying to translate or me trying to figure out on my own how to help these students ... I feel like we all communicate through our ELD expert ... so, if any of the content area teachers are having a concern with how a student is acting or performing, or accesses or whatnot, I think we go to those key people and then they contact the parents ... She was fantastic. She was a key component for making this successful ... especially in the beginning, incredibly important in getting buy-in from the kids and beginning the building of relationships with the kids, in contacting the parents, in sharing strategies and concerns, and being able to support us in our subject matter.

Teacher A made a similar comment:

I think Teacher E has been a really important part of this. I mean, I can call her up whenever, or she can call me up whenever and it's just like, oh well, I did this in class today. And I can just talk to her on the phone, and she can help the kids right there, where I'm not always able to help them. Students that we have that don't speak English very well or can't comprehend English very well, Teacher E has been communicating with them when I can't ... I would go frequently into Teacher E's class. If we were doing a lab, sometimes Teacher E would bring the kids over into my class. So, it worked both ways ... so it's really helpful to have Teacher E there, who knows what I'm teaching, knows kind of what the answers I'm looking for, and isn't just giving them the answer, but helping them figure out the answer for themselves.

Teacher B also noted:

There's been a couple of times where a kid ... hasn't done so [well] ... and I would go to our ELD specialist because she knows them better than I ... because she's closer with them ... [and] she speaks Spanish, they speak Spanish to her. So, I would just try to like gauge or ask if there was something actually going on personally ... so I don't just assume they're just goofing off or not doing what they're supposed to do type thing ... There was a lot of collaboration with Teacher E and I because Teacher E spent a lot of her class working on the core subjects and I had to make sure she knew what she was talking about before she could assist them.

These three teachers' descriptions acknowledge the importance of the ELD specialist and the effectiveness of her shifting role and function in this study.

These interview results illustrate how ELD-CBTL helps teachers of the content, technical, and ELD courses to effectively support secondary-level ELs by designing language and content objectives for each lesson, building English vocabulary, promoting productive interaction among ELs and English natives speakers, and using primary language for cognitive support. As the principles suggested, the integration of language and content instruction is supported by scholarship in language learning (Snow et al., 1989). The California ELA/ELD framework also emphasizes the importance of integrating language and content instruction, noting, "it is not possible to develop advanced levels of English using texts and tasks devoid of academic content language" (California Department of Education, 2014, p. 155). In 2017, the California English language roadmap was developed to support local educational agencies (LEAs) as they incorporate EL education into their local program designs (California Department of Education, 2017). The EL roadmap consists of four interrelated principles; various elements clarify the principle's intent within each principle. As revealed in the evidence, ELD-CBTL positively impacts several domains. Below we offer some more evidence on how it supports attaining ELR Principles One and Two.

5.2 The Impact of the ELD-CBTL Model on Attaining the ELR Principles One and Two

Needs Responsive Teachers. As discussed earlier, implementing the ELD–CBTL model highlighted the needs of ELs and the necessary training and constant reminders for the teachers to create an inclusive environment and to utilize appropriate instructional strategies to respond to EL students’ needs. Some early challenges mentioned by the teachers include, “I’ve always felt for the [EL] kids that were isolated in a class by themselves,” “they couldn’t speak English, and they would bring their phones up to me,” “[they] did not wanna be there, was a little abrasive in the beginning, was difficult to work with, did not take to redirection very well, and would not speak a word of English,” and “they’re not learning to the level that everybody else is.” However, at the end of the project, a positive, safe, supportive learning environment created by the teachers became a stepping stone to directly influence students’ learning motivation and engagement. As Teacher C commented:

I think that was a key part of our success with bonding with the kids and getting them to help [with] buy-in. I think the kids are told from the very beginning that they have been chosen. That changes the dynamic of how they see themselves being part of this, not you were pushed into this ... you’re gonna be a model, and making a prestigious opportunity would have helped them from the beginning ... Once we’ve built a relationship, they skyrocketed ... they realized what we needed from them, as well as we realized what they needed from us ... the results were amazing.

Teacher B commented that the type of strong rapport also made students “more willing to participate in class ... and not afraid to speak out and answer.”

Higher Quality of Instruction and Meaningful Access to ELs. In keeping with the direction of ELR Principle Two, implementing the ELD–CBTL model promotes a higher quality of instruction across subject matters by increasing ELs’ comprehension and the opportunity to engage with rigorous content. For example, Teacher A described how she could provide an intellectually rich, comprehensible curriculum with new ELD strategies. Teacher A said:

With the instructional integrating their English language development techniques ... I notice that I can bring in living things, I can show them pictures and videos, so I have realia, I can do demos, I have models that I can bring in to have the students look at, or I can have students actually build models and look at them. So, I can do a lot of visual representation, and I can have a lot of hands-on activities for the students to do. I also use the organizers. One in particular that I like, to build background for students, it’s called a See-Think-Wonder. It’s very similar to a KWL chart ... Students write what they see, they write what they’re thinking, so what do they’re looking at mak[ing] them think about, and then what questions do they have? I’ve done this with how trees grow, I’ve done this with cancer cells, I’ve done this with ... We watched a part of the Lion King and looked at ecological succession, just different parts of ecology. So, I find it’s a really nice way to just level the playing field and show ... I must give everyone that same background before I dive into a subject.

She also shared a newly learned strategy to increase participation. She stated:

What I’ve done now [is] to assign them roles. So based on their skill set, they can self-assign themselves. Someone could be the translator, someone could be the artist, someone could be the data collector, someone’s going to be the material collector just so that they all have a part, and then they help each other out. So, differentiating within their own group.

Similarly, Teacher B shared her reflection with a concrete example demonstrating how she changed her pedagogy and provided scaffolding to develop students’ mastery. She said:

I think my delivery was enhanced ... At first, I literally translated everything or I allowed them to use their phone to hover over the word problems to translate it for them. This year I incorporated a word wall so that our main words that we use all the time, the students would be familiar with, and they could reference the definition if they needed to on the wall. I did a lot of just hands-on highlighting with them, breaking things down. Like if I gave them a complicated problem, I would start [with] baby steps. And if our goal was a complicated problem, I would, you know, start small. I would start with maybe a one-step and then break it into, like, a two-step problem. That way, we can build and build so then they can just jump into the harder problems.

Their comments marked a shift in pedagogical direction made by the ELD–CBTL as it influences teachers’ instructional practices to provide access to the full curriculum along with the provision of appropriate EL supports and services. In summary, aligning with the ELD roadmap, Principles One and Two illustrated how the teachers

shifted their pedagogy to make content more accessible and comprehensible for EL students. When compared to the environmental change model, the teachers' knowledge, beliefs, and attitude shifted based on the impact of the ELD training and opportunities to implement the ELD strategies that resulted in the teacher's perceptions of their pedagogy, which led to instructional changes in the classroom practices for EL students.

6. Recommendations

In this study the authors illuminated the challenges faced by English learners in secondary schools. Pivotal to the belief that all students need access to college preparatory courses, English learners are denied access foundationally due to language policies which act as barriers for English learners (Mendoza, 2016, 2019). As educational institutions seek programs that meet the threshold of providing college and career readiness for all students, programs like career pathways have been touted as meeting and even exceeding these aims (California Center for College and Career Readiness, 2012a). College and career pathways, seek to improve high school graduation rates and increase successful transitions to a full range of postsecondary education opportunities, particularly for low income and disadvantaged youth. (Guha et al., 2013, p 1). For English learners at the secondary level accessing career pathways constitutes barriers due to structural factors that either limit access to career pathways or design the English language development program as a pullout strategy. In this study we focus on one of the structural factors, teacher efficacy, that can increase EL access to core curriculum and prepare them for college and career readiness.

Evidence in our research has proven that teacher efficacy can be raised through a well-designed professional development model that considers teacher change theory, California ELD roadmap guiding principles, and the appropriate training content and approach. Within the change environment framework, the researchers of this study incorporated multiple components that would promote changes in teachers' knowledge and attitudes, teaching experimentation, and other salient outcomes in their context. By aligning the content-based teaching and learning model with the California ELD roadmap, the professional development training centered on the learning needs of level 1 ELs and the integration of ELD strategies in the college preparation courses of English language arts, biology, algebra, media technology, and ELD that meet the a-g eligibility requirements for college admission. As a result of receiving training on teaching with the ELD strategies and coaching support, the participating teachers' mindset shifted and skills increased so they were more confident and comfortable with providing English language learners rigorous content that meets the CSU (California State University) and UC (University of California) a-g requirements for college admission. It also helps create an inclusive learning environment for all students, including language minority students, to become college and career ready. Moreover, this study demonstrates how to reach the goals set forth in the ELD roadmap by addressing the importance of leadership and institutional policies that allows participation of the ELs in the career academy regardless of English language proficiency by identifying the need for differentiated instruction for EL students, and by showing the necessity of funding and process of capacity building of educators.

As a result of this research study, we propose a multi-prong approach incorporating a language development framework grounded in supportive relationships that includes core curriculum, English language acquisition strategies that provide support for English language proficiency, and access to college and career readiness.

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Declaration of Interest Statement

The authors reported no potential conflict of interest.

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Implementation of Creative Economy Digital Transformation at Mandalika Lombok Super Priority Tourism Destination

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Abstract

The Mandalika Super Priority Tourism Destination (SPTD) on Lombok Island has recently become one of the most popular tourist destinations in the media. Its beautiful charm makes Mandalika a critical tourist destination and makes Mandalika attractive to domestic and foreign tourists. Creative economy growth in Lombok is swift, but few are digitally transformed. Therefore, the application of digital transformation is a concern in this research, especially in Mandalika. The theory in this research is the Reasonable Digital Transformation Model. This study uses qualitative research methods, data collection using in-depth interviews, and observation. The informants in this study were creative economy actors randomly selected with the criteria that they had used a digital platform for their business but not optimally. The result of this research is that the creative economy has implemented digital transformation in the Super Priority Tourism Destination area in Mandalika, Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The reasons for the digital transformation of the creative economy include changes in consumer behavior, the very rapid development of the digital era, and the Covid-19 pandemic using the Social Media Marketing strategy.

Keywords: Digital Transformation, Super-Priority Tourism Destinations, Mandalika, Creative Economy

1. Introduction

Tourism has become one of the world's largest industries for increasing the country's exchange rate. As part of tourism, the main goal is to improve the city and the country's economy. One of its manifestations is that several regional heads have begun to offer regional potential as a tourism industry to increase original regional income

and it is widely hoped that it can improve people's welfare. The regional potential is like a product or service that is packaged and branded so that it has characteristics that distinguish it from other regional potentials (Primadewi et al., 2022).

Mandalika in Lombok Island has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in the media lately. Its beautiful charm makes Mandalika a vital tourist destination and attractive to both domestic and foreign tourists. The Mandalika tourist destination is located at the southern tip of the island of Lombok. The island of Lombok, especially Mandalika, continues to be developed into a super-priority tourist destination in Indonesia (Artana & Suardana, 2022). Many local to foreign tourists make Lombok a significant tourist destination. This is partly because the government is developing Super Priority Tourism Destinations (SPTD) in the Lombok Island region. Mandalika is one of Part Ten of the central government's program of new Bali development in Indonesia. The program launched by the government will make the Madalika Special Economic Zone (SEZ) the only tourist destination capable of hosting the world's most prestigious motorcycle race, Moto GP, at the Mandalika Circuit in 2022.

Talking about Indonesian tourism, Bali is still on the top list. However, many other tourist destinations in Indonesia with natural and cultural beauty are not as attractive as the Island of the Gods. From there in recent years, the government has begun to invest time and energy to develop several other tourist destinations outside Bali. Five of them are now referred to as the Five Super Priority Tourist Destinations (5 SPTD), which have the opportunity to boost Indonesia's tourism industry going forward. The development of priority destinations is a form of embodiment of the national tourism development master plan for 2010-2025, which is regulated in Government Regulation (PP) No. 50 of 2011. This PP is the basis for tourism development to increase the quality and quantity of destinations and create a tourism industry capable of driving the national economy. In 2015, the government, for the first time, sparked a more focused tourism development, namely to 10 priority Indonesian tourist destinations outside Bali. The ten priority tourist destinations outside Bali are Borobudur in Central Java, Mandalika in NTB, Labuan Bajo in NTT, Bromo Tengger Semeru in East Java, the Thousand Islands in Jakarta, Lake Toba in North Sumatra, Wakatobi in North Sulawesi, Tanjung Lesung in Banten, Morotai in North Maluku, and Tanjung Kelayang in the Bangka Belitung Islands. Therefore, the government refocused development on five places known as the 5 DSPs: Borobudur, Mandalika, Labuan Bajo, Lake Toba and Likupang (Kemenparekraf, 2022).

Six important points must be addressed for Super Priority Tourist Destinations (SPTD) (Kemenparekraf, 2022):

1. Arrangement and spatial control
2. Development of access and connectivity to tourist destinations
3. Development of facilities at tourist sites, including organizing street vendors to improve the quality and cleanliness of toilets (sanitary facilities) at tourist attractions
4. Improving the quality of human resources
5. Local product marketing
6. Big promotion

From the 6 points above, this research focuses on implementing digital local product marketing in one of the SPTD areas, namely Mandalika, Central Lombok. According to data from the Head of the Central Lombok Tourism Office, there were 35,899 Creative Economy actors as of October 2022 in West Nusa Tenggara Province. Creative economy actors need the role of digital technology to increase product marketing and sales. Digital technology in creative economy players has played a vital role in maintaining the economy in Indonesia. Due to the development of the industrial era 4.0, most business activities are carried out digitally.

Some of the biggest challenges are: First, connectivity in the digital ecosystem is still limited. Second, connecting to a digital ecosystem does not automatically make business people successful. After SMEs are connected to the digital ecosystem, they must compete with existing digital businesses. Not all SMEs are currently competitive and have a digital ecosystem. Third, one of the characteristics of businesses in digital markets is the need to respond quickly and reliably. Highly informal and relatively unfamiliar with modern management, Indonesian SMEs stutter when faced with the peculiarities of this market. Fourth, digital literacy is limited. Knowledge and skills to use

available digital media, communication tools, and networks to seek, evaluate, produce and use business-relevant information involving informal sector enterprises are still very limited. One example of the need to acquire digital literacy relates to sales materials (Telagawathi et al., 2022).

Digital transformation occurs in business processes from companies to customers and from companies to employees. Activate mid-sized businesses and customer infrastructure to accelerate their digital transformation. According to the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, only around 13% of SMEs, or around 8 million creative economy entrepreneurs throughout Indonesia, are connected to the digital world or use digital facilities in their business activities (Widnyani et al., 2021). Digital transformation and the resulting business model innovations have fundamentally changed consumer expectations and behavior, placed enormous pressure on traditional businesses, and revolutionized many markets. However, digital transformation requires certain organizational structures and influences the metrics used to align performance (Verhoef et al., 2021).

So that the acceleration of digital transformation occurs in creative economy actors and customer infrastructure. Data from the ministry of cooperatives and SMEs, of the number of creative economy actors, only around 13% are connected to the digital world or use digital facilities in their business activities. The digital era is a time when doing business supported by advanced technology is very enjoyable. Exciting new technologies such as cloud services, big data, machine learning, and cognitive computing offer opportunities to completely change how businesses work (Fachrunnisa et al., 2020).

This study analyzes the implementation of digital transformation of creative economy actors in the Mandalika Lombok super priority tourism destination (SPTD) area in adopting digitalization programs. Such as research (Primadewi et al., 2022) that has been carried out places more emphasis on optimizing digital transformation as a tourist destination strategy. Other research by (Widnyani et al., 2021) emphasizes the digital transformation of SMEs during the Covid-19 pandemic in Denpasar. Previous research from (Telagawathi et al., 2022) emphasized suitable strategies that could be used for the digital transformation of SMEs in weaving crafts during the Covid-19 pandemic in Gianyar Regency, Bali. This research emphasizes the analysis of the implementation of creative economy digital transformation in Mandalika Lombok.

Through the digital transformation flow model above and considering that the problem is that 13% of creative economy actors are already using or connected to digital platforms (Widnyani et al., 2021), it is necessary to implement digital transformation for the Mandalika SPTD area, Central Lombok. This study aims to analyze the implementation of digital transformation of creative economy actors in the Mandalika SPTD area in adopting digitalization programs. This study emphasizes why Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in Mandalika implement a digital transformation, the existence of digital transformation in SMEs in Mandalika, and the strategies that SMEs in Mandalika have implemented or must implement for digital transformation.

2. Literature Review

Digital transformation is a term used in academia to refer to organizational changes impacted by digital technologies. Digital transformation occurs through changes caused by technological developments in organizations and the environment. Changes that occur are related to the alignment of business processes, including changes between businesses and their employees, businesses and customers, and changes in current market conditions (Papadopoulos et al., 2020). Business innovation and digital transformation Change client expectations and behavior, abandon established businesses, and digitally expand markets (Tulungen et al., 2022). Changes in customer needs and behavior are forcing companies and public administrations to excel in digital transformation. Thus, many business areas that require digital change and transformation are processes carried out by organizations or companies. Creative actors use a socio-technical approach to digital transformation to address difficulties associated with preserving business continuity (Papadopoulos et al., 2020).

The 'digital business transformation' model suggests that information technology, computers, communications, and connectivity play a key role in organizational restructuring [6-9]. The digital transformation of business models goes beyond technology as it covers the broad spectrum that enables the incorporation of information and

communication technologies (ICTs) into industries, governance structures, and ecosystems. The digital transformation thus changes aspects of business, including organizational and trade models and the way processes and services are carried out (Samper et al., 2022).

The success of digital transformation depends on the strategy. These strategies are rarely the same or have the exact fit in different industries (Hai et al., 2021). For example, a strategic move to create digital channels for retail SMEs fundamentally differs from one for industrial SMEs. Pressure from online competitors and changes in customer buying habits are forcing these small businesses to change their traditional business model to remain competitive (Gouveia & Mamede, 2022).

Online trading platforms benefit from more people posting and buying goods and services online (Ratten, 2022). Social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Tiktok, and Whatsapp businesses build digital platforms based on network interactions, including analyzing data used for digital marketing purposes to better target consumers. Digital platforms are a valuable way for entrepreneurs to expand their market reach because they increase communication and accessibility for businesses, customers, and suppliers (Maas & Jones, 2019).

Digital marketing and social media can positively impact corporate brands through brand meaning, equity, loyalty, sustainability, and others. The role of integrated digitization can increase sales (Dwivedi et al., 2021). Some of the biggest challenges are: First, connectivity in the digital ecosystem is still limited. Second, connecting to a digital ecosystem does not automatically make business people successful. After SMEs are connected to the digital ecosystem, they must compete with existing digital businesses. Not all SMEs are currently competitive and have a digital ecosystem. Third, one of the business characteristics in the digital market is the need to respond quickly and reliably (katadata, 2020). Very informal and relatively unfamiliar with modern management, Indonesian SMEs stutter when dealing with the peculiarities of this market. Fourth, digital literacy is limited. The knowledge and skills to use available digital media, communication tools, and networks in finding, evaluating, producing, and using business-relevant information involving informal sector companies are still minimal (Jefri & Ibrohim, 2021). One example of the need to acquire digital literacy relates to sales materials.

Unlike a traditional business, doing business on a digital platform requires a product catalog that makes it easy for consumers to search. Third, digital-based stores cannot make product catalogs carelessly because it is too easy for consumers to miss the catalog. Fourth, catalogs are made based on category, size, color, and even product inventory that is still available. This way, consumers can find the best answers in our product catalog regardless of the search type. Fifth, apart from digital literacy, MSME literacy related to aspects of financial management remains an issue that must be resolved, especially in responding to crises.

3. Method

This study adopted qualitative research to conduct observations and in-depth interviews with informants who were creative economy actors in the super-priority tourism destination area of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Qualitative research begins with assumptions and interpretive or theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems that address the meanings experienced by individuals or groups as social or human problems (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The appeal of qualitative research is that it makes it possible to research various topics in depth, in simple everyday ways (Yin, 2011)(Yin, 2011). Informants in this study were taken based on data from creative economy actors in NTB by purposive random sampling with criteria that had not used the digital platform optimally. Informants who are creative economy actors own various craft, culinary, fashion, and pottery businesses. They produce their products across various regions in West Nusa Tenggara Province.

4. Results

The current creative economy is a concept of a new economic era that enhances information and creativity, with ideas and knowledge of human resources as the main factor of production (Siagian & Cahyono, 2021). The development of the creative economy in Super Priority Tourism Destinations is currently very rapid, especially in West Nusa Tenggara Province. Data in 2019 for the development of the creative economy in NTB were 4,965

using digital platforms in the form of e-commerce. Meanwhile, according to the Head of the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Tourism Office, data for the creative economy as of October 2022 in NTB was 35,899. Mandalika, Lombok, was designated as a Super Priority Tourism Destination by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in 2020.

The Mandalika is located on the coast of the Indian Ocean in the southern part of Lombok Island, West Nusa Tenggara. This area was developed with a total area of 1,175 hectares. In addition to maritime tourism, which has long been famous as one of the region's advantages, Mandalika aims to become a paradise for sports tourism and an arena for international sports competitions. In terms of marine tourism potential, Mandalika is blessed with beautiful beaches. With the recently completed Mandalika International Circuit, expect more international sporting events to be held here. In addition to its natural and sporting potential, Mandalika is rich in local knowledge and the culture of Lombok Island's indigenous tribes. The Sasak tribe is a community culture and local wisdom that can be seen in tourist villages in the SPTD area, such as Sade Village, Sukarara Village, Tetebatu Village, and others. From a creative perspective, Mandalika has three primary creative industries, namely the food industry, handicrafts, and bamboo rattan crafts.

4.1 Digital Transformation

Examining the literature around the definition of digital transformation reveals that definitions differ based on perspective and perception. How digital transformation should be fostered is a topic of debate amongst academics. Digitalization is a comprehensive and adaptable strategy for enhancing human lives. Based on a critical review of previous research literature, the researchers propose a digital transformation conceptual model for SMEs that creative economy actors in Mandalika, Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara can adopt.

R-DT is a model adaptation that simplifies the flow of the Verhoef model and facilitates its application in SMEs according to the maturity level of digital competence. Factors identified at the early stages of the model to ensure the urgency of implementation. Internal factors must have relatively low urgency compared to external triggers (external factors), or internal factors can have digitization of operations, higher urgency, and different effects of external factors resulting from technology trends. The following steps are also essential to ensure that digital transformation goals are set with clear measures of success and, finally, a management decision to choose an effective strategy concerning the results of digital transformation implementation.

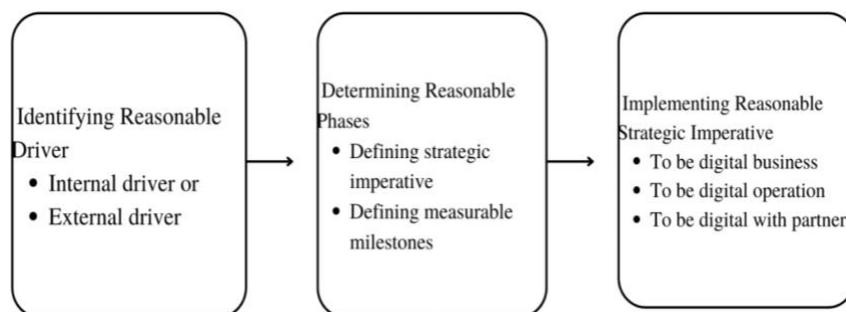


Figure 1: Digital Transformation Model for SMEs

Digital transformation efforts may be more pressing in terms of effectiveness than external factors in the form of changes in technological trends (Muditomo & Wahyudi, 2021). The translation phase, which occurs at a later stage, is also critical to ensuring that digital transformation goals are set with clear measures of success and, ultimately, management decisions to select strategic requirements concerning implementation outcomes that can transform the company into a digital business. Several informants, active SMEs in Mandalika, have not fully utilized the digital platform for their businesses. The condition is due to low educational background and not knowing the digital transformation.

Creative economy actors can see the development of the digital era, which is getting faster with the support of information technology that the public can consume in seconds. This has caused creative economy actors to start using digital platforms due to changes in society that are close to the digital world and changes in consumer behavior. Moreover, because of the Covid-19 pandemic beginning in March 2020, creative economy actors in Mandalika have resolved to examine the digital world's development for their business. The creative economy in Mandalika is increasing in users; this is one of the reasons SMEs can survive when there is a Covid-19 pandemic and demand that people change their business transactions digitally. Besides minimizing losses during the Covid-19 pandemic, SMEs can change economic growth mode. Human resources or employees who run SMEs are currently limited during a pandemic; this causes SMEs to be vulnerable to external risk pressures. However, the role of MSME owners will be very central to driving their business.

4.2 Phase of Digital Transformation

The digital conversion consists of three stages: digitization, digitalization, and digital transformation. Digitization refers to the transformation of analog information into digital information, and digitalization describes how information technology or digital technologies can be used to transform existing business processes, whereas Digital Transformation is a company-wide phenomenon with organization-wide implications whereby a company's core business model can change through the use of technology. digital (Verhoef et al., 2021). In the next digital transformation phase, they select several categories to map out the requirements, including (1) definition and unity strategy phase, main objective strategy phase, information technology integration phase, and complete implementation phase (Widnyani et al., 2021).

Creative economy actors in Mandalika stated that digital transformation was not easy. It takes more knowledge to master digital platforms. Even though people have gradually begun to use digital platforms, they still use traditional methods, partly for consumers who come directly to Lombok Island. The digital platforms used by creative economy actors in Mandalika are very diverse. The use of social media and e-commerce has begun to be implemented. They are starting by using WhatsApp Business, Google Location, Instagram, Facebook, Shopee, and Tokopedia. Some have used all these digital platforms, but some still only use Facebook, Instagram, and Whatsapp for their business. This phase is a gradual change to digitize the business. Some still use their social media accounts to market their products, and some already use business social media accounts for their business. In the information technology integration phase, several creative economy actors have used designs online to post products with specific designs. In addition, applications for editing photos and videos are also used by several SMEs who become informants.

Notably, the benchmark for using digital platforms by creative economy actors in Mandalika is how much the use of social media and e-commerce is. In addition, the utilization or use of other digital applications to support digital transformation is carried out by SMEs.

The digital transformation causes significant changes driven by developments in information technology. The main features of digital transformation are complex innovations in all systems of society, changes in the market base, changes in borders, and fundamental changes in business models (Viglia et al., 2018). The strategy for creative economy actors is to carry out digital transformation when SMEs can accelerate their transition to digital business. A creative economy with very high digital literacy will develop faster in the digital world, and if it has limited digital literacy, these SMEs will find it challenging to adopt digital changes. Some creative economy actors in Mandalika can arrange strategies for digital transformation in stages, for example, using WhatsApp first, then using social media that they understand, such as Facebook and Instagram. After that, new creative economy actors used e-commerce to sell their products. Their digital knowledge supports this gradual strategy. SMEs do not force themselves to use digital platforms they do not understand.

The strategies for marketing MSME products for each creative economy are very diverse, especially in the use of social media. Creative economy actors in Mandalika employ the online marketing technique. Videos, photographs, and written narratives can reach the intended audience. In addition, the strategy is to use social media marketing to market MSME products so that they can reach the desired target audience widely. The creative economy has

implemented this in the Mandalika Lombok SPTD area. The measure of success can be seen when their digital efforts increase sales.

5. Discussion

The Covid-19 pandemic inevitably brings changes in human behavior that are more inclined toward digital. With the near end of the pandemic, the demand for digital transformation in most aspects of life has become higher. This includes the tourism sector and all supporting aspects, such creative economy. It then impacts demands for creative economy actors to develop strategies to increase sales of their products through digital transformation. In particular, the Indonesian government has designated several tourist areas in Indonesia as super-priority tourism destination areas, including Mandalika Lombok.

The result section's digital transformation model for SMEs describes the stages of digital transformation adopted by creative economy actors in SPDT Mandalika, Lombok. The stages include drivers, phases, and strategic imperative of digital transformation. In Lombok, the digital transformation strategy starts by increasing understanding of the urgency of the transformation and is later followed by capacity building. The synergy of relevant stakeholders is then essential to achieving the goal. The synergy is known as the Quadro helix (Prayudi et al., 2020). Therefore, the synergy of interested stakeholders is one of the leading solutions for developing or improving creative economic actors in digital transformation. For example, the digital transformation in Lombok involves local and central government, creative economy actors, academics, and businesses. Academics and businesses are responsible for giving knowledge for a better understanding of the necessity of digital transformation. Meanwhile, the government provides policies and access for SMEs to grow.

The research shows that the creative economy actors in Mandalika, Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara have implemented digital transformation. However, implementing digital platforms and changes to digitalization as a whole is still minimal. The slow transformation is due to a lack of attention from the government, educational background, and understanding of the necessity for digital transformation. Thus, increasing the understanding of digital transformation is not only the responsibility of creative economy actors alone. Instead, it is the responsibility of all relevant stakeholders interested in increasing super-priority tourism destination areas.

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Public Discourse Regarding *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* Hashtag as a Trust Issue

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Abstract

This study attempted to describe on how political discourse develops through social media's hashtags. *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag originally appeared to quell another viral hashtag, *#PercumaLaporPolisi*. This study used social network analysis between multiple internet accounts to shed light on how conversations on social media can actually develop into public discourse based on the hashtag *#PolriSesuaiProsedur*. This research became important since it would show the extent of public's trust in the police institution. The research would be conducted on 3 phases. First, big data analysis to see the spread of netizens' conversations related to the *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag. Second, a quantitative survey on 5 regencies/cities in Banten Province. Third, FGD to strengthen a comprehensive outlook related to public discussions about trust in the police. The results of the data showed that the *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag described an issue that was not organic and centered only on one position. The results also showed how people responded to the hashtag and produced a bubble filter effect that encouraged the emergence of homogenous opinions and behaviors in the society.

Keywords: Big Data Analysis, Public Discourse, Trust Issue, Hashtag, Indonesian Police

1. Introduction

On October 6th, 2021, *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag became a trending topic on the Twitter social media platform. This hashtag emerged after *#PercumaLaporPolisi* hashtag went viral on the same platform and became widespread talk in the virtual world communities. The *#PercumaLaporPolisi* firstly appeared in Project Multatuli's tweet (Multatuli, 2021) along with a link to a news with title, "My Three Children Were Raped, I Reported to The Police, The Police Stopped Investigation". As of October 15, 2021, this tweet has been retweeted 10.600 times, got 1.703 quote tweets and received 18.300 likes (Vice.com, 2021; Suara, 2021; twitter.com, n.d.). The tweet was then followed by other testimonials from Twitter netizens about their experiences when reporting criminal cases to the police.

Few hours after publishing the story, Project Multatuli (2021) reported that their website had suffered from DDos attack. DDos (Distributes Denial of Service) attack is a method whereby cybercriminals overflowing the site's network with so many malicious traffics that websites cannot operate and communicate as normal (Mcafee, 2021).

Due to cyber-attack, the website of Project Multatuli was inaccessible for several hours. Project Multatuli took steps by offered the mass media, organizations or other parties to republish their article on their respective websites. As of October 15, 2021, several media have published the article (suara.com, 2021; vice.com, 2021). This media carried the same narrative, namely urging the police to immediately resolve the sexual violence cases by prioritizing the principles of justice and taking sides with the victims.

As quoted from its website, Project Multatuli (2021) is a collective initiative dedicated on realizing the ideals of public journalism by giving voice to the voiceless, highlighting the marginalized, and reporting the under-reported (Multatuli, 2021). And this article was part of a series of *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* reporting which supported by the Kurawal Foundation.

Project Multatuli website was not the only one that suffered cyber-attacks for publishing the “My Three Children Were Raped, I Reported to The Police, The Police Stopped Investigation” article; posts on Instagram were also temporarily removed by Instagram system due to reports of community guidelines violations. Multatuli (2021) believed that this happened because there were reports from other parties who were trying to stop the spread of the article. Because on next day, an Instagram review said that there was no problem with the content of the article (twitter.com, n.d.). Official account of the Luwu Tiwur Police department (@humasreslutim) labeled the article posted by Project Multatuli as a hoax. This label was given to Luwu Tiwur Police Instagram Stories post on their official Instagram account. The official said that they had received reports of the sexual assault in 2019, but there was not enough evidence to prove that the incident was actually occurred. Thus, @humasreslutim claimed that the article “My Three Children Were Raped, I Reported to The Police, The Police Stopped Investigation” was a hoax.

At same time, the websites of other mass media which also put Project Multatuli articles in their news reports couldn't be accessed by people. Therefore, public vehemently criticized the police performance regarding the overall case. Even so, the *#PercumaLaporPolisi* hashtag remained as trending topic on Twitter for several days. On October 11th, 2021, or 5 days after *#PercumaLaporPolisi* first emerged, another hashtag *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* appeared from official police accounts such as the West Java Police Public Relations (@humaspoldajbr) and East Java Police Public Relations (@humaspoldajatim). This tweet received retweets from another official police accounts. Based on the metadata, it showed that the timestamp for this tweet was at the same time, which was around 9am.

The heated discussion on social media related to the article had developed *#PercumaLaporPolisi* hashtag which later gave rise to a new hashtag, *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* as an effort to counter the hashtag discourse. Various opinions and ideas have flooded Twitter social media. These conflicting opinions and ideas have led the virtual world communities to be more aggressive in giving opinions or on simply responding to tweets.

What made this interesting was that how the conversation on social media, which initiated by the viral hashtag, has built a political discourse about legal institution which spearheading law enforcement in Indonesia. The discourse was certainly not only carried out by general public. Various parties with certain interests did not let go of this opportunity to bring a wider discourse so that other controversial issues were also discussed.

2. Method

This research would conduct in 3 phases; big data analysis on social media, quantitative surveys, and focus group discussions. All these with the aim for providing a comprehensive picture of public talks about public trust in the police. In **the first phase**, researchers focused on conversations in Twitter with the hashtag *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* from October 6 to November 6, 2021. Researchers would also be conducting text mining from the mass media at the same time. This research was using Netlytics, a web-based software that collecting data from social media. Netlytic (Index @ *Netlytic.Org*, n.d.) could only provide data of 2500 tweets in one-time process. To make sure the data obtained were more comprehensive, researchers would also use RTweets to process data mining from Twitter. RTweet could provide data up to nine days back (Rtweet@*Github.Com*, n.d.). The data mining process using RTweet would be carried out every five days. After data mining, the next step was data cleaning. Researchers

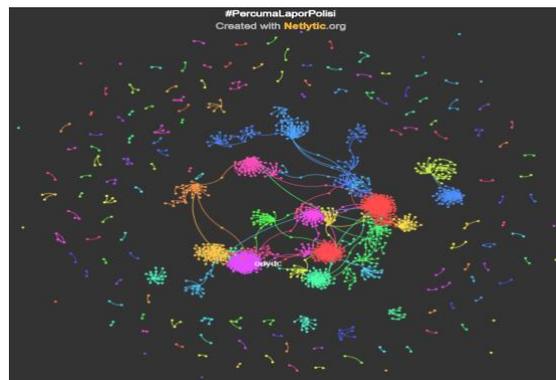
used excel spreadsheet software to clean up data from Twitter metadata (Oauth20_authorize@www.office.com, n.d.).

The researcher used Wordsmith 8.0 software as a corpus analysis instrument. Wordsmith 8.0 (www.lexically.net, n.d.) was a software package for linguistics, particularly for working in corpus linguistics. This was a collection of modules for looking for patterns in a language. By collecting word frequency data, keywords, index line analysis and other methods, this research expected to be able to analyze social discourse about police institutions. For data visualization, researchers used Tableau, a cloud-based software for analytics and data visualization. Tableau could help to view and understand the data (Tableau-Software@ www.tableau.com, n.d.), hence researchers used it to help getting better understanding of public discourse on Twitter about the police reputation. **The second stage**, the researcher conducted a quantitative survey on the community. Because of the limited research time, this survey has been narrowed down to Banten citizen in 5 districts/cities. The survey was conducted to see the consistency of the conversation between social media and the general public, whether the conversation on social media also illustrated the public's real response to the *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag or not. **The third stage**, in order to get a complete view of the public's discussion about people's trust toward the law enforcer, researchers has conducted a Focus Group Discussion with representatives of community groups in Banten.

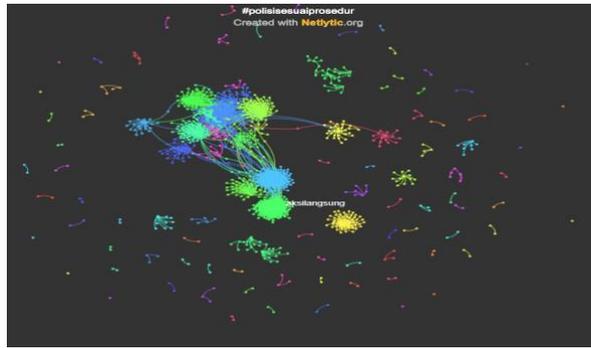
3. Results and Discussion

At this part, we would discuss regarding public talks on social media about *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag. This hashtag became a trending topic firstly when @M1_nusaputra account tweeted it. According to its bio, the account belonged to Yunus Saputra, Head of CCiC Analysis of the Indonesian Police, Cyber Patrol – Virtual Police. Yunus said that the police investigation had followed the procedure for the sexual harassment case. He also said that there was a difference between the actual visum et repertum and the article written by Project Multatuli. Yunus' tweets showed that Fahri Salam, the editor of Project Multatuli, tended to attack Police Institution while the police were in the middle of improving themselves. (M1_nusaputra @twitter.com, n.d.).

The merging of public communication was one of 16 main featured programs of the National Police Chief (Kapolri) in his 100-day tenure. General Listyo Sigit Prabowo has used a jargon of 'Precision' which means predictiveness, responsibility, transparency and justice. He also promised that the National Police was ready to accept criticism from the public (tempo.co.id, 2021). And with the sexual harassment case has gone viral, the police institution had decided to reopen it (Noroyono, 2021).



Picture 1: Social Network Analysis of *#PercumaLaporPolisi*



Picture 2: Social Network Analysis of #PolriSesuaiProsedur

From the initial description, in the #PolriSesuaiProsedur, there were fewer clusters that appeared and all centered in one position. The initial assumption was that this hashtag was not an organic hashtag, and that buzzers had played a role in increasing the hashtag count numbers. A centralized cluster like this illustrated that there was a systematic and planned effort to make the #PolriSesuaiProsedur as a central issue. The non-organic conversations created in a centralized cluster indicated that the public had less interest to the discourse and was more interested in the previous hashtag, #PercumaLaporPolisi as the central point of discussion. We could see this in the first image which showed how the clusters were created randomly and not centered. The number of clusters created in the conversation between these accounts indicated an organic movement from the virtual world community for discussion.

Indonesian public actually have enormous influence. This was not only about numbers (250 million++ people) but also related to the activities and engagements carried out by the Indonesian people throughout social media which were also equally large. Thanks to that, when Indonesian people talked out about certain issue in their social media pages, it would appear as a huge issue. In 2019, the social media popularity survey showed the results of the 15 most actively used media platforms by Indonesian people. The first position was Youtube, followed next by Whatsapp, Instagram, Facebook, Line, Twitter and so on.

The use of social media to share information was also utilized later by the mass media to widespread information while giving their readers new informative experiences. Traditional media nowadays readily using online websites to store thousands of news, images, stories, and other information which later piqued the interest of internet users as consumers of their online news sites. Since online news have faster cycle than normal, news makers were demanded to adapt. News reporters and editors are now using Twitter, SnapChat, and other social media as tools to keep their readers curious (Friedman&Sutton, 2019).

The #PercumaLaporPolisi became a trend following the low public trust in the police institution. Various events triggered the peak of the hashtag's usage trend on Twitter. Of course, it would also be wise to state that the decline of public trust in the police was not merely because of the hashtag, but it has been in such bottom-rock position for quite a while, down by 6% (Republika, 2021; CNNIndonesia, 2021; Detik, 2022; Kabar24; Coverage6 2022).

A recent data from Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting (SMRC) published an intriguing score on Police popularity level from 2019 to 2021. From the survey result, SMRC claim that public opinion on Police Popularity decrease over the year. Public opinion on police popularity as "Great/Good" hit the 50,7 the highest score on March 2020 to 44,8 on September 2021. Whilst public opinion on police popularity as "Bad/Worse" increase from 16,8 on March 2020 to 24,8 on September 2021 (Mujani, 2021). This decline in performance came from public opinion, meaning that what were seen, read, heard and considered part of the community's experience were the basis for the assessment. Avid news consumers would have their opinions adjusted based on the construction of the news. At different side, people who were not avid news readers and just following trends, would have different opinions from the avid reader group. Then, where was the community group who only liked to spread the news?

This group was then referred to as the consumption community group. The changes in the pattern of people's experiences from previously experiencing the reality directly shifted to that, in the current digital era, people have

experiences based on the experiences of others they have read through social media or mass media. Thus, the perspective did not come from their own selves but came from other people. Opinion creation and re-creation that kept repeating on social media made people's experiences (which they believed to be real) into pseudo-reality that was created over and over again by each individual. That what happened to *#PercumaLaporPolisi*, the result of public opinion that has gone through the process of creation and re-creation repeatedly through social media. It was not only Twitter, Instagram and YouTube which played important role in the creation process. The trending hashtag was also a real example of the structural re-creation process of the text. It was not only people who have experienced the same incident that spreading the hashtag; people who simply felt sympathy, or had same opinion, or groups of people who disliked the police have participated in spreading the content and hashtag text. This was a characteristic of social media that distinguished it from conventional mass media. The *#PercumaLaporPolisi* hashtag was no longer just a collection of letters jumbled together to achieve the Twitter algorithm system, but it manifested as part of human experience of reality and how it related to other people. In this context, it was about public trust in the police, both individually and institutionally.

Public trust in state institutions was one of the necessary supports in carrying out good governance. Good governance was carried out not only based on the performance of single actor, namely the state/government, but it also needed community involvement, both civil and economic societies. The form of community involvement, according to David Easton's system theory was divided into two; demands and support. We would be discussing more about community involvement in the form of demands and support.

The *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag was trending on Twitter in response to the performance of the National Police which considered not optimal in handling the rape report. The police, which should have provided a thorough investigation, in fact stopped the investigation case. This case first appeared on Twitter based on a tweet published by Project Multatuli through its account. As a result, this hashtag became trending for several days and the account of Project Multatuli also experienced DDoS Attack.

After the emergence and trending of the hashtag, public trust in the police institution continued to decline. A survey conducted by Populi Center showed that from September to December 2021, there has been a decline in the level of public trust in the National Police (this hashtag itself appeared in October 2021). In September, public confidence toward police institution stood at 76.8% and then fell to 76.2% in October, dropping further to 75.1% in November and 75% in December. Although it continued to decline, public trust in the National Police was actually still higher compared to other law enforcement agencies such as the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, the Corruption Eradication Commission and the Attorney General's Office.

The form of public trust in State institutions actually showed how much support given by the community so that State institutions could carried out their activities in giving out public services. With the decline in the level of public trust in the community, this indicated of decrease in the support given to the police. On the other hand, there has been a sizable wave of demands from the community to the police to continue improving, reforming, and striving to optimally handle complaints from the public or police's internal problems themselves. Public became aware about police internal problems more with the emergence of *#HariIoknum* hashtag which highlighted the action of case-suspected police officers. Public pointed out that how come the institution that should have provided guidelines for righteous and just behavior have human resources with such unfit to be followed behaviors themselves.

Low public trust was also reflected in highly negative sentiment on social media. As a free public space, social media was currently considered as an option to express opinions free of intervention. Despite the existence of the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (*UU ITE*), the public were still using social media as frontform for criticizing the incompetent performance of State institutions, one which of course was the police. The barrage of criticism from the public related to the *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* hashtag indicated that there was an expression of disappointment from the public for the institution. In a democratic system this was allowed, moreover freedom of expression was protected by law.

This demand and support from the community should have been utilized by the National Police as a self-evaluation mechanism and showed that they could also improve. Easton explained that the system required a linkage between

one element to another in order to be able to run properly. Community demands and support were only one small part of a governance system, namely the input function. Inputs would be pointless if they were not processed by government officials into outputs in the form of public policies. These public policies were supposed to serve as means to reach the expected outcomes. Reality, however, was not like that. Instead of processing these inputs into public policies that improving their standing, the police actually chose to create a counter hashtag. In good governance, the step taken by the National Police was a spell of more negative sentiment on social media, not solving any problem at all. They were so focused on creating a positive image of the institution instead solving more urgent matter that was unraveling the problems that existing in the society.

When we were talking about public trust in government institutions (not only police/law enforcement), we're basically referring to the components: Commitment, Cooperation, Compliance from the public to the government (Gi-Chon, 2019). This component was encouraging public trust in the organization which in turn encouraged the increase in individual's attitudinal, namely: satisfaction, the same values, the same ideology, empathy, sympathy and individual responses that appear in the form of attitudes (Cooperation and Compliance). However, trust was not an empty word. In public relations, trust meant "A Belief by Publics that an organization is reliable, honest, and stands by its own as well as accomplishes its promised obligations" (Ki&Hon, 2007), and this definition was different from trust in political view which led to the level of public acceptance toward government performance and "righteous" activities. These differences resulted in different anticipation and evaluation responses which, in the end, produced different public opinions.

The *#PercumaLaporPolisi* hashtag, in a simpler context, could be included in the category of public opinion; An opinion that reflected the level of public trust in the police. Opinions that grew from people's experiences and attitudes which came from those experiences. It was a traditional understanding that public opinion was a collection of public sentiments about socio-political issues that could be discussed freely through various communication channels. Currently, through social media, we could see various combinations of mass communication and interpersonal communication which manifesting in various interpersonal debates side by side with mass media information (Neubaum, 2017). This technology was allowing public opinion to form and develop organically in the midst of society.

#PercumaLaporPolisi could also be categorized as public opinion formed as a result of the "filter bubble" (Pariser, 2011) and like-minded collectives (Sunstein, 2008) which then producing the same opinion, the same attitude towards an issue. This (seemed) to look normal. Various studies have also found results that we tended to project our opinions on the comments/opinions of others that we read in books, journals, newspapers, magazines, and in this context on Twitter and other social media. In the end, the observations we made on other people fostered the same opinion and point of view in us as observers (even though we might not be directly involved with the issues raised) with the assumption that other people also had the same opinions and attitudes. The hashtag was in this position in the view of public's trust. When the hashtag went viral, it became a trend and was talked about by many people. When there's argument which agreed with it, it would gain followers. When there's argument which disagreed, it would be equally followed. The hashtag has lost its real meaning and has turned into a collective opinion of the community through the bubble filter which existed as member of particular community.

The *#PolisiSesuaiProsedur* was created as a counter effort to the *#PercumaLaporPolisi* hashtag. The latter when viewed from its network analysis could be categorized as public opinion formed as a result of a "filter bubble" (Pariser, 2011) and like-minded collectives (Sunstein, 2008) which then producing the same opinion, the same attitude towards the issue. On the other hand, *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* was a hashtag that formed systematically with the aim of generating new discussions in the virtual community and creating a wave of discourse focused on the image of the Police as a law enforcement agency in Indonesia. When the hashtag went viral, it became a trend and was talked about by many people. When there's argument which agreed, it would gain followers. When there's argument which disagreed, it would be equally followed. The hashtag has lost its real meaning and has turned into a collective opinion by the community through the bubble filter which existed as member of particular community.

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A Course Correction in U.S.-China Relations: Understanding American Think Tanks' Policy Narratives

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Abstract

American think tanks play important roles in its foreign policy making and their policy narratives about U.S.-China relations have great chances to influence or being factored into Biden administration's China policies. This article explores American think tanks' policy narratives advocating managing strategic competition and coordinating on global governance imperatives. It argues that when political discourse changes these narratives will help to make a real course correction in U.S.-China relations come true.

Keywords: Course Correction, Policy Narratives, American Think Tanks, U.S.-China Relations

Think tanks in the United States play unique roles in the country's foreign policy making. They are the bridge between increasingly complicated policy problems and policy solutions. They are also incubators of new ideas, forums for policy discussions and "talent tanks" for mid-to-high level government officials. They translate policy researches into insights and recommendations packaged to inform and meet decision-makers' needs. As the most consequential relations in the 21st century, China-U.S. relations are the major areas for American think tanks to exercise influence. This article will explore whether American think tanks' policy narratives advocating cooperation and managed competition will lead to a course correction in U.S.-China relations? This article will mainly focus on policy narratives, which emphasize that the U.S. and China need to work together to address pressing global challenges, provide public goods, build guardrails, welcome China's bigger role on the world stage, and seek to coexist with China. Specifically, the frameworks of competitive interdependence, managed strategic competition, competitive coexistence or cooperative rivalry and conditional competitive coexistence are given in-depth interpretation.

1. Why a Course Correction?

Since the Trump administration, America's policies towards China have become more and more aggressive. Biden Administration not only inherited most of its predecessor's confrontational policies but also has instituted new economic, security, and diplomatic policies to strengthen U.S. involvement in the Indo-Pacific. The administration has prioritized its strategies to outcompete China through high-profile events such as the publication of its Indo-Pacific Strategy, Secretary of State Antony Blinken's China policy speech, unveiling its Indo-Pacific Economic Framework with great fanfare, strengthening the role of Quad and signing into the law the CHIPS and Science Act of 2022. The administration's National Security Strategy released on Oct. 12, 2022, specifically singled China out

as “the only competitor with both the intent to reshape the international order and, increasingly, the economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to advance that objective.” (2022, p23) These policy moves obviously set a hostile tone for the bilateral relationship and rendered coordination on pressing global governance issues difficult to push forward.

However, in this context, quite a lot American think tanks’ policy narratives advance different policy options and believe a sustainable U.S. policy towards China should strike a balance between competition, rivalry and cooperation. John Ikenberry, co-director of Center for International Studies in Princeton University put forward that the United States and China “cannot be secure and stable alone; they can only be secure and stable together.” (2014, p59) Brookings Institution’s policy report, “Avoiding Wars: Containment, Competition, and Cooperation in US-China Relations”, also pointed out “there is often a false dichotomy between competition versus cooperation in U.S.-China relations. In fact, there are—and should be—elements of both competition and cooperation in both the economic and security spheres.” (Dollar et al, 2017, p2) In her article published in *Foreign Affairs*, Jessica Chen Weiss wrote that “U.S. politicians and policymakers are becoming so focused on countering China that they risk losing sight of the affirmative interests and values that should underpin U.S. strategy.” In the meanwhile, she also stressed the current course “threatens to undermine the sustainability of American leadership in the world and the vitality of American society and democracy at home.” (2022, p40)

In view of this, this article interprets American think tanks’ perceptions of the inevitability for a course correction in U.S.-China relations from the following aspects:

1.1. Respecting Half-Century’s Engagement History and Abandoning This Tradition Is Wrong

China experts and international relations scholars from think tanks, such as Brookings Institution, Harvard Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Peterson Institute for International Economy(PIIE), and Asia Society Policy Institute(ASPI) all think highly of valuing 50 years’ engagement tradition because it is irresponsible to appeal to domestic political winds by blaming history, which will destroy mutual trust and the credibility of the United States and reflects the hegemonic mentality of the U. S.. Graham Allison from Harvard Belfer Center, Ryan Hass and Jeffrey Bader from Brookings Institution firmly believe 50 years’ engagement reached the U.S. policy goals, was undertaken in the interest of the United States not as a favor to China and it is worthwhile to remember past win-win cooperations now. (Allison, 2021a; see also Putz,2021 Bader, 2018, p4) In “An Unsentimental China Policy”, published in *Foreign Affairs*, Graham Allison pointed out that instead of giving up on engagement policy “the administration should heed the entire lesson of five decades of U.S. foreign policy toward China: it works best when focusing realistically on geopolitical objectives essential to protect American interests, and worst when attempting to engage in political engineering to promote American values.” (2021) Similarly, ambassador J. Stapleton Joy from Wilson Center emphasized that “attacks on the supposedly failed China policy of the past forty years are based on the false premise” that the policy was meant to remake China in the United States’ image. (2018, p185)

1.2. Competition Is Inevitable, but Conflict Is Not

Even if competition is inevitable, conflict should definitely be avoided. The idea is resoundingly emphasized by quite a lot American think tanks. In the book event sponsored by Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Ryan Hass and Judy Blanchette had an in-depth discussion about his book, *Stronger: Adapting America’s China Strategy in an Age of Competitive Interdependence*, during which Hass said avoiding conflict with China is a sure thing to do for Biden Administration. He also repeated that both countries should keep competition within a tolerable range so that it would not tilt towards hostility when having an interview with Carter Center. (2021; see also Putz, 2021) More earnestly, Kevin Rudd, the president of ASPI warns about the dangerous consequences of forgetting the history of sleepwalking into wars so many times and points out lessons should be learned from the Cold War era when the U.S. and the former Soviet Union had established risk management mechanisms after the Cuban missile Crisis. In the *Foreign Affairs* article, “Rival Within Reasons?”, he wrote that “after the near-death experience of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the United States and the Soviet Union eventually agreed on a range of stabilizing arrangements.” (Rudd 2022 a) In the

keynote speech delivered at the 10th World Peace Forum at Tsinghua University, Rudd said, “to avoid sleepwalking into war, as our world has done too many times in the past, there is a deep interest on the part of all countries that both the U.S. and China construct a joint strategic framework to help maintain the peace—or at least to reduce the risk of war by accident.”(Rudd 2022 b) In light of this, Joseph Nye from Belfer Center emphasizes the importance of correct policy choice, and he thinks “if the United States plays it right, the rivalry with China could be healthy.” (2021)

1.3. Decoupling and Containment Will Not Work; New Cold War Mentality Is Outdated

Time and momentum for large-scale decoupling as well as containing China have become stories from a bygone age. Interdependence between U.S. and China will be inescapable in terms of trade, technology, academic and cultural exchanges. According to Ryan Hass’s analysis in his book *Stronger*, two countries with a bilateral trade balance of over 700 billion dollars decouple economic relationship “would reduce efficiencies, lower growth, and create inflationary pressure as goods and services become more expensive.” More importantly, it would “place global growth and stability at risk.” (2021a, p76) In his article “Cracking China”, Joseph Nye put forward that “it is mistaken to think the US can completely decouple its economy from China without enormous economic costs.” He also stressed that today’s China is not the Cold War era Soviet Union because China has learned to take advantage of market economy creatively and established closer economic ties with more countries in the world than the United States, which the former Soviet Union had never accomplished (2022). In this vein, new Cold War is a bad metaphor or analogy to understand U.S.-China relations, so containment is not a wise policy. Hass points out that “China is deeply embedded in the global economy. As such, containment is not an available option for dealing with China, given that few, if any, U.S. allies or partners would be receptive to aligning with the United States against China.” (Hass and Weiss, 2021) Similarly, PIIIE founder C. Fred Bergsten thinks, “the United States must in any event reject any efforts to contain China” because “containment cannot succeed as President Trump demonstrated.” (2022, p3) Actually, decoupling will disrupt supply chain and is not in line with the country’s comparative advantage. Biden administration’s decoupling is mostly unfolded in the high-tech field, especially the chip industry, but PIIIE experts Hufbauer and Hogan think the strategy of self-sufficiency is self-defeating. While China specializes in the production of simpler chips, the U.S. is advantageously positioned to produce more advanced chips. (2022)

1.4. Working Together to Tackle Global Governance Imperatives

Global governance needs diverse actors to coordinate collective actions on the planet level, especially countries like U.S. and China who share common interests to combat climate change, ensure public health security, maintain the sustainable development of world economy, control nuclear proliferation and innovate means to limit the side-effects of AI technology. China’s improvement of capabilities will benefit the United States and the international community. For example, Joseph Nye believes that “the US cannot solve these problems by acting alone, because greenhouse gases and viruses do not respect borders or respond to military force.” China’s beneficial initiatives will benefit the United States. “America thus has to cooperate with China while also competing with it.” (2021) In their report “Limit, Leverage, and Compete: A New Strategy on China”, Melanie Hart and Kelly Magsamen in Center for American Progress proposed that “where China’s strategic intent aligns with U.S. and broader global interests, the United States should seek to leverage rather than limit Chinese initiatives.” (2019, p21) They also suggested the U.S. partner with China on global sustainability efforts. (2019, p25) In the meanwhile, China’s past efforts to work with the U.S. to tackle pressing global challenges are acknowledged by American think tank experts. For instance, Yanzhong Huang from the Council on Foreign Relations puts forward that “the 21st century has witnessed China’s significantly expanded engagement in addressing global challenges including climate change, global health, counter-terrorism, anti-piracy operation, and nuclear nonproliferation.” (2017) Evan A. Feigenbaum, Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, stresses the positive collaborations in the past when U.S. and China could transcend the limitations of political, ideological and security tensions. He points out that “over the last twenty years, these two countries did coordinate, act in complementary ways, and help lead global responses to global threats—coordination happened despite their strategic tension.” (2020)

2. How Will a Course Correction Happen?

In addition to American think tanks' necessity narratives for a course correction in U.S.-China relations, they have also prescribed frameworks to make it happen. This article will focus on competitive interdependence proposed by Ryan Hass, managed strategic competition advanced by Kevin Rudd, competitive coexistence or cooperative rivalry put forward by Joseph Nye and Graham Allison, and conditional competitive cooperation envisioned by C. Fred Bergsten. The four frameworks seek to offer a new approach to deal with the bilateral relations and address the 21st century great power reality. They share several common features: the acceptance of China's greater role on the world stage; competitive and cooperative aspects of the relationship are equally important; managing strategic competition is mutually beneficial.

2.1. Welcoming China's Greater Role on the World Stage

Forging a new approach to deal with U.S.-China relations means the acceptance of China's rise. According to a major study of Belfer Center titled "The Great Rivalry: China vs. the U.S. in the 21st Century" directed by Graham Allison, the U.S. need to recognize that China is now a "full-spectrum peer competitor." (Allison 2021; see also Hass 2021a, p69) And Bergsten believes China will achieve economic parity with the U.S. sooner or later and the two countries will share global economic leadership eventually. "Unless it experiences unforeseen setbacks, China will achieve and maintain economic power roughly equivalent to the United States for the foreseeable future." (2022, p2)

In Ryan Hass's competitive interdependence, America's acceptance of China's greater role on the world stage encompasses that the U.S. must "recognize that it, too, is a revisionist power", acknowledge the legitimacy of China's requirements for modifying international institutions to reflect its increasing capabilities, and overcome American's reflective opposition to Chinese behaviors as well as the inertia of gaining political points on China by chasing domestic political winds. (Hass 2021a, p65-66; see also Hass, Kim and Bader 2022, p7) Hass elaborates on several occasions that the United States has been bending the existing international laws and rules in its own interests in terms of geopolitics, finance and trade. He also reiterates that the United States does not have a say in China's influence expanding behaviors like establishing development bank, building railways and pipelines. (Putz 2021; see also Hass 2021 b)

Bergsten calls for a conditional competitive cooperation, comprising collaborative US-China leadership on key global economic issues, conditional on each country's fulfilling its obligations in the international economic system. He proposes ten recommendations to achieve this, from granting China full voting parity with U.S. in the IMF to the U.S. engaging in Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank while China joining U.S.-led institutions to the recommendations to reinvigorate the global trade system. The two countries should also consult closely on systemic matters concerning global governance and providing public goods, be flexible about the balance of leadership on specific issues. For example, China has greater say on development finance, but the United States plays a more important role in international financial and monetary issues, while global and regional arenas are treated differently. Bergsten envisions an informal but operational G-2 leading the global economic order to lay the foundation for a prosperous and stable world economy. To enable this cooperation, he envisages a "functional decoupling", that is, a decoupling of economic issues from political and security topics. (2022, p387-419; see also Bergsten and Wang, 2022)

2.2. Cooperation despite Competition

The United States and China find themselves locked in a state of fierce competition but their abilities to cooperate define the future and development of both countries and affect the prosperity and stability of the whole world. Joseph Nye points out that "the US-China relationship is a 'cooperative rivalry', in which the terms of competition will require equal attention to both sides of the oxymoron." He also puts forward that power is a positive-sum game in the domain of global governance. (2021) Likewise, Graham Allison emphasizes the competitive coexistence of the United States and China because they have common shared interests of avoiding a nuclear war, mutually addressing climate change and making advances in economy, science and technology (Mecklin, 2022).

Ryan, Kim and Bader also highlight the needs to frame the bilateral relationship more broadly than the rigid version of competition. (2022) Therefore, the United States and China need to coordinate their efforts not only to address pressing urgencies but also to probe a way forward to deal with the negative side-products of AI, effective international assistance, debt relief, food shortage and global supply chain disruptions. Working together to maintain the sustainable development of the world economy, climate change and health security cooperations as well as reducing the risks of nuclear proliferation is just the beginning.

2.2.1. The Sustainability of the World Economy

A sustainable world economy depends on avoiding the Thucydides Trap, which is the idea that an established power like the U.S. is destined to come into conflict with a rising economic rival, and the Kindleberger trap, which implies a situation neither the incumbent power nor the rising power is willing to assume the responsibilities of global economic leadership and provide public goods leaving the world vulnerable to beggar-thy-neighbor policies most notably led to the Great Depression in the 1930s. Bergsten's prescription is the informal but practical G-2, the U.S. and China working together to lead the world economy. In light of the Kindleberger trap, Kevin P. Gallagher of CSIS believes the current economic order is under great restraint and in urgent need for leadership and cooperation. He thinks the United States and China can act unilaterally, take parallel actions and work together through multilateral mechanisms (2021).

2.2.2. Cooperation on Climate Change

Climate change is a global problem that requires global cooperation to address and China has great capabilities in this area, which creates great potential for U.S.-China cooperation. Nikos Tsafos of CSIS testified before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission on the topic of "China's Climate Change Strategy and U.S.-China Competition." She pointed out that "China has a commanding position in the supply chains for clean energy. But it is also a major economy, so it is impossible to imagine China not playing a role in supply chains." Tsafos believes it is not hard to imagine the United States and China finding an acceptable balance to mitigate the mistrust that each side sees depending on the other as their vulnerable points (2022). On the same occasion, in his testimony, Henry Lee from Harvard Belfer Center made the suggestion that "climate and energy may be an area where the benefits of greater coordination and cooperation may outweigh the costs." David Victor from Brookings thinks it is desirable to cooperate on practical topics when broader cooperation is impractical. To him, there are many low political risks but high social gains areas, such as carbon capture and storage, wind and solar energy technology development, advanced battery chemistries and high-speed rail. He especially puts premium on adopting a globalist perspective so that the potential of new technologies can be unleashed and wielded to address pressing challenges (2021). According to Sarah Ladislaw of CSIS, as two of the most important countries for addressing climate change, it is impossible to achieve the goal of keeping global temperature rise to less than 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels without both China and the United States taking aggressive action to reduce emissions within the next decade (2021).

2.2.3. Health Security Cooperation

Health security threats represent another critical area for U.S.-China cooperation and it becomes more important than ever. There are expansive opportunities for the two countries to coordinate their efforts. CSIS commissioned Scott Kennedy and Yanzhong Huang from CFR to lead a working group to explore potential areas for U.S.-China cooperation and they have identified six concrete and actionable areas for collaborative work: vaccines and therapeutics, international travel, public health infrastructure, biosafety and biosecurity, supply chains, and countering disinformation. (2021, p5) Cheng Li and Ryan McElveen from Brookings also stress the potential benefits of the engagement of two largest economies in the world. They put forward a series of suggestions for U.S.-China collaboration, which includes resuming the tradition of public health cooperation, retaining strong ties within the medical community, helping to increase vaccine manufacturing capacity for the world, collaborating on drug development and confidence and capacity building for the future. (2021)

2.2.4. Non-Proliferation Cooperation

Obviously, U.S. and China have shared nonproliferation goals. Cooperation will not guarantee success in reining in growing nonproliferation challenges now and in the future, but the absence of such efforts will surely increase the risks. Brookings experts Robert Einhorn believes that the Biden administration must make every effort to carve out space for U.S.-China cooperation in the following areas: resuming the channels of engagement, curbing the North Korea threat, revitalizing nuclear security and nuclear energy cooperation and strengthening the NPT regime through actions like coordinating nuclear exporting policies, fixing withdrawal problem and promoting a successful reviewing conference (2021). Unfortunately, geopolitical competitions like the expanded activities of the U.S. in Indo-Pacific to shore up its allies' capabilities will compromise nonproliferation efforts. For example, James Acton of Carnegie Endowment points out the "new security partnership, AUKUS, will deliver nuclear-powered submarines to Australia. This sets a troubling precedent for nuclear nonproliferation policy." He also expressed that in his assessment, the nonproliferation implications of the AUKUS submarine deal are both negative and serious (2021). Hence, the cooperation is increasingly important.

2.3. *Managing Strategic Competition*

Amid heightened competition between the United States and China, Kevin Rudd repeatedly sounds the warning that the 2020s "will be the decade of living dangerously" (2021, p58). He advanced a framework of managed strategic competition. Managing competition also means the U.S. world order building efforts should not aim at isolating China and applying double standard should be avoided.

2.3.1. Redline, Guardrail Building, Managed Competition and Cooperation

Rudd prescribes four steps to manage U.S.-China competition. The first step is to set up principles and procedures for navigating each other's redlines to help prevent miscalculation by agreeing on some hard limits in the bilateral relationship, such as the U.S. literally strictly adhering to One-China Policy and both the U.S. and China cutting military drills and deployments in Asia. In this step, Rudd emphasizes the benefits of enhancing strategic predictability and believes "strategic deception is futile while strategic surprise is just plain dangerous." (2022 c, p318) The second step means to build guardrails in accordance with the hard limits being put into place and honored by the two sides. The hard limits should be established through the two countries' highest-level private communication and mediation rather than high-profile meetings and open announcements. The third step means competing openly but being restrained by the guardrails. They can continue to compete for strategic and economic influences, for trade and investments, as well as for military and technology capacities. They can even compete to boost their soft power, where China highlights the merits of Chinese development model and the United States continues to emphasize the importance of democracy and human rights. The fourth step is crafting space for strategic cooperation, which can start with confidence building actions like humanitarian assistance and natural disaster relief efforts in Asia. (c 2022, p 313-349; see also b2022; d 2022; 2021p70-71)

2.3.2. Positive-Sum Competition

If the United States frames U.S.-China competition from the lens of zero-sum game, it might fall into a trap of trying to put all its effort into outcompeting China and ignore revitalizing "an inclusive international system that would protect U.S. interests and values even as global power shifts and evolves." In the long run this will undermine the strengths and vision that "should be the basis for sustained American leadership." Thus, looking at great-power competition from a positive-sum perspective will enable meaningful discussions between the U.S. and China to agree on "plausible terms of coexistence and the future of the international system—a future that Beijing will necessarily have some role in shaping." (Weiss 2022) Rather than encouraging a more inclusive world order, the Biden administration's order-building efforts centered on establishing closely packed groups to isolate China, such as the Quad and the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, will compromise its credibility and might backfire by burdening the international system it wants to sustain with geopolitical tensions and side-taking. In his *Foreign Affairs* article coauthored with Dani Rodrik, Stephen M. Walt of Belfer Center also points out the failure of Biden Administration to place the two countries' competition into a zero-sum context, and he notes that "far

from accommodating China within a multipolar system of flexible rules, the current approach seeks to contain China, reduce its relative power, and narrow its strategic options.” (2022, p153-154) Thus, the U.S.-led regional trade agreements, such as the newly launched Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, should focus on maximizing economic gains rather than countering and isolating China. (Rodrik and Walt, 2022)

Moreover, framing U.S.-China competition in a positive-sum context also means avoiding applying self-righteous double-standard. So far, the Biden Administration has shaped the U.S. as the leader of a more equal and inclusive international system on the one hand, but enforcing extremely devastating policies to contain the development of China’s high-tech industries. Jon Bateman of Carnegie Endowment argues that the administration’s extreme measures to slow down China’s high-tech development and coerce its allies to comply constitute applying double standard plus playing zero-sum game. For example, the US allies and partners will comply with the new export controls, due to the long arm of the US law. He also stresses that “US officials have focused intently on possible threats, imposed disproportionate measures, downplayed the complications, and strong-armed others into compliance.” (2022) According to Weiss, targeting Chinese surveillance technology firms more harshly than similar companies based in the United States, Israel, and other Western democracies when combating so called digital authoritarianism is also a case in point. (Weiss, 2022, p48)

3. Discussion

James McGann, the late renowned think tank researcher, defined think tanks as public policy research analysis and engagement organizations that generate policy-oriented research, analysis and advice on domestic and international issues to empower policymaker to make informed decision and help the general public to understand policy problems (McGann 2016, p10; see also Haass, 2002). The important functions of American think tanks include being a platform for policy experts and policy makers to exchange ideas, announce new strategic policy narratives and launch trial balloons; presenting policy makers with research reports, policy briefs and providing private consultations; giving testimonies at Congressional hearings; engaging with media and the public to influence the public opinion through publications, interviews, blogs, podcasts and video programs; convening policy actors for Track II or Track 1.5 dialogue. Thus, if their policy narratives cannot directly become policies, they can definitely factor into policy solutions, which sounds a hopeful note for the above policy frameworks and narratives. Ideas of building guardrails, competitive coexistence, competitive interdependence, and positive sum competitions are worth drilling into policy makers’ awareness.

However, in current U.S.-China relations, there are a lot of headwinds and uncertainties to make a real course correction to come true. A special feature of American think tanks is their long-term vision. Currently, they may have to beat the political headwinds to explore and popularize their policy narratives but when the political discourse changes, they may find champions to enact their policy solutions. (Weaver, 2002, p568; see also Rydliński, 2020, p125) Therefore, in the words of Ryan Hass, a course correction in U.S.-China relations means forging ahead with sensible policy choices rather than chasing prevailing political winds to gain political scores through playing China cards (Hass, Kim and Bader, 2022, p7). Moreover, cooperations on pressing global challenges will create goodwill and a more favorable environment for Biden Administration to deliver on its promises, such as U.S. commitment to One China policy strictly. In this respect, for the above discussed policy frameworks to deliver the result of a course correction, think tanks also need to play a role in Track II or Track 1.5 diplomacy to bring together the two countries’ high level government officials, academics, business and trade associations to address problems of mutual interest and concern.

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Wali Nanggroe Institution (LWN) Revitalization and Conflict Resolution Problems in Aceh

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Abstract

Strengthening the peace in Aceh may be possible by revitalizing the Wali Nanggroe Institution (LWN). Institutional strengthening is necessary to keep Aceh on its peaceful path. However, even LWN's existence has generated debate and differing opinions. This article seeks to answer the following: First, why does LWN deserve to be preserved and why has its revitalization been fraught with difficulties? Second, what is the relationship between the problems LWN faces and the potential role that it plays in conflict resolution? This study employs qualitative research in the form of document studies and in-depth interviews via focus groups with a variety of informants with a focus on specific and privileged institutions. Although LWN has the potential to increase the dignity of the traditional or social side of the people of Aceh, the politicization of institutions, customary discrimination, and the poor implementation of functions has resulted in the emergence of distrust. Because of this low level of mistrust, the institution's potential to serve as a forum for conflict resolution is currently far from being realized.

Keywords: Revitalization, Conflict Resolution, Recognition, Customary Institutions, Authority

1. Introduction

The *Wali Nanggroe* Institution (LWN) was established by the Aceh peace agreement reached in Finland on August 15, 2005. This agreement is known as the Helsinki MoU between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government. The formation of the LWN was one of the clauses that arose, stating, "The Nanggroe Wali Institution will be formed with all the ceremonial instruments and titles" (Helsinki, 2006). The organization was established to uphold peace as a traditional institution. The government of the Republic of Indonesia granted this mandate as part of its complete acceptance of Aceh's citizens' right to participate in peacekeeping efforts. The government of the Republic of Indonesia, the highest authority in Indonesia, invited LWN to carry out various roles, including fostering peace and resolving conflicts.

This acknowledgment also gives LWN strong legitimacy to participate as one of the crucial components in Aceh's mission for peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Recognition from the government of the Republic of Indonesia is essential capital to enable this institution to significantly impact the lives of the Acehnese people, including maintaining peace, of which conflict resolution is an integral part. However, in a decade of LWN's presence, it is felt that it has not played its role optimally. Some Acehnese have become more skeptical of and even hostile towards LWN. It was made worse by the limited role assumed, making it seem less helpful. Thus, the discourse to support and revitalize LWN started in 2019. With this revitalization, it is hoped that LWN can win back the community's trust and fulfill its role as an institution for conflict resolution and efforts to uphold peace in Aceh.

For LWN to function as an institution capable of maintaining peace and resolving conflicts, this article looks at the potential for revitalizing it. Given that there is still a chance for conflict in Aceh, this revitalization work is necessary. Conflict is essentially latent, especially when the causes of conflict continue to develop or are already entrenched. Conflicts may have roots or have the potential to develop further due to competing patronage groups, economic inequalities, social class positions, or conflicting basic values. Conflicts arise when resources are not distributed proportionally to where they are needed or when there are issues with how they are distributed and delivered. Conflicts can also arise due to cultural prejudice and unequal political access. The existence of a political transformation that causes groups to feel excluded can be one source of potential conflict. In the current context of Aceh, the potential for conflict would stem more from long-held basic values, especially ones related to ethnic or religious groups concerning cultural discrimination.

Widespread conflict is more likely to escalate in the absence of institutions that serve as mediators and conflict resolution mechanisms. There are a few specific sources of potential conflict to investigate. Firstly, the burning of the Muhammadiyah Mosque in Aceh due to recent tensions between Muhammadiyah circles and the local populations indicates a more significant issue with religious traditions (Ardi, 2018), (Mohtarom, 2018), (Sohuturon, 2017). Additionally, the position of non-Acehnese communities and their function as traditional entities will not exist based on the potential, anxiety, and concern of them, particularly in non-Acehnese community bases like Gayo in Central Aceh. Even the Gayo community had time to promote the notion of an Aceh-based Gayo Merdeka (Isma, 2016). Lastly, some Acehnese people have a mindset that has prioritizes their identity as an Acehnese person and rejects the idea they are Indonesian, and this raises the possibility of conflict in the country in the future.

Article 18B of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution, which states that the government recognizes and respects special or special regional government units governed by law, has been used to revitalize peace-building institutions and resolve the conflicts mentioned above. The state also acknowledges and upholds the units of customary law in various communities and their traditional rights so long as they are still alive and in accordance with the law. The 1945 Constitution's Article 18B also affirms the right of local governments in Indonesia, including Aceh, to be distinct from other regions or provinces (Ridwansyah-a, 2022).

This article examines LWN's potential to serve as an institution that can contribute to conflict resolution in Aceh today, as well as its current opportunities and challenges. Due to this, the following topics will be covered in this article: First, an examination of the issue of why LWN deserves to be preserved and why its revitalization is facing a number of difficulties. Second, an analysis of the relationship between LWN issues and its potential for conflict resolution will be discussed. In sum, this article aims to examine LWN's issues and then relate them to its limited capacity to act as a peacekeeping institution.

1.1. Literature Review

LWN has been the subject of study since the draft LWN Qanun surfaced, before Aceh ratified it as enacted law. The existence of LWN has been discussed in several significant studies in various contexts. In one of the first historical studies of LWN's origin, M. Adli Abdullah detailed how Tuanku Hasyim's appointment as *wali*, translated from Acehnese as guardian, in 1870 was not the first time that Aceh had a *wali* to protect its prosperity. A *wali* is the leader of a unifying force that defends the Acehnese land. When Sultan Ibrahim Mansyursyah passed away in 1870, Tuanku Hasyim was offered the position of *wali*, but he initially declined. Tuanku Hasyim later

appointed Sultan Mahmudsyah, the son of Sultan Alaidin, to be *wali*. According to a few written sources, the presence of the *wali* as a unifying force was particularly felt by the Acehnese during the Aceh war because *Wali Nanggroe's* position protected Aceh from Dutch attacks at the time (Abdullah, 2006).

The subsequent study, written by Delfi Suganda, discusses LWN following the Helsinki MoU and its numerous issues. Suganda claims that LWN is a local wisdom organization that emerged due to the Helsinki MoU's mandate. Although the legitimacy of this institution is debatable under Indonesian constitutional law, it has little material effect on the citizens of Aceh. The LWN Qanun has undergone two updates, however, the criteria for becoming an LWN leader have not undergone any notable changes. As a result, some Acehnese people are not included, and there is no legal certainty for the Acehnese (Suganda D. , 2021).

Meanwhile, Imam Hadi Sutrisno and his colleagues discussed the historical criticism of efforts to revitalize *Wali Nanggroe's* position, contrary to the Law of Aceh Government (UUPA). Sutrisno's study explains that the Acehnese elite made a mistake in interpreting the position of *Wali Nanggroe*, which didn't exist at the time of the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam. The study demonstrates that *Wali Nanggroe*, founded by *Partai Aceh* (Aceh Party/PA), was created by PA elites to increase public support for GAM and its popularity, not because it was based on historical research. The *Wali Nanggroe* is granted incredibly sweeping powers by the revision of the qanun *a quo*, in violation of the UUPA and without reference to the illustrious past of the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam (Sutrisno, 2022).

An article from Muhammad Ridwansyah explains that the election of *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh was not interpreted as the election of the regional head regime because the election of *Wali Nanggroe* was regulated in Article 70 paragraph (1) of Aceh Qanun Number 10 of 2019, which states that *Wali Nanggroe* is to be elected by deliberation and consensus by the *Wali Nanggroe* election Commission (KPWN) specifically. The KPWN consists of the *Tuha Peut Wali Nanggroe* Assembly, the *Tuha Lapan Wali Nanggroe* Assembly, the *Mufti* or one who represents the Alim Ulama, and one person representing the Ulama from each district or city. The Aceh Party, along with the Golkar Faction, the Democratic Faction, and the PKS Faction, all supported Malik Mahmud as the *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh in 2013. This support is not only for political interests, but almost all factions believe that LWN can become a unifying Acehnese people (Ridwansyah-c, 2022).

The purpose of this article is to complete the research surrounding the debate over the existence of the LWN. This study differs from previous ones in that it investigates the potential for implementing revitalization and how it may have an impact on making LWN capable of playing a role in maintaining peace and resolving conflict in Aceh in the future.

1.2. Some Relevant Studies

Revitalization in this article is "the process, method, and act of reviving something previously empowered." In other words, revitalization is to give an object or an action new life (Lynch, 1960). This study aims to systematically review and suggest ways of revitalization for the LWN, regarding its functions, duties, and authorities as outlined in Aceh *Qanun* (Law) Number 10 of 2019. This investigation of revitalization is important because the LWN is no longer thought to contribute anything to the people of Aceh. A goal would be to rediscover the socio-cultural potential of Aceh and return it to the famous Aceh *tamaddun*, or civilization, of the past, and this revitalization concept can be used as justification for the existence of LWN in the future (Ridwansyah-b, 2021).

Conflict resolution attempts to achieve peace by using conflict resolution methods to reach a solution or conflict outcome (Zainal, 2021). It is believed that conflict resolution can help to bring a win-win solution satisfying all the opposing groups because it can fulfill all or at least part of their demands (Laue J. H., 1990). According to Mial, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse this process is in general a part of conflict management efforts (Hugh Mial, 1999). In the context of the Aceh post MOU Helsinki, conflict resolution is related to the establishment of trustworthy institution which conducting a mediator role among conflicted parties.

One of the outcomes of the Helsinki MoU was the designation of LWN as an institution charged with safeguarding Aceh's specifics (*Kekhususan*) and privileges including maintaining the peace. In other words, making LWN as institution that responsible to develop high-quality Acehnese human resources while preserving and developing Acehnese culture and customs, as well as maintains Aceh's peace and participation in the global peace process is the main essence of establishing conflict resolution in Aceh (M. Nazaruddin, 2021).

The presence of conflict in Aceh over the last 30 years, the continued existence of GAM and its victims, and the recent possibility of conflict between fellow Acehnese people reinforce the necessity of LWN as a conflict resolution institution that must be able to communicate its message to parties involved in future conflicts. The LWN's conflict resolution is expected to provide a solution in which all parties involved are content with the outcome. Revitalization may take the form of providing an opinion or will from an official body or an assembly of a general nature that the LWN ratifies as a settlement (Missbach, 2012). Eventually resolution conflict should provide win-win solutions, namely a peaceful collaboration among conflicted parties. However, this ability could be only implemented if LWN could be revitalized by gaining trust from all Aceh people.

2. Methods

This study will employ descriptive qualitative research in order to define a phenomenon. Primary and secondary data with focus group discussions (FGD) are the two data sources used in this study. Through interviews with participants whom the research team had chosen, primary data were directly obtained. Chain referrals, also known as snowball sampling, is a method of source selection used to collect the samples required for research studies from the existing subject. Representatives of the *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh, academics, journalists, NGOs, and traditional leaders served as participants in this study.

The study was conducted in Langsa City, West Aceh, Banda Aceh City, and Central Aceh. The selection of this region was made to serve as a symbol of the various perspectives on LWN that exist in Aceh. Banda Aceh was one of the areas that tended to support the existence and mission of LWN, while Central Aceh, the area in the middle of Langsa City, and West Aceh were as areas that tended to feel more negatively about LWN. To make the research findings comprehensive, primary data are combined with secondary data. Various documents that are pertinent to this study make up the secondary data. This includes LWN-related government policies and legal documents, as well as scientific research papers, books, journals, and discussion transcripts. The study has 40 respondents, consist of 25 experts in Banda Aceh City, 5 respondents form Langsa, 5 respondents from Aceh Barat and 5 respondents from Central Aceh.

3. Result

3.1. LWN as a Customary Institution: Normative Aspects

3.1.1. Non-Political Institution

The founding of the LWN dates back to President Megawati Soekarnoputri's enactment of Law Number 18 of 2001 regarding Special Autonomy for the Province of the Special Region of Aceh as the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. The *Wali Nanggroe*, to which a *quo* law refers, facilitates Aceh's implementation of customary life, culture, and community unity. In terms of norms, there are several reasons why LWN is a institution through which the Acehnese people should feel represented.

According to the characteristics of particularity and privilege that gave rise to asymmetric decentralization in Indonesia, LWN is a traditional, non-political institution with significant potential as a peacekeeper. According to Law Number 11 of 2006 Article 96, Paragraph 1, the LWN is the traditional leadership serving as the community's unifier and is independent, authoritative, and empowered to promote and oversee the implementation of traditional institutions, customs, and the awarding of titles, degrees, and other traditional ceremonies.

Although *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh has existed historically since the Sultanate of Aceh, as an official institution, it only existed as of 2013. As a result, *Wali Nanggroe* has the authority to oversee the life of traditional institutions in Aceh, such as the Aceh Customary Council (MAA), *Imeum Mukim*, *Keuchik*, *Tuha Peut*, *Tuha Lapan*, *Imeum Meunasah*, *Keujreun Blang*, *Panglima Laot*, *Pawang Glee*, *Peutua Peuneubok*, and *set peukan* (holiday) of Aceh. UUPA has mandated these institutions. The LWN cabinet is the institutional structure in terms of a vehicle for Acehnese participation in the context of maintaining and fostering Acehnese specificities and privileges (Ishak, 2013).

In addition, LWN is a unifying medium for the Acehnese people who gave birth to a political legacy (Bustaman, 2022). LWN, in the context of the Helsinki MoU and Law Number 11 of 2006, was a great institutional leader of the Acehnese people. *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh lives by values and then transforms them into the form of goodness and virtue, benefiting the many people they lead. Thus, LWN is intended as a service institution for the people of Aceh by *Wali Nanggroe* and helps the people of Aceh maintain their rights as stated in the Helsinki MoU and UUPA. Thus, the LWN can provide advice on resolving religious, social, and customary conflicts in Aceh.

3.1.2. Belongs to All Acehnese People

The existence of LWN as a norm for all Acehnese people. The ratification of Aceh Qanun Number 8 of 2012 is traditionally regarded as a gift for the Acehnese nation, which is made up of various entities in Aceh. This institution is common property and belongs to all Acehnese people, which is defined as anyone who is considered an Acehnese person, whether they are part of the Acehnese, Gayo, or Aneuk tribe. Other tribes included are the Jamee, Singkil, Alas, Tamiang, Kluet, Devayan, Sigulai, Pakpak Batak, Haloban, or Lekon tribes.

In the context of the Acehnese language, it is regarded as the Acehnese language spoken by the Acehnese themselves rather than the Acehnese language that is explicitly understood by Pidie, Aceh's east, west, and south coasts (Ridwansyah, 2019). Munawar Liza Zainal, a member of the Helsinki MoU negotiating team, emphasized in an in-depth interview that for GAM, this LWN is a jointly-owned institution that is aligned with the existence of the Republic of Indonesia. According to Raviq Mohammad, LWN is a new institution in the government system in Indonesia, which in its structure and institutions, accommodates all groups of people.

In the context of language, normatively, the existence of the Acehnese language is related to the existence of languages that live and develop in Acehnese society. The Acehnese language discussed here is not the Acehnese spoken regularly in coastal communities but rather one that adheres to the qanun language norms, rendering other interpretations inaccurate and lacking in basic understanding. According to Gayo people from Kenawat, Central Aceh, and Yusra Habib Abdul Gani (a GAM Information Interpreter in Malaysia), Acehnese is the language spoken by all tribes in Aceh (Gani, 2018). The establishment of LWN from the aspect of the languages that live in Aceh indicates that all languages in Aceh are part of the LWN's institutional recognition of the tribes in Aceh (Sarjev, 2022).

3.1.3. Improving the Traditions and Quality Life of Acehnese

Additionally, LWN has the role and power to support the continuation of Acehnese traditions, contribute to improving welfare, and defend the Acehnese populace. LWN can be used symbolically as a type of traditional representation that can support *adat* and a set of *adat* roles applicable in Aceh. According to Law Number 11 of 2006's Articles 98 and 99, the Aceh Customary Council, can set the daily market and hold harbormaster (*syahbandar*) under the direction of *Wali Nanggroe*. *Wali Nanggroe* has also established customary representation in several provinces, including the MAA of West Sumatra Province, the MAA of West Java Province, and the MAA of North Sumatra (Bakrie, <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2022/06/29/wali-nanggroe-aceh-kukuhkan-maa-perwakilan-sumut>, 2022).

The honorary title of *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh, which serves as a representation of the Aceh royal title and is given by the authority of *Wali Nanggroe*, is then given as the highest recognition for the services and contributions made to the people of Aceh. This is also nearly identical to the honorific title of the British monarchy, which was

established in 1484 and is the order created by King Edward III. The symbolic award of this honor was adopted by the Sultan of Aceh to Britain during the ratification of the London treaty on March 17, 1824, as one of the clauses that the sovereignty of Aceh must not be disturbed by the Dutch. In exchange, another clause wrote that Aceh must also not interfere with British security at sea (Anwar, 2017).

From a historical perspective, it is also true that LWN is an institution that upholds the Acehnese tradition to influence the welfare of the Acehnese people through the use of local knowledge. It is claimed that the LWN can resolve special or extraordinary affairs based on customary values and local wisdom that benefits the people by exercising the authority of customary leadership that is authoritative and dignified in the order of community life. For the advancement of a dignified Aceh, local knowledge and the traditional values of the Acehnese people must be revived.

Additionally, related to the obligations, powers, and responsibilities of LWN, Articles 29, 30, and 31 of the Aceh Qanun Number 8 of 2012 explains that LWN is responsible for maintaining peace in Aceh and taking part in international peace negotiations. Following the peace agreement, conditions in Aceh were generally favorable. The GAM representatives turned to the legitimate forum, LWN, which was the final step to ensure the Acehnese people's right to human dignity (Mukti, 2019).

LWN also functions to provide traditional protection for all Acehnese both inside and outside Aceh. The figure of *Wali Nanggroe*, who protects the people of Aceh, has been established since Tengku Muhammad Saman Chik Di Tiro served as a substitute for the king Sultan Mahmud Daudysah. Historically, the LWN has been an institution that has protected the interests of the Acehnese people since the Dutch colonial period, so much so that some problems in Aceh were well resolved and even repelled the Dutch troops who wanted to attack Aceh (Kingsbury, 2006).

With its many ideal functions, LWN is an institution that can be counted on to offer the people of Aceh various services, including those related to preserving peace. Therefore, a revitalization could potentially increase the LWN's normative role if it is done so in a proper manner.

3.2. *The Challenge of the Existence of LWN*

Although LWN can be viewed as having many ideal aspects from a normative perspective, the institution still has many fundamental issues. These issues have led to doubts about the legitimacy of its continued existence, a general feeling of disrespect, and the possibility that the LWN will be abandoned if revitalization measures are not taken. Currently, LWN faces a number of challenges.

3.2.1 Institutional Politicization Problem

The first challenge is that the *Wali Nanggroe* figure is affiliated with a local party, the Aceh Party. Malik Mahmud, before becoming *Wali Nanggroe*, served as foreign minister of the Free Aceh Movement (1976-2002) and became Prime Minister of the Free Aceh Movement from 2002 to 2005. Malik Mahmud himself is one of the top officials of the Aceh Party and, as of September 2022, currently serves as the *Tuha Peut* Assembly (party advisory) of the Aceh Party (Suganda D. , 2021). As a result of these two positions, *Wali Nanggroe* has a dual role.

Even though *Wali Nanggroe's* position is as a unifying figure for the Acehnese people, as a result of this dual role, *Wali Nanggroe* seems to only belong to the Aceh Party (Akbar, 2019). Academician Nyak Fadlullah (Lecturer Staff of the Faculty of Sharia and Law, Ar-Raniry State Islamic University), said: "*The officials in Wali Nanggroe are not traditional people but are people affiliated with certain parties.*" Furthermore, Subur Dani, a journalist from *Serambi Indonesia* added that there are factions within the Wali Nanggroe Institution that influence public perception of Wali Nanggroe as a political figure and a political stance (Dani, 2022)

The election of *Wali Nanggroe* was the result of Aceh Provincial Legislative Council's (DPRA) decisions in 2009 and 2014. In those years, the Aceh Party became the ruling party in parliament, with 33 seats or roughly 47.8% of the vote. At the time, it was unclear whether the DPRA's decision regarding the election of *Wali Nanggroe*, namely choosing Malik Mahmud, was in Aceh's best interests. It was ratified by the DPRA, in which the Aceh Party comprised the majority of members. Even at the time of Malik Mahmud's inauguration as *Wali Nanggroe*, it was clear that he was a representative of the Aceh Party rather than of the Acehnese people (Akbar, 2019).

Furthermore, the election mechanism for *Wali Nanggroe* is regarded as opaque and undemocratic. *Wali Nanggroe* was specially elected by the *Wali Nanggroe* Election Commission, which consists of four elements with authority to elect *Wali Nanggroe*, namely (1) the *Tuha Peut Wali Nanggroe* Assembly, (2) the *Tuha Lapan Wali Nanggroe* Assembly, (3) *Mufti* or one-person representative, and (4) representatives of the clergy of each regency or city in Aceh.

The last election of *Wali Nanggroe* was held on December 14, 2018 and determined Tengku Malik Mahmud Al-Haytar as *Wali Nanggroe* for a five-year period from 2018 to 2023 (Abonita 2019). The appointment of Malik Mahmud as *Wali Nanggroe*, by some accounts, did not follow the rule of law because representatives of the ulama from each district or city were not present (Sakinah, 2020). Representatives of the ulama were not part of the election commission because in 2018 the district and city ulama had not been appointed, meaning that the *Wali Nanggroe* election commission only consisted of three elements: the *Tuha Peut* Council, the *Tuha Lapan* Council, and the *Fatwa* Council (Sakinah, 2020).

This may be due to the fact that Malik Mahmud is regarded as the initiator of peace between RI and GAM, as well as one of GAM's former leaders and as a confidant of Tgk. Hasan Tiro. Another point of contention is the procedure for selecting the *Wali Nanggroe*. Is the list of candidates for *Wali Nanggroe* made public so interested parties can register to be considered for the position? According to the head of the legal division of *Wali Nanggroe*, there is no single article in Qanun No. 9 of 2013 which regulates the procedure for self-registration as a candidate for *Wali Nanggroe*, so the Election Commission for *Wali Nanggroe* does not announce the registration of candidates to the public (Sakinah, 2020).

3.2.2. Customary Representation Problem

The second challenge relates to LWN's role as a traditional institution in charge of all Acehnese people. The main task of the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution is to become a unifier of the Acehnese people, actually contradict the Qanun concerning *Wali Nanggroe* No. 8 of 2012 article 69 (c) which states that the *Wali Nanggroe* must be able to speak Acehnese fluently. The Qanun above tends to discriminate against ethnic groups other than the Acehnese who inhabit the Aceh region. The Indonesian language itself has difficulty defining ethnicity and region. Aceh not only refers to the region, but also refers to just one of the tribes and ethnicities that inhabit this region.

In addition to the Acehnese, various tribes or ethnicities inhabit the region. According to Win Wan Nur, journalist and Gayo activist, there is a phenomenon of Gayo people who do not want to be called Acehnese; this occurs because the Gayo people are indigenous to the Aceh province. The Gayo people have never objected to being referred to as the original inhabitants of Aceh province as a territory. However, as an ethnicity, Gayo people clearly do not want to be referred to as Acehnese (Nur, 2013).

The Qanun regarding the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution No. 8 of 2012 article 69 (c) is not in line with conditions of the people in the Aceh region, which consists of various tribes. There are 14 tribes that live in Aceh, namely: the Acehnese tribe, the Gayo tribe, the Aneuk Jamee tribe, the Singkil tribe, the Alas tribe, the Tamiang tribe, the Kluet tribe, the Devayan tribe, the Sigulai tribe, the Pakpak Boang Batak tribe, the Julu tribe, the Haloban tribe, the Nias tribe, and the Lekon tribe (Saputra, 2021). Many of these tribes do not use the Acehnese language in everyday life, meaning that the rules set to elect the *Wali Nanggroe* discriminate against them. The regulation has eliminated the possibility of members of these tribes to be able to run for *Wali Nanggroe*. One of the tribes that feels discriminated against is the Gayo tribe.

The Gayo tribe does not belong to the Acehese ethnic group, but it does live in the Aceh region. Additionally, one of the community groups that is a part of the Gayo Free Movement (*Gayo Merdeka*) group stated that they rejected rule no. 8 of 2012 article 69 (c) and added that the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution was not run for the benefit of the community but rather for a collection of political parties, specifically the Aceh Party. Therefore, this group urged that the Qanun be abolished otherwise, Gayo would be better off as a new province, namely Aceh Leuser Antara (ALA) Province (Suganda R. S., 2021). The rejection of the regulation also came from the group that is part of Aneuk Barat Selatan (ABAS). This group rejected the regulation because it was considered discriminatory. A spokesman from ABAS, Gaddafi Syah, said that ABAS rejected the regulation because it was considered more profitable for one group and rejected all forms of regional identity that can lead to the birth of new conflicts (Bakrie, Serambi Indonesia, 2012). The Qanun above has clearly discriminated against other tribes that inhabit the Aceh region and only benefits one community group, the Acehese.

3.2.3. Function Execution Predicament

The third challenge is related to the function of *Wali Nanggroe*, who is considered not to have a role as a traditional figure. Usually, *Wali* is a term used to refer to both state and religious leaders. Additionally, the term *Wali* can refer to the head of the family, the guardian of the marriage, or the politician *Wali Nanggroe*. The idea of *Wali Nanggroe* dates back to the Aceh sultanate, and the term *Wali Nanggroe* was first used during the conflict between the Aceh sultanate and the Dutch government (Sulaiman, 2020). Because Sultan Mahmud Syah was still young, the *Wali Nanggroe* institution was formed through the deliberations of the *Tuha Peut* assembly (party advisor assembly). As a result of the deliberation, it was determined that Al Malik Al Mukarram Tgk. Tjik. Di Tiro Muhammad Saman Bin Abdullah would be the first *Wali Nanggroe* (Isma, 2016).

The term *Wali Nanggroe* was more recently revived by Hasan Tiro in 1976, when he founded the GAM (Isma, 2016). Tiro himself had a lineage with the first *Wali Nanggroe*, Teungku Chik di Tiro, so when he established GAM, Tiro confirmed that he was the successor to *Wali Nanggroe* (Akbar, 2019). Considering this history, it is natural that the Acehese people consider the *Wali Nanggroe* to be a religious and cultural figure.

However, there are various community views that *Wali Nanggroe* is not responsive enough to incidents in various areas, such as the religious conflict that occurred in Aceh Singkil in October 2015, in which a church was burned, and one person died (Amindoni, 2019). *Wali Nanggroe*, as a traditional leader, made no statement about the conflict. Subur Dani, a journalist from *Serambi Indonesia* stated *Wali Nanggroe*, who should be an influential figure, does not provide opinions or advice when a critical event occurs in Aceh, such as when the religious conflict in Singkil occurred in Aceh; *Wali Naggroe* frequently avoids being asked about his thoughts on various events that frequently occur. (Dani, 2022)

In the past, *Wali Nanggroe* was viewed as a figure with religious and political roles, but according to current legislation, the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution is a customary institution. Although the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution currently has the duties and functions of a traditional institution, the community has not felt these tasks and functions. In addition, research shows that the implementation of Aceh Qanun No. 09 of 2013 related to the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution that the institution has not carried out its roles, duties, and functions optimally. One of the reasons for this might be that the institution is quite large and there is overlapping authority.

The establishment of the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution should be regarded as an added value to the Aceh region at large, as LWN is expected to be an alternative force in resolving various social problems where formal power is unable to do so. Furthermore, this institution is expected to be able to unite the Acehese people and keep the Aceh region peaceful (Rahman, 2020).

The preceding discussion demonstrates that the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution faces a variety of challenges and distrust from various community groups. First, the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution, which is expected to be a unifier of the people in the Aceh region, can actually cause conflict due to regulations that are deemed quite discriminatory. Second, the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution is ineffective in carrying out its institutional functions. Whereas people expect this institution to be a conflict-resolution institution, the reality on the ground is that this institution is only

regarded as a symbolic institution with no role. Third, this institution is thought by some to only carry out the interests of one group, namely the Aceh Party, rather than serving the interests of the Acehnese people. Finally, as a result of the lack of a clear regulated mechanism for the selection of *Wali Nanggroe*, the election of *Wali Nanggroe* in 2018 was considered to be undemocratic and not transparent.

4. Discussion

The study above shows that efforts to carry out revitalization still have the potential to be affected. However, the effort to revitalize – namely, to return to the applicable rules and make this institution a traditional representative institution for all Acehnese people without exception, in a comprehensive sense – can have its challenges. Although field data show opportunities and even the need to revitalize this institution, the challenges that some Acehnese people have presented are also enormous.

From the field findings, it is clear that revitalization needs to involve many aspects, including social, cultural, political matters that must be carried out simultaneously. In this circumstance, where the revitalization is still ongoing process, the potential of LWN as a significant conflict resolution institution will still take time to be played.

According to the findings, public trust can be built if the LWN and its members are figures who represent traditional symbols and interests. Its position may be similar to that of Malaysian kingdoms and several Indonesian kingdoms that serve as symbols of *adat* that traditionally lead in one region. Those trusted to play a role in LWN must be able to purify symbols, intervene, and pursue practical political goals. Building public trust in LWN by revitalizing it entails an effort to restore LWN's nature as a traditional institution.

Simply put, the failure to develop public trust have arisen due to LWN's historical propensity to reflect the existence of political power rather than the representation of traditional/cultural groups. The LWN, which is supposed to be “politically neutral,” is increasingly perceived as being affiliated with or supporting a number of political parties, especially those who support the Aceh Party. Part of the reason for this is that the procession of the *Wali Nanggroe* election is compared to or linked to the election of political personnel. (Sulaiman, 2020).

The Aceh Party cadres, who are assigned in a closed-door manner without apparent transparency, hold a significant number of institutional positions in the LWN. Additionally, Mr. Malik Mahmud Al-Hatar, current *Wali Nanggroe*, is a well-known individual and an active leader of the Aceh Party. Of course, this situation is not consistent with the aspirations of the Acehnese people, who demand LWN inclusivity from the leadership and institutional side.

With these circumstances, it would seem that LWN has not yet been able to escape Aceh Party's dominance. As a result, many Acehnese people do not fully recognize and trust the government. In the end, it obviously has the potential to make it challenging for this institution to play a role in making decisions related to conflict resolution, given the low level of trust and respect. An institution must be respected and trusted by all parties in order to keep the peace and contribute to a fair resolution. The trust factor is crucial especially for the resolution of protracted conflict in Aceh.

The revitalization process requires more time because there is still a lot of mistrust of institutions, particularly due to the subtleties of political exclusivism in the LWN. Furthermore, it is evident from the field research that the LWN has not yet made any such comprehensive and concrete efforts to break free of the political confines of certain circles. On the other hand, there seems to be something missing. Given the political climate and the apparent waning of support for PA, it is possible that LWN will be rejected all together.

Because of this, it will be necessary to completely depoliticize the LWN in the future, which will require, among other things, modifying the selection procedure to include traditional leaders and interests. For the election to reflect the nuances of a traditional institution's highest office and not a political institution, the process should be transparent, nondiscriminatory, and orderly.

The legal aspect of LWN's existence as an institution that represents the interests of all Acehese people is another major issue that can also support the implementation of the peace role. The LWN is designed to be used by all different types of Acehese people as a hub for traditional activities. In this instance, the institution is universally considered to be the property of everyone who lives in the Aceh Region. Actually, the definition of "Aceh" in various documents is not intended to validate the exclusive interests of particular ethnic groups, such as a people with Aceh cultural background only.

The LWN can best serve the diversity of the Acehese people under the model of being a "salad bowl", in which different cultures can be integrated while maintaining their separate identities. Using the "salad bowl" as a working model to understand relationships between ethnic groups, potential conflicts that may exist between the Acehese people can be discussed and resolved traditionally with the assistance of LWN. Resolving conflicts can be aided by experience in various settlement areas in terms of *adat*. Resolution infrequently requires a traditional legal procession and procedure, which is usually complex and involves many steps. This circumstance serves as a firm foundation for all Acehese people to carry out their individual role in maintaining peace.

It has not been ideal up to this point, though, to represent typical compositions in LWN. Currently, the institution is criticized primarily on the basis that it is thought only to represent or reflect one of the dominant ethnic groups in the Aceh province. In fact, one of the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) participants claimed that the LWN only represents Pidie residents. This study's findings also suggest that LWN has discriminatory undertones for non-Acehese people from a historical, legal, and practical perspective.

In addition, if this weak aspect of customary representation persists, it is not improbable that the perception of discrimination will come to light. When conflict-starting momentum develops, it could eventually lead to an ethnic conflict in Aceh. The conflict can escalate, given the latent potential for this conflict, character deterioration, and the absence of traditional institutions like the LWN. The paradox arises from the fact that the existence of LWN, perceived as discriminatory in and of itself, is the source of the conflict.

In order to revive LWN as a traditional representative institution for the entire Acehese population, field findings also point to the need for multifaceted, concrete steps. This includes interpreting the election regulations or, if necessary, amending the laws to better reflect the recognition of racial and ethnic minorities. Additionally, the institution needs a mechanism that mandates a more equitable distribution of job openings within the organization, so that the LWN to have a more proportionate leadership structure that accurately reflects the representation of all ethnic groups within the region. If necessary, there may be a pattern of alternate LWN leadership among Aceh's ethnic groups, as there is in Malaysia.

Another issue that LWN has is that this organization is not functional. On the tasks, functions and authorities of LWN were discussed in the Qanun about *Wali Nanggroe*, but these topics did not advance. Mass public discontent with LWN is relatively high. The organization hopes to carry out the necessary functions in a positive way. Many people believe that there are ideal conditions that the public hopes for, but actual conditions are not as anticipated by the public. Respondents of this research claimed that LWN had failed to uphold its obligations and exercise its power so various communities could sense its presence.

Indeed, if we look at the authority held by LWN, it has not used its authority to communicate opinions, guidelines, and advice to the Aceh government and DPRA, to offer proposals and considerations to the Aceh government, nor suggest to the Aceh government cooperation with foreign institutions or agencies. This organization is supposedly able to position itself as a source of advice, consideration, and consultation for the Aceh government, both by the executive and the DPRA, despite not being a political institution, including in relation to the conflict issues. It has yet to take advantage of this power and authority.

The same applies to LWN's role as a protector and defender of Aceh's traditions and culture. LWN's responsibility in this regard is to protect Acehese traditions from the forces of modernization and globalization. To ensure the sustainability of Acehese customs, this institution must continue to offer guidance on how the culture of Acehese people can support their development and general well-being. However, in reality, such a role is not properly

implemented yet. LWN, it has also not carried out many of its duties, including awarding or revoking honorary titles to people or entities with titles based on historical traditions, language, and customs of the Acehese people or determining holidays followed by traditional ceremonies based on historical traditions and customs of the Acehese people.

Because the domain of LWN overlaps with that of various regional offices or apparatuses, such as the Culture and Tourism Office, the LWN's responsibilities, powers, and functions may be weakened. Several respondents believed that the LWN's main tasks and functions overlap with already-existing organizations within the Aceh Government and not operational as a result of financial (Notes, 2022). Even though there was a tight budget, everything went to *Wali Nanggroe*" (Team, 2022).

5. Conclusion

On August 15, 2005, the Indonesian government and GAM signed a MoU in Helsinki. According to the MoU, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and GAM were and are committed to resolving the Aceh conflict in a peaceful, comprehensive, long-term, and dignified manner for all. The establishment of the LWN was one of the points in the MoU that was later stated in Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh and its implementing regulations in the Qanun. The existence of LWN is an independent unifying institution for the Acehese people that promotes Aceh's customs and culture. However, there are issues with LWN's implementation, specifically with the politicization and representation of LWN, in which specific sub-ethnic groups and political groups dominate. LWN's issue is that Aceh's residents have not felt the effects of its existence. This results from the improper performance of the LWN's obligations, authority, and functions.

The issue of politicization and representation in the LWN can cause resentment and serve as a point of contention. This is in addition to LWN's non-operational presence in Acehese society. In light of these circumstances, the LWN needs to be revitalized in order to serve as an institution that unites all ethnic groups in Aceh to boost institutional capacity so that all Acehese people can feel its presence. For the reasons listed above, the LWN presents a tremendous opportunity for revitalization. However, considering that there are many problems that have caused a delay in revitalization, in the end, the potential of LWN as a significant peacekeeping and conflict resolution institution will still need time to be realized.

The issue is that the LWN is not yet operational and thus requires revitalization. This includes, among other things, strengthening institutional capacity, which includes strong leadership, adequate infrastructure, no overlapping authorities, and adequate funds. If this institution is not revitalized, it may lose its authority in the eyes of the Acehese people. In the Qanun, LWN is described "as a unifier of an independent, authoritative society" (Syahwandi, 2020).

However, in the eyes of many Aceh people LWN is only symbolic institution that provides little benefits for them and in general dysfunctional. There is a significant gap between the hope of the people and reality. This situation creates apathy for most people, where LWN eventually becomes ignored in their daily activities. Also, with these fundamental problems, indicating the lack of capability to function its duties up until today, LWN is eventually lacking to gain confidence from the people as working institution that is able and trusted to carry out conflict resolution role.

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