KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:
1. Prof. Samina Yasmeen (The University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia)
2. Dr. Roel Popping (University of Groningen, Groningen, Netherlands)
3. Prof. Madya, Dr. Mohammad Syaffri Anwar (Universiti Utara Malaysia, Kedah, Malaysia)
4. Hariyadi B. Sukamdani (Member of Parliament, Indonesia)
5. Prof. Drs. Pawito, Ph.D. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)
6. Drs. Sudarmo, M.A., Ph.D. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)
7. Dr. Drajat Tri Kartono, M.Si. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)

EDITORS:
1. Prof. Samina Yasmeen (The University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia)
2. Dr. Roel Popping (University of Groningen, Groningen, Netherlands)
3. Dr. Muhammad Najib Azka, S.Sos., M.A. (Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia)
4. Dr. Ahmad Zuber, D.E.A. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)
5. Sri Hastjarjo, S.Sos., Ph.D. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)
6. Monika Sri Yuliarti, S.Sos., M.Si. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)
7. Sri Herwindya Baskara, S.Sos., M.Si. (Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia)
Welcome from the chair of Organizing Committee

Good Morning,

Honorable Rector, Prof. Dr. Ravik Karsidi, M.S.
Honorable Dean, Prof. Dr. Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni, M.Si.,
Honorable all of Keynote Speakers,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Colleagues and friends,

On behalf of the organizing committee, it is our pleasure to welcome you to the International Conference on Social and Political Sciences: Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society. We feel privileged with the opportunity to organise this International Conference. We have done our best for the smooth run of the programs. The organizing committee would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ravik Karsidi, M.S., the Rector of Sebelas Maret University. We also would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni, M.Si., the Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Sebelas Maret University. We also would like to thank all keynotes speakers and all participants.

As we know The Leadership in a pluralistic society, like in Indonesia, has a very significant role in transforming social and political values to achieve state and nation prosperity. Social changes as the result of the social transformation stimulated by leaders, either group leaders, political party leaders, religion leaders, or state leaders, are very important to develop a modern bureaucratic system. To enhance the role of leaders in transforming social and political values in a pluralistic society, it is important to discuss this issue among academicians, social and political analysts, and governmental policy makers.

In this international conference, we have invited academicians, analysts and public policy makers approximately for 200 invitations. We have received papers and we made the papers in the proceeding. Some of papers are accepted to be presented in parallel session. The final number of presenters committed to attending this international conference is good considering.

The programs are arranged in such a way that all participants have chances to communicate during coffee break, the lunch and city tour.

We really hope that with such arrangement all the participants will gain academically, socially and culturally. We also hope that there will be better networking among scholars of social and political sciences in Indonesia and around.

We wish you all enjoy your participation in the ICSPS FISIP UNS 2015 and memorable time visiting Surakarta. We hope you will return in other time in our international conference with different theme.

Thank you very much.

Surakarta, 4 November 2015
Dr. Ahmad Zuber, D.E.A.
Chairman of Organizing Committee
Welcome Speech from Rector, Sebelas Maret University

The distinguished invited speakers and participants,
Assalamu ‘alaikum wr.wb.

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.
I would like to express my warm welcome to all of you. Welcome to Surakarta and to this international conference.

As a leading to-world-class university, Sebelas Maret University attempts to conduct international academic events, involving experts from many countries all over the world. One of them is this international conference. Therefore on behalf of Sebelas Maret University, I would like to say that this international conference on Social and Political Sciences themed “Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society” is very important. I do hope that this event is able to increase the academic sphere in our university environment.

I would like to thank the Dean and all staffs of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, all committee members, all keynote speakers and also all participants to support this conference.

We have a big commitment in the acceleration to enter world-class university. To attend the goal, we strongly encourage academic activities such as journal writing both in international or national accredited journals, conducting research, making cooperation both with international or national institutions, and also carrying out international or national conferences.

I wish that this event will be a fruitful conference and contribute to the development of the body of knowledge especially to give more understanding on Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society. It indeed has to be empowered to enable its contribution for developing a modern bureaucratic system, and the acceleration of state and nation prosperity.

On behalf of Sebelas Maret University and the committee, I officially open this “International Conference on Social and Political Sciences: Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society”.

Thank you,
Wassalamualaikum Wr. Wb.
Surakarta, 4 November 2015
Prof. Dr. Ravik Karsidi, M.S.
Rector of Sebelas Maret University (UNS)
Surakarta, Indonesia
# LIST OF CONTENTS

| Welcome from the chair of Organizing Committee | iii |
| Dr. Ahmad Zuber, D.E.A | |
| Welcome Speech from Rector, Sebelas Maret University | iv |
| Prof. Dr. Ravik Karsidi, M.S. | |
| List of Contents | v |
| List of Committees | viii |
| Program and Agenda | x |

## Plenary Session

| 1 | Roel Popping |
| The Role of Leadership in Studying Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society: A Measurement Perspective | 1 |
| 2 | Pawito |
| Dalang of Javanese Wayang Performance: The Decrease of Its Roles in Indonesia Transformation Society | 15 |
| 3 | Sudarmo |
| Conflict of Competing Diverse Interest Groups on Resourcing Based on Collaborative Governance Representing Social Transformation | 22 |

## Parallel Session

| 1 | Alip Kunandar; Yani Tri Wijayanti; Durrotul Mas’udah |
| Raising Conflict Sensitive Journalism in Indonesia: Content Analysis on Ahok Vs Lulung Story on Detik.com and Kompas.com | 34 |
| 2 | Bagus Harsono; Ahmad Zuber |
| Searching the Transformational Leader in Contractual Era | 49 |
| 3 | Chatia Hastasari; Erwin Kartinawati |
| The Role of Integrated Islamic Elementary School Teacher in Pioneering Social Transformation | 57 |
| 4 | Didik G. Suharto, Pawito, Widodo Muktiyo, Kristina Setyowati |
| Strategy of Improving Village Independence through Rural Democratic Development | 64 |
| 5 | Dyah Retna Puspita; Pawrtha Dharma; Rukna Idanati |
| Performance of Family Planning Extension Worker in Increasing Men’s Participation to Prevent Divorce and Domestic Violence to Increase Family Resilience in Purbalingga Regency | 72 |
| 6 | Firdastin Ruthnia Yudiningrum |
| The Dark Face of Indonesian Teenager Cinema: Violence Glamourification Portrait | 79 |
| 7 | Galuh Pancawati; Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni; Argyo Demartoto |
| Poverty Femininity And Women Empowerment In Indonesia | 84 |
| 8 | Hasnawi Haris |
| Developing a Parliament Controlling Model to Establish Good Governance in Sinjai District, South Sulawesi | 91 |
| 9 | Heriyani Agustina |
| Developing Prophetic Leadership | 100 |
10 Is Hadri Utomo; Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni; Muchtar Hadi
The Development of Inter-Stakeholders Collaboration Model in Implementing Gender-Responsive Budgeting Planning in Sragen Regency ........................................ 105
11 Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni; Rara Sugiarit; Suntoro; Prabang Setyono
Division of Labor byGender in Land Rehabilitation ........................................ 112
12 Kris Nugroho
Elite Personalism Reinforcement in the Open List System Era .................. 121
13 Kristina Setyowati
Framework of Collaborative Leadership in collaborative Governance .......... 129
14 Leni Winarni
Islamic Fundamentalist Movement in The Secular Age ............................. 136
15 Muhammad Yunus Anis; Monika Sri Yuliarti; Abdul Malik
Abdurrahman Wahid’s Visions in Leadership towards Muslim Pluralistic Society in Indonesia: Media and Discourse Analysis .................................................. 143
16 Nora Nailul Amal; Mahfud Anshori; Monika Sri Yuliarti
Transforming Children Learning: The Responses of Teachers and Students Using Audio Fables in Teaching Elementaries: The Use of Audio Fables in Teaching Elementary Students: Teachers and Children Responses ............. 150
17 Nyphadear Tiara Scoorpy Ananda Putra; Randhi Satria
Readdressing Alfred Zimmern and T.H. Marshall: Transforming Indonesia to Be Welfare State ................................................................................................ 160
18 Riant Nugroho
The Alchemy of Policy: The Key Role of Leader on The Performing Policy .. 172
19 Rusdi; Ahmad Harun
Conflict Land: Land Rights Scramble between Farmer with Puskopad (Cooperative Center Of The Army): The Army in the Village of the District Harjokuncaran Sumbermanjing Wetan Malang .................................................. 188
20 Salieg Luki Munestri
Revisiting Indonesian Leadership and the U.S. Strategic Interests in Indonesia during Soekarno Administration within the Cold War Context ......................... 198
21 Siti Arieta
Weapons of The Weak Border Society: Degradation on Maritime Culture on Riau Islands Society .......................................................................................... 210
22 Siti Zunariyah
Institutional Development of Community Forestry ........................................ 219
23 Slamet Rosyadi; Khairu Roqiqien Sobandi; Bambang Tri Harsanto
Local Leadership for Decentralized Rural Development: A Survey of Ten Villages in Banyumas Regency, Central Java, Indonesia .......... 227
24 Sugeng Suharto
Public and Private Organization Partnership in Providing Public Service Infrastructure: A Study About Public Private Partnership at the Modern Market in Bengkulu City ......................................................................................... 238
25 Sunardi Purwaatmoko
The Fragile Political Leadership:The IMF Economic Intervention and The Failure of Rice Sector Policy in the Era of Gus Dur and Megawati Government ............................................ 245
26 Suryo Ediyono
| 27 | Tiwuk Kusuma Hastuti; Sri Wahyuningsih; Hayu Adi Darmarastri | Leadership Characteristics Model in Pencak Silat | 257 |
| 27 | Tiwuk Kusuma Hastuti; Sri Wahyuningsih; Hayu Adi Darmarastri | The Empowerment of Rural Institution in the Attempt of Bringing Food Tenacity into Reality in Karanganyar Regency | 262 |
| 28 | Wayu Eko Yudiatmaja | The Local Leader, Local Social Policy and their Problems: The Politics of Policy and Problems of Bintan Prosperou Cards Program in Bintan Municipality, Riau Archipelago | 271 |
| 29 | Yuyun Sunesti | Veiling on The Stage: Piety, Beauty and Industry | 282 |
LIST OF COMMITTEES
International Conference on Social and Political Sciences:
Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society.
Wednesday - Thursday, 4-5 November 2015

1. Responsible Person: Prof. Dr. Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni, M.Si.
   Dekan FISIP UNS).

2. Ketua Pengarah (Steering Committee) : Drs. Sudarmo, M.A., Ph.D.
   Anggota:
   a. Retno Purwaningsih, S.IP.
   b. Drs. Hamid Arifin, M.Si.
   c. Dr. Sutopo JK., M.Si.
   d. Dr. Kristina Setyawati, M.Si.
   e. Prof. Dr. Andrik Purwasito, D.E.A.
   f. Drs. Is hadri Utomo, M.Si.
   g. Dra. Prahastiwi Utari, M.Si. Ph.D
   h. Prof. Dr. Andrik Purwasito, DEA.

3. Ketua Pelaksana (Organizing Committee):
   Dr. Ahmad Zuber, D.E.A.

   Seksi Konsumsi dan SPJ : Ir. Tardi, M.M.
   Seksi Persidangan : Sri Hastjarjo, S.Sos, Ph.D.
   Seksi Akomodasi (Booking Hotel) : Maryani, S.Sos.
   Seksi Publikasi dan Dokumentasi (Pengumuman dan berita ttg kegiatan di web site FISP UNS, Foto/ Video, poster, Spanduk).
   Seksi transportasi (Antar-jemput Pembicara) : Ir. Sri Lucyani, M.M.
   Perlengkapan, Dekorasi, Sound System, : Daru Sasongko Kartika Aji, A.Md.
   Seksi Pengadaan Seminar Kit, backdrop, sertifikat. : Sri Herwindya Baskara, S.Sos., M.Si.
   Seksi Daftar Peserta, Daftar Hadir Pembicara, Penjaga : Sugiyanto, S.Sos.
   Daftar Hadir, SPPD. : Maryani, S.Sos.
   Seksi MC : Salieg Luki M., S.S., M.A.
   Seksi Melibatkan Mahasiswa : Dr. Sutopo JK., M.S.
Seksi Proceeding

1. Dr. Ahmad Zuber, D.E.A.

Keynote Speakers:

- **Prof. Samina Yasmeen**
  Political Science and International Relations,
  The University of Western Australia, Australia.

- **Dr. Roel Popping**
  Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences,
  University of Groningen, Nederlands.

**Prof. Madya, Dr. Dr. Mohammad Syafii Anwar**
School of International Studies (SoIS),
Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM), Malaysia

- **Hariyadi B. Sukamdani**
  DPR RI Indonesia

- **Prof. Drs. Pawito, Ph.D.**
  Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

- **Drs. Sudarmo, M.A., Ph.D.**
  Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

- **Dr. Drajat Trikartono, M.Si.**
  Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

Moderator:

- **Prof. Dr. RB. Soemanto, M.A.**
  Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

- **Drs. IGN. Agung Satyawan, S.E., M.Si. Ph.D.**
  Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

- **Sri Hastjarjo, S.Sos., Ph.D.**
  Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia
PROGRAM AND AGENDA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES:
LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY
November 4th - 5th, 2015

Organized by: Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Sebelas Maret University.
Jl. Ir. Sutami No. 36 A Surakarta, Indonesia Post Code 57126

Venue: Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Sebelas Maret University.
Jl. Ir. Sutami No. 36 A Surakarta, Indonesia Post Code 57126

Wednesday, Date: November 4, 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08:00-09:00</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00-09:30</td>
<td>Opening Ceremony</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 09:00 – 09:10 | Welcome Speech
Dr. Ahmad Zuber, D.E.A.
Chair of Organizing Committee |
| 09:10 – 09:30 | Opening Speech
Prof. Dr. Ravik Karsidi, M.S.
Rector, Sebelas Maret University |
| 09:30-09:50   | Break time                        |

PLENARY SESSION 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Moderator:</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:50 – 09:55</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. RB. Soemanto, M.A.</td>
<td>Leadership and social transformation in a pluralistic society: Australia experience.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sebelas Maret University,</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>09:55 – 10:30</td>
<td>Prof. Samina Yasmeen</td>
<td>Leadership and Social Transformation: Business Community Perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Science and International Relations, The University of Western Australia, Australia.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30 – 11:05</td>
<td>Hariyadi B. Sukamdani</td>
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<td>(Member of Parliament, Indonesia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05 – 11:30</td>
<td>Prof. Drs. Pawito, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Transformational Leadership in a pluralistic society of Indonesia: Case</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sebelas Maret University,</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### PARALLEL SESSION 1

**Venue**: Room 3.2.4  
**Moderator**: Drs. Ign. Agung Satyawan, S.E., M.Si., Ph.D.

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<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:00-13:15</td>
<td>Dr. Riant Nugroho</td>
<td>The Alchemy Of Policy: The Key Role Of Leader On The Performing Policy</td>
<td>University of Indonesia, Jakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15-13:30</td>
<td>Ismi Dwi A. N, Rara Sugiarti, Suntoro &amp; Prabang Setyono</td>
<td>Division Of Labor By Gender In Land Rehabilitation</td>
<td>Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:45-14:00</td>
<td>Bagus Haryono &amp; Ahmad Zuber</td>
<td>Searching The Transformational Leader in Contractual Era</td>
<td>Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00-14:15</td>
<td>Drs. Ign. Agung Satyawan, S.E., M.Si., Ph.D.</td>
<td>Indonesia’s Leadership on Conflict Management in Southeast Asia Region</td>
<td>Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta</td>
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</tbody>
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### PARALLEL SESSION 2

**Venue**: Room 3.2.5  
**Moderator**: Rino A. Nugroho, S.Sos., M.T.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:00-13:15</td>
<td>Siti Arieta F</td>
<td>Weapons Of The Weak Border Society: Degradation On Maritime Culture On Riau Islands Society</td>
<td>Department of Sociology UMRAH Tanjungpinang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:15-13:30</td>
<td>Hasnawi Haris</td>
<td>Developing A Parliament Controlling Model To Establish Good Governance In Sinjai District, South Sulawesi</td>
<td>UNM, Makassar</td>
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<td>13:30-13:45</td>
<td>Galuh Pancawati, Ismi Dwi A.N. &amp; Argyo Demartoto</td>
<td>Feminity Poverty And Women Empowerment In Indonesia</td>
<td>UNS, Surakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:45-14:00</td>
<td>Dyah Retna P, Pawrtha Dharma &amp; Rukna Idanati</td>
<td>Performance Of Family Planning Extension Worker In Increasing Men’s Participation To Prevent Divorce And Domestic Violence To Increase Family Resilience In Purbalingga Regency</td>
<td>Unsoed, Purwokerto</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00-14:15</td>
<td>Trisni Utami, Suntoro Wongsoatmojo, Ismi Dwi A. N &amp; Prabang Setyono</td>
<td>Institutional Partnership On Gender Perspective In Forest And Land Conservation Of The Upstream Bengawansolo Watershed</td>
<td>UNS, Surakarta</td>
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PARALLEL SESSION 3
Room 3.2.6.
Moderator : Salieg Munestri, S.S., M.A.
Presenter :

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:00-13:15</td>
<td>Mustiqowati Ummul F &amp; Fajarwati Kusumawardhani</td>
<td>Islam Nusantara: A Special Form Of Social Transformation In Indonesia’s Pluralistic Society</td>
<td>UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim, Riau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30-13:45</td>
<td>Chatia Hastasari &amp; Erwin Kartinawati</td>
<td>The Role Of Integrated Islamic Elementary School Teacher In Pioneering Social Transformation</td>
<td>UNY, Yogyakarta &amp; Universitas Sahid, Surakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:45-14:00</td>
<td>Suryo Ediyono</td>
<td>Model Of Leadership Character Pencak Silat</td>
<td>Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00-14:15</td>
<td>Salieg Luki Munestri, SS, MA.</td>
<td>Revisiting Indonesian Leadership and the U.S. Strategic Interests in Indonesia during Soekarno Administration within the Cold</td>
<td>International Relations Department, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, UNS</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:00-13:15</td>
<td>Budiharjo, M.Si., Leni Winarni, Lukman Fahmi</td>
<td>The Preparedness Of Indonesians Borderline Locality In Welcoming Asean Economic Community</td>
<td>UNS, Surakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:15-13:30</td>
<td>Dr. Rusdi, Ahmad Harun</td>
<td>Conflict Land: Land Rights Scramble Between Farmer With Puskopad (Cooperative Center Of The Army) The Army In The Village Of The District Harjokuncaran Sumbermanjing Wetan Malang</td>
<td>IKIP Budi Utomo, Malang</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:45-14:00</td>
<td>Slamet Rosyadi, Khairu Roojiqien S &amp; Bambang Tri H</td>
<td>Local Leadership For Decentralized Rural Development: A Survey Of Ten Villages In Banyumas Regency, Central Java, Indonesia</td>
<td>Unsoed, Purwokerto</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00-14:15</td>
<td>Tiwuk Kusuma Hastuti, Sri Wahyuningsih, Hayu Adi Darmarasti</td>
<td>The Empowerment Of Rural Institution In The Attempt Of Bringing Food Tenacity Into Reality In Karanganyar Regency</td>
<td>Historical Science Department, Cultural Science Faculty</td>
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### PARALLEL SESSION 5

**Venue**: Room 3.2.8  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:00-13:15</td>
<td>Is Hadri Utomo, Ismi Dwi Astuti Nurhaeni, Muchtar Hadi</td>
<td>The Development Of Inter-Stakeholders Collaboration Model In Implementing Gender-Responsive Budgeting Planning In Sragen Regency</td>
<td>State Administration Science Study Program of Social and Political Sciences Faculty of Sebelas Maret University</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:30-13:45</td>
<td>Faizatul Ansoriyah, Diah Kusumawati</td>
<td>Mosque Leadership and Poverty Allevation</td>
<td>UNS, Surakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:45-14:00</td>
<td>Heriyan Agustina</td>
<td>Developing Prophetic Leadership</td>
<td>Unswagati, Cirebon</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00-14:15</td>
<td>Nora Nailul Amal, Mahfud Anshori, Monika Sri Yuliarti</td>
<td>Transforming Children Learning: The responses of teachers and students in using audio fables in teaching elementaries</td>
<td>Department of Communication Studies of Sebelas Maret University</td>
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### PARALLEL SESSION 5

**Venue**: Room 3.2.9.  
**Moderator**: Leni Winarni, S.I.P, M.Si.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:00-13:15</td>
<td>Kris Nugroho</td>
<td>Elite Personalism Reinforcement In The Open List System Era</td>
<td>Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:15-13:30</td>
<td>Kristina Setyowati</td>
<td>Framework of Collaborative Leadership in Collaborative Governance</td>
<td>Departement of Public Administration–Faculty of Political and Social Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
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<td>Speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:45-14:00</td>
<td>Didik G. Suharto, Pawito, Widodo Muktiyo, Kristina Setyowati</td>
<td>Strategy of Improving Village Independency through Rural Democratic Development</td>
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<td>Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of University of Sebelas Maret</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00-14:15</td>
<td>Muhammad Yunus Anis, Monika Sri Yuliarti, Abdul Malik</td>
<td>Abdurrahman Wahid’s Visions in Leadership Towards Muslim Pluralistic Society in Indonesia: Media and Discourse Analysis.</td>
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<td>Arabic Literature Department, Communication Sciences Department, and Arabic Literature Department of Sebelas Maret University</td>
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**PLENARY SESSION 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14:20 – 14:25</td>
<td>Moderator: Drs. IGN. Agung Satyawan, S.E., M.Si. Ph.D.</td>
<td>Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:25 – 15:00</td>
<td><strong>Dr. Roel Popping</strong> Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences, University of Groningen, Nederlands.</td>
<td>The Role of Leadership in Studying Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society: A Measurement Perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00 – 15:35</td>
<td><strong>Drs. Sudarma, M.A., Ph.D.</strong> Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia</td>
<td>Conflict of Competing Diverse Interest Groups on Resourcing Based on Collaborative Governance Representing Social Transformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:35 – 16:30</td>
<td>Questions and Answers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Thursday, Date: November 5, 2015  
PLENARY SESSION 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 09:00 – 09:05 | Moderator: Sri Hastjarjo, S.Sos., Ph.D.  
Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia |
| 09:05 – 09:40 | Prof. Dr. Muhammad Syafi’i Anwar  
(Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia)  
An appraisal of Indonesia as a role model in developing democratic political system and Islam tolerance in a pluralistic society |
| 09:40 – 10:15 | Dr. Drajat Tri Kartono, M.Si  
(Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia)  
Political Leadership Strategies of Joko Widodo to Develop National Identity of Indonesian Society |
| 10:15 – 11:10 | Questions and Answers |
| 11:10 – 11:30 | Closing Remarks and Certificate Session (Committee) |
| 13:00 – 17:00 | City Tour |
POVERTY FEMININITY AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Poverty is a condition in which an individual cannot meet his/her life need so that he/she is in a powerless condition. Moreover, poverty befalling women, in fact, affects impacts more severely. This condition is called poverty feminization. High poverty feminization becomes an intermediate problem to cope with immediately. The approach used in coping with poverty feminization is empowerment. This research discussed the attempt of coping with poverty feminization through Integrated Gender-Based Community Empowerment Program (Program Terpadu Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Berbasis Gender = P2MBG) in Surakarta focusing on empowerment process and empowerment level with Longwe’s Women’s Empowerment analysis.

Surakarta city was selected purposively considering its high Human Development Index not accompanied with Gender Development Index, so that it could be concluded that the development in Surakarta City was still unbalanced. Techniques of collecting data used were observation, interview, and documentation, while data validation was carried out using source triangulation.

The result of research showed that women empowerment affected significantly the poverty feminization handling. Women empowerment process consisted of four stages: consciousness raising, capacity building, empowering, and protecting. The next discussion was on empowerment consisting of five levels. The first level was still running so that the welfare level had not been achieved. The next levels: access, awareness, participation, and control, had been achieved. In addition, there was a finding that Self Help Group (SHG) was the spirit (soul) of a long women empowerment process in the attempt of coping with poverty feminization.

Keywords: Poverty Feminization, Empowerment, Longwe’s Framework, Self Help Group, P2MBG.

Introduction

Poverty is a global issue including into Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda. UNDP (2012) mentioned that 70% poor people existing in the world are females. The larger number of women with poverty than that of men is called poverty feminization (Pearce, 1978: 28). Women poverty is severer than the men one. Chant (2008: 167) explained that when the women are in poor condition, they will be longer than the men in that condition. A discussion on poverty feminization is the manifestation of social justice values. In the attempt of making the development having equal benefit to both man and woman, an affirmative effort is required, one of which is women empowerment. Empowerment is defined as the attempt of aiming to improve an individual’s power from powerless formerly to powerful.

Women empowerment is an interesting study, as can be seen from some previous studies, for example “A study based on Women Empowerment Index” by Thresiamma Varghese in 2011. This study found that economic empowerment alone will not be enough to empower the women, so it should be supported with public policy that can ensure the equal
right and opportunity of man and women. Another study is *Women Empowerment and Economic Development* by Esther Duflo in 2012. This study explained that women empowerment and economic development are two interrelated things. This study saw women empowerment as a key to improving the community life quality. Women empowerment is an effective attempt of coping with poverty feminization. What distinguishes this current study from previous ones is that this study saw the empowerment process and level from Sara Hlupekile Longwe’s theory.

The locus of research is Surakarta City because of its uniqueness. Although the poverty rate in Surakarta City shows positive trend, another fact is found that women in Surakarta city are still left behind men. The decreasing poverty rate in Surakarta City does not mean that women are not in poor condition; no available gender-sorting data of poverty makes the poverty feminization handling more difficult. In improving gender equality and justice such problem as low women participation and development result benefit reception, particularly education, health, economy, law and human rights, politics, and decision making, are faced. In reality, men get more roles and benefits in development than women. It can be concluded that the development in Surakarta City is still unbalanced.

Regarding the poverty feminization handling, Surakarta City has empowerment-based poverty handling program, i.e. Integrated Gender-Based Community Empowerment Program (*Program Terpadu Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Berbasis Gender* =P2MBG) conducted considering that women poverty highly affects women individually, and family welfare collectively. This program aims to improve the family’s life quality toward wellbeing, equality, and justice through the activities across development sectors in the attempt of coping with poverty focusing on improving women condition, status, position, and participation (Guidelines of P2MBG, 2010).

This study raises the main problems: (1) how is the women empowerment process through P2MBG in coping with poverty feminization in Surakarta City?, (2) how is the level of women empowerment in P2MBG in coping with poverty feminization in Surakarta City, and (3) what are constraints with the women empowerment process in P2MBG?

**Theoretical Review**

The theories used in this study were poverty, women empowerment and analysis suggested by Sara Hlupekile Longwe to measure the women empowerment level.

Understanding poverty is no longer enough when it is seen limited to the low income and unfulfilled need only. However, it should be seen as a condition in which the rights as a human being are not fulfilled, called rights-based approach. This view emphasizes that in coping poverty, giving aid only is not enough, but humanity values and human prestige should be taken into account. All of policies made should involve sustainability value and empowerment particularly for the marginalized group in order to participate in development process, specifically in coping with poverty. Then, focusing on poverty feminization, Moghadam (1997) in Wennerholm (2002: 35) defined poverty feminization as the growth of women population living below the poverty line. Women are considered as a group vulnerable to poverty. A variety of literatures show that poverty is suffered from more by women than by men; women become the ones suffering from when they are in poverty as well (Pearce, 1978: 28). In coping with poverty feminization, women empowerment is selected as an approach to coping with it. Here are general characteristics related to poverty feminization (1) *Women experience a higher incidence of poverty than men* (2) *Women experience greater depth/ severity of poverty than men* (that is, more women likely to suffer
In dealing with poverty feminization, the approach used is women empowerment. Women empowerment is a collaborative attempt between the government and society empowered to cope with poverty, a long process aiming to change the life of those empowered in order to be more prosperous. The women are expected to open their eyes that many of their rights can be struggle for, just like how to struggle for their life in order to be independent of anguish, of fear, and economic dependency. Other output to be achieved in women empowerment are the more active role of women within society, and the women care about surrounding condition and participating in development.

Women empowerment process derives from the combination of two opinion of Sumodiningrat (1999) and Wrihatnolo and Dwidjowijoto (2007) providing four stages: (1) consciousness raising, i.e. the process of giving understanding that the women have potential to develop, so to achieve the better condition, the awareness of self-potency is required; (2) capacity building, i.e. improving the capacity of empowered individual; (3) empowering, i.e. giving power corresponding to the competency they have, and finally (4) protection, i.e. the reinforcement of three previous processes. Protecting is viewed as the attempt of preventing unequal (unbalanced) competition and the strong’s exploitation over the weak from occurring. The concept important to remember is that women empowerment does not make the women more dependent on various government-provided programs but should make them understand their ability of promoting themselves to a better life in sustainable manner and on their own efforts.

The theory used to see the women empowerment level is Longwe’s Framework called (Longwe’s Women’s Empowerment framework or The Equality and Empowerment Framework (EEF) dividing the women empowerment into five levels. This framework can show to what extent the women empowerment has run, and what can be done in the future for improvement. This framework can assess the women empowerment level in various social and economic sectors. Those levels are: (1) welfare, (2) access, (3) consciousness, (4) participation, and (5) control.

In coping with poverty feminization, there is a main strategy related to gender. It is affirmative action intended to minority group. Affirmative Action program is intended to open equal opportunities to those marginalized. One of affirmative action forms in coping with poverty feminization is women empowerment channel. Poverty so inherent to women of course requires partiality to women. Poverty is a feminine fact and it is only through affirmative actions for their empowerment, interventions, and investment in women that we can deal with this menace, and see it as a potent tool for poverty alleviation (Rashid, Cyprian, 2011:86).

**Method**

This study was a descriptive research with Surakarta City as the locus of research because development here is still unequal for men and women. Technique of collecting...
primary data used was in-depth interview with Women Empowerment, Child Protection, and Family Planning Agency (Bapermas, PP, PA, dan KB) of Surakarta City, Poverty Alleviation Coordination Team (TNPK) of Surakarta City, Kelurahan Sangkrah, Semanggi, Sewu, and partner community. Validity test was carried out using source triangulation.

Result And Discussion

The result of research focuses on three areas: Kelurahan Semanggi, Sewu, and Sangkrah. These three areas are slump and population-dense area including into the poverty alleviation priority of Surakarta City in Fiscal Year of 2014. The program used is P2MBG existing in the community empowerment-based poverty alleviation program group, aiming to develop the poor population group’s potential and capacity in order to participate in development based on community empowerment principles.

The first process is raising consciousness, conducted during conducting preliminary socialization to partner community aiming to give understanding related to the program to be conducted in the future. In addition to having understanding on the program to be conducted, the partner community also has willingness to participate actively in such the whole activity program. Partner community is invited to understand the importance of understanding on empowerment, how important this activity to improving their life quality and all of these stages are conducted independently rather than dependently on others. In this process, the output to be achieved is the understanding that human being, either male or female, has potential to develop. Empowerment is the attempt of building power, by encouraging, motivating, and generating consciousness of potential an individual has to make him/her willing to develop such the potential.

The second is capacity building carried out by Bapermas, PP, PA, and KB in collaboration with other Services such as Industrial and Trading Services (Disperindag). The involvement of other stakeholders is expected to optimize economic empowerment to the partner community. The real capacity building is the improvement of partner communities through training consistent with their interest and talent. Government and partner communities emphasize that the partner communities are given discretion to choose the training they want. It is in line with empowerment spirit that partner communities have control over their life.

The third is empowering in P2MBG, the stage in which when the partner communities has been equipped with skill and competency in the capacity building stage, they get reinforcement in the form of production capital aid tools pertaining to the previous capacity building activity. Partner communities have presumably understood as well that the form of empowering in P2MBG is not providing money aid, but tool capital that can support their production activity.

The last is protection that has not been seen comprehensively, or not in all areas. However, in Kelurahan Sewu, the manifestation of protection for partner communities is marketing help undertaken voluntarily by Lurah (village chief) and Kelurahan staffs. Then, monitoring and evaluation that should be conducted by Bapermas, PP, PA, and KB has not been conducted because of limited resource.

The next finding is related to women empowerment level. The welfare level has not been achieved yet. Although this level has not been achieved yet, the effort toward it has run and started to give real impact on improving the family income. At this level, what is seen is the women’s access to production process, from training, marketing, facility, to labor (manpower). The access level has been achieved. It can be seen from P2MBG, the program
implementation of which focuses on giving the women the access, by means of training and providing production/service activity supporting tools and loan to expand their business. Partner communities get access to both training and capitalization aiming to run production activity corresponding to individual’s own choice. The third level achieved is consciousness. Consciousness is defined as the women’s understanding on the role of gender in life. Partner communities understand their necessity to look for income without dependent on others’ help. Women’s independency is a must that has been understood commonly. Women should be preoccupied not only with domestic domain but also with public domain thereby can improve their family’s income. The fourth is participation level in which, it can be concluded that partner communities of P2MBG participate actively in all of activities, from beginning to end. The essence of a women involvement or participation is the manifestation of women’s voice or opinion that is heard. When the women have been able to express their opinion independently, it is this condition that becomes the objective of active participation among partner communities. P2MBG teaches the women to speak up bravely about their condition and need. For that reason, women empowerment in P2MBG has achieved participation level. The last is control level that has been achieved. It is explained that partner communities has control over benefit from the activity of producing product/service conducted. The definition of control is defined that women has control over production factor and the result obtained from the production process. In addition, there is no a single sex’s domination found in production process. The government has provided aid in the form of long term loan, so that in the future the women can have wider control over their business.

The constraint found is low quality of aid tool given by the government. Some cases emerging are related to sewing machine, some of which are damaged, while they are newly obtained from the government. Some rumors about capital tool aid receiving arise. Regarding this, there is limited resource from government, whether budget or human resource or time. Then, another matter that should be considered is that the community has used less maximally the capitalization facility available. Partner communities still do not care about intermediate business capital and are preoccupied only with the tool capital given. They still look for advanced information reluctantly in business development.

Another finding obtained from this research is the existence of cadre among the partner community. Cadre is those respectful, with good track record either in social affairs within society or activating the community actively operating in coping with various social problems. In terminology, this cadre activates environment and becomes Self-Help Group. This finding can be understood as a social phenomenon called Self-Help Group. Self Help Group has some characteristics in which women have similar condition, and then the similarity strengthen the relationship of a woman to another. This women association becomes an informal group who support each other and various supports. This informal group affects the spirit of women to be more powerful. The uniqueness of Self-Help Group lies in the reality that they struggle for themselves and they support each other all at once, so that women empowerment is an empowerment undertaken not only individually but also collectively. They jointly understand the problems encountered and seek for the solution to those problems together. It is this that becomes the spirit of women empowerment through P2MBG in Surakarta City.

Conclusion And Recommendation

Overall, the preliminary process i.e. raising consciousness on target community’s ability and capacity runs well and gender understanding acceptable to the community; it can
Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society, 4-5 November 2015.

be seen from the partner communities’ enthusiasm in attending the whole process of P2MBG activity. Partner communities can understand their prior condition, and to get out of poverty, they should struggle lonely, no longer dependent on others, and be able to make decision related to what they want. Partner communities understand that they themselves, rather than their partner, family or other, are the solution to the problem they face.

Capacity building process in women empowerment in P2MBG focuses on partner community. Capacity building is conducted through training activity consisting of two types: skill training and training related to providing knowledge on capital aid. In skill training activity, the partner communities attend one of skill trainings consistent with what they chose originally, while for understanding on capital aid, all of them got same briefing.

The manifestation of government’s protection to partner communities can be seen from monitoring post-grant issuance. However, monitoring and evaluation have not been conducted yet by Bapermas, PP, PA, and KB until this research was completed due to limited resources including budget, human resource, and time. Nevertheless, other manifestation of protection has appeared, i.e. helping market the partner communities’ production product through some events organized in the attempt of expanding the product marketing by partner communities, in addition, some lurahs also helped actively market the production product by means of promoting the use of partner communities’ product in the events organized.

Overall, the women empowerment level in P2MG has achieved the highest level, control. Out of five levels explained by Longwe, the women empowerment level in P2MBG in Surakarta City has not achieved welfare level. It is because the focus of women empowerment is indeed on the lower level of society, meaning that the recommendation of P2MBG is the pre-wellbeing society. The lowest level in those suggested by Longwe, welfare, has not been achieved. It is because the women empowerment process has been newly conducted, and the result of welfare improvement cannot be measured in short term. However, it does not mean that women empowerment in P2MBG did not provide positive result. Nevertheless, other levels have been achieved: access, consciousness, participation, and the highest level is control.

Considering the conclusion of research, the author recommends the following. (1) The training should be provided more intensively, in delivering both gender material or skill training. It is related to providing training compressed into one week. Next, regarding the skill training, upgrade should be made by holding training gradually, so that partner communities not only have basic skill but also go up to the next level. (2) The government is expected to understand more deeply the partner communities’ need, because each individual’s need cannot be likened. It is related to the some cases of capital aid discrepancy in the form of tool aid complained by the partner communities. (3) Monitoring and Evaluation should involve third party; when there is constraint with monitoring and evaluation related to human resource, particularly human resource including labor and time, Bapermas, PP, PA, and KB can collaborate with third party in monitoring and evaluation process. Because empowerment process does not cease when tool capital aid has arrived and been used by partner communities, the government should keep conducting Monitoring and Evaluation periodically.
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTER-STAKEHOLDERS COLLABORATION MODEL IN IMPLEMENTING GENDER-RESPONSIVE BUDGETING PLANNING IN SRAGEN REGENCY

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Abstract
This research aimed to map the collaboration pattern between stakeholders in the implementation of PPRG, to map the constraints the stakeholders encountered in building collaboration in PPRG implementation, to map the potential development of collaboration between stakeholders in PPRG implementation, and to formulate draft model of collaboration between stakeholders in PPRG implementation. This research was taken place in Sragen Regency with descriptive qualitative research type. The data was collected using field observation, interview, documentation, and focus group discussion. Data validation was conducted using source triangulation, sampling technique employed was purposive sampling, and data analysis was carried out using an interactive model of analysis.

The result of research found that the successful collaboration was studied from 8 (eight) points including: (1) network structure type, (2) commitment to a common purpose, (3) trust among the participants, (4) governance; governance here was defined as a) mutual trust among participants, b) the presence of borders about who may be and who may be not involved, c) mutually approved clear rule of game, and d) freedom of deciding on how to implement collaboration, (5) access to authority, (6) distributive accountability/responsibility, (7) information sharing, and (8) access to resources, all of which had not been implemented maximally.

Several constraints occurring in the collaboration between stakeholders were: some personnel of SKPD’s less understanding on how to organize PPRG through GAP and GBS, less commitment at top management level, weak authority, and inadequate fund in the implementation of PPRG.

Keywords: Collaboration, Stakeholders, PPRG.

Introduction
Republic of Indonesia’s Constitution warrants every citizen’s right to enjoying and to participating in development of various sectors. However, the acquisition of access, benefit, and participation in development and control over resource has not been equal between man and women. This gender inequality is characterized with lower Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM) below Human Development Index (HDI). In 2012, Indonesian HDI was 73.29, GDI was 70.0 and GEM was 68.52. The data showed that implementation of PUG in Indonesia having been running for more than a decade based on Inpres 9 of 2000 has not been effective.

In Sragen Regency, the result of development so far still showed gender gap. Compared with other regencies/cities in Central Java, HDI, GDI, and GEM gains were still far below those in other regencies/cities. HDI of Sragen Regency in 2012 was 71.85 occupying the 25th rank, GDI was 67.23 occupying the 15th rank and GEM was 57.58 occupying the 27th rank. For that reason, the acceleration of PUG implementation through PPRG in Sragen Regency is urgent to do. Therefore, a study on a model of collaboration
between stakeholders in the implementation of Gender-Responsive Budgeting and Planning (PPRG) in Sragen Regency was important to do thereby leading to governance emphasizing on gender-justice value.

In this study, stakeholders are defined as every individual, group or institution affecting or affected either positively or negatively by certain issue or result (WWF, 2000). Stakeholders are classified into primary and secondary ones. Included into primary stakeholders are drivers of PPRG: Bappeda, Women Empowerment Division, Inspectorate and DPPKAD. Included into secondary stakeholders are Colleges and Non Government Organizations (NGOs).

Collaboration is the form of cooperation, interaction, compromise of several related elements including individuals, institutions and or those involved either directly or indirectly and receiving consequence and benefit. The values underlying a collaboration are common objective, shared perception, willingness to pass through process, giving benefit each other, honesty, affection and community-based (CIFOR/PILI, 2005). Collaboration concept was also used to describe a cooperative relationship held by certain party. The principles of collaboration implementation are commonness, cooperation, job division, equality, and responsibility. However, the collaboration is difficult to define and to describe what actually the essence of this activity (http://nanang_haryono-fisip.web.unair.ac.id/article) is.

Warsono (2009: 113-114) suggested collaboration process showed the higher level of collective measure in collaboration that that in cooperation and coordination. Collaboration is a collective process in creating a unit based on mutualism relationship and shared objective of organizations or individuals with autonomic characteristics. They interact with each other through either formal or informal negotiation in a mutually approved rule and mutual trust. Although ultimate result and objective of a collaboration process is personal in nature, it results in other result or benefit collective (group) in nature.

De Seve, and G. Edward (2007) stated that the successful collaborative governance involves: (1) network structure type, (2) commitment to a common purpose, (3) trust among the participants, (4) governance; governance here was defined as a) mutual trust among participants, b) the presence of borders about who may be and who may be not involved, c) mutually approved clear rule of game, and d) freedom of deciding on how to implement collaboration, (5) access to authority, (b) distributive accountability/responsibility, (7) information sharing, and (8) access to resources.

Studies on Collaborative Governance have been conducted by several authors. Gazley (2010), Sudarmo (2010), Judith (2003), Bureau of Land Management (2009), and Rahardjo (2010) contributed to the attempt of developing resource, collaboration effectiveness, community-capacity building toward self-governance, preventing and resolving conflict but not to studying specifically the context of PPRG. Meanwhile studies on PPRG have been conducted by some authors. Lestari (2011)’s finding contributed to the inhibition of PUG-ARG application to government institution but has not attempted to consider the context of collaborative governance. The researcher team (Nurhaeni et al)’s study on PPRG focused only on SKPD’s readiness and PPRG implementation, effectiveness of PUG regulation in education sector, effectiveness of Gender-Responsive Budget Policy Implementation. Susiloadi et al (2013) found constraint concerning the human resource capacity in PPRG implementation.

What is new in this study is that it tries to develop a model of collaboration between Stakeholders in the implementation of Gender-Responsive Budgeting and Planning in Sragen Regency. The intended collaboration model is the collaboration between primary
stakeholders including drivers of PPRG (Bappeda, Women Empowerment Division, Inspectorate and DPPKAD) and secondary stakeholders (PT and LSM). In this model, the process of exchanging resource between stakeholders is expected to occur to optimize the implementation PPRG, thus the development planning in local area actually takes its usefulness into account in gender-equitable manner.

This research aimed to find out what pattern of collaboration between stakeholders in the implementation of PPRG in Sragen Regency, to find out the constraints occurring in the implementation of PPRG, to find out the potency the implementation of PPRG has and to find out the draft collaboration model in PPRG implementation.

Method

This study aimed to describe the pattern of collaboration between primary and secondary stakeholders in PPRG implementation in Sragen Regency, to map the constraints the primary and the secondary stakeholders encountered in building collaboration in PPRG implementation, and to map the potential development of collaboration between primary and secondary stakeholders in PPRG implementation.

The data collected consisted of primary and secondary data. Primary data derived from informant selected purposively. Informant consisted of representatives of both primary and secondary stakeholders. Included into primary stakeholders are individuals whose main duty and function is to handle PPRG in Bappeda, Women Empowerment Division, Inspectorate and DPPKAD. Included into secondary stakeholders are individuals whose main duty is to handle PPRG in Colleges and Non Government Organizations (NGOs). Secondary data was collected from documentation data related to the implementation of PPRG.

The data of research was collected using some methods: field observation, interview, Focus Group Discussion, and documentation. Field Observation was conducted through observing the policy formulation and gender-responsive program in Bappeda, Women Empowerment Division, Inspectorate and DPPKAD. Focus Group Discussion was held with the members of gender mainstreaming work group and technical team of PPRG in Sragen Regency.

The key issues to be analyzed in this research referred to De Seve’s opinion about collaborative governance model including 8 elements. The data collected was then analyzed using Miles and Huberman’s interactive model of analysis (in Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) involving data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

Result and Discussion

In this research, the measure of successful collaboration will be studied from 8 (8) points (De Seve; 2007): (1) network structure type, (2) commitment to a common purpose, (3) trust among the participants, (4) governance; governance here was defined as a) mutual trust among participants, b) the presence of borders about who may be and who may be not involved, c) mutually approved clear rule of game, and d) freedom of deciding on how to implement collaboration, (5) access to authority , (b) distributive accountability/responsibility, (7) information sharing, and (8) access to resources.

Network structure explains conceptual description on an interrelationship or relationship between one element and another, in this case between one stakeholder and another, uniting together reflecting on physical element of network dealt with. This network structure explained an interrelationship or relationship between one element and another, in
this case between one stakeholder and another in cooperation, which has run smoothly under coordination of Sragen Regency’s Women Empowerment Division. It is supported by Regent Regulation no. 39 of 2010 instructing the establishment of Gender Focal Point (GFP) the main duty of which is to motivate the programs to make the programs implemented by SKPD gender-responsive. Thus, automatically each SKPD attempted to synchronize some of its activities referring to gender-responsiveness put into PPRG. However, in practice, some constraint still resulted from some SKPD personnel’s less understanding on how to organize PPRG through GAP and GBS. To anticipate it, Women Empowerment Division of Sragen Regency coordinates and consults with P3G (Gender Mainstreaming Development Center) of Sebelas Maret University to apply for the organization of technical guidance activity concerning GAP and GBS. The presence of technical guidance can give the personnel of SKPD insight into PPR implementation. They expect that the technical guidance can be held routinely and evenly in every SKPD and Echelon level (FGD, October 1, 2014).

Commitment to common purpose refers to a reason of why a network should abide, because there is attention and commitment to achieving a positive objective. Commitment to achieving positive objective among stakeholders, in this case SKPDs of Sragen Regency, is high enough, based on some indicators: budget, community, location, handling sincerity, communication, clear vision and mission, and trust, becoming the important point to improving commitment. Nevertheless, in its progress toward a commitment, some constraints still emerge: less commitment at top management level, weak authority, and inadequate funding in PPRG implementation (FGD, October 1, 2014).

Trust among the participants, in this case, is based on professional or social relationship. Trust among participants is based on professional relationship considering the main duty and function of each SKPD. There is a belief that the stakeholder participants, respective SKPDs of Sragen Regency, rely on other stakeholders’ information or attempt in a network for achieving a common objective in the implementation of PPRG. Thus, some trust level has been established among SKPDs in making coordination and cooperation between one and another, leading to their openness to input and critique in the attempt of implementing PPRG (FGD, October 1, 2014).

Governance, in this case, is the presence of certainty or clarity in management including: (a) boundary and exclusivity, confirming whom affiliating and not affiliating with; (b) rules confirming a number of restrictions for community member behavior; (c) self-determination, a freedom of deciding on how a network or collaboration will be undertaken and who is allowed to undertaken; and (d) network management, concerning the resolution of declination or challenge, resource allocation, quality control, and organizational maintenance (Sudarmo; 2011).

Access to authority is the availability of a standard or benchmark concerning the clear and widely acceptable provision of procedure. Most networks, in this case, should impress one of collaborative member to give authority in order to implement decision or to
undertake its work (De Seve; 2007). Authority among stakeholders, in this case SKPDs of Sragen Regency, has run and has equal accessibility to various necessary authorities in PPRG implementation. It confirms that SKPD has made collaboration between them and given certain authority with clear scope to the stakeholders, to implement the decision related to PPRG (FGD, October 1, 2014).

Distributive accountability/responsibility is governance sharing (arrangement, organization, and management along with other stakeholders) and sharing a number of decision makings with all members of network. Thus, they share responsibility of achieving the intended outcome. SKPDs, in relation to the implementation of PPRG in Sragen Regency, have participated proactively in deciding the objective of network and always want to bring resource and authority into a gender-responsive network in implementing its planning and budgeting in any activities to achieve the objective (FGD, October 1, 2014).

Information sharing is the easiness access for the members, individual’s personal identity confidentiality and limited access for those not affiliating with as long as it is acceptable to all parties. Information exchange is conducted in either oral or written form, dependent on the current condition. The point here is in the presence of information access exchange between SKPDs, the implementation of PPRG can run smoothly (FGD, October 1, 2014).

Access to resources is the availability of financial, technical, human, and other resources required to achieve the network’s objective. Each of SKPDs has had GFP (Gender Focal Point) and activity planner to support the implementation of PPRG. In undertaking those duties, each of SKPDs works corresponding to its main duty and function, and implements its activity by adjusting the budget specified in DIPA (Budget Plan Content Table) (FGD, October 1, 2014).

**Conclusion**

A study on a model of inter-stakeholders collaboration in the implementation of Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting (PPRG) in Sragen Regency results in the following findings:

The pattern of collaboration between stakeholders in the implementation of PPRG in Sragen Regency, viewed from stakeholder cooperation, has run smoothly under coordination of Sragen Regency’s Women Empowerment division. It is supported with Regent Regulation no. 39 of 2010 instructing the establishment of Gender Focal Point (GFP) the main duty of which is to motivate the programs to make the programs implemented by SKPD gender-responsive. However, in practice, some constraint still resulted from some SKPD personnel’s less understanding on how to organize PPRG through GAP and GBS.

Commitment to achieving positive objective among stakeholders, in this case SKPDs of Sragen Regency, is high enough, based on some indicators: budget, community, location, handling sincerity, communication, clear vision and mission, and trust, becoming the important point to improving commitment. There is a belief that the stakeholder participants, respective SKPDs of Sragen Regency, rely on other stakeholders’ information or attempt in a network for achieving a common objective in the implementation of PPRG.

There is a certainty or clarity in management manifested in a clear rule of game among SKPDs in Sragen Regency about what should be and what should not be done, corresponding to their own main duty and function. Authority among stakeholders, in this case SKPD of Sragen Regency, has run well and has equal accessibility to various authorities required in PPRG implementation.
Each of SKPDs, in relation to the implementation of PPRG in Sragen Regency, has participated proactively in deciding the objective of network. Information exchange has been conducted in the form of coordination meeting activity and discussion among SKPDs. Each of SKPDs has had GFP (Gender Focal Point) and activity planner to support the implementation of PPRG.

Several constraints occurring in the collaboration between stakeholders were: some personnel of SKPD’s less understanding on how to organize PPRG through GAP and GBS, less commitment at top management level, weak authority, and inadequate fund in the implementation of PPRG.

The potency the Collaboration among Stakeholders has in the implementation of Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting (PPRG) in Sragen Regency, is the establishment of driver institution, in this case, Bappeda as the chief of PUG work group at Regency Level, Women Empowerment Division as secretariat of Gender Mainstreaming Work Group at Regency Level, Inspectorate undertaking internal supervising function in SKPDs, and DPPKAD as Local Income, Financial and Asset Management Office to undertake its role and to collaborate more effectively in supporting the implementation of PPRG in each SKPD of Sragen Regency.

A model of collaboration between Stakeholders in the implementation of Gender-Responsive Budgeting and Planning (PPRG) in Sragen Regency is still in the stage of looking for appropriate model to be applied to SKPD, because of some following constraints: some personnel of SKPD’s less understanding on how to organize PPRG through GAP and GBS, less commitment at top management level, weak authority and inadequate funding in PPRG implementation.

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Sudarmo, 2011, Isu-Isu Administrasi Publik Dalam Perspektif Governance, Penerbit Smart Media, Solo


DIVISION OF LABOR BY GENDER IN LAND REHABILITATION

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Abstract
This article underlines the division of labor by gender in land rehabilitation in the slope of Mount Lawu to support the revitalization of Bengawan Solo watershed. Data were collected using site observation, interview, focus group discussion, and document study. The methods of analysis consisted of Miles and Huberman’s interactive analysis models and Harvard Gender Analysis.

The results show that gendered division of labor in land rehabilitation still persist in Indonesia despite its many years of gender equality propaganda because of institution, regulation, and social culture. Gender awareness of environmental stakeholders should be developed so that the future growth of women and men will be given space to participate optimally in land rehabilitation without being constrained by rigid gender roles. Gender equality in land rehabilitation will affect the success of sustainable development.

Keywords: division of labor, gender mainstreaming, land rehabilitation, revitalization.

Introduction
Indonesia government stated that good and health environmental as Indonesian human right and every people must care environmental sustainability and control environmental polution and damage (Act number 32 of 2009). Women have central and transformative roles in sustainable development, and gender equality must be a priority for action in areas such as economic, social and political participation and leadership. (Braun (ed), 2013). Women have strategic role to participate in managing and preserving the environment by speaking and implementing the pattern of green style in her household, in her group and in her-self (Ministry of Women Empowerment, 2006). Unfortunately, the previous study finds out that participation of women in environment development was marginalized, and women participation in strategic level only reached 16% of the forest village committee. (Kenney, 2005; Goldin, 2001; Ministry of Environment, 2002 and 2003; Nurhaeni, et.al., 2006 and 2008); Benjamin, 2010). Consequently, government should develop the mechanism for evaluating the impact of environmental development and policy to women.

Research on division of labor by gender has been carried out by researchers with different focus. Largely, gender-based division of labor can be classified into some sectors such as industry sector, parenting, homemaking and employment, agriculture, and scientific involvement (Hansona and Geraldine Prattb, 1988; Sancheza, 1997; Steel, et. al., 2010 and LaBorde, 1994).

Besides, research of Simiyua and Dick Foekenb (2014); Jacksona (1999); Mukhina (2014) and Kim (2009) concluded that: (1) women and men are more critical of the societal gender division of labor than they are of interpersonal divisions; (2) public ideology dictates that families take responsibility for the care of their frail and vulnerable members; (3) divisions of labor in urban gardening were mediated by social constructs of masculinity and femininity, gender differentials in entitlements and farming knowledge and intra-household
power relations; (4) gender division of labor creates, maintains, and reproduces disadvantageous situations for women in different cultural and national circumstances.

Promoting gender equality in environmental management is a strategic agenda. Understanding the gender-based division of labor in land rehabilitation is needed. This article discusses gender-based division of labor in land rehabilitation to support the revitalization of Bengawan Solo watershed. The basic considerations for choosing the location are: (1) the condition of environmental damage is getting worse; (2) Bengawan Solo Watershed is one of Indonesian government development priorities, focusing on society empowerment in protection and environmental management.

Research Method

The research is descriptive qualitative. This research uses primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected by using site observation, interview, focus group discussion, and document study. There are 23 informants who are chosen purposively, involving representatives of the various elements of stakeholder such as Environment Agency, Women Empowerment Agency, Department of Agriculture, Plantation and Forestry, Indonesian Forest Company, Non Government Organization, and the community living in slope of Mount Lawu Karanganyar Indonesia. This research also used secondary data from various sources to justify the division of labor by gender in land rehabilitation, both policy and statistic on environmental degradation. The validity of the study was checked by employing triangulation data source. Data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman’s interactive analysis models (in Denzin dan Lincoln, 1994). Another analysis technique applied in this research was Harvard Analytical Framework (March, et.al. 2005), especially on Harvard Tool 1: The Activity Profile and Harvard Tool 2: The Access and Control Profile.

Result

Profile Activity of Men and Women in Land Rehabilitation

Based on Table 1, research results found that a division of labor between men and women indicates that the productive works tends to be done by men and reproductive work tends to be done by women.

Table 1: Profile of Men and Women Activity in Land Rehabilitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Land Activity</th>
<th>Rehabilitation</th>
<th>Participation on land Rehabilitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Greening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Productive Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reproductive Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Reforestation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Productive Activity</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reproductive Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Return of land use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Productive Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reproductive Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 describes the type of work processing fields, women tend dominant planting and maintenances of activities, in particular the provision of supplementary fertilizer and weeding, while the male dominant doing land management activities and manage the institute of forest village community. The work is only done by men are hoeing and ground cover while the work is only done by women weeding, revocation, packaging, sales and maintenance function such as preparing family meals and parenting.

Table 2: Division of labor between Men and Women in Processing Fields.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men+Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Productive Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Field Processing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Planting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Harvesting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Packaging</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Reproductive activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Social Community Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: recap the results of interviews with 12 women and focus group discussion with Institute of forest village community

In general, each family worked on 2000 m² with between 8-10 days processing time, is generally done by 4 (four) men with a time of 8 (eight) hours a day. Comparison of work between men and women is 60%: 40%. The reason, the plant is considered heavy work and requires a strong physical. While the mother is working at home. Activities in the fields for the father is the work, the mother is a work at home job depends distraction. Pricing based on the results of the field is determined to hear each other or the market price or the results of the whispers with neighbors. Because pricing accompanied by bargaining, then the
decision is usually left to the mother because the mother was considered more patient so that the benefits will be more. If the father is known "lomo" (quixote).

Access and Control Profile by Gender in Land Rehabilitation Resources

Access and control profile by gender in land rehabilitation resources can be seen on table 3. Based on table 3 we can see that there is still a standard roles based on gender, where women are more dominant perform housekeeping activities while men do outdoor activities. In addition, the access of women and men to resources that exist relatively balanced, however, men are more dominant gain access to information and education and training, even access to capital owned only by men because of the assumption that men is the head of the household.

Table 3: Access and Control Pofile by Gender in Land Rehabilitation Resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male&gt;Female</th>
<th>Male&lt;Female</th>
<th>Male=Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Information</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Financial capital</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Training and development</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Control</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Information</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Financial capital</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Training and development</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender inequality more apparent when we talk about their authority in making decisions related to land management. The majority of focus group discussion participants stated that the decision-making is the area of responsibility of men, while women should be obedient. It is mainly found in the management of the institution where the majority membership forest village community agencies is male. As a result, the right of women to be able to utilize the forest management becomes very limited.

Discussion

The denial of the International agreement on the Empowerment of Women

Basically there has been women's involvement in land and forest management. For example, in the production forest area, 75% of women have played an active role. In a land conservation activities are very dominant female role. But until now there has not been a special group of women who deal with forest and land rehabilitation. These findings denies deal Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action which underlines the importance of involving women actively in environmental decision-making at all levels, integrating issues and gender perspectives in policies and programs for sustainable development; and strengthen or create mechanisms at the national, regional, international to assess the impact of development and environmental policies in the field of women (Ministry of Environment, 2002).

The findings of this study also indicate not contemplate women as a group which has a significant role in the achievement of sustainable development as stated explicitly in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 which resulted in Agenda 21 in the form of Global
Action for Women towards Sustainable Development. Similarly, the Earth Summit (World Summit on Sustainable Development) held in Johannesburg South Africa in 2002. One of the outcomes of the conference underlined the various aspects related to the priority that should be given to the empowerment of women in environmental management (Ministry of Environment, 2003).

This finding is consistent with Hansona and Geraldine Pratthb’s research (1988) which found that employment opportunities are also spatially segmented along gender lines that men generally travel longer distances to work than do women. In addition, these findings are also consistent with research Natalia (2011) where gender perspective remains a marginal interest in climate change, environmental studies, and health. At the same time, the social sciences and humanities, and gender studies in particular, showed the least interest to study the effect of climate change on human health. Therefore Natalia (2011) argues the importance of synergy between all disciplines to help the development of human health monitoring indicators and explain policies and efficient strategies for the benefit of women and men.

In the context of forest rehabilitation in the region, women have participated to do some work as follows. Women working in the nursery began sowing the seeds to be a crescent and subsequent plots into plots sown. Forest and land rehabilitation activities, among others, carried out through the Joint Forest Management, includes planting, maintenance, harvesting and transport. Field data indicates that almost all of the activities carried out by men. Women usually a role in seeding activities. In fact, almost no women who participate in activities because most of the forest harvesting in the region in the North Lawu protected by the Forest Management United. Indoneisan Forest Company (namely Perhutani) not picked up the results but more directed programs on community empowerment. Only a small proportion of forests in the region (approximately 6000 acres) is a production forest. Community involvement in forest management institutions implemented through the establishment of a Forest Village Community. However, at this time women’s participation in these institutions is still limited. Similarly, forest management activities that do women generally only associated with seeding. In addition, women are also involved in planting activities along with men. Based on observation and evaluation by Indonesian Forest Company, women are more patient or diligent in planting activities. But for jobs that require physical strength, such as planting in a very remote area in the top of the mountain areas, women are rarely involved. While fertilization and spraying activities (if any) made by men. A small portion of the women involved transporting the land to the collection, since the work is considered a heavy work for women. The role of women in management activities, such as searching the grass for fodder, relatively dominant. Besides, most of the planting activities undertaken by men. Women usually take part in seeding and maintenance. On the farm activities most of the activities carried out jointly. Activities for grass usually done simultaneously activities in the garden or in the woods. House livestock feeding and care of the cage more done together. The role of women in farming activities is quite large.

The results showed that women’s participation in land rehabilitation is relatively minimal. At the moment not much can be done by most women who are in the forest. Women are often considered only as a housekeeper. While the heavy work such as gardening and collecting various types of forest products can only be done by men. Not surprisingly, there are still many women who are still underestimated, especially in rural areas or the edge of the forest where the issues of justice and gender equality is almost unheard of or surfaced. Even the issue of justice and gender equality is still a taboo. The low participation of women
in land rehabilitation resulted in women do not have bargaining power to conduct bargaining with the government and private and can not control the policies made by the government and to their detriment. This is as disclosed by Conyers (1954) in Suparjan and Suyanto (2003) that public participation is basically a form of society in order to increase the bargaining position by the government and other parties (private/owners of capital) and the power of control over the policies made by the government. Thus will be realized synergies between local resources, political power of government and capital resources from outside investors. Related to the importance of community participation is expressed by Conyers (1954) in Suparjan and Suyanto (2003) that: (a) Community participation is a means to obtain information about the conditions, needs and attitudes of local communities without the presence of development programs and projects will fail; (b) The public will be more trust development project or program if they are involved in the process of preparation and planning, because they will know more about the ins and outs of the project and will have a sense of ownership and responsibility for the project; (c) Participation become urgent because one might think that is a democratic right if the community is involved in community development. In this context, the public has the right to give advice in determining the type of development that will be implemented in their area (man-centered development).

**Gender Awareness of environmental stakeholders**

Gendered division of labor in land rehabilitation is because of: (1) gender-blind mindset of the society (2) male dominance as paternal household; (3) gender role in environmental field was seen as men’s responsibility; (4) women’s physical barrier; (5) under representation of women in policy making (Nurhaeni, et all; 2006; 2008; Hunga, 2013:xi).

Gender awareness of environmental stakeholders should be developed, include: (1) awareness that men and women have differences in the roles, responsibilities, priorities, needs and perceptions related to the surrounding environment; (2) The realization that men and women use and manage natural resources in a way of thinking different, often complementary about the environment (use of water, wood, air, soil, land, forests and so on); (3) Consciousness that usually occurs inequality between women and men in relation to access to the control passage and natural resources; (4) The realization that men and women have different needs and priorities in relation to the management of natural resources; (5) The realization that large gender awareness makes real the whole dimension of knowledge; (6) Awareness to recognize and appreciate women as users and managers of natural resources that can prevent the vulnerability of young women as a result of changes in development; (7) Awareness that women are usually not included in decision-making related to the use and management of natural resources, which led to the knowledge, perceptions, needs, priorities and their role is not taken into account. (Ministry of Environment, 2002). With this awareness, the future growth of women and men will be given space to participate optimally in land rehabilitation without constrained by rigid gender roles.

The awareness of environmental stakeholders on eco-feminism have to improved for supporting the movement pro gender and environment. This is in line with Stoddart and Tindall (2010) who conducted research on feminism and environmentalism in British Columbia. The research elaborates the relation among gender, feminism and environment studiesand concluded that political environment imposed in promoting eco-feminism in the movement, and the perception of men and women in environment activities for concern
discourse on feminism and eco-feminism. In addition, Laborde's research (1994) found that division of labor by gender happen because of "more to socialization to gender roles than to women's supposed natural or biological tendencies for "nurturing". Simiyua and Dick Foekenb (2014) states that divisions of labor in urban gardening were mediated by social constructs of masculinity and femininity, gender differentials in entitlements and farming knowledge and intra-household power relations. Mukhina (2014) states that stereotypes about the gendered division of labor that persisted in the Soviet Union despite its many years of gender equality propaganda. Kim (2009) states that gender division of labor is one of the main causes of women's oppression, especially in current society, where women's work is less valued than men's work. The gender division of labor creates, maintains, and reproduces disadvantageous situations for women in different cultural and national circumstances. In sum, gender awareness of environmental stakeholders should be improved so they could formulate women specific program.

**Conclusion**

There is still a standard roles based on gender in land rehabilitation, where the productive works tends to be done by men and reproductive work tends to be done by women. The access of women and men to resources in land rehabilitation relatively balanced, however, men are more dominant gain access to information, education and training, even access to capital owned only by men because of the assumption that men is the head of the household.

The majority membership forest village community agencies are men. As a result, the right of women to be able to utilize the forest management becomes very limited. There has not been a special group of women who deal with land rehabilitation. This condition resulted in women do not have bargaining power to conduct bargaining with the government and private and can not control the policies made by the government and to their detriment.

The gendered division of labor in land rehabilitation still persisted in Indonesia despite its many years of gender equality propaganda because of institution, regulation and social culture. Institutionally, no women representation means no accessibility. Regulation on gender mainstreaming in environmental unimplemented because of lack of gender awareness on policy maker. Culturally, there is stereotype that women do reproductive jobs and men do productive jobs. The gender division of labor is one of the main causes of women's oppression, where women's work is less valued than men's work. The gender division of labor creates, maintains, and reproduces disadvantageous situations for women.

Gender awareness of environmental stakeholders should be developed. With this awareness, the future growth of women and men will be given space to participate optimally in land rehabilitation without constrained by rigid gender roles.

Gender equality in the overall environmental management process, from planning, management and evaluation and monitoring will affect the success of sustainable development.

**Acknowledgment**

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Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32 Tahun 2009 tentang *Perlindungan dan Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup*. 
ELITE PERSONALISM REINFORCEMENT IN THE OPEN LIST SYSTEM ERA

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Abstract
This article comes from the result of the author’s study on the tendency of the local elite personalism reinforcement as the result of the open list system application in the 2014 General Election. Open list system is applied to the 2009 and 2014 legislative elections that the number of legislative seats is set based on the acquisition of a majority vote obtained by the candidate in an electoral district. This system encourages candidates to maximally use the personal political networks in order to raise the political electability in their electoral district. The symptoms are carrying two implications for the role of party organization that electoral party networks do not work effectively in the elections and the transformation of elite leadership dominated by the power of candidates’ personal networks.

Keywords: party, open list system, political elite

Introduction
Empirically, the open list system allows voters to choose preferred candidates from the list proposed by the party. Some countries, e.g. Netherlands, Indonesia in 2009 and 2014 elections, Norway and Finland, use open list system (Norris, 1997). Some political scientists claim that open list system encourages legislative candidates to conduct political mobilizations in more personal to maximize the candidates’ victory (Surbakti et al, 2008; Karvonen, 2010). In the context of legislative candidacy in Indonesia, an open list system also acts reinforcing the candidacy’s links based on the political actors (Zuhro, 2009).

The theoretical arguments mentioned in the previous paragraph become the framework for the author to reveal that the adoption of the open list system encourages candidates to conduct political mobilizations in more personal. Personal political mobilizations are marked by the dominance of the personal political network usage on the network electoral candidates of the party. The implication of personal political mobilization shows that the party’s role in the candidacy’s activities declines due to the party’s electoral network is replaced by the network of political candidates. To reinforce this thesis, the author holds onto the research results of the cases of Democrat Party (PD) and Nation Awaking Party (PKB) East Java on the candidacy of the 2014 legislative election.

Conceptual Framework
A considerable number of studies show that the political mobilizations for the sake of candidacy do not always use a political party. The studies conducted by Aguiar (1997), Gray and Caul (2000), Nuno (2007), Pierce (2010), Blaydes and Tarouty (2009) show that political parties can use the network of unions, interest groups, religions (churches and mosques), gender, race or ethnicity as the instruments of political mobilization candidacy. As the example, Nuno has conducted a research on the instrumentalization of Latino network to increase voters’ support in the 2000 election in the US.

The use of non-party networks is different from a number of previous literatures which place political mobilizations as a part of the routine functions of the political parties’ functions (Rodee et al, 1967: 491; Bibby, 1992: 5; Heywood, 2002: 254; Roskin et al, 2006:
Leadership and Social Transformation

196; Katz; Crotty, 2006; Roskin et al, 2006). These theoretical studies are not empirically enough in exposing models of political mobilization that occur in the field.

The use of non-party networks for political mobilization instrument has been found from Pierce’s study (2010: 93) on the role of Catholic Church’s networks as the political mobilization instrument for women voters in the 1930's Spain. These church networks were used by the Accion Popular Party to obtain the women’s votes to win the election. The same issue was also examined by Blaydes and Tarouty revealing the role of social network instruments which are built through the religious legitimacy used by the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Egypt as an effective instrument to mobilize lower-middle-class women voters. In the frame of electoral competition dominated by government party, the MB is able to utilize and build relationships among lower-class women voters and get them to win the MB. The political network used by the MB to gain the women’s support is focused on what Blaydes and Tarouty called parallel Islamic sectors such as mosques, Islamic enterprisers and volunteers who are members of Islamic group networks.

Meanwhile, Nuno reveals the use of ethnic networks as a means of political mobilization among the Latinos at the presidential election in the United States in 2000. Nuno stated that ethnic networks are quite effective to be used to convince other voters who have ethnic equality. In this case, the Latino voters will be more easily persuaded if the party that convinces them is the Latinos. These Ethnic networks are used by the Republican Party to influence the Latino voters whose political stance is still floating. The same issue was also used in Hawaii. The use of ethnic networks as a means of political mobilization is also strengthened by Aguiar findings in the case of political mobilization for the candidacy in Hawaii from 1930 to 1964. In the case of Hawaii, the candidacy’s political mobilization process is done through the issues of ethnicities, classes and demographics. These issues are used by both Republicans and Democrats to seize potential voters from the native Hawaiian, Japanese and workers.

In the classic study of the 1955 elections in Indonesia, Feith (1973) analyzes how parties build a social base through various non-party networks for electoral interests. NU, Masyumi, PNI and PKI are able to effectively strengthen their roots through non-party mass organizations they create. Feith’s findings illustrate that the instruments of party’s political mobilization vary due to the utilization of ideology and social cleavage-divisions as a source of electoral strength (Feith dan Castles, 1988; Feith, 1999).

The concern about political mobilizations also comes from Liddle (1992). Liddle shows a deterioration process of the parties’ roles which remain from the previous era as the establishment of Golkar influence sponsored by the government. Golkar’s superiorities in every election focused on the aspects of Golkar’s strong political resources because of the New Order’s political and structural supports. One of the supports is the support for Golkar to utilize the bureaucracy of civil servants from the national to the local level as the supporting engine and political mobilization in every election (Liddle: 29, 37, 65).

The substance of the literatures above shows that a political party has an instrumentalization pattern of political mobilization which is appropriate with its social base that becomes the foundation whether by utilizing the networks of religious, gender or ethnic/race. In Indonesia, parties are also strong in utilizing the social or cultural networks that are appropriate with the social base of each party, such as a kiai network (NU) for PPP in the New Order era (Irsyam, 1984: 57-59).

The parties in the Reformation Era try seeking network relationships and their social politic base. Islamic parties also reorganize their political network relationships with their
old social base, e.g. through religious leaders *(kiai)* and students *(santri)* and Islamic schools *(pesantren)* networks. PPP has an open opportunity to re-establish relationships with NU, *ulama / kiai* (religious leaders) and NU members. PPP is not the only one party fighting over the NU members’ votes. PKB also utilizes the same socio-political community (Nahrawi, 2005). The political mobilization instruments done by political parties are sucked into the instrumentalization of religious leaders / kiai as the vote getters at the level of electoral.

The function of religious leaders is originally envisioned as a socio-religious figure with an influence towards the *pesantren’s* entity, it has moved beyond religious leaders, and *pesantren* (Dhofier, 1983) has become one of the instruments utilized by parties and candidates in the electoral political mobilization activities. Similarly, the function of kinship is beyond the power of socio-cultural solidarity as being studied by Mansurnoor (Mansurnoor, 1990) or Wiyata (Wiyata, 2002) that it might have moved into deeper political functions when it is used as an instrument of political mobilization by parties and candidates.

Based on the arguments, it then has developed a hypothesis that the open list system of the candidacy further strengthens the transformation of elite leadership in more personal. The elites have actively used the instruments of non-party political mobilization to increase the candidates’ electability. The following chart shows candidacy in more personal:

**Personal Candidacy Model**

*Case Discussion*

The results of the Focus Group Discussion with the officials and candidates of PD and PKB administrators of East Java Province indicates that the candidates’ ability to project themselves using the party instruments as an instrument of mass mobilization tends to be weak. This finding is in contrast with the Panebianco’s concept (Ware, 1999) that a party is an electoral machine in the candidacy. According to Ware, the candidates and the party are in interdependence. The candidates need the party to get formal supports while the party needs the candidates who are expected to win the legislative seats to represent the party.
Along with the application of the candidacy’s open list system at the 2009 and 2014 elections, legislative candidates from PD and PKB are getting stronger by using the instruments of non-party mobilization to improve the electability in their electoral district. For example, PKB’s candidates at the district level (regent) in Madura tend to use the instruments of non-party mobilization with the basis of kiai (religious leaders) and kinship networks rather than to utilize the party machine. Candidates in Madura generally have prepared themselves by building socio-cultural networks based on religious leader or kinship networks as the instrument to mobilize the villages’ voters.

The above symptoms describe a detachment between the party relationship and the candidates. There are two reasons why the detachment occurs. First, the candidates actively build political supports based on personal political networks centered on leaderships or kinships rather than using party networks. Second, the party capacity to develop its electoral functions. The process of candidates-party’s detachment further confirms the potential degradation of PKB’s institutionalization because the instrumentalization of non-party network done by the candidates is minimizing the party’s role in the electoral activities.

The reinforce of the candidates’ personalization indicates the presence of structural problem which is the party has failed to perform rooting on the voters level. The candidates expropriate this failure by strengthening the political electability through private networks. The candidates’ instant political survival strategies and the way they rely on non-party networks indicate the party’s weak institutionalization. In a state where candidates are not rooted then the candidates intensively use the non party networks as an alternative to strengthen their electability.

The application of the candidacy’s open list system also increasingly encourages the candidates to act more autonomous and free from the influence of the party. In this case, the process of creating various candidates’ figures is considered more important than exposing the candidates’ work programs. This symptom confirms that the routinization of party’s machines in the campaign runs down. There are two factors causing this occurs.

First, the candidates enter a political uncertainty phase relating to their electability. It further encourages the candidates to maximize utilizing the non party networks ahead of the campaign to get votes. The political implication shows that the dominance of non party networks increasingly sets aside the role of the party to routinize procedures that organize the campaign issues.

The second factor is electoral regulations. The structural failure potentials further routinize the party campaign as the emergence of candidates’ personal centrism in both parties on the candidates’ open list system era. The electoral regulations encourage the candidates to more actively build personal electability through personal links and business and socio-cultural networks. The author has found that the candidates in both parties prefer to do personal extensification political networks than arranging campaign programs as a political magnet to get voters.

In the case of PD and PKB, the candidates’ ability to routinize the role of the party in their campaign activities is not optimal since the campaign activities that should be filled with work programs are degraded by the dominance of the candidates’ stability and their private political networks.

The 2009 election experience shows that PKB’s legislative candidates in Sampang tend to perceive the campaign not as an activity to expose their work programs but to visit leaders and citizens. Even, one of the candidates named Bus (not the real name) from Sampang,
Madura, was afraid to promote the program because he considered it as a promise that, if not realized, will destroy his reputable image. This candidates’ individualization is found to be accepted by the party even, in this case, PKB party gives candidates a flexibility to hold personal campaigns for the sake of the political party’s survival. The logic of this political survival is based on a consideration that quantity is more important than quality; no matter which candidates being elected as long as it affects the political party’s survival.

The analysis actually reinforces a proposition that the candidacy’s open list system makes the party difficult to control the party candidates’ behavior. The system also pushes cannibalism among candidates because they will compete hard in order to fight over voters. Similarly, the candidates’ tendencies to disconnect with party institutions are also getting bigger as the candidates are free to use non party links such as leadership and kinship networks or personal campaign teams rather than using the organization’s networks as the instrument supporting the candidacy.

The potential of PD and PKB candidates’ tendencies to disconnect with their party institution clearly shows that the relation of the party, candidates and voters are more artificial. The artificial relationship indicates that their relations are more instrumental where the candidacy processes are responded individually which makes the party cannot fully maximize developing its electoral machines.

The next issue that shows challenges for the party institutionalization of PD and PKB are the access to the candidates’ funding. Both parties are only able to mobilize the candidacy’s fund-raising from the candidates but weak in mobilizing other new funding sources. They are also weak in controlling the candidates’ funding that increasingly being individualized. The weakness of the party in controlling the candidates’ funding is in contrast with Tomsa’s opinion (2010) that the party institutionalization can be measured from its capacity in mobilizing the political funding sources to support the party’s programs. However, Tomsa’s opinion does not occur in PD and PKB. In this case, the active candidates rely on their personal sources of funding that do not need to be controlled by the parties. Thus, the parties do not have access to the candidates’ funding sources.

It is widely known that the ability of the party in Indonesia to explore funding sources for the candidacy is very low. It happens since the party is less doing funding sources extensification through membership dues. In the case of PD and PKB, there are no specific innovations made to mobilize the party’s funding sources for the sake of candidacy in addition to the fund-raising drawn from the candidates. Conventionally, the candidacy’s funding sources are obtained from the candidates’ contributions which vary in accordance with the party’s provision.

The ineffectiveness of party access to the candidacy’s funding obstructs the routinization development. The party’s weak access in controlling the candidacy’s funding also shows the degradation of party influence in the open list system era. It shows the party’s authority failure in the middle of the candidates’ personalism reinforcement. This failure will also make the party more dependent to the candidates.

The fund-raising dependence on the candidates illustrates the weakness of the party’s institutionalization at the level of networks and sympathizers. Being seen from the systemness perspective, the parties which only success raising the candidacy’s funding sources from the candidates clearly shows that the party’s influence to create new funding sources from the cadres, sympathizers or organizations affiliated to the parties is very weak. The fund-raising dependence further confirms that the party’s innovative ability to design the fund-raising is still spontaneous ahead of the candidacy.
Although PD and PKB have rules regarding to the candidates’ contribution to the candidacy but it is only formalization. It illustrates that the PD and PKB authorities give them right to make decisions on the candidacy’s fund-raising. Yet, the candidacy’s fund-raising regulation does not straight off illustrate the institutionalization of the party.

At the party level, the procedures governing the candidacy’s funding, the success of mobilizing fund-raising from the candidates and the campaign commitments of the parties and candidates show that both parties are only able to reach a formal Institutionalization but weak in the dimensions of routinization. The ability of PD and PKB in organizing fund-raising does not straight off describe any substantive Institutionalization. The substantive institutionalization indicates that the party is able to expand wider range of its influence to successfully routinize the policy on the campaign that has been made as a reference for the candidates’ actions.

The main challenge face by PD and PKB in achieving substantive institutionalization lies in their ability to create cohesiveness between the candidates and the party. The other challenge is the candidates’ personal reinforcement potential that is increasingly autonomous and cannot be controlled by the party. In this case, the candidates’ private funding is vital used to finance the operation of the candidate’s personal political network machine like leaderships, relatives and candidates’ campaign team in each polling station in the villages of candidates’ networks.

What happens to PD and PKB in the open list system era confirms the transformation to candidates’ autonomous personalization from the party institutions. This is in contrast with the concept of party institutionalization (Ware, 1999; Randall and Svasand, 2002) postulating that the party activities run regularly and are established. In other words, the cases of PD and PKB reflect and imply the failure symptoms of the party institutionalization since the legislative candidates are increasingly autonomous, personalized and fragmented in consolidating political networks for the sake of the candidacy.

This analysis further strengthens the proposition that the application of the open list system encourages candidates to actively utilize non-party networks rather than the party networks. The use of non-party networks implicitly reflects the candidates’ resistance patterns to the party institutions that are considered to be ineffective and uncompetitive as the candidacy supporting machine compared to the links of socio-cultural based on leaderships, kinships or relatives, business networks or the candidates’ campaign team networks.

**Conclusion**

The conclusion that can be drawn from the discussions is that the intersection between structural, cultural and pragmatism aspects both internal and external obstructs the process of party institutionalization. The intersection between structural and socio-cultural aspects produces dualistic party institutional character. At one side, the party remains relevant to be considered as an authoritative institution, but on the other side, the party can also be considered as a cultural-based institution where the networks rely on socio-cultural expansion. Such patterns occur in PKB. The first pattern illustrates the party as a final institution while the second pattern illustrates the party as a patronage networks institution.

The cultural aspect comes from the internal of the party that could potentially obstruct the achievement of the party institutionalization is the elites party dependencies on leaderships. The party which grows up in a patronage cultural context (PKB) gives opportunities for the elites to be more dependent on the leadership. This confirms that the
challenges of the party system will be greater if the tradition forces represented through the figure of both religious and non-religious leaders have dominant influences over the party institutions.

The leadership dominance causes the party movement to routinize agreements both formal and non-formal as the elites’ behavior manual confronts with degradations. At the electoral level, governing routinization of prospective can be countered by personal interests rather than party political mechanism (PD and PKB). If power and influence of the leadership’s tradition highly develop and the candidates rely heavily on their electoral expansion from leadership’s networks rather than party networks, then the crisis of the party institutionalization is more open.

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FRAMEWORK OF COLLABORATIVE LEADERSHIP
IN COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE

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Abstract
The way of managing, organizing some affairs by involving a variety of stakeholders in a network or group, is called governance within which there is a collaborative concept, the concept of collective management. The focus of governance is on the roles of initiator, mediator, negotiator, facilitator, transformative servant oriented to collective effort and based on an action toward collective work through “(power, problem) sharing” norm, mutual trust and respect in achieving mutual effort or oriented to collective action.

Keywords: Governance, leadership, collaboration, collective action.

Introduction
Public problem is often not to be managed or undertaken by the unit of local government institutions only either in integrated or in interrelated manner, but it frequently requires the participation of other non-government institutions. The way of managing and organizing some affairs by involving various stakeholders in a network or group is called collaborative concept; this concept is important to use in analyzing the collective management system. In addition to suppressing the increased need, for government, being a part of Cross-sector partnership and Collaboration becomes obligatory (Gray 1996; Peters and Pierre, 1998). Moreover, collaboration through leadership of individual community groups is important to study, recalling that such collaboration can contribute to some governance’s effectiveness.

To deal with an ever-changing condition of organization environment, in governance a dynamic of leadership power is an important element inherent to it. The leadership’s capacity of leading and the positive relationship empower the existing resource (particularly human resource), establish network with a number of parties or stakeholders affected or affecting the organization it leads. It will be more effective than undertaking directive and assertive ways only, and emphasizing formal authority just like what usually applied to mechanismically-structured bureaucratic organizations tending to survive in an ever-changing environment. Collaborative measure with other stakeholders is desirable recalling that not all organizations can provide service, do their activity or duty and function based on the resource they have only.

When the resource owned does not support duty and function, organization should make collaboration with other stakeholders, including collaboration in taking collective action (measure) and building network with other stakeholders with equivalent, lower, or
higher capacity to build social capital (Sudarmo, 2006: 113-120). By strengthening such this network, Governance reinforcement will be likely built.

The questions in this research are: what is the collaborative leadership framework in governance perspective? What are elements that should exist to bring collaborative leadership into reality? This article argues that collaborative leadership designed and implemented is an important element of an effective collaborative governance model. To facilitate understanding, this article explains the concept of collaborative leadership first and main elements of collaborative leadership effectiveness, followed by the interrelationship between collaborative leadership and collaborative governance frameworks, and then discussed these two concepts in two sub-sections to understand their relationship. In explaining collaborative leadership framework, a qualitative analysis method was used focusing more on content analysis of previous studies.

Collaborative Leadership and Collaborative Governance Concepts

Before turning to a section specifically highlighting collaborative leadership framework in governance perspective, leadership concept will be explained first. There are many definitions of leadership; according to Jacobs & Jacques (1990: 281): “Leadership is a process of defining (meaningful knowledge) a collective effort, leading to the availability of doing the effort wanted to achieve target”. Yulk (1998: 2) assumes that: “leadership pertains to a social effect process, in this case, the effect an individual exerts deliberately on others to structure activities and relationships in a group or organization”.

Here is the definition of collaboration, according to Ansell and Gash (2009). The definition of collaboration in the sense of a process is a series of processes or ways of organizing/managing or governing institutionally. Meanwhile, collaboration and normative definition is aspiration or philosophical objectives for the government to achieve its interaction with its partners.

Collaboration is not new; as the service paradigm in public administration shifts, the phenomenon of collaboration emerges when it is realized that single authority is often incapable of dealing with the problem encountered or incapable of satisfying with the capacity it has in public service era.

Fosler (2002) states that: “Collaborative” cooperation involves intensive cooperation between stakeholders, contains conscious attempt of doing alignment in the terms of objective, strategy, agenda, resource and activity. Both parties basically have different objectives but build shared vision and bring it into reality collectively. For that reason, they unite or make alliance vertically, starting from target, strategy to achieving collective objective. In collaborative cooperation, shared vision becomes the foundation for individual parties to formulate objective, resource allocation strategy and activity, so that all of them have contribution to the realization of shared vision.

Furthermore, Fosler explains that collaborative thinking involves the presence of (1) total change; (2) new work ethos; (3) commonness attitude; (4) decision making based on collective thinking rather than on power/domination. Regarding how the collaboration can be brought into reality, there are some matters creating collaborative circumstance: (1) commitment to cooperating; (2) cooperation occurring is not permanent, but needs ever-changing process; (3) high spirit/morale to deal with problem and limitation faced; (4) to win the competition, the important asset owned should be appreciated; and (5) respecting Work Partners.
Collaborative leadership, according to Follet (1924): “is related to partnership and collective learning”. It emphasizes on shared power (domination), sharing power or “collective power with others” rather than on “power over others”. Leadership is a middle part as the reverse of the top. The perception on Collaborative Leadership is different from that on traditional leadership referring to authority and “motivating” its adherents, and what we know as hierarchic-bureaucratic organization.

Meanwhile, Luke (1998: 33) states that collaborative leadership: “is a type of leadership introducing collaboration and reflecting on action of various groups that compete for the achievement of collective objective”. For that reason, collaborative leadership often called public leadership.

Many practitioners have presented collaborative (facilitative) leadership model that can be applied directly to public managers. Such practitioners as Luke (1998), Linden (2002), and Crossby and Bryson (2005) discussed leadership from collaborative governance perspective. It focuses on leadership as a process inviting the stakeholders collectively to solve public problems; and thus, no single stakeholder explicitly is public sector (government sector). Basically, it focuses more on solving public problems than on achieving the objectives of organization. Thus, collaborative leadership is conducted through entire government organization only (Morse, 2007: 3).

**Collaborative Leadership Framework in Collaborative Governance**

A study on collaboration is generally related to the recognition of the leadership’s role in collaborative activity, either pertaining to leadership contribution to collaboration’s success or failure. Linden’s study (2002: 146) on collaboration in government organizations and non-profit organizations concluded that “leadership results in great differences”. These differences are possible because leadership encompasses the element of activity affecting the policy impacting on public life.

Collaborative governance also involves the definition of the participation of any institutions beginning collaborative effort and the initiative of individual institutions (stakeholders) in defining objective, assessing result, evoking change, and etc. To find out who makes initiative, three aspects can be considered. Firstly, initiative derives from performer/actor having clear demand for reflecting on more public interest. Secondly, individual stakeholders or institutions making collaboration should contribute to setting the objective of collaboration. Thirdly, the relationship between involved institutions should be strategic, meaning that every institution in taking action should be seen transparently by other institutions constituting the party in collaboration (Sudarmo, 2009a). Collaborative emerges adaptively or is deliberately created consciously because of the following reasons: (1) complexity and interdependency between institutions, (2) latent conflict of interests, and (3) the attempt of looking for new ways of achieving political legitimacy (Ansell and Gash, 2009).

Meanwhile, in collaborative governance analysis, the borders of definition should be confirmed in relation to: (1) its formality, (2) its duration, (3) its focus, (4) its institutional diversity, (4) its valence, (5) its stability or volatility, (6) its initiative, and (7) problem formulation, whether it is problem-driven or opportunity-driven (Donanhue, 2004: 3-4). It is these seven elements that contribute to defining collaborative governance later.

For example, the application of study on African-American Youth Project promoting “Leadership for Common good”, in which the representatives of various stakeholders
participate in defining the public problem, finding and promising solution, and obtaining and maintaining necessary policy, program, regulation and norm that can build a “mutual benefit regime” in long term (Crosby and Bryson, 2005). A mutually beneficial regime is the policy regime with sustainable benefit, low cost and serving the deepest public interest, and the world’s wish better than theirs and their beloved persons’.

The framework of leadership for Common good is peculiar (and very important to public and non-profit organization) because of its completeness and focus on developing the mutual benefit regime. The framework considers several levels of action – personal, team, organization and public. It highlights the importance of context and individual and collective success. It explores the important rule in forum, area, and jurisdiction – primary regulation for public action in a distribution of world power. This framework also provides more visionary conception about how political and ethic leaders operate and why visionary working in forum is very important to a policy changing attempt’s success. Leadership to attract Common Good works along with entrepreneurship policy, advocacy coalition and agenda-setting.

In the framework of collaborative governments, there should be a leader with a number of specific competencies, a leadership that can be applied to collaborative and can bring into the effectiveness of collaboration. The competencies the leadership of public organization should have are, among others: attributes, skills, and behaviors.

Skill includes: ability of facilitating meeting, proposing and controlling discussion, organizing ideas, mediating and reducing conflict, creating neutral playingfield, keeping the participants informed and involved, keeping the discussion relevant, encouraging collective progress toward a resolution. Frequently, it is not skill that a leadership of single organization needs, and sometime it can be antipathy to the leaders of organization (Ansell and Gash, 2009: 17).

Morse (2007: 5-9) states that there are three major elements required for the effectiveness of collaborative leadership: personal attributes, skills and behaviors.

Firstly, attributes are personal motivation of leader to emphasize on motivation to achieve the collective objective, or called personal attributes characterized with a leader’s quality, however, it is not permanent but can change as the treatment it receives changes. It is different from trait that is permanent and relatively stable, so that an individual with certain trait will be like that forever (Van Mar, 2005: 93). Meanwhile, Luke (1998: 223) calls it “passion toward outcomes”. Related to Collaborative mindset are understandings, values and efforts. This Collaborative mindset stresses on: “a collaboration-oriented leader who is willing to participate actively and to invite all of stakeholders to study and to correct the existing weaknesses within them and to make improvement for the sake of collective benefit without inducing conflict” (Linden, 2002; 161). Another attribute is humility level that by Linden (2002: 154) is called “strong but immeasurable ego”. The presence of modesty means that they will be very satisfied with sharing appreciation or recognition for collective achievement. Meanwhile, Luke (1998) relates it with “ego-strength”. Individuals with ego strength do not have motivation to be most responsible for (to lead/direct) everything but there is an availability to share recognition with others and it is an important element for the establishment of agreement and sustainability in the achievement of everyone’s interest. The equally important attribute is sense of mutuality and connectedness. This attribute reveals some ideas the essence of which is the feeling of having relation with others. Morse states that trust is a key factor to the successful collaboration, and trust confirms the effectiveness
relationship at both individual and organization levels; trust is an integral part of sense of mutuality and connectedness (Morse, 2007: 7).

Secondly, in the framework of collaborative leadership, in addition to attribute, skill is also required. Skill, according to Morse (2007: 70), includes: a) Self-management: the ability of prioritizing and managing time effectively, or Van Wart (2005: 145-7) call it management skill or technical skill encompassing “basic management knowledge/skills”. b) Strategic thinking involves a series of analytical skills. Luke (1998: 151-184) states that there are four analytic skills: (1) framing, reframing issues and responding strategically to the issues; (2) identifying and defining intended outcome or result; (3) assessing the stakeholders’ interest to find collective interest; (4) systematic mindset to reveal interconnection and strategic strength. c) Facilitation skill includes: (1) generating fresh ideas and new thoughts, (2) dealing with conflict, (3) leading the group to think continuously and driving debate in sustainable manner, and (4) entering into agreement with other stakeholders (Morse, 2007: 8-9).

Thirdly, Behavior is an element of action or behavior the collaborative leader should have. It includes: 1) identifying and assessing the stakeholders beneficial to collaboration; 2) taking a variety of strategies to package the strategic issues; 3) organizing various stakeholders transparently and impartially; 4) facilitating the collective learning process (including establishing interaction attitude, appreciating each other, openness, work hard for the group; 5) building an effective commitment, including the identification of advocacy coalitions composing of other stakeholders that can help political process in allocating resource; 6) facilitating the mutually trusting relationship between work partners (Morse, 2007: 10-11).

Meanwhile, Crosby and Bryson (2005: 177-201) there are some abilities a leader should have to manifest the framework of Collaborative leadership: Leadership for common good requires leadership training for eight major abilities: (1) leadership in the context, the ability in social, political, economic and technology perspectives; (2) personal leadership, the ability of understanding oneself and others; (3) team leadership, the ability of building a productive work group; (4) organizational leadership, the ability of maintaining organization humanely and effectively; (5) visionary leadership – the ability of creating and communicating with collective meaning in the forum; (6) political leadership – the ability of making and implementing decision in legislative, executive and administrative areas, (7) ethic leadership – the ability of trialing dispute and sanction in the court; and (8) entrepreneurship ability – the one of coordinating leadership duties during policy changing cycle.

Essentially, leadership is considered as an important role in bringing groups into an encounter and to control the groups through collaboration process. Collaboration is often called “unassisted” negotiation between stakeholders. To create collaboration, according to Susskind and Cruikshank (1987: 133), several conditions are required: (1) issues in dispute/disagreed and the groups in dispute, (2) adequate communication channels to solve collective problem, and (3) uncertainty of outcomes from unilateral action should be assessed and responded to by all of stakeholders.

The key to collaborative governance is that the stakeholders should have process. It means that if unassisted negotiation is impossible to do, the role of leadership should avoid the impairment to this process ownership. There are three forms of “assisted negotiation”, according to Susskind and Cruikshank (1987): (1) improved interventionist mediating technique for the stakeholders who cannot collaborate directly, (2) facilitation, a facilitator
serves to ensure process integrity, to build consensus, (3) mediation is the third party’s intervention role through mediation, in each negotiation, in which stakeholders explore potential win-win gains. It is confirmed by Ansel and Gash (2009: 18) stating that if stakeholders cannot achieve a consensus with mediation help, the third party would be able to find solution not bound with negotiation or called non-binding arbitration.

Thus, the role of leadership in collaborative governance is to help find and articulate win-win solution. Chrislip and Larson (1994: 125) explain that “in successful collaborative initiatives, the focus of leadership is on the successful collective attempts. The behavior pattern occurring is, by a number of authorities, often called transforming servant or facilitative leadership”. Ozawa (1993) explains that “transformative” techniques help change and improve the different groups’ ability of affecting decision through mediation. Thus, it can be concluded that “the role of mediator is an important variable”.

Leadership is very important to the successful collaborative governance, helping the stakeholders explore the potential achievement of collective outcomes, maintaining a faithful and just collaboration process, and improving power imbalance problem (Ansel and Gash, 2009: 18). The norm of collaborative governance apparently contains sharing problem and sharing power between institutions and or stakeholders. Trust, appreciating and respecting each other are the prerequisites for the leaders working collaboratively. Morse (2007: 13) states that the effectiveness of collaborative governance focusing on Skill will be beneficial if the attributes inherent to public leaders are satisfied.

**Conclusion**

Key to successful collaborative governance is dependent on the framework of collaborative leadership, because leadership is the most important element in bringing the groups into collaborative process. Collaborative governance will be successful if the leadership focuses on the roles of initiative, mediator, and negotiator as facilitator and transformative servant oriented to collective effort. The framework of collaborative leadership has such elements as: 1) a set of attributes or personal attributes characterized with a leader’s characteristics or quality, 2) some skills oriented to management ability, 3) behavior, to achieve the effectiveness of collaborative leadership, some elements of behavior/action are required: initiating to build commitment; organizing; facilitating collective learning process; and facilitating the mutual trust relationship and sharing strategy.

In addition, to realize the collaborative governance, a framework of collaborative governance is required based on the following abilities: 1) ability of understanding social, cultural and economic context; 2) personal ability; 3) team ability; 4) organizational ability; 5) visionary ability; 6) political ability; 7) ethic ability, and 8) entrepreneurship ability. Thus, the successful collaborative governance is affected by collaborative governance framework based on collective work-oriented action through “sharing (power, problem)” norm based on mutual trust and respect to gain “win-win solution” to achieve collective effort or oriented to collective action.

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ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENT IN THE SECULAR AGE

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Abstract
Focusing in on social changing in Islamic movement to fundamentalist, this article examines the comparative analysis into three cases, Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt, fundamentalist movement in Indonesia, and ISIS. On the other hand, social changing possible is the significant factor that influences them to determine the enemy, not only by the changing in the context of globalization, modernization, and secularization that has rise to worldwide after the industrial revolution, but also the social change that occurred within the state, which already adopted West law and culture from post-colonization. This argument qualifies the social changing linked as a trigger of establishes fundamentalist movement since they interpreted the reality into scripture. By using approaches in social change and modernity, this paper will demonstrate the evolution of the violent activism of Islam fundamentalist movement and how then, they shifting the enemy from The West to the others sect of Islam, which is not in accordance with their beliefs. However, the Islam fundamentalist movement is being a part of social change and a new threat in international relation nowadays.

Keywords: Social Change, Islam fundamentalist movement, Indonesia, Ikhwanul Muslimin, and ISIS.

Introduction
Even though, fundamentalism issue is not a new phenomenon, but after the rapid democratic transition in Indonesia and the global radical changing on the way at looked Islam regarding 9/11, the world has been distracted and this social changing is intruded in the way we interpret the reality nowadays. On the other hand, the negative impact of industrial revolution, then modernization and secularization have been changing the world dramatically make it worse. These influence our daily life, the way of thinking, and how we perspectives ourselves to the others, nature, and even our religion. How we interpret religion nowadays cannot be separated from the way we interpreted the reality in our society, which the fundamentalist movement being a part of it. They refused and endured the modernity in the same line since they are also a product of it.

The use of religion to escalate conflicts is a serious trend in increasing globalization. Fundamentalism is a phenomenon that can be found in all major religions of the world, not only found in the monolithic religion. It did not show the religious conviction rather than social-political perspective, which explains a larger problematic on state characteristic, society, and politically articulated by religious symbols, which is developed into identities symbol through national boundaries, nation, and even ethnic groups.

This paper is to attempt analyzing the negative impact of social changing in the Muslim world. By comparing the pattern of the Islamic movement in Egypt, Indonesia, and ISIS, we could see that social changing plays a significant role to them understanding the enemy. First, this paper will focus on the fundamentalism as the resurgence of religious social movement as the political identity to counter government policy. Secondly, the discussion
has emphasized the altering of Islamic movement from the moderate model in early 20 century until become the extremist movement today.

**Fundamentalism: Between Political Identity and Social Movement**

The challenge of newly social movements cannot be avoided in a globalization, which is considered that its existence is the implications of modernity. Both of them are inseparable because modernity is identical to the reform movement that requires a new political alliances and loyalties. Though, examining fundamentalist groups into social movement theoretical framework becoming controversial since it more prone to political and social activities. Nevertheless, modernity already has contributed to raising fundamentalist groups in the modern world.

Although, modernity is not always had a dark side in changing human’s worldview, but it had already influenced in individual perspective as well as religion. Matt Dawson in his book “Late Modernity, Individualization and Socialism, An Associational Critique of Neoliberalism” was reflected that modernity had always aimed to destroy what had come before, whether it becoming traditional ways of living, belief or sociality (Matt Dawson (2013:17). He outlined the concept of modernity into three theorists. It referred to social customs, norm, and structure, which is in the simple modernity, all three approaches agree that modernity not only had a telos but was justified by a tautology: modernity emerged in order to create modern societies; modernization is modernity’s ‘mode of being’ (Bauman and Beilharz, 1999: 339, in Dawson, 2013:18).

Otherwise, Haferkamp and Smelser were a concept the modernity positively. They emphasized that modernity referred to a new world constructed by the interference of actors as a new invention and demanding responsibility (1992:37). They explained that in modern society the world is experienced as a human construction, an experience that gives rise both to an exhilarating sense of freedom and possibility and to a basic anxiety about the openness of the future (Haferkamp and Smelser, 1992: 38).

Furthermore, according to Haferkamp and Smelser (1992), the social movement was divided into two categories, first, a social-cultures movement that comprise of religious sects or cultural organizations. They used legal ways of doing the public demonstration and basically accepting in the society. These activities were aimed to attract the masses in order to become members in their movements as efforts to defend their opinion against the phenomena in society. While, social-political movement were associated with the people who dealing with protesting irregularities that contradiction with their doctrine, for example, party, social institutions, and so on, not only in local context but also in global since their political goals (Haferkamp, Smelser, 1992, 40). Moreover, the phenomenon of social-political movement resulted on the resurgence of exclusive groups in the society nowadays.

While, Ron Eyerman (1992) in his essay “Modernity and Social Movement”, was stressed that the contemporary Islamist movements were the prominent phenomena in the early 20th century as a political action and their resistance to Western hegemony. The belonging of the pure Islam in the days of prophet Muhammad SAW thousand centuries ago was a trigger to reestablish the golden age of Islam. Thus caused them made selves alienation from society as a resistance cultural determination. They were not utopians; even many of them were modernist and rational, but the processes in achieving the agenda had been prone to violence (Horsman and Marshall, in Bassam Tibi, 2000:24). However, the waving of secularism has been influenced the world dramatically without exception the Islamic world.
Islamic Movement: From Conservative to Fundamentalist

After the end of colonialism in the mid of 20th century, the Islamic world is no more than the former Western colonies. The number of nation-states was blessing with rich natural resources but cursed by poverty. They haunted by ethnic and religious conflicts, the threat of starvation, disease and separatism. The rest of them are live in at a minimal level of prosperity and already blaming the miserable condition and accepting fate. Moslem might be the one of the majority religion in the world, but, in general, they are powerless. Besides, the majority of Moslem countries have their own interest, which is have been fragmented into a different world, between holding tight religious tradition and secular age as a symbol of modernization. Among them already has refusing globalization by established Islamic movement and adopted Islamic rules, but still using technology advance to support the agenda.

In the late of 19th century, British colonialism occupied Egypt and replaced the Islamic government system into more secular. Muslim in Egypt not only lost their authority but also lost their cultural identity under British. The colonialism under British rules marginalized the Egyptians Arab into frontier and humiliation as a nation-state (Umar, 2013:158). While, secular movements dominated Egypt until three decades since the 20th century, Hasan al-Banna, Muslim intellectual thrived to revive the spirit of nationalism by focusing on Islam as a focus of struggle. In 1928, Hassan al-Banna established Ikhwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood), but secular government under Nasser banned this movement. Ikhwanul Muslimin inspired another Islam movement all over the world, which initiated Islam movement in the modern era. However, Hasan al-Banna though to establish the Ikhwanul Muslimin was influenced by the reality in his days when the colonialism changing the Muslim culture that has existed for centuries. His deep disappointed written in his memoirs (p.54):

I was deeply pained for I saw that the social life of the beloved Egyptian nation was oscillating between its dear and precious Islam, which it has inherited, protected, lived with and taken pride in for fourteen entire centuries, and this violent Western aggression (ghazw), armed and equipped with all the deadly material weapons of money, status, outward appearance, indulgence, power, and the means of propaganda.

His emphasized that Western colonialism clearly had destroyed Muslim traditions and need to real action to overcome the situation, both individually and more importantly in a group (Kraemer, 2013). However, the resurgence of the first Islamic movement in Egypt was driven by the dissatisfaction of social changing in Egypt society. Hasan al-Banna, in this case, was protested to secularization and he realized that the situation would never be the same again under the British, even if the colonialism were ending.

Secular means neutral was associated in negative view by the almost Muslim world today. Whereas, secularism identified with ‘atheism’ because it does not acknowledge the existence of ‘the Devine’ and it means refusing to recognize the existence of ‘Creator’ (Raharawin, 2010). Therefore, secularization is different from secular and secularism. Raharawin pointed in his essay ‘The Differences between Secular, Secularism, and Secularization’, that secularization is reasonable to accept the autonomy of the world, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, recognize the existence of ‘the Divine’ and all forms of teaching. He concluded that secularization is contrary to secularism, which denies the existence and autonomy of God.

According to Taylor (2007), he argued the secularism, which made the waning of the existence of God in the modern world. His argument about secularism, which was the idea of
modernity, sciences, and the progress of democracy regarded as causing the declining of spirituality values in society. Taylor was attempt to demonstrate that even modernity completely changed the world view toward religion, but the consciousness of God still be present until today. He quoted that secularity, like other features of “modernity”—political structures, democratic forms, uses of media, to cite a few other examples—in fact, find rather a different expression, and develop under the pressure of different demands and aspirations in different civilizations. We are more and more living in the world of “multiple modernities”, he added.

However, modernity is something that inevitably exists in our lives today. It comes in many varieties, from cultural to technological advances. Although the people reject modernity itself because besides being a symbol of secularism, but modernity has brought a rapid impact, which facilitate mobility and the development of, modern human thought. Modernity refused, then society will be eliminated from the modern world civilization, but on the other hand, accept modernity affects the human relationship with God.

In the case of Ikhwanul Muslimin, it could be seen that the secularism had contributed as a trigger to the Muslim revivalism in Egypt. How this secularization give a logical agenda to protect the traditional values within associated with Islam cultural as the Egyptian Arabs identity and the symbol of dignity. Nonetheless, today when the world looks more secular in the turbulence of modernity, the Islamic movements are transformed from moderate ‘Ikhwanul Muslimin’ model becoming more intolerance. Thus, Islam fundamentalist movements not only disagree with secularization but also all things from Western cultures.

The phenomena fundamentalism in Islam reached it peak when the Muslim terrorist hijacked the commercial airplane to crash into World Trade Center on September 9, 2001, ago as unforgettable vivid evidence from religious violence. The dreadful tragedy in a human being ever and suddenly the world has been fear with Islam until today. The image below will describe the map of the major attack by Islam extremist activities for two decades since 1992 in the world.

Two years after 9/11, Bali bomb blast was shocking the entire world, because the
Indonesia circumstance was different compared to Middle East, Afghanistan or another part
of the rest of the world, which faced sectarian conflict. In addition, even Islam is majority
religion and the largest Muslim community in the world, basically Indonesia is not Islamic
stated and prone to secular.

The collapse of Soeharto’s authoritarian regime in 1999 made Indonesia facing with
instability, in one side, this state maintained the integrity of separatist movements and ethnic-
religious conflict, but at the same time the country also had to face terrorism in the name of
Islam which could threaten pluralism. Islam fundamentalist groups in Indonesia, both of
radical ideological and extremist in action, have the same enemy ‘the Western countries’. They
against the Westernization and rejects any knowledge from the west such as capitalism,
Marxism, liberalism and so on. Amrozi group, a terrorist network linked to al-Qaeda, even
did bombing in Bali because they identified those visitors paddy’s club is the West. According
to them, any of the western is negative and marginalizes Islam. Besides of that, they
asserted that the bombing was retaliation against the American occupation troops in
Afghanistan. In this case, the Islam extremist groups were attacking the symbol as an effort
to counter the West occupation in Muslim countries. Their movement illustrates how
political identity plays a central role in the face of western hegemony.

The case of fundamentalism in Indonesia is an anomaly because Indonesia is known as
less Arabic, which Islam is assimilated in Indonesian traditions and cultures. Hence, many
scholars contended that Islam fundamentalism and extremism did not come from Indonesian
values and it did not have roots in Indonesia traditions. The extremist has carried this
doctrine from overseas, majority they already have lived for several years in Afghanistan,
Yaman, or the countries, which known for radical ideology, then spread this ideology in
Indonesia. But today, the fundamentalist groups in Indonesia not only identified capitalism
as a Western symbol, but the enemy has been shifting, for example, FPI (Islamic Defends
Front-Pembela Islam) already attack Christian or Islam minority group as they enemy.
The scenario was changing, because the word ‘purification’ in fundamentalist’s view today
not only means pure Islam, but the world is too unclean and dishonest, too many greedy
things all over the world, hence is their duty to rid the world that have been soiled with
things that deviate from Islam.

Analyzing the meaning of ‘purification’ according to fundamentalist view, we could
see that the changing pattern of fundamentalist enemy after the death of Osama bin Laden
was not always linked to the West today. Later, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), the
movement that actually is also fraction from Al Qaeda, become the most dangerous Islam
fundamentalist movement and feared. ISIS is different from Al Qaeda, which very clearly
against the West, but ISIS attack the Muslim itself.

Jay Sekulow in his book ‘Rise of ISIS: A Threat We Can’t Ignore’, was describing Abu
Bakr al-Baghdadi is a combination between intellectual Muslim since he gained a doctorate
from Baghdad University in the late of 1990s and extremist jihadist. He joined the ISI
(Islamic State of Iraq) in the late of 2000s, after releasing from prison, which was captured
by U.S army when the troops already intervene Iraq. Then, in 2010, al-Baghdadi became the
leader of ISI and he changed the name of the organization to ISIS in 2013 (Sekulow, 2015:
22).

Under al-Baghdadi, ISIS began their terror and attacking all Muslim in Iraq and Syria
that did not have the ideology from them. They commit mass murder, plunder of oil, and
occupy strategic towns in Iraq and destroy anything that does not fit with their understanding
in Islam. ISIS under al-Baghdadi once again depicts Islam as intolerance and the religion of terror. ISIS spread the ideology and attractive young Muslim in the world to join them and war against paganism in the name of jihad. This organization becoming the new security threat, which create a new wave of Islam phobia, which is could turn into World War III.

However the case of the rising fundamentalist group in Egypt, Indonesia, and ISIS cannot be separated from social changing in the society. Even it began from the colonialism occupation in the Muslim’s land. And the post-colonization era, they still felt of lost the valuable tradition, which linked them to Islam. The values that they profess are eroded by modernization that glorifies secularism and materialism. The bonding of society only seen in the division of labor and in market-places that everyone will connect dependently by consumer goods.

**Conclusion**

Social change is something that we cannot avoid, because whether or not, it will come to us. It always has two sides impact, the negative and positive, but basically each community has its own resistance. Moreover, it is natural if the societies perceive threaten with the social change that it will erase the tradition and religion values. The fundamentalist movement today is the phenomenon in the early 20th century and becoming a part of social changing. They could be the victims of globalization since the refusing Westernization and trying to create their own world. They sat down in the extreme frontier and belonging of Ummah (Islam Caliphate), which Islam describe as unity and peacefulness.

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ABDURRAHMAN WAHID’S VISIONS IN LEADERSHIP TOWARDS MUSLIM PLURALISTIC SOCIETY IN INDONESIA: MEDIA AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Muslim in Indonesia has significant role in the process of nation building in Indonesia. They can be divided into many groups, as we know there are Sunni, Syi’ah, Ahmadiyyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah. One of the famous thinker in Nahdhatul Ulama, the biggest Muslim organization in Indonesia, is Abdurrahman Wahid. This research tries to find out the visions of Abdurrahman Wahid in design the Muslim Pluralistic Society in Indonesia. How to gain the peaceful and harmony in diversity of interpretations based on religions faith and syari’ah. The data from this research is collected from the articles belong to Abdurrahman Wahid in many media, such as Kompas, Duta Masyarakat, Prisma, and so on. The data will be analyzed using the theory of discourse analysis. The result shows that the vision of Abdurrahman Wahid in his leadership toward Muslim Pluralistic Society in Indonesia is astonishingly dominant with intended or having the power to induce action or belief (persuasive) to overshadow the diversity in the beautiful life in Muslim Brotherhood.

Keywords: Abdurrahman Wahid, Vision, Leadership, Muslim Pluralistic in Indonesia.

Introduction

As we know that Indonesia is a pluralistic country. We can find many religions can live together in this country. It means that we have to live together in harmony among many religions and beliefs. One of religion in Indonesia is Islam. As we know that muslims in Indonesia are divided into many ideologies (visionary theorization) of faith, such as Sunni, Syi’ah and Ahmadiyyah. Most dominant ideologies of faith is Sunni. One of the Sunni’s Ulama in Indonesia is Abdurrahman Wahid, familiarly we call him, Gus Dur. He always tries to build the harmony of life among the muslim in Indonesia. He also avoids the plague of dissent among muslim. It’s caused someone doing private judgment is always right. In fact, no men ever had a right to judge wrong, and many men that have a right of judging, do abuse it, to make wrong judgments. The rise of toleration in Indonesia is inspired by Abdurrahman Wahid. So that, this paper try to find out his visions of leadership toward social pluralism in Indonesia.

The right leadership is needed to fit a pluralistic country, because someone who cannot respect the social pluralism always do the violence to maintain their opinions and arguments about the interpretations of religion dogma. This violence in religion society in Indonesia was also caused by intolerant among the other worshipers. This facts have been informed massively in mass media. Thus, mass media is the source of any information, including pluralistic matters.

As mentioned earlier, Indonesia is a pluralist country. It has a variety of races, cultures, belief systems, religion, ethnicities, and so forth. This distinguished situation makes the difference level of absorbing and processing information ability, especially those which relates to the information from mass media. Nowadays, mass media becomes a very important thing in people’s life. The importance of mass media can be seen from the
condition that might happen if there is no system that supports mass media existence. Mass media also has some characteristics that would make it an important thing for people’s life. It can disseminate the message in a vast geographical region in a very short time. It can inform the news to the people in the world, with an enormous scope. It also can affect people with the messages that include in every information that it is shared. Dominick (2005: 33-38) states that mass media is a media for surveillance. In addition, it is not as simple as it seems like. The first function of mass media leads to the next function, which is interpretation. It means that mass media is effectively gives people information from the surveillance function. Moreover, it needs more than just surveillance to understand what the real meaning is. It needs the second function, interpretation. The fact that Indonesia is a pluralistic country could become a problem relating to the second function of mass communication. There will be different interpretation once a news come up. The pluralistic matter that appears in the second layer of information in mass media which is the message, can be interpreted in a very different ways among people.

This paper will find out the visions of Abdurrahman Wahid through his selected papers in mass media. Abdurrahman Wahid is one of the leader of Indonesia who actively wrote in mass media. We can find his opinions from mass media, such as Kompas, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Suara Pembaruan, Duta Masyarakat, The Jakarta Post, Jawa Pos, and Memorandum.

How does mass media represent Abdurrahman Wahid’s vision related to pluralistic of Moslem in Indonesia? Vision is the ability to see; the area that you can see from a particular position. Vision also can be defined as an idea or a picture in your imagination, a dream or similar experience, especially of a religious kind. Vision also can be understood as the ability to think about or plan the future with great imagination and intelligence such as “a leader of vision”. And the visionary can be defined into two part: (1) adjective and (2) noun. Visionary as adjective is original and showing the ability to think about or plan the future with great imagination and intelligence: “a visionary leader”. Visionary as a noun is a person who has the ability to think about or plan the future in an intelligent, imaginative way. (Hornby, 2000:1446).

**Theoretical Framework**

This paper is based on some theoretical frameworks, such as: (1) Moslem Pluralistic society, (2) Leadership, (3) Mass media Discourse Analysis.

**Moslem Pluralistic Society**

**Leadership**

One of the famous opinion of Abdurrahman Wahid is about the position of Islam and Nation (Indonesia). He said that long times ago, Islam entered Indonesia as a cultural not as an institution. So that, we have to khow a lot about Islam as a cultur in Indonesia, not as an institution that should probably be conflicting between East and West. Thus, we have to be tolerant among the other religions and live together in peace and harmony in the pluralism society. We can know a lot about Abdurrahman Wahid’s opinion from his paper under the title “Islamku, Islam Anda, and Islam Kita” (My Islam, Your Islam, and Our Islam). From this book we can consider that the diferent in Islam (especially about the interpretation of religion dogma) is a reality and factual. So we can not avoid the difference, so we have to face the differences in Indonesia, this is the important of pluralism.

**Mass Media Discourse Analysis**
The word “mass” is actually the key to determine what mass media is. It has a broad meaning, and the explanation of it can be divided into some areas, regarding the element of human communication process. Based on the simplest model of human communication, Laswell (in Wood, 2011: 16) says that there are five elements of human communication process that he formulated into five simple questions. They are: (1) who? (2) says what? (3) in what channel? (4) to whom? (5) with what effect?

Applying those elements into an explanation of mass media is quite an easy way to understand more about it. The first element is ‘who’, or some scientists call it as ‘communicator’. In a mass communication process, the communicator consists of a complicated institution, with a number of people and departments who work together to produce a product that eventually can be consumed by people. This explanation fit to a mass media stands. Mass media able to disseminate the message in a broad area, which finally will reach a broad number of people, which is the ‘to whom’ element, or ‘communicant’. The communicant is the audience. Mass audience is spread all over the world and come from many backgrounds geographically and demographically. They also consume the message of mass media in a same time and mostly they don’t know each other. The last element is ‘with what effect’, or ‘impact’. It is clear that mass communication must impact people’s life, based on the explanation of the previous elements.

The elements of human communication above, clearly support the fact that ‘mass’ is the key of mass media. The scope of the mass comes to a fact that mass media could play important roles in people’s life. The messages that are disseminated by the mass media to the audience are able to affect people, especially because the hard viewer of the audience and the hard media exposure itself.

Newspaper is one of the kinds of the mass media. It is a popular mass media in Indonesia. The characteristic of newspaper as a print mass media also support the fact that it plays important roles for people’s life. The articles in it consist of many messages that sometimes don’t appear in the surface. When speaking of news in printed mass media, it is time to explore more about journalism.

Burns (2002: 9) states that journalism is a complex thing. She says that a newsroom is an exemplification of the complicated of journalism. From the very beginning time, different news room provides different perspective of news, even they write the same incident. It is just how it is work. So, the writer who is writing for the newspaper, either the journalist or other people from outside the newsroom, must fulfill the requirements or characteristic of the newsroom. It can be sure that every article is being edited by the editor from the newsroom before it goes public. The other people from outside the newsroom are politicians, academicians, activists, and so forth.

The difference perspectives that come from different newsroom could emerge different impact based on the difference messages. There are so many ways to understand the message of media content. One of them is using discourse analysis. As we know that there is a great correlation between ideology, news, and reality. The main thing in discourse analysis is representation, how was someone, a certain group, or everything shown by language (Badara, 2012:2). In the discourse analysis, the positioning of language is not neutral or...
uncommitted again. It is caused by the ideology. In this case, ideology is an imaginary or visionary theorization, and also an orientation that characterizes the thinking of a group or nation. The word ideology has significant correlation with the word visionary. So that, we will find the visionary of leadership through the ideology. Factually, it is also because the connection between language and the social life (in this case, pluralism). The language has the great correlation with the elements of social practical works. Thus, it makes every single individual person has some penetrations toward the others.

One of the scientists that concern in discourse study is Sara Mills. Discourse has no precise definition, because it comes from a variety of science. There are many definitions that try to explain what discourse is. In this paper, the definition of discourse is based on Collins Concise English Dictionary (in Mills, 1997: 1). It says that discourse is verbal communication. From this simple definition, it can be elaborate broader that article in newspaper is a discourse, because it is a written verbal communication. One of the use of discourse analysis is to understand the representation of something in an article. Moreover, Mills discourse analysis consists of two steps analysis. The first is position: subject-object and the second is the reader position (Eriyanto, 2001: 200-203).

Methods

The method that is used in this research is descriptive. This research analyzed the selected articles of mass media, through the use of a qualitative content analysis, specifically discourse analysis. The articles that are chosen for this research are the articles written by Abdurrahman Wahid which theme is pluralistic.

To answer the questions of this research and to gain the aim of this research, we should analyze the contents of the news qualitatively, the method that is always used to find out the symbolic message of texts, in this case the text of newspaper written by Abdurrahman Wahid. The symbolic message in this case is a theme or the main idea in a text. In this research, the symbolic message is divided into many aspects, such as: social, politic, religion (pluralism), visions, and leadership. To find out the visions of Abdurrahman Wahid in his paper, this research will use two approaches, (1) approach of discourse analysis that focus into vocabulary/lexicon and (2) approach of discourse analysis that focus in the representation.

Approach of Vocabulary Focus Toward Gus Dur’s Article in Mass Media

Language is a social fact. From this statement we can take a conclusion that the people can control and organize their experiences among the sociality. The experiences between the people is different, because they come from different social experience domain. The domain of social experience can be known by the language they used. The different language makes the different reality, but in this case, language has served the tools how the reality can be understood by many people.

Every single word, phrase, clause, and sentence are linguistics choices reflecting the certain ideologies. Language as saying, doing, and being. In this case and context, the using of word, phrase, clause, sentence, not only for just technically linguistic matter, but also for the expression of ideology: the great labor and effort how to make public opinions, to strengthen and justified the ideology, and sometimes to expel the others. So that, the using of language is not neutral again, because it was mixed by the implication of ideology.

Text, especially in mass media, produces the positioning of reader for the public, in case, how should the text is being read and understood by the public in the certain
perspective, although the gain of meaning and purpose of the text is still based on the relation of transactional between the readers. The choice of using the word is asked by the reader, the word should have correlation with the event (phenomenon) and the actor in the text. The choice of word in the text also correlated with the aspect of ideology, the actor, and the meaning received by the public reader. Thus, we should look at the choice of the words that used by Abdurrahman Wahid to figure out his visions of leadership among the pluralism society.

In this case, we get the article written by Abdurrahman Wahid under the title “Catenaccio Hanyalah Alat Belaka” (Catenaccio is just only the tool) (Kompas, Senin, 18/12/2000). From this article, we can find the style of Gus Dur’s Leadership among Muslim people in Indonesia. He also adopted the style of football during his leadership, so he chose the word “Catenaccio” from the Italian football. The word “Catenaccio” was represented the system of defense, stronghold, and fortress. He argued that this style is very difficult to be applied in the system of Indonesia government to build the good government under the democartion system.

The choice of the “Catenaccio” was used by Gus Dur to make public opinion among the government of Indonesia, that this style is not enough to build the good government. This is the way how Gus Dur try to dimmed the actor (in this case Indonesia Goverment) using the word that taken from football game. He argued that “Catenaccio” just a tool not a purpose. And the Indonesia Government should make the system of attack and against, using Total Football style, not only Catenaccio for represented the system of defense. The system of against is more important than the system of defense. But actually, Gus Dur try to do the persuasive still to criticize the Indonesia Goverment by using the terms in football competition. He tried to do it by mixing the opinions belong to Sindhunata.

To do the persuasive leadership, Gus Dur always used the satire to gain the purpose of speech, such as, from the word “Catenaccio”, in fact he wanted to against sarcastically to the “Pansus DPR”, (the special committe of councilor Indonesia people’s representatives). He argued from his article, that the Catenaccio style is just suitable for Pansus DPR, not for the Goverment of Indonesia. In fact, the building of Indonesian people need not only one strategy but many strategies, because the strategy should cover and pervade all of life sphere or wide area in Indonesia. So that, the strategy of defense like door hook (catenaccio) just suitable for one side.

From the choice of word using by Gus Dur in his article, we can conclude his visions and his public opinions. In that case, the using of language is not only for the linguistic purpose, but also for the expression of ideology. The choice about the system of defense, actually, can be taken from the military terminology, but in this case why Abdurrahman Wahid instead chose the terms of system defense from the football competition terms? Thus, in this case, Gus Dur has the silent and latent purpose from his article. The choice of the language is reflected his ideology, that the big problems of nation precisely can be solved by the terms in football games. In this case, Gus Dur try to understate the problems.

Approach of Representation Focus Toward Gus Dur’s Article in Mass Media

The word representation refers to how is someone or the group, or perhaps the certain opinions shown in the public as they are. In this case, there are two important points, first, is the people or the group or that certain opinion published as they are, and the second, how the representation is shown. According to how the object is shown in the mass media, there are three important process to make the news, in the first level, the encode object as a
reality. The second level, when looking at the object as reality, how is the reality drawn? In the third level, how is the object organized and managed in the acceptable of public conventions and ideologies.

Both representation and misrepresentation are language/linguistics phenomenon. Someone or some groups are shown good or bad, in fact, by depending on the language using. By using the language, the misrepresentation also was shown and written in the mass media. In this case, the reader of mass media should do the two ways important, first, choosing the fact, and second writting the fact. Choosing the fact actually is based on the perspective of the news writter. And writting the fact is based on how the the fact choosen and delivered to the public. The language that used by mass media can make the new reality to the public. The words in the mass media can limit our perceptions and also direct us (as a reader) to the certain way of thinking and the certain ideology and believe or faith.

In the text, the readers always find the representation and misrepresentation. Misinterpretation is the fault of representation. The people, the group, the opinions, the ideas, are not shown as they are. Precisely, they are shown as nasty. The misrepresentation in mass media can be divided into two important parts, they are (1) excommunication and (2) exclusion. Excommunication is related to releasing someone from the public speech. The strategy of excommunication in the mass media can be divided into presence and absence the group and sharing the identity. The exclusion is related to releasing someone, opinions, and the groups from the public speech. The releasing of public opinions can be done by limiting the matters which can be discussed or can’t be discussed and who may be discussed and may not be do it. The second way of releasing of public opinions can be done by classification the bad news and the good news, the news that can be accepted by public or the news that can’t be accepted by the public.

**Findings and Discussion**
Conclusion

The result shows that the vision of Abdurrahman Wahid in his leadership toward Muslim Pluralistic Society in Indonesia is dominant with intended or having the power to induce action or belief (persuasive) to overshadow the diversity in the beautiful life in Muslim Brotherhood.

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TRANSFORMING CHILDREN LEARNING: THE RESPONSES OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS USING AUDIO FABLES IN TEACHING ELEMENTARIES: The Use of Audio Fables in Teaching Elementary Students: Teachers and Children Responses

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Abstract
This paper describes the responses of teachers and students toward the first-draft of audio fables production. The drafted audio fables were intended to aid students learning particularly in language and character building lessons. The informants i.e. teachers and primary students were gathered in focus group discussions and were asked to respond to the audio fable they listened to in relation to their awareness, the success of the communication of the main idea, their overall liking, their perception towards audio fable uniqueness, and overall evaluation. The results show that first; the drafted audio fables were responded as attractive yet incomplete. The amendments of the drafted audio fable should cover technical problem such noise, volume, pace, story flows, voice-character adjustment and differentiation, and sound effect. Second, the drafted audio fables were considered unique and attractive. Third, the findings concluded that the audio fables do not match targeted listeners’ media habit when it is planned to be broadcasted in radio, because both children’s and teachers’ use of radio was very limited. Results of this study of audio fable will be employed as the basis of the audio fable refinement before it is set up ready for use for the target audience: children. Elaborating the literature review, the implication of the study is then discussed. Last, the suggestion for further research is then proposed.

Keywords: educational technology; learning tools; audio fable; primary students

Introduction
Technology for educational purposes has been employed through wide range of media long time ago. The advancing media and communication technology even trigger the more rapid innovation of educational tools. It is believed that the use of ICT in student learning process will help to improve learning, enrich courses, develop pedagogy, and learners’ self reliance (MOE 2008 in Abdullah 2014). However, a lot of current multimedia educational tools available in Indonesia were not research-based and the use was not carefully evaluated for the sake of the learning success and the students as well.

Many believe that the success of learning is very dependent on the success of teaching. Teaching can be a triumph when teacher succeed to fit students’ learning style. Learning style, by many experts, is at least determined by three, i.e. perceptual, cognitive, and affective dimensions (for example see James and Gardner 2006). In short, teaching can have a maximum impact on students learning when it fits the senses, the dominant students’ brain, and the psychological environment that student best fits in. Consequently, teaching can be very tricky especially when teacher is required to fulfill higher level of student achievement in a particular large group where student cognitive level is uneven. Here, creativity can be the only key to success.

Teaching, particularly youngsters like elementary students, must involve creativity in a lot of its sessions. A teacher must be creative to be able to keep students paying attention
and focusing on the subject. Almost all subjects will need learning tools to help teacher to become creative. For example, Math will need pictures to visually attract students, and Science will need a glass of red-inked-water and some baking soda to be able to make students curious about mount eruption and do it again themselves at home happily.

Becoming creative not only will make teachers a good but also a fun one for their students. A teacher does in fact hope to become one, so that they do not only transfer knowledge but also color students’ lives as they grow and develop. This how learning outcomes attach firmly and last longer in children’s life. However, becoming a fun teacher is not always easy. One way to be is to be easy to smile and to have the same student level of sense of humor and use it at the right time. Becoming a sincere and emotionally controllable is also important to be a fun teacher – a learning partner to their students. Next way to be a fun teacher is to acquire the learning materials. This not also helps teacher to be a fun one, but also helps students to build trust toward their teacher. It will never be convenient to see teacher go back and forth to his desk peeking teacher’s notes, will it?. Last, another way to be a fun teacher is to avoid to not having too much conventional formal mode of teaching. Teaching informally may be a fun learning process for students which can take in any places, at any time, and by any form of leaning. Employing learning tools can absolutely be a good alternative way to be a fun teacher delivering fresh mode of teaching.

Not all teachers have ability to be adequately creative in developing learning tools or media. This time, wide range of educational tools is available to help teachers in the classrooms. The emergence of television and computer seems to trigger the rapid development of educational technology. Multimedia enables teacher to employ audio, visual, and audio-visual aiding them in teaching effectively. However, each of the media has its own characteristics and so as the merits and demerits. Therefore, the use of educational tools should be evaluated. This becomes important because not all educational media is a research-based product.

Particularly audio media, it is explained by expert that audio media in educational process will help much especially in teaching language, speech, drama, and music, where students need to hear their own performances. This article discusses how the use of audio fables in the learning process in elementary schools was responded by teachers and students by testing the drafted audio fable concepts. The drafted audio fable concept was intended to aid students learning particularly in language and character building course, i.e. Bahasa and PKN. The findings of the study will be explained later. Lastly, the input from teachers and students responses will be employed to finalise the concept so that it is ready to be used in real classes. The implication and suggestions of the study are then discussed.

**Story telling and elementary students**

Teaching young children must use various interesting mode of learning, for instance, a story telling. It evidently requires creativity to be a good story teller. A teacher who does story telling usually will be loved by the students. Especially when one is able to imitate the sound of animals, a story teller can be the star of the day. A story telling acm be an alternative way to deliver subjects particularly when students seem to be boring with the in-class conventional mode of learning. A story telling, when it is delivered appropriately, potentially brings students’ attention back on track and teach students many things at the same time without realizing that they are being taught.

Teaching good students is never special and makes no good teachers. Teaching difficult students is the real challenge, and this what makes a good teacher. Good teachers
are trusted not only for their patience but also for being always ready for 101 creative ways of teaching. These numerous creative ways basically has one aim: an influence. Whether realized or not, good teachers are commonly good story tellers and very good in picking up good stories for their students. It is believed that story telling help to build closer relationship between tellers and listeners (Sobol, 1992), because story telling provides a more interactive means to both parties. Some good influential stories are ‘teaching’, ‘vision’, ‘values-in-action’, and ‘I know what you are thinking’ stories (Simmons 2006). Teachers who succeed in picking and bringing such stories are very likely to succeed to become a trusted story teller for their students.

A story telling is powerful in developing children’s mental pictures (Aina 1999), enhancing their imagination as well as developing their listening skills (Ellis 1997 in Isbell et al 2004). For elementary students, performing story telling in schools helps to acquire language and experience vocabulary growth (Snow 1983) and further, helps student to increase their written and oral communication skills, whilst developing understanding of story scheme (Colon-Villa 1997). More detail, Collins (1999) found that storytelling to primary students provides a conceptual framework for thinking that allows them to shape experiences into an entire they can understand. To elementary students, stories give them chances to mentally map experiences and see pictures in their heads. Further, Collins (1999) explains that story telling provides children with a model of language and thought they can imitate.

Despite numerous research has been conducted eliciting the usefulness of storytelling in education, very little, if not none can be found investigating the impact of storytelling using audio media for primary students. The investigation under the theme considered vital as the communication technology increases rapidly. This changing level of innovation obviously leads to the increasing availability of alternative learning tools and media. This time, children are exposed to various learning and information channel. They can read a story - a more conventional one, listen to music – radio, MP3, IPod etc, play games – Play station, Nintendo, computer etc, watch tv – free or cable tv, or even go surf online and find anything they want – safe or unsafe – straight away. Indeed, children media habit is very much dependent on how the majority society around them consumes it. Later, the most or the least popular media used by children can be a consideration of developing innovative educational tools for them.

**Creative media for young children: read a story, listen to music, play games or watch tv?**

Children in Indonesia, as reported by Hendriyani (et al 2012), chose tv, electronic games, and audio media as top three popular media amongst them. The three media was chosen because they do not want to be left behind by their friends. Children would generally want to consume media their mate consumes. They want to listen to music which their pals listen to. Also, they want to play games that their companions play as well. In detail, the use of media and motives of media use by Indonesian children can be seen in Table 1 below.
Leadership and Social Transformation in a Pluralistic Society, 4-5 November 2015.

Tabel 1. The media use and motives amongst children in Indonesia (Hendriyani et al 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Average rank</th>
<th>Diversion/escape (% (rank))</th>
<th>Avoid boredom (% (rank))</th>
<th>To relax (% (rank))</th>
<th>Personal identity/social utility (% (rank))</th>
<th>Find things that are interesting (% (rank))</th>
<th>Information seeking (% (rank))</th>
<th>Keep up to date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66 (1)</td>
<td>56 (1)</td>
<td>44 (1)</td>
<td>30 (1)</td>
<td>43 (1)</td>
<td>43 (1)</td>
<td>26 (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electronic games</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>64 (2)</td>
<td>56 (2)</td>
<td>27 (5)</td>
<td>26 (2)</td>
<td>31 (4)</td>
<td>24 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio player</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52 (3)</td>
<td>49 (3)</td>
<td>44 (2)</td>
<td>19 (3)</td>
<td>22 (8)</td>
<td>18 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41 (6)</td>
<td>38 (5)</td>
<td>30 (3)</td>
<td>16 (5)</td>
<td>28 (5)</td>
<td>13 (6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Video</td>
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<td>44 (5)</td>
<td>45 (4)</td>
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<td>15 (7)</td>
<td>22 (7)</td>
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<td>18 (4)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>24 (10)</td>
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<td>13 (9)</td>
<td>28 (6)</td>
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<td>28 (8)</td>
<td>16 (9)</td>
<td>13 (8)</td>
<td>18 (9)</td>
<td>6 (10)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
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<td>28 (7)</td>
<td>24 (6)</td>
<td>10 (10)</td>
<td>17 (10)</td>
<td>9 (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Audio media and young children education

There are numerous research conducted on audio media use in children’s learning especially in 70-90s. However, there are only few of the reports were published online. The rapid development of information technology seems to cause the decrease of audio-only media like radio. In addition, the increase of factories produce audio-visual learning tools leads to the raise of its availability in the market. Consequently, not only teachers but parents are also able to obtain them even cheaper and easier. The report in educational sector shows that audio-visual may help even faster building children cognitive skills. This becomes an even stronger reason for both teachers and parents to choose audio-visual tools instead of audio-only media.

But in fact, learning, either using audio-visual or audio-only media, each having strengths and weaknesses of each, depending on the subject of learning that is carried. Table 2 below is the advantages and disadvantages of learning media and tools (Hackbarth, 1996)