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Editorial

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS) is a scholarly journal deals with the disciplines of social and development sciences. JSDS publishes research work that meaningfully contributes towards theoretical bases of contemporary developments in society, business and related disciplines. The work submitted for publication consideration in JSDS should address empirical and theoretical contributions in the subjects related to scope of the journal in particular and allied theories and practices in general. Scope of JSDS includes: sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, international relations, linguistics, history, public relations, hospitality & tourism and project management. Author(s) should declare that work submitted to the journal is original, not under consideration for publication by another journal, and that all listed authors approve its submission to JSDS. It is JSDS policy to welcome submissions for consideration, which are original, and not under consideration for publication by another journal at the same time. Author (s) can submit: Research Paper, Conceptual Paper, Case Studies and Book Review. The current issue of JSDS consists of papers of scholars from Sri Lanka, Japan, Bangla Desh, Indonesia, Thailand and United Kingdom. Justice in the tea estate community, concentration of authority & rent seeking behaviour in bureaucracy, regional election winning strategy, understanding culture through knowledge cybernetics and peasant empowerment trough quasi-agrarian reform program are some of the major practices and concepts examined in these studies. Journal received research submission related to all aspects of major themes and tracks. All the submitted papers were first assessed, by the editorial team for relevance and originality of the work and blindly peer reviewed by the external reviewers depending on the subject matter of the paper. After the rigorous peer-review process, the submitted papers were selected based on originality, significance, and clarity of the purpose. Current issue will therefore be a unique offer, where scholars will be able to appreciate the latest results in their field of expertise, and to acquire additional knowledge in other relevant fields.

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Table of Contents

Description	Pages
Title	1
Editorial	2
Editorial Board	3
Table of Contents	4
Papers	5
Justice in the Tea Estate Community in Sri Lanka: An Explanation through Freedom-based Capability Approach Sajitha Dishanka, Yukio Ikemoto	6
Concentration of Authority and Rent Seeking Behaviour in Bureaucracy: An Evidence of Ineffective Governance in Bangladesh Sayada Jannatun Naim, Abu Hena Reza Hasan	19
Regional Election Winning Strategy of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in North Coast Area of West Java Province (Case Study in Subang and Cirebon Regencies) Muhammad Budiana, Arry Bainus, R. Widya Setiabudi S., Muradi	31
Understanding Culture through Knowledge Cybernetics Ousanee Sawagvudcharee, Maurice Yolles, Chanchai Bunchapattanasakda, Buncha Limpabandhu	38
Peasant Empowerment Trough Quasi-Agrarian Reform Program, Evidence from Indonesia Af Sigit Rochadi	50

PAPERS

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Justice in the Tea Estate Community in Sri Lanka: An Explanation through Freedom-based Capability Approach

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Abstract: Sustainability in economic development is fundamentally linked to human well-being which should be fairly reflected in freedom. This normative concern has been the thematic phenomenon in scholarly discussions advocated by many egalitarians. The well-being of tea estate community in Sri Lanka has been in various stakeholder discussions as their socio-economic freedom is exogenously determined and controlled. Ironically, this situation has evidenced a substantial adverse impact on their present work performance and future workforce participation symbolizing the labor problem within the tea estate community. Grounded on the theoretical foundation of Amartya Sen's capability approach and, authors' mixed method field surveys, this paper discusses the importance of enhancing justice within this community by improving their freedom to access better complex capabilities such as social status and independence. Although, the outcomes of the positivistic study provided with adequate evidence for the above claim, our qualitative inquiry confirmed and witnessed the aforementioned subjective reality.

Keywords: *Capabilities, freedom, Sri Lanka, tea estate community, well-being*

1. Introduction

The concept of human development has emerged in 1990 as an alternative development paradigm which embraced emphasis on advancing the richness of human life rather than the richness of the economy which is more materialistic(Edewor, 2014).Although Sri Lanka has reported significant economic improvements in the recent past as a developing nation, the regional human development aspect has not been satisfactory as far as the livelihood of the tea estate community is concerned. Many scholars and stakeholders had repeatedly addressed the poor basic capabilities (low income, poor health, insufficient nutrition, low quality housing) and poor work performance (low labor productivity) of this communal workforce. However, none of them were able to discuss their poor complex capabilities (poor social condition characterized with lower social status and independence) and its impact on their work performance. In the last couple of decades stakeholder activists such as employers and their representatives, and the national government have launched many development oriented programs to provide them with basic capabilities. However, the success of those attempts had not been adequately reflected in their work performance as the focus of those programs were community-wide and, some of those have been partial in which the target group has not been directly benefited(Dishanka & Ikemoto, 2013). The main reason for this failure is that, the activists have been unable to identify and address the tea estate workers' complex capabilities and freedom to achieve what they really value. This has done injustice to this community as valued capabilities vary from basic freedoms such as being free from hunger and undernourishment to complex capabilities such as achieving self-respect and social participation(Sen, 2003).This unwholesome scenario has apparently headed the tea plantation sector of Sri Lanka toward a risky condition necessitating a sustainable solution to assure steadiness in future labor supply and performance.

In this paper we firmly stress the importance of a significant improvement in the social condition of the tea estate community which enables them to enjoy freedom as a core and pre-requisite of their human development, which eventually would reflect in enhanced work performance and encouraged participation in estate workforce. According to the major findings of our previous study(Dishanka & Ikemoto, 2013), the labor problem of the tea estate community in Sri Lanka can be synthesized into a capability problem due to lack of freedom. Apparently, absence of independence in existing employment practices and culture-bound traditions have become social barriers (social conversion factors), while gender, age, education and income variations are being personal factors (personal conversion factors) in achieving valued functioning of this community, which has eventually resulted in poor work performance, and low labor force participation due to migration. Accordingly, we could categorize the following problem areas in our study.

- Although recent improvement in estate education and income has given better opportunities for new generations, such development has not considerably reflected in their social lives in estates. Therefore, labor out-migration has become very widespread especially among the youth in the labor force. Thus, future labor supply of the tea estate sector is at high risk due to the lack of participation of the younger generation in the labor force.
- Estate community in Sri Lanka has a diverse set of cultural attributes which have evolved from generations. Major component of the total factor productivity of the tea estates is handled by women workers as tea pluckers in the estate. As far as tea estate sector in Sri Lanka is concerned, women are responsible for all kind of household activities in addition to their full-day work in the tea estate whilst the male workers are working half a day. This evidences the gender discrimination in tea estate work norms which are determined and controlled by their traditional culture.
- In the process of human development, it is essential for an individual to be his/her agent in making decisions related to his/her well-being. Individuals should be identified as independent agents, who have their own goals, make their own choices, and not mere receptacles for resource-inputs and satisfaction (Gasper, 2007).Valued freedom of individuals should not be severely violated as a result of this collective effort. In this perspective, the opportunity and process freedom of this community is thus questionable if their socio-economic decisions are exogenously controlled.

Hence, we firmly believe that, providing this community with required and expected freedoms in achieving complex capabilities would eventually minimize the prevailing labor problem. In order to achieve this objective, we have concentrated our survey findings on the theoretical foundations and explanations of Amartya Sen's freedom-based capability approach. We have identified freedom as the major requisite of justice in the tea estate community and, well-being freedom and agency freedom as its main dimensions in operationalizing it in our study. Accordingly, the result and the findings of the study are signified in the above two aspects of practical importance. These two aspects are required to be considered and incorporated in the future decisions and initiatives, respectively by the major stakeholders such as employers and their agents, employees' agents and the government with respect to the estate community in their effort of searching or developing a sustainable solution for the chronic labor problem in the tea estate sector in Sri Lanka. The succeeding sections of this paper elaborate the related literature survey conducted, followed by the research methods adopted. Subsequent section provides an analysis of survey data and qualitative findings upon which the discussion and the conclusion were grounded.

2. Literature Review

Capabilities and human development: Perhaps the most important thematic deficiency of classical development economics is its concentration on national product, aggregate income and expenditure, national saving and investment rather than on 'entitlements' of people and the 'capabilities' that these entitlements generate (Sen, 1983). After the first Human Development Report (HDR) of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1990, there was a considerable shift in defining 'development' from economy aspect to people aspect (more precisely, the human development aspect). With this paradigm shift, the assessment of development changed from economic indicators (such as growth rate, per capita income, trade surplus, unemployment rate, etc.) to what people can do and be in their lives. The human development paradigm is concerned both with building up human capabilities through investment in people and with using those human capabilities fully through an enabling framework for growth and employment (Ul-Haq, 2003). According to Sen's capability approach, the ability and freedom of a person to achieve what he/she values, determines that person's development as it reveals his/her socio-economic well-being. However, gaining the freedom to do the things that we have reason to value is rarely something we can accomplish as individuals (Evans, 2002). Seen from this viewpoint, development is about removing the obstacles such as illiteracy, ill health, lack of access to resources, or lack of civil and political freedoms to what a person can do in life (Fukuda-Parr, 2003).The two important aspects associated with human capabilities are process and opportunity aspects of freedom. Violation of process aspect is being forced to do something even though it is an action an individual would have freely chosen also. Violation of substantive opportunity freedom is forcing an individual to do what an individual does not like to do when that person has any plausible alternative (Sen, 2005). It is important to recognize that, both processes and opportunities can figure powerfully in the content of human rights. Although, human rights and human capabilities share the same motivation seemingly, these

two are distinctive in socio-political spheres. Therefore, it is required to formulate the norms as a set of capabilities for fully human functioning while maintaining the cross-cultural diversity(Nussbaum, 1999).

Culture, gender and capabilities: In real life, ideas of the good life are profoundly influenced by family, tribal, religion, community or cultural ties and background (Robeyns, 2005). Culture is community based phenomenon which specifies a set of traditions and norms to shape the behavior of individuals in that community group. Sen and other feminist scholars have paid much attention to the social norms and traditions that form women's preferences, and that influence their aspirations and effective choices in social groups. Many feminist researchers have addressed the lower status and heavy burden of estate women within the household and working environment (Nussbaum, 2000); (Raynolds, 2002); (Philips, 2003); (Iversen, 2003). This has been defined as the 'double burden' of tea estate women in an extremely male dominant estate community culture (Samarasinghe, 1993).In many traditional societies in the world, women are lacking both the freedoms of voice and choice(Jayawardena, 1984). In making a decision whether to participate in labor market, they have to concern about cultural factors, social attitudes, gender role patterns and many other demographic factors (Eberharter, 2001). However, women in the third world are lacking agency and their roles played in both private and public domains are not adequately discussed(Chua, Bhavani, & Foran, 2000). Women in much of the world, lack support for fundamental functions of a human life. They are less well-nourished than men, less healthy, and more vulnerable to physical violence and sexual abuse (Nussbaum, 2000).

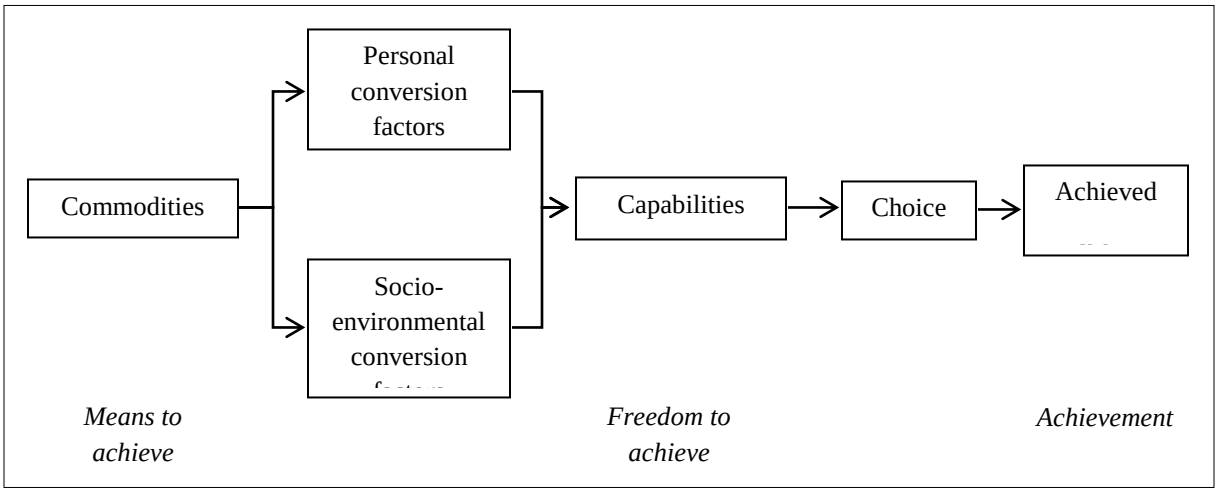
Physical or psychological spousal abuse seriously undermines women's capability to function and to live the lives they value(Panda & Agarwal, 2005). They are much less likely than men to be literate, and still less likely to have pre-professional or technical education. However, despite these comparatively negative attributes of women in the third world, they have become the key determinant of technical efficiency in many production systems. Apparently, they are the core factor in determining the productive efficiency of tea manufacturing in Sri Lanka's estate sector as it is based on the tea plucking efficiency of female workers. Although there was a significant improvement in tea estate female workers' income in the past, it has not necessarily reflected in their capabilities in the form of empowerment (Samarasinghe, 1993).Changing the culture in order to inculcate gender equity and a conducive work atmosphere cannot be done from outside. Although it is challenging, this change should be introduced by the systems and programs initiated within that same society in concern (Philips, 2003). However, introducing such change into a society with deeply rooted cultural norms and beliefs are rather challenging unless the leaders from that society participate in the change process.

Migration and well-being: Migration from agriculture occurs when there is a departure of individuals or households for more than a week or so, from the small, primarily agricultural community in which they live (Lipton, 1980). He further stated that, migration takes away the young with more capabilities aged 15 – 25 years who are often most significant agricultural innovators. Migration and its impact on socio-economic development of sending and receiving communities have been extensively discussed by both functionalists and structuralists. These two paradigms advocate for two opposing views on this phenomenon. Functionalist paradigm grasps the neo-classical view which is more optimistic on migration and development, whereas structuralist paradigm represents the neo-Marxist view which is highly pessimistic(De Haas, 2010). Representing the neo-classical migration theories, in the dualistic model of migration and development argument it has been specifically stated that rural-urban labor migration not only continues to exist, but indeed, appears to be accelerating, despite the existence of positive marginal products in agriculture and significant levels of urban unemployment(Harris & Todaro, 1970). The incentive to migrate is not a function of income levels but rather, and exclusively so, of income differentials (Stark & Yitzhaki, 1988). Migration that occurs on an expected wage, will locate the migrant himself on a lower well-being utility curve(Harris & Todaro, 1970). However, with emergence of new economic theories and models on labor migration, more motives for migration were identified. With this emergence, the migration has been identified as a part of the risk-sharing behavior of families or households (De Haas, 2010). This migration has a second round effect as the feedback of migrants induces the non-migrants who are relatively deprived (Stark, 1991). The main negative impact of such migration on the development of the sending community is through an increase in inequality(De Haas, 2010).However, due to this migration sometimes the migrant enjoys their freedom of choice even though their achieved material well-being diminishes(Alkire, 2005).

3. Methodology

Theoretical framework: In this paper, we have grounded our arguments and discussion on Sen's Freedom-based Capability Approach for achievable/achieved well-being. The concepts, variables, and its interrelationships are illustrated in the theoretical framework in figure 1. The capability approach conceptually explains, achieving what a person value depends on his/her abilities of converting the goods and services available into achievable functioning known as that person's capability set. However, the ability of this conversion mainly depends on his/her personal factors (e.g. physical condition, sex, skills, intelligence, etc.) and socio-environmental factors (e.g. public policies, social norms, gender roles, societal hierarchies, power relation, geographical context, etc.) of the social group and the environment that individual belongs to.

Figure 1: Freedom-based capability approach for achieved well-being



Based on the influence of these factors, the capability set with achievable functioning will be formed. Ultimately, the freedom of choice of that individual determines what he/she should achieve and thereby the individual himself reach a certain well-being level which is valued. More precisely, Sen's claim is that well-being achievements should be measured in functioning, whereas well-being freedom is reflected by an individual's capability set (Robeyns, 2005). Availability or simply the possession of commodities does not explain an individual's well-being and the achievements if that individual does not necessarily experience a freedom.

Operationalization: As per the main objective and theoretical model in figure 1, the freedom of the tea estate community was operationalized in three nominal indicators. Specifically, those are; (i) future migration intention, (ii) preference for a change in traditional work norms, and (iii) preference to be independent farmers. In order to regress these three variables; gender, age, educational attainment, monthly estate income of tea estate workers were used as predictor variables which are either nominal or ordinal. However, in the above causality we have identified estate workers' satisfaction on estate management as a mediator variable which may hold controlling power.

Sampling and Data collection: Primary data were gathered through questionnaire based interviews conducted with a stratified sample of 105 tea estate workers from different working families belong to RPCs in high-elevation tea estates in Nuwara Eliya and Badulla districts in Sri Lanka. The interviews were conducted as mutual discussions due to the ethnographic nature of the study as the respondents were attributed with specific socio-cultural characteristics. Moreover, livelihood of those workers and their families were directly observed in order to secure validity and reliability of responses received from the questionnaire. The discussion of the quantitative survey results was accompanied with the ethnographic interview findings and observations. In selecting the sample of 105 workers, gender and age were mainly considered as these personal factors have a high impact on individual capabilities and valued achievements in the tea estate sector of Sri Lanka. Accordingly, 56 male workers of whom 24 were within the age category of

16 - 25years and 32 were above 25 years of age. The female strata of 49 consist of 15workers from the 16 – 25 years of age category and 34workers are 26 years of age or more. The reason for such focus is predominantly driven by the future labor supply problem of the tea estate sector.

Method of analysis: The researchers' attempt in this study is to explore a conceptual social phenomenon with respect to a social context. Thus, the study turned out to be intrinsically interpretive. However, the researchers' normative explanations required to be sufficiently evidenced and supported by positivistic findings. Hence, the analysis was initiated with a data description and independent samples test for equality of means and variances of basic parameters. Subsequently, the variables were quantified using a correlation analysis (Multicollinearity) and dichotomous logistic regression (DLR) analysis of which the results were critically assessed and discussed with the findings of the qualitative inquiry. Thus, mix method was adopted as the key research methodology as merely the positivistic study itself does not do justice to the social phenomenon under study as the reality was quite subjective in this social context. The correlation analysis was preoccupied in order to identify and measure the probable influences of correlations between variables on the outcomes of the regression analysis. Thus, it enables the inclusion and exclusion of variables in regression analysis.

4. Results, Findings and Discussion

The first Human Development Report in 1990 declared, human development is not merely improving the access to basic capabilities; it is the process which widens people's choices and the level of their achieved well-being. Many scholars and stakeholders have addressed that the basic needs of the tea estate community such as housing, education, health and nutrition are well-below the expected standard requirements. Based on this, employers and their representing organizations launched different projects to uplift those conditions. However, our fieldwork observations revealed that those initiatives were just restoration of the aforementioned basic requirements. Redistribution to the poor in the form of improving their health, education and nutrition is not only intrinsically important in enhancing capabilities to lead more fulfilling lives (Anand & Sen, 2000).

Complex capabilities of an individual include social recognition, self-esteem, participation in decisions, etc. Every individual has his/her own needs hierarchy ranging from physical needs to self-actualization needs. If an individual sees his/her future path of this ultimate achievement, it would probably be a motivation factor for him/her to achieve such level through the work performance. Being a lower level field worker throughout the working tenure (without appreciations, rewards and promotions) has hindered the estate workers' ability of achieving a higher social status. Further, their education level has not been sufficient for them to access complex capabilities with higher social status and independence. Hence, most of them had to confine their lives to tea estates without adequate interaction with outer communities. More precisely, social exclusion phenomenon is highly attributed with this socially deprived community. Lack of social status and job recognition has predominantly influenced many youth in the tea estate community to keep them out of the tea estate sector labor force.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Age	Female	49	2.55	1.501	.214
	Male	56	2.14	1.407	.188
Education	Female	49	2.27	.811	.116
	Male	56	2.21	.803	.107
Estate income	Female	49	1.53	.504	.072
	Male	56	1.52	.660	.088
Satisfaction	Female	49	3.14	1.339	.191
	Male	56	2.91	1.269	.170

The descriptive statistics in table 1 in favor of two independent gender groups have been obtained with respect to the ordinal explanatory variables used in subsequent analysis. Although, the statistics of main explanatory variables do not seem to be different between gender groups, an independent samples test at 5 percent significance level was conducted to statistically verify the equality of means and variances of male and female sample groups (see Table 2). The results of Levene's test for equality of variances statistically confirmed that there is a significant variance (0.023) only in estate income of two gender groups. The result of the samples t-test for equality of means confirmed that there is no sufficient statistical evidence to ascertain any significant difference between sample means of explanatory variables. Accordingly, this preliminary statistical analysis confirms the existence of income inequality between male and female workers in the tea estate sector.

Table 2: Independent samples test

		Levene's Test for equality of variances		t-Test for equality of means				
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tail)	Mean Differ	SE Differ
Age	a.	1.410	.238	1.438	103	.154	.408	.284
	b.			1.431	99.072	.155	.408	.285
Education	a.	.063	.802	.323	103	.747	.051	.158
	b.			.323	100.878	.747	.051	.158
Estate income	a.	5.357	.023*	.110	103	.913	.013	.116
	b.			.112	101.222	.911	.013	.114
Satisfaction	a.	.208	.649	.912	103	.364	.232	.255
	b.			.908	99.483	.366	.232	.256

a. *equal variances assumed* b. *equal variances not assumed*
**p<.05 (two-tailed)*

As depicted in the conceptual model, human capabilities (importantly, complex capabilities) are subject to personal and social conversion factors. According to the results of the analysis (see Table 3), gender, age educational attainment, and monthly estate income have depicted significant correlations with other variables confirming the role of being personal conversion factors in tea estate workers' capabilities and well-being. However, none of these significant correlations are strong as the coefficient values are below ±0.5. The results of the analysis in table 3, evidently highlights that age of the estate worker as a personal conversion factor is significantly correlated with many other variables. Although, age is negatively correlated with educational attainment (-0.462), it explains a positive relationship with monthly income earned from estates (0.343) at 1 percent level of significance. This insinuates that educational attainment has not reflected in the estate earnings of the youth. Low educational attainment of adult workers has become a major personal factor in converting their income into productive use. According to the field survey, 53 percent of the tea estate workers have not schooled more than 5 years and this attribute was high among adult male (81%) and adult women (59%) in the sample. The significant negative correlation between age of the worker and future migration intention (-0.341) signals a potential magnification of the future labor supply problem of the tea estate sector due to potential migration of the youth from the tea estate labor force.

Table 3: Correlation matrix

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Gender	1							
2	Age	-.140	1						
3	Education	-.032	-.462**	1					
4	Estate income	-.011	.343**	-.164	1				
5	Satisfaction	-.089	.042	-.060	.012	1			
6	Future migration	.059	-.341**	.327**	-.330**	-.027	1		

7	Change work norms	.013	-.324**	.050	-.104	-.102	.040	1	
8	Independence preference	.204*	-.061	-.212*	.091	.045	.040	.045	1

Note: *N=105. *p<.05 (two-tailed); **p<.01 (two-tailed)*

Although, the radical expectation of the youth for a change in the existing traditional work norms (-0.324) provides a positive indication towards the future, failure of the decision makers and policy makers in implementation of such, probably worsen the aforementioned labor supply problem. This adverse condition is further confirmed by the significant positive causality (0.327) between educational attainment and future migration intention. However, the analysis confirms that there is a significant negative correlation (-0.330) between income earned from estate employment and intention to migrate, inferring the possibility of retaining the estate youth providing them with enhanced opportunities for higher earnings. This implication is further confirmed by the significant negative correlation (-0.212) between educational attainment and preference to be independent farmers. However, such preference is apparent among the male workers (0.204) inferring the deeply rooted dependence culture of the estate women.

According to the outcomes of the multicollinearity analysis (see Table 3), we conducted the DLR analysis with a view of identifying categorical correlation of aforementioned three indicators of freedom (future migration intention, traditional work norm change preference, and preference to be independent farmers) in the tea estate community in Sri Lanka. However, level of satisfaction on the estate management was excluded from the DLR analysis as it did not convince any significant relationship with any of the personal conversion factors and freedom indicators in correlation analysis in table 3. It inferences, that tea estate workers' relationship with the estate management is fairly neutral. Nevertheless, this was discussed in our qualitative inquiry as it provided significant inference toward the freedom indicators of this community. The cross-tabulation result in table 4 confirms that gender variation within the estate community and workers' migration intention are statistically independent. Therefore, gender was excluded from the DLR analysis and the result in table 5 was obtained.

Table 4: Cross-tabulation (Gender and future migration intention)

	Gender		
Future migration	**1 (Female)**	**2 (Male)**	**Total**
0 (No)	30 (61.2%)	31 (55.4%)	61 (58.1%)
1 (Yes)	19 (38.8%)	25 (44.6%)	44 (41.9%)
Total	49 (46.7%)	56 (53.3%)	105 (100.0%)

Chi-Square	Value	Df	Sig
Pearson	.370[a]	1	.543
Likelihood Ratio	.370	1	.543

a. *0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.53*

Table 5: Dichotomous logistic regression for future migration intention

	B	**S.E.**	**Exp(B)**
Constant	-.555	.705	.574
Age (16 - 25) *base*			
26 – 35	-.040	.520	.961
36- 45	-.416	.765	.660
46 – 55	-.441	.827	.644
56-65	-20.244	1.531E4	.000
66 & above	-20.388	1.753E4	.000

Education (No schooling) *base*			
Up to Grade 5	.732	.737	2.080
Grade 6 - 10	1.369*	.714	3.930
Income (10,000 - 15,000) *base*			
15,000 - 20,000	-.799*	.483	.450
20,000 - 25,000	-21.018	1.652E4	.000
-2 log likelihood	113.672		
Model chi-square	29.125***		
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	0.326		
Hosmer and Lemeshow test	0.895		

Note: *N=105; *p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01*

Although, the outcome appeared to be rather passive with lack of significant variables, the model reflects the reality as confirmed by the chi-square statistic which is being highly significant at 1 percent level of significance. The model explains that the workers with the highest educational attainment in the sample are having an intention to migrate from estate work. However, it confirms that the moderate level income (LKR 15,000 to 20,000) category is significantly showing less preference to migrate indicating their retention. Even in the preference to change the traditional work norms as a social conversion factor of tea estate community's capabilities, gender has been independent as depicted in table 6. In capability expansion through changes in traditional work norms, 26-35 middle age category and 46-55 upper age category have significantly disclosed discontentment (see Table 7).

Table 6: Cross-tabulation (Gender and preference to change traditional work norms)

	Gender		
Change work norms	**1 (Female)**	**2 (Male)**	**Total**
0 (No)	26 (53.1%)	29 (51.8%)	55 (52.4%)
1 (Yes)	23 (46.9%)	27 (48.2%)	50 (47.6%)
Total	49 (46.7%)	56 (53.3%)	105 (100.0%)

Chi-Square	**Value**	**df**	**Sig**
Pearson	.017[a]	1	.896
Likelihood Ratio	.017	1	.896

a. *0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.33*

This situation is much strong within the 46-55 age category due to two possible causes. First, these are the workers those who have considerable power both at estate level and household level. Second, elder workers are usually reluctant to change due to their risk-averse behavior in social and organizational change processes. However, it is quite unusual to see the passive response of the youth for a social transformation confirming their social adherence. This outcome further emphasizes the inadequacy of estate workers' education to demand a radical change in unproductive social systems.

Table 7: Logistic Regression for preference to change traditional work norms

	B	**S.E.**	**Exp(B)**
Constant	.939	.692	2.557
Age (16 - 25) *base*			
26 – 35	-.974*	.519	.378
36- 45	-.324	.739	.723
46 – 55	-2.442**	.968	.087

56-65	-1.610	1.112	.200
66 & above	-21.588	1.794E4	.000
Education (No schooling) *base*			
Up to Grade 5	-.091	.698	1.095
Grade 6 - 10	-.322	.683	.725
Income (10,000 - 15,000) *base*			
15,000 - 20,000	-.513	.474	.599
20,000 - 25,000	1.832	1.276	6.244
-2 log likelihood	122.498		
Model chi-square	22.825***		
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	0.261		
Hosmer and Lemeshow test	0.647		

Note: *N=105; *p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01*

Despite the fact that gender is impartial in migration intention and traditional work norm change, it is materialized to be a significant predictor of being independent farmers (see Table 8). Notably, this preference to be an independent farmer has been contently expressed by male workers implying their social power within the community (see Table 9).

Table 8: Cross-tabulation (Gender and preference to be an independent farmer)

	Gender		
Independence preference	**1 (Female)**	**2 (Male)**	**Total**
0 (No)	31 (63.3%)	24 (42.9%)	55 (52.4%)
1 (Yes)	18 (36.7%)	32 (57.1%)	50 (47.6%)
Total	49 (46.7%)	56 (53.3%)	105 (100.0%)

Chi-Square	Value	df	Sig
Pearson	4.364[a]	1	.037
Likelihood Ratio	4.399	1	.036

a. *0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.33*

Conversely, elder community above 66 years of age has significantly voiced their discontent to be independent farmers as would have expected at such elderly age. Tea estate workers in the selected sample with the highest educational attainment (Grade 6-10) have significantly expressed their unwillingness to be independent farmers reconfirming their intention of migrating from tea estate sector.

Table 9: Logistic Regression for preference to be an independent farmer

	B	**S.E.**	**Exp(B)**
Constant	.639	.786	1.894
Gender(Male)	.891*	.464	2.437
Age (16 - 25) *base*			
26 – 35	.045	.526	1.046
36- 45	-1.012	.825	.364
46 – 55	.028	.818	1.028
56-65	-1.565	1.128	.209
66 & above	-2.781**	1.325	.062

Education (No schooling) *base*			
Up to Grade 5	-1.124	.705	.325
Grade 6 - 10	-1.854**	.718	.157
Income (10,000 - 15,000) *base*			
15,000 - 20,000	.715	.485	2.045
20,000 - 25,000	.038	1.050	1.039
-2 log likelihood	127.363		
Model chi-square	17.960*		
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	0.210		
Hosmer and Lemeshow test	0.886		

Note: *N=105; *p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01*

Primarily, in light of the above analysis, the following are identified as the major and immediate areas of intervention by the stakeholders in order to ensure the productive functioning of the tea estate sector in Sri Lanka. These three aspects we have identified and discussed grounded on the three freedom indicators (migration intention, preference to change work norms and preference to be independent farmers) explained in above analysis. We have identified these areas of intervention based on the results of the above explanatory study and the findings of the exploratory study which was grounded on qualitative aspect of the inquiry.

Less focus on the youth and their capabilities: As far as the future production possibility and the productivity are concerned, the participation of the youth in the labor force is a predominant factor in any economy. Thus, the attraction and retention of such individuals would probably be a sustainable solution for the tea estate sector of Sri Lanka, which happened to be a dilemma at present. While the correlation result (see Table 3) signifies the relationship of future migration intention with age (negative), educational attainment (positive) and, estate sector income (negative); DLR analysis categorically signified the impact of educational attainment (Grade 6-10) and estate sector income (LKR 15,000-20,000).The reason for the significant absence of age in the DLR analysis is due to the multicollinearity effect (see Table 3) with educational attainment (negative) and estate sector income (positive). Thus, the migration of the youth from the estate sector labor force is apparent with the presence of relatively higher educational attainment and relatively lower income from estate employment. This migration occurs mainly since they cannot enjoy the modern social life style they value by being in the estate sector and lack of career progression in estate employment. They are discouraged of continuing the same traditional estate work that was done by their previous generations. This is why they migrate although their achievable income of post-migration would be less than what they probably can earn from estate employment. The correlation result (see Table 3) between preference to be independent farmers in the estate sector and educational attainment (negative) further confirmed the migration intention of the estate youth.

Social and traditional work norms as a key conversion factor: Although, the correlation result (see Table 3) suggests that there is no significant relationship between gender and estate income, the reality is quite different and highly subjective. This is due to relative inequality of income distribution between gender groups in the tea estate sector (see Table 2). According to the traditional work norm, female workers are required to work full day while males engage only half a day in tea estate employment, though both receive an equal daily wage. This proves that the tea estate women are extremely disadvantageous and underprivileged as their freedom is violated in both process and opportunity aspects. This has been the reason for significant disinterest of the adult male (46 to 55 years of age) workers in tea estates to customize the existing inequitable work norms as they might fail to retain their influential power within the community. Although the management of RPCs surveyed in our previous study (Dishanka & Ikemoto, 2013)attempted to change these capability restricting social and work norms, they were unsuccessful in many occasions due to the toughness of the adherence toward the traditions of this community. Accordingly, a human development essential (maintaining gender equity and empowering women) has not been satisfied in this particular ethnic

group by restricting the tea estate women workers' ability to expand their capability set. This nature has considerably and adversely impacted on their level of well-being. This needs special attention of employers and policy makers as estate women's capabilities are severely restricted by the traditions of their culture and traditional work norms. In our field survey also we identified that they do not bring out their independent voice due to this cultural impact on their lives. Employers as well have adopted this social norm without customizing it in accordance with the organizational requirements. Therefore, inability of the organizational culture to customize the behavior of its employees has been injustice to the female workers.

Workers' inability to be their own agents: This does not mean that an individual can perfectly be independent behavioral agents in a social setting. It is important for less privileged groups or ethnic minorities to attain this freedom as a collective effort. In this practice political parties and trade unions are holding a pivotal role in these societies. However, as per the human development paradigm, individuals should be able to decide what they need to do for their own satisfaction and development. Although trade unions are important for individuals of the working class to represent them in the issues related to labor relations, overall control of the work and personal life of an individual by the trade union is not expected. In our sample, all the respondents were members of a trade union (we did not include this in our correlation and regression analysis as there is no variation in this variable) which are highly politicized and represent the national political system in light of the support of this working class. Moreover, the correlation analysis in table 3 confirmed that none of the personal conversion factors (gender, age, education and income) or freedom indicators (migration intension, preference for work norm change and preference to be independent farmers) significantly correlated with the worker's satisfaction level with estate management (mediator/ control variable). We could identify through our discussions with the sample respondents that despite of employees' personal intensions, they have to do what they are asked by trade union leaders. Although many workers including the employers purposefully expect a change in the existing traditional work norms, they were unable to implement such a change at the opposition of these unions. Being engaged in any event without an individual's intention and consent even though the outcome of which is something that individual expected anyhow is a violation of that individual's process freedom (Sen, 2005). It was apparent that the trade unions within the estate community have become a critical social conversion factor in practicing workers' independence in their decisions. This condition has inferred that the opportunity freedom and process freedom of individuals of this community is affected to a greater extent at the absence of independence. The main cause of this dependent nature happened to be the low educational attainment of the community members. None of the respondents in the sample was able to reach above ten years of school education which is a major personal conversion factor that eventually reflected adversely on being independent.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

As the core requirement of the capability approach, individuals and social groups should have freedom in both their 'doings' and 'beings' in achieving what they value in their lives. Necessarily, the freedom of an individual should be grounded on that individual's own desire and decision, irrespective of the outcome. However, tea estate community in high grown areas in Sri Lanka is not in a better position to be the agents of their own goals and decisions. If they attempt to make their own decision, there is a high possibility of a decrease in their achieved well-being due to their high dependence and adherence to external influences. Social conversion factors such as politicized trade unions and culture-bound social norms have a considerable negative impact on their freedom. These reasons have become the major underlying barrier which avoids efficient utilization of the human resource in the tea estate sector. Therefore, employers and policy makers should focus on means of improving complex capabilities of this community to uplift their social status and independence by maintaining equity and workers' participation in decisions and processes. This can be done by enabling the people to become their own agents in their own life and decisions. In order to succeed in this, it is highly and timely important to customize the social conversion factors such as traditional work norms and gender discrimination which, border individual capabilities. Decreasing participation of youth in the estate labor force is highly linked with their increasing level of education and low level of income. This migration scenario is further strengthened with their desire to achieve better life style even at a high explicit opportunity cost of living.

This has proved that merely an increase in estate income is not adequate in retaining the potential future migrants and attracting the migrated back to the land. Accordingly, such an increase should be linked with enablers to convert such income into capabilities. This would probably enhance justice in the tea estate community and reflect that in their performance. Accordingly, the results and findings of this study have explicitly and implicitly evidenced that introducing mere changes to the basic capabilities probably would not sustain as those do not necessarily address the complex capabilities of workers. It is apparent that the prevailing tea estate system needs a fundamental transformation in finding a sustainable solution for the chronic labor problem. Therefore, it is the high time for the tea estate sector of Sri Lanka to introduce an alternative system that would empower them while maintaining the equity within the community. Hence, we would recommend the introduction of small-scale contract farming system to the tea estate sector which is sufficiently attributed with empowerment and equity fundamentals eventually result in efficient outcomes. Although, this has been a popular global practice, adoption to the Sri Lankan context should be impartially assessed.

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Concentration of Authority and Rent Seeking Behaviour in Bureaucracy: An Evidence of Ineffective Governance in Bangladesh

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Abstract: Political leadership and public administration run the government of Bangladesh. Political wing is short tenured under a democratic system, but the public administration is permanent. An administrative process in Bangladesh made bureaucracy most powerful in the country. It has accountability to none but has controlling authority on all components of state including political leadership. This absolute power gives unlimited opportunity to administrative bureaucracy and other parts of the public administration of the country for exercising rent seeking behaviour. This paper evaluates the experience of common people of the country who used to interact with public administration for receiving public services using primary data collected through a field survey. The level of rent seeking is very high in public administration. The four major types of rent seeking behaviour among public officials are bribe, nepotism, and favouritism, use of official power to mischief common people and negligence to official duties and responsibilities. People used to suffer from rent seeking behaviour uniformly irrespective of their level of income and educational status. The root of rent seeking is the administrative bureaucracy. People face financial loss, delays in getting services from officials. It is necessary to reduce absolute power of public bureaucracy to control rent seeking of public administration.

Keywords: *Bureaucracy; Rent Seeking; Political Leadership; Governance; Corruption; Government officials*

1. Introduction

The government of a country is the joint responsibility of political leadership and public bureaucracy. Political leaders provide policy directions regarding public services and projects for the citizens of the country. The public bureaucracy is responsible for delivery, management, and implementation of public services and projects. In a democracy, political leaders come in power for a limited time, but bureaucrats hold offices for a long time in most of the democratic countries. Due to the short tenure of political leadership, public welfare in a democratic country is dependent on the quality of public bureaucracy. The friendliness, honesty, and sincerity of bureaucrats to the general people of the country are essential for satisfactory delivery of public services directed by the politicians. People unfriendly and corrupt bureaucrats are unable to deliver welfare to citizens of a country and may be the root of the failure of political governments. Bureaucrats when maximise their own benefits, ignoring their duties to common people, they are involved in corruptions. The bureaucracy in Bangladesh has lost its capacity to deal with the duties because of involvement in the political process, reluctance to engage regularly with civil society and media, and decline in educational quality and professional standards(Rashid, 2014).The colonial structure and working pattern of bureaucracy still exist in Bangladesh and the bureaucrats impeded reform efforts after independence of the country from Pakistan through politicisation of the administration and governance, resulting in a dominating bureaucratic structure with corruption (Mollah, 2011). Elected representatives of the people give direction or formulate policy on total national advancement, but the inefficiency of civil servants is barrier of doing the job of good governance in Bangladesh and it's time to re-evaluate and recast the entire system of civil services (Alam, 2011). The citizens of the country are disappointed with the performance quality of the bureaucracy of Bangladesh for the services they get from them and the issues of corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, lack of accountability and transparency among the members of the bureaucracy(Ferdous, 2016). The bureaucrats used to keep them busy to continuing good linkage with ruling political party to gain special favours and benefits that results in poor governance in the country and suffering for common people in Bangladesh (Doullah, 2016).

The UNESCO has defined governance as the norms, values and rules of the game through which public affairs are managed in a manner that is transparent, participatory, inclusive and responsive(UNESCO, 2018). Bureaucrats are primarily responsible for ensuring good governance in a country. The studies by researchers

observed inefficient and ineffective bureaucracy in Bangladesh what is unable to satisfy the citizens because of the poor quality of performance. The concentration of power among bureaucrats by gaining favour of political leaders and their intention to maximise self-benefits made the governance in Bangladesh ineffective. Therefore, it's time to evaluate the entire system of civil bureaucracy. Hence, the objective of this paper is to discuss the character of public bureaucracy in Bangladesh and perception of citizens of country about public bureaucrats. This paper explores the characteristics of rent seeking and unfriendly behaviour of public administration. Using data collected through a field survey, it examines the characteristics and impacts of rent seeking on the life of the citizens.

2. Literature Review

Bureaucracy is the non-elective government officials by specialisation of functions and follows fixed rules, hierarchy of authority and impartiality (Islam, 2016). The bureaucracy in Bangladesh is inefficient and corrupt because of their involvement in partisan political process and lack of an effective legal framework to control misconducts and corruptions of bureaucrats (Hossain, 2017). The corruption is often termed as rent seeking. Rent seeking is securing private benefits through government activities or offices and the rent of public administration can consist of wage differentials, monetary benefits, nonmonetary job amenities, and bribes through corruptions(Luechinger, Stephan, & Stutzer, 2008). Bangladesh is a prime ministerial autocracy where the chief executive of the government enjoys mighty and predominant executive power who governs the country through administrative bureaucracy without empowering parliament and establishing political control over public administration (Shelley, 2014). The lust for being in power for a long time, the political leadership of the ruling party in Bangladesh tries to disrupt the democratic process in the country and is involved in a conflicting relationship with other political organization of the country (Landry, 2016). The conflict among political parties and autocracy of head of government has made the political system of the country fragmented and raised the authority and power of the bureaucracy in the country. The ability of bureaucracy to create rent is dependent on the level of authority and stability of political leadership. The fragility in the political leadership of a country transferred the effective power to run the country to the stable part of governance, the bureaucracy. In addition to their managerial power, under a fragmented political regime, the bureaucracy also exercises the politico-administrative authorities because of ineffectual political leadership of the state. Both managerial and policy-making power concentrates in the domain of bureaucrats. It gives them opportunities to be involved in corruption and administrative malpractices taking the advantage of fragmented and feeble political leadership. The bureaucrats run unfriendly and inefficient governance to deprive the citizens from their rights and services for maximizing their rent.

The evidence of corruption in bureaucracy due to concentration of authority in them from fragmented democracy is reported by other researchers in different countries. In Indonesia, collusive corruption, a more decentralized type of corruption in which individual government officials and the private sector collude to rob the government of revenues, increased during weak and fragmented governments(Smith, Obidzinski, Subarudi, & Suramenggala, 2003). A research study in Japan observed concentration of significant authority among the bureaucrats to regulate the economy and society during fragmented politics in the 1990s and the reputation of flawless anticipatory skills and selfless dedication of bureaucracy under united and stable political regime before 1990s was reduced substantially (Pempel, 1998). The research observed three significant changes in the bureaucracy of Japan during the fragmented political regime in comparison to the previous stable political regime before 1990. First, the bureaucracy was marred by red-tape-laden incompetence and mistrust of people. The credibility of bureaucrats as the source of national success was lost. They became the symbol of gaffe and failure. Second, bureaucracy indulged themselves in corruptions during 1990s. In collaboration with the bureaucracy, the political leaders could involve in corruptions as well. Consequently, many bureaucrats were arrested in 1998 for their corruptions. Third, the bureaucracy gave up their loyalty to political leadership and showed their political ambitions. They came out of their above political character and started to work for their own instead of national interest. Many bureaucrats participated in national elections during 1990s to obtain political offices.

The bureaucrats have the ability to play politicians to maximize their rent seeking, when legislators are weak and separated from administrative power, and this rent seeking has a positive relation to corruption(Luechinger, Stephan, & Stutzer, 2008). In a democratic system the destructive conflict among

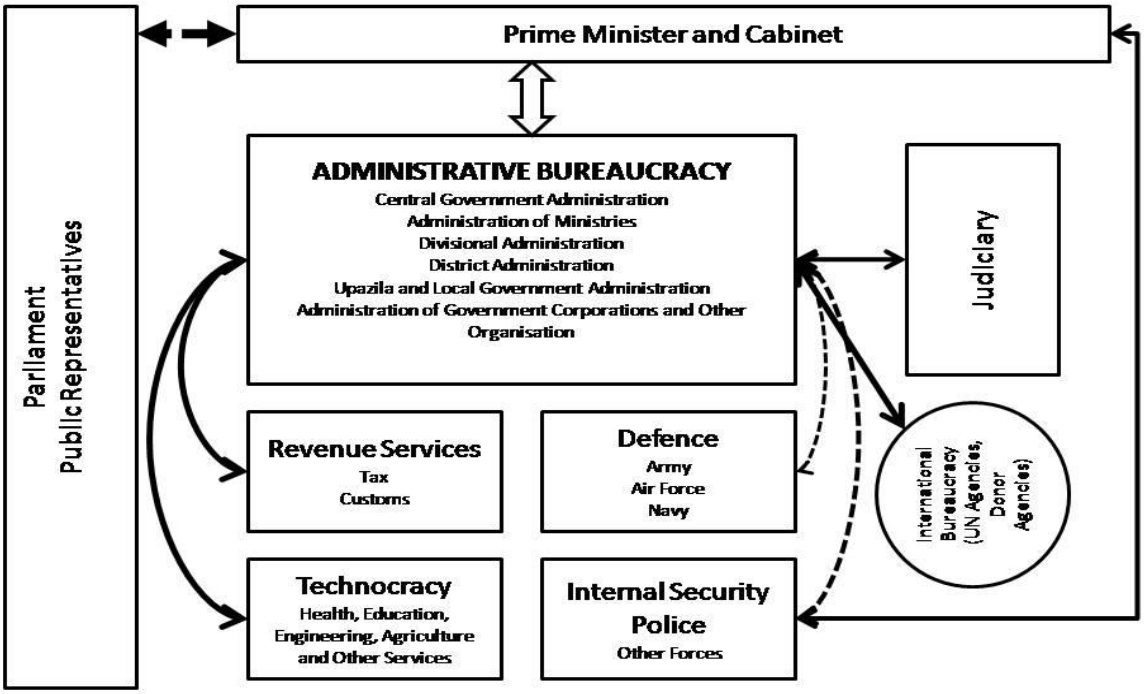
political parties to reduce the ability of politicians to exercise authorities compared to bureaucrats who have no competitors in administration(Buchanan & Tullock, 1962; McChesney, 1987) (Buchanan and Tullock, 1962; Persson and Tabellini, 2004; McChesney, 1987). A cross-country analysis of fifty-six countries observed that three factors such as non-competitive political structure, the size of the government and low wages increase the rent seeking in the form of corruption in a country(Montinola & Jackman, 2002). An earlier study identified the public services in Bangladesh was ridden with corruption of various dimensions and shades like bribery, rent-seeking and misappropriation of funds and the performance of public organizations was adversely affected by excessive lobbying, delays in service provision, irresponsible conduct of officials, bureaucratic intemperance, patronage and clientelism (Zafarullah & Siddiquee, 2001). The achievement of good governance has been a distant reality in Bangladesh due to poor performance, high incidence of corruption and lack of direction in the public administration (Zafarullah & Huque, 2001). Institutional disharmony, politicisation and corruption are the barriers to accountability and good governance in Bangladesh and mechanisms of accountability must be strengthened to ensure effective governance (Huque, 2011). The bureaucracy developed alliance with politicians and other powerful groups in the governance system in Bangladesh to ensure their rent seeking behaviour (Huque & Rahman, 2003). In case of a conflict between bureaucrats and local government functionaries, the control of the government tends to favour the bureaucrats to retain the central control over the local government (Islam, 2016).The public officials do not consider the poor people as an entity deserving respect, do not behave well with citizens and there is no mechanism for ensuring accountability of them to the people of the country (Asaduzzaman, 2009). Hence, a citizen unfriendly rent seeking public administration exists in Bangladesh.

Theoretical Model of Analysis Process: Bangladesh is a fragmented democracy where political parties are always engaged in conflict and avoid constructive competition. It makes the political system weak and administrative power rests in the hands of government officials. The administrative set-up of public administration is such that the authority does not belong to the political component of the government rather authority belongs to the permanent officials and very specifically to administrative bureaucrats in public administration though in a democratic country, the political leaders are responsible for ensuring good governance. The Figure 1 shows the public administration process in Bangladesh. The elected politicians have a responsibility to formulate policy and implementation is the responsibilities of public administration. The components of public administration are administrative bureaucracy, revenue services, technocracy, defence, and internal security services. The administrative bureaucracy controls the decision-making functions at all levels of the government. Technocracy and revenue service do not have direct contact with political leadership, though they provide most of the utility and welfare services to people of the country. Administrative bureaucracy directly controls these two components of administration. Defence, though under the control of bureaucracy, has some autonomy due to their power to create valid threats on the tenure of political leadership in the country like Bangladesh. Judiciary in theory independent in Bangladesh but it is dependent on the administrative bureaucracy for financial reasons and under budgetary control. Police and other internal security forces are formally under the administrative bureaucracy, but, in an informal setup, they operate under direct supervision of political leadership. It is creating power and administrative conflicts in the country between these two components when administrative bureaucracy tries to exercise their formal authorities on forces for internal security. International bureaucracy, composed of donor agencies and UN agencies, works under the direction of administrative bureaucracy in Bangladesh. The legislative body, the parliament of the country, faces negligence in Bangladesh because the representatives of people have almost no formal authority to influence government activities and to ensure the welfare of people.

Successful implementation of policies and management of state is highly dependent on effective cooperation among all parts of government. In existing administrative setup, there is no direct contact among the political leadership with technocracy, revenue service, defence, judiciary and international bureaucracy. All governmental relations and communications go through the administrative bureaucracy where the lowest level bureaucrats have the authority to evaluate the decisions of higher-level technocrats and other officials. Politicians come from within common people and for any wrong, they become accountable to them. The technocrats and support services interact with people to provide services where citizens can evaluate their mistakes. Bureaucrats control the administration, but they remain out of public sight. The common people do not understand the roles of bureaucracy behind all policies and procedures of government. People find politicians, technocrats, and other parts of administration as corrupt, inefficient and ineffective, but do not

blame bureaucracy in general. Political parties lose power, new party takes over the government office, but the same bureaucracy and administrative system remain operational.

Figure 1: The administrative set-up in Bangladesh for governance of the country.



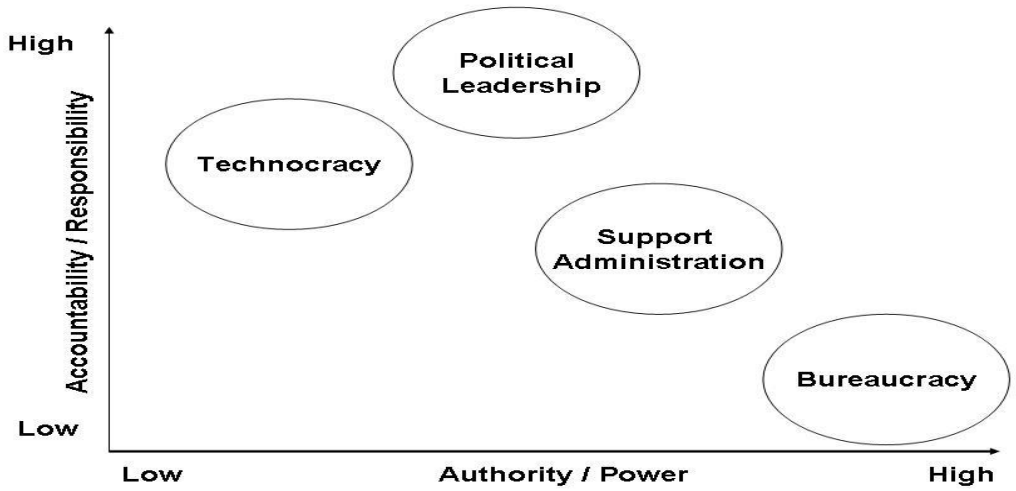
All Powerful Administrative Bureaucracy: The bureaucratic power originates from the present administrative setup and procedures of the government. No other parts of public administration, including political leadership have any authority to make decisions without consent of administrative bureaucracy. Withstanding others, even the head of the government of this country cannot give any official order without proper authorization from many administrative bureaucrats. This procedure gives them the opportunity to play the power game. A number of factors are particular source of power to administrative bureaucracy in this country. First is short tenure and low status of political leadership. Political leadership comes in power for a fixed term through the election process. After starting administration, political officials work with bureaucrats. Soon they realize bureaucracy has all power to spoil their policies. In this situation, the bureaucrats get the opportunity to bargain with the political leadership. The politicians try to avoid risk of failure what may happen if they start a power struggle with strong and united bureaucracy. They accept the dominance of bureaucrats and bureaucracy arranges 'opportunity of corruption' for them. Public representatives, members of parliament (MP), enjoy official status below many bureaucrats. If MPs try to implement their mandate from the people, they face obstacles from the administration. The district administration never gives adequate honour and attention to MPs because of their low status and absence of any administrative authority to make decisions.

Second is the separation of technocracy and other services from political leadership in Bangladesh. The administrative bureaucracy has the responsibility of coordination and monitoring of public services. Technocracy and other services implement policies and programs, but political leaders have no direct decision-making links with these organs of the government. Instructions and orders of political officials reach to the technocrats and support services as orders of bureaucrats. The communications from other service also go to political officials through bureaucrats. The bureaucracy controls information flows and enjoys privileges of blocking or misrepresenting information. Third, political leadership and the technocrats have no

authority to take formal decision. Policies are formulated by politicians and implemented by other components of the state, but decisions associated with implementation of policies are the domain of administrative bureaucracy. The technocracy, and other services officials need continuous authorisation from bureaucracy in every phase of their functioning. They have the responsibility to implement, but no authority to make decisions about the implementation process. One of the management principles for the organization is that authority and responsibility must coincide for effective functioning. This principle is non-existent in present administrative setups of Bangladesh Government. Politicians and technocrats have responsibilities to public but have no authority to make decisions.

Fourth, despite of recent separation of judiciary from the control of administrative bureaucracy, the judicial system in Bangladesh is highly dependent on the bureaucracy for finance and recruitments. Even the bureaucrats control, the anti-corruption monitoring authority of the country. Bureaucrats deputed from administration runs the administration of anticorruption commission. This system provides unlimited opportunity for bureaucrats to do corruptions and to patronise corruption among politicians, technocrats, and other officials in government. Politicians and other officials understand that they can be involved in corruptions and can save them from punishments if bureaucrats are on their side. This situation makes bureaucracy tremendous powerful as there is none to oppose their functioning. Bureaucrats and others maintain win-win scenario and corruption remains epidemic everywhere in Bangladesh. Finally, there is a nexus between local and international bureaucrats**.** Bangladesh is highly dependent on foreign financial supports for its development projects. International agencies clearly understand the power centre in the country and always maintain a good relationship with administrators. The international bureaucrats working in multilateral and bilateral agencies support local bureaucracy and try to develop and maintain close relationship with them just to sell their ideas and projects. The bureaucracy in collaboration with the international bureaucrats finalises most of the plans of government. Then they influence the political leaders to accept the plans and force the technocrats and support organizations to implement those. International bureaucrats keep their eyes close to the corruptions and irregularities of local bureaucrats and try to buy support of local bureaucrats through arranging foreign tours, scholarships, luxury cars and other facilities. This sponsorship by international agencies makes bureaucracy more powerful because they can control very important foreign assistances for the country.

Figure 2: Power and accountability of different components in public governance of Bangladesh



Power versus Accountability in Administration: The Figure 2 is a description of the power versus accountability in public governance of Bangladesh. The bureaucracy enjoys the highest level of power and the lowest level of accountability. The political leadership has less power, but the highest level of accountability. In a fragmented political regime, political leadership cannot even use their limited power effectively.

Consequently, the bureaucracy gets an opportunity to use their power without accountability. The technocracy, and support services are accountable to the bureaucracy and these two components of governance have limited power. In case of weak political leadership or prime ministerial autocracy, that is very common in Bangladesh, the two components have to work under direction of the bureaucracy. The result is a mighty bureaucracy in the country what is accountable to none but owns the full authority of governance in the country.

3. Methodology

This is an empirical cross-sectional study to evaluate the experiences of adult citizens of Bangladesh about the public administration of the country who have experienced service and performance from their interaction with public officials. A field survey with semi-structured questionnaire was administered to collect primary data. The survey used non-probability purposive sampling technique for data collection. The survey was planned to evaluate seven components of public administration - administrative bureaucracy, revenue collection, police, defence, engineering services, medical service, and other services. The questionnaire had three components. First part was to collect demographic data of respondents. Second part is to obtain data on the definition and scale of rent seeking evaluated by the respondents. The third section gathered data on the experiences of respondents about rent seeking and the unfriendliness of the administration as a composite measure and the impact of these on them.

Data Description: The data are collected from 2394 respondents of ages above 18 years in 41 districts of Bangladesh. Among the respondents 1781 (74.4%) were men and 614 (25.6%) were women. This survey has analysed opinion of people on the nature and extent of rent seeking, corruption, and unfriendliness among government officials and impact of those on the livelihood of people. Hence, the ineffectiveness of different wings of public administration has been measured in terms of the level of corruption in them perceived by the citizens of the country. The level of corruption among each of seven components was measured on a categorical scale of five levels. These are highest (10.0), higher (7.5), average (5.0), below average (2.5) and non-existent (0). The respondents are grouped in five hierarchical percentile income groups. The levels of education of the respondents are classified into six groups – primary, below secondary, secondary, and higher secondary, graduate, and post-graduate. The respondents were divided into five income percentile groups based of reported household income of the respondents.

Analytical Methods: The average level of rent seeking or corruption for each seven wings of public administration, reported by respondents, is calculated from the data as the arithmetic mean. The perception of corruption among the administration is also analysed according to income and education levels of the citizens. The mean corruption levels of each wing of the administration by income and education levels of the citizens are calculated. This is done to understand how various socioeconomic groups perceived corruption or rent-seeking among seven wings of the administration. The differences in perception of corruptions among different wings of administration for income and education levels of the respondents are analysed by using Two-Way ANOVA. The null hypotheses for income levels of the citizens for the Two-Way ANOVA are the following.

H_0: There is no difference in the means of different income levels of the citizens
H_0: There is no difference in means of different wings of the administration
H_0: There is no interaction between income levels of citizens and wings of the administration.

Similarly, the null hypotheses for education levels of the citizens for the Two-Way ANOVA are the following.

H_0: There is no difference in the means of different education levels of the citizens
H_0: There is no difference in means of different wings of the administration
H_0: There is no interaction between the education levels of citizens and wings of the administration.

The types of corruptions or rent seeking and consequences of rent seeking are calculated as frequency of comments by the respondents for different criteria and variables. The selected variable for analysis of types of rent seeking are bribes, nepotism and favouritism, use power to mischief common people, negligence to

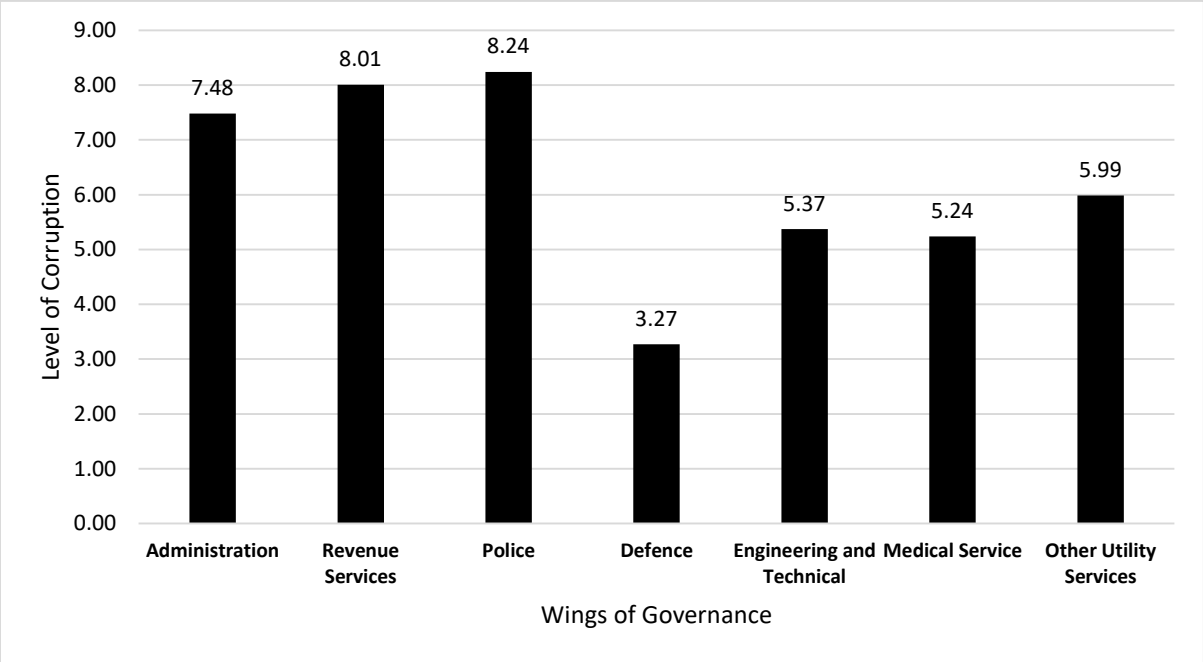
official duties and responsibilities. The impact of the rent seeking on the citizens is analysed from their opinion to an open-ended question and the most frequent impacts are discussed in this paper. This analysis explores the ineffectiveness of the governance of the country.

4. Findings

The respondents participated in the survey are classified in five income groups and six educational groups for analysis of the experiences of people across social structure. This survey defined rent seeking as unethical activities help people in public offices to earn wealth for own or for some close ones that they should not get under existing rules and regulations. About 92 percent of the respondents agreed to this definition and they identified corruption as primary form of rent seeking in the public services.

Levels of Rent Seeking in Administration: This paper evaluated the level of rent seeking or corruption among the components of public administration on a scale between 0 and 10. According to respondents, top three corrupt components of the administration are police (8.24), revenue service (8.01), and administrative bureaucracy (7.48). Lowest level of corruption exists among the defence (3.27). The Figure 3 shows the level of corruption in different wings of governance of the country perceived by citizens participated in the survey.

Figure 3: Level of corruption among different wings of governance in Bangladesh.



Perceived corruption and Income Level of Citizens: The Table 1 shows the level of rent seeking in the form of corruption measured by the respondents of the survey. The perception of corruption among the citizens by income levels are not very different for individual wings of public governance. Revenue services, police and administration have higher levels of corruption and defence has lowest level according to the respondent citizens. The Table 2 presents the Two-Way ANOVA statistics for analysis of differences in perception of corruptions among wings of governance for each income level.

Table 1: Level of rent seeking in the form of corruption among professional groups in public administration perceived by citizens of different level of income

Income Group		Wings of Governance						
		Administrative Bureaucracy	Revenue Collection	Police	Defence	Engineering Services	Medical Services	Other Services
Top Percent	20	7.57	8.30	8.49	3.32	5.37	5.14	6.20
Second Percent	20	7.60	7.83	8.33	3.33	5.35	5.62	6.11
Third Percent	20	7.55	8.09	8.33	3.19	5.55	5.14	5.87
Fourth Percent	20	7.53	8.30	8.19	3.37	5.46	5.20	6.13
Bottom Percent	20	7.16	7.51	7.87	3.13	5.12	5.10	5.61

There are no significant effects of the wings of bureaucracy and levels of income. It can be concluded that the perception of corruptions among each wing of governance and among each level of income is not different. However, there is statistically significant effect of wings of governance and levels of income. It indicates that the corruption level differs among wings of governance as perceived by citizens of different income levels

Table 2: Level of rent seeking in the form of corruption for wings of governance and level of incomes – The Two-Way ANOVA analysis

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Degree of freedom	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	46919.287[a]	34	1379.979	161.259	.000
Intercept	650219.270	1	650219.270	75982.005	.000
Wings of Bureaucracy	46260.127	6	7710.021	900.962	.000
Level of Income	392.472	4	98.118	11.466	.000
Wings * Income Level	266.688	24	11.112	1.299	.149
Error	143167.693	16730	8.558		
Total	840306.250	16765			
Corrected Total	190086.980	16764			

a. R Squared = .247 (Adjusted R Squared = .245)

Perceived corruption and Education Level of Citizens: The perception of corruption seems to be influenced by the level of education of citizens. The Table 3 presents the level of corruption perceived by citizens at different level of education. The citizens with low level education perceived relatively low level of corruption. However, people of all levels of education have identified revenue services, police, and administration as more corrupt wings of governance. The Table 4 presents the Two-Way ANOVA statistics for analysis of differences in perception of corruptions among wings of governance for each education level. There is no statistically significant effect of corruption perception for education level and wings of governance. The respondents perceived the corruption level similarly and there is no statistically significant difference for interaction between level of education and wings of governance.

Table 3: Level of rent seeking in the form of corruption among professional groups in public administration perceived by citizens of different level of education

Level of Education	Wings of Governance						
	Administrative Bureaucracy	Revenue Collection	Police	Defence	Engineering Services	Medical Services	Other Services
Primary Education	6.02	6.27	6.90	3.13	4.16	4.22	5.21
Secondary Level	6.94	7.22	8.28	2.58	4.81	5.06	5.28
Secondary Examination	7.36	7.62	7.77	3.02	5.01	4.77	5.95
Higher Secondary Examination	7.36	7.71	7.90	2.98	5.13	4.90	6.01
Graduation	7.63	8.24	8.43	3.22	5.34	5.41	5.99
Post-Graduation	7.63	8.29	8.49	3.68	5.87	5.50	6.16

Characteristics of Rent Seeking: Four common forms of corruptions are bribes (83.5%), nepotism, and favouritism (66.8%), use of official power to mischief common people (65.1%), and negligence to official duties and responsibilities (63.1%). The Table 5 shows details of corruption characteristics of all professional groups. The respondents have identified administrative bureaucracy and revenue collection group are highly involved in these activities. People considered defence as less corrupt. Both revenue and administrative officials used to mischief common people most by using their state authorities. Police follows them at very close range to mischief common people of the country. In overall, the first three rent-seeking professions are revenue collection, administrative bureaucracy, and police.

Table 4: Level of rent seeking in the form of corruption for wings of governance and level of education – The Two-Way ANOVA analysis

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Degree of freedom	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	48263.904[a]	41	1177.168	138.805	.000
Intercept	271110.832	1	271110.832	31967.904	.000
Wings of Governance	19746.255	6	3291.043	388.062	.000
Levels of Education	1596.413	5	319.283	37.648	.000
Wings * Level of education	407.364	30	13.579	1.601	.020
Error	141823.076	16723	8.481		
Total	840306.250	16765			
Corrected Total	190086.980	16764			

a. R Squared = 0.254 (Adjusted R Squared = .252)

Table 5: Characteristics of corruption among different professional groups in public administration

Professional Groups	Types of Corruptions in Percentage				Geometric Mean
	Bribes	Nepotism and favouritism	Use power to mischief common people	Negligence to official duties and responsibilities	
Administrative Bureaucracy	82.6	66.2	64.6	62.4	68.5
Revenue Collection	82.7	66.4	64.6	62.7	68.7
Police Services	82.0	65.8	64.1	62.2	68.1
Defence Services	65.8	52.9	51.3	50.2	54.7
Engineering Services	78.8	63.6	61.2	60.0	65.5
Medical Services	78.3	63.0	60.8	59.6	65.0
Other Services	82.2	65.8	64.2	62.0	68.0
All Groups	**83.5**	**66.8**	**65.1**	**63.1**	**69.2**

Impact of Rent Seeking: Respondents reported two types of impact of rent seeking. First, they explained the impact on daily life of them. 59.7 percent of respondents had to pay bribe money for services from public officials, 57.6 percent people faced long delays to complete their desired work, and 24.2 percent of them could not get necessary services from the administration. About 63 percent of the respondents faced financial stress due to rent seeking behaviour of the public administration. Those who had to meet financial and other demands of the public administration for necessary public service arranged necessary resources in combination of various modes. About 77 percent used money that was allocated for other purposes, 79 percent used up their saving, 74 percent-borrowed money from others and 93 percent had to sell some assets. A large majority, 94.2 percent felt, they could improve their financial conditions if there were no rent seeking by public administration. Analysis of the estimates of respondents shows that the average increase in income of households may be around $ 61.2 per month in the absence of corruption among public administration.

The second impact of rent seeking is on national economic growth. 71.5 percent people feel the growth rate is slow in Bangladesh. They pointed to a number of factors as barriers to faster economic growth and Table3 presents the opinion of respondents. Among the barriers, the most important cause was corruption and nepotism (88.8%). The next two issues related to political leadership. 74.4 percent people identified corruption in bureaucracy as an impediment to development. According to the respondents of the survey political instability and foreign aid, public administration creates all other barriers to the development process of Bangladesh.

Table 6: Opinion of respondents about impediments to development in Bangladesh

Impediments to Development	Percent
Corruption and nepotism in public administration	88.8
Political instability	84.8
Ineffective political leadership	84.0
Law and order situation	80.6
Corruption in administrative bureaucracy	74.4
Inefficiency of government officials	73.2
Shortage of domestic resources	43.7
Reduction of foreign aid	33.5

Analysis: The fragility of democracy in Bangladesh has made political leadership weak and transferred the effective authority of governing the country to public administration. In the public administration, the

administrative bureaucracy is most powerful. With a permanent tenured job and accountability to none, the administrative bureaucracy becomes highly rent seeking component of administration. In cooperation with administrative bureaucracy, all other components of the state, including political leadership may exercise rent seeking behaviour. The citizens observed very high level of bribes (82.6%) among administrative officials and very high level of nepotism and favouritism (66.2%), use power to mischief common people (64.6%) and negligence to official duties and responsibilities (62.4%). The revenue officials discharge duties related to the monetary benefits of people. In unison with business and social opportunists, revenue official may involve themselves in rent seeking. Police have the coercive power to exploit common people. Other services, except administration, have opportunities of corruptions. The administrative bureaucracy does not have a direct opportunity to be involved in corruption and they are involved in monitoring and controlling duties of other services in the country. Rent seeking by the administrative bureaucracy is possible only through exercising their discretionary power to control functions of other services in public administration. Unfortunately, this section of the public administration is highly corrupt and the result is unabated rent seeking by all components of public governance as discussed in the literature review that the country lacks legal framework to control misconducts of bureaucrats (Hossain, 2017).

Previous discussion pointed to the fact that the administrative bureaucracy holds the ultimate power in the public governance of Bangladesh. During a fragmented regime or weak government, the bureaucrats get the opportunity to run the country. In result, the political leadership fails to meet the demands of common people and soon become unpopular. The fragmented political regime reduces the accountability of the bureaucrats further. Corrupt, inefficient, and insensitive bureaucrats in the fragmented political regime cause inefficiency in the society and common person's loss welfare. Therefore, the result is bad governance in the fragmented political regime in Bangladesh that slows down the pace of development in the country. The public administration in Bangladesh needs effective reforms for reducing public suffering and public economic losses. The objective of this reform process must be to reduce and, if possible, to eliminate the power of administrative bureaucracy as it appears to be the root of all rent seeking because the administrative bureaucracy enjoys the opportunities developed alliance with politicians and other powerful groups in the governance system to ensure their rent seeking behaviour (Zafarullah & Huque, 2001).

Elimination of the parallel structures in the government is essential. The ministries and divisions can be converted into corporate structure where administration and technocracy can work together. There must not be any horizontal movement of administrative officials from one ministry to another ministry. Limiting the movement of bureaucrats and technocrats within one ministry the government will get specialized functional administration like private sector business firms. Political officials must be the executive head of the ministries and all departmental heads of the ministry must have a right to report directly to him/her. This system may increase effectiveness and efficiency of ministries by bringing in dynamism, flexibility, and accountability. It will reduce the dominance of the bureaucracy in the government and eliminate professional conflict among different cadres of the government. Fragmented and weak government has become common in Bangladesh. The result is dissatisfaction of common people to political leadership because bureaucrats do mistakes and responsibilities are borne by political leaders. The political component of government cannot establish good governance without changing the administrative setup during this situation. The present colonial administrative structure is unable to support a democratic state mechanism because the bureaucracy holds all administrative power. Only the elimination of the mighty bureaucracy that is the root of bad governance in the country may help to establish pro-peoples' governance where skill, knowledge, and efficiency will be the prime mover of all administrative activities.

5. Conclusion

The public governance in Bangladesh does not meet the characteristics of good governance. The governance is an exclusive domain of the administrative bureaucracy and out of the reach of common people and political leadership. It is neither participatory nor responsive. This bureaucracy is accountable to none; transparency is absent; and the rule of law is bureaucrats' interest. It cannot ensure equity and inclusiveness because it only ensures benefits for bureaucrats. No-one considers the governance in Bangladesh is efficient and effective. In the previous section of this paper, it was explained that the administrative bureaucracy in fact holds the administrative power in Bangladesh and 73.4 percent respondents identified government officials

as inefficient. Political leadership cannot be effective without efficient bureaucrats and other officials. Without honest and sincere cooperation of public administration, politicians cannot ensure good law and order situation or collect resources from internal sources for development of the country. It is significant to notice that 74.4 percent people considered corruption among administrative bureaucrats is a barrier to economic growth of the country. Hence, the country has ineffective governance because of concentration of authority in administrative bureaucracy.

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Regional Election Winning Strategy of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in North Coast Area of West Java Province (Case Study in Subang and Cirebon Regencies)

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Abstract: The research premise is the idea that there was trend in political participation and voting behavior in Subang and Cirebon Regencies, The two biggest bases of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in West Java Province. Their power are getting weaker, reflected by the number of their representatives in Representatives Local House. In this research, it is believed that there are three factors which influence those phenomena such as political parties role, figures and identification. The research highlights are the most influential factors on political participation which cause declining support for the party and strategies used by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) to maintain their constituents.

Keywords: *The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)*, West Java, *political parties, figures and constituent.*

1. Introduction

Political parties are a necessity in countries that implement democracy political system. Political parties become a public interest aggregation and articulation instruments through formal institutions (Almond, 1993). The party bases existence, makes the party generally not only characterize its political movement but also people who later became its followers, mass base or constituency (Joyce, 2008). In Indonesian case, political parties also have a different principle or ideology between each other, namely parties that have Islamic ideology, Islamic mass basis and nationalist party. As Geertz (1983) has also expressed on the results of his research on three Javanese society political groups. His famous differentiation between *abangan* (syncretists stressing animistic beliefs), *santri* (followers of a purer Islam) and *priyayi* (those mostly influenced by a Hinduist aristocratic culture) had a lasting impact on further studies on Java. Although the party is founded on a certain political basis which then has a distinctive movement and mass base, Joyce (2008, p. 81) says that in general all political parties have the same goal of securing power and exercising control over the government. In his view it is further argued that in securing power the political parties will compete openly with other parties, and according to Joyce this is a hallmark of the liberal democracy implementation.

Subang and Cirebon Regencies are two areas in the North Coast of West Java, known as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) constituent base. This can be seen from PDIP votes since the first general election post reform movement in 1999. However, the data indicate that there is a tendency that the votes obtained by PDIP continue to fall from 1999 to 2014. Both areas have almost similar characteristics, agricultural areas on peasants and people basis identified as PDIP main bases. The decrease of PDIP members in Local House of Representatives in Cirebon and Subang Regencies is suspected due to a weak political strategy of winning by PDIP in maintaining its constituent base in North Coast Area West Java. This issue may change the claim that North Coast Area is PDIP basis, but it can also affect the west java governor political vote map and vice governor election and the regional head election of Subang and Cirebon Regencies in 2018. Another challenge faced by PDIP and other political parties is political participation negative trend. Data taken from Regional Election Commission in Subang and Cirebon Regencies shows that citizens political participation numbers in the election or presidential election were decreased significantly. In North Coast Area of West Java Province, party identification was empirically hardly discernible from the vote, whereas party identification was less stable than vote choices. It's about the people, not the party. Voters are not loyal to political party, they vote for the person they want irrespective of the political party (Hamid, 2014). It can be seen that party identification is very important particularly facing 2019 presidential election.

2. Literature Review

The constituent winning strategy is concerned with the choice of a person in general election, which means talking about voting behavior. Broadly speaking, there are three models that can explain why someone chooses a particular party. Roth (2009) calling it a sociological, psychological and rational model.

a. The sociological approach: Roth explained that the sociological approach or, more precisely, the structural social approach to elucidating electoral behavior, is logically divided into micro sociological explanations and macro sociological explanatory models. The micro sociological explanation models are associated with sociologist Paul Lazersfeld and colleagues Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet of Columbia University. Therefore, this model is also called the School of Columbia (Columbia School) (Roth, 2009). The microscopic explanation model root derives from social circle theory formulated by Simmel (1989). According to this theory, every human is bound in various social circles, every human being is bound in various social circles, for example family, circle of peers, workplace etc. Lazeersfeld applies this way of thinking to the Elector. A voter lives in a certain context: his economic status, religion, residence, work and age defines social circle that influences voter's decision. Each social circle has its own norm, adherence to these norms leads to integration. However, this context also controls individuals behavior by putting pressure on an individual to adjust, because basically everyone wants to live with peace, without disputing with social environment (Roth, 2009).

Mujani et al. (2012: pp 9-10) explained that a voter chooses a party or candidate for a certain public official because of similarity between voters and party or candidates in sociological characteristics. Associated with social class issues and religious, racial and ethnic sentiments are also believed to be sociological factors that influence how one chooses a political party or a candidate for public office. Specifically, racial and ethnic similarities between voters and public officials candidates tend to influence one's behavior (Roth, 2009, p. 19). The sociological approach has a very powerful influence in analyzing voters behavior. However, this approach has its limitations. Often in modern societies, societies have strong social and spatial mobility, which in turn tends to lead to the relationships breakup. The individuals interconnectedness with multiple social forces (sometimes conflicting with one another) is called cross-pressure. Such inconsistencies can cause a decline in the individual's political interests (Roth, 2009, p. 26). Another limitation is that approach also ignores potential for conflict within each person. That is, everyone has a potential to fight, protest and not be subject to the social system that surrounds it.

b. The Psychological Approach: The Psychological Approach analyzes voter behavior by looking at individual factors. Roth (2009) calls this a term psychological social approach. This approach places individual as the center of attention. There are three focuses of psychological approach, namely: (1) the candidates perception and personal judgment; (2) the themes raised perception and personal assessment; and (3) identification of party or partisanship. This approach, which directly influenced voter choices rather than social structure, as analyzed by the sociological approach (Columbia School), but voters short-term and long-term factors (Roth, 2009, p. 37). Personal perceptions and judgments of the candidate or themes raised (short-term influences) are very influential on elections choices being handed down. In addition, the "psychological membership" in a party that can be measured in terms of party identification variables, contributes to the elections choices, which is a long-term effects result. Therefore, individual electoral decisions are not primarily socially determined structurally, but the result of individuals short-term and long-term effects (Roth, 2009, p. 37).

The psychological social approach seeks to explain what factors influence short-term electoral decisions or decisions taken in a short time. It seeks to be explained through determinant triage, party identification, candidate orientation and issue / theme orientation. Party Identification is often inherited by parents to their children. As we get older, party identification becomes more stable and intensive. Party Identification is a permanent orientation, which does not change from general election to general election. But if a person undergoes a major personal change (e.g. marriage, profession or residence change) or extraordinary political circumstances (such as an economic crisis or war), then the identification of this party may change (Roth, 2009, p. 38). In the same approach, Mujani et al. (2012) explains that a citizen participates in the General Election or Presidential Election not only because of his better socioeconomic conditions, or because he is in a

social network, but because he or she is interested in politics, has a feeling close to the certain party (party identity), have enough information to make choices, feel his voice mean, and believe that his choice can contribute to improving situation (political efficacy). One of important things associated with the Psychological approach is political engagement (one of which is partisanship). Partisanship is a psychological state, i.e. feeling close to, supportive or loyal attitude to, or self-identification with a particular political party. Partisanship forms a citizen's political identity because citizen has the psychological ability to identify himself with a political party. Therefore, partisanship is usually called the identity of one's party. A partisan is a person who feels himself part of a party or identifies himself with a particular party (Mujani et al., 2012).

The LIPI survey in the 2014 general election shows that religious factor is one of underlying respondents factor consideration in choosing candidates. For respondents who are obedient or disobedient in worship, tend to choose candidates who follow the same religion. Respondents who claimed enough or very devout worship as much as 41.6%, stated that the similarity of religion held by the candidates with him became one of his considerations in choosing candidates (Yustiningrum & Ichwanuddin, 2015). In short, the psychological social approach explains what factors influence decisions Short-term elections or decisions taken in a short period of time, explained by the determinant triage, i.e. party identification, candidate orientation and political issue orientation. To make clear, Miller and Shanks argue that the idea as if in original conceptualization of party identification was, once formed, immutable to people's political experiences during their life as an adult, is a caricature, their view is 'closer to the revisionists'. The extreme revisionist view [...] that, in contrast, party identification is simply another political attitude, susceptible to influence and change by short-term phenomena, thoroughly endogenous to electoral behavior explanations. In this revisionist view party identification is primarily the assemblage consequence of issue or policy preferences held by voter prior to voting (Miller & Shanks, 1996, p. 130). The most influential party identification reconceptualization role in shaping of voter's choice between candidates was developed by Fiorina's in study Retrospective Voting in American National Elections (1981). He finds that a model party identification is defined as 'the difference between an individual's past political experiences with two parties, perturbed by a factor, y, that represents effects not included directly in an individual's political experiences (e.g., parents' ID) (Fiorina, 1981, p. 89).

3. Methodology

This research uses descriptive approach analysis. The research is intended to provide an explanation of an event or a particular issue, which is already available information associated with symptoms or problems that are being investigated, so as to be able to supplement information in more detail and provide solutions resolving the issue, this research provides appropriate studies support the theory associated with these problems. Secondary data obtained through library research method sourced from literature books and journals related to public figures and identification of political parties in Indonesia. The analysis method uses a qualitative analysis approach to the research results conducted by previous researcher's books of literature and data taken from Regional Election Commission then researchers conducted a qualitative deepening of the analysis in accordance with researchers ability and understanding level in political party field. The research uses purposive sampling technique and the number of informants are PDIP's political party leaders in Subang and Cirebon Regency, Local House Representatives Leader and public figures, such as theologian, community leaders, and academician. In this research there are two types of data obtained by researcher in primary data in interviews form as the main to informants who have been determined. The research use triangulation of data to assure the data's validity.

4. Results and Discussion

The 1999 General Election was the first democratic election held after the New Order era. The national election results show PDIP as the winning party for the general election whose take 153 seats at House of Representatives. The 2004 elections, followed by 24 parties, resulted in a much more varied distribution of party-to-party power. The number of seats won was Golkar Party who has 133 seats following by PDIP with 108 seats in House of Representatives. The 2009 general election Democratic Party was the winner with 148 seats follows by Golkar Party and PDIP with108 and 59 seats, respectively. At the level of LHoR the situation was similar. In Subang and Cirebon Regencies the base of PDIP's constituent decline also happened

significantly. Data taken from the Regional Election Commission showed a decline in PDIP dominance in seats distribution in LHoR in both regions. The analysis results show that when compared with the LhoR seats in 1999 general election it can be said that the number of PDIP seats is gradually decrease. The Table number 1 and 2 show that PDIP member proportion in LHor getting lower, even though the number of parliamentary seats then added.

Table 1: Distribution of Seats in Parliament Participants General Election 2004-2014 in Subang and Cirebon Regencies

No.	Name of Political Parties	Subang Regency Year			Cirebon Regency Year		
		2004	2009	2014	2004	2009	2014
I.	PDIP	14	14	10	14	14	11
II.	Golkar	13	6	7	10	6	6
III.	PKS	6	7	7	3	6	5
IV.	PPP	2	1	2	4		1
V.	PKB	4	3	5	6	7	8
VI.	PKPB	2	2	-	-	-	-
VII.	Demokrat	2	9	5	6	7	5
VIII.	PKPI	1	-	-	-	-	-
IX.	PAN	1	3	3	2	-	-
X.	PBB	-	-	-	-	1	1
XI.	PDK	-	1	-	-	-	-
XII.	PPRN	-	-	-	-	1	-
XIII.	Gerindra*	-	3	5	-	3	6
XIV.	Hanura**	-	1	3	-	5	3
XV.	Nasdem***	-	-	3	-	-	4
	In Total	45	50	50	45	50	50

Sources : Regional Electoral Comission (KPUD), 2018

The data in Table 1 shows LhoR's PDIP dominance in 2004 general election. PDIP and Golkar Party controls the majority of LhoR seats in both regions. In 2009 general elections although PDIP still controls the majority of LhoR seats but the proportion is declining. It can be seen from the number of legislative seats that are relatively fixed. The 2014 election actually presents another surprise, where parliament seats distribution in both areas is evenly distributed. PDIP dominance is fading. Even Nasdem and Hanura as a new party were able to achieve significant votes so they could state their representatives in LHOR seats. From three general elections, it can be observed that in addition to PDIP seats tendency, the party forces distribution is much more varied at a local level.

The lower votes earned by PDIP are also followed by the lower number of citizen's political participation in general election. In Subang, the number of voter participation also decreased. Regional Election Commission indicates that in 2014 Presidential Election then a new participation reached 67.9 percent which is lower compared to 2009 general election which reach 76.36%. In Cirebon Regency case, the political participation level is relatively low and allegedly related to community apathy and the Regional Election Commission socialization. Based on voter participation rate analysis in 2009 Election in this area reached 75%. This means there are about 376,970 of 1,507,880 voters who did not uses their suffrage. This is a failure in encouraging people's political participation and political parties capabilities to transferring political education. In fact, the percentage is lower than presidential elections and Legislatives Election. Data taken from The Regent Election 2013 shows that in first round of participation was about 52.41 percent and in second round was about 46.29 percent. While the legislative election participation rate is higher 63.45 percent and the presidential election 61.26 percent.

Table 2: Number of Legislators of PDIP in Subang and Cirebon Regency

No.	Year	Subang Regency		Cirebon Regency	
		Number	Persentage	Number	Persentage
1.	1999	18	40,0	18	40,0
2.	2004	14	31,1	14	31,1
3.	2009	14	28,0	14	28,0
4.	2014	10	20,0	11	22,0

Sources : Regional Electoral Comission (KPUD), 2018

The election figures strong factors makes PDIP strategy in maintaining constituent base in both research areas still dependent on the political party figures leaders. As a result, when there is an internal chaotic political party as happened in PDIP in Subang Regency then a bad image will be attached to the party and reduce a political party attractiveness in the constituents eyes. The figures strength is indicated by 2014 general election, the PDIP succed was even followed by popular candidates achievement, Mauarar Sirait who was able to collect the most of 74,410 votes. Sirait success overshadowed Primus Yustisio acquisition, a soap opera actress who became legislative House of Representative candidate from National Mandate Party by collecting 34,525 votes. Primus Yustisio appearance as a legislative candidate shows still strong figure on general election. This shows that political parties have failed to perform their functions as a political education means. At local level, the strong figure of Eep Hidayat as party leader of PDIP in Subang also raises the figures importance compared with the program.

The results of the discussion show that previous party leaders less use wide good communication and networking with local and community leaders. But in this present era, under a new leadership communication are getting better, result positives impressions in public. Approach done by the new party board is now better than previous, because current board is more willing to blend. Cadres also currently involved more by board in various party activities, including to be involved in the party board. The FGD results also show that relationships with current community leaders are being rebuilt, leaders are invited to various activities to build good communication. Likewise, routinely began to visit residents and participate in citizens activities. In addition, the board is also already visited some intellectual leaders, so not only community leaders. This is also justified by community leader Mr. Ajinto who stated that in a new board, communication with the character is also more frequent. In fact, they are also often involved in some party activities. Even further it is said that there are different approaches that have been done in each region, especially in maintaining political communication with the characters. It is arranged based on the demographic base in Subang Regency: the north and south are peasantry while in the middle is a trader and labors. It creates different approach pattern between those two areas.

The similar situation was true within internal PDIP in Cirebon Regencies. This strong figure is justified by the party leader of PDIP Cirebon Regencies. He acknowledged the party board relationship to community leaders were very well. Perhaps also because of position as Cirebon's LhoR Chairman result is easier for him to build good relationship and communication with local figures and community groups. As LhoR chairman also has advantage because it can always appear in various momentum, such as religious momentum as Islamic New Year Celebration event. Moreover, in legislative elections in 2009, PDIP pressed on to the cadre to win PDIP in Cirebon Regencies, registering several popular singer as vote receiver. In 2004 elections PDIP lost 4 seats from 18 seats in LhoR legislative elections in 1999, so that in 2009 general election, PDIP targets 24 seats in LHoR. Party elites as political producers must offer a better political offer or alternative through good party performance and programs and offer better candidates. A clean party image of corruption should also be enhanced. This can be seen from the regent case, Vice Regent and Chairman of LhoR Subang. All of whom must be hostile to each other and must both be held in jail due to allegations of corruption. As the result is PDIP votes dropped quite sharply. The similar case also occurred in Cirebon Regency. Mustofa who became Chairman of PDIP emerged as a figure that rescues the party after previous chairman trapped in corruption social assistance case. As a result, voters punish PDIP both areas in 2014 general election.

In ethnicity terms, Subang and Cirebon relatively homogeneous, i.e. dominated by Sundanese tribe. The rest is Cirebon. Sundanese are live in central and southern highlands and northern coastal region is a Javanese speaker of the Cirebon dialect, which is similar to brebes Banyumas dialect. From religious side, voters

majority in Subang and Cirebon are Muslim, with few are Christian and Catholic. The ethnic homogeneity and religious composition in region is directly proportional to legislative candidates composition. All candidates are Muslim, and generally Sundanese and Javanese. From this side, the candidates actual battle to win voters sympathy becomes very hard, because all have the same opportunities. The electorate community in highlands of Subang and Cirebon have relatively traditional voter base. These areas tend to have strong ties to Sundanese culture and have a high degree of religiosity. Sundanese society has always had a religious typology, where they tend to like religious symbols. It is different from people on the north coast. In addition to religious factors, ethnic factors are not sufficiently large. This is because almost all couples already represent this ethnicity. In the end, as explained earlier, voters no longer consider this factor. All candidates have equal opportunity to get support from the Sundanese. With explanation above, it can be said that sociological factors become one of the factors that contribute in determine choosing behavior. However, this factor does not seem to be dominant things, because there is still a psychological factor to be explained in next section.

Psychological factors relate to party identity. Party identifications is a psychological component that will contribute to the party system stability in Indonesia, political parties continuity or stability can occur when voters identifying themselves with the party. If only a few have party identifications, then the party support continuity will be weak (Campbell, 1960). Many factors affect this, one of which is a party identifications reduction. Political parties are still considered more important and struggle for internal affairs, whereas political parties are a political communication tool and community aspirations channel. In every regional head electoral contestation, emerging figures from outside party which look more popular so have big chance to be elected as governor, mayor or regent. This force the party to accommodate figures and ignore its own cadres when its cadres are less popular, in fact some way it will disrupt the party internal stability. The party also seemed to get public figures outside politics, musical communities, regional entity communities and mass organizations in a successful team of regional head candidates, although it was legitimate and made the contest more interesting, but this is what makes more visible the political parties weakness role in obtaining the heart or perpetuating voices in community. One way of fixing this party identification is how PDIP improves the party's internal regeneration system. This is the reason for political parties without any improvement in significant recruitment pattern. In fact, by improving regeneration system, PDIP will get candidates of regional and state leaders from internal integrity and loyal to the party so that in itself people will come back to believe and feel identified with parties.

The psychological approach is involving candidate orientation and issue / theme orientation. In terms of candidate orientation, there is almost no legislative candidate based on issues orientation or theme to be fought for. The candidate's orientation is further related to issues or theme orientation. In terms of issues and themes, not yet visible candidates who are able to package it pretty well. Political parties are no longer a main reference for voters. Precisely a positive self-image built through outdoor media is now a key reference for voters. Seeing the character of West Java society is known to tend to be permissive and forgiving, and very happy when someone presents himself as a figure who cares, do good, look religious and so forth. This gap that seems to have not been maximally utilized by legislator candidates. But the figure factor also cannot be the only one who is relied upon. This should also be accompanied by a precise strategy of the campaign team to see market potential (voters) and use appropriate strategies, in accordance with the electorate community needs. And other things that also can not be underestimated is the winning team foresight. Comparing to the national election, it can be seen that there was similar situation. Thornley (2014) suggest that these elections stars were the candidates and not political parties. Surveys prior to the elections were more likely to vote based on specific candidate attributes than on the candidates party affiliation. It is clear revealed low levels of trust in political parties in general. Parties have work to do to regain the interest and faith of Indonesian voters.

5. Conclusion

Based on the research results that has been done by researchers, it can be drawn some conclusions. First, the lower voice obtained by PDIP is also accompanied by the lower number of citizen's political participation in general election. Secondly, the strong factor of the election figures makes PDIP strategy in maintaining constituent base in both research areas still dependent on the figures of political party leaders. Thirdly, it also

shows that the political parties functioning has not yet functioned as a political education means. Fourth, a combination of psychological and sociological approach to voters is required. The party identification will be used as a political parties strategies to achieve victory in the elections. Political parties can draw on ideas, ideology, and other identities that later as a tie to communicate with their constituents that can be realized in the nationwide election victory. Party identification only can be run with adorable public figure. In this point of view, political party needs to deliver their political ideology and in the same time provide good public figure as vote receiver.

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Understanding Culture through Knowledge Cybernetics

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Abstract: These days, countries around the world continue with their process of globalization in the digital business and marketing. However, they find themselves straddling different national cultures, which lead to problems of cross-cultural communication management resulting in, for instance, miscommunication and misunderstanding. Consequently, an understanding of the characterisation or mapping of culture is significant, and while there are not many theories of cultural mapping, most stem from the base work of Hofstede. Basically, most people begin with a categorisation of culture through the creation of an ontology that differentiates relatable levels of reality, as a theory of levels allows culture to be broken down into parts that can be analysed more easily. It also helps them to facilitate the creation of a set of generic or universal dimensions of culture which can be used to map different cultures. However, a problem with this theoretical approach is that it does not offer a very dynamic representation of culture, and it has manifestations that impoverish the way that phenomenal manifestations of culture can be explained. On the other hand, there is an alternative approach was adopted by Schwartz. This approach does not discuss ontology but it creates a value inventory in which respondents assess 'comprehensive' cultural values. Consequently, there is some relationship between outcome of Hofstede's and Schwartz's results. Yolles has developed a theory of Knowledge Cybernetics that delivers a new ontology and a dynamic modelling approach. Schwartz's results have been merged into this, resulting in a new theory dynamic theory of culture quite distinct from Hofstede's level theory.

Keywords: *Cross-cultural management, cultural mapping, knowledge cybernetics*

1. Introduction

Culture diversity management is one of the problems of globalisation business. It occurs because each culture in a cross-culture dialogue is in some respect different and this has an impact on the success of people's ability to communicate meaningfully. Basically, cross-cultural communication problems arise when individuals from diverse cultures attempt to switch knowledge and information throughout the exchange of message. In 1994, Hofstede developed a model that adopts a four-level ontological theory and used four dimensions of measurement to classify culture (which he later adjusted to five dimensions to account for issues relating to Asian cultures) (Hofstede, 1994).

In developing his approach, Hofstedee adopted a computing metaphor calling culture a "collective programme" of minds of a coherent group that differentiates them from other groups. Therefore, having a better understanding of the general dynamics of culture has been a significant activity and an important task (Hall, 1984; Schwartz, 1994; Trompenaars, 1997; House et al., 2002). Conversely, creating classifications of culture which allow it to be decomposed into generic elements that can be used to map any culturally based personality has been a more recent interest, and seriously so since the 1980s. The concept of cultural mapping stems from an earlier time, with quote by Kluckhohn (1962; cited by Hoftstede, 2001). Here, it was said that "In principle ... there is a generalised framework that underlies the more apparent and striking facts of cultural relativity. All cultures constitute so many somewhat distinct answers to essentially the same questions posed by human biology and by the generalities of the human situation. Every society's patterns for living must provide approved and sanctioned ways for dealing with such universal circumstances as the existence of two sexes; the helplessness of infants; the need for satisfaction of the elementary biological requirements such as food, warmth, and sex; the presence of individuals of different ages and of differing physical and other capacities."

Patterns of living that call on approved and sanctioned ways of dealing with cultural distinctions that result in social circumstance in need of attention calls for a dynamic approach to understanding and respond to the

needs of cultural differences. However, the literature is devoid of dynamic approaches, other than that deriving from the application of Knowledge Cybernetics (KC). In this paper, KC will be considered, and a new map cultural attributes will be offered.

Culture: Today, a function of ontology is to distinguish between distinct modes of being through the creation of a referencing system. The concept of culture has been studied by exploring the ontology of culture that can contribute to an understanding of its nature (Cocchiarella, 1991). Ontological analysis develops to enable one to separate off distinct realities to enable a more manageable analysis to develop. Culture contains language, social behavior, taboo, traditional activity, and a cognitive belief system (attitudes, values, and beliefs). The beliefs are evident across 3 components of human agency; (1) cognitive, (2) affective, and (3) behavior. Cognitive attributes are concerned with thought, affective with emotion, and behavior with action. Beliefs have consequences for not only behavior, but also for values and attitudes. Attitude is an enduring organization of beliefs around and objects of attention or situation that predisposed one to respond cognitively and behaviorally in some preferential manner, and values are abstract ideas representing a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals (Rokeach, 1968). Rokeach referred to the collection of beliefs, attitudes, and values as a cognitive organization. In the terms of this paper, this organization constitutes a belief system which acts as an imperative for behavior.

Cultural Mapping: Hofstede (1980) developed a cultural mapping technique to characterize culture and make comparison across cultures. His considerations take into account three types of culture (Hofstede, 2005): (1) national (2) organizational, and (3) occupational. He explained that national culture resides in values as well as in the sense of broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others and organizational culture as an exchangeable (with new jobs) and arises from the working environment in which reside (visible and conscious) practices which can enable comparison concerning how people perceive what goes on in their organizational environment (Hofstede, 2005). He also defined occupational culture as a learning through occupational training, e.g. at a University (Hofstede, 2005). Mwaura et al (1998) explained that the principal purpose of Hofstede's analysis was to differentiate between the assumed shared values held in organizations micro-culture, and the unique values that could be identified as specific to national macro-cultures. Hofstede believed that it was possible to identify and classify the ambient values held by members of a given macro-culture (Hofstede, 1980). These values are acquired in childhood, are maintained during adulthood, and create the basis of a continuing cultural history. They are transmitted through generations, and find themselves embedded in society and its instruments through such institutions in family, education, religion, government and law (Hofstede, 1980).

In 1987, Hofstede also explained that national culture has *values* as its central component (Hofstede, 1987). Thus, given that a culture has its own specific attitudes, values, beliefs, habits and convictions, one must anticipate different characteristics in different cultures that will be manifested as behavior. In order to explain the interactive process between organizational and national cultures, Hofstede (1980) also distinguished between permanent and partial cultural membership. He indicated that national cultural membership is permanent and embedded in values alone. However, organizational/ corporate cultures have partial membership since they are driven by practices that drive values. Hence, corporations can pass through a process of change through adaptations of practice. Therefore, a more complex four level model was created by Hofstede, it was conceived of the levels as being embedded one with the other like the layers of an onion, creating a mutual dependency between them as Figure 1 shows (Hofstede, 1990). Following Ehlers et al. (2010), the layers in the onion model are differentiated as follows:

- Values are the core of culture acting as broad tendencies towards the preference of certain states of affairs over others, and are acquired early in our lives.
- Rituals are collective activities, technically superfluous to reaching desired ends, but within a culture are socially essential.
- Heroes are persons (alive or dead, real or imaginary) who possess characteristics that are highly prized in a culture and serve as models for behavior.
- Symbols are words, gestures or objects which carry a particular meaning, but only recognized as such by those who share a culture.

Figure 1: Onion Model of Culture by Hofstede (Hofstede, 1990)

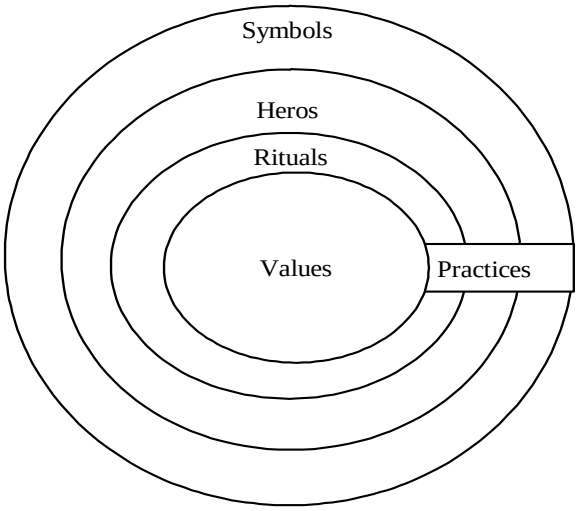
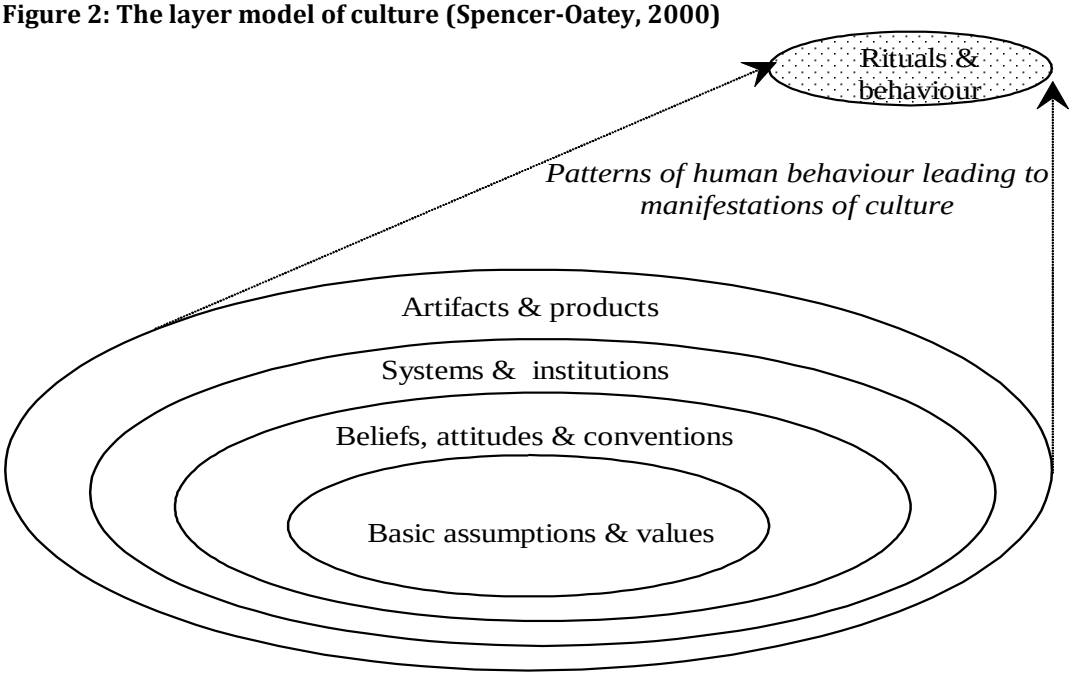


Figure 1 presents the Onion Model of Culture which was developed by Hofstede (1990). It shows that values form is the most hidden layer of culture. Hofstede (1994) mentioned that 'broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others." The components in Figure 1 represent the ideas that people have about how things 'ought to be'. They strongly influence behaviour of people. In organisation, formalized types of behaviour that are sanctioned by the social collective are called 'practices'. Although, they are visible, they carry invisible cultural meanings that extend across all the three outer layers. Moreover, culture is composed of implicit and explicit patterns of social behaviour through the acquisition and transmission of its symbols (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). In addition, other reflections of culture occur in communication, manners, dress codes, social rules, and role models. Hence, it could be said that culture is historically derived, and composed of selected ideas and their attached values. It results from the accumulated experiences of action, and it conditions future action.

Figure 2: The layer model of culture (Spencer-Oatey, 2000)



Spencer-Oatey (2000) developed the layer model of culture as Figure 2 shows. It emphasises the "core values of basic assumption" within a more elementary level of beliefs, attitudes and conventions. These influence another layer, the 'systems and institutions', which in turn are encircled by a split outer layer of culture which is able to locate 'artefacts and products' on the one side and 'rituals and behaviour' on the other side. As such Spencer-Oatey (2000) distinguished between the manifestation of culture in human behavioural pattern through rituals and behaviour, and non-behavioural items on the other that include artefacts and products.

Micro-Culture Vice-Versa Macro-Culture: Culture, contains its population size and can be distinguished into micro-culture and macro-culture. How one identifies whether a culture is a micro-culture or macro-culture is relative and determined by a referencing level of context. Thus, for instance consider a national culture as a macro-culture, so that a local geographical region, such as Shanghai or an organisation, such as the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank of China can be seen as a micro-culture. Both will be individually influenced by the national culture in their own ways. Shifting the referencing level of context from the nation to the organisation, we may define an organisation to have a macro-culture with its departments having a local micro-culture. Macro-culture and micro-culture are not isolated from each other, but interact. Mwaura et al (1998) argued that work ideology (as a representation of organisational culture and as a driver of practice) and country culture interact to create a new and unique value system. As a result, any multinational organisation will have as many sub-cultures as there are national branches.

An organization (or local geographical region) and a nation may hold common normative values. When this occurs, the common normative elements may be referred to "transcendental" meta-cultural attributes that give collective meaning. This is not just for a particular language, customs, art, religion or metaphysic, but because of an implicit commonality between human beings that some might refer to as human nature.
Organisations have their own collective paradigm underpinned by their own organisational macro-culture. They are normally structured into occupational units (e.g., a department of finance or production), which have local paradigms underpinned by their own local micro-culture. This differentiation into a plurality of organisational paradigms often causes problems in communication and operational cohesion (Yolles, 1999). Since paradigms are culturally based, it follows that the relationship between an organisation's paradigm and those of its departments stems from the interconnection between the organisational culture and departmental cultures.

2. The Nature of the Cultural Paradigm

The nature of the cultural paradigm can be shown in Figure 3, a development from Kuhn (1970). When we speak of the paradigm, we are usually interested in normative behaviour. This is distinct from organised group behaviour or action that is not part of the paradigm but is dependent on it.

Figure 3: Nature of the paradigm with its orientation towards practice (adapted from Kuhn, 1970)

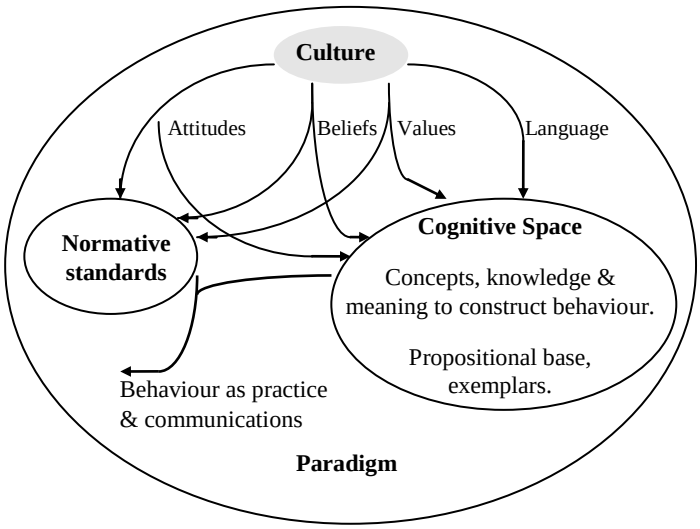


Figure 3 shows the cognitive organisation (of attitudes, values and beliefs) operating together with the basic set of assumptions, logic, and normative behaviour that enables organised activity to occur. Paradigms offer a framework that determines how the organisation should operate, and what it considers to be important for its decision making and its activities. It is therefore practice centred. It is not only normative behaviour that is important, but patterns of behaviour since the paradigm governs, in the first instance, not a subject matter, but rather a group of practitioners (Kuhn, 1970). Paradigm holders are likely practitioners that carry out actions and have behaviour that fit modes of practice. Such modes of practice occur with the development of patterns of behaviour in which group norms arise with ordering processes of behaviour that have been conditioned by culture. This ordering process may be an indication of the "collective personality" of the group. While culture is defined by a relatively stable normative language and cognitive belief system, it also involves normative social behaviour that can be expressed in terms of practice. So what is the connection between paradigmatic practice and culture?

Personality is developed during a process of socialisation, in which individuals learn the culture of the social collective in which they are a part, and how to respond to it. It is "an individual's characteristic pattern of thought, emotion, and behaviour, together with the psychological mechanisms (hidden or not) behind those patterns" (Funder, 1997). People are all individual in the way they see the world, but how they do so will determine how they respond to behaviour/ actions within it. As a result, they develop a personal *worldview* that is programmed by their life experiences and lies at the base of their personality. As their beliefs, values and attitudes change, so does their personal worldview and this affects their understanding of "reality". Worldview may therefore be seen as a personalised elaboration of culture that underpins personality development. As such it is a generator of personal knowledge that arises from both learning experience and its interpretation. Worldview is represented through language using a cognitive space of concepts, patterns of knowledge and meanings. It has a personalised cognitive belief system, and both a normative and a cognitive control of behaviour (or action). In other words, worldview is a personalised reflection of culture with patterns of experiential and learned individual conceptual and practical knowledge that directly affects social and other forms of behaviour. Worldview may also be shared within a social collective forming a "collective worldview". Here, every individual in the collective retains their own 'realities', while using collective patterns of knowledge to share meaning. All the attributes of personal worldview are also applicable to the collective, when its personal attributes are replaced by normative ones.

While personal worldviews are normally informal (or unexpressed), collective worldviews may be either formal or informal. A *formalised* collective worldview may be called a *paradigm*, when more or less the normative: belief system is expressed, patterns of conceptual and practical knowledge are visible to others, and expectations of behaviour (or practice) are explicitly identified. The members of a particular paradigm tend to be restricted in their practice to collective expectations of behaviour. Thus, for example, in the science paradigm there are "ways of doing things" and those who do not follow prescription undertake "bad science" which is decried as unacceptable with those who transgress being excluded. In another instance, corporate employees who do not follow expected operative practice associated with their departmental paradigm will be dismissed if the contravention is considered to be serious.

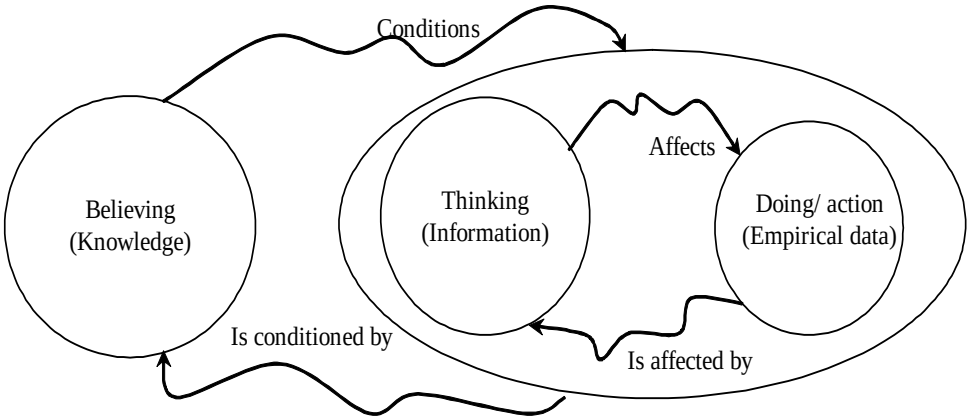
Since the paradigm has a cultural base, it also has a language associated with it that enables the ideas of those within the group to be expressed. There is a body of theory that tells us that culture and language are closely related (Yolles, 1998). In the study of natural languages, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Giglioli, 1972) explains that there is a relativistic relationship between language structure and culture. It in particular relates to the communication of ideas between members of the group. This line of thought is also supported, for instance, by Habermas (1979), and by Maturana (1988) and the ideas contained within the subject of autopoiesis (Mingers, 1995). Here, language is considered to be an activity embedded in the ongoing flow of actions, rather than a purely descriptive thing. It therefore has the attributes of activity that occur within a sociocultural environment to which it responds. Language operates as an enabling mechanism for the paradigmatic group. Since communications is central to the ability of the group to work, language may be seen as a way of enabling a class of paradigmatic explanations to be generated.

3. Knowledge Cybernetics (KC)

In considering the connection between organizational and occupational culture, it might also be thought that there is a relationship between organizational paradigms and departmental paradigms. If this is the case, then it cannot be assumed that there is much cultural correspondence between related departments in different organizations. Occupational homogeneity occurs when two occupational cultures are qualitatively similar. As an example of this, we might be to postulate that all departments of finance in all organizations in China have a similar occupational culture. There is anecdotal evidence that such occupational homogeneity cannot be assumed. Some years ago, in the United of Kingdom, there was an intention to write a dictionary of shoemaking terms. However, it was found that the terms varied across geographical regions of the country. The implication is, of course, that even though there may be a national culture, regional culture also has an influence.

Yolles (2006) puts forward Knowledge Cybernetics (KC) as a theory that has been developed through cybernetic principles and metaphor. KC was adopted from a level theory, but it is not related to the layer theory of Hofstede. It begins with an initial three level theory that distinguishes between interactive ontological distinctions as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Elementary relationship between three types of reality



The figure shows the symbolic relationship between the three levels of Being: believing, thinking/ feeling and doing/ action. Believing is associated with knowledge, thinking is associated with information, and doing is empirically associated and is therefore data related. These connections may not be immediate and linear. KC is concerned with social dynamics based on knowledge and knowledge processes, and recognises the importance of communications and control. It involves feedback and feed-forward that enables, for instance, thinking to be turned into behaviour in a way that can be controlled and evaluated, and knowledge to underpin this relationship. It is concerned with social collectives that have both a social and cultural system.

Figure 5: Social Viable Systems (SVS) model based on Schwarz' model of Autonomous Viable Systems, where autonomy is a function of both autogenesis and autopoiesis

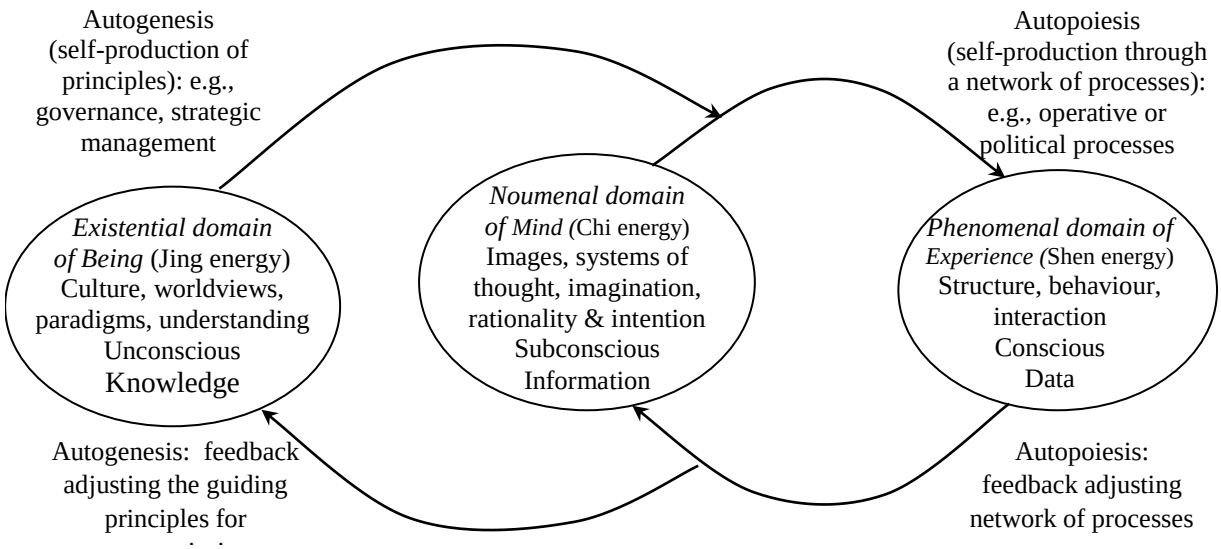


Figure 5 presents the three domains of the Social Viable Systems (SVS) model that are analytically distinct classifications of being, and they each have properties that are manifestations of knowledge. In this figure, the domains refer to ontologically distinct "natures of being", this as opposed to systems which are part of a domain with functionality. The term existential is adopted in the sense of Kierkegaard (see Walsh, 2009) who was concerned with knowledge and meaning, and sees truth to be subjective and existentialised, since it relates individuals and their bearing towards their existence. As such, individuals concretely exist as human, and are not just "knowing subjects". The use of the term existential domain adopted therefore refers to the subjective knowledge of an individual that is a function of learning experiences. The term noumenal refers to a constructivist representation of Kant's notion of the noumen (Yolles et al., 2012). The term phenomenal refers to behavioural phenomena, rather than phenomenology (Ricoeur, 1967). The so called phenomenal domain has social interests adapted from Habermas' (1971) in a way explained in Yolles and Guo (2003). The linkage between the domains is explored using notions of relevance, as originally proposed by Schutz and Luckman (1975).

The so called existential domain has thematic relevance that determines the constituents of an experience; the so called noumenal domain creates direction through the selection of relevant aspects of a stock of knowledge to formulate a system of thought, and it could be made more complex by involving feeling; and the phenomenal is associated with through and in particular *action*. The notions of conscious, subconscious and unconscious derive from Freudian psychology, are connected to the ideas of Wollheim's (1999), and also related to the ideas of organisational psychology as promoted, for instance, by Kets de Vries (1991) resulting in a psychology of the collective.

Sunshine and Wang (2003) noted three forms of measurable energy. For them, these three energies can be associated with matter, energy, and information. Energy facilitation is an integral part of Taoism, and three ontologically distinct forms of energy can be identified through the ancient idea of "the three treasures". According to (Liang and Wu, 2001) these treasures are the Jiang-Chi-Shen energies[1] that theories and explain the human physiological system and the fundamentals for all facets of life and its many variations. Jing is the

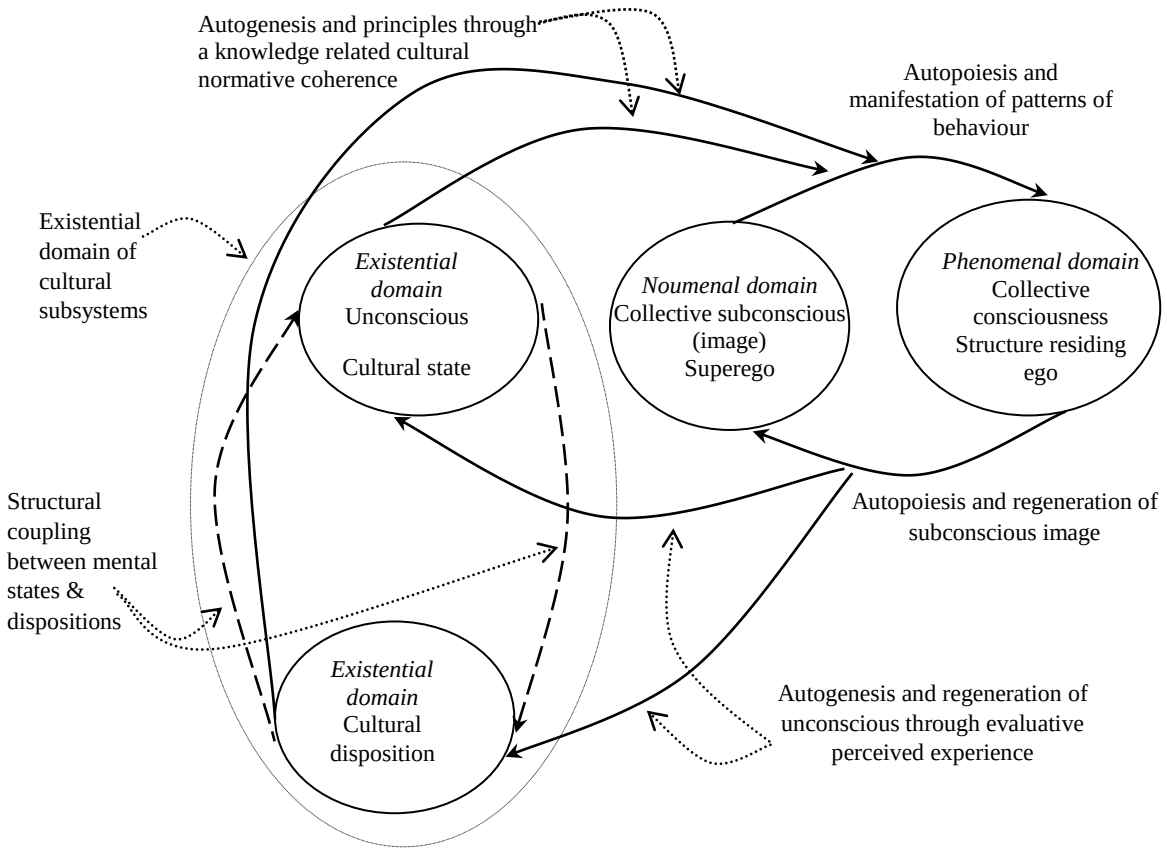
[1] For a definition of these terms see for instance the Tai Chi Chuan Lun (Discourse) at the website

http://www.taichichuan.co.uk/information/classics_lun_commentary.html, or the Toowoomba Buddhist Centre, T'ai Chi, http://www.fwbo.org.au/toowoomba/tai_chi_chuan.html, accessed June 2005.

essence of material-life is a coarse physical energy, Chi is an energy that we may see as psycho-physical in nature, and Shen is the spiritual life force energy. As such the Jing, Chi and Shen are inseparably linked with each another. The nature of this relationship is that Jing is manifested as Chi that is in turn manifested as Shen. Shen may also ultimately be manifested as Tao - a process of achieving ever-higher levels of integration. This uses metaphor to represents an intimate relationship that is implied by the ontological differentiation shown in Figure 5.

The nature of autopoiesis and autogenesis is of particular interest in KC through its SVS model, defining the cybernetic relationships between the levels of Being. Here autopoiesis (originally defined by Maturan, 1975) is a first order cybernetic connection between noumenal activity like thinking that, through a network of principles, can control phenomenal activity like doing. A second order control called autogenesis conditions autopoiesis, and enables autopoiesis to be knowledge. Examples of autopoiesis are political or other operative management processes, and example of autogenesis is strategic management.
It is clear that the level theory established through KC provides a detailed way of exploring the nature and consequence of culture. However, it can be reformulated in other ways too, explaining how the collective unconscious can be differentiated into states and disposition (Figure 6), which derives from the work in human psychology by Wollheim (1999). In a corporate context *cultural state* constitutes the impulses, tendencies and motivations that derive from the collective power group (often the executive) or the membership that composes it, while *cultural disposition* represents the characteristic or tendency of collective Being, representing the collective mental condition that embraces beliefs, knowledge, memories, abilities, phobias and obsessions, and that has both duration, history and inertia. It is also constituted as the basis for a plural pattern of knowledge (Yolles, Sawagvudcharee & Fink, 2010).

Figure 6: Relationship between the ego, superego, cultural states and disposition, where states and disposition have a shared history through their structural coupling.



The term structural coupling used in Figure 6 means that cultural state and disposition, which together make up the existential domain, have a history of mutual interactive development and the future of one affects that of the other. Where no structural coupling occurs between the cultural state and disposition, analytical schizophrenia (adopting the analytical form of two minds, rather than the more popular clinical meaning of the word) might be diagnosed as having a potential manifestation in the organisation. It may be that the parts will be structured so that an identifiable group represents each of the parts, but it is more likely that it represents a meta-structure that simply indicates that these parts exist in some distribution across the executive. The conflict that might develop from this can result in the inability of the executive to come to normative decisions.

4. Towards a Generic Unified Model of Chinese Culture

Fan (2002) explored Chinese culture, and in particular examined the classifications created by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Hofstede (1980), and the "Chinese Culture Collection" produced in 1987 that lists elements of the belief system (i.e., the interrelating attitudes, values and beliefs) associated with Chinese culture, including the influence of Confucianism. As a consequence of linking these studies, Fan (2002) develops a list to 71 values that affect the belief system that run across 8 categories: national traits, interpersonal relations, family/ social orientation, work attitude, business philosophy, personal traits, time orientation and relationship with nature. Our particular interest here lies in 6 generic categories that derive from Fan (2002), and which creates a new frame of reference for the cultural context that can be assessed in both micro-culture and macro-culture, so that Fan's national culture classifications are not adequate.

In Table 1 we adopt the layer model given in Figures 2 and Figure 6. Here we show the frame of reference that incorporates 6 values that define cultural characteristics. This results in 24 different possible states across the four levels in which these characteristics can be manifested.

Table 1: Relationship between the global and local context characteristics of culture

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Generic Cultural Characteristics (relating to cultural condition)</td><td colspan="4">Levels of Being</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Phenomenal Domain (Implied collective predisposition to Conscious/Ego; Shen energy) Relating to work, interaction and emancipation</td><td rowspan="2">Noumenal domain (Implied collective predisposition to Subconscious/ Superego; Chi energy) Relating to intention, organizing, and manner of thinking</td><td colspan="2">Existential Domain (Collective Unconscious; Jing energy) Relating to knowledge, belief, freedom and emotion</td></tr>
<tr><td>States (impulses, instincts, perceptions, imaginings, drives and motivations)</td><td>Disposition (knowledge, emotion, filter to processes of knowledge migration)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Global Context</td><td colspan="4">Local Contexts</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Cultural condition</td><td rowspan="2">Work, interaction & emancipation through reflection or commitment to prescription</td><td rowspan="2">Intention, manner of thinking & image through persistent curiosity or commitment to narrative</td><td colspan="2">Knowledge, belief, freedom & emotion through knowledge intensification or commitment to material phenomena</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cultural & individual impulses, drives & motivations</td><td>Knowledge & emotions</td></tr>
<tr><td>Respect</td><td>Hard work/industry, Legitimacy of ascription of roles and fixed resources like social power (e.g. power distance), Heroism</td><td>Sincerity, Courtesy</td><td>Tolerance, Respect for the old</td><td>Tradition, Sense of cultural superiority</td></tr>
<tr><td>Honor</td><td>Commitment (social or political grouping). Resistance to corruption, Responsibility</td><td>Loyalty to superiors Face (protecting, giving, gaining, losing)</td><td>Trustworthiness Social justice Filial piety (paternal obligation)</td><td>Kinship</td></tr>
<tr><td>Synergy</td><td>Harmony with others,</td><td>Persistence/persevera</td><td>Moderation</td><td>Repayment of</td></tr>
</table>

	Consensus/compromise, Avoiding confrontation, Thrift (efficiency) Non-competition	nce Te (virtue, moral standard) Order, Unity with nature	Open Mindedness	good and bad
Allegiances	Solidarity Governance by leaders (as opposed to law)	Conformity/group orientation Collectivism Guanxi (personal connection/ networking)	Jen ai/Kindness (forgiveness, compassion) Equality	Feeling of belonging Long lasting relationships (as opposed to gains)
Learning	Observation or rites/rituals Baring hardships *Risk*	Adaptability Goal formation, Control development, *Uncertainty, ambiguity,* curiosity	Personal steadiness and stability Self-cultivation, Creativity, *Variety, Accomplishment*, Intellectual pursuits	Knowledge acquisition Stability *Ambition*
Sensibility	Li/propriety, Wealth, Pragmatism (to suit a situation), Security	Not guided solely by profit, having few desires, Contentedness with position in life, People being primarily good	Patience Prudence Purity/disinterest, *Success, Pleasure, Excitement*	Abasement/ humbleness Sense of shame, Sense of righteousness/ integrity

The model of Table 1 is richer that than provided by either Hofstede or Schwartz. The context set out here relates to national culture, but it could be directed to corporate culture also, only requiring a reconsideration of the terms used while retaining their substantive meaning. Hence if the local contexts are to be so related, then the mapping of each of the 6 characteristics to local contexts may need to be adjusted to relate to local corporate contexts. The global context defined in Table 1 is a cultural condition that is in principle applicable to either national or corporate culture, and the local contexts given are defined as:

(1) work, interaction & emancipation through reflection or commitment to prescription;
(2) Intention, manner of thinking & image through persistent curiosity or commitment to narrative;
(3) Knowledge, belief, freedom and emotion through knowledge intensification or commitment to material phenomena, which is itself a global context for two related local contexts:
    (a) Cultural & individual impulses, drives and motivations
    (b) Knowledge and emotions.

This cultural map originates with Yolles (2000), where it is argued that corporations should not be directed solely towards profit motives, and reflects on earlier cybernetic principles indicated, for instance by Stafford Beer (1959), and later in the 1980s by Peters (1987) who indicated that adaptability more than profit that determines the capacity for an enterprise corporation to survive. Many of the cell contents are particularly relevant with respect of the idea that that most corporations have an ethic that directs them purely towards profit, competitiveness. Yolles and Iles (2006) explained the idea that corporate bodies are frequently classifiable as sociopathic, and having properties that display qualities that may include **e**gocentricity, callousness, impulsiveness, conscience defective, risk taking, and implicitly antagonistic**.** Since this cultural map is directed in particular to Chinese culture in the way that the cells are represented, we are led to consider whether or not there is a distinction between Chinese and Western corporations. Hence each of the generic values has a positive or negative attribute depending upon the culture. It is clear from this that phenomenal allegiance has a connection with Hofstede's variable individuality. However, it is the noumenal allegiance that is connected to collectivism, quite distinct from Hofstede. Phenomenal allegiance also has a relationship to Schwartz's notion of hierarchy. Knowledge Cybernetics is built on a broad theoretical base and is deeply connected to knowledge and cultural processes. Together with Fan's collection of cultural values that is able to depict Chinese culture, the identification, examination, measurement and exploration of different cultures is quite feasible. It should be realised that the table does not constitute a rigidly fixed typology, but is flexible in that the cell contents can change according to the nature of the global context and local contexts defined.

5. Conclusion

Culture is significant for organizational development and management, as it influences not only individuals behave, but also has power on how they recognize and understand the social behavior of others (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, Yolles & Sawagvudcharee, 2017). These happen because during cultural development and management, patterns of social knowledge are created. These are effective in beginning shared meanings and the sharing process is called normative. In a given culture, there are normative values in which certain objectives become social icons. The icons will not be common to other cultures with different normative values. For example, while the Chinese Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mau's title red book has become an icon for life-style of core groups of Chinese and in Europe, many football starts have taken on a similar role for an important subsection of society (such as David Beckham, Lionel Messi and Cristiano Ronaldo). Although both examples given represent icons, their natures are very different. For the title red book, it was a symbol for the Chinese Cultural Revolution, but those football starts are the hero which are socially elevated by those who value their image and style of life. Therefore, the normative nature of cultures holds opposing views regarding to the composition of their collective membership (Triandis & Suh, 2002). Hence, it can be said that culture has an individual dimension and it has an impact on individual behavior. This is likely relative to the size of the population that makes it up because of its normative nature, though other factors also come into play like how stable the culture is.

The notion that culture can be represented by a set of characteristics was practically developed by Hofstede. This work, while being credited with stimulating the area of cross-cultural communications, has also been criticized by a number of authors. Indeed, work by Jackson indicates that Hofstede's classifications are inadequate for Chinese culture. In the face of such criticism other work developed, notably by Schwartz, has been seen in a better light. Until now, however, none of the studies examined has been shown to be generic, and therefore able to operate as a frame of reference for all cultures. The knowledge cybernetics paradigm, like that of others, adopts a level theory to explain culture and its attributes. It has been used to develop a framework that derives from Fan and his explorations of the Chinese Culture Collection, and this has resulted in a global model of 6 characteristics of culture. However, within the global context a 4 level model of reality has been adopted each of which is seen as a related local context. Notion of migration, each of the 6 categories can be manifested in each of the local contexts, given 24 different characteristics. Hence, the model is context driven. This framework explicitly incorporates both the Hofstede and Schwartz characteristics across the distinct levels, and provides a comparative exploration of culture.

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Peasant Empowerment Trough Quasi-Agrarian Reform Program, Evidence from Indonesia

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Abstract: This article introduces the concept of quasi agrarian reform and critique of the de Soto theory of formal property. According to writer, agrarian reform, both redistribution and legalization of assets, must be run in Indonesia. The Indonesian government follows the de Soto theory by implementing the Farmers Empowerment Program. The objective of the quasi agrarian reform program is to encourage farmers to take credit in banks provided by the Government under the scheme Credit for the People (KUR). The importance of agrarian reform in Indonesia to empower farmers to solve various structural problems, such as poverty, unemployment and inequality. Implementation of an asset legalization program in this paper is called quasi agrarian reform, not in line with the original aspirations. Farmers prefer security in possession of land while the government wants it further that is the willingness of farmers to pledge their land in banks.

Keywords: *Quasi-agrarian reform, agrarian reform, peasant empowerment, agrarian conflict, impoverishment of peasant*

1. Introduction

In Indonesia, agrarian - reform becomes an actual issue of all time. Since this country was formed in 1945 until the leadership of President Joko Widodo, agrarian reform became one of the agenda. However, no government seriously manages the agenda so that its implementation is effective. The main difficulty is the lack of ideological support. Land reform program is interpreted by the political forces of Islam as a communist party program. While Islam is a religion shared by the majority of Indonesians (83%) and communism is considered the main enemy. Islam-communist tensions have been going on since the 1920s and culminated in 1965. Throughout the New Order government (1966-1998), communism was also regarded as the main enemy. Attempts to investigate the mass killings of 1966-1968 against those accused of communist followers of the fall of the New Order were regarded as a revival of communism. Similarly, land reform or agrarian reform programs are also considered part of the leftist movement. Therefore, in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, land reform program has two variants, namely land redistribution and asset legalization. This second variant is called the quasi of agrarian reform.

Generally, agrarian reform has two objectives, namely to achieve justice and to increase farmer productivity. Because the two objectives have not achieved, agrarian reform is an interesting issue of all time. This issue had appeared prior to the independence of Indonesia and was a matter of debate among the independence activists. After the independence, narrowed as land reform, agrarian reform became the left and center- left ideology promoted by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the Murba Party and the radical Indonesian National Party. Cabinets that came and went in the era of the Old Order (1945-1965) were also resulted from the expertise of political parties to exploit the issue of agrarian reform. The actions of The Indonesian Peasant's' Front (BTI) and the Indonesian Forestry Workers Union (SERBUKI), mass organizations affiliated with the PKI in 1963-1965, leading to class conflict in rural areas and triggering the 1965 coup, ended debates and discourses on agrarian reform. Moreover, the New Order government adopted the ideology of "developmentalism", which did not require people's participation in development, the agrarian reform discourse disappeared from the political stage of Indonesia. As a result, once being the country's principal program under Law no. 5 of 1960 and Law No. 56 of 1960, agrarian reform was only treated as a routine daily bureaucratic affair (Wiradi, 2000). It was surprising that the spirit of agrarian reform emerged after the New Order with the stipulation of TAP MPR No. IX/ MPR/2001. The government was mandated by the people to implement agrarian reform to resolve agrarian conflicts and to implement agrarian reforms through land redistribution prioritized for the poor. The euphoria situation over the success of the people and student movements overthrew Suharto temporarily built elite cohesiveness. This situation allowed populist agenda to enter into state policy. In the New Order period, agrarian reform to refer to restructuring tenure, use, ownership and utilization of agrarian resources for the justice and welfare of the people was only voiced by peasant movements. According to Rosser's interpretation(Rahman, 2012), the MPR TAP is one of the

phenomenal examples of the work of reformist forces in democracy. However, President Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Soekarnoputri did not set an agenda for the implementation of TAP MPR IX/2001 and the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA). Moreover, Megawati disappointed the agrarian reform activists by issuing Presidential Decree No. 34/2003 in order to revise the 1960 UUPA.

In contrast, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) designed the National Agrarian Reform Program as required in TAP MPR IX/2001 by setting an agenda for a land redistribution of 8.15 million hectares. This design did not run well due to weak coordination between ministries and weak presidential leadership that the president did not stand at the front leading the change and tended to let every ministry running its own agenda. As suggested by Groenewald (Groenewald, 2004)and Binswanger-Mkhize (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2014), the success of agrarian reform requires a radical change in the design and implementation, active participation of beneficiaries and strong implementing organizations by siding to landless peasant. During 2012-2014, only 420,180 plots of land were successfully redistributed land, which were smaller in the previous years. In addition to low political will, the achievement was very much lower than the target because of a half-hearted leadership of SBY. Nevertheless, his leadership successfully launched a new formula of agrarian reform, namely asset reform and access reform. This article discusses agrarian reform in terms of asset reform in the perspective of peasant empowerment. The question that guides this article are, why does the government need to undertake asset reform? What are the benefits of implementing the program for peasants and what are the risks borne by peasants? In order to answer those questions, a conceptual study of community empowerment, agrarian reform and asset reform was conducted respectively.

2. Literature Review

In developing countries, land reform is very important to realize farmers' justice and prosperity. The imbalance of ownership and control of land in developing countries is very serious. In Indonesia, restrictions on land ownership are regulated in law no. 5 years 1960, but its implementation is weak. The government does not have the political will to explicitly implement the law which affects more and more landless peasants. According to the Agricultural Census of 1973, the number of landowners is 74.7%. This figure in 2003 decreased to 70.5%. In contrast, landless farmers increased from 3.2% to 3.4%(Bachriadi & Wiradi, 2011). Agrarian reform is reforming ownership, tenure and use of land to achieve justice and increase productivity primarily for small and landless peasants. In The Peasants' Charter (FAO, 1981), agrarian reform is a movement, which means an ongoing effort to create justice for peasants. Agrarian reform is not a momentary, but sustainable effort of which ultimate goal is to achieve justice and increase farmer productivity. According to Jacobs (Jacobs, 2010), land reform for the benefit of peasants does not have a meaning of reform if it is not followed by efforts to reduce peasants' poverty, food security and agricultural sustainability. Both the *Peasants' Charter* and the Jacobs' concept have meaning consisting of asset reform and access reform. This was developed by the National Land Agency (BPN) under Joyo Winoto (Winoto, 2013). In a narrow sense, agrarian reform refers to land reform, which is a restructuring of land tenure and ownership, especially the land redistribution aimed at achieving equity in agricultural development (Tuma, 1966). This is what is called genuine agrarian reform. However, in the broader sense, land reform is the same as agrarian reform, that is: "An attempt to improve agrarian structure consisting of land tenure system, methods of cultivating land and business organization, scale of business operation, rent, village credit institutions, marketing, education and training to adapt to justice and productivity objectives" (Tuma, 1966).

After conducting studies in several countries, Winoto(Winoto, 2013) states that there are 4 (four) categories of agrarian reform, namely radical land reform, land restitution, land colonization and market-based land reform. The first category is difficult to implement because the political forces supporting this concept are getting smaller. Moreover, unilateral events in 1963-1965 left a traumatic experience for Indonesia. The second category worked in several locations, such as the former land of *PT Sari Petung* in Kediri and the former mining land in Bangka Island. Meanwhile, the third category was implemented in the form of transmigration, although since the fall of the New Order the format has changed to designate more for local residents. For the fourth category, land reform was carried out based on or with the help of market mechanisms that could take place if land title was given so that security in tenure works to encourage financial markets in rural areas. This is what is popularly referred to asset legalization program. However, due to the absence of reform in land ownership, tenure and redistribution, agrarian reform has lost its

meaning. Therefore, this article uses quasi or pseudo because there is no change in structure and only change in function. This concept is different from that is proposed by Christodoulou (Wiradi, 2000) who positions such agrarian reform as *fabianism*, an imprecise analogy because *fabianism* is a slow-down by pretending to do but actually not. For the government, quasi-reform has various benefits such as that agrarian reform program continuously exists, state apparatus continuously work and state budget can be continuously spent. For landowners, its usefulness is still determined by various objective factors beyond the control of the landowners.

Based on the aforementioned definitions, agrarian reform also includes empowerment or strengthening of peasants. Through the asset legalization, land will have a wider function and be connected with larger socioeconomic system. There is a strong correlation between legal assets and land prices or economic value of the land. According to classical economic theory, the key to social progress is in the capital formation and only the owners of capital and landowners are able to do so (Jhingan, 2012). As capital, land will only have value if it is integrated widely with economic system. This means it requires change from extralegal property to formal property. Without such change, land is only dead capital and remains in the extralegal domain as well as fails as capital (Soto, 2006). By placing the land in the position of formal property, the land owner will reach the position of empowerment by actualizing himself in social system of society. In this context, empowerment must avoid the strengthening of individuals only, but must maintain and develop social institutions and social systems of society. In Friedman's concept, strengthening the ability of individuals and social institutions is to achieve independence (local self-reliance (but not autarchy)(Friedman, 1992). There are a number of benefits to landowners by placing their land in the position of formal property, namely managing economic potential of the asset, integrating it into a socioeconomic system, strengthening the responsibilities of participants in the existing system, placing more liquid assets to be easily interchangeable, placing the participants in one network and, equally important, protecting transactions, not only protecting assets(Soto, 2006). If the asset remains in the extralegal position, the owner runs a considerable risk of losing security against ownership, property protection costs greater than taxes and placing the property in an underground position so that it is often neglected in public services (Soto, 2006).

Such empowerment strategies contain fundamental weaknesses, such as the danger of "new right" and neoliberalism. Integrating local resources into global capitalist economic system will accelerate the transformation to neoliberalism and transform social resources into marketable private goods (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006). The danger of new right includes reducing the role of the state, the role of the community and placing individuals and families as the main actors in development. In Indonesia the implementation of land reform was held in 1961-1965. The leftist political power led by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) is impatiently awaiting the rules of implementing land reform and undertaking unilateral action against state-owned lands and clerics (ulama). As a result, there was an open tension and conflict that claimed the lives of more than 500,000 people accused of PKI followers. The military's efforts to create stability were carried out by arresting those accused of PKI followers and imprisoning them for 15 years without trial. The attempt to make agrarian arrangements of any kind, immediately led to resistance from the right group, especially from the conservative Islamic forces. This ideological challenge causes program implementation to be very complicated.

3. Methodology

This research employed secondary data analysis. This method analyzes data collected by others, government agencies or other institutions concerned about an issue. Over the last two decades social scientists have made use of this method because of extensive data, low cost and allowing comparison analysis (Neuman, 2014). The data analyzed were taken from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, Central Bureau of Statistics, and agencies or institutions concerned with agrarian affairs. The data were analyzed by comparing and interpreting quantitatively and descriptively.

4. Results and Discussion

Agrarian reform in Indonesia is very important and urgent to implement. The importance of agrarian reform to overcome problems of imbalance in land ownership, poverty, unemployment, environmental damage and

lack of food supply. Approximately 40% of lands in Indonesia is controlled by private companies and individuals. Total area of land under Rights to Cultivate (HGU), Logging Concession (HPH), Industrial Plantation Forest (HTI) and Building Right on Land (HGB) until the end of 2016 reached 41.21 million hectares. Meanwhile, the number of peasants, owning landless than 0.25 hectares, were 13.7 million people. Inequality of land title and ownership between layers is indicated by the Gini index of 0.562 (data of 2012). A total of 17.17 percent of peasant households owned only 0.9 percent of agricultural land. Of course, such size of agricultural land is not efficient to work on because the expenditure of energy, goods and money was not equivalent to the production. As a result, most peasants were caught in a cycle of increasingly severe poverty. Inequality of agricultural land tenure is very serious. 11.27% of peasant households control 45.47% of agricultural land with an area of 2 hectares or more, while peasants who own land that does not meet the economic scale for production reach 56.41%. This figure does not meet the Porsterman index for peasant revolution because they are not landless. However, it is clearly an arena of continuing agrarian conflict. In any sector, the conflict always put peasants powerless, especially when dealing with corporations and the state (state enterprises). The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) records that every year there is an increase in agrarian conflicts in terms of number, area of the land, injured families and criminalized peasants (Table 1).

Table 1: Number of Cases and Area of Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia 2013-2016 (Ha)

No	Sector	2013		2014		2016	
		Case	Area	Case	Area	Case	Area
1	Plantation	180	527,939.27	185	924,740.09	163	601,680
2	Mining	38	197,365.90	14	6,953.00	28	45,588
3	Infrastructure	105	35,466	215	74,405.16	100	35,824
4	Forestry	31	545,258	27	271,544.00	25	450,215
5	Coast/ Waters	9	NA	4	1,548,150.00	10	1,706
6	Property	NA	NA	NA	NA	117	104,379
7	Agriculture	NA	NA	NA	NA	7	5
	Total	369	1,281,660.09	472	2,860,977.07	450	1,265,027

Source: Agrarian Reform Consortium, 2017

In addition to the aforementioned two problems, poverty is also an urgent issue to overcome. In 2014, the number of poor people was 28.28 million or 11.25 percent of the population of Indonesia. This figure changed to 28.59 million or 11.22 percent of the total population of this country in 2015(BPS, 2016). If classified by areas, 18.29 million of poor people live in rural areas. Broadly speaking, the characteristics of the poor group are poorly educated, without land to work on, some women as family heads, subsistence living, without permanent jobs, if working mostly as land tenants or domestic workers and are vulnerable to socioeconomic changes. Such characteristics are not able to join the asset legalization program because they do not have it. Protection policy is needed, not empowerment, for people with such characteristics such as giving land either in the terms of radical land reform as implemented in 1961-1965 or land restitution and land colonization.

Table 2: Redistributed Land Area and Number of Heads of Families Receiving Land

Year	Area (Ha)	Number of Receiver (Head of Family)
1961-2004	1,153,685	1,504,572
2005	5,560	6,510
2006	7,527	4,924
2007	91,969	78,311
2008	284,087	220,212
2009	176,198	169,110
2010	150,499	152,538
2011	181,429	111,762
2012	126,662	91,687
2013	159,480	Na
2014	138,181	Na
Total	2,475,211	2,339,626

Source: National Land Agency (data processed)

In contrast, peasants who joined the quasi-agrarian reform program were relatively constant every year. Of the six types of programs implemented by the National Land Agency, a program involving peasants are PRONA (Agrarian National Operation Project) and Agriculture. Prona had been implemented since 1981 initially targeting the poor in rural areas and then expanded to veterans, employees whose salary below the provincial minimum wage and widow/widower of retired civil servant. As a project known to the public, Prona was more attractive and its requirements were not as complicated as other programs. In joining a program including empowerment, people paid attention to relative advantages, suitability, complexity, testable and ability to observe a curve building. In addition to these factors, public participation in the Prona program was inseparable from the considerable scope of the program compared to other programs.

Table 3: Asset Legalization in 2012-2014

No	Type of Program	2012	2013	2014
1	Prona	745,540	770,075	734,825
2	Agriculture	27,671	22,519	23,265
3	Transmigration	23,453	5,976	17,286
4	SMEs	18,973	19,192	18,616
5	Fishermen	13,431	16,527	23,813
6	Low-Income People	6,415	7,037	7,350
	Total	835,483	841,326	825.155

Source: LAKIP BPN-RI 2013, 2014, 2015. Data 2015 are not specified.

Meanwhile, agricultural program was specifically made for peasants. The participation rate of this program was very low compared to the existing land area. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, in 2013 the area of agricultural land in Indonesia was 39.4 million hectares in which rice field was only 8.1 million hectares (20.5%) (Kementan,2014). Of this area, only about 44% had been certified. If the annual number of legal asset participation was only about 24 thousand parcels of land, every district/city in Indonesia was only able to certify 46.7 parcels of land annually, provided that there are 514 regencies/cities in Indonesia. This figure is very small compared to the existing resources. It was more ironic if sources of cost were taken into consideration. For example, data of 2015 mention that 2,147,490 land parcels were successfully certified (ATR/BPN, 2016). Of these figures, the State Budget only covered 858,999 areas, the rest (59.9%) from Non-Tax Revenue (PNBP) or funded by the community itself. Annually, there were only about 106 thousand owners of land certificate who joined the access reform program (ATR/BPN, 2016). This participation rate was very low if compared to the number of participants on the asset legalization. The low number of participation in the access reform, according to the BPN research results in 4 (four) provinces (West Java, South Kalimantan, Gorontalo and Southeast Sulawesi), was due to low public interest in participating the access reform, especially getting bank credit to establish small businesses. Meanwhile, Agricultural Research and Development (R & D) to increase agricultural productivity found that such low interest was because peasants did not know that credit was given from banks to peasants. On average, People Business Credit (KUR) for agriculture sector was only absorbed by 15% every year from the total KUR of 100-120 trillion rupiahs. More than 65% of credits were absorbed in the trading sector.

This indicates that information was not disseminated properly among peasants. In the theory of program implementation, dissemination and communication are the main variables. The discovery of this problem indicates sectorial ego of the ministry. The success of the credit program for farmers was determined by 4 (four) actors, namely the National Land Agency (for land affairs), Ministry of Agriculture (for farmer's affairs), Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs (for business types that will be developed) and the Ministry of Finance (credit value). However, they avoided final responsibility of the program and dissemination in order to avoid expenditures from their respective posts. Such weak coordination and strong sectorial ego show that the welfare of the people has not become a common goal of the government apparatuses. This coordination problem was also revealed in a research conducted by NK Agustin, Yulia F. Sinuraya and Sahat M Pasaribu on "Land Certification and Food Production Improvement in 2012 in 7 provinces". Involving 1,350 respondents, this research indicates that tension between actors took place starting from the process of land certification until the effort to get bank credit. In the process of certification, the tension occurred when determining prospective peasant prospective location. BPN determined specific location and the Ministry of Agriculture determined prospective peasants and they were not synchronous. This tension had implications in the budget

(NK Agustin, 2012). Here, the Coordinating Minister, Governor and Regent/Mayor were not able to establish harmony and cooperation for optimizing results.

The main objective of the farmers joining land certification was to obtain clarity of land ownership status so that they felt secure and had evidence according to the written law. In addition, peasants had the opportunity to participate in access reforms made by BPN and prevent land occupation and land use change (NK Agustin, 2012). Nevertheless, Agustin et al. did not find a direct correlation between land certification and increased agricultural productivity. Productivity was more affected by technology, input use and farmer behavior. If the rising price of land after the certification was interpreted as productivity, the goal of certification was achieved. Agricultural areas close to industrial areas would increase the value of rapidly and, without strong legal protection, land was easily transferable through unilateral occupation or illicit sale. In line with the findings of Agustin et al. above, similar motivations were demonstrated by the research conducted by Jones (Jones, 2010) in Southeast Asia, Thontteh and Omirin(Omirin, 2015)in Lagos and Geininger and Feder(Feder, 2009)in a number of developing countries. David Jones points out that the need to clarify the status of the land and obtain legal protection from the state were the main motivation of the people in Southeast Asia to join the land certification program. Although its impact on the economic changes of families was small, participants joined such program enthusiastically. Three major issues that obstructed the asset legalization program were poor governance standards, less positive responses from traditional communities and the domination of political and business elites in land tenure. The impacts that occurred in Lagos as reported by Thontteh and Omirin were increased public confidence in land-based transactions. The economy of Lagos would make rapid progress if it was able to eliminate three major obstacles related to land, namely institutions, clear legal framework and professionalism of land staff. The findings of Geininger and Feder were more specific that there was an increase in investment and community productivity, including farmers. The amount of credit disbursed also increased significantly and had an impact on the increase of people's incomes. However, some new conflicts over claims and reclaiming of certified land so that they rejected de Soto's thesis that formal property was not a panacea in economic development.

Other micro-studies on the impacts of quasi-agrarian reform show that there was no increase in farmers' income. A study conducted by Asliah Amir revealed that the decision of farmers to utilize land certificates for collateral was affected by various factors, namely land area, amount of credit obtained, loan lending procedure in bank, and credit payment system (Puswanhari, 2012). A study conducted by Puswanhari revealed that only 14% of respondents used land certificates as collateral in banks. Involving respondents in urban areas, this study shows respondents' understanding about the intricacies of borrowing money in the bank so that he main motivations to give the land certificate as collateral were obtaining the loan easily, utilizing assistance from the government, avoiding complicated matters with the bank and obtaining certainty of land prices and obtaining the loan. Those motivations indicate that respondents had experience related to financial institutions, both banks and non-banks.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Peasant empowerment through agrarian reform programs is urgently implemented by the Government to resolve fundamental structural problems such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, declining food supplies, land conflicts and environmental damage. Land redistribution, especially to poor families, needs to be immediately realized to prevent the aforementioned problems from being acute. Being expected to improve the welfare of peasants, the quasi-agrarian reform program did not meet expectations. There was no direct correlation between land certification and peasant's credit participation. Direct correlation was shown by the rising land prices after the certification. There were a number of "intermediate variables", such as need for business, value of the land, credit contract process and business scale to be developed. The peasants' primary needs for land certification were to obtain a sense of security, to serve as a strong evidence of land ownership, to preserve the opportunity to at any time join the access reform and to prepare for land speculators, especially in areas of rapid economic development. The cost of implementing the land certification program was mostly borne by the community. Such cost problem was also an obstacle, especially for families who were not covered by the Prona program. The negative impact of this program was indicated by increased agrarian conflicts, especially for peasants who were unable to develop their business and unable to pay off bank loans. Peasants' lands were forced into the land market and fell into the hands of money owners. In such

situations, the implementation of the quasi-agrarian reform program promoted the neoliberal ideology that trapped peasants to lose their land. Taking note of these findings, this study recommends (1) the need to be cautious in giving credit to farmers. Farmers who do not have the business to be excluded from the credit program. (2) the empowerment of farmers through the quasi-agrarian reform program needs to be continued because it provides great benefits to farmers, especially to protect their property.

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