

DYNAMICS OF THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS AND CULTURAL MOSLEM LEADERS (KYAI) IN THE FORMULATION OF FLOOD ERADICATION POLICY IN SITUBONDO REGENCY

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Abstract

This writing focuses on how far the attempts of local government, stakeholders and Cultural Islamic Leaders in the formulation of Flood Eradication Policy in Situbondo Regency. Based on this research, there are 3 (three) aspects that make the formulation of Flood Eradication Policy become unoptimal in Situbondo, namely : (1) The Role of Cultural Islamic Leaders, (2) Lower participation of stakeholders, and (3) lower attention of local government. Among the three aspects, It is the role of cultural Islamic Leaders that become the main cause of unoptimal condition in the formulation of Flood Eradication Policy in Situbondo Regency. What is meant by the role of Cultural Islamic leader here is his or her intervention to the local government activities so that the head of local government become dependent on them in the process of policymaking, both planning, executing (implementation) and supervision (controlling). Although flood-disaster occurs every year and destructs such aspects as social, economical, political and cultural aspects, but the local government hasn't given priority to handle it. The local government hasn't so far had Local Regulation on Flood Disaster Eradication that can be used as reference. This condition finally become the obstacle to realize disaster handling Management in accordance with people's will and need.

Key words : Government, Disaster, and Cultural Islamic Leader (Kyai)

INTRODUCTION

. Flood has become the major threat in Situbondo Regency because It lies among 30 River Watershed. Overflow of Sampeyan Watershed which constitutes the longest watershed running across the regencies of Bondowoso and Situbondo has caused the loss and damage of both physical and non-physical aspects. Flood ever inundated Situbondo, especially in the years of 2002, 2005 and 2008 and again It caused the destruction of public infrastructures. According to The Ministry of Health of The Republic of Indonesia (2008), 11 people died and 726 units of buildings were destroyed by Flood which happened in 5 Sub-Districts during those periods, namely the Sub-districts of Situbondo, Bungatan, Panji, Panarukan and Mlandingan.

Considering the condition that flood can occur anytime in this regency, therefore Disaster Management is very needed to anticipate the occurring of flood from the viewpoints of both physical infrastructure development Strategy and integrated social and economic policy in line with the condition of people living along flood-proned Area, such as Panarukan Bridge Area, Wringin Anom, Sumberkolak and Sluice Dam as well as Old Sampeyan Dam.

Referring to the existing problems, the unreadiness of Local Government to anticipate flood is caused by the absence of disaster planning and management. Moreover The Local Agency For Disaster

Eradication (BPBD) which is responsible for handling disaster technically can not do anything to fulfil its duties and tasks, for instance, to decide the standardization of Disaster Eradication in accordance with the prevailing Regulations. Throwing responsibility among governmental offices/agencies frequently happens and this condition gives negative impacts to maximize the handling of flood victims, concerning health condition of the victims, reconstruction of victim's house and the damaged public facilities.

Integrative measures and communication are very important to share knowledge among local governments and also between local government and central government, because there are similar characteristics of flood disaster occurring in respective regions, like the absence of good and synergic coordination in the management of River Watershed between upstream and downstream officials. Actually the management of River Watershed must refer to the principles of *one river, one plan, and one integrated management*. In addition, there are 3 critical Watershed, namely Lubawang, Deluang and Delowogo which run across highway in the northern cost of Situbondo. Floods occurring in that area frequently cause traffic jam and the damage of people's property.

Based on the above explanation, the targeting objective of this research is to identify the attempts of local government, stakeholders and Cultural Kyai in the formulation of Flood Eradication Policy in Situbondo Regency.

THE METHODE OF RESEARCH

This is a descriptive research with qualitative approach. It takes place in Situbondo Regency and the subjects of this research consist of all stakeholders (NGOs, Academics, environmental activists, community) and Cultural *Kyai*. The methods of Data collection in this research are interviews, observation, documentation, and literature study. The data analysis used in this research covers data condensation, data presentation and conclusion.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Socio-cultural condition and Demography

According to Yuswadi (2005), administratively, Situbondo belongs to the area of transitional (mixing) culture, similar to some neighbouring Regencies of Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Bondowoso, Jember and Lumajang. The people in this area are living in transitional condition of their socio and cultural styles. Those who are living on the Island of Java are mostly influenced by Madurese transitional culture.

The unique characteristic are of course not separated from the influence of paternalistic attitude and behavior of Situbondo people who mostly have Madurese background. They hold tightly the concept of *Bhapa' Bhabu' Guru Rato*. This concept become a local wisdom of Madurese who are living both inside and outside the territory of Madura Islands. *Guru*, in Arabic called ustadz/kyai, is a figure who is able to protect, give new useful knowledge for the future life. *Rato*, also called Raja, acts as a respected leader. In recent context, Rato is the same as Head of government whose words are considered reference by his or her society. Rato is a wise leader who is expected to keep the order and security of his/her nation or state. That's why the concept of *Bhapa Bhabu Guru Rato* become essential part of Madurese life and at the same time become inspiration for Situbondo people in undergoing their social, economic, cultural and political practices.

Another influence of the existence of *Guru (Kyai)* in practical political domain can be seen from the polarization of legislative members in 2014 General Election which was dominated by traditional Islamic Political Parties (PPP and PKB). Whereas the modern Islamic Political Parties, like PKS only has 1 member and PAN has no representative at all in Local Parliament. PKB has the biggest legislators with 10 members, PPP is the second with 9 legislative members. Both political parties are supported by well-known *Guru (Kyai)*, namely the leader and manager of Walisongo Islamic Boarding School (hereinafter called Walisongo) KH. AHAD for PKB (*Nation Awakening Party*) and the owner and manager of Salafiyah Syafiiyah Islamic Boarding School (hereinafter called PP. Salafiyah Syafiiyah), KH. FASA for PPP (*Unity Development Party*).

Based on the Data from Statistical Central Bureau (BPS) in 2015, the number of population in Situbondo Regency are 780.112 people. Most of them, more than 97,3 percents, are Moslems and the rest, more than 2,7 percents, embrace another formal religions, like Hindus, Buddhist, Konghuchu and Christianity. This condition become the strengthening factor of Religious Cultural Development of Situbondo people. And It is also occurring in neighboring regencies of Bondowoso and Jember.

2. LPBI – NU as the booster of Disaster Risk Reduction (PRB)

Mass Organizations, like Scouts, ORARI, Local NGOs such as Kawana and Sayonara, have organized Disaster Risk Reduction (hereinafter called PRB) at all phases, starting from prevention, mitigation, and preparedness. Among them, LPBINU become the most credible Mass Organization that has undergone research on PRB and made formulation of flood reduction. LPBINU steps got support and appreciation in the form of financial aids from Central LPBINU and Australia-Indonesia *Facility for Disaster Reduction (AIFDR)*.

In another hand, the concern is on the lack of local government attention concerning disaster eradication management, particularly flood disaster. Even, LPBINU recruited Disaster Alertness Cadre in 2015 to be trained and educated with subjects concerning PRB process. After that, they are assigned to some places which recently belong to disaster-proned areas.

Systematic and gradual efforts in the process of PRB mapping are expected to be able to find objective facts that can be used as important inputs in the process of PRB in the future.

What LPBINU has done so far is theoretically and conceptually in line with Denhart (2003:28-29) on the process of service implementation with *New Public Services (NPS)* dimension, whereas in this concept (read: NPS) "*The implementation process must be well-planned and holistic by forwarding the professionalism of local government (unfortunately this role is taken over by LPBINU) and the presence of public role and participation*".

LPBINU has performed significant role to push the process of PRB based on public need. LPBINU support in the process of PRB mapping is directed to be the startingpoint to realize optimal flood eradication action. The initial effort (read: mapping) performed by LPBINU Situbondo reveals the facts that the major cause of repeated flood disaster occurring in Situbondo is the lack of government support, especially local government, both budgeting and policy in the process of PRB.

This can be seen from the minimum condition of prevention facilities, mitigation and alertness, beside the geographical condition of Situbondo which is located on low land area that in rainy season it gets water delivery from upstream area such as Sampeyan River Watershed.

After mapping stage, LPBINU held *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) by inviting such parties as universities in Situbondo, academics, mass organizations, NGO's and Local Government. FGD discussed the findings resulted in the mapping process. This was held to get directive, contributive, specific and local-oriented inputs from the participants of discussion.

Referring to the result of FGD, it was found some interesting facts that the process of PRB can be optimally undergone depending on 3 (three) solution factors, namely: *Firstly*, better coordination, *Secondly*, the acceleration of infrastructure's construction of River Watershed and disaster-resistance infrastructure. *Thirdly*, The active and optimal participations of all parties and people before the occurring of flood disaster.

Actually, PRB is one of systemic approaches to identify, evaluate and reduce any risks caused by disaster. The main objective is to avoid the worst condition affecting the people from the viewpoints of social and economic factors, natural environment as well as another disaster triggering factors. It is the form of responsibility and development of agent (like Rescue Agency). This must be continually performed and become integrated part of organization action and not only be present at certain period of time when flood comes to inundate our region.

Because of the importance of PRB, the result of FGD which involved all elements of people was finally handed in from LPBINU to Local Government and Local Parliament in the form of Disaster Risk Reduction Document as the comprehensive reference and input that can be followed up by public policy product.

The action taken by LPBINU Situbondo seemed to arise the commitment of executive body with the release of Stipulation of Situbondo Regent Number 23 of 2015 on The Task-forces Unit of Disaster Risk Reduction under the commands of LPBINU Situbondo by involving all stakeholders who were recently taking part actively in FGD.

This becomes the starting point of openness performed by local government to initiate MoU with all parties outside governmental agency. The transformative attitude of local government again become the initial moment of the presence of public agreement. Unfortunately, as yet there is no real steps taken by local government in the form of MoU with another parties as the follow up of NA produced by LPBINU and the availability of PRB Document and NA LPBINU, as we know, has got enough appreciation from people and all parties, especially from *Cultural Kyai* because the initiator of the presence of those documents came from otonomous Body of Nahdlatul Ulama, which has recently had strong legitimation from community, local government and *Cultural Kyais* themselves.

Weak respon of local government has become crucial concern because low performance and commitment of local government can give negative impact to the optimalization of public interest. Consequently, Strong action performed by all parties, especially LPBINU, mean nothing. (read: LPBINU with PRB and NA Documents)

The ignorance of Local Government to the contribution of all parties in the implementation of government programs become specific concern if it is connected to the recent dimension of governmental implementation, namely NPS "*where the government must be responsive to public willingness, particularly those who give contribution as part of Government role to facilitate participative and democratic implementation of government policy*". (Denhart 2003:70) It describes the absence of holistic attitude and understanding of local government to appreciate the significant role of all parties in the formulation of policy (read: PRB), particularly flood eradication policy. The involvement of all parties

become the major requirement to formulate democratic public policy, to make sure that the policy resulted is in line with public need.

3. The role of Cultural Moslem Leaders (KYAI).

By undergoing in-depth observation on Bureucratic behaviors in Situbondo, It can be described that the life of Bureucracy is not only conservative as said by the above theory, but the bureaucracy is also controlled and steered by the presence of Kyai where head of local government and all his staffs totally abide by the political, social and ecomical interest of the Kyai. This is a unique phenomenon, and perhaps only occurs in Situbondo. The condition caused the local government can not function optimally, and most people here consider that the head local government who was appointed through the process of election only acts like a shadow where the policy making will depend on the vested interest of the Kyai. This bears an image that Kyai becomes the determing factor in the process of policy making compared to the head of local government.

The overlap of interests among people, bureucracy and Kyai are certainly on the contrary to the principle of modern bureucracy and government that has monolithic characteristic and also contrary to *moral accountability* of a leader which is elected by people through General election. Head of local government has authority that can not be possessed by another figures, especially in decision making. According to Desmita (2005: 198) decision making is the form of thinking activity, and the result of that activity is called decision. Collusive behavior and inprofessional attitude of Head Local Government in the process of governmental implementation which was easily influenced by another parties is mostly caused by *moral disengagement*. According to Bandura (in Detert, Trevino & Sweitze, 2008:374) *moral disengagement* is confirmation that people can not make ethical decision because of inactive self regulation of his or her moral process when the use of cognitive mechanism which is mutually interconnected at the same time are still underway.

What the writer observes from the attitude of *moral disengagement* of Head of Local government in the implementation which are contrary to *moral accountability*, among others:

1. Throw responsibility. The action of Head of Local Government who is not willing to be considered "false" in undergoing his responsibility because in his view there is still figure who has higher authority.
2. Blur responsibility. Anyone feels that mistake is not only his responsibility, but also become responsibility of another people.

The condition needs public participation. Norm/moral accountability can be realized if public opportunity to take part has been given. The norm of transparency gives nothing if there is no public participation. Norm of Transparency forces the increasing public accountability. Public participation can not be undergone optimally without the presence of tansparancy.

Accountability is difficult to be realized without controlling and public participation in the process of decisión-making. uncertainty in the process of decisión making invites people questions whether public interest is really becoming priority or not. Therefore it needs people empowering action, and the increasing trust as well as higher participation of the people.

The unique dynamics occurring in Situbondo is also affecting the complexity of flood eradication action, not only in operational level but also concerning respective interest of all parties (government, people, and Kyai). The condition of government organization which is not ideal create negative im-

pact, one of the parameters is flood eradication action which is not able to reduce flood risks from year to year because of the absence of policy-making process. The initiative to formulate flood eradication policy is even coming from outsider, one of them is LPBNU. Whatever ideas coming from internal bureaucracy are sometimes set aside by stakeholders (read: bupati) before getting legitimacy from *Kyai*. It is the reality that was observed by writer when being active as bureaucrat. Ineffectiveness of flood eradication action and formulation of the policy creates images that the existence of Local Agency For Disaster Eradication (BPBD) in Situbondo Regency can not function as expected.

4. Review of Flood Eradication

Based on The National Regulation of Number 24 of 2007 on Flood Eradication, It is underlined that Flood Eradication is directed to Disaster Risk Reduction *hereinafter called PRB*) by involving all stakeholders. It is organized to strengthen nation's capability to overcome disaster. Participation of all parties are very needed to anticipate the existing weaknesses concerning both implementation and the absence of legal basis. By observing the condition and to provide strong legal reference in the implementation of disaster eradication, The Regulation Number 24 of 2007 on Disaster Eradication manages the phases of disaster eradication covering preventive action, mitigation, Rescue, rehabilitation and reconstruction from pre-disaster, the occurring of disaster and post-disaster time.

To follow up the national regulation, Local government has issued local regulation Number 16 of 2011 on Organization Structure and working procedures of BPBD (Local Agency for Disaster Management) of Situbondo. This local Regulation becomes legal basis for the construction of BPBD Situbondo. It took more than 5 years, long enough time, to realize the local regulation of Number 16 of 2011 from the issuance of National Regulation Number 24 of 2007 on Disaster Eradication. It worths informing to identify the cause of slow response of local government to follow up National Regulation Number 24 of 2007 on Disaster Eradication. It seems that the dominant cause was low commitment and political will of Head of Local Government. Referring to the argumentation, it seems that Head of Local Government in the process of policy making was more influenced by irrational and intuitive attitudes by ignoring another factors so that the results were far from public expectation and only benefiting certain groups of people.

The role of Local Parliament to control the performance of Head of Local Government in the implementation of government programs, particularly flood Eradication were very week. It can be proved with the reality that Local Parliament has not so far been able to push executive to include disaster Eradication as priority and to initiate flood eradication in Local Legislation Program.

5. The fight of interest and the role of *Kyai*

So many stakeholders get involved in the process of flood Eradication because of the complexity of problems that can not be handled by single party. The involvement of stakeholders is certainly very important with different portion and responsibility in line with its capacity. But It is difficult to find such an important condition, because Local Government is usually only involving certain parties in accordance with the will and permission of *Kyai*, as dominant figure and director in the implementation of government in Situbondo.

The dominant role of *Kyai* is not separable from historical aspect of the *Kyai* itself who is measurable from his contribution during the political process that lead Dadang Wigiarto become the winner

in 2010 General Election. Therefore, the writer will analyze in details the historical aspect and contribution of Kyai in the Political dynamics and Governmental implementation in Situbondo Regency.

The central figures of Cultural Kyai in Situbondo is recently KH. KASA, the Son of National Hero KH. ASA. The popular and well-known name of Kyai ASA as the important figure of Nahdlatul Ulama Mass Organization, has so far had a strong influence in local political arena. After KH ASA passed away in on August 4th, 1990, the influence is on the hands of his two sons, KH. FASA and KH. KASA *the leader and manager of Walisongo Islamic Boarding School, hereinafter called **Walisongo***). The difference of political affiliation has made polarization of influence between both of them.

KH FASA who continued the leadership of Salafiyah Syafiiyah Islamic Boarding School (hereinafter called PP. Salafiyah Syafiiyah) also passed away on March 9th, 2012 and PP. Salafiyah Syafiiyah is afterwards led by his close family KH ZI, grandson of KH. ASA. In 2010 General Election, the leadership of Eastern Kyai (the predicate given to the leader of PP. Salafiyah Syafiiyah) and the leadership of Western Kyai (the attribute given to the leader of Walisongo) can't be ignored. According to secretary of Expert council of one of political parties in Situbondo, The tention to influence voters between the two figures ere increasing in 2010 Direct General Elections. Both appointed respective candidates. KH FASA appointed the pair of Sofwan Hadi-Sukarso as the regent candidate which was carried by PPP (Development Unity Party) and KH KASA nominated Dadang Wigiarto-Rahmad who was supported by coalition of PKNU and GOLKAR Party. In the competition, the role of KH. KASA and his teams gave extraordinary and determining contribution for Dadang-Rahmat success, starting from moral support that influence voter's choice, financial aids and also recommendation of political party which was given to Dadang-Rahmat pair of candidate. Without the role of KH. KASA, It is impossible, most people said, that Dadang-Rahmat were able to win the election.

What has been previously commented concerning the role of Kyai, from the viewpoints of historical reality and political contribution, one of the impacts is many governmental programs that must become priorty were ignored, such as flood eradication program. It is because Head of Local Government considered that the program and activity didn't belong to Kyai's focus and expectation so that it could be deleyed for next times. On the contrary, in certain condition The local government were still realizing some programs and activities which were not explicitly planned in RPJMD. (*Local Medium-Term Development Planning*)

The condition has so far given negative impact for the progress and development of Situbondo Regency. For the last three consecutive years, Situbondo has got C Mark (49 points) from The Minsitry of Utilization of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform on the evaluation of Performance Accountability, also Zero investment condition, and Situbondo remains to be undr developed region.

Conflict Management, according to Golder (2005), in this case must give special attention to local wisdom, consider the development of cultural, political and historical aspects of Situbondo to avoid the emergence of new conflict that disturb the formulation of flood eradication process. One of the solution, offered by the writer at the moment, is to hold discussion together with all stakeholders, especially the existence of Kyai, who has recently had dominant role in local political dynamic and government decision-making.

To optimize flood eradication policy and to reduce intervention of Cultural Kyai can be done by intensifying and strengthening public consultation. Public consultation is participatory activity with the aim of involving stakeholders to discuss and to understand strategic issues and problems concerning flood eradication, to formulate agreement on the priority of flood eradication action and to get con-

census to find strategic solution of flood eradication problems. Public consultation is conducted at all levels and phases of local planning decision-making in the form of *stakeholders' consultation forum* and *Focus Group Discussion*

Intensive communication (public consultation) can also be held to find the linkage of what has become the interest of stakeholders, especially Kyai, concerning flood eradication policy. Moreover, the importance of intensive communication among stakeholders, especially those coming from Cultural Kyai, can be the important moment for technocrat to provide professional inputs and ideas concerning the way how policy was actually made so that there is *transfer of knowledge* performed by technocrat to stakeholders, especially to Kyai, to accelerate the realization of effective and contributive process of policy formulation in line with the true mechanism and process. The involvement of stakeholders in the formulation of policy will be able to reduce conflict and increase the effectiveness of policy formulation process in accordance with people needs.

6. Participation of *Stakeholders*, a reality and a necessity

The impacts of disaster must attract attention of all parties without exception. But, the largest portion of responsibility is certainly in the hand of local government as the regulator of all people's life. Farazmand (2004:16) said that in the implementation of government, the local government must build partnership with a lot of parties. It will be important requirement to create effective policy system in the dynamics of *sound governance*. If Farazmand (2004:19) considers to the importance of *deliberative model* in the context of the availability of conflict in society, Hajer dan Wagenaar (2004:12) developed a fact that democratic modern society moves towards *network society*. This concept eliminates positive approach of policy analysis, as said by technocratic conventional theory.

Actually with the phasing patterns, the potency of flood eradication can be anticipated, remembering that Flood occurring in Situbondo has local characteristic. one of the indicators of the importance of phasing step is the presence of formulation of flood eradication policy which is oriented to nationally integrated disaster management, in order to avoid crash of interest both local and national interest.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

CONCLUSION

Based on the previous explanation and argumentation, It comes to the conclusion that the unoptimal condition in the formulation of flood eradication policy are caused by:

1. Lower participation of stakeholders (NGO's, Academics, environment activists, and community)
2. Lower performance of local Government in the formulation of flood eradication policy.
3. Strong intervention of Cultural Moslems Leader (Kyai) to Head of local government.

SUGGESTION

1. To boost the increasing participation of such an organization as LPBINU and at the same time to initiate another Mass Organization to intensify activity in the formulation of disaster policy.
2. Local Parliament is expected to open public area to accommodate the growing aspirations of the people, especially those that have something to do with policy formulation.

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