

An Implementation Of General Government (Pum) Affairs In Indonesia: A Study On The Implementation General Government (Pum) Affairs In The Regions In The Pre-Reform And Post-Reform Era

Vandyarman Mulya Priyanda¹, Sinta Ningrum²,
Rd Ahmad Buchari³ & Nandang Alamsyah Deliarnoor⁴

¹²³ Administrative Science, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia.

⁴ Government Science, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia.

Abstract

This study aimed to analyze the implementation of general government (PUM) affairs in Indonesia. The analysis employed Grindle's policy implementation theory by looking at the consistency between the dimensions of policy substance and the dimensions of policy implementation. The results of the study showed that the Law of 05/1974 in the pre-reform era had consistency between the substance of the policy and the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. On the other hand, the implementation of PUM affairs in the reform era always showed inconsistencies. This inconsistency arose when the dimensions of the substance of the policy were not aligned with the dimensions of the implementation policy. This was the underlying reason that the post-reform implementation of PUM affairs was not better than the pre-reform period. For further research, there is an opportunity to conduct a study on how PUM affairs will be managed in the future. Issues regarding PUM affairs are increasingly widespread in line with the development of problems that occur in society. Future research should concentrate on overcoming obstacles related to the governance of PUM affairs. This makes it possible for further research to create new models or approaches to the governance of PUM affairs in Indonesia.

Keywords: Policy implementation, General Government (PUM) affairs, Governance.

1. Introduction

Government is an institution that receives the mandate/ legitimacy from the people to carry out the duties and functions of public services (Blunt, Mamundzay, Yama, & Afghan, 2015; Brydon & Vining, 2016; Uzun & Koch, 2020). With this legitimacy, the government has the right to regulate public needs and affairs through state regulations (Dunn, 2014; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020). These public affairs in the context of public administration are called government affairs (Kusnadi, 2017; Switzer, 2019). Government affairs are tasks that must be carried out by the government to meet the needs and expectations of the community, as well as to resolve existing problems in society ((Charbit & Michalun, 2009; Rauf, Munaf, Zakaria, Arifm, & Razman, 2019). These government affairs are then outlined in a formalized public policy in the form of government regulations (As'ari, et. al., 2021; Santagati, Bonini Baraldi, & Zan, 2020).

In the governance of government affairs in Indonesia, these affairs are divided into affairs carried out by the central government and those carried out by local governments (Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020). This division of government affairs uses the principles of decentralization, deconcentration, and centralization (Sweinstani, 2016; Uzun & Koch, 2020). The division of functions using these principles aims to provide autonomy for local governments in carrying out government affairs in their working areas, and on the other hand aims to maintain a unified direction of government within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Maksum, 2014; Wicaksono, 2014). Therefore, the implementation of government affairs in Indonesia can be seen in the context of democratization (Siregar, Raffiudin, & Noor, 2022) and a unitary state (Djuyandi, Bainus, & Sumadinata, 2018; Rauf et. al., 2019).

Government affairs in Indonesia based on Law 23/2014 are grouped into three affairs. **First**, it is an absolute affair. These affairs are carried out by the central government on the principles of centralization and deconcentration (Djuyandi, et. al., 2018). **Second**, it is concurrent affairs. This matter is carried out jointly between the central government and regional governments on the principles of decentralization and deconcentration (Amin & Isharyanto, 2022; Rauf, et. al., 2019; Trimurni, 2018). **Third**, it is general government (PUM) affairs. PUM affairs are the affairs of the President as the Head of State whose aims are to build national vigilance (regional intelligence), create political stability, facilitate social conflict resolution, maintain national unity, and shape national character (Maksum, 2014; Uluputty, 2018). Therefore, the continuity of the Unitary State of the

Republic of Indonesia is inseparable from the discourse on the governance of PUM affairs in Indonesia.

The analysis of this article focused on the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia, during the pre-reform and post-reform periods. The analysis was carried out by examining the implementation of PUM affairs in four periods of local government regulations in Indonesia, namely Law 05/1974 (pre-reform), Law 22/1999, Law 32/2004, and Law 23/2014 (post-reform) by looking at consistency/harmony between the substance of the policy on PUM affairs and the implementation policy on PUM affairs in Indonesia. Therefore, the research questions (RQ) in this article were

- How was the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia in the four periods of local government regulation in terms of consistency between policy substance and implementation policy?

To answer this question, this article elaborated on the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia by comparing the implementation of PUM affairs from the four regulatory periods.

Furthermore, the second part of this article explained PUM affairs and national vigilance associated with the theory of policy implementation. The third section was related to the methodology which explained how to carry out the analysis in this article. The fourth section was the results and discussion presented in the form of an analysis of the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia in terms of the four periods of local government regulations in Indonesia. Finally, the fifth part of this article presented the conclusions drawn from the analysis in this article.

2. Literature Study

General Government (PUM) Affairs

General government (PUM) affairs are residual affairs that are not completely divided between central and regional government institutions. In other words, PUM affairs cover all government affairs minus government affairs that have been decentralized to the regions, reduced again by the affairs carried out by vertical agencies at the central and regional levels (Uluputty, 2018; Wasistiono, 2014). More specifically, PUM affairs include the tasks of fostering regional peace and order, fostering state ideology and national unity, fostering orderly government, and coordinating vertical agencies (Maksum, 2014). PUM affairs can also be seen as a representation of central government power at the regional level (Uluputty, 2018). Therefore,

the discourse on the model for the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia is always characterized by a tug-of-war between decentralization and centralization/deconcentration (Maksum, 2014; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020).

The implementation of PUM affairs at the local government level in Indonesia will always be related to the central government's political policies in the regions. The implementation of PUM affairs at the regional level can be seen from two things, namely the development of governance values and the development of specialization systems and coordination between local governments (Uluputty, 2018). When viewed from its function, PUM affairs have four functions. **First**, as a matter that deals with national vigilance (regional intelligence), regional political stability, facilitation of social conflict resolution, and public order in society. **Second**, affairs that function to build a system of state values in society. **Third**, the affairs that function as a bridge (coordination) between each regional government within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. **Fourth**, it functions as guidance to build regional capacity and performance in harmony with the central government (Maksum, 2014; Ramses, 2014; Uluputty, 2018; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020).

Therefore, PUM affairs can be said to be an extension of the central government in the regions. PUM affairs have the objective of maintaining the direction and steps of the local government to comply with the political policies set by the central government. Thus, arrangements for the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia are always included in the policies/regulations governing regional governance in Indonesia with an implementation principle that is adjusted to the political direction in the period the regulation is in effect. During the period of Law 05/1974, PUM affairs were carried out using the principles of centralization and deconcentration (Aritonang, 2016; Rauf, et. al., 2019). In the period of Law 22/1999, PUM affairs were merged into government affairs which were handed over to the regions through the principle of decentralization (Aritonang, 2016; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020). In the period of Law 32/2004, this matter was carried out using a decentralization model, but the central government provided norms and standards for its implementation (Aritonang, 2016; Wicaksono, 2014). Also, in the period of Law 23/2014, PUM affairs were withdrawn by the central government on the principle of deconcentration implementation (Aritonang, 2016; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020; Wicaksono, 2014).

Implementation of Public Policy

The explanation of PUM affairs shows that the implementation of PUM affairs at the regional level varies according to the interests of the ruling political regime. Thus, it is not enough to discuss an analysis of the implementation of PUM affairs in local governments in Indonesia only by using the theory of PUM affairs. To be more in-depth, this theme also needs to be analyzed using the theory of public policy implementation.

Public policy implementation can be interpreted as the activity of implementing or completing a public policy that has been determined/approved by using means (tools) to achieve policy objectives (Dunn, 2014; Grindle, 2017). The success of a policy can be seen from the implementation of the policy (Kotnik & Stanimirović, 2021). Policies on PUM affairs that are supported by the highest authorities are not necessarily effective because it could be that the executing bureaucrats at the lower levels (street-level bureaucrats) are unable or unwilling to carry them out due to constraints at their level (Yudiatmaja, Kristanti, Prastya, & Yudithia, 2021). It is at this point that the role of the implementer is crucial for the implementation of a policy (Grindle, 2017), including the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia.

In the process of implementing a policy, administrative actions carried out by executors are strongly influenced by the interests of executors (Saefudin, Nadiroh, & Achmad, 2019). In the context of implementing PUM affairs in local government in Indonesia, the interests of the executors can be seen from the political-administrative actions (Grindle, 1980) of regional heads in carrying out PUM affairs in their areas. It is whether the PUM affairs were carried out under the directions set by the central government, or under the interest agenda of the regional head.

Thus, it is very relevant if the analysis of the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia is discussed by looking at the alignment between the dimensions of the substance of the policy, the dimensions of the content of the policy, and the dimensions of the context of implementation. Policy substance can be equated with public policy which is manifest in decisions made by the state (government) as a strategy to realize the goals to be achieved by the government of a country (Anderson, 2010; Dye, 2002). Policy content (context of policy) is a set of factors contained in a policy and has an impact on policy implementation. These factors include the influence of the

interests of the implementer, the types of benefits expected, the level of change expected, the position of decision-makers, program implementers, and resource commitment (Grindle, 1980).

Then, the context of implementation is a situation that can affect the implementation of a policy. This situation can be in the form of interrelated powers and interests, implementing institutions, to the level of compliance of the implementer to implement a policy. All of these situations will lead to political-administrative choices (Grindle, 1980, 2017, 2019). The implementation context can also be understood as a bottom-up approach. The implementation must involve local-level employees where their attention, views, strategies, and initiatives are very important in policy implementation (Kipo-Sunyehzi, 2022). In this dimension, implementers (bureaucrats) are faced with two situations that arise as a result of interactions between the policy environment and policy administration (Grindle, 1980).

First, bureaucrats deal with conditions related to maintaining compliance so that the final results of the policy can be achieved even though they have to handle various interactions between actors who have an interest in implementing the policy (Grindle, 2017). **Second**, it is how the responsiveness of bureaucrats to the wishes of those who will benefit from the services they provide, so the policy and program goals can be achieved. To be effective, implementors must have the art of politics and must understand well the environment in which they will implement their policies and programs (Grindle, 2017). In essence, the ability of bureaucrats to translate policies has a large portion of success (Frisch-aviram, 2018; Zhou, Dai, Ren, Chen, & Chen, 2022) and failure (Majambu, Tsayem Demaze, & Ongolo, 2021; Yudiatmaja, et. al., 2021) in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions

Research Framework

Therefore, based on the explanation of the theories above, the research framework of this study was as follows,

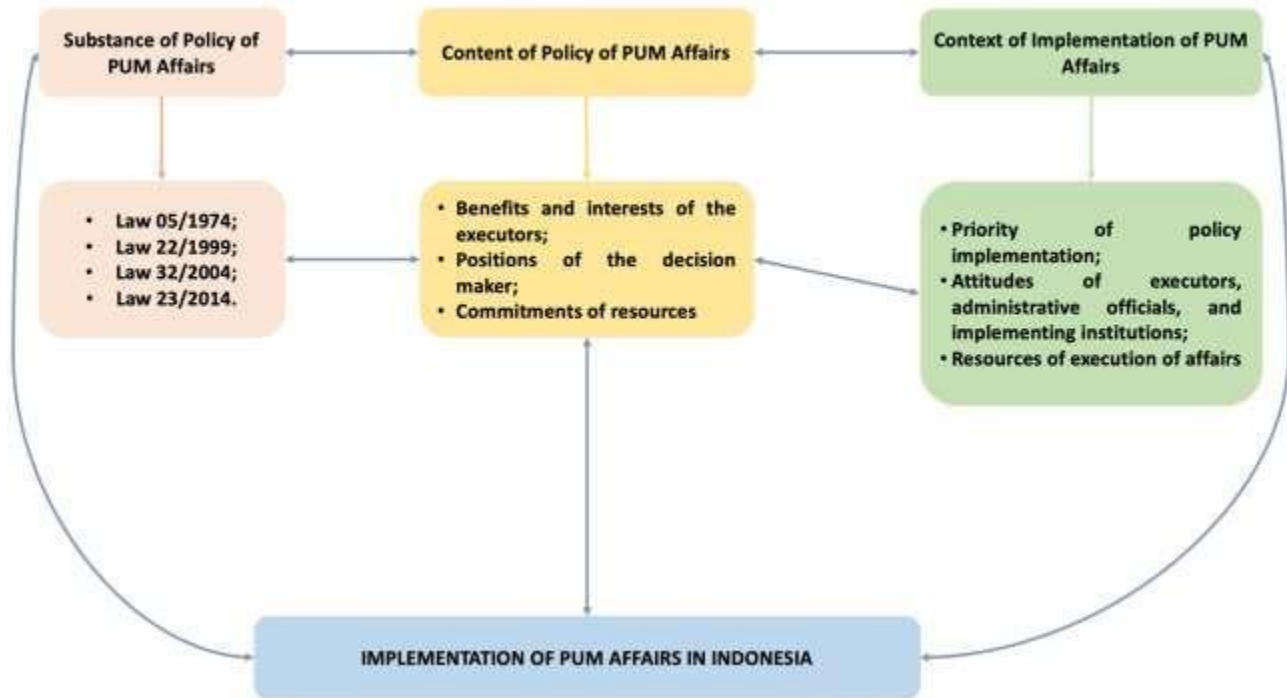


Figure 1 Research Framework for the Implementation of PUM Affairs in Indonesia

3. Method

In this study, the approach employed was qualitative. A qualitative approach is a means to explore and understand the meaning of a phenomenon that arises from social problems (Creswell, 2009). Following the characteristics of the research questions, this research was descriptive-exploratory which aimed to dig up as much and as deep information as possible from individuals who had experiences related to the research theme (M. L. Tan, et. al., 2022). The unit of analysis of this study was the implementation of PUM affairs policies in the regions. In conducting the analysis, researchers used primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from the results of in-depth interviews and FGDs with parties involved in the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia. Then, the secondary data was obtained from the results of literature studies and official documents from the government of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions

Official government documents consisted of four regional government regulations that have been and are currently in effect in Indonesia. These regulations were Law 05/1974, Law 22/1999, Law

32/2004, and Law 23/2014 which were viewed from the side of the explanation of PUM affairs. In addition to using these four regulations, this study also used derivative (technical) regulations that explained how the implementation of PUM affairs was carried out by regional governments. From these two data, primary and secondary data, a triangulation and verification process were carried out regarding the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia based on the four periods of regional government regulations.

4. Results

In this section, the results of research on the implementation of PUM affairs in Indonesia was presented. The presentation of the results was divided into four periods of local government regulations that have been and are still in effect in Indonesia.

Implementation of General Government (PUM) Affairs in Law 05/1974

Law Number 05 of 1974 is the first regional government regulation that regulates the division of governmental affairs between the central government and regional governments. The philosophy of the Law 05/1974 is uniformity within unity. Therefore, the important point of this regulation is that the presence of the central government in every government structure is necessary even though there is the principle of regional autonomy. The presence of the central government in each government structure in the regions is manifested through the implementation of general government affairs (Uluputty, 2018; Wasistiono, 2014). The pattern of implementing PUM affairs is symmetrical with the implementation model of "controlling the state from the palace" (Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020) which allows the central government to be actively involved in administering PUM affairs down to the city/regency level.

During this period, PUM affairs were carried out in the form of coordination between government agencies, fostering national unity and integrity, political stability, national vigilance (regional intelligence), facilitation of social conflict resolution, and implementation of peace and public order (*trantibum*) in the regions. With the implementation of these functions, the central government wanted to ensure that the movements and steps of the regional government were under the policy directions of the central government/President. The form of implementation of PUM affairs during the period of Law 05/1974 could be seen in the image below.



Figure 2 Implementation of General Government (PUM) Affairs in Law 05/1974

Source: Law 05/1974 (managed by the author)

The figure above showed that the implementation of PUM affairs at the regional level during the period of Law 05/1974 was under the direct control of the central government/President. There were three organs/institutions used by the President in carrying out PUM affairs at the regional level. **First**, it was the regional head (governor/mayor/regent) who functioned as the head of the administrative area for PUM affairs in the region according to the regional level. **Second**, it was the Social Political Office (Kansospol) at each level of local government in Indonesia. Kansospol is a vertical institution of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) which had the task of being co-head of the administrative area in implementing PUM affairs in the regions, as well as being a supervisory institution for socio-political activities in the regions. Kansospol was given very broad authority in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. This authority covered all the duties of PUM affairs contained in Law 05/1974. It could be said that this institution is a leading institution in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions.

"The Sospol Office (Social Political Office) in the area was very powerful in implementing PUM affairs in the region. This was because the Law 05/1974 provided justification for that." (I 1).

Third, this was a vertical institution in the field of defense and security. This institution had the task of supporting the head of the administrative area and the Kansospol from the defense and security side to carry out PUM affairs in the regions.

The approach to implementing PUM affairs during the period of Law 05/1974 was a security approach. Therefore, defense and security actors were the main executors in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. This was known as the "Dwi Fungsi ABRI", which allowed officials from the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) to occupy civilian positions. Generally, these civil positions were positions that aimed to take care of PUM affairs in the regions. Through this security approach model, the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions could be carried out in a harmonious, uniform, one-way direction and was able to show "central representation" in the regions (Uluputty, 2018; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020).

The table below described in detail the implementation of PUM affairs from 1974 to 1998 in local government in the Republic of Indonesia.

Table 1 Implementation of PUM Affairs in the Period of Law 05/1974 (1974-1999)

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 05/1974 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|----------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------|
| Contents of the Policy | | | |
| Principles of the implementation | Centralization and deconcentration | Centralization and deconcentration | Consistent |
| Influences of interests | The central government united the direction of state government | The interests of the central government were carried out through the heads of administrative areas and vertical agencies. | Consistent |
| Benefits | The benefits for the central government to unite the direction of state government | The implementation of PUM affairs in the region gave some benefits to the central government in the form of stability and regional order | Consistent |
| Decision makers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President: political and strategic decisions; • Heads of the region: technical and administrative decisions; • Heads of vertical agencies: technical and administrative decisions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President: political and strategic decisions; • Heads of the region: technical and administrative decisions; • Heads of vertical agencies: technical and administrative decisions | Consistent |

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 05/1974 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|---|---|---|--------------------------|
| Commitments of resources | Using central dan regional resources | Using central dan regional resources | Consistent |
| Contexts of the Implementation | | | |
| Priority of the implementation of PUM Affairs | Becoming the priority | Becoming the priority | Consistent |
| Attitudes of the Executors | Obeing the central government | Obeing the central government | Consistent |
| Administrative Officials | Head of the administrative area and head of the vertical agency (deconcentration) | Head of the administrative area and head of the vertical agency (deconcentration) | Consistent |
| Institutions of the executors | Vertical institution (deconcentration) | Vertical institution (deconcentration) | Consistent |
| Resources of the implementation of affairs | Resources of central government and regional government | Resources of central government and regional government | Consistent |

(Source: Author's contribution)

Implementation of the General Government (PUM) Affairs in Law 22/1999

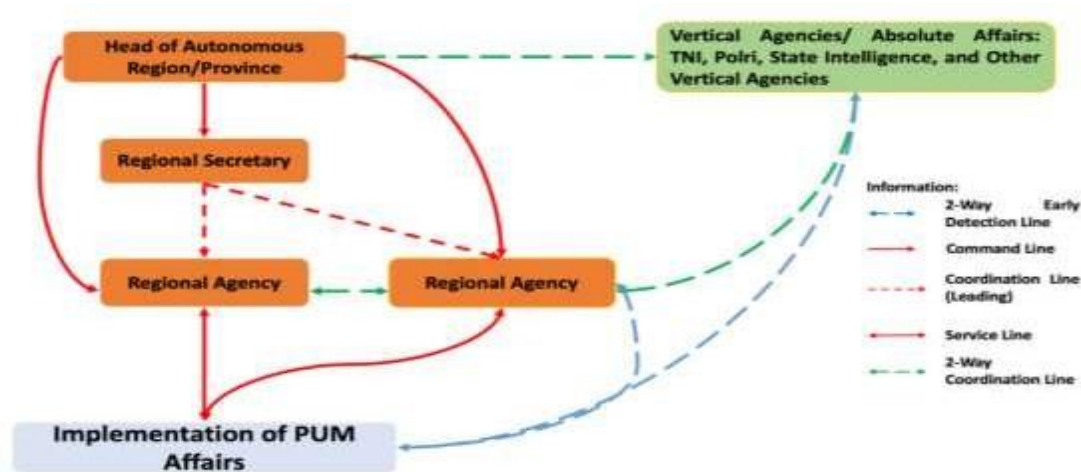
The first post-reform regulation on PUM affairs was Law 22/1999. The philosophical foundation of Law 22/1999 was "Diversity in Unity" which was a counter-philosophy of the basis of Law 05/1974 (Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020). This change in philosophy then has implications for changes in the model for implementing PUM affairs in the regions.

Figure 1 Implementation of PUM Affairs in Law 22/1999

Source:

Law

22/1999



(managed by the author).

The implementation of PUM affairs in the regions was no longer a manifestation of the central government in the regions but it belonged to the regions themselves. Therefore, at the time of Law 22/1999, PUM affairs were eliminated in the policy's text of governance of local government and the implementation was left to the regions with an implementation model adapted to the needs and capabilities of the region. Fields that were under PUM's affairs in the era of Law 05/1974 such as domestic politics, national vigilance, and national unity, in Law 22/1999 were handed over to the regions with a form of implementation regulated by each region independently and with a welfare approach (prosperity approach). The table below described in detail the implementation of PUM affairs from 1999 to 2004 in local government in the Republic of Indonesia.

Table 2 Implementation of PUM Affairs in the Period of Law 22/1999 (1999-2004)

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 22/1999 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------|
| Contents of the Policy | | | |
| Principles of the implementation | Decentralization | Decentralization | Consistent |

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 22/1999 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|---|---|---|--------------------------|
| Influences of interests | Head of the region to maintain the regional stability | The head of the region implemented PUM affairs to maintain the regional stability | Consistent |
| Benefits | Benefits for the head of regions | Benefits for the head of regions | Consistent |
| Decision makers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of the regions: political and strategic decisions; • Head of the agency/regional agency: technical and administrative decisions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of the regions: political and strategic decisions; • Head of the agency/regional agency: technical and administrative decisions | Consistent |
| Commitments of resources | Resources from the regional government | Resources from the regional government | Consistent |
| Contexts of the Implementation | | | |
| Priority of the implementation of PUM Affairs | Becoming the priority | Not becoming the priority | Inconsistent |
| Attitudes of the Executors | Obeying the head of regions | Obeying the head of regions | Consistent |
| Administrative Officials | Head of agency/ agency on regional government (decentralization) | Head of agency/ agency on regional government (decentralization) | Consistent |
| Institutions of the executors | Agency/ agency on regional government (decentralization) | Agency/ agency on regional government (decentralization) | Consistent |
| Resources of the implementation of affairs | Resources of the regional government | Resources of the regional government | Consistent |

(Source: Author's contribution)

Implementation of the General Government (PUM) Affairs in Law 32/2004

The third regulation in Indonesia that regulated the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions was Law 32/2004. In Law 32/2004, the mention of PUM affairs was changed to general government tasks (TUP). Law 32/2004 did not mention the principle of the

implementation of TUP (PUM) affairs and the implementation was left to each level of government which was adjusted to the capabilities and development interests of each region. If the problem of TUP/PUM affairs was at the central level, then it was resolved by the central government. If the problem of TUP/PUM affairs was at the provincial/city/district level, then it was resolved by the provincial/city/district government. This means that, in Law 32/2004, PUM affairs were implicitly recognized in the form of TUP affairs, but the elaboration was adapted to the context of regional autonomy through modifications and technical aspects which were not explained in detail.

To correct the weaknesses contained in Law 22/1999, the central government provided standards and norms for the implementation of TUP/PUM affairs in the regions. The logical consequence of implementing standards and norms for implementing TUP/PUM affairs in the regions was the formation of the National Unity and Politics Agency (Kesbangpol) at each level of local government. This agency had the duties and functions of assisting regional heads in implementing TUP/PUM affairs in their regions. Furthermore, the central government stipulated Minimum Service Standards (SPM) that must be met by the regional Kesbangpol Agency in implementing TUP/PUM affairs in its territory.

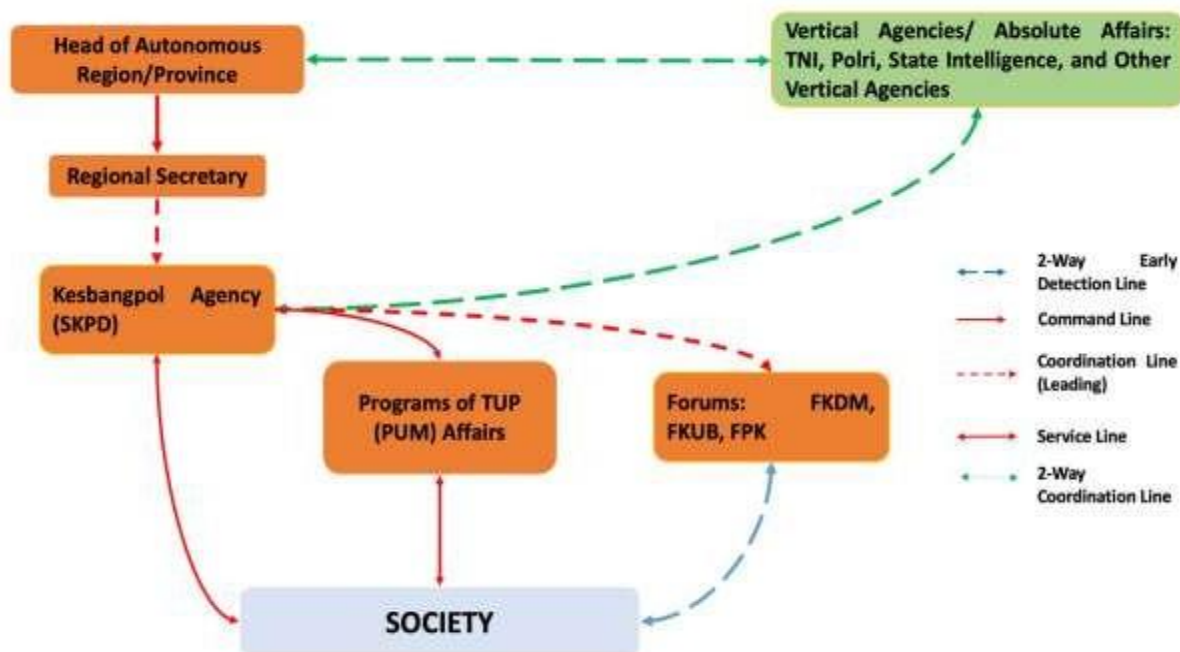


Figure 2 Implementation of PUM Affairs in Law UU 32/2004

Source: Law 32/2004 (managed by the author)

The central government also encouraged local governments to form Religious Harmony Forums (FKUB), Early Community Awareness Forums (FKDM), and National Assimilation Forums (FPK) in each region which functioned to assist regional heads and the regional Kesbangpol Agency in implementing TUP/ PUM in the region (Uluputty, 2018).

Table 3 Implementation of PUM Affairs in the Period of Law 32/2004 (2004-2014)

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 32/2004 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|---|--|--|--------------------------|
| Contents of the Policy | | | |
| Principles of the implementation | Decentralization | Decentralization | Consistent |
| Influences of interests | The central and regional governments to maintain the regional stability | The central government was more dominant in implementing PUM affairs to maintain regional stability. | Inconsistent |
| Benefits | Benefits for the central and regional government | Benefits for the central and regional government | Consistent |
| Decision makers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President: political and strategic decisions at the central level; • Head of regions: political and strategic decisions at the regional level; • Head of agency/ regional agency: technical and administrative decisions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President: political and strategic decisions at the central level; • Head of regions: political and strategic decisions at the regional level; • Head of agency/ regional agency: technical and administrative decisions | Consistent |
| Commitments of resources | Resources from the regional government | Resources from the regional government | Consistent |
| Contexts of the Implementation | | | |
| Priority of the implementation of PUM Affairs | Becoming the priority | Not becoming the priority | Inconsistent |
| Attitudes of the Executors | Obeying the President and head of regions | Obeying the head of regions | Inconsistent |

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 32/2004 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|--|--|--|--------------------------|
| Administrative Officials | Head of agency/ regional office of Kesbangpol (decentralization) | Head of agency/ regional office of Kesbangpol (decentralization) | Consistent |
| Institutions of the executors | Regional office/ agency of Kesbangpol (decentralization) | Regional office/ agency of Kesbangpol (decentralization) | Consistent |
| Resources of the implementation of affairs | Resources of the regional government | Resources of the regional government | Consistent |

(Source: Author's contribution)

Implementation of the General Government (PUM) Affairs in Law 23/2014

The next regulation was Law 23/2014. The philosophical foundation of Law 23/2014 was the third precept of Pancasila which emphasized the Unity of Indonesia. This means that the implementation of decentralization must not cause national divisions, but it must strengthen the sense of national unity and integrity (Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020). PUM affairs, according to Law 23/2014, covered seven aspects namely fostering nationalism; fostering harmony between tribes, religions, races, and between groups; fostering national unity and integrity; handling social conflict; coordination of tasks between existing agencies in the region; democracy development; as well as the implementation of government affairs that did not belong to the regional authority or were not carried out by the vertical agencies (residue government affairs). Thus, through Law 23/2014, PUM affairs functioned as a catalyst for issues of nationalism, dynamics of democracy, national unity and integrity, national vigilance, and prevention/facilitation of social conflict resolution that occurred in the society.

PUM affairs were the authority of the President as the Head of Government of the Republic of Indonesia. Due to a matter for the central government, the implementation of PUM affairs was financed by the central government through the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN). The President then delegated the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions to governors at the provincial level, and to Regents/Mayors at the City/Regency level by using the principle of deconcentration (Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020;

Wicaksono, 2014). In its implementation, the regional head, as the head of the administrative area for PUM affairs, was assisted by vertical agencies that had the duties and functions of implementing PUM affairs in the regions. The vertical agencies meant were central government agencies stationed in the regions. In terms of structural hierarchy, the heads of vertical agencies were not subordinate to regional heads (Nur Wijayanti, 2017; Uluputty, 2018).

With this change in principle, the status of the regional head was no longer purely that of an autonomous regional head. The regional head was also attached to the status of the head of the administrative area for PUM affairs. Here, the explanation of the difference with the head of an autonomous region was listed in the table below.

Table 4 Positions of the Heads of Regions in Law 23/2014

| Governor/ Mayor/ Regent | |
|---|--|
| Head of Autonomous Regions | Head of Administrative Regions |
| Principle of decentralization | Principle of decentralization |
| Political and strategic authority | Administrative and routine authority (non-strategic) |
| Affairs—to realize the vision and mission (the promises on the campaigns) with the expectation that the society would be satisfied with the performance of Bekasi Mayor | Affairs—to implement the policy of PUM affairs based on the standard and target set by the delegation of authority |
| The use of budget came from the APBD | The use of budget came from the APBN |
| Accountability to the voting public (constituents) | Hierarchical accountability to the delegation of authority |

(Source: Author's contribution)

The two statuses that regional heads had in Law 23/2014 were actually to restore the “spirit” of PUM affairs like the time of Law 07/1954 (Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020; Wicaksono, 2014). Therefore, the existence of two statuses attached to the regional head had an impact on the flexibility of the regional head in carrying out the vision and mission as the elected regional head on the one hand, and on the other hand as an extension of the central government in implementing PUM affairs in the regions. It was at this point that pragmatism could occur in the implementation of a policy (Greenhalgh & Engebretsen, 2022; Steinbach & Süß, 2018). The table below described the implementation of PUM affairs during the Law 23/2014 era.

Unfortunately, some efforts to restore the "spirit" of PUM affairs did not appear at the implementation level in the regions due to inconsistencies between policy substance and implementation policy. The table below explained the inconsistencies in question.

Table 5 Implementation of PUM Affairs in the Period of Law 23/2014 (2014-recent)

| Dimensions | Substances of Policy of PUM Affairs in Law 23/2014 | Implementation of the Policy of PUM Affairs in the Regions | Consistent/ Inconsistent |
|---|---|--|--------------------------|
| Contents of the Policy | | | |
| Principles of the implementation | Deconcentration | Decentralization | Inconsistent |
| Influences of interests | The central government with the aim of cohesion and national unity of the country | The central and regional government. The regional government had an interest as the financing of PUM affairs was handed over to the regional government. | Inconsistent |
| Benefits | Benefits for the central government | Heads of the regions took advantage of the implementation of PUM affairs in their regions. | Inconsistent |
| Decision makers | President | Head of regions | Inconsistent |
| Commitments of resources | Resources from the central government | Resources from the regional government | Inconsistent |
| Contexts of the Implementation | | | |
| Priority of the implementation of PUM Affairs | Becoming the priority of the central government | Not becoming the priority of the regional and central government | Inconsistent |
| Attitudes of the Executors | Obeing the President | Obeing the head of regions | Inconsistent |
| Administrative Officials | Head of vertical institutions (deconcentration) | Head of regional agency/office of Kesbangpol (decentralization) | Inconsistent |
| Institutions of the executors | Vertical institutions (deconcentration) | Regional agency/office of Kesbangpol (decentralization) | Inconsistent |
| Resources of the implementation of affairs | Resources of the central government | Resources of the regional government | Inconsistent |

(Source: Author's contribution)

5. Discussion

The results of the research above showed that the implementation of PUM affairs during the era of Law 05/1974 was very centralized, consistent, and unified, and represented the interests of the central government in the regions in terms of politics, national vigilance, unity and national values, and coordination between regional governments. As a result, during the era of Law 05/1974, the socio-political conditions in the regions were relatively well maintained and social conflicts rarely occurred in the regions. There were two things underlying the implementation of PUM affairs in the era of Law 05/1974 that can be carried out properly. **First**, the consistency in implementing PUM affairs policies started from the level of derivative policies (policy content) to technical implementation in the regions (implementation context). **Second**, the implementation of the "Dwi Fungsí ABRI" has a significant influence on the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. During this period, the armed forces had an active position and role in running the wheels of government from the center to the regions. The wheels of government in civilian institutions run like military institutions which were highly dominated by the chain of command. Therefore, conflict or rejection did not occur in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions.

This was what academics and democracy activists criticized with several big questions regarding the development of democratization in society which should be one of the keys to political development in society (Hadiz, 2003; Matsui, 2003). The main criticism of the model for implementing PUM affairs based on Law 05/1974 was that the use of a security approach only created rigidity and fear among the public (Wasistiono, 2014; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020; Winters, 1999). The implementation of PUM affairs should be empowering and assist the community through an approach of prosperity. Therefore, when entering the reform phase, Law 05/1974 was changed to Law 22/1999.

The rigidity and fear in the implementation of PUM affairs in the era of Law 05/1974 were tried to be removed by the enactment of Law 22/1999 (1999-2004). If in the era of Law 05/1974, the relationship between the center and the regions was very centralized using military management, then in the era of Law 22/1999, the pattern of relations became open and decentralized (Prasojo, Maksum, & Kurniawan, 2006; Wasistiono & Polyando, 2020). Unfortunately, when the implementation of PUM matters was handed over to the regions

through Law 22/1999, the regional governments did not make this matter a priority matter to implement.

Several arguments could explain why PUM affairs were not a priority for local governments to implement. **First**, the majority of local governments were more focused on carrying out matters related to physical development and the basic needs of the population (Kolehmainen-Aitken, 2004; Mclean & King, 1999). **Second**, there were obstacles in the transfer of knowledge regarding PUM affairs from the central government to local governments. This had an impact on the readiness of the regional bureaucracy in carrying out PUM affairs in their respective regions. The regional bureaucracy was experiencing a phase of confusion in translating PUM affairs within the framework of regional autonomy (decentralization). The implementation of PUM affairs was diverse, between regional governments and other regional governments that did not have unity and harmony in the implementation of PUM affairs. The programs¹ that have been the soul of PUM affairs have been removed from the regional development budget because vertical agencies related to the implementation of PUM affairs still existed in the regions in the form of the police and the regional military command (TNI). The local government expected that the two institutions could carry out PUM affairs programs that were not implemented by the regions.

"The regional government expected that PUM affairs programs would be carried out by territorial military institutions (Kodim) and police institutions which, according to regulations, could not enter civilian areas" (I2).

Certainly, the reasons above were not correct and were very contrary to the spirit and purpose of Law 22/1999 which wanted to create local autonomy and self-reliance. Law 22/1999 mandated regional governments to handle *tranitibum* (peace and public order) issues in their regions, not the central government.

Third, the high regional spirit caused the blurring of the nature and objectives of the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. Regional bureaucracies that were accustomed to working with a regional framework of thinking were forced to change their

¹ Program of national vigilance, the program of conflict prevention, and education program of political and national vision.

framework of thinking to become nationalist/unitary. This change in frame of mind was a challenge in itself when faced with the spirit of regional autonomy that was developing at the time Law 22/1999 was implemented. When the mindset of regional autonomy/decentralization was in full swing, the regional bureaucracy assigned to carry out PUM affairs was forced to remain consistent within the NKRI/ Unitary framework. This is a challenge for the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions not to be regional in nature and still within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). **Fourth**, the loss of PUM affairs in the text of Law 22/1999 could also be used as an excuse for local governments not to prioritize the implementation of these affairs.

The four arguments above became the reason why PUM affairs were not a priority for the implementation of regional government affairs in the era of Law 22/1999. The impact of the lack of priority in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions was the emergence of socio-political turmoil in the region from 1999 to 2004 which led to social conflicts such as what happened in Ambon (Jha, 2007; Krause, 2018), Kalimantan (Nakaya, 2018; Susanto, Marhaini, Masrukhi, & Yasir, 2017), and Aceh (Djumala, 2013; Sujatmiko, 2012).

To correct the lack in the management of PUM affairs in Law 22/1999, the government made improvements through Law 32/2004. If in Law 22/1999 the nature and principles of PUM affairs were not clearly stated; then in Law 32/2004, PUM affairs were mentioned yet modified as General Administration Tasks (TUP) where the scale of management of the remaining authority was left to each level of government in Indonesia (Wasistiono, 2014). Unfortunately, the distribution of authority for the implementation of TUP/PUM affairs based on the level of government did not make any significant changes when compared to the period of Law 22/1999. In fact, with the division of authority based on the level of government, the implementation of TUP/PUM affairs became overlapping and was not in harmony.

There were some cases underlying such conditions. **Firstly**, the content of the policy on TUP/PUM affairs in Law 32/2004 was still very vague with the implementation model left to the interests of each region. With a model like this, the implementation of TUP/PUM affairs became overlapping and it was not clear who was the leading sector when problems arose in the society.

Second, there was a gap in understanding from local elites regarding the nature of general governance. The elites elected to become regional leaders, both regional heads and members of the legislature, were the members of political parties who were elected through a political process. As is usually the case in political processes that occurred at the regional level in Indonesia, political promises that always attracted the hearts of voters were promises related to the basic needs of voters. It was at this point that there was a gap in interpreting the nature of TUP/PUM matters. The programs contained in the TUP/PUM affairs were not a part of the regional head's political campaign because the TUP/PUM affairs did not directly touch the basic needs of the community. Therefore, the regional government did not make this matter a regional government priority.

“.... when we talked about policy directions, the majority of regional heads didn't really prioritize the management of PUM affairs....”(I3).

These obstacles in the implementation of TUP/PUM matters ultimately correlated to the capability and readiness of local governments in managing regional socio-political turmoil. The regional government was experiencing a condition of being "not ready" in responding to the emergence of new issues within the scope of PUM affairs. The new issues in question included the problem of terrorism, the influx of immigrants, hoaxes, and trans ideology which could disrupt Indonesian roots as a consensus within the state. This state of implementation of TUP/PUM affairs ultimately correlated with the emergence of problems in TUP/PUM affairs in the period from 2004 to 2014. These problems included cases of religious harmony (Jamaludin, 2021), cases of terrorism (A. T. H. Tan, 2008), and cases of social conflict (Jha, 2007; Mulyadi & Prakoso, 2021).

Therefore, the lack of priority given by local governments in the implementation of PUM affairs during the Laws 22/1999 and 32/2004 caused the central government to withdraw the management of PUM affairs into the hands of the President.

“.... when we talked about the policy directions of regional heads, the majority of whom did not really prioritize the management of this matter.... A logical consequence of the central government

withdrawing this matter was to optimize the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions..." (I 3).

The withdrawal of PUM affairs by the central government was carried out through Law 23/2014. The withdrawal of this matter aimed to improve national cohesion which had faded with various incidents of conflict and social friction that occurred in the regions during the Laws 22/1999 and 32/2004.

Unfortunately, the efforts to improve PUM affairs as written in Law 23/2014 were not running at the implementation stage. This was due to the inconsistency of the central government in formulating and implementing regulations for PUM affairs at the regional level.

"There were a lot of derivative regulations that contradicted the substance of PUM matters. The nature and substance of PUM affairs in Article 25 of Law 23/2014 did not appear in implementing regulations. In fact, the current implementing regulations actually interfered with the substance of PUM affairs." (I 1)

The impact of this inconsistency ultimately had implications for the condition of implementing PUM affairs in the regions. Inconsistency lay in all dimensions of the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. The essence of PUM affairs as affairs that functioned to maintain state cohesion and representation of the central government in the regions has experienced a reduction in function by handing over these affairs to regional governments.

Handing over the implementation of PUM affairs to the regional government was virtually the same as disputing the substance of the PUM affairs policy contained in Article 25 of Law 23/2014. Therefore, the implementation of PUM affairs during the Law 23/2014 era was worse than those in the previous regulations due to inconsistencies in all aspects of the policy dimension.

There were several arguments supporting the above statement. **First**, the central government was not disciplined in setting the principles of policy implementation. Implementing regulations were not related to the nature of PUM affairs which were based on deconcentration. Implementing regulations has changed the principle of implementing PUM affairs from deconcentration to decentralization without going

through changes to the law. **Second**, the inconsistency of implementing regulations for the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions has led to a cross-over of interests in the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. Implementing regulations had a crucial position in the implementation of a policy. Inconsistencies arising from implementing regulations have caused regions to take their path in implementing PUM affairs in their regions. This was certainly contrary to the aim of reinstating PUM affairs in Law 23/2014 which aimed to create uniformity in the management of national unity and public order in the regions.

Third, by looking at the initial interests in formulating this policy, then the interests are uniformity and unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) symbolized it in the form of the ratification of the Law 23/2014 policy. The continuity of this law was not fully continued in the era of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). In the era of President Jokowi, PUM affairs were no longer a priority for the central government. PUM affairs remained the property of the President, but its implementation was left to the local government. The logical consequence of this situation was a conflict of interest in interpreting how PUM affairs should be implemented. In the end, the political interests of regional heads became the basis for implementing PUM affairs.

Fourth, as PUM affairs were interpreted based on the political interests of regional heads, the implementation of these affairs became a practical political area to maintain the structure of political support for regional heads. This opinion referred to Grindle's opinion in explaining "critical choices in the implementation process". According to him, in the political-administrative context (Politico-Administrative Context), benefits affected the choices made about the allocation of resources and the consequences for groups/individuals in society (Grindle, 1980). By using PUM affairs, regional heads carried out symbolic/ceremonial activities regularly to maintain the constituent base and aggregation of political interests (Aritonang, 2016; Power & Warburton, 2020).

The impact of the inconsistent governance of PUM affairs during the Law 23/2014 era was that cases within the scope of PUM affairs continued to occur in Indonesia. During this period, there was still friction in society due to the issue of religious harmony (Sagita, 2018). Democracy development during this period also experienced a decline

in quality, marked by the entry of military and police entities into the civilian government structure to create stability in the wheels of government (Siregar, et al., 2022). The purpose of Law 23/2014 was indeed to create stability and unity of the wheels of government within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia. However, the approach used was not a defense and security approach. The approach used was the welfare approach. Therefore, the involvement of military and police entities in the institution of implementing PUM affairs was a wrong step

Last, another impact of the inconsistent governance of PUM affairs in Law 23/2014 was the low degree of success of the civil education policies in disseminating Pancasila and national visions to the younger generation of students (Nurdin, 2017). Thus, the narratives about transnational ideology and militant doctrines attached to religious teachings still emerged in the state-social relations of the Indonesian people. At its culmination, this militant doctrine manifested itself in the form of radicalism which led to terrorist movements in Indonesia (Syam, Mangunjaya, Rahmanillah, & Nurhadi, 2020).

6. Conclusion

Based on the results of the discussion above, the conclusion was that Law 05/1974 had consistency between the substance of the policy and the implementation of PUM affairs in the regions. PUM affairs in Law 05/1974 were able to realize the manifestation of the President's interests in the regions related to developing national vigilance (regional intelligence), creating political stability, facilitating social conflict resolution, maintaining national unity, and shaping national character. This consistency had implications for the "stability" of the socio-political situation in the region. The conditions of peace and public order in the regions could also be controlled by the central government through this umbrella of PUM affairs. However, the consistency of implementing PUM matters was inseparable from the security approach used. Through the "Dwi Fungsi ABRI", the military apparatus was actively involved in managing PUM affairs during the time of Law 05/1974. The civil apparatus only became the second layer of the bureaucracy as a supporter of the military apparatus in the management of PUM affairs. Therefore, civil supremacy did not materialize at the time of Law 05/1974.

After the reform, what happened was the opposite. Civil supremacy could be realized in the governance of PUM affairs in the regions. Civil servants, both in the central government and regional governments,

were the main driving force in the management of PUM affairs. This was realized through Laws 22/1999, 32/2004, and 23/2014. Unfortunately, civil supremacy in the management of PUM affairs has not been able to produce good governance of PUM affairs. Based on the results of an analysis of the implementation of Laws 22/1999, 32/2004, and 23/2014; it was found that inconsistencies always occurred in the dynamics of the implementation of PUM affairs in the third period of these regulations. This inconsistency arose when the dimensions of the substance of the policy were not aligned with the dimensions of the implementation policy. This was the underlying reason that post-reform governance of PUM affairs was not better than the previous period before the reform.

Several things caused the governance of PUM affairs in the reform era not to go well. **First**, there was consistency between the substance of the policy and the policy implementation. As a result, there was a gap between the goals/targets of PUM affairs and the reality of the results of the implementation of PUM affairs. **Second**, too many interests were involved in the governance of PUM affairs. The conflicts of interests among each other in the end weakened the implementation of PUM affairs itself. **Third**, neither the central government nor the regional governments gave proper priority to the management of PUM affairs. This lack of priority caused PUM's affairs useless.

For further research, there is an opportunity to conduct a study on how PUM affairs will be managed in the future. Issues regarding PUM affairs are increasingly widespread in line with the development of problems that occur in society. Future research should concentrate on overcoming obstacles related to the governance of PUM affairs so far. This makes it possible for further research to create new models or approaches to the governance of PUM affairs in Indonesia.

References

- Amin, R. I., & Isharyanto. (2022). Asymmetrical Sequential Decentralization: Resetting the Paradigm of Regional Autonomy. *Journal of Governance and Regulation*, 11(4), 24–32. <https://doi.org/10.22495/jgrv11i4art3>
- Anderson, J. E. (2010). *Public Policy Making: An Introduction* (7th ed.). Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Aritonang, D. M. (2016). Politics of Deconcentration for Local Government: The Case of Indonesia. *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 55, 78–86.
- As'ari, H., Maksum, I. R., Rosdiana, H., Kusumastuti, H. R., Mayarni, &

- Handoko, T. (2021). Policy design of government affairs distribution in the future forestry sector: A study in Indonesia. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, 16(5), 801–810. <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijstdp.160501>
- Blunt, P., Mamundzay, F., Yama, N., & Afghan, H. (2015). Policy paradigms, subnational governance and the state sovereignty gap in Afghanistan. *Progress in Development Studies*, 15(3), 270–285. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464993415578981>
- Brydon, M., & Vining, A. R. (2016). Combining Citizen Participation and Expert Analysis: A Wild, Wild Horses Problem in British Columbia. *Local Government Studies*, 42(1), 75–96.
- Charbit, C., & Michalun, M. V. (2009). Mind the Gaps: Managing Mutual Dependence in Relations among Levels of Government. *OECD Working Papers on Public Governance*. <https://doi.org/10.1787/221253707200>
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications (Third). Sage Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980902922143>
- Djumala, D. (2013). *Soft Power Untuk Aceh: Resolusi Konflik dan Politik Desentralisasi* (1st ed.). Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Djuyandi, Y., Bainus, A., & Sumadinata, W. S. (2018). Synergy between regional command unit of Indonesian National Army (Tni Ad) and Local Government in encouraging the spirit of state defense. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 12(4), 127–143.
- Dunn, W. N. (2014). *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction* (5th ed.). Pearson Education Limited.
- Dye, T. R. (2002). *Understanding Public Policy* (10th ed.). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Frisch-aviram, N. (2018). Low-level bureaucrats, local government regimes, and policy entrepreneurship. *Policy Sciences*, 51(1), 39–57.
- Greenhalgh, T., & Engebretsen, E. (2022). The science-policy relationship in times of crisis: An urgent call for a pragmatist turns. *Social Science and Medicine*, 306(October 2021), 115140. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.115140>
- Grindle, M. S. (1980). *Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World*. (M. S. GRINDLE, Ed.). Princeton University Press.
- Grindle, M. S. (2017). The implementor: Political constraints on rural development in Mexico. In *Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World* (pp. 197–223). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400886081-012>
- Grindle, M. S. (2019). The response to austerity: Political and economic strategies of Mexico's rural poor. In *Lost Promises: Debt, Austerity, and Development in Latin America* (pp. 190–215). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429035333-10>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2003). Decentralization and Democracy in Indonesia: A Critique of Neo- Institutional Perspectives. *Development and Change*, 35(4), 697–718.

- Jamaludin, A. N. (2021). Cities and villages in the religious conflict circle: Socio-demographic factors of communal and sectarian conflict in West Java, Indonesia. *HTS Theologies' Studies / Theological Studies*, 77(4), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V77I4.6854>
- Jha, P. (2007). Indonesia: Vulnerabilities and strengths of a regional power. *India Quarterly*, 63(1), 111–136. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097492840706300105>
- Kipo-Sunyezi, D. D. (2022). Perspectives on Public Policy Implementation in Developing World Context: The Case of Ghana's Health Insurance Scheme. *Public Organization Review*, 22(3), 611–626. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11115-021-00520-w>
- Kolehmainen-Aitken, R. L. (2004). Decentralization's impact on the health workforce: Perspectives of managers, workers, and national leaders. *Human Resources for Health*, 2, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1478-4491-2-5>
- Kotnik, Ž., & Stanimirović, D. (2021). A content analysis of public policy design and implementation in Slovenia: Weighing strategic and normative factors. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*, (64 E), 70–88. <https://doi.org/10.24193/tras.64E.4>
- Krause, J. (2018). Resilient Communities: Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War. In *Resilient Communities: Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War* (pp. 1–15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108675079>
- Kusnadi, A. (2017). Re-Evaluasi Hubungan Pengawasan Pusa dan Daerah Pemerintahan Daerah. *Arena Hukum*, 10(23), 61–77.
- Majambu, E., Tsayem Demaze, M., & Ongolo, S. (2021). The Politics of Forest Governance Failure in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): Lessons from 35 Years of Political Rivalries. *International Forestry Review*, 23(3), 321–337. <https://doi.org/10.1505/146554821833992857>
- Maksum, I. R. (2014). Pemerintahan Umum Berbasis Dekonsentrasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, Edisi 44(October).
- Matsui, K. (2003). Decentralization in Nation State Building of Indonesia. IDE Research Paper.
- McClean, K., & King, E. (1999). Decentralization of The Education Sector. In *Decentralization Briefing Notes* (pp. 52–57).
- Mulyadi & Prakoso, L. Y. (2021). Optimalisasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila di Era VUCA Perspektif Strategi Perang Semesta. *Inovasi Penelitian*, 2(2), 415–426.
- Nakaya, A. (2018). Overcoming Ethnic Conflict through Multicultural Education: The Case of West Kalimantan, Indonesia social identity Multicultural Education, Transformative Citizenship Education, and Social Identity Methods Multiculturalism in Indonesia's Education System. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, 20(1), 118–137.
- Negara, S. D., & Hutchinson, F. E. (2021). The Impact of Indonesia's Decentralization Reforms Two Decades On: Introduction. *Journal of*

- Southeast Asian Economies, 38(3), 289–295.
<https://doi.org/10.1355/ae38-3a>
- Nur Wijayanti, S. (2017). Hubungan Antara Pusat dan Daerah Dalam Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014. *Jurnal Media Hukum*, 23(2), 186–199.
<https://doi.org/10.18196/jmh.2016.0079.186-199>
- Nurdin, E. S. (2017). Civic Education Policies: Their effect on university students' spirit of nationalism and patriotism. *Citizenship, Social and Economic Education*, 16(1), 69–82.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2047173416688039>
- Pemerintah Indonesia. Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah (2014). Indonesia.
- Power, T., & Warburton, E. (2020). The Decline of Indonesian Democracy. In T. Power & E. Warburton (Eds.), *Democracy in Indonesia: From Stagnation to Regression* (pp. 1–18). Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2021.1908877>
- Prasojo, E., Maksum, I. R., & Kurniawan, T. (2006). Desentralisasi dan Pemerintahan Daerah: Antara Model Demokrasi Lokal dan Efisiensi Struktural. Depok: UI Press.
- Ramses, A. (2014). Dekonsentrasi dan Pemerintahan Umum Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan Daerah. *Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 44, 133.
- Rauf, R., Munaf, Y., Zakaria, S. A. Z. S., Arifm, K., & Razman, M. R. (2019). Analysis of the Development on Deconcentration in Indonesia. *ARPJ Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences*.
<https://doi.org/10.36478/JEASCI.2019.7179.7186>
- Saefudin, A., Nadiroh, & Achmad, R. (2019). Policy implementation evaluation about quality management and pollution control of water in Regency of Bekasi. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 314(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/314/1/012087>
- Sagita, N. I. (2018). Pelaksanaan Urusan Pemerintahan Umum Dalam Membina Kerukunan Beragama Oleh Pemerintah Kota Bandung. *Penamas*, 31(1), 47. <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v31i1.180>
- Santagati, M. E., Bonini Baraldi, S., & Zan, L. (2020). Understanding decentralization: deconcentration and devolution processes in the French and Italian cultural sectors. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 33(4), 435–460. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPSM-02-2019-0050>
- Siregar, S. N., Raffiudin, R., & Noor, F. (2022). Democratic regression in Indonesia: Police and low-capacity democracy in Jokowi's administration (2014–2020). *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 26(2), 197–212. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.72129>
- Steinbach, M., & Süß, S. (2018). Administrators' identities and strategies in the e-participation innovation process: A qualitative analysis of institutional logics and institutional work in German municipalities. *The International Journal of Government & Democracy in the Information*

- Age. 2018, Vol. 23, 23(3), 281–305. <https://doi.org/10.3233/IP-170037>
- Sujatmiko, I. G. (2012). Conflict transformation and social reconciliation: The case of Aceh, Indonesia. *Asian Social Science*, 8(2), 104–111. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v8n2p104>
- Susanto, D., Marhaini, T. P. A., Masrukhi, & Yasir, M. A. (2017). Interaction and social change post-conflict: Riots case between Dayak and Madura tribe case study in Sampit, Central Kalimantan. *International Journal of Economic Research*, 14(6), 137 – 146. Retrieved from <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85019581475&partnerID=40&md5=dc1d4f097a490a0043c4b6a31e06cc3d>
- Sweinstani, K. D. M. (2016). The Politics of Education in South East Asia: A Comparative Study on Decentralization Policy in Primary Education in Indonesia and Thailand. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 6(11), 825–829. <https://doi.org/10.18178/ijssh.2016.v6.757>
- Switzer, D. (2019). Citizen Partisanship, Local Government, and Environmental Policy Implementation. *Urban Affairs Review*, 55(3), 675–702. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087417722863>
- Syam, F., Mangunjaya, F. M., Rahmanillah, A. R., & Nurhadi, R. (2020). Narrative and the politics of identity: Patterns of the spread and acceptance of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. *Religions*, 11(6), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11060290>
- Tan, A. T. H. (2008). The terrorist threat in the Asia-Pacific: The current situation and how it can be improved. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 20(3), 199–213. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10163270802309063>
- Tan, M. L., Ng, K. L., Loh, L. W. L., Haugan, G., Wang, W., & He, H. G. (2022). A descriptive qualitative study exploring the postpartum confinement experiences among first-time mothers from the three major ethnic groups in Singapore. *Midwifery*, 114, 103463. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.midw.2022.103463>
- Trimurni, F. (2018). Deconcentration Practice and Disintegration Threats in Aceh and North Sumatra. *Advance in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR)*, 141, 83–88. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icoposdev-17.2018.18>
- Uluputty, I. (2018). Analisis Perencanaan Pembangunan Urusan Pemerintahan Umum. *Manajemen Pembangunan*, 5(1), 37–57.
- Uzun, Y., & Koch, S. (2020). Decentralization vs centralization: Scenarios of regional development of Ukraine in the context of internal stability establishment. *Przegląd Strategiczny*, (13), 243–262. <https://doi.org/10.14746/ps.2020.1.15>
- Wasistiono, S. (2014). Perkembangan Pemikiran Mengenai Urusan Pemerintahan Umum. *Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 44, 133.
- Wasistiono, S., & Polyando, P. (2020). Politik Desentralisasi di Indonesia (Revisi). Sumedang: IPDN Press.
- Wicaksono, D. A. (2014). Transformasi Pengaturan Distribusi Urusan

Pemerintahan dari Pemerintah Pusat Kepada Pemerintahan Daerah *
Transformasi Pengaturan Distribusi Urusan Pemerintahan A.
Pendahuluan Keberadaan Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014
tentang Pemerintahan Daerah (UU. Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Padjajaran,
2(1), 463–482.

Winters, J. (1999). Dosa-Dosa Politik Orde Baru (Pertama). Jakarta: Pernerbit
Djambatan.

Yudiatmaja, W. E., Kristanti, D., Prastya, I. Y., & Yudithia, Y. (2021). Social
policy on the rural coastal communities: why the implementation fails?
(Vol. 232, pp. 1–7). Yogyakarta: International Conference on
Agribusiness and Rural Development, IConARD 2020.
<https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202123202006>

Zhou, L., Dai, D., Ren, J., Chen, X., & Chen, S. (2022). What is policy content
and how is the public's policy support? A policy cognition study based
on natural language processing and social psychology. *Frontiers in
Psychology*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.941762>