

## DYNAMICS OF WEST JAVA PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTING SECURITY, TEST, PUBLIC ORDER AND PROTECTION OF THE COMMUNITY POST 2019 ELECTIONS

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### *Abstract*

*Before and after the 2019 Presidential Election there was political polarization in society. This condition is made worse by the existence of identity politics which has the potential to cause social segregation. This situation can certainly threaten the security and order of the people of West Java. To analyze the West Java Provincial Government's efforts to deal with community dynamics, the authors used the Dynamic Governance concept approach proposed by Boon Shiong, Neo, and Geraldine, Chen (2007) with a focus on discussion on Capability elements which include Thinking Ahead, Thinking Again, and Thinking Across. In addition, the Culture element will analyze five of the thirteen values, namely: Integrity, Multi-racialism (Different ethnicities and beliefs), Relevance (According to the Will of the Society), Stability, and Prudence. There are also changes due to elements of culture and capabilities. Moreover, to analyze the commitment of the West Java Provincial Government in implementing the development of human security this research was analyzed by using the theory of Human Security according to Mary Kaldor (2007). Based on the research results, it was found that; First, the West Java Provincial Government was able to predict the potential for social conflict due to political polarization in society. Therefore, preventive, pre-emptive, and repressive steps are taken to locate potential conflicts so that they do not spread; Second, the Provincial Government of West Java has not carried out social consolidation and reconciliation to reunite the polarized society. Thus, the potential for political polarization in the coming elections is quite potential; Third, the Provincial Government of West Java continues to make socialization and education efforts for the community through development policies that are in favor of the interests of the community, so that it is hoped that the community can understand the importance of security and for development and improving public welfare.*

## I. Introduction

The 2019 Presidential Election, which was held simultaneously with the election of members of the Indonesian House of Representatives/Regional Representative Council/Regional People's Legislative Council, the election of Provincial, Regency/City Regional Heads caused many casualties from the election organizers. Data from the Ministry of Health showed that based on reports from the Health Service for each province, 527 polling officers passed away and 11,239 people became ill. The highest number of fatalities 177 came from West Java reaching. Followed by East Java 82, Central Java 44 people, Banten 29 people, South Sumatra 25 people, West Kalimantan 26, Lampung 23, DKI Jakarta 18, Yogyakarta 10, South Kalimantan 8, Riau 7, Bengkulu 7, West Nusa Tenggara 7, Jambi, Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, and Southeast Sulawesi each 6, Riau Islands 4, Bali, North Sulawesi and Maluku 2 each and West Sumatra one person passed away.

Apart from causing fatalities and tens of thousands of members of the Polling Organizing Group falling ill, the 2019 Presidential Election also created political polarization from differences in views and sharp political choices involving religious issues in it. Political polarization does not only occur among elites but also at the mass level. Moreover, the polarization formed at the mass level is more complex and sharp, so it is transformed into identity politics which is very prone to triggering social conflict.

Ironically, the 2019 presidential elections had over, and a new government was formed three years ago, this polarization is still occurring. Moreover, in this volume II of the Working Indonesia Cabinet, the presidential candidates who are contesting in the 2019 Presidential Election are united in government. At this level, the political battle between Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin vs Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno is over. However, at the mass level, the issue of political polarization has the potential to lead to social segregation is still exist.

The latest case is the persecution of social media activist Ade Armando which occurred during a student demonstration in front of the Indonesian House of Representatives building in Jakarta on April 11, 2022. He is a lecturer at the University of Indonesia. He is known as a pro-Jokowi group in the 2019 presidential election. It is presumed that Ade's attackers are a group that opposes or dislikes Jokowi's leadership, which in the 2019 presidential election formed an alliance with and supported Prabowo Subianto.

In other words, there is still sharp polarization at the mass level. Moreover, the issue has shifted into groups that are pro and on

against Jokowi's government. It means that the political reconciliation carried out by Jokowi and Prabowo did not have a significant effect on the social level. Furthermore, Some parties feel 'betrayed' by Prabowo's joining the Jokowi government.

This condition also occurs in West Java. As a province directly adjacent to the National Capital, political polarization at the mass level is still strong. Until now there have been no social clashes due to these differences, the potential for social conflict still exists considering that West Java has the largest population in Indonesia with the number of voters reaching almost 20% of the total number of votes in Indonesia. On the other hand, the population of West Java consists of various tribes, religions, and beliefs. These differences are potential conflicts that cannot be ignored.

From another perspective, West Java is still an arena for political battles for the upcoming elections. So groups that are against Jokowi's regime will continue to raise various issues to bring down his government. That means identity politics can easily be 'revived' in West Java for political purposes.

Referring the course of the election, political polarization has occurred since the 2014 presidential election. Differences in views and political choices between Jokowi's supporters and Prabowo Subianto's supporters in the 2014 Presidential Election repeated in the 2019 Presidential Election, causing acts of violence in society, even involving institutions. One example is the case of Robiatul, a teacher in Bekasi who was fired because he had a different political opinion from the foundation where she worked.

According to Afrimadona, a senior researcher at the Populi Center, the trend of polarization increased gradually in the 2014 Presidential Election, the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election, to the 2019 Election. He stated that the game of identity politics was one of the triggers. When the issue of identity is played out, politics becomes very personal. So that politics is seen emotionally, not rationally anymore.

Moreover, a Muslim intellectual figure Emha Ainun Najib or Cak Nun, said that the only function of the presidential election was to make people hostile to one another. The only function of political parties is that the people are divided. Cak Nun is worried about the polarization in the 2019 election. He emphasized that the Indonesian elite should be able to prove: democracy makes us mature, harmonious, united in diversity, and mature in thought.

Indonesianist from the Australian National University Marcus Meitzner said the 2014 presidential election was a battle between two political groups in Indonesia. Jokowi's supporters represent a group Meitzner calls populist technocrats. They are a variant of the modern populism movement which uses the individual persona to mobilize the masses. Opposite Jokowi's camp are populist ultra-

nationalist groups. They represent Prabowo's supporters who like his pro-poor, anti-status quo and anti-Western approach.

The fierce battle between the two camps since the 2014 presidential election has created sharp differences. To bring up the term *cebong* vs *kampret* (tadpole vs bat) to dub each supporter. The term *cebong* is pinned for Jokowi's supporters, while *kampret* is narrated for Prabowo Subianto's supporters. According to Hendri Satrio a political observer at Paramadina University, this terminology contains hatred.

First, in the 2019 presidential election, the competition between Jokowi and Prabowo is getting sharper. This condition is exacerbated by involving political institutions, including political elites at the local level. Instead of local elites neutralizing competition at the central level so as not to widen in the social sphere, what happened was that local elites took advantage of these conditions to gain votes for their political interests. As a result, in the social realm, the political competition between Jokowi and Prabowo is increasingly crystallized and is no longer rational.

Second, social economic, and political issues are always capitalized on, so that in the public sphere and social media narratives appear that do not educate and even justify one another. For example, the issue of toll road construction in Java has become a partisan issue to the terms "Pak Jokowi's Toll Road" and "People Don't Eat Infrastructure". These narratives continue to be capitalized on to exacerbate differences and even instill hatred between the two camps.

Third, partisan politics has also spread to regional head elections, such as in DKI Jakarta. Anies Baswedan's victory as Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017 has connected with the victory of the Prabowo camp. Experts argue that Anies' victory was due to Prabowo's use of populist politics. The approach of using religious issues as a weapon has proven effective in achieving victory.

Partisan politics also occurred in the West Java regional head elections in 2018. Because in a short period the DKI Jakarta regional head elections, and geographically directly adjacent, made the West Java Pilkada laden with issues of identity politics. Even though it is not like what happened in DKI Jakarta, it is enough to exacerbate the polarization that has been formed from the Jokowi vs Prabowo competition ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election.

The conditions above attracted the attention of the authors to conduct an analysis of "The Dynamics of the West Java Provincial Government in the Implementation of Security, Peace, Public Order, and Community Protection After the 2019 Presidential Election". Moreover, when in fact the leadership of Ridwan Kamil-Uu

Ruzhannul Ulum is only supported by 32.88 percent of voters in West Java. That means that 67.13 percent of voters in West Java do not want Ridwan Kamil's leadership. Politically, this is certainly a serious challenge and obstacle for the Ridwan Kamil regime in carrying out development in West Java.

To analyze these conditions, the authors use the Dynamic Governance theory from Boon Shiong, Neo and Geraldine, Chen (2007), and the concept of Human Security from Mary Kaldor (2007) with a descriptive qualitative approach to the results of interviews with various competent informants supported by literature studies as a source secondary.

## **II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Dynamic Governance**

Boon Shiong, Neo and Geraldine, Chen (2007) explain that Dynamic Governance sebagai "to how these chosen paths, policies, institutions, and structures adapt to an uncertain and fast-changing environment so that they remain relevant and effective in achieving the long-term desired outcomes of society". There are three important elements in Dynamic Governance, namely Culture, Capabilities, and Change. In another word, Dynamic Governance refers to the government's ability to respond the future societal developments through early signs that may affect the state's condition.

To be able to do this, the government must have the capabilities formulated by Boon Shiong, Neo, Geraldine, and Chen (2007) as Thinking Ahead, Thinking Again, and Thinking Across. Thinking Ahead is the ability to understand early signals of future developments that can influence a country to remain relevant to the world. Thinking Again is the ability and willingness to rethink and reformulate currently functioning policies so that they perform better. And Thinking Across or Thinking Across is the ability and openness to be able to learn from the experiences of other people, other governments, or organizations in dealing with the same problem, to get new ideas and ideas that can be applied in their policies.

In addition to the Capabilities element, the dynamics of government are also influenced by the Culture and Change elements. Culture is a condition that reflects how culture and the surrounding environment develop where policies work. There are five of the thirteen elements that influence the dynamics of government in West Java, namely Integrity, Multi-Racialism (Different Ethnicities and Beliefs), Relevance (According to Community Will), Stability, and Prudence. Meanwhile, Change is the condition or condition that is expected after the implementation of the policy.

Thus, Dynamic Governance is understandable as the government's ability to respond to developing dynamics so that policies issued can work properly. Hence, the environmental conditions (Culture) in which these policies work can change according to the expected conditions (Change).

#### Human Security

UNDP (1994:23) defines Human Security as; first, security from such chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development.

Afterward, UNDP classifies Human Security into seven: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. That means, Human Security does not only refer to freedom from physical harassment or threats, but also freedom from fear of not getting food, guarantees for health, and freedom to assemble and express one's opinion.

Therefore, Mary Kaldor (2007) defines the concept of Human Security as a complement to a human development approach that focuses on reducing or possibly eliminating threats to human life in everyday life, namely the first principle, namely the Human Security Policy which is respect for human rights in the face of violence the focus is on individual needs.

In other words, human security is understandable as a development policy carried out by the government to liberate people from fear and chronic conditions, such as food emergencies, health emergencies, and freedom of assembly and expression. So that people get certainty and guarantees of protection in carrying out their daily activities and can develop their lives better.

#### Government and Regional Government

W.S. Sayre in Kencana (2010:11) stated that the government is an organization of the state that shows and exercises its power. Thus, the keywords are organization and power. Ndraha (2003) defines government as an agency that processes the fulfillment of human needs as consumers of government products for public and civil services. Meanwhile, David Apter (1977:10) defines it as the Government's most generalized membership unit processing (a) defined responsibilities for maintenance of the system of which it is a part and (b) a practical monopoly of coercive power. Furthermore, Jimly argues (2014: 210) that the government is a government official

(ambtsdragers) to exercise the authority or power inherent in the environment of positions.

Thus, the government is an organization with coercive and binding authority and power based on applicable laws regulating people's lives. This is in line with the opinion of Abdul Halim and Syam Kusufi (2012: 33) governance is a system of exercising authority and power to regulate the social, economic, and political life of a country or its parts or a group of people who jointly bear limited responsibility for use power.

For this reason, Lemaire (1970) in Salam (2002: 34) explains the functions of government include:

- 1) The Bestuurzorg function carries out general welfare.
- 2) The Bestuur function is to carry out the law.
- 3) Police Function.
- 4) The function of adjudicating.
- 5) The function of making rules.

Adam Smith (1976) stated that the government of a country has three main functions as follows:

- 1) Maintain domestic security and defense.
- 2) Organizing the judiciary.
- 3) Provide goods that are not provided by the private sector.

The Fourth Amendment to the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) explains that the function of government is to protect the entire Indonesian nation and its homeland, promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in carrying out world order based on independence and social justice. Meanwhile Atmosudirdjo (1984:19), the government's duties include state administration, state households, government, development, and environmental preservation. Meanwhile, the function of government is regulation, community development, police, and judiciary.

In other words, the purpose of forming a government is to maintain security (basic security) and public order so that each individual can run and develop their life for the better. In addition, the government also has a service function for the basic needs of society and empowerment.

In Article 18 Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is divided into provincial regions, and provincial areas are divided into regencies and cities. Provinces, districts, and cities have regional governments regulated by Law no. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government. Thus, to implementing the functions of service,

development, and security administration in the regions are carried out by regional governments, which are divided into Provinces and Regencies or Cities.

Article 1 point 2 of Law Number 23 of 2014 regarding Regional Government is explained that regional government is the implementation of government affairs by the Regional Government and the Regional People's Representative Council according to the principle of broadest autonomy in the system and principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as referred to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Law 1945.

Referring to the law above, it is clear that implementing services, development, and security in the regions is the duty and responsibility of the regional government. In this context, the dynamics of the people of West Java after the 2019 Presidential Election are the responsibility of the West Java Provincial Government to create security, peace, public order, and community protection.

The Dynamics of West Java Government in the Implementation of Peace, Public Order, and Community Protection After the 2019 Presidential Election

In implementing peace, public order, and community protection, the West Java Provincial Government has policies contained in West Java Regional Regulation, Number 13 of 2018 concerning the administration of peace, public order, and community protection. Article 3, paragraph (1) of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 states that everyone has the same right to feel and enjoy peace, public order, and community protection. Paragraph (2) says that everyone has the right to get protection against threats of danger and riots as a result of a disorderly society.

Based on the provisions above, it is clear that every citizen of West Java has the right to feel peace, public order, and protection from various threats that could endanger his life. That means the Provincial Government of West Java is responsible for peacekeeping, public order, and community protection.

The question is whether this policy can reach the dynamics of society, which is polarized due to identity politics in the 2019 presidential election. Then, how does the West Java Provincial Government respond to these conditions? So that it can guarantee security, peace, public order, and community protection. Polarization of politics that leads to social segregation has been going on since the 2014 Presidential Election. This means that, until 2019, there was no attempt by the West Java Provincial Government to carry out social

reconciliation and reconstruction, so in the 2019 Presidential Election, identity politics resurfaced in West Java.

#### Thinking Ahead

In the Dynamic Governance concept, a good government must be able to predict, calculate, and project problems that will arise in the future. Hence, the policies issued by the government can reach these conditions. Thus, the Provincial Government of West Java should have been able to predict the emergence of identity politics that has the potential to disrupt security, peace, and public order.

According to Ade Afriandi, head of the West Java civil service police unit, in the 2019 presidential election, identity politics strengthened (again) by bringing up the issue of religion. Therefore, the West Java Provincial Government seeks to: (1) encourage people to be able to think rationally and critically, especially with political and religious issues which tend to be manipulated by political elites; (2) encourage people's political preferences to be based more on the courage to think according to their rational reasoning amidst the clutches of religious politics elites, and authorities; and (3) inviting people to have rationally thought and become critical individuals so that people's mindsets are open and tolerant in dealing with socio-political issues.

As an institution responsible for enforcing local regulations and regional heads, the West Java Civil Service Police Unit in implementing Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018, continues to conduct socialization, education, and surveillance and enforcement patrols. Moreover, strengthens the role of community protection in each village. Thus, it is hoped that the people of West Java understand their rights and obligations in maintaining peace, public order, and community protection.

Ridwan Kamil, the governor of West Java, stated that the West Java civil service police unit has carried out its duties and responsibilities in accordance with their duties and functions by conducting outreach, education, conducting patrols, and monitoring and taking action against any violations of local regulations and regional regulations. However, it should be understood that the task of *transtribumlinmas* is not only the responsibility of the civil service police unit but is also attached to every individual as an obligation to live in society.

In addition, continued the informant (Ridwan Kamil), the Provincial Government of West Java continues to coordinate and consolidate with various vertical agencies, community leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders, and other elements of society to maintain conduciveness after the 2019 Presidential Election. According to his narrative, the result is that West Java is relatively conducive, with no

outbursts in society due to differences in political choices, like what happened to other regions.

West Java Regional Police Intelligence Director Ruslan Ependi's point of view is identity politics that develops in society is believed to have an impact on social rifts in society. Therefore, the police officers who are in the jurisdiction of West Java are taking action steps, namely: 1) breaking down the polarization so that it does not crystallize into conflict; 2) increasing Routine Activities which are Enhanced; 3) enforcing the law to deter the effect in society; and 4) fundraising for religious leaders, community leaders, mass organizations and communities.

The explanations from the informants above show that the West Java Provincial Government is quite anticipatory towards the dynamics of society after the 2019 Presidential Election. The potential for divisions at the social level has been taken into account. To prevent social conflict from occurring, the Provincial Government of West Java establishes communication and consolidation with vertical agencies, such as the Republic of Indonesia Police, the Indonesian National Armed Forces, the Attorney General's Office, the election supervisory body, the election commission, community leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders and various elements other societies. In addition, the Provincial Government of West Java also cooperates with the police and the Indonesian National Armed Forces to enforce regulations to create security, peace, order, and community protection.

These efforts are reflected in the growth of democratic institutions like political parties and local government in building a democratic climate in West Java. In addition, the role of democratic institutions is one aspect that influences the development of the Indonesian Democracy Index to aspects of civil liberties and political rights.

West Java Central Bureau of Statistics (2020), the role of democratic institutions has increased since 2015 from 51.37 to 70.75 points in 2019. Unfortunately, this growth has not occurred in civil liberties and political rights. In 2015, the aspects of civil liberties were at 79.10 and continued to decline until 2019 to 65.16. Furthermore, the factor of political rights also decreased from 81.89 in 2015 to 71.15 points in 2019.

The decline in aspects of civil liberties and political rights then caused the West Java Indonesia Democracy Index to experience a continuous decline since 2015 from 73.04 points, above the national average, to 69.09 points in 2019. Meanwhile, the national Indonesian Democracy Index average experienced growth from 72.82 points in 2015 and continues to grow to 74.92 points in 2019.

Based on data from the West Java Central Bureau of Statistics (2021), the development of the West Java Indonesia Democracy Index in 2020 has increased from 2019 to 71.32 points. Even though it is constantly below the national Indonesian Democracy Index (73.66), the three aspects have increased compared to the previous year. The democratic institution grew positively to 73.01 points, the aspect of civil liberties grew to 69.57 points, and the political freedom to 71.64 points.

In other words, the efforts of the West Java Provincial Government to build a democratic climate after the 2019 Presidential Election are showing positive growth. However, this growth must continue and be supported by social consolidation and reconstruction measures. In fact, political polarization in society is still occurring, thus allowing identity politics to revive in the upcoming 2024 Presidential Election.

On the other hand, the enforcement of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 by the West Java civil service police unit must continue to be carried out through socialization, education, and law enforcement measures involving the Indonesian National Armed Forces, and the Republic of Indonesia Police as auxiliary personnel. Because without the involvement of the Indonesian National Armed Forces, and Indonesian National Police, the civil service police unit will not be able to enforce these regulations. As stated by security studies expert Arry Bainus, in the process of implementing security, peace, public order, and social protection. At this moment, it cannot only be carried out by civil service police units, but must involve the Indonesian National Armed Forces, and Indonesian National Police. Because not a few disturbances to security and public order lead to criminal acts, an institution that has authority such as the Police of the Republic of Indonesia is needed.

#### Thinking Again

Thinking Again is the second capability that must have by the government in the principles of Dynamic Governance. This refers to the question, has Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 sufficiently covered the dynamics of society after the 2019 Presidential Election?

According to Ade Afriandi (informant), as the leading sector for enforcing regional regulations and regional heads, the existence of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 is still quite relevant and able to reach community dynamics, including in the face of the upcoming 2024 Presidential Election. However, if it is deemed that a change is necessary, the enforcement agency will implement it in accordance with the applicable regulations. It will continue to collaborate with the Indonesian National Armed Forces or the Indonesian Republican Police and Forkominda to anticipate security disturbances, public order, and community protection.

Ridwan Kamil also has the same idea about West Java Provincial Government having limitations in its efforts to maintain public security and order. In matters related to security disturbances, there are the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the Republic of Indonesia Police that has more authority. Meanwhile, the Provincial Government of West Java seeks to create conducive conditions by maintaining public order and protecting the public from various threats. Therefore the Provincial Government of West Java will continue to collaborate with the Indonesian National Army or the Republic of Indonesia Police to maintain conduciveness. Moreover, it is for improving other government functions, such as service, development, and community empowerment.

In the view of informant Taufiq as Chair of the West Java Regional People's Representative Council, Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 needs to be reviewed, especially on the budget and supervision side. This is important to ensure that the enforcement of regional regulations can run in the fairway without discrimination. Non-discriminatory process of enforcing Regional Regulations will foster public trust in the government through the enforcement process. In this case, the West Java civil service police unit is the implementing agency.

Informant Nugroho, the commander of the regional military command III (Siliwangi), viewed that Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 needs to be reviewed, namely the need for territorial development in every region of West Java. One of them is holding gatherings with religious leaders, community leaders, community organizations, and non-governmental organizations to build community participation in the framework of a conducive Harkamtibmas.

Therefore, Nugroho provided socialization on handling social conflict to regional apparatus, Binmas, Non-Governmental Organizations, Mass Organizations, and other elements of society by presenting speakers from regional military command III (Siliwangi), West Java Regional Police, and the Ministry of Home Affairs. The West Java Provincial Government, the Indonesian National Armed Forces, and the Indonesian Police will always collaborate with all elements of society, so they can participate in maintaining security and order down to the regional level after the 2019 Presidential Election.

Ruslan (informant) also stated Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 needs to be reviewed. The terms of supervising its implementation so that it runs in fairway and transparently. In addition, social reconciliation efforts must continue to be carried out by organizing various social, religious, and cultural activities. If the

polarization that occurs in society can be neutralized so that security and order can be achieved.

The informants' statements above show that there are different views regarding whether Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 needs to be reviewed. Elements from the West Java Provincial Government assessed that the Regional Regulation was still relevant in reaching the dynamics of society that had developed up to the 2024 Presidential Election. Meanwhile, from elements of the West Java Regional House of Representatives, regional military command III (Siliwangi), and West Java regional police, the Regional Regulation needs to be reviewed. Especially on the budgeting and supervision aspects, as well as efforts to consolidate social reconciliation by involving religious leaders, community leaders, youth leaders, non-governmental organizations, and mass organizations to play an active role in building and maintaining conduciveness in West Java.

In the Dynamic Governance concept, a policy is not always updated and can reach developing dynamics. Therefore, Thinking Again is needed. So that the policy can be implemented and achieve any change that occurs where the policy works. That means that referring to the concept of Dynamic Governance, the policies of the West Java Provincial Government regarding the implementation of public security and order need to be reviewed so that they can anticipate changes that will occur in society in the future.

#### Thinking Across

The other capability that the West Java Provincial Government must have is Thinking Across. Able to learn from other regional governments in dealing with political polarization that occurs in society. Hence, it can be the formulation of new government policies in dealing with similar problems.

According to informant Ade Afriandi, the West Java civil service police unit as the implementing agency has not conducted comparative studies or learned from other regional governments in terms of handling political polarization that occurs in society. Even though his party always communicates and coordinates with the East Java government. This is done to jointly study the development and dynamics of the society in each region so that it can be a comparison in terms of handling. In addition, his party continues to coordinate with vertical agencies such as the Indonesian National Army or the police to build conduciveness, both before and after the 2019 Presidential Election.

Based on Ridwan Kamil's information, after the 2019 presidential election, the world wide was hit by the Covid-19 pandemic. The important policy to overcome the spread of the coronavirus was to limit community activities, including comparative study activities that were carried out by the government. Nevertheless, communication

and coordination with other regions bordering the province of West Java continue to be carried out to create conduciveness in society.

In line with the two informants above, informant Ruslan stated that he did not conduct a comparative study, but carried out cross-sectoral coordination with the Provincial Governments of DKI Jakarta, Banten, Central Java, and East Java. This is done to observe the development of community dynamics and to prevent the escalation of conflict.

In addition to the issue of limiting activities due to the Covid-19 Pandemic, according to Muradi a security studies expert, a comparative study is rather difficult to do by the Provincial Government of West Java. Because for good results, comparative studies must be carried out apple to apple, both for the institution and the problems that occur.

In this context, continued the informant Muradi, the government system in Indonesia is different from other countries. In most countries, local governments oversee regional police and thus have the authority to give orders to police officers. Whereas in the government system in Indonesia, the police is a vertical agency that is directly coordinated at the center. As a result, regional governments can only coordinate without having authority or intervention in the execution of police duties in the regions. Therefore, comparative studies related to the implementation of security and order as a result of elections are almost impossible to do, except for comparative studies in terms of coordination.

The explanations from the informants above show that the West Java Provincial Government has not conducted comparative studies with the government or other organizations in terms of handling the dynamics of security and public order after the election. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the West Java Provincial Government has not learned from other regional governments. This is because communication and coordination with regional governments to make comparisons is a form of learning that is carried out together in handling societal dynamics after the 2019 presidential election.

#### Culture

Culture is another ability of element influential in the dynamics of government. Culture in the concept of Dynamic Governance consists of; 1) Integrity, 2) Incorruptibility (cannot be bribed or not corrupted), 3) Meritocracy (based on talent, ability, or achievement), 4) Market (a fair market orientation), 5) Pragmatism (easy to adjust or more oriented towards achieving national goals rather than dwelling on ideology), 6) Multi-racialism (various ethnicities and beliefs), 7)

State Activism (state activities), 8) Long Term (long-term plans and goals), 9) Relevance (policies that are by the will of society), 10) Growth, 11) Stability, 12) Prudence and 13) Self-Reliance.

In this study, the author only analyzes the factors that are considered relevant, namely Integrity, Multi-racialism (various ethnicities and beliefs), Relevance (policies that conform to the will of society), Stability (stability), and Prudence (wisdom).

#### Integrity

A factor for a policy to work well is integrity. Integrity concerns matters of trust. If the integrity of policy implementers is considered good, the policy tends to run well, and the public responds positively. Therefore, increased integrity will be followed by increased public confidence in the government.

According to informant Ade Afriandi, as part of the West Java Provincial Government, the West Java civil service police unit is trying to enforce Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 with all integrity to maintain conduciveness. Therefore, in the enforcement process, the West Java civil service police unit takes preventive, pre-emptive, and repressive steps to create society's public order.

Acil Bimbo (West Java humanist), the West Java civil service police unit as the implementing agency, has not been able to maintain security and public order optimally. This is because the enforcement process does not depart from the root of the problem. Then, what emerges is reactive-repressive attitudes and not prevention.

From a juridical perspective, the West Java Prosecutor's Office Asep N. Mulyana assessed that the process of enforcing Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2018 did not run well and fairly. Because discriminatory practices still occur in the implementation. Some people feel that the local government is treating them unfairly. For example, during a pandemic, chicken porridge sellers were fined 5 million rupiahs for implementing dine-in and there were queues. Meanwhile, mall operators were only fined 500,000 rupiahs for holding events that caused crowds.

This condition certainly caused a sense of injustice in society effect. People tend to no longer trust the government, which makes the integrity of the West Java Provincial Government rated bad.

This will backfire on the process of implementing security, public order, and public protection.

Arry Bainus also saw that the process of enforcing Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 was still discriminatory and sided with one group. One of the functions of Regional Regulation is to protect minority groups from the majority group. Hence, the existence of the government can stand above all groups and create justice for all

people. However, what happened in West Java is the local government sided with the majority group. Thus, the existence of minority groups felt threatened in carrying out their daily lives.

According to him, the issue of security and public order should be the task of the central government. Local government will not be able to carry out this function with all the limitations of its authority. This is because the problem of security and public order is a cross-agency issue, so it is not enough to only be handled by regional regulations. Stronger legal law is needed, such as laws and their derivatives.

Informant Muradi added to the statement that regional governments can only carry out administrative actions. Meanwhile, the process of enforcing Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2018 must involve the Indonesian National Armed Forces or the police. The West Java civil service police unit will not be able to implement the Regional Regulation amid the dynamics of society that are currently developing.

Multi-racialism (various ethnicities and beliefs)

West Java is a province with the largest population in Indonesia. With a total population of 48.27 million in 2020. It consists of various ethnicities and religions or beliefs. The Indonesian Population Census released by BPS (2010: 36-41) shows that the majority of West Java's population comes from the Sundanese (71.87 percent), Javanese ethnicity 13.29 percent, Malay ethnicity 6.20 percent, Cirebonan ethnicity 4.22 percent, ethnic Batak 1.09 percent, Minangkabau ethnicity 0.63%, Chinese 0.59%, South Sumatran ethnicity 0.22%, ethnicity from Lampung 0.22%, ethnicity from Banten 0.14%, Madurese 0.10% and ethnic other 0.99%.

According to data from the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registration of the Ministry of Home Affairs, most of the population in West Java is Muslim (97.29%). In addition, 1.81% are Christians, 0.63% Catholics, 0.21% Buddhists, 0.04% Hindus, 0.03% Confucianists, and 0.01% of West Java's population adhere to religious beliefs.

In Acil Bimbo's view, the people of West Java are generally open to newcomers and respect every difference. With the philosophy of *silih asah, silih asih, silih asuh* which means sharpening one another's minds, loving one another, and guiding one another, one has succeeded in building a social order that is full of *adiluhung* (noble) cultural values. However, this culture has changed and experienced a shift in values due to the influence of many outside cultures with various economic, political, social, and so on interests.

On the other hand, the Provincial Government of West Java has paid little attention to this condition. There is no attempt to rebuild the character of the Sundanese culture that has been eroded and lost from people's lives. As a result, significant changes have occurred in the Sundanese people's character. They become individualistic and materialistic, and no longer have politeness and tolerance for differences. This change has caused the people of West Java to have minim tolerance. Thus, they become easily provoked and tend to be reactive toward diversity.

In Arry Bainus' view, ethnic diversity and beliefs, according to informant Arry Bainus, are a potential source of conflict if not managed properly. In the diversity of ethnicities and beliefs, there are always efforts to dominate that will be shown by one or several ethnic groups or beliefs over others. This domination attempt can result in serious conflict if not managed properly. Therefore the West Java Provincial Government must be intensive in socializing and communicating with elements of society to social reconciliation. Especially when entering political years, where the dynamics of society tend to experience an increase in escalation.

Indonesian National Armed Forces or the police and the Attorney General's Office to anticipate conflicts. In addition, local governments must also improve communication and consolidation with community leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders, mass organizations or non-governmental organizations, and various other elements of society.

Informant Ade Afriandi admitted that ethnic and religious diversity has the potential to cause social conflict in society. To make people can respect differences and increase tolerance so that they can coexist peacefully, the West Java Provincial Government continues to socialize and educate the public.

Ridwan Kamil did not deny that ethnic and religious diversity could cause societal conflict if not managed properly. Therefore, the Provincial Government of West Java continues to build cross-religious and ethnic consolidation by establishing various communication forums, such as religious harmony forums to build inter-religious harmony.

Based on the informants' statement, it can be understood that cultural and religious diversity is a source of conflict that must be managed properly. So far, the West Java Provincial Government's efforts have been quite effective in building communication and social consolidation with various religious leaders, community leaders, youth leaders, mass organizations or non-governmental organizations, and other elements of society. On the other hand, the involvement of the Indonesian National Armed Forces or Police and other vertical agencies is also the key to maintaining conduciveness in West Java.

#### Relevance (According to Community Will)

A government policy can run perfectly if it is by the community's will. Otherwise, if the policy is contrary to the people's will, then resistance will arise. Thus, the policy does not get the expected results.

According to informant Acil Bimbo, Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 is not against the will of the community. It does not reflect the will of the people. Because in the formulation of the community was not involved or asked for input. Moreover, this is evidenced by the weak implementation of the policy

In the view of informant Arry Bainus, this policy was not well-socialized to the public. As a result, the policy is difficult to obtain support from the community. Therefore it is hoped that the West Java Provincial Government can intensively disseminate policies on the implementation of peace, public order, and community protection.

According to Muradi, Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 is still not by the will of the community. One of the functions of regional regulations is to protect minority groups, but it has not happened in reality. There are still minority groups whose lives are threatened by a group of people acting on the majority religion.

Taufiq Hidayat stated that the formulation of Regional Regulations or West Java Provincial Government policies always involves various stakeholders, including the community. Thus, the existence of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 is by the community's will.

Meanwhile, Ridwan Kamil said, Regional Regulations or policies issued by the West Java Provincial Government were a response to the dynamics of a developing society. In the drafting process, the community is always involved, either directly or indirectly, so that the existence of regional regulations and policies issued are in accordance with the needs of the community.

The views of the informants above show that the existence of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 is by the will of the community. Although in practice there are still discriminatory practices and a lack of transparency. So some people still feel the injustice in the policy.

#### Stability

After the 2019 Presidential Election, security and order stability in West Java was relatively stable. Although the political polarization that has formed in society is quite sharp, the West Java Provincial Government has succeeded in neutralizing differences so that they

do not crystallize and give rise to conflict. On the other hand, steps to localize and channel potential conflicts are also the keys to conduciveness in West Java.

According to Arry Bainus, the success of the West Java Provincial Government in maintaining conduciveness cannot be separated from the role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the police that are proactively involved in localizing potential conflicts in society.

In the view of informant Acil, after the 2019 presidential election, the condition of security and order was relatively stable. Although there had been friction in several areas, it did not escalate into conflict. According to him, this cannot be separated from the cultural roots of the Sundanese people who tend to avoid conflict, prioritize family ties, and respect differences.

Furthermore, the informant Muradi said that the West Java Provincial Government must be consistent and continuously build communication and consolidation with various elements of society. This is because ethnic and religious diversity has now become a political commodity. Thus threatening the stability of security and public order in West Java.

According to Taufiq, security and order stability in West Java is relatively conducive, even though identity politics is quite strong in society. This shows that the performance of the West Java Provincial Government has been quite successful in maintaining conduciveness. Ridwan Kamil also has the same idea, West Java was relatively conducive after the 2019 Presidential Election. Even though there was political polarization in society, it did not cause widespread conflict. This shows that the people of West Java are more mature in politics.

Although the friction in the community has happened, the West Java Provincial Government together with the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the police succeeded in localizing the conflict so that it did not escalate into social conflict. Thus, it is understandable that the stability of security and order in West Java is generally relatively stable.

#### Prudence

The policies issued by the Provincial Government of West Java must reflect a wise attitude in addressing the dynamics that are developing in society. Likewise, the enforcement of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 must be carried out wisely, without neglecting the enforcement aspect as a deterrent and educational effect.

According to Acil, Regional Regulation enforcement No. 13 of 2018 is unwise in protecting the community. In enforcing regional regulations, it is still felt to be sharp for the low-class community, and dull for the upper-class society. Apart from discriminatory actions.

They tend to prioritize repressive actions rather than outreach and education.

Arry Bainus stated that the Provincial Government of West Java in implementing security, public order, and protecting the public still does not reflect a wise attitude. There is still the practice of selective logging in the prosecution of violations of regulations, thereby harming the values of justice.

According to Muradi, the measure of the wisdom of regional regulations is the extent to which these policies can protect minority groups. In implementing Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018, there are still minority groups who feel threatened due to the actions of certain community groups in the name of religion.

Meanwhile, Taufiq stated that the wise value that had been carried out by the Provincial Government of West Java after the policy on peace, order, and public protection was passed was to carry out socialization using media and language that were easily understood and implemented by the people in West Java.

On the other hand, Ridwan Kamil stated that the policy issued by the West Java Provincial Government, in principle, was to protect all the people of West Java from various threats to security and public order, both threats originating from within and outside. This needs to be understood together so that there is no presumption that policies issued only benefit one group and harm other groups.

From the explanation above, it can be stated that the West Java Provincial Government is committed to implementing wise values in each of its policies. However, the implementation will be influenced by the quality and integrity of the executor.

#### Change

In addition to the Capability and Culture elements, there are Change elements in dynamic governance. Change is the result of the Capability and Culture elements. It means that with the implementation of Regional Regulation 2018 No. 13, it is expected that there will be changes to the security and public order conditions in West Java

According to Ridwan Kamil, the implementation of public security and order is the ideal condition expected by the West Java Provincial Government. Development in West Java could be run better if the situation and conditions are conducive. The government continues to strive to make this happen by providing understanding and understanding to the public about the importance of maintaining public security and order. It is expected with this effort there will be changes in the attitudes and views of the people of West Java toward

the differences that exist. And back to being the identity of the people of West Java, which are *silih asih, silih asuh, silih asah dan someah hade ka semah*.

The same thing was conveyed by Taufiq that the West Java Provincial Government continues to strive to create conduciveness so that development can be carried out properly. For this reason, Regional Regulation 13 of 2018 continues to be enforced to create order and security in society.

In Arry Bainus' view, since the emergence of identity politics, ethnic diversity, and beliefs have become very sensitive for the people of West Java. The different ethnic and beliefs that were originally seen as *sunnatullah*, due to the politicization of religion and ethnicity now seen as a threat by the majority of the people in West Java. Thus, the people of West Java become intolerant of the existing differences.

Under these conditions, it is expected that the existence of Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 will be able to change the condition of society for the better. To make development can be carried out properly, organized security and public order (conductive) are needed. Without conduciveness, the development will be difficult to implement and people's welfare will be impacted.

The same thing was expressed by the informant Muradi, that to carry out the wheel of development, a conducive situation of security and order was needed. Hence, the process of enforcing Regional Regulation in 2018 Number 13 should continue and carry out by the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the police involved.

The explanations of the informants above show that the expected change with the existence of a policy on security and public order is a conducive situation for security and public order. Through a safe and orderly situation, development can be carried out properly. Thus, it can slowly improve people's lives for the better. It means that development cannot be carried out properly if the security situation and public order are not maintained. Hence, people's lives will worsen and trigger chaos and anarchism in society.

#### Implementation of Human Security

If we draw a common thread from the statements of the informants above, the issue of Human Security has become a central issue in the implementation of security, public order, and public protection. Human Security is an ideal condition that is expected, where people can carry out their lives well and are free from fear of various threats and vulnerable situations. Such as food insecurity, health crisis, education, and threats to freedom of assembly and expression.

In other words, human security can only be achieved when the government can carry out the service function, development, and community empowerment in the best and fair manner.

Thus, these functions can run well if the security situation and public order can be achieved.

UNDP (1994:23) defines Human Security as “first, safety from such chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development”.

On the other hand, Mary Kaldor (2007: 279) argues that Human Security is complementary to a human development approach that focuses on reducing or possibly eliminating threats to human life in everyday life.

In other words, to ensure human security, the Provincial Government of West Java does not only focus on dealing with security disturbances, but also on efforts to prevent security disturbances through development policies that ensure the fulfillment of individual and community needs. Such as policies on job creation and empowerment of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises actors as guarantees for the wheels of the community's economy to move. Health and education policies that are cheap and easy to reach for the community as guarantees for health and education security, and other policies that support the development of the potential of life for the people of West Java.

In the context of human security, Ridwan Kamil said that the Provincial Government of West Java always carries out its governmental functions to meet the community's needs. In its implementation, there is a priority scale. Critical and real conditions that threaten the lives of the wider community are the focus of priority development. In the case of handling the Covid-19 pandemic which is a real threat to public health, the Provincial Government of Java in the last two years has focused development on strengthening public health. It is not forgetting other sectors in development, only the portion is more regulated based on needs and urgency.

A similar statement was conveyed by Taufiq who stated that the West Java Regional House of Representatives as part of the elements of the West Java Provincial Government is committed to protecting and prospering the community. Therefore, the development approach is carried out holistically, not partially. Through the Human Security development approach, it is expected that the community can feel the impact of development. So that jointly and proactively support government policies to improve people's welfare.

A similar view was shared by Nugroho (informant), to ensure human security, the main thing that the West Java Provincial Government

had to do was improve people's welfare. Apart from that, the West Java Provincial Government must increase regional security. Thus, government officials would be more believable by the people to keep the peace, order, and public protection.

Meanwhile, according to informant Arry Bainus, security issues are an important factor in development. Without security, development is hard to be carried out properly. Likewise, a development that does not pay attention to the issue of human security will not create prosperity that will have an impact on the conduciveness of security itself. Therefore, development policies must focus on improving service to community needs. So that people are protected from various threats of food insecurity, health, education, and so on.

Muradi (informant) also stated the same thing. To guarantee human security, West Java Provincial Government must create an equitable and just development. It is hard to build a solid social security and order system without people's welfare.

The statements of the informants above show that the issue of Santa Human Security depends on the partisanship of the West Java Provincial Government in issuing and carrying out its development policies. Just and equitable development is the key to success in improving people's welfare. With the best welfare, society can be protected from various threats, both internal and internal.

### **III. CONCLUSION**

Issues of security, public order, and community protection have become important issues in the implementation of development in West Java after the 2019 presidential election. Political polarization that crystallizes into identity politics can become an extraordinary obstacle to the implementation of development in West Java. Moreover, the leadership of Ridwan Kamil-Uu Ruzhanul Ulum is only supported by 32 percent of voters in West Java. Meanwhile, the rest did not want West Java to be led by the former mayor of Bandung for the 2013-2018 period.

In implementing public security and order, the West Java Provincial Government issued a policy through Regional Regulation Number 13 of 2018 concerning peace implementation, public order, and community security. This Regional Regulation is also the legal basis for implementing public order and protection before and after the 2019 Presidential Election.

However, the dynamics of the community that developed after the 2019 presidential election were incapable of being reached by Regional Regulation 13 of 2018. This was more due to the limited authority of the local government in responding to the dynamics of a developing society. So that to enforce regional regulations and create

security and public order, the West Java Provincial Government involves the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the police, and other vertical agencies.

On the other hand, the integrity issue is also an issue that must be corrected in the performance of the West Java Provincial Government. The existence of alignments with one group makes the function of regional regulations as a protector of small and minority communities not run well. Hence, society in general still feels the injustice of this discriminatory attitude.

In addition to the two issues above, issues of social consolidation and reconciliation are also in the spotlight. So far, the Provincial Government of West Java has not shown clear steps in building social consolidation after the 2019 Presidential Election. The political polarization that has built up in society must be neutralized immediately to reunite a society that has already been divided. This effort must be seriously carried out by the Provincial Government considering that entering political years, the dynamics of identity politics often experience an increase. That means, it is not impossible that identity politics can re-emerge in the upcoming elections and threaten public security and order.

And the estuary of these issues is, the West Java Provincial Government must encourage development towards increasing people's welfare. Without social welfare, people will continue to feel threatened in carrying out their daily activities. It means the function of government as a protector of society is not going well.

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