

Local Elites and Development Policy on Simpang Lima Gumul (SLG) as a New Town in the District of Kediri

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Abstract

This study concentrates on the development policy of a new town in the district. This study examines how the policy processes that take place in the development of a new town in the related district. The research looked at how the forces of local elites that exist within the district coloring up the process of new town development policy. The theories used to explain the results of the conducted research are the policy theory and elite theory. The approach used in this study is qualitative, whereas the research location is in the District of Kediri. This district is trying to increase its competitiveness and potential through the development in all fields, and the most prominent is the development of a new town. This study uses the purposively determined informant technique. Data is collected by conducting interviews and observations. Furthermore, this study finds that the basic idea of developing the Simpang Lima Gumul area as new town came from a government elite, especially the political elite. New town development policy produced by the related elite has an elitist model, and therefore, there exists inappropriateness between the concept of development with the culture of the surrounding community, as well as the consistency dilemma on the development of a new town.

Key words: elite, policy, new town development, Kediri, Simpang Lima Gumul

Introduction

A city/town cannot merely be seen as a summation of individual citizens and social groups anymore, yet, it can be seen as an autonomous actor, who will compete with other cities in the fight over economic, social, and political resources. Each city/town will try to achieve a dominant position in the race for resources. A city can be categorized as an autonomous actor when it has its own interests that often have to strictly compete with the other administrative units in other regions.

Simpang Lima Gumul (SLG) is a grandiose monument with seven-storey that stands in the middle of the five-junctions built in the Gumul Village by the Regent of Kediri as a new town in the district. This monument was established as a symbol that the District is trying to make a transition into an industrial society. Massive developments are expected to awaken or create a brand image of the District of Kediri as well as meeting the needs of the society. Moreover, one of the internet sources mentioned that this place will also be used as the central government of the District of Kediri (Yusron 2009:5-6).

A perspective in seeing the city as an autonomous actor with its own interests is one way to explain and/or understand the existence and progress of the regional government. Despite the internal conflicts and struggles between actors' preferences whose existence cannot be denied, this institutional perspective sees competition as something theoretically unimportant. What is going to be emphasized as the basic assumption is that the city as an autonomous actor which has its own set of interests that limit the policy options taken by the local government. Local government/municipalities engaged to a constantly changing environment that requires them to be ready in responding the changing environment. Therefore, similar to the central government who must prepare itself against any obstacles coming from international level, the municipality must also prepare itself in order to be able to encounter the arising problem in the region and surrounding areas.

Therefore, the District of Kediri has tried to endeavor the development of the district as economically attractive as possible. This development is not only as a residence for those who are able to pay the taxes, but also as a place that attracts investments and as the center of other commercial activities, regardless the creation of a new town will increase the competitiveness and

welfare of the public of Kediri or it will bring new issues on the spatial agenda and/or the welfare of the community itself. This problem must surely not be separated from the ability of local elites in designing and implementing policies. Previously, the location of SGL with its magnificent monument was rice fields' area that supports the livelihoods of the locals. Thus, this is surely shifting the function of the location which initially used as farming activity to be more commercialized with the development of a new town, as the investors will not only investing its capital in Kediri but also providing buildings that can be rented by the officials or politicians to hold meetings and such.

Recently, the development of SLG has also enhanced in the building of a water park as a tourism objects in the new town. The Regent of Kediri, Ir. Sutrisno, stated that SGL area is projected as a trading center that can introduce and sell the home-industry products, so that this area will be flooded with visitors from all over the regions. Therefore, the fastest way to bring in these visitors is through building the tourism facilities (www.kedirijaya.com, accessed on April 4, 2010).

In contrast to the full-attention of the municipal government in the SLG mega-project, the municipal government pays less attention in prioritizing the actual development that needs. One of the online newspaper mentioned that the legislatives and the NGOs in the District of Kediri assessed that Sutrisno's dream is ignoring the development priorities. The project is also assessed as being an irony of the real conditions in which the unemployment rate, dropouts, and poverty in this region are still relatively high (www.suryaonline.com, accessed on April 4, 2010).

The early stage of SLG development began in 2003 on a land of 13 hectares. The cost of building this monument worth Rp19,737,202,000 derived from *Dana Alokasi Umum* (General Allocation Fund/GAF). In the reign of Sutrisno, he ensured that the budget allocation for the SLG project will not disturb the balance of other units, particularly, in the budgeting units to improve the economy, society, education, and health. However, this statement is seen in contrast to the actual conditions. There are at least 302 schools in the District of Kediri which are now heavily damaged and untouched. These schools are spread across 14 districts in Kediri, namely Tarokan, Gampengrejo, Banyakan, Ngadiluwih, Grogol, Kandangan, Pare, Wates, Plemahan, Purwoasri, Kandat, Mojo, Ngancar, and Ringinrejo.

Furthermore, the Parliament of the District of Kediri also questioned the effectiveness of the SLG mega project. They assess that Sutrisno's dream ignores the development priorities. The reason is simply due to the relatively high number of unemployment, school dropouts, and poverty in this region. Currently there are 101,896 families that live below the poverty line out of the total population of about 1.5 million inhabitants. The unemployment rate reached 56,000 people. In Kediri, there are still 14,000 children who have not enjoyed a nine-year primary education. As well as malnutrition rates in Kediri that reached 415 children.

The newspaper also asserted that the Head of Masyarakat Informasi Peran Serta Kediri, Zainal Arifin, assessed that SLG project is over-exerting. According to him, the development should be directed towards the welfare of the society, in the sense that people must firstly be empowered before establishing a new town of SLG.

In addition, the District of Kediri should prioritize the development in the agricultural sector because agriculture is the largest contributor of revenues (PAD) in the district so far. However, it is already too late to conduct such program. Now, the majestic monument as high as 25 meters (portraying the Kediri's anniversary), 17 meters length and 15 meters wide (804 m² that portrays Kediri's year of birth) has stood up straight (www.google.com-surabayapagi, accessed on August 26, 2008).

Furthermore, one of the newspapers also mentioned that this mega project is expected to be able to boost the economy of Kediri in the future, where the founding of SLG will be accompanied by the establishment of shopping centers that will sell home-industry products of the locals and other economic activities other.

The Elites

The elite are understood as a group of individuals who play a part in decision-making process that will be implemented to the society. The distribution of power over resources, supplies, money, legitimacy on the use of violence, lies in the hands of the few. The concept of social structure is a hierarchical concept of society, a pyramid-like, where the elite is located at the top while the bottom of the pyramid reflects the much larger society. In essence, the elite theory discusses the relationship

between the ruler and the ruled; the ruler consists of a few people with legal authority to rule, whereas the ruled consists of numerous people who do not have the authority (Judge 1995:35).

As for the steps that can be taken to perform a reputation analysis, as presented by Hunter as follows: First, by identifying the influential communities and individuals who are in key positions. Second, by grouping them into four categories, in which those groups are assumed to have power connections. These groups can be business or economic groups, government, citizens associations, and society activities. Next, third, from these four groups, Hunter listed the individual data and then sorted them out based on the level of power and reputation owned.

From this reputation method, Hunter was able to find out who is the most powerful, how they interact, how they classify themselves, and how influential they are. The most powerful group is the most influential one in the policy-making process. With their power and along with elite theory, they see that policy for the development of the city/town is influenced by the ruling elites.

In subsequent developments, the elite theory is equipped with the growth machine theory. The 'growth machine' theory is one way to refine the theory of elites, though, this theory focuses more on the development or growth of the city/town and not only about what influence local government decisions. The 'Growth Machine' theory, which was presented by Logan and Molotch, is emphasizing on the role of individuals and interest groups. Moreover, they also distinguish two things namely the use values and exchange values. Most people use their land and buildings in accordance with its daily usefulness or known as value. While on the other hand, certain interest groups are more interested in using the land or buildings with financial orientation as an asset or called by value added.

Logan and Molotch accept the criticism on their opinion regarding the traditional elite theory which sees the decision-making system works only for those who have power. The systematic support of the exchange values exceeds the use values in the area inside the town, means that most of the events shows that the increase in the city/town growth relies on the transfer of the well-being and life opportunities of the public to the tenants and its associates.

According to elite theory, the public policies can be considered as value and a choice of the ruling elites. The main explanation of elite theory is that public policies are not determined by the masses through their demands and actions, but through elites who manage and influence the public agencies. Here are some summaries related to the elite theory as an approach in public policy analysis: 1) The society can be divided into two, first, those who have little power and second, those who does not have power. Only a few people give the value to the society and the masses does not formulate public policies; 2) The few who rules is not the same with the governed masses. The elites are individuals who disproportionately drawn from the community with a higher social and economic level; 3) The movements of the non-elites to the elite's position should be continuous to preserve the stability and to avoid large-scale changes. Only non-elites who have received the elites' consensus can be allowed in the ruling circle; 4) The elites make an agreement based on the social-value system as well as the system maintenance; 5) Public policy does not reflect the needs of the mass but rather reflects the needs and values of the elites. Any change in public policy is more as an enhancement instead of an amendment; 6) Active elite is a direct subject of a relatively small apathetic masses. The elites are more likely to influence the mass instead of the other way around.

The elite theory is focused on the task of policy formulation and to the fact that, in any political systems, only few people rule the government instead of those being ruled.

Policy

Local government as local elites – in making a decision on developmental policy – certainly must go through the process of decision-making process. This decision-making process in this study might help illustrating whether the policies made only for the interest of the individual or collective. Anderson sees that the decision-making process can be learnt as an individual or collective process. The explanation of both individual and collective process is described further as follows: 1) Policy as Individual Process (Anderson 2006:127). Here are some criteria that may influence the individual choice of policy when a particular policy is about to be made: First, is the value. The values include social, religious, political, organizational, and other values. These values will greatly affect the individuals in making the decisions. Some individual aspects in decision-making process are indicated as most pertinent and appropriate criteria in deciding what must be done. Second, the political party affiliation. The loyalty to the political parties is an important criterion for the most parliament

members, although it is often difficult to separate them with other considerations such as the leadership influence and the loyalty to the ideology. Nonetheless, the political party affiliation remains the best prediction in knowing how the parliament members will take a vote in solving policy problems. Third, the interest of the voters (constituents). The influence of the voters' interest is essential to the decision-making process. When there is an intersection between parties and the constituents' interests, then the policy makers should put a more priority on the interests of the constituents. This is because when the policy makers put more importance in party's interest, then, the other party will be ready to do persuasion and taking over the party's constituents. Fourth, public opinion. The public opinion is also influential in the decision-making process. Policy makers are strongly influenced by the public opinion. The relation between public opinion and the activities related to the policy, however, is not something simple. Fifth, differences. The officials are faced with the obligation to make decisions can determine how they act in accordance with the decisions made by other institutions. The other institutions that provide the decisions can be hierarchically higher or lower; 2) Policy as Collective Process (Anderson 2006:139). This section outlines the criteria that influence the choices of collective policies. The criteria that influence the choice of collective policy are: bargaining, persuasions and commands. First, the bargaining. Bargaining can be defined as a process in which two or more individuals who have the authority to regulate, can at least managed to formulate the goals they disagree on into a series of activities that mutually acceptable for them, but not necessarily have to be ideal for their followers. Second, the persuasion. In this case, persuasion is construed as an attempt to convince the others about one's particular truth or values so that they will accept it as their own. Third, the command. Both bargaining and persuasion in particular degree will involve a mutual interaction, while commands involve a hierarchical relation between superiors and subordinates. The superiors seek the ability to make decisions that bind all the elements within their power. Fourth, the so-called majority building in Congress.

The New Town SLG

The new town SLG is a magnificent building located on the five-junctions of the Gumul village which was planned to be developed and functioned as a town. The concept spatial development of the New Town (Small Town) is described by Rahardjo Adisasmita as a city built from nothing to become a city that is ready for habitation, which its location can be in the old town and are in outside (Adisasmita 2010:55)

A trading town in the spatial development theory is known as central place theory. Central place theory propounded by Christaller and according to this theory, a trading town exists due to the supports or the demanding needs of the surrounding area or its hinterland. Thus, its hinterland must be put into consideration when they wanted to establish or build a city/town, as the functions of the city/town is to provide the needs for its hinterlands (Adisasmita 2010:59).

It is also consistent with what had been explained by Von Thunen model, this model suggests that the land capability, land suitability, and a matching carrying capacity of land is a supporting factor to realize the specific function of land use. When Kediri want to realize the form of the City CBD should also pay attention to the land capabilities and carrying capacity of the land as expressed by Von Thunen model is.

Agropolitan city whose function focuses in marketing the agricultural commodities marketing (agribusiness) and there are also post-harvest management activities to enhance the value-added. With this concept implemented in the Gumul area, a new town is expected to be optimally functioned.

In general, the city/town growth can be classified into two categories, an expansion and an invasion. The invasion itself can be interpreted narrowly or broadly. Narrowly, it means the extrusion or replacing the old lands with the new ones. While it broadly means the acquisition of land that are less harmonious or not profitable this will be replaced by a more profitable business or activities (Adisasmita 2010:69).

Discussion

In order to build a new city a comprehensive management from various factors is needed. The new city must be seen as a part of the regional development policy, population distribution, and employment. Therefore, a carefully planned program which includes the layout of SLG, the speed of the plan, the spatial planning, as well as the calculation of economic viability is needed.

The need of making a new town was originated from an idea to improve economic growth and competitiveness of the District of Kediri. The problem of improving the economics quality of the society becomes a public issue. The founding of SLG development policy actually comes from the desire of elite to build a new city/town as what he has seen in Paris. The desire was then realized by promoting the anxiety of the government elites as well as their assessment in the importance of improving the economics of Kediri's society. Certainly, this policy is not bottom-up model; neither has it come from the public demands directly to the government to immediately respond the issue or the crush of economic pressure they feel. Instead, it comes from the analysis of government elites that the community needs a new town as a place of conducting economic activities so that they can later use to boost up their economies as there will be many new vacancies that can be made.

The new town development policy in this sense means to build an area by using Central Business District (CBD) as the center of urban economic activity. In the theory of spatial development such development can be called as new town (small town). The concept of new town is described by Rahardjo Adisasmita as a town which previously has nothing – remember that SLG used to be rice fields – into a town that is ready to be inhabited. The location of this new town can be in the old part of the city as well as on the outskirts. In this case, SLG was built from nothing, which was originally rice fields or villages, into habitable town and later, having road accesses that are ready to be further developed which was provided by the government elites. This town is located on the outside of the old part of the city (Pare).

In its implementation, the developmental policy of founding SGL as a new town turned out to have problem in terms of socio-cultural community. The problem is caused by the fact that 70-75% of the population is farmers, so the developed new town is actually in the contrary to the culture of an agrarian society. This indicates the lack of plans and concepts of the government on the zoning and spatial-planning. They supposed to already know that the location where the new town is built was a rice field, and therefore the majority of the population working as farmers.

It is also consistent with Von Thunen model that suggests that the land capability, land suitability, and a land capacity are the supporting factors to realize the specific function of the used land. When Kediri wanted to realize the form of CBD City, she should also put into considerations the land capabilities and carrying capacity as expressed by Von Thunen model. When the carrying capacity of land in the Gumul area is more to have agrarian potential rather than the functions of CBD, it is then difficult to be realized. However, there is an exception the researchers' perspectives, when the concept of the new town is in the concept of agricultural town – also known as Agropolitan city/town – in which the town focuses its function on marketing the agricultural commodity (agribusiness) and there are also post-harvest management activities to enhance value-added. With the adaptation of the concept of agropolitan city in the new town will then show its optimum functions. Since the lack of solid spatial plans and the correct understanding of the spatial concept, it then makes the elites to decide policies that are less precise, less appropriate spatial and culture community.

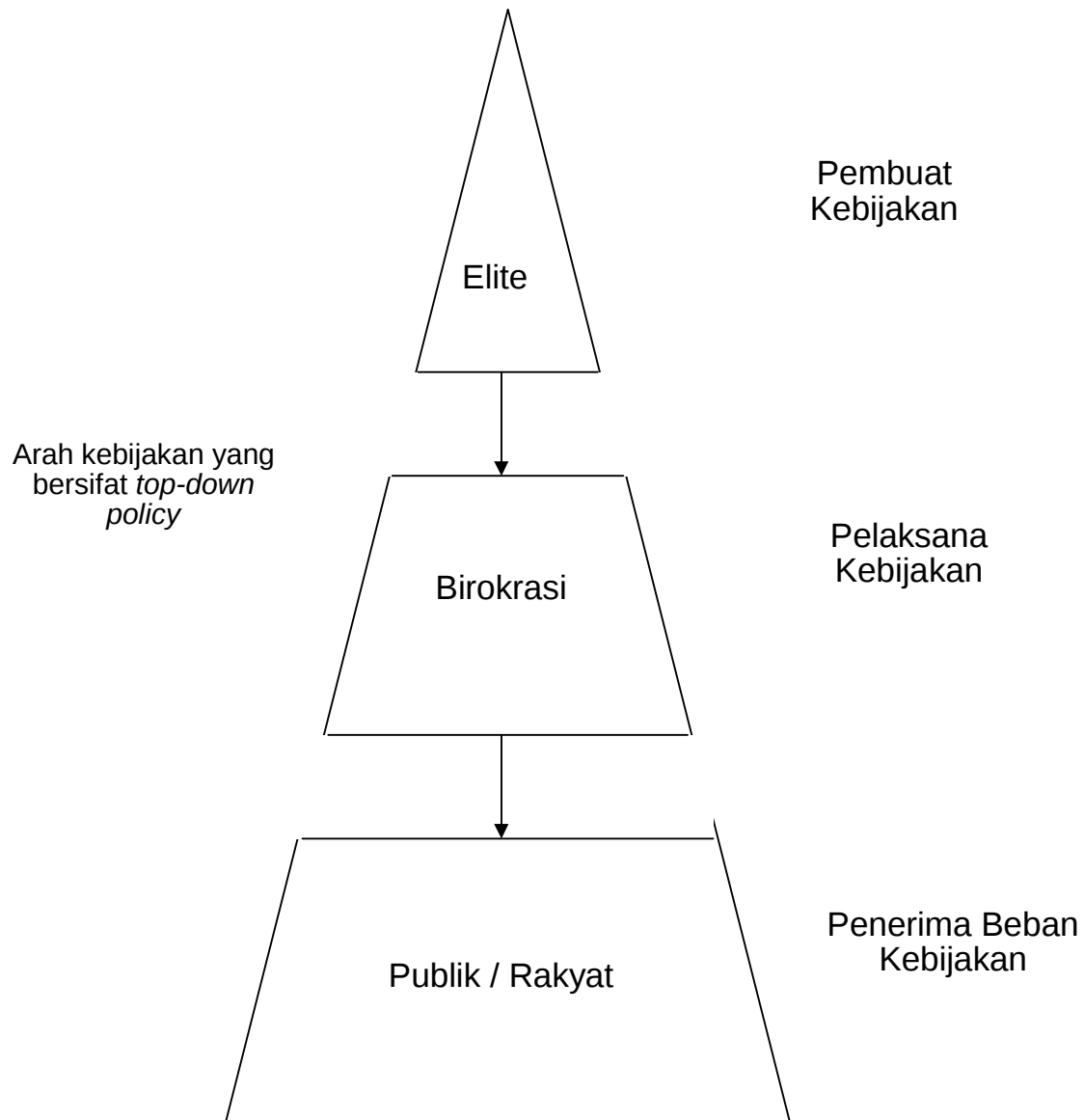
It also makes the elite policy makers reap the many protests from various circles of civil society – such as NGOs. Even in general, the society also criticized the lack of clarity in the new town development functions because until now they have not been able to use it, especially people who have their land released and also the surrounding village whose income has been trimmed for this project. Thus, to know who are involved in the policy-making process is important in order to be able to understand the interests that underlie this project and whose interests that is most dominant. James Anderson describes that the policy-makers can be classified into two categories namely primary policy makers and supplementary/secondary policy makers. The primary policy makers are the actors or stakeholders who have a direct constitutional authority to act, for example, an authority to act in parliament who did not have to rely on other government units. While the secondary policy makers such as administrative agencies, must obtain authority from other government units (primary policy makers). Based on the theory of policy-making and the various parties' involvement in policy-making process put forward by Anderson, it can be known that, in fact, there is a tug of interests between parties. The parties do not come solely from the government circle, but also outside of the government circle. In the process of policy-making of the new town development (SLG) it involves two parties, the executive and legislative.

While in the process of proposal-making for the new town development policies, the idea was emerged from the executive and then approved by the legislative branch. After the agreement between

these two branches achieved, survey (reconnaissance surveys) and site analysis were performed to see what problems that might occur in the field. In addition, it also aimed to delve deeper the main goals of SLG development, as well as to provides low-level negotiations that includes land acquisition to the early stages of the development process.

Thus, it can be seen that SGL development policy is a top-down policy, coming from the executive-legislative branches to the low-level negotiations. This top-down model is one of the hallmarks of the elite-policy-making model. Wynne Parsons stated that an approach to the authority is needed for decision-making process. This model views that the decision-making as something molded and determined by the power structure: the class, the rich, bureaucracy, political order, pressure groups, professionals and technical expertise. According to this model, then, the SLG development is elitism that focuses on power centralization on the hand of the few (the elites) who are responsible for making the decisions. This model also emphasizes that decision-making process is undertaken for the benefits of the elites and their purposes are based on the real way of the world running itself.

Schematic model of the elite:



Furthermore, this model also emphasizes on public policy formulation as an abstraction of the interests of the ruling elites. The resulted policy is, therefore, the result of the ruling class' interests and the needs and demands of the ruled society. In short, the interaction happen in this policy-making process is a top-down model.

From the scheme, it is described that the policy comes from the top which is possessed by the ruling elites, namely the executive and legislative branches. Then, this policy is passed down to the policy-executor or the bureaucracy, namely Bappeda and its staff, and later to the local community (Gumul) especially those whose area is taken as part of the SLG development area.

In accordance with the elite theory, public policy can be regarded as an elitist choice alone. The basic explanation of elite theory is that public policy is not determined by the masses through their demands and actions, but it is decided by the ruling class and influenced by the public institutions. Below are some summaries associated with the elite theory as an approach in analyzing public policy: 1) The society can be divided into two, first, those who have little power and second, those who does not have power. Only a few people give the value to the society and the masses does not formulate public policies; 2) The few who rules is not the same with the governed masses. The elites are individuals who disproportionately drawn from the community with a higher social and economic level; 3) The movements of the non-elite to the elite position should be continuous to preserve the stability and to avoid a large-scale change. Only non-elites who have received the elites' consensus can be allowed in the ruling circle; 4) The elite makes an agreement based on the social-value system as well as the system maintenance; 5) Public policy does not reflect the needs of the mass but rather reflects the needs and values of the elites. Any change in public policy is more as an enhancement instead of an amendment; 6) Active elite is a direct subject of a relatively small apathetic masses. The elites are more likely to influence the mass instead of the other way around.

The elite theory is focused on the task of policy formulation and to the fact that, in any political systems, only few people rule the government instead of those being ruled. The elite itself is understood as a group of individuals who play a role in selecting the decisions that will be implemented in the society, whereas the distribution over resources, equipments, money, legitimacy on the use of violence lies in the hands of the few.

The concept of an elitist social structure described by David Judge, is a hierarchical concept of society, a pyramid-like, where the elite is located at the top while the bottom of the pyramid reflects the much larger society. In essence, the elite theory discusses the relationship between the ruler and the ruled; the ruler consists of a few people with legal authority to rule, whereas the ruled consists of numerous people who do not have the authority.

Similar to this study, the elite are the people who have an important role in policy-making process and its sustainability, which encompasses the political elite, bureaucratic, economic, and civil society. Grouping the elites, then, brings up what is called in urban politics, as a 'mini-elite', in which between the existing elite groups there is always one dominant and/or most influential mini-elite who plays an important role in determining the policy. The interests of the mini-elite will dominate the choices of policy taken. The author finds that the most dominant interests are in the hand of the Head of Regent with his cronies.

The author used Hunter's method on reputation analysis in order to find which mini-elite that ruling the decision. This analysis emphasizes the primary data which is used as the basis for determining how much power is owned by someone is by knowing their reputation. Few steps taken in performing reputation analysis as mentioned by Hunter as follows:

First, by identifying the influential communities and individuals who are in key positions. The influential communities from this study are the government, civil society, and the business community.

Second, by grouping them to four categories, in which those groups are assumed to have power connections. These groups can be business or economic groups, government, citizens associations, and society activities. Next, third, from these four groups, Hunter listed the individual data and then sorted them out based on the level of power and reputation owned.

Second, by grouping them to four categories, in which those groups are assumed to have power connections. These groups can be business or economic groups, government, citizens associations, and society activities. Based on these groups, the author is then able to grouping them

again into mini-elites, namely the executive and legislative branches, bureaucratic elite which consists of administration agency – Bappeda, economic elite which is the contractor of SLG development (PT Triple'S), and the elite of civil society which is the NGOs and community leaders.

Next, third, from these four groups, Hunter listed the individual data and then sorted them out based on the level of power and reputation owned. From the results of clustering mini-elite, the author found that the political elite are the most dominant group. This is shown by the indications that led to the numerous interests of the Regent and his cronies in the SLG development policy. The basic indication is shown by the data collected by Head of Legal Aid (LBH) related to the involvement of decision-makers that was only made by particular parties – based on the letter made by the Regent which then directly approved by the Chairman of the Board Parliament without a plenary meeting to further discussed this idea. Moreover, the non-involvement of the civil society and bureaucratic elites in decision-making process is also strengthening this model.

Another factor that makes the author do not mention the economic elite as the ruling elite is due to the fact economic elites only partly involve in the implementation of the policy. Its implementation is limited to the monument and road constructions project solely, and not up to the development of the new town.

The sustainability of the SLG development for now and in the future lies on the hands of the new Regent. Based on this research, the current government under the new Regent will continue the development of SLG just like the original plan. However, the conformance with the original plan is more flexible, meaning that the current government is still continuing the development in accordance with the original plan and, in addition, will be flexibly in making innovations in its construction.

Conclusion

The basic idea of Simpang Lima Gumul (SLG) development policy as the New Town emerged from a government elite, especially the political elite. The idea of this development emerges as one of the elite desire to boost up the economy in Kediri as well as to build a monumental work in the district. Along with the orientation of the economic and political values, both government and political elite developed the concept of SLG development in accordance with the concept of the CBD (Central Business District). However, CBD concept does not function optimally in its practices. In the other hand, it has the potential to cause a spatial problem due to cultural conflict with the community.

The policy-making process of SLG development adopted the top-bottom model. This model is characterized by policies that are top-down. Policy makers involves two parties namely the executive and legislative branch, though not all of them are involved in the decision-making process. SLG development policy was created by the ruling political elite in the government, referred to "mini-elite". To realize the construction of the new town, the government is working hand in hand with the economic elite. In practice, the SLG development policy is filled with conflict of interests of the elites, and apparently, the dominant power is the power of "mini-elite" as the decision makers. Empower with this authority, the "mini-elite" are able to condition whatever policies they want to be realized. This condition is surely led to the opposition of the civil society.

The consistency and SLG innovation development, in the future, will potentially crate a trap the new town development in such dilemma. That is because that new government will still continue to build SLG in accordance with the original plan, which is the CBD concept. Although, there are innovations development of the new town so that it can maximize its potential, such as by incorporating the concept of tourism as a strategy to boost up the development of the new town project.

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