

Domination Practice in Vision Mission Meaning Production of Mining Region (Discourse Study of Development Policy Kutai Timur Regency, East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia)

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Abstract

General election for Regional Head has directly requires vision mission and to place it as the core of regional development policy which turns out to be unrealized, right at the moment when candidate was holding Regional Head post. This condition was caused by domination practice in producing vision mission meaning into regional development policy. This social fact was describing clearly in study site that is in mining-producing region at Kutai Timur Regency, East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. This site was chosen since it has unique characteristic and massive direct consequence, of the practice, a situation which rarely found in non-mining region. Result from analysis was using theory and methodology of Michael Foucault with language, knowledge and power analysis, also using qualitative explorative method, it is concluded that there was domination practice either from central government through several policies to discipline regional government, or by small formulation team in planning policy that carry the task in translating vision mission to regional development policy. This domination practice was being trace through critical discourse analysis method since the action process of related domination practice, context of domination practice, history of domination practice, power and taking sides of ruler ideology which would preserve domination practice. Consequence of domination practice above was not only making vision mission become unrealized, but it is also has arouse a high dependence toward mining product in financing regional development. This dependence, in turn, would create the natural resources deprecation phenomenon and rent-seeking behavior which would end up in worsening of political ecology crisis. In order to reverse this crisis, it would need a meaningful effort in making vision mission as the core of regional policy through political ecology paradigm that is a paradigm that put all political policy into ecological justice approach that could assure the continuity of natural service and fulfillment for future generation.

Keywords: language, knowledge, power, domination, political-ecology

Introduction

After government enacted Act No. 32 Year 2004 concerning Regional Government, as in clause Article 18 clarify that Regional Head Election should be directly selected (Government Act No. 06 Year 2005), democratization condition at local level was gaining its shape. At least, new hope was glowing, since people at region could determine its own future leader, without representative as in previous election process. However, this hope was lost, since direct election turns out didn't give any different 'nuance'. 'Sweet' vision mission was thrown during campaign, failed to be implemented at the moment when candidate was having authority as regional head. This fact was occurring in study site that is in Kutai Timur Regency, East Kalimantan Province. Vision mission produced from two direct election period for regional head (pemilukada) that is in 2006 and 2010 turns out didn't becoming the core to inspire regional development policy, thus, policies, programmes and activities carried out in 2006-2010 and 2011-2015 was almost in conflict with the promised vision mission during campaign.

If this was keep happening, not only phenomenon that called by Hirseman (1970) as voice and exit would occur, but people would lost any confidence toward decentralization process, and local democratization that takes place (Kacung, Marijan, 2010, p. 144-145).

This fact was interested to be reviewed as the part of democratization process in search for (ideal) form. In this context, Foucault works particularly that covers language, knowledge, and power would be interesting to be use as analysis tool in disclosing “Domination practice in vision mission meaning production of mining-producing region”, also to proved that theory and method of Foucault in a broader social area.

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault suggests that language in its original form, when it is given by God toward human, is particularly clear, since language has rooted in signs. However, this sign clarity was undermined when language was separated and own lots of meaning and symbolic function. Initially, Foucault argued, that language was rooted from similarity through closeness, happiness, analogy and sympathy. However, in written language, there were complex interaction that reflects social and cultural condition also changes in language.

Fact as occurs in vision mission (Hadari Nawawi H., 2000, p. 27) Kutai Timur Regency in 2006-2010 and 2011-2015 was attractive to be examined using Foucault critic discourse analysis method. Is it true that language recorded in this vision mission was actually emerge (created) along with ideology and other interest bias inherent to it, given lots of interest in meaning production (during) interpreting this vision mission, as Foucault argued in *The Order of Things*.

On the other hand, Minister Internal Affairs Act No. 54 Year 2010 concerning Implementation of Minister Internal Affairs Act No. 8 year 2008 concerning Stages in Composing, Controlling, and Evaluating Implementation of Regional Development Plan, asserted that vision mission of regional head candidate by itself (should) become vision mission for regional government and become the legal foundation for all policies formulation in related region, when this candidate was elected as Head or Deputy Head in Regional Government.

It is where this study was getting attractive, that is when vision mission didn't work out and various interests were accompanying the meaning of vision mission. This situation was clearly visible in two governmental periods (as result of direct election) in Kutai Timur or during the administration of Awang Faruk and Isran Noor (2006-2010). In this period, vision was “Regional development focused on fair development toward prosperous community of Kutai Timur by utilizing renewable natural resources and to make Kutai Timur Regency as the center of agribusiness and agroindustry in East Kalimantan” (RPJMD 2006-2010).

Until 2008 Awang Faruk leads Kutai Timur before finally elected as East Kalimantan Governor. Top leader would be directed toward Deputy Head. For the last two year in 2008-2010, Isran Noor leads Kutai with vision mission provided by previous Regional Head. After winning votes in Direct Election of 2010 Isran Noor continue to lead with vision for 2011-2015, “Regional development focused on Agribusiness toward Self-Support of Kutai Timur” (RPJMD 2011-2015).

Viewed from the above vision, there was red thread in development policy between administration period of Awang Faruk and administration period of Isran Noor, both carry the spirit to build agricultural sector and prioritizing renewable natural resources utilization. However, in practice, it didn't shift from using non-renewable natural resources in the form of massive mining extraction when this study was written coal extraction in Kabupaten Kutai Timur has reached 55 million tons per year.

This fact was just one example in lacking vision mission of administration periode 2006-2010 and administration periode 2011-2015. Vision mission that was supposed to be the core of regional policy was unrealized. Therefore it is necessary to conduct more study, to figure out the background of the lack of vision mission in this case. From analysis over the existing discourse, author had obtained description concerning this lack of vision and mission which was caused by domination practice in vision mission meaning production.

This study was getting more interesting with the emerging consequences of domination practice above, such as: dependency over mining extraction result had create a phenomenon which was called by policy expert as “Natural Resources Deprecation” (Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey D. Sachs and Joseph E. Stiglitz, 2007, p. 239), also give birth to broader political ecology crisis. To avoid this crisis, Kutai Timur should change its policy paradigm, from growth into political-ecology policy's paradigm.

The above political-ecology paradigm would be guided with Foucault theory and methodology. Foucault conception concerning “language, knowledge and power” would be used as model to analyze unseriousness of public board in answering political ecology crisis in Kutai Timur region. In another word, the absence of public handling as was meant in this dissertation (hypothetically) was started from unrealized vision mission of elected Regional Head in 2006-2010 and 2011-2015. Philosophical foundation which was supposed to be the core of all policies was being ignored. “Fair development, prioritizing renewable resources, Kutai Timur regency as the center of agribusiness and agroindustry” (problem statement) and some other terms recorded in vision mission of Head and Deputy Head of Kutai Timur was as if ‘buried under the dirt’ from its mining extraction (that precisely) kept in priority.

From the problem the statement, we could formulate study problem questions as follows:

1. How does domination practice in vision mission meaning production of mining-producing region occurs, does language recorded in this vision mission was emerge (created) along with ideology and other interest attach to it?
2. What is the consequence of domination practice in vision mission meaning production of this region?

This study used critical discourse analysis (CDA) method. CDA is discourse analysis type particularly studying about how power was misuse, or how does domination practice and injustice was implemented and reproduce through text in social political context (Eriyanto, 2001, p. 43). In CDA, discourse was not comprehended as a language study only. Although in the end, discourse analysis would use language in text to be analyzed. Language was analyzed not by describing it from linguistic aspect, but also to connect it with context. Context in here means that language was used for certain purpose and practice, includes power practice.

In short, critical discourse analysis saw discourse-language use with oral and writing-as a social practice (Wodak, R., 2001, p. 13). Describing discourse as social practice would cause dialectic relation among certain discursive with situation, institution and social structure that shape it. Through discourse, for example, racist, sexist condition or other deviation from social life was seen as a common sense, a natural fittingness (Fairclough, N., 2000, p. 163-165).

Meanwhile, theory used in this study was Michel Foucault theory. Foucault findings concerning language, power and knowledge in his several works is interesting to be used as the knife of this study. Power according to Foucault in one hand was having the ability to construct reality subjectively for its own interest and purpose (domination).

Domination concept was a power relation type that stable, hierarchies, fix and hard to change. According to Foucault, domination is an asymmetrical relationship in which its position as subordinate only has narrow room to have a notion and carry limited freedom (Foucault, Michel, 1988, p. 20).

Meanwhile knowledge according to Foucault would highly determine how the truth would be delivered. In his explanation, Foucault try to discuss how ill concept was form. Therefore, Foucault try to explain this terminology by adopting linguistic systemic-functional approach developed by Saussure.

Thus, production and reproduction of knowledge and truth being circulated through public would depend on how knowledge and truth was delivered. Knowledge and truth, in the end, was only belong to dominant power. Truth was depends on who delivers it or produce it (Rachmah, Ida, 2011, p. 74-76).

Truth was also depends on language being used. Therefore, language in this context would be very important as explained by Foucault in *The Order of Things* (Priambodo, MS., and Pradana Boy MS., 2007, p. 115).

Domination Practice over Vision Mission

From analysis result toward data obtained by author could be clarified that there were domination practice either by central government through policies to discipline regional government, or by small team formulating development policies that had the task to translate vision and mission toward program policy and regional government activities.

In the stage of domination practice of vision mission production, author found out that small team that have the duty to fomulate RPJMD draft in translating vision mission has conduct interpretation of domination practice that neglecting substance of vision mission it self. Such domination practice, according to Foucault, is a power relation type with stable, hierarchys, fix and hard to change in nature.

From domination practice above, several programmes that contradict vision mission emerges. For example, strengthening orientation of agribusiness and agroindustry as mandate in vision mission was only meaningful through several policies, such as: a). formulating regulation that assures the easiness of trying and investing for investor so that would open broad employment opportunities, in this case such as the opening of palm oil plantation; b). facilitate farmers and fishermen as main actor of agribusiness to obtain field (palm oil), easy process to increase production (palm oil), to processed and marketing yield, and c). to improve people economy and people empowerment also to develop people economy focused on fair market mechanism, based on agribusiness (Simreda Kutai Timur, 2012).

Meanwhile, vision “Self-Support of Kutai Timur (Kutai Timur Mandiri)” was only translated to several policies, that is: a). Improving religious life and regional cultural art; b). Improving infrastructure development and accomplishing energy needs; c). People empowerment and decreasing poverty figure; d). Legal enactment and optimizing the role of regional government apparatus in dynamic and efficient manner; e). Improving health service quality for all society classes; f). Improving education quality gradually, g). Encouraging the role of financial and banking institution to assure the easy way in trying and investing for opening broadest job opportunity. (RPJMD 2011-2015). And other policies that is far away from the core or spirit of vision mission. As a result, in the stage of context within domination practice, author found out some horrible facts. Such as, inequality of development as the effect of development centralization in the city and growth-paradigm oriented of Indonesia.

Thus, vision of self-support Kutai Timur was unable to realize. This could be seen from two things, first, until this study was reported, PDRB of Kutai Timur regency was supplied in majority by mining products until it reach 88,43%. While, other sector as: commerce sector, hotel and restaurant 3,45%, agricultural 3,25%, construction 1,75% and transportation and communication sector with 1,45%. And others would only give contribute under 1 percent (Simreda, 2013).

Second, non-autonomy of Kutai Timur regency was strengthened with high dependency in balance fund, especially source from production share of non-natural resources tax that reached Rp 2,18 trillion in 2012 and decreasing 12,86% into Rp 1,758 trillion in 2013. The development of resource-sharing fund is not apart from production increase in coal and significant improvement of natural gas production per year (RKPD 2014). There were still lots of Kutai Timur regency policies that didn't put vision keywords above as the core of policy.

And then in the context of domination practice history of regional planning, author focused in two discussions: first, development planning in 2006 was result of direct election (Pilkada) in which at this year elected Regional Head and Deputy Head was required to translating vision mission that has been provided into development planning process based on Surat Edaran Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 050/2020/SJ, dated August 11th, 2005 concerning Guidelines in Composing Document of Regional RPJP and Regional RPJM. This circulatory letter was emerge since Act No. 25 Year 2004 concerning National Development Planning System has yet own technical rules that translating either Government Act or Ministry Act.

Second, development planning of 2010 as result of election in 2010 had more clarity since Government Act that translating Act SPPN has emerge that is Government Act No. 8 year 2008 concerning Stages, Procedures, Compose, Control and Evaluation of Regional Development Planning Implementation which in its way would be translated into Ministry Act No. 54 year 2010 concerning Implementation of Government Act No. 8 year 2008 concerning Stages in Composing, Controlling, and Evaluating Implementation of Regional Development Plan.

In two periods of regional development planning above, domination practice in vision mission meaning production was occurring since scenario provision of Regency development policies, policies composing, program and regional activities formulation. In this stage, role of small formulation team for regional planning is quite big, and even beyond Regional Head and Deputy Head as the owner of vision mission it self.

In discussion of power and domination practice conduct by the government, author found out the fact that revision Act No. 22 year 1999 concerning Regional Autonomy into Act No. 32 year 2004 concerning Regional Government and then revised into Act No. 12 year 2008 concerning Regional Government. Some policies related with relation pattern between central and regional has been dramatically changed. Instead of perfecting relation pattern between central and regional in the spirit of broadest decentralization, changes has brought consequence of strengthened central domination practice which in long term would potentially eroded decentralization core.

In the context of regional planning policies, government domination was done by controlling formulation process until regional planning policies implementation. During composing RPJMD, for example, all program existed in five year document should be precisely accurate (copy paste) from program and existing activities within SPM 13 of Ministry (Government Act No. 65 year 2005 concerning Guidelines of SPM Composing), though if it is meant to bring public service more effective, government has already provide SPP as guidelines (Government Act No. 96 year 2012 concerning Implementation of Public Service Statute).

Not only SPM, government Ministry Act No. 54 year 2010 also controlled formulation process of all regional planning documents. Some programmes, and formulation schedule should follow the lead from Government Act.

From analysis conduct by author, domination practice done by government as above had the potential to put away vision mission.

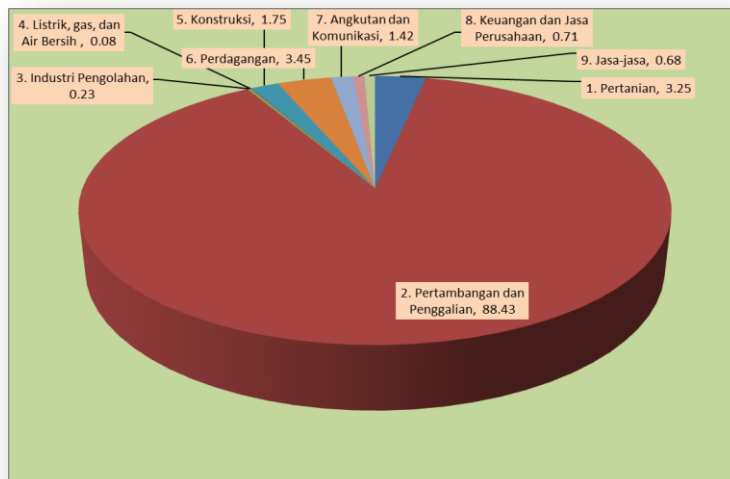
Domination practice in vision mission meaning production of mining-producing region as the above explanation has clarify the taking side of regional head ideology that vision mission was not formulated to give welfare for the people, but as Foucault believes, language in it was meant to perpetuate certain ideology or political interest.

Consequence of Vision Mission Domination Practice

Consequence of domination practice above was not only making vision mission to become unrealized, but it is also arouse some high dependence toward mining result in financing regional development. This dependence was happening since the beginning of Kutai Timur Regency Governance. The largest sectoral contribution until this disertation was written still comes from Mining-Excavation, that is about 88,43 percent.

High dependence of Kutai Timur Regency in mine product, it even reached beyond national dependence. In 2013, oil and natural gas sector also mining sector contribution in APBN was reaching 23% or equal with 398,4 trillion of total 1726 trillion in total APBN-P of 2013. Whilst mining and excavation sector contribution toward bruto domestic product was recorded reaching 10,43% from total national PDB with oil and natural gas as figure below.

Figure1: Sectoral Contribution of PDRB Kutai Timur Regency in 2011 (in Percent)



Note:

1. Agriculture
2. Mining and quarrying
3. Processing industry
4. Electricity, gas, water
5. Construction
6. Trade

7. Transport, communications
8. Financial and Business Service
9. Services

The above figure assert in general the largest sectoral contribution was mining and excavation sector until reaching 88,43%. The next would be commerce, hotel and restaurant sector 3,45%, agriculture 3,25%, construction 1,75%, and transportation and communication sector 1,45%. Others was contributing under 1 percent.

High dependence toward mining product in one hand is becoming high concern. Especially if it is not matched with serious measure to prepare oneself in facint the future without mine, or when mining product cannot be used anymore.

Kutai Timur regency was predicted to not being able in facing “natural resources deprecation” (Auty, R, 2001, p. 211) which is lately occurs in several countries and regions with mine-products. Natural resource deprecation is a term used to describe the failure of countries or regions rich in natural resources to take benefit from this wealth. On the contrary, lots of countries with rich natural resources is poorer and suffer more compared to unfortunate countries in gaining the same wealth.

Next consequence would be the emerging of what was called as “rent-seeking behavior” by most political scientist. This term was used to describe broader reality more than just common corruption, since corruption, other than just legal matter, was also one part of deviated practice conduct by government elites. The other would be authority misuse (kolusi), injustice distribution/share for mining revenue, injustice for future generation, etc which in overall could be analyze as consequence from rent-seeking behavior.

Rent-seeking behavior could happen during which companies working in extractive industry would only care in how to reduce the cost being paid in order to get resource access. Because of that, they try to make sure the deal was compose in particular way so that they would be in benefit compare to the government. Most of the time this was done through public act such as campaign contribution and other form such as public-private alliance. Moreover, while selling access to natural resources exploitation was seen as a relatively easy way to reduce budget deficit, the possibility to turn up a short term deal and cooperation in rent seeking behavior was also increasing (Macartan Humphrey, Jeffrey D. Sachs, dan Joseph E. Stiglitz, 2007, p. 276).

Next consequence is the change of “political ecology” that was possible to endanger the continuity of earth creatures. If mining practice didn’t consider this matter—then the stake would not only unrealized vision mission of Regional Head, however in the long term it would endanger the continuity of Earth life.

Horrible handling being shown by elites in Kutai Timur, reminds the author toward the debate on “madness” discussed by Foucault in “Madness and Civilization” in which Foucault documented how madness definition in elites classes would depend on the elites composition (Michel Foucault, 1961, p. 57).

In societal needs of people that should be put away, in study concerning madness as new emerging phenomenon after the lepra was extinct. All the pople would need a diversion, said Foucault, that is why they should be put away. Their eviction in symbolic way would purify the people.

Eviction process as Foucault explained would also happend in mine producing region such as in Kutai Timur and even in the certain points would be done in systemic and massive way. On the behalf of investment and economy development, government and organization was made as if it is legal to conduct the most craziest thing (Aditjondro, George J, 1994, p. 87).

In short, people’s life had become less important—as madman that should be isolated. Kutai Timur in present day was only left for economy extension in order to fulfill energy consumption sectors.

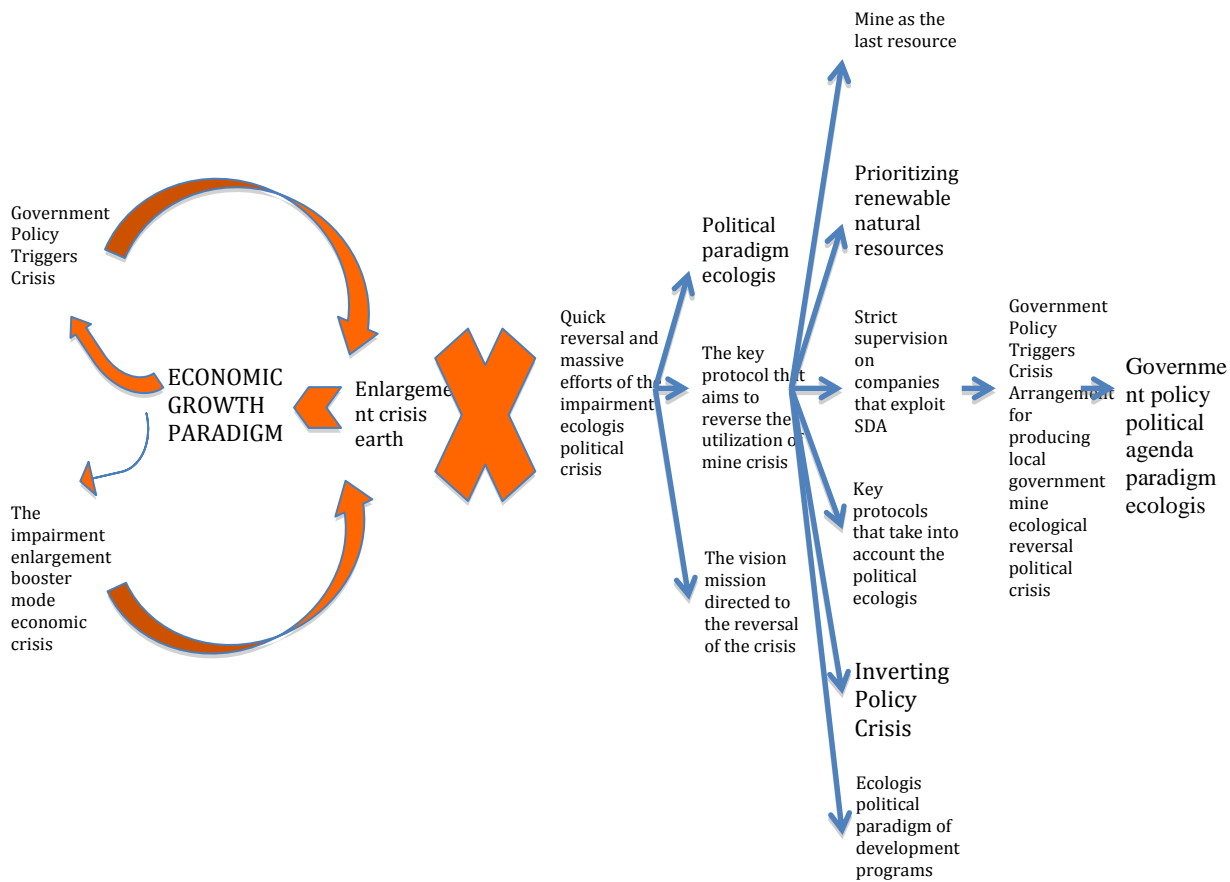
Reversing Political-Ecology Crisis

Worsening practice occuring in massive scale within mine producing region as happening in Kutai Timur was the consequence of domination practice in vision mission meaning production, therefore efforts to reverse this domination should be initiated. This study offered a counter discourse construct over the fact of political ecology damage that Foucault didn’t even realize it. Eviction of madmen and lepra patients in the past wouldn’t be able to exceed massive eviction conduct by growth regime and mining extraction.

Efforts to arouse this counter-discourse was similar with amelioration done by Foucault over some of his concept in old category such as “experience” in Madness and Civilization, “conscientious” in The Birth of the Clinic, and “episteme” in The Order of Things that change when its new focus become the clarity function (enounce). Counter discourse formulation over domination practice in vision mission meaning production is the effort to represent improvement that was never anticipated before by Foucault in his works. Because of it, counter discourse in this study was based by an awareness that all political policies formulation should consider ecology justice. Construct of The Limits to Growth (LG) suggested by Meadow (1972) was put as an important political fundamental for policy formulation in mine-producing regions. LG suggest that industrialism in general means, productive path followed by all developed nation, since the industrial revolution and by all developing nations considered as incorrect path to followed – couldn’t possibly continued for infinite time because it didn’t consider resources context of the path. Resources was explored in excessive manner, sometimes until it cannot be recovered (Gerald F. Gauss & ChandranKukathas, 2004, p. 413).

Down to earth process of the paradigm that was called as political ecology by the author was framed in the spirit to arouse “environmental justice” and green politic and green budgeting, either focused on differed power, wealth or environmental quality (Martinez Alier, 2002, p. 144). This was explicitly suggested by Foucault that knowledge would highly determine how the truth was delivered.

Next measure would showed in figure below. On the left side, process was circling crisis worsening, that initiated in discourse system centered in growth. Meanwhile, on the right side is counter handling framework, initiated in consensus to reverse political ecology crisis.



The above figure had explained that crisis reversal effort should be done using several measures. First, by changing growth paradigm into political ecology paradigm, that is paradigm that encourage renewable natural resources utilization as development capital in the region and put mining resources as the last resource to be utilize.

Second, formulating protocols in regulating mine product exertion by conducting material test over some statute that legally allowed undermining over mine-producing regions.

Third, formulating vision mission of regional government that direct to amelioration effort and or reversal over on-going crisis. Programmes and activities being formulated at this time is programmes and activities with political ecology paradigm. Crisis reversal policy over damaged capacity should also be formulated.

Through the above measures it is expected that there were governance of mine circle that give concern toward continuity of natural services and fulfillment for future generation.

Conclusion

Important record of this paper would be that vision mission was put as the core of regional policy. Therefore the government should formulate policies that requires vision mission implementation thus its existence is not only as the complement for candidate in direct election. Candidate that provide certain vision mission should implement it when he/she won the votes and act as Regional Head and Deputy Head.

Meanwhile, small team being formed to formulate regional development planning policies should interpret keywords that exist within vision mission with considerable effort so that vision mission has truly become the core of regional development policy.

Regional government should also formulate development scenario in correct and continuity basis so that between administration period would exhibit connection and support to one another. Therefore it would create a comprehensive development planning history.

In the mean time, central government should return the decentralization instruction as mandated in political reformation in Indonesia. All domination practice as written in Act No. 22 year 1999 concerning Regional Autonomy into Act No. 32 year 2004 concerning Regional Government and would be revised into Act No. 12 year 2008 concerning Regional Government should be stopped. In particular for domination practice conduct by Ministry Act No. 54 year 2010 which is strictly discipline regional development planning policies and SPM in 13 ministries should be revoke.

Regional government should take side with the people and not toward mining businessman, by conducting vision mission mandate in true efforts. Reducing it into policy, programme and regional development activity with considerable effort.

In the context of development implementation, Kabupaten Kutai Timur should end its dependence toward mine-product by formulating mine moratorium policy and 'jedah terbang (log break)' in the short term, while in the long term should formulate development policy without mine product or to put mining as the last resource to be extracted.

Regional government and central government should run together to stop rent-seeking behavior by formulating rules to round up rent-seeking behavior actor.

Central government and regional government should put basic of political ecology paradigm in the entire regional development policy, that is paradigm that consider environmental justice, natural service continuity, and fulfillment for future generation in each formulated development policy.

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