*Endang LARASATI, Lilin BUDIATI**

IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS OF THE POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY FOR THE "GERBANG HEBAT" PROGRAMME IN SEMARANG CITY

Abstract. *This study examines the impact of poverty and unemployment countermeasures in Semarang City constituted by the Gerbang Hebat Programme. The programme has been problematic since the formulation stage of the policy that reflected the domination of the legislative over the executive, and procedural conflicts due to excessive central government regulation, leading to its stagnation and ineffectiveness in the implementation stage. This study is exploratory research and uses a qualitative approach with a critical theory paradigm to provide a practical explanation of what needs to be done to transform from the existing condition to the expected one in terms of the interests of social actors who are becoming the subject of theory. The research results show that: (1) the Gerbang Hebat Programme is unable to achieve integration due to the Parliament's domination and the Central Government's regulation that reduces the space for the Semarang Municipality to introduce measures to counter poverty; and (2) the obstacles encountered include: weak coordination and participation, symptoms of isomorphism, and conflict-related resistance.*
Keywords: *Gerbang Hebat Programme, countermeasure, legislative domination, parliament, transformational*

Introduction

When discussed in the media and policy forums, poverty is often seen as a static concept whereby a group of people are permanently categorised as poor while others are not. Speaking of poverty, the question instantly arises: why are there people or groups in society who never been poor, feel they are poor or poorer than ever, are repeated poor or poor forever. In the past, evidence showed the static concept of poverty views it merely as a matter of

* *Endang Larasati, PhD, Professor, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Diponegoro University, Indonesia; Lilin Budiati, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Diponegoro University, Indonesia.*

low or absent income due to unemployment (Lister, 2005), while the underlying factors of why a person is low-income or without income have not attracted attention. It affects the approaches and interventions that usually do not touch the root causes of poverty and/or unemployment, rendering the results less effective in tackling poverty and unemployment.

The ineffectiveness of poverty countermeasures in Indonesia is seen in the Central Bureau of Statistics Report (BPS, 2016) in the following table:

TAble 1: EFFECTIVENESS OF POVERTY COUNTERMEASURES IN INDONESIA IN THE 2012–2015 PERIOD

Variable	2012	2013	2014	2015
No. of poor (million people)	28.59	28.55	27.73	28.51
Relational poverty (% of population)	11.66	11.47	10.96	11,13
Gini index	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.40

Source: BPS, 2016.

In the period 2013–2014, the average number of poor people fell by 430,000 (1.5%) from 28.59 million in 2012. From 2014 to 2015, the number of poor people rose by 270,000 people (0.99%) from 27.73 million in 2014. As an indicator of inequality, the Gini index was 12:41 in the period 2012–2014 and dropped by 0:40 by 2015 (CBS, 2016 – Indonesia). Compared to the city of Semarang in the period 2013 to 2015, there is a decrease in poverty rate of 0.64% from 2013 figure of 21:49% to 20.85% in 2015 (Bappeda Semarang – SIMGAKIN, 2016). The figures show two things: first, the poverty countermeasure efforts at national and local levels are less effective as seen from the low poverty rate of 1.5% for the national level and only 0.64% for the city of Semarang; second, in fact, poverty is not static but dynamic as in the fluctuating national poverty rate that declined from 1.5% between 2013–2014 and increased again to 0.99% in 2014–2015.

Various poverty and unemployment countermeasure programmes are undertaken by central and regional governments with various labels, concepts and orientations. There is nothing wrong with these programmes but they contain some major weaknesses: partial, short-term, unintegrated with markets, and overlapping and hence unsustainable since they do not form the basis of economic infrastructure. The findings of McCawley's study state the Indonesian government should indeed improve the poverty countermeasure programmes to make them more realistic, solid and integrated (Peter McCawley, ASPI, 2014: 25). There is strong empirical evidence that unemployment increases the risk of poverty and contributes significantly to inequality and weakens the social resilience of individuals/heads of households, family members and communities.

In 2016, Semarang City launched a poverty and unemployment countermeasure programme, namely the "Gerbang Hebat Programme". The Gerbang Hebat is an abbreviation of the Joint Movement for Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasure through the Harmonisation of Economic, Education, Ecosystems, and Communal Ethos. The programme was introduced as an intervention to address the ineffectiveness of previous poverty countermeasures due to their weak coordination, concept and orientation. The Gerbang Hebat programme emphasises the importance of harmonising four aspects: economics, education, ecosystems and ethos. It is apparent that harmonisation alone is not enough, but far more important than that is 'integration'. Poverty and unemployment comprise a multi-dimensional, complex and paradoxical problem that is unclear and both the cause and the solution, such that it is unlikely to be solved by itself (wicked problem) and therefore requires the cross-sector cooperation of multiple stakeholders and actors. Cooperation can occur on a continuum ranging from the simplest term, namely: network – coordination – cooperation – collaboration. Whichever form of cooperation is chosen, it must provide an intermediate result in the form of 'integration'. Since 2006, integration has become a prerequisite for the success of any policy, strategy, planning or implementation of a programme to the extent that the World Bank calls this the "Integration Era", marked by: (1) the existence of 'networking' within the government; (2) private entry to the network; and (3) continuous innovation in the area of public services (World Bank Report, 2014). A market-oriented-growth intervention is needed as leverage to ensure welfare (Peter Saunders, 2002).

Globalisation raises two phenomena, namely: the interconnection of a borderless relationship and interdependence so that everyone around the world is united in a new world order called "economic global society". The main effects of globalisation are: (1) the internationalisation of production; (2) free trade; and (3) direct foreign investment in the stock market. This condition points to the need for any intervention to tackle poverty, imbalances and unemployment and be directed at increasing market-oriented economic growth. Efforts to boost economic growth entail creating and filling market opportunities through three domains, namely: (1) production; (2) trading; and (3) investment.

On the other hand, globalisation engenders some changes which are: very fast/volatile; contains uncertainty; is complex and ambiguous. These changes require continuous adaptation and innovation that can only happen through research and development. The results of development that could be achieved by economic growth need to be distributed equally and proportionally to realise prosperity. The strategic environment is changing in this globalisation era into a scenario whereby multi-stakeholder and cross-sector cooperation and integration are becoming a global trend

parallel to the requirement to tackle poverty, inequality and unemployment to ensure prosperity and welfare, equity and full employment in the future. All of these fall within the concrete description of the expected position that is the vision and target of development.

Formulation of problems and research objectives

The efforts to defeat poverty and unemployment in the city of Semarang have the vision of harmonising movement with the community in four respects: economic, education, ecosystem and ethos with the label "HEBAT", which invite researchers to examine and analyse:

1. To what extent is the Gerbang Hebat Programme able to achieve integration at the planning and implementation level in tackling poverty and unemployment in the city of Semarang?
2. Which weaknesses and obstacles are faced when planning and implementing the Gerbang Hebat Programme?
3. How comprehensive is the concept of poverty inequality and the unemployment countermeasures in the city of Semarang?

Research methods

This research is an exploratory study that aims to explore and analyse: 'what should' be changed, planned and implemented to realise the achieved goals in the context of the poverty and unemployment countermeasures in the city of Semarang. This study uses a qualitative approach with a critical theory paradigm to uncover phenomena and/or false realities hidden behind the observed empirical facts. The paradigm of critical theory also provides an explanation but not in the context of causal relationships such as the science tradition in the positivist paradigm, but a practical explanation of what needs to be done in the process of transforming from the initial state (existing condition) to the expected one seen in terms of the interest of social actors who are becoming the subject of the theory (Horkheimer in Bohman, 2005: 1; Kelner, 1990: 22; Little John, 2005: 22). The research strategy used is a case study given the uniqueness/specificity of the object under study, and its flexibility in the cross-paradigm and approach. The data interpretation relied on anticipatory or futuristic interpretation methods to find a comprehensive concept of poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasures that can be applied in the future. The unit of analysis in this research is: implementation of the policy of poverty and unemployment countermeasures in Semarang city at the management and technical levels.

Literature Review

Poverty Theory

a. Poverty and Vulnerability

In practice, large-scale and wide-ranging multi-dimensional problems that cannot be handled on their own always exist, ones that must involve the cooperation of agencies or ministries/institutions. Problems like this require other ministries/agencies to work together. Examples of such problems are: poverty, inequality and unemployment. The dynamics of poverty in developed and developing/underdeveloped countries are so different that the definitions and concepts of absolute and relative poverty vary. The 1995 United Nations Summit attended by 117 countries agreed on a definition of absolute and relative poverty, while formulating declarations and action programmes to eradicate absolute poverty by 2015 and reduce all forms of poverty by up to half, as outlined in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Poverty, including absolute poverty, is defined as:

> *Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life. It occurs in all countries: as mass poverty in many developing countries, pockets of poverty amid wealth in developed countries, loss of livelihoods as a result of economic recession, sudden poverty as a result of disaster or conflict, the poverty of low-wage workers, and the utter destitution of people who fall outside family support systems, social institutions and safety nets.* (UN, 1995 in David Gordon, 2002: 3)

Based on empirical research results concerning the dynamics of poverty, poverty may be classified in three types, namely: (1) persistent poverty: poverty that lasts for a long time; (2) recurrent poverty: repeated exits and returns to poverty; and (3) transient poverty: poverty that lasts a very short time (Smith and Middleton, 2007).

According to Amartiya Kumar Sen (1999 in Katherine McJackson, 2005), the Nobel laureate for economics who has observed many poverty countermeasure programmes in developing countries, "poverty is defined as a

condition of deprivation of basic capability and freedom, rather than low income that is generally used as a standard in identifying poverty". The limitations of this capability relate to the seizure and/or some barriers due to gender, age, race or class or other cause of marginalisation. The provisions of the Employees Service Company (PPJK) that only accept workers aged 18–24 years constitute a deprivation of the basic capability and freedom of workers above the age of 24 to enter the employment field.

Such practices clearly hamper efforts to reduce poverty through equal employment opportunities and potentially increase the number of new poor people. The lower wage of outsourced workers under the City Minimum Wage also makes it difficult to combat poverty. Sen identifies five elements of freedom that are key factors for development, namely: (i) political freedom; (ii) economic opportunities; (iii) social opportunities; (iv) the guarantee of transparency; and (v) security protection. This argument breaks the previous concept of income-focused poverty reduction as a measure of poverty and social well-being (Amartya Kumar Sen in Katherine McJackson, 2005: 9–12).

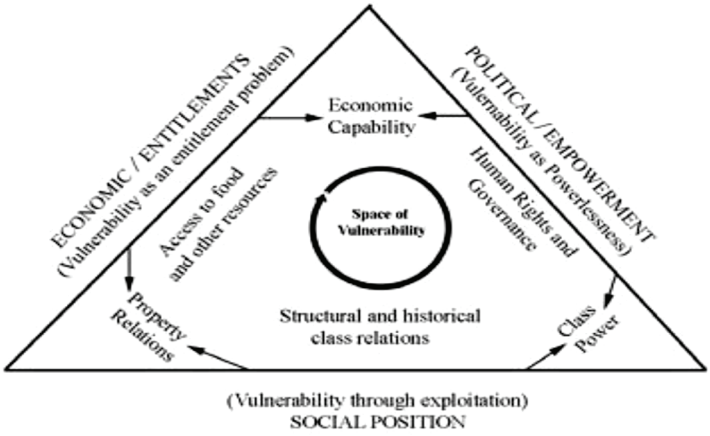
This new understanding of poverty led to the creation of the Livelihood Security Approach (LSA) concept. The LSA promotes the importance of putting people at the centre of development. The LSA emphasises gender mainstreaming and "personal/ individual empowerment" in the development process, where people are more likely to "fish" rather than have "fish given", aiming for everyone to be self-sufficient. Personal empowerment is the empowerment of each individual or individuals that must be distinguished from the social empowerment of a particular community. Personal empowerment provides the basis for the rights-based individual demands of the political system that lead to the deprivation of opportunity, while also focusing on individual demands of social empowerment concerning social processes (more collectively) to alter the shape and direction of the systemic forces that marginalise people. Social empowerment will change the basis of power relations (Vane Klasen, 2002 in Katherine M. McJackson).

The dynamics of poverty are closely related to the phenomenon of vulnerability. Vulnerability is understood as a situation in which a person's livelihood system is vulnerable to shock, along with a lack of endurance/ resilience against the shock that makes the person involved unable to self-recover. Vulnerability affects livelihoods, causing people to be poor, and the severity of poverty. Shocks can impoverish a person and his/her family (sickness, death or job termination) or may impoverish a community in an area (natural disasters, macroeconomic crises such as in 1997 and 2008). The pattern of power-relations-based social interaction can lead to shocks or pressures that may cause people to become vulnerable or impoverished.

Frankenberger and Maxwell (2002) stated that vulnerability is not merely caused by socio-economic process but also by political process where the power relations between individual and group directly or indirectly affect the extent of vulnerability.

According to Vane Klasen (2002) in Katherine M. McJackson (2005), the dimensions of vulnerability can be described as follows:

Figure 1: VULNERABILITY DIMENSIONS ACCORDING TO VANE KLASSEN (2002)



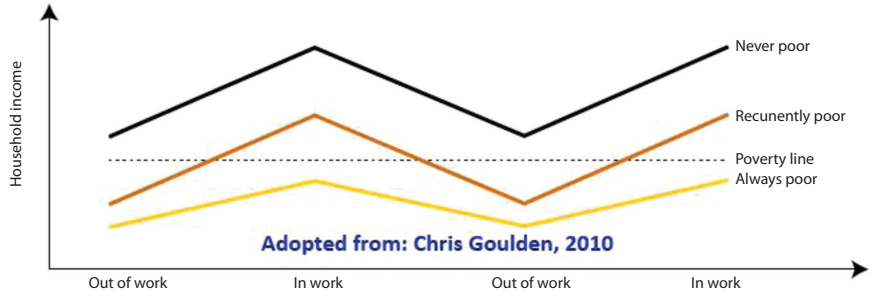
Source: Adopted from Walts & Bohle (1993).

In short, poverty not only reflects the non-fulfilment of basic needs and lack of access, but also illustrates the weak political power and the powerlessness of the vulnerable groups. Further, powerlessness in itself will result in a lack of access and inability to meet basic needs, placing vulnerable groups in a weak position in the lowest classes of the social strata. "Basic needs" and "equity" are key factors that determine an increase or decrease in poverty, inequality and unemployment.

b. Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

Past research classifies poverty as several types: never poor, transient poverty, recurrent poverty, and persistent poverty. Such research detects gaps in the causes and dynamics of recurrent poverty, which are still being debated (Smith and Middleton, 2007). Some empirical evidence shows that poverty recurrent cycles correlate with earnings cycles, and employment status: "unemployed and/or working at low wage/salary levels" that can be described as follows (Alderman et al., 2003).

Figure 2: REVENUE CYCLE RELATIONSHIPS, EMPLOYMENT STATUS, AND POVERTY



Source: Goulden, 2010.

There are four types of relationships between employment status and poverty, as seen in the table below.

Table 2: RELATIONSHIP OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS VARIANT TO POVERTY

STATUS OF POVERTY	STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT	
	DOES NOT WORK	WORK
POOR	(1) Not working and being poor	(2) Working but still poor
NOT POOR	(3) Not working but not poor	(4) Working and not poor

Source: Peter Saunders, 2002.

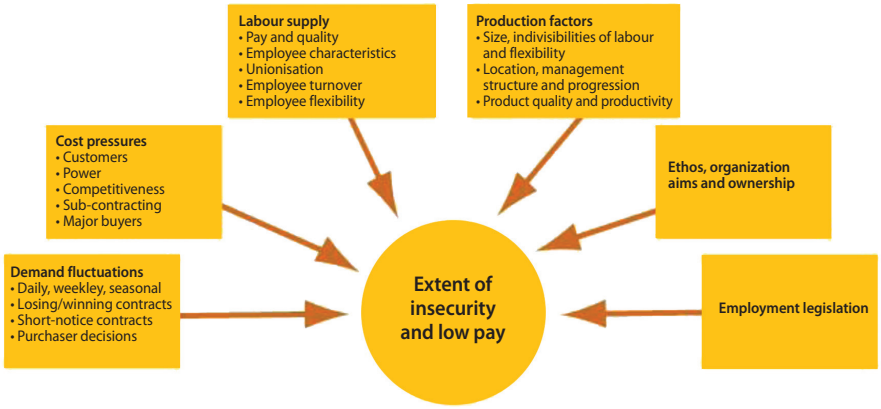
Box (1) describes the status of not working directly, causing the individual to become poor. Box (2) describes the situation that, even if an individual does not work they do not poor because they share the income of family members. Box (3) describes the circumstances of individuals working at low or below-standard salaries/wages, unpredictable, part-time or discontinuous work. Box (4) describes an individual working in a secure position (full-time job, salary or income level more than adequate, stable with a clear career path). The inequality between the number of job vacancies and number of productive workers in need of work is a direct cause of unemployment, while the inequality between the skill levels required to fill certain types of work with skill-sets of prospective workers is an indirect cause of structural unemployment. Two examples of inequality are indirect causes of poverty due to unemployment and vice versa. Unemployment very strongly correlates with poverty, especially where the unemployment lasts more than one year. In this position, the risks of unemployment cause poverty to grow significantly.

At the practical level, several factors have a significant effect on low wages, work insecurity and recurrent poverty risk.

1) Determining factors of work insecurity and low wage/salary

Determinants of work insecurity and low remuneration consist of several factors that include: (a) the supply of labour; (2) production factors; (3) cost pressure; (4) fluctuating demand; (5) organisational ethos, objectives and ownership; and (6) the Employment Act.

Figure 3: DETERMINING FACTORS OF WORK INSECURITY, LOW REMUNERATION AND RECURRENT POVERTY CYCLE



Source: Metcalf and Dhudwar, 2010.

2) Risk Factors of Recurrent Poverty

Factors that can increase or decrease the risk of poverty are listed in the following table:

Table 3: RECURRENT POVERTY RISK FACTORS (RECURRENT POVERTY)

Risk factors	Related to poverty risk	Strength of influence
Employment in the core	Down	Very strong
Employment in the middle sector	Down	Very strong
Employment in the peripheral sectors	Down	Strong
Employment of midwives or techniques	Down	moderate
Working alone (permanently)	Down	moderate
professional employment	Down	moderate
Higher Education	Down	less strong
Administration	Down	less strong
Trading/marketing skilled	Down	less strong

Risk factors	Related to poverty risk	Strength of influence
Age 25–34 years	Down	Weak
Divorced	Up	moderate
single parent	Up	moderate
Having a child	up	Weak
Chronic illness or permanent disability	up	Very strong
Job Termination	up	Very strong
Not working full or part time	up	Strong
Not working/unemployed	up	Very strong
Previously long unemployed	up	Strong
Excessive regulation	up	Very strong

Source: Goulden, 2010.

a. Shifting of Poverty Theory

Poverty theory and development have been experiencing change for 50 years. In its development, poverty theory has shifted its focus. Speaking about development raises the following questions: development for what purpose? Development for whom? With regard to the goals of development, various theories and concepts pertaining to the existing development can answer these first questions easily, that the development aims to bring economic and social welfare through economic growth. The problem becomes difficult when answering the second question: Development for whom?, because in reality it turns out to be marginalising the majority of people by pushing them towards poverty. Development places vulnerable groups within the polarisation of societies/countries of the southern hemisphere (the poor) where there is a 'shortage' of freedom and access to assets, opportunities and prosperity. In the opposite hemisphere, in the North (the rich), an accumulation of 'excess' assets and welfare has taken place. In the power relations perspective, the middle class can then enjoy the prosperity and well-being as an intermediate player that performs intermediation functions between the elite and lower classes.

Theories of poverty seek to produce the concept of an effort to reduce the negative impact of development that impoverishes most human beings. In its development, those of theories have undergone three stages of a shift in focus: the first stage looked at mitigating or alleviating the effects of poverty (Poverty Alleviation); the second phase focused on reducing poverty (Poverty Reduction); and the third phase focused on eradicating poverty (Poverty Eradication). The development focus of poverty theory may be illustrated as a continuum of the mitigation process towards eradication.

Figure 4: SHIFT FROM ALLEVIATION TO ERADICATION

POVERTY ALLEVIATION	POVERTY REDUCTION	POVERTY ERADICATION
Refers to public and private actions to address destitution in terms of a lack of food, access to safe portable water, safety from abuse and shelter. By definition, these interventions are fundamentally ameliorative and tend to be carried out with a 'welfarist' mentality, although not necessarily. Nonetheless, ameliorative measures are obviously necessary to prevent starvation, ill-health and exposure to the elements.	Refers to delibrate actions that reduce the depth of poverty that individuals and households experience. Deliberate actions could include income and physical asset transfers and/ or the supply of education, employment and trading opportunities. Such measures can lead to a reduction in the absolute number of people that are (income and asset) poor, but do not necessarily alter the structural conditions (at various scales) that reproduce poverty and inequality.	Refers to institutional reforms that increase the political power of the poor to the extent that they help determine and shape the agenda for poverty eradication measures that address the structural causes of poverty, whilst simultaneously addressing chronic destitution. As a result powerty eradication actions are organized to ensure the political empowerment of poor citizens and their organizations relative to political and economic elites.

Source: Parnell and Pieterse, 1999.

Based on a new conception of poverty, efforts to combat poverty may entail combining technical and social solutions in three areas:

1) Fixing the social position

SOCIAL POSITION includes the dimensions

a. Justice: age, gender, race/ethnicity, religion/belief
b. Human rights
c. Distribution of capital and assets
d. Social inclusion
e. Organisational capacity

2) Improving the human condition and well-being

HUMAN CONDITION and Well-being includes the dimensions:

a. Productivity, livelihood and income
b. The accumulation of capital and assets
c. Human capability
d. Access to markets, resources and public services
e. Risk and vulnerability

3) Creating an environment or conditions for empowerment

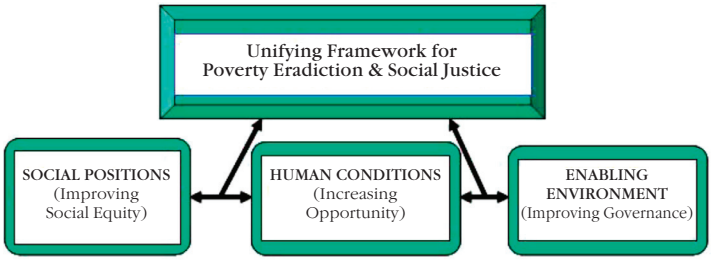
Empowering Environment includes the dimensions:

a. Government based on the principles of good governance
b. Participation of civil society
c. Social protection assistance
d. The regulatory framework of domestic and international justice

e. Preservation and conservation of the environment
f. Strong and equitable Economic/Political platform
g. Human protection and conflict management

The conceptual framework of unification of poverty eradication could be described as follows:

Figure 5: UNIFICATION FRAMEWORK-OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BASED POVERTY ERADICATION



Source: adapted from: M. Ctherine McCaston et al., CARE, 2005.

Results and Analysis

1. Implementation of the Gerbang Hebat Programme

The Gerbang Hebat Programme is a product of poverty and unemployment countermeasure policies in the city of Semarang. This programme responds to the reality of the steps taken to fight poverty that are considered less effective because: (1) the average rate of poverty reduction was 0.64% a year during 2013–2015 due to a lack of coordination; (2) the bias and less on target due data inaccuracy of the Central Statistical Body which is oriented more to central government programmes. The situation was anticipated by the city conducting its own data collection on poor families once every two years as stipulated in Local Regulation No. 12 of 2016 on Poverty Countermeasures in Semarang City. The programmes were implemented by also involving the private sector, namely: the state, enterprises and companies which are incorporated in the Community Development Partnership Programme Forum (PKBL) as a form of corporate social responsibility. PKBL is based on the provisions of Semarang City Local Regulation No. 7 of 2015 on the Partnership Programme and Community Development as Corporate Social Responsibility in Semarang. Implementation of the Partnership is regulated by the Mayor of Semarang Number 26 of 2016 according to the Operations Manual of Local Regulation No. 7/2015. Data

collection concerning poor families was implemented by the Development Planning and Implementation Body (Bappeda) of the Semarang municipality because it was judged to have the highest coordination functions with various related local government institutions.

Based on the above, in June 2016 the Semarang municipality launched the *GERBANG HEBAT* programme to tackle poverty and unemployment through four strategies, namely: (1) social assistance-based programmes; (2) the development of micro, small and medium business; (3) community empowerment; and (4) a pro-people support programme. Implementation of the programme by all relevant local government institutions coordinated under one roof, namely the »Local Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team (TKPKD)« chaired by the Deputy Mayor and, as the person in charge, the Mayor. The formation of TKPKD is based on the Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2010 on the Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team (TKPK) for the Provincial and Regency/City level.

Viewed from the perspective of public policy implementation analysis, the formulation and implementation of poverty countermeasure policies in the form of the Gerbang Hebat Programme meets the criteria of policy implementation of Classical Model Analysis with the following proposition:

a. *Policy formulation and implementation are two processes bounded by regulation, separately and consecutively (sequential).*

Poverty countermeasure policies were formulated and set out first as part of the medium-term development planning of Semarang city for the within 2016–2021 period (RPJMD 2016–2021). The RPJMD was drawn up with input from all relevant local government institutions, with the programme planning prepared by Bappeda of Semarang City in the form of a Local Development Plan (RPD). Further, the contents of the RPD are implemented at the operational/technical level in the form of Local l Development Work Plan (RKPD) for each local government institution.

b. *There are clear and strict boundaries, among others:*

1. A strict separation of the functions, roles and division of tasks between policymakers (the Mayor) who designed and set goals with a policy implementor (the Deputy Mayor) who applies the policy at a practical/operational level.
2. Policymakers (the Mayor) has the authority to formulate and establish policies based on development priorities, while the implementor (Deputy Mayor) has the technical capability to implement policies along with the required obedience and willingness (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980: 10 in Marume SBM et al., 2016: 87–88).
3. Decisions concerning policy implementation are always technical and non-political.

4. The legislature (DPRD) has a dominant role in controlling the entire process of conceptualisation and formulation of policy so that the executive (the Mayor) is more likely to become an instrument/policymaking institution with the authority to make policies. This is seen in the fact that the poverty and unemployment countermeasure policy is based on two local regulations: Local Regulation No. 7/2015 and 12/2016, while the Mayor's Regulation No. 26/2016 provides the guidelines of local regulation No. 12 of 2017. In this context, the Mayor simply as an instrument/tool to implement the PKBL policy that was formulated by the Parliament of Semarang City. The same thing happened with Regulation No. 7/2015 where the Bappeda of Semarang municipality was appointed by the Parliament to collect data from poor people. The mayor with his bureaucratic rows has become the administrative instrument for implementing the policy formulated by the parliament of Semarang City (Cloete, 1977 in Marume S.B.M. et al., 2016: 97–88).

The formulation and implementation of the poverty countermeasure policies described above represents a top-down approach with a waterfall system that is similar to the approach used in classical analysis. The classical analysis model considers that policy is something that is 'made' (given), it is considered right and proper so that it becomes indisputable. The analytical function aims to explain; what is 'right' or 'wrong' in the implementation process, and who is responsible for that.

This model contains bias that comes from the unilateral perspective about the truth of the conceptualisation and process of policy formulation. This perspective leaves no possibility to conduct a policy analysis. If a programme is not running well, errors will be imposed on the implementation process that then become the responsibility of the implementor. These conditions engender a 'blaming mentality' which obscures the reality of the policy and its implementation.

Conflicts over the Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasures in Semarang City

There are signs of conflicts over the poverty and unemployment countermeasures in the city of Semarang. At least two conflicts were clearly visible in this study, namely:

a. *Conflicts of Interest*

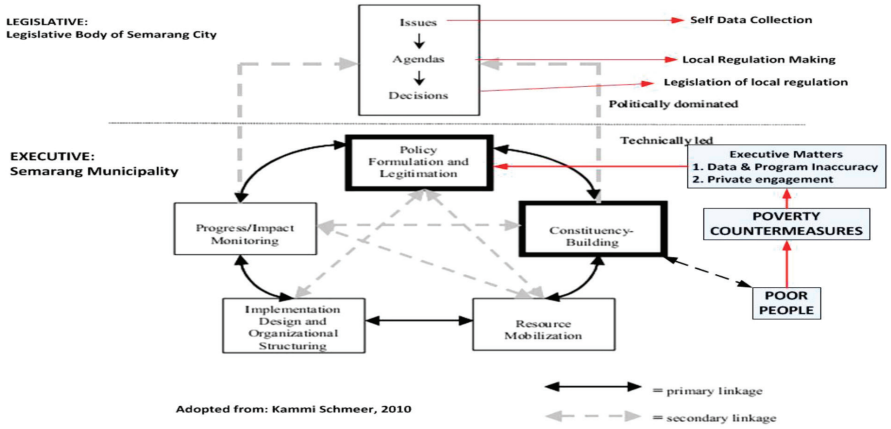
The discharge of Local Regulation No. 7/2015 on Poverty Countermeasures in Semarang City, in particular Article 5 (1), that says, " Local government collects data and assigns the poor people", represents a conflict of interest between the parliament and the Semarang municipality with the Central

Statistical Agency (BPS). The collection of data concerning poor people is the main task and function of the BPS which has the authority, budget, infrastructure and resources to conduct a census or survey. The fact the data concerning poor people from the BPS are considered so biased that the resulting poverty countermeasure efforts have been misdirected did not necessarily require the response of Parliament and/or the Semarang municipality to make a local regulation to conduct their own data collection. Bias always happens and is unavoidable at all in a survey, but can be minimalised to an acceptable standard of error. If the BPS data are considered inaccurate because the approach or use of indicators was inappropriate, it could have been coordinated with BPS in order to synchronise and integrate the data collection process with the local conditions in Semarang City. The dualism of data on poor people from BPS and from the Semarang municipality, besides being confusing for the decision-making process, also reveals wasteful spending.

The fact that local regulation No. 7/2016 created on the initiative of the Parliament seeks to regulate a technical matter like the » collection of data about poor people« is really beyond the scope of its task and functions. Poor people are potential political constituents for collecting political support. This reason encouraged the Parliament to enter the Semarang municipality domain by formulating the technical policy. This reality confirms the proposition of the classical analysis method that the legislature is becoming the dominant actor in the process of policymaking for poverty countermeasures.

The domination of the legislature over the executive (Semarang municipality) may be described as follows:

Figure 6: DOMINATION OF LOCAL PARLIAMENT OVER THE SEMARANG MUNICIPALITY WITH RESPECT TO THE POVERTY COUNTERMEASURE PROGRAMME



Source: adopted from Kammi Schmeer, 2010.

b. Procedural conflict

Article 23(2) of Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2010 on the Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team (TKPK) at Provincial and the District/Municipal level mentions that the person in charge of TKPK is the Mayor of Semarang City, while the chairman is the Deputy Mayor. This regulation has triggered a procedural conflict between the Mayor and his Deputy. Technically, TKPK is led by the Deputy Mayor, but politically speaking the responsibility for success or failure in implementing the programme lies on the Mayor. This poses a political and irrational trap that is detrimental to the Mayor because he/she must be responsible for any errors or failures in the policy implementation. On one side, this arrangement would urge the Mayor to intervene in order to uphold his responsibility if the policy implementation is judged to have diverged or its failure is feared. On the other hand, the intervention of the Mayor will lead to a dualism of the leadership that could hinder the harmonisation and/or coordination supposed to have been realised by establishing TKPKD to help achieve integration.

The existence of a procedural conflict and the Mayor's intervention has occurred in the city of Semarang where the Mayor ordered that grants be given to each Thematic Village Programme in the amount of Rp. 200,000,000 (200 million rupiahs) to accelerate the impact of the poverty and unemployment countermeasure in order to achieve the expected results. Although the Mayor could not be blamed because it is a logical consequence of the procedural conflict arising from over-regulation of political, management and technical affairs which becomes his authority, yet it could not be denied that the intervention has weakened the coordination that could have been built, blurring the concept of policy implementation, and imposing the substitution of original purposes with a technical/operational goal that is partial, short-term and not results-oriented. Technically, this manifestation of goal substitution was seen in the training activity for making the key holder. In this context, the poverty-reduction goal was replaced by the training goal. Excessive regulation directly affects the work insecurity, low remuneration recurrent poverty cycle that is repeated (see Figure 3), as well as strongly influencing an increase in poverty risk (see Table 3).

Institutional pressures on the Semarang Municipality

The Semarang municipality, in this case the Mayor and his bureaucratic support, encountered three forms of institutional pressure in implementing the poverty and unemployment countermeasures. The three pressures are: (1) Coercive Pressure; (2) Normative Pressure; and (3) Mimetic Pressure. Coercive pressure is a coercion that must be implemented because it comes from regulatory legislation or compelling external conditions, for example,

a natural disaster or technological changes. Normative pressure is a requirement for institutions to behave according to moral, ethical, professional and social norms in order to avoid social conflict and resistance. Mimetic pressures are encouragement for the institution to behave aligned with, the same, similar or uniform with environmental organisations to avoid uncertainty. All three pressures engender isomorphism symptoms on each organisation, and the Semarang municipality is no exception. Isomorphism is a symptom of uniformity of structure, procedures and practices in order to survive by reducing uncertainty (DiMaggio, 1983; Powell, 1991 in Samairat, Mohammed, 2008: 12).

In the context of this study, the Semarang municipality is experiencing very strong coercive pressure from the central government and the local Parliament regulation, including: Local regulation No. 20/2015, Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42/2010, Mayor's Regulation No. 12/2016, and Local Regulation No. 7/2015. The organisational responses to the three types of pressure are, among others: (1) acquiescence; (2) compromise; (3) avoidance; (4) defiance; and (5) manipulation (Oliver, 1991: 170). The strong coercive pressure arising from legislation encouraged the Semarang municipality to respond by acquiescence in order to seek legitimacy, avoid conflicts with the Parliament, and reducing uncertainty. In this case, the isomorphism symptoms of the Semarang municipality are clearly visible when approving Parliament's initiative to conduct their own data collection concerning poor people in Semarang City.

2. Weakness of the Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasure Policy and Obstacles to Implementing the Gerbang Hebat Programme

The research results on the weaknesses and constraints of implementing the Gerbang Hebat programme may be summarised as follows:

Table 4: WEAKNESS OF POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT POLICIES

No.	Weakness	Description
1	**Policy**	The excessive regulation, not yet outcome-oriented, with a weak poverty conception due to a static concept of poverty, has not yet focused on efforts to reduce inequality, which weakens the resilience of the political, economic and social of poor people and productive labour force. The policy has still not focused on the relevant activities of production, trade and investment to create new economic growth opportunities. The top-down approach was still used in formulating the policy, whereas it was not in accordance with the volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity of the problems and challenges faced. The problem complexity of poverty, inequality and unemployment requires a bottom-up approach in both the formulation and implementation of policy by involving cross-sector multiple stakeholders and actors.
2	**Stakeholder Engagement**	Stakeholders were only involved in the planning and implementation of the programme and are not yet involved in the policymaking stage. This made the policy not clearly understood so that the level of its support and contribution remains low. The extent of the participation and contribution of stakeholders could be measured by assessing the percentage share of the contribution of CSR funds to finance the total efforts to counter poverty and unemployment. The small contribution of CSR funds indicates the low support and participation of stakeholders.
3	**Conception of Poverty**	The poverty countermeasure policy is something given so that its formulations follows common practices in the environment of the Central Government and Provincial Government (isomorphism symptoms). Such practices weaken the conceptualisation of policies that are not based on a clear concept and framework with measurable indicators. Although there has been innovation by integrating the poverty and unemployment countermeasure into a single package, it was only done on the basis of practical experience alone and was not supported by knowledge management as required in the Regulation of Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment – Bureaucratic Reformation No. 14 of 2014, so that only a technical concept has been produced, based on short-term projects and still unable to penetrate the substance of policy.
4	**GERBANG HEBAT Vision**	The GERBANG HEBAT vision is an acronym for a collection of phrases that describe a process and does not refer to the imaginative outcome or expected condition in the future. The series of phrases is too long, so elusive that it is difficult to be conceived and communicated. This vision is weak or ineffective in its ability to inspire, raise awareness, mobilise participation, build consensus and commitment. An effective vision must meet the following requirements: clarity of purpose imaginatively associated with the outcome to be achieved in the future, it must be short, clear and simple so as to be easily understood, imagined and communicated, and it must be attainable. A vision's effectiveness can be measured by the share of stakeholders, actors and people who understand, have had their awareness raised, are inspired and motivated to engage and participate.

Source: Processed Primary Data, 2017.

Table 5: OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTING THE GERBANG HEBAT PROGRAMME

No.	Obstacles	Description
1	Coordination	The coordination to be realised by establishing TKPKD institutions as stipulated in the Regulation of Minister of Internal Affairs No. 42/2010 has not been achieved because it is constrained by procedural conflicts arising from the provisions of Article 23 (2) that separate the functions and roles of the Mayor who is politically in charge and the Deputy Mayor as the Chairman of TKPKD who is technically in charge. This procedural conflict not only weakens the coordination that might be built or even cause resistance to implementation of the programme. In fact, the vertical and horizontal coordination remains weak because it has not achieved the intended functional integration. Cooperation in any form (Networks – Coordination – Cooperation – Collaboration) should be able to produce integration as an intermediate outcome. The absence of integration, as demonstrated by the fact that the four pillars of the strategy are being implemented separately without any connection to each other, indicates weak coordination. If this situation is not corrected, then ultimately the programme implementation will be threatened with failure.
2	Isomorphism symptoms	Isomorphism symptoms detected in Semarang municipality organisations inhibit the emergence of the creative and innovative thinking needed to overcome the limited authority concerning budgets, regulations, and capacity. Such limitation should be overcome by creating new opportunities in order to face the increasingly complex challenges and reduce uncertainty. The conflict of interest between BPS and the municipality and/or parliament of Semarang city regarding the collection of data on poor people, as well as the leadership-dualism conflict between the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor in TKPKD should not be the case if these leaders were to think and act in a creative and innovative manner beyond common practice (out of the box).
3	Participation	The participation of stakeholders, actors, communities, and the citizens targeted by the programmes, is more transactional than transformational. This means people are willing to participate if the activities carried out do not impose costs, have a direct and short-term benefit, and can increase the extent of their income and consumption. The perceptions formed on the targeted citizens were more determined by the value of the project aid than the intended future outcome. This situation produces a weak level of participation because it was based on social exchange processes on a cost-benefit basis.
4	Resistance	In the context of the Rainbow Village (Kampung Pelangi), the emerging resistance has derived from the questions: (1) who should bear the cost of repainting for continuous maintenance; and (2) what are the economic benefits of Rainbow Village beyond the concept of the imposed beauty? The aesthetics offered through the Rainbow Village concept by painting the road and the outer walls of residents' houses is perceived as a sensation of "different or strange" rather than "beautiful". If the rainbow concept was presented through a combined arrangement of colourful decorative plants to form an artistic landscape, the intention to bring the aesthetics would have been more successful and able to form a "sense of place" that must be owned by a city. Each village could be set with a different theme according to the type of dressing plant. In addition to the aesthetic and artistic, plant-decorated landscape, there could be new economic opportunities in the production of decorative plants and landscaping services, as well as providing lungs for the green city. The central question for the Rainbow Village is: Until when painting the road and walls of houses will last, reckoning that will require continuous maintenance.

Source: Processed Primary Data, 2017.

3. The concepts of Comprehensive Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

When drafting a poverty countermeasure, the development of the strategic environment following the end of the Millennium Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 should be considered, where one of the objectives was to halve the level of poverty. Post-2015, there is a development agenda and the development objectives are as follows:

Table 6: CLASSIFICATION OF INTERESTS BASED ON THE POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA AND POST-2015 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Classification purposes	POST-2015 Development agenda	Sustainable development goals (SDGa) POST-2015
Multi-dimensional-poverty focused	1. Eradicating poverty 2. Run to the empowerment of women and achieving equality 3. Providing qualified and sustainable education 4. Guaranteeing a healthy life 5. Ensuring food security and good nutrition 6. Achieving universal access to water and sanitation	1. Eradicating all forms of poverty wheresoever 2. Eradicating hunger, running food security, improving nutrition and promoting sustainable agriculture 3. Ensuring a healthy life and promoting well-being in all age groups 4. Ensuring inclusiveness and equality of education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all 5. Realising gender equality and empowering women 6. Ensuring the availability and management of water and sanitation for all
Sustainable-Development Focus	1. Securing new renewable energy 2. Creating jobs, sustainable livelihoods and equitable growth	1. Ensuring the affordability of access, reliable, and sustainable modern energy for all 2. Promoting inclusive and sustainable economic growth, decent, productive and full employment for all 3. Building a resilient infrastructure, promoting inclusive industrialisation and encouraging continuous innovation 4. Reducing inequality in-house and between countries 5. Making towns and settlements comfortable, secure, resilient and sustainable 6. Ensuring sustainable patterns of consumption and production 7. Undertaking urgent action to tackle climate change and its impact 8. Conserving utilisation of the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development 9. Protecting, restoring and promoting the sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, forest management, preventing desertification, preventing and reversing land degradation, and preventing the loss of early bio-diversity

Classification purposes	POST-2015 Development agenda	Sustainable development goals (SDGa) POST-2015
Good Governance and Global Partnership Focus	1. Managing natural resources and assets in a sustainable manner 2. Ensuring a healthy life 3. Ensuring food security and good nutrition 4. Creating a conducive global environment and facilitating long-term financing	1. Promoting a peaceful society, giving access to justice for all, and building accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels 2. Strengthening the way of implementation and revitalising global partnership

Source: Qian Liu Qian and Lin Wang Xiao, 2015.

Considering the agenda and goals of sustainable development in Table 6, a comprehensive concept of poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasures could be formulated as follows:

Table 7: THE CONCEPT OF COMPREHENSIVE POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND SUSTAINABLE UNEMPLOYMENT

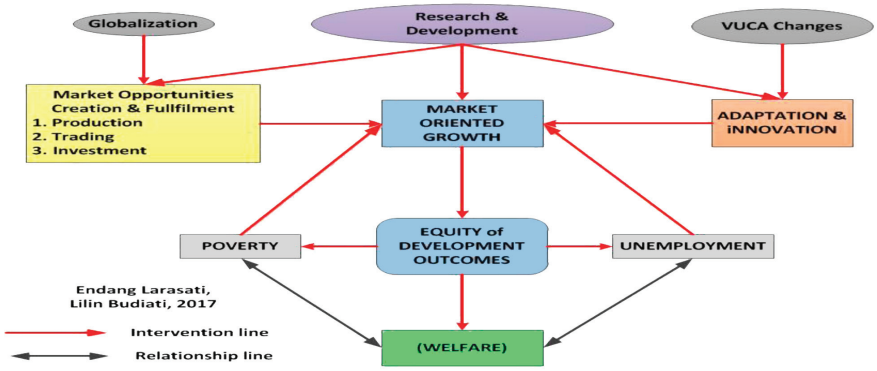
No.	Substance	Description
1	Philosophy	Eliminating poverty to achieve prosperity and social justice-based welfare
2	Aim	Eradicating all forms and types of poverty for all people wherever they are
3	Paradigm	Changing the paradigm of poverty reduction into the paradigm of poverty eradication
4	Principles	1. Integrated poverty eradication efforts become part of sustainable development 2. The existence of interconnection and synergy in all efforts for combatting poverty, inequality and unemployment 3. All poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasure efforts should be directed to the activities of production, trade and investment in the global market and/or the labour market 4. Creating and fulfilling new opportunities in the global economic market 5. Results or outcome oriented 6. Applying good governance principles at all levels 7. Empowerment and partiality to vulnerable and affected groups 8. Partnership-based multi-stakeholder and cross-sectoral cooperation 9. Integration of policy formulation and implementation at all levels 10. Knowledge management and information systems of poverty
5	Target	All people
6	Policy	Policy formulation using a bottom-up approach involving cross-sectoral multi-stakeholders in a policy networks forum
7	Implementation	Applying a bottom-up approach to the policymaking and implementation network and partnership-based collaboration
8	Input	Resources, infrastructure, institutions, problems/issues of poverty, inequality and unemployment, data on poor and unemployed people, opportunities and challenges

No.	Substance	Description
9	Process	Research, surveys, focus group discussions, workshops, data collection and implementation of policymaking, planning, monitoring and evaluation
10	Output	Policies, strategies, action plans, work programmes
11	Outcome	Significant declines in poverty, the Gini index, unemployment, higher income generation and consumption, economic growth, improved quality of life, resilience of socio-economic and ecological, availability of employment opportunities (full employment)
12	Impact	Prosperity and welfare for all

Source: BPS (managed), 2016.

An integrative framework for intervention by way of poverty and unemployment countermeasures is presented below:

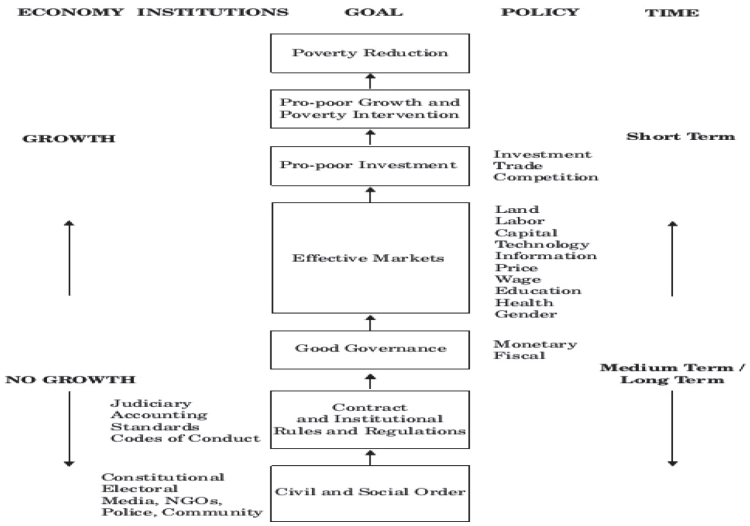
Figure 6: INTEGRATIVE FRAMEWORK OF POVERTY COUNTERMEASURES



Source: Endang Larasati, Lilin Budati, 2017.

The integrative framework can be used to prepare the establishing of priorities for the poverty countermeasure as follows:

Figure 7: PRIORITY SETTING FRAMEWORK FOR POVERTY COUNTERMEASURE EFFORTS



Source: Ron Duncan and Steve Polard, 2002.

Conclusion

Based on the research findings and result of the analysis, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. *Integration of the Gerbang Hebat Programme's implementation*

   The Gerbang Hebat Programme has been unable to achieve integration yet at either the policymaking or implementation level due to interest and procedural conflicts at the policymaking level due to the shackles of the central government and parliamentary regulations that reduce the space for the Mayor of Semarang city to formulate a poverty and unemployment countermeasure policy on a formal or discretionary authority basis.

2. *The Gerbang Hebat programme has several weaknesses and implemental problems, such as:*
   a. Weaknesses of the Gerbang Hebat programme include:
      1) Over-regulated, top-down and not results-oriented policy
      2) Stakeholder involvement is limited to the programme planning and implementation level only
      3) The weak conception of the poverty and unemployment countermeasure because it was based on common practices used at the central, Provincial and regency/city government level.

4) The ineffective vision for Gerbang Hebat that does not understand and is unable to drive the engagement and participation of stakeholders, actors and citizens based on volunteerism.

b. Constraints of the Gerbang Hebat Programme implementation include:
   1) Weak coordination that fails to build through TKPKD institutions because of the existence of procedural conflicts arising from Article 23 (2) of Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42/2010 on the Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team at Provincial and Regency/City.
   2) Isomorphism symptoms that encourage the Semarang municipality to behave by way of acquiescence according to the policies and regulations of the central government and parliament of Semarang city in order to seek legitimacy and reduce conflict and uncertainty.
   3) Weak participation that is more transactional than transformational in the sense that participation is not voluntary but based on social exchanges on a cost-benefit basis.
   4) Residents' resistance arising from both the unclear vision and concept of the Gerbang Hebat Programme or Thematic Villages.

3. *The concept of comprehensive poverty, inequality and unemployment sustainable*

A comprehensive concept of the poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasures is presented in Table 7 while the integrative framework is shown in Figure 6.

Suggestions

Based on some of the above conclusions, the following suggestions are recommended:

1. *To the Semarang Municipality*
   a. Performing an analysis and reorientation of policies to combat poverty and unemployment in the city of Semarang.
   b. Conducting a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to identify the needs, issues, opportunities and new challenges emerging in the external environment related to poverty, inequality and unemployment in order to improve the policy and its implementation, which are threatened by stagnation or failure.
   c. Revising policies and conceptions of poverty, inequality and unemployment based on the FDG results which should be adapted to the Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) post-2015.
   d. Correcting the vision of the Gerbang Hebat Programme so that it is

more easily understood, while communicating it is results-oriented, attainable and measurable.

e. Applying a bottom-up approach in the policymaking on combatting poverty and unemployment.
f. Involving multiple stakeholders across sectors in the policymaking process within a policy network forum.
g. Streamlining the coordination and performance of TKPKD to achieve integration when implementing the programme.
h. Managing conflict and resistance in order not to hinder the programme's implementation.

2. *To the Parliament of Semarang City*
   a. Reviewing and/or revising the terms of Article 5 (1) Regulation No. 12/2016 on collecting data on poor people.
   b. Unplugging and/or removing regulatory provisions governing the technical-administrative matters under the authority of the Mayor in order to avoid the overlapping of authority that hinders the Mayor's policymaking efforts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asselin, Louis-Marie and Anyck Dauphin (2001): Poverty Measurement: A Conceptual Framework, CECI.

Duncan, Ron and Steve Pollard (2002): A Framework for Establishing Priorities in a Country Poverty Reduction Strategy, ADB, ERD Working Paper Series No. 15.

Goulden, Chris (2010): Cycles of Poverty, Unemployment and Low Pay. UK, Policy and Research, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Marume, S. B. M., Chipo Mutongi, N.C. Madziyire (2016): An Analysis of Public Policy Implementation, IOSR Journal of Business and Management 18 (4, Ver. I).

McCatson, M. Katherine and Michael Rewald (2005): Unifying Framework for Poverty Eradication & Social Justice, CARE.

McCawley, Peter (2014): Joko Widodo's Indonesia Possible Future Paths, Australian Strategy Policy Institute (ASPI).

Mouhammed, Adil H. (2011): Important Theories of Unemployment and Public Policies. Journal of Applied Business and Economics 12 (5).

Qian, Liu Qian; Yu Man and Wang Xiao Lin (2015): Poverty Reduction within the Framework of SDGs and Post-2015 Development Agenda, KeAi Publishing.

Saunders, Peter (2002): The Direct and Indirect Effects of Unemployment on Poverty and Inequality. Sidney Social Policy Research Center, Discussion Paper No. 118.

Shaffer, Paul (2001): New Thinking on Poverty: Implications for Poverty Reduction Strategies, UNDESA, Papers for the Expert Group Meeting on Globalization and Rural Poverty.

Suharyadi, Asep; Daniel Suryadarma and Sudarno Sumarto (2006): Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction in Indonesia: The Effects of Location and Sectoral Components of Growth, Institute Working Paper.