COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT DISCOURSE IN THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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Abstract : This paper is a literature study on issues, concepts, and strategies for empowerment in the discourse of development in Indonesia. The discourse of community empowerment in Indonesia's national development, in principle, is not something new. Philosophically and normatively, the ideals of community empowerment as the goal of national development have been strengthened in the 1945 Constitution as the constitutional foundation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. However, at the practical level, these ideal goals are not implemented in the implementation of the national development program. Poverty and inequality are still crucial issues, even though the Reformation era, which represents a democratic government, has been running for two decades.

Keywords: national development, community empowerment, social justice, protective discrimination

INTRODUCTION

During the New Order era, the orientation of national development focused more on material achievements or economic development and paid less attention to human development. As a consequence, development is more capital intensive, placing money and the owners of capital as the central role holders. The failure of the development strategy implemented by the New Order government has left a traumatic experience for the Indonesian people. The program, which was initially considered successful in increasing the country's economic growth rate, ultimately left several social, cultural, economic, and political problems that must be suffered by the Indonesian people. Poverty, unemployment, and crime rates continue to go up, as a result of the inability and wrong strategy adopted by the government in national development policies.

Development policies and programs that are economically biased have resulted in development activities tending to be elitist. This phenomenon is often referred to as "distorted development"

(Midgley, 1995), namely development which only involves and is oriented towards a certain small group of people, who are strong politically and economically. Meanwhile, some Indonesian people who are economically and politically helpless are marginalized from the development arena. This was a growth-oriented trickle-down effect development strategy and became a mainstay in the development policies of the New Order rulers at that time.

The issue of equality that has become the jargon of development in the past is national idealism that cannot be realized, in which most of the Indonesian people live in limitations. Even though the poverty data statistically at that time experienced a sharp decline reaching the level of 11.3 percent or 22.5 million people in 1996 (the end of the New Order era), the community was helpless and less involved in social, political, economic and society in general (Suharto, 2006). The authoritarian style of the New Order government forces most of the people to become passive recipients of various government policies, without being able to actively involve themselves in decision making, even if it involves their fate and future.

The end of the New Order government regime, leaving several social, economic, and political problems, has become "homework" for the government in the Reformation era and all stakeholders to reorganize national development activities that have suffered destruction. A long series of consequences for the failure of the development program continues. This can be seen from the development of socio-economic problems that have not been adequately controlled so far. For example, in early 2000 the number of poor people increased sharply to 49.5 million (24.2 percent of the total population). Then, in 2019, after two decades of the Reformation era, poverty conditions did not change much. Based on the Indonesian SDGs fact sheet, there are still 22.76 people living below the national poverty line. The three provinces with the highest poverty rates are NTT, Papua, and West Papua (Ministry of National Development Planning / Bappenas, 2019). The latest data released by the World Bank of the 270.2 million population of Indonesia, around 26.42 million people still live below the poverty line. Without a significant expansion of social assistance, 5.5-8 million Indonesians will increase the number of poor people due to the COVID-19 disruption.

The great potential of Indonesian human resources and natural resources cannot guarantee the achievement of the people's welfare nor can it elevate the dignity of a nation that is currently getting worse in the eyes of the world. What should the Indonesian people do in the future to improve the condition of Indonesia which was badly damaged? Even though, the issue of empowerment is considered to be the right way out to reconstruct the development of today's society, but where should it start? Empowerment programs for individuals and communities, in general, have been going on, but the tangible results of these programs are not yet visible. People still do not have enough access to the resources they need, including economy, politics, education, law, and so on. This suggests that there are still structural obstacles that prevent people from getting fair opportunities in the various fields of life mentioned above.

Community empowerment is a major issue in today's national development programs and orientation. The emergence of this community-based development model is not only based on the

experience of the failure of Indonesia's national development strategies and policies in the past but also the experiences of developed countries which then encourage a reorientation and change in development paradigms from the economy as a central to humans as the main center. development (Goudzwaard, Lange, Strong, 2001).

In a development model that is centered on capital, technology, machines, and money are the main instruments in development activities, human involvement only reaches a small part of those who belong to the group of capital owners, political rulers, experts, and a small group of people as production forces. Ultimately, this kind of development strategy creates dehumanization; human beings who lose their soul, initiative, are passive, and powerless. How many members of the community do not enjoy economic opportunities (jobs), politics, education, social services, and other public services, because they do not have access to these resources.

Meanwhile, the human-centered development model places humans as the initiator and goal of development itself. In this model, development is considered to be more than just an economic result that grows simply and is undivided. Korten (2001) defines people-centered development as follows:

Development is the process by which members of a community increase their individual and institutional capacity to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and equitable improvements in the quality of life according to their aspirations. (Korten, 2001: 110).

The above definition emphasizes that the development process and its intrinsic focus lies in individual and institutional capacities. Therefore, development must consider the origin of equity, sustainability, and inclusion. Only the people themselves can determine what they consider to be an improvement in their quality of life. In the Reformation era, it is hoped that social transformation will occur related to the orientation of development programs that rely on economic strength and the central role of capital owners towards a community-based development model (community empowerment). To actualize these changes, a government commitment is needed to create conditions that are in favor of the welfare of the people. As stated by Paiva (in Tangdilintin, 1999), there are four important aspects needed to support the achievement of community empowerment efforts: structural change, socio-economic integration, institutional development, and reform. This means that individual empowerment without changing the four aspects above will fail.

Literature Review

Development and Empowerment Issues in Indonesia

Development is the keyword in the process of changing society towards the desired progress in all areas of life. The success of the development program does not stop at achieving material prosperity or achieving high economic growth, but also that the material prosperity that has been achieved must be able to meet the welfare of all members of society (equality of result). Besides, community participation (social participation) must have an adequate place in the development process, which has implications for achieving prosperity. Development cannot be said to be successful if the

prosperity achieved is only dedicated to the interests and is the product of the activities of a small group of people. Thus, development is a process of humanizing life.

According to Korten (2001), development transformation must be able to solve three basic problems:

1. The issue of justice, namely that all people must have the opportunity to work so that they can live properly.
2. The problem of the sustainability of natural resources, that is, each generation must maintain natural resources for life in the future.
3. The problem of participation, namely development must provide opportunities for all groups of society to participate and contribute their energy and thoughts.

By touching on the three basic issues above, development is a process that focuses on the interests of the people (people-centered development), both the process and the outcome. Development is no longer a government project presented to the people or a foreign government project that provides loans to poor countries but is a movement of all components of society.

Entering the new Indonesian era, development is designed to encourage efforts to strengthen civil society. Therefore, development program policies must be oriented towards community empowerment efforts. The priority of development programs in the economic, political, educational, health, social and cultural fields is directly aimed at empowering the community as a whole. Meanwhile, the material success achieved is a consequence of an optimally empowered society.

Based on these thoughts, empowerment efforts must cover three sides. First, creating an atmosphere or climate that allows individual potential to develop. This means that every person naturally has the potential that can be developed towards a better life. Second, strengthening the economic potential of individuals. To strengthen this potential, efforts that need to be done are to increase the level of education, health status, and access to sources of economic progress such as capital, technology, information, employment, and markets. Third, empowerment through family economic development means trying to protect to prevent unbalanced competition, as well as creating togetherness and partnerships between the developed and the underdeveloped.

The government is a facilitator and motivator of the community development movement. The success of the national development program as a whole will very much depend on the ability to develop the community. In this regard, this paper seeks to explore the role of government in strengthening the three sides of empowerment above. To what extent do government policies in development programs provide space for the community, especially the poor, to have equal access and opportunities in the socio-economic field, which in turn can achieve the goal of community empowerment based on social justice?

Empowerment Concepts and Strategies

According to Webster and the Oxford English Dictionary, the word empowerment contains two definitions, namely: (1) to give power or authority to or to give power, transfer power or delegate authority to other parties; (2) to give the ability to or enable or an effort to give ability or

empowerment. Meanwhile, according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, empowerment is an effort to make something capable or powerful. Thus, empowerment or empowerment is an effort to make individuals or community groups independent through the realization and strengthening of existing potentials.

The concept of empowerment began to become a development discourse when people began to question the meaning of development. In Europe, the discourse of empowerment arose when industrialization created a society that ruled the factors of production and a society that controlled workers. In developing countries, discourse on empowerment arises when development causes social disinteraction, economic inequality, degradation of natural resources, and the alienation of society from production factors by the authorities.

The concept of empowerment was born as an antithesis to the development model and industrialization model which did not favor the majority of the people. This concept is built from a logical framework as follows: (1) that the process of concentration of power is built from the concentration of control over factors of production; (2) the concentration of power in the factors of production will give birth to a working society and a society with marginal entrepreneurs; (3) power will build superstructure or knowledge systems, political systems, legal systems, and manipulative ideologies to strengthen and legitimize; and (4) co-optation of knowledge systems, legal systems, political systems, and ideology, which will systematically create two groups of people, namely people with disabilities and people with disabilities (Projono and Pranarka, 1996). In the end what happened was a dichotomy, namely ruling society and ruling humans. To free the situation of control and control, liberation must be carried out through a process of empowerment for those under control (empowerment of the powerless).

Empirical experiences and historical experiences from this dichotomous socio-economic format have given rise to various views on empowerment. **The first view**, empowerment is the destruction of power or power to nobody. This view is based on the belief that power has alienated and destroyed humans from their existence. Therefore, to restore human existence and save humans from isolation and oppression, power must be abolished. **The second view**, empowerment is the distribution of power to everyone (power to everybody). This view is based on the belief that centralized power will cause abuse and tend to alienate the normative rights of people who are not in power or under control. Therefore, power must be distributed to everyone, so that everyone can actualize themselves. **The third view**, empowerment is strengthening the weak without destroying the strong. This view is the most moderate view of the other two views. This view is the antithesis of power to nobody and power to everybody. According to this view, Power to nobody is an impossibility, and power to everybody is chaos and anarchy. Therefore, according to the third view, the most realistic is the power to powerless.

The three views above have a significant effect on the concept and practice of empowerment. In the field, there are at least 3 empowerment concepts. **The first concept**, the empowerment that only dwells on **'leaves'** and **'twigs'** or conformist empowerment. Since the social structure, economic

structure, and economic structure have been considered given, empowerment is an attempt at how disabled people must adjust to what has been given. The form of action from this concept changes the mental attitude of the disabled people and the provision of compensation, such as providing capital assistance, building educational infrastructure, and the like. This concept is often referred to as a magical paradigm.

The second concept, the empowerment that only dwells on the **"trunk"** or reformist empowerment. This means, in general, the social, economic, political, and cultural order has no problem. The problem is with operational policies. Therefore, empowering this style is changing from top-down to bottom-up, while developing human resources, strengthening institutions, and the like. This concept is often referred to as the naïve paradigm.

The third concept, empowerment which only dwells on **'roots'** or structural empowerment. Because society's powerlessness is caused by political, economic, and socio-cultural structures, which do not provide space for weak communities to share power in the economic, political, and socio-cultural fields, this structure must be reviewed. That is, empowerment is only understood as overturning the existing order. All orders are considered to be wrong and therefore must be destroyed, such as facilitating the people to fight against the government, provoking the poor to fight against the rich and/or businessmen, and the like. In short, the concept of community empowerment which only dwells on the roots is overthrowing the powerful. This third concept is often referred to as the critical paradigm.

In a Marxist perspective, community empowerment is a process of struggle for powerless people to obtain surplus value as their normative right (See Johnson, 2008). The struggle to obtain surplus value is carried out through the distribution of control over production factors. And the struggle to distribute control over the factors of production must be carried out through political struggles. Meanwhile, according to Friedmann (1992), empowerment must start from the household. Household empowerment is empowerment that includes social, political, and psychological aspects. Social empowerment is an effort to make weak households gain access to information, access to knowledge and skills, access to participate in social organizations, and access to financial resources. Political empowerment is an attempt at how weak households have access to public decision-making processes that affect their future. Meanwhile, psychological empowerment is an effort to build self-confidence in weak households. In principle, empowerment is strengthening the community to be able to participate in the decision-making process that affects their future, strengthening the community to be able to obtain production factors, and strengthening the community to be able to determine their future choices.

From various views on the concept of empowerment, it can be concluded that community economic empowerment is strengthening ownership of production factors, strengthening control over distribution and marketing, strengthening the community to get adequate wages/wages, and strengthening society to obtain information, knowledge, and skills, which must be carried out in multi-aspects, both from the aspect of the community itself, as well as aspects of the policy.

However, the strategic issues and issues of the community's economy are local and specific, so that the concept and operation of community economic empowerment cannot be formulated generically. Efforts to formulate concepts, approaches, and operational forms of community economic empowerment in a generic manner are indeed important, but what is far more important is a clear shared understanding of the characteristics of the problem of community powerlessness in the economic field. Because with a clear understanding of this, it will be more productive in formulating concepts, approaches, and operational forms of community economic empowerment following the characteristics of local problems.

Community economic empowerment that is quite realistic for disabled workers is through affirmative action (for example, subsidies for education for disabled people) in the field of education. To carry out affirmative action for disabled people, the government must have funds. To get funds, it can be done through fiscal policy, for example with a progressive tax.

Sumodiningrat (1999), argues that the concept of economic empowerment includes:

1. A people's economy is an economy that is run by the people. The economy run by the people is that the national economy is rooted in the potential and strength of the people at large to run the wheels of their economy. The definition of the people is all citizens.
2. Empowerment of the people's economy is an effort to make the economy strong, large, modern, and highly competitive in the right market mechanism. Since the constraints on people's economic development are structural constraints, the people's economic empowerment must be carried out through structural changes.
3. The structural change referred to is a change from a traditional economy to a modern economy, from a weak economy to a strong economy, from a subsistence economy to a market economy, from dependence to independence. The steps of the structural change process include (1) allocating resources for the empowerment of resources; (2) institutional strengthening; (3) mastery of technology; and (4) empowerment of human resources.
4. Empowerment of the people's economy is not enough just to increase productivity, provide equal business opportunities, and only provide capital injection as a stimulus, but it must be guaranteed that there are close cooperation and partnership between the advanced and the weak and underdeveloped.
5. The policies for empowering the people's economy are (1) providing greater opportunities or access to production assets (particularly capital); (2) strengthening the position of the people's economic business transactions and partnerships, so that people's economic actors are not just price takers; (3) education and health services; (4) strengthening small industries; (5) encouraging the emergence of new entrepreneurs; and (6) spatial equalization.
6. Community empowerment activities include: (1) increasing access to business capital assistance; (2) increasing access to human resources development; and (3) increasing access to facilities and infrastructure that directly support the local community's socio-economy.

From the six main points regarding the concept of community empowerment, it can be concluded that:

a. Community empowerment cannot be done only through the leaf approach, or only branches, or only stems, or only roots; because the problems faced exist in each aspect;

b. Community empowerment in the economic sector is not enough just to provide revolving capital, but also to strengthen community economic institutions, strengthen human resources, provide infrastructure, and strengthen their bargaining position.;

c. Community empowerment in the economic field or strengthening the people's economy, must be carried out elegantly without hindering and discriminating against strong economies; For this reason, partnerships between micro, small and medium enterprises, and large businesses are the way to go;

d. Community empowerment in the economic field is a process of strengthening the people's economy towards a strong, modern, efficient people's economy; and (5) community empowerment in the economic field, not through an individual approach, but a group approach.

METHOD

This study is based on literature and documents regarding community empowerment policies in order to promote social welfare as one of the main objectives of national development. The author conducts a desk review of the concepts and content of laws relevant to this topic, and uses the document as secondary data related to the implementation of community empowerment programs. The results of the desk review and secondary data analysis are then combined to see the suitability of concepts, policies, and implementation of empowerment programs in Indonesia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In Indonesia, community empowerment is the main concern of development goals today, especially when the development model that is centered on money or capital fails to provide the welfare guarantees it promises to all citizens of society. Community-centered development then emerged, as an alternative to shifting conventional development models. This alternative model places people's creative initiatives as the main development resource. Meanwhile, material and spiritual well-being is the goal the development process seeks to achieve. This conception is a criticism of the shortcomings of conventional development models, both socialist and capitalist, which focus too much attention on production so that the needs of the production system take a more prominent place than the needs of society.

The strengthening of the issue of democratization and the spirit of civil society has resulted in people getting a wider place, at least in expressing their aspirations and needs which are the foundation for national development policies. In this context, the discourse of community empowerment needs to be contextualized into development policies. Thus, the national development policy does not only function as a standard and enforcement that ensures equal opportunities for everyone but is also

able to provide space for community empowerment, both in its formulation, implementation strategy, and program content.

The powerlessness experienced by a group of people has become a fairly heated academic discussion and discourse in this decade. Certain groups that experience discrimination in a society, such as low economic class, ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities, and so on, are generally people who experience helplessness. According to Berger and Nenhaus (1977), "mediating structures" that allow weak groups to express aspirations and demonstrate their ability to the broader social environment are now likely to weaken.

The emergence of industrialization which gave birth to specialization in work and mobile work has weakened the institutions that can act as a linking structure between the weak and the wider community. Social organizations, religious institutions, and family institutions which have traditionally been natural institutions that can provide informal support and assistance, solve problems and meet the needs of their members, tend to weaken their role. Therefore, the economic system that is manifested in various forms of physical development projects, on the one hand, can improve the quality of life of a group of people, but also often marginalizes certain groups in society.

According to Sennet & Cobb (1972), powerlessness is caused by several factors, such as lack of economic security, inexperience in the political arena, lack of access to information, lack of financial support, lack of training, and physical and emotional tension. Meanwhile, Empowerment is defined as the giving or increasing of power (power) to people who are weak or disadvantaged (disadvantage). Jim Ife (1955) states that empowerment refers to efforts to reallocate power through changing social structures. Meanwhile, Swift and Levin (1987) state that empowerment is a way in which people, organizations, and communities are directed to be able to control their lives.

In the human services literature, the definition of empowerment has several dimensions. First, a development process that begins with individual growth and culminates in greater social change. Second, a psychological condition characterized by an increase in feelings of self-esteem, efficiency, and control. Third, the liberation generated by social movements, which starts from education and politicization of community powerlessness, then involves collective efforts from being powerless to gain power and changing structures that are still oppressive (Suharto, 1997).

The implementation of the process and the achievement of empowerment goals are carried out and achieved through the implementation of empowerment strategies. Empowerment can be done through three approaches (Suharto, 1997):

1. Micro approach. Empowerment is carried out on individuals through guidance, counseling, stress management, crisis intervention. The main goal is to guide or train individuals in carrying out life tasks. This model is often called a task-centered approach.
2. The mezzo approach. Empowerment is carried out using groups as a medium of intervention. Education and training, group dynamics, are usually used as a strategy in increasing the awareness, knowledge, skills, and attitudes of individuals to have the ability to solve the problems they face.

3. Macro approach. This approach is called a large-system strategy because the target of change is directed at the broader ecological system. Policy formulation, social planning, campaigns, social action, lobbying, community organizing, and development are some of the strategies in this approach. Empowerment includes access to resources and the capacity to use these resources effectively. Access to these resources can only be accomplished if there is equal opportunity for everyone and at the same time reflects the realization of the principle of social justice as one of the main foundations of national development. Thus, to accelerate the realization of community empowerment efforts, a fair regulatory (policy) mechanism is needed, which allows everyone to have the same opportunity (equality of opportunity) to the resources that are the livelihood of Indonesian citizens.

The spirit of creating equal opportunities, which is one of the indicators of development with social justice, has been normatively stated in several articles/paragraphs of the amended 1945 Constitution, which is the constitutional foundation of the Indonesian State. For example, in article 27 paragraph 2 "Every citizen has the right to work and a living that is decent for humanity." Article 28H paragraph 2 "Everyone has the right to receive special facilities and treatment to get the same opportunities and benefits to achieve equality and justice." Article 31 paragraph 1 "Ready citizens have the right to education", paragraph 2 "Every citizen is obliged to attend basic education and the government is obliged to pay for it." Article 34, paragraph 2, "The state develops a social security system for all the people and empowers people who are and are not able to be in accordbygnity", paragraph 3 "The state is responsible for the provision of adequate health service facilities and public service facilities. and there are many other articles in the 1945 Constitution which are the rethatof amendments. This means that conceptually and morally the current reform order government is quite concerned about the interests of all citizens.

But in its implementation, the spirit of building equality and social justice is not accompanied by a policy mechanism that regulates citizens' rights in various fields of life to be realized equitably and socially justice. Instead, what happens is la iberala -style free competition, in which strong citizens win and gain more privileges than weak citizens.

Until now, to obtain rights in the fields of education, employment, health, politics, housing, and aspects of people's welfare in general, as variables thareinforceor the creation of an empowered (powerful) society, is left to the market mechanism. . Meanwhile, the government stands as a 'referee' who often favors the strong and ignores the rights of the weak. For example, Article 31 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution and Article 5 of the National Education Law states that "Every citizen has the same right to obtain an education." This law only addresses the rights of citizens who are ideally the same. But in reality, the socio-economic opportunities to get an education, especially favorite schools differ from one another, depending on the socioeconomic status of a person or family.

In various areas of life, economy, politics, health services, and other public services, people must compete freely without any regulation of the fundamental differences that occur to the parties involved (competitors). Of course, this kind of liberal-style competition will produce strong winners. Meanwhile, the government is only the supervisor of the running of the competition and there has

been no significant effort to establish a regulatory mechanism so that the competition runs healthily and fairly so that the goal of empowerment and equal opportunity for all citizens can be achieved effectively.

Protective discrimination is a term put forward by Kolenda about empowerment programs for the lower classes (Harijan caste and isolated tribes) in India (Kolenda, 1985. The concept of protective discrimination is positive, namely, discrimination is aimed at providing protection. against the weak from the domination of the strong, so that equal opportunities and community empowerment can be achieved at the same time. This kind of discrimination also applies in the world of sports (Gardono, 1993, 2015), where the physically weak (women and people with disabilities) separate matches are held. In fact, in some sports, for example, boxing, there is a division based on body weight. They compete with each other and get a gold medal. This shows that equal opportunity and fairness in sports is reflected in the existence of a separation of matches between groups. different to strength physically. Without this separation, all the gold medals could only be won by male athletes. Likewise, in social, economic, and political life, justice can only be realized if there are social arrangements that allow for inclusive social participation for all groups of society.

CONCLUSION

Weaknesses and failures of development strategies that ignore the importance of empowerment must be corrected quickly and appropriately. Public expectations for the Government in the Reformation era are very high to be able to bring the Indonesian people out of adversity. Community empowerment policies must be a strategic development priority to restructure social, economic, and political conditions as a whole. The manifestation of community empowerment is significantly influenced by the political will (political will) of the government. Therefore, state intervention in the form of application of "protective discrimination" is very urgent to be applied in Indonesia, if these citizens are to be truly empowered.

This intervention can be implemented, among others, in the form of laws or other regulatory mechanisms that stipulate the provision of rations to groups of society who are weak or weakened in the fields of education, economy, politics, health services, and other public services proportionally. In some cases, this kind of policy has indeed begun to be implemented, although the results have not shown significant changes. For example, in the field of politics, the involvement of women in politics has begun to be paid attention to the necessity for every political party to at least nominate women to become members of the legislature at least 30 percent of all proposed candidates for legislative members (caleg). However, the 'affirmative action' program which protects women with a share of 30 percent as a legislative candidate is considered not to side with women, because the chance and proportion of them to become members of the legislature are still low. This is possible because the law that regulates it does not guarantee that women are elected as members of the legislature, but only as a candidate.

The rationing program as a manifestation of efforts to equal opportunities and empower communities should also be implemented in all important areas which are the needs of all communities. They, especially the weak can only meet their needs through intervention or facilitation carried out by the state. With the quota system for the weak, the state is demanded not only as a referee to arrange matches between weak and strong parties but must create a new system that separates "social matches" between weak and strong groups. If real efforts like this are not carried out, it seems that community empowerment is only running as far as moral ideals and the Indonesian people will continue to hope without getting out of the problem.

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