IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY OF REGIONAL EXPANSION IN NORTH MAMUJU REGENCY OF WEST SULAWESI

Implementasi Kebijakan Pemekaran Daerah di Kabupaten Mamuju Utara Sulawesi Barat

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ABSTRAK

This study aims to: (1) Analyze and explain the stages of the implementation of the policy of regional expansion, and (2) analyze and explain the factors that support the implementation of the policy of regional expansion, in order to support national integration in North Mamuju Regency of West Sulawesi Province.

This research is a kind of exploratory research using qualitative analysis approach. Data collection carried through; observation, interviews, and documents. Informant research include; Assistant I, II, III, Assistant to the Preparatory Committee the establishment of district (PPPK), head of the Central Bureau of statistics, the head of the Agency for the unity of the nation, the head of the Office library, Archives, and documents, the head of the Department of organization and Personnel, the head of the General section of the Secretariat of the Parliament, members of Religious Communication Forum (FKUB), the leadership of Dharma Wanita, professors, students, and community leaders. While the data analysis done in a descriptive qualitative. Technique of data analysis is interactive analysis: Data collection, (2) Data reduction, (3) Data Display, and (4) the Conclusion/verification. This is intended to give description in a systematic, factual and actual against objects that are examined. Research results show that; (1) the policy implementation stages of the extraction region North Mamuju Regency has been implemented in accordance with the legislation governing the extraction of such areas; the establishment of local governance devices, preparation of the vision and mission, the preparation of regional development strategies, and preparation of the regional development programs, and the factors that support the implementation of regional expansion policy is the existence of natural resources, capital investment (investment), infrastructure, transport and communications, openness toward outsiders, and support public (community).

Keywords: Policy, Implementation of The Expansion Area, National Integration.
I. INTRODUCTION

Before the birth of the reform movement of the year 1998, the authority of the Central Government of the Republic of Indonesia Unity Country under control of the regime (ruler) of the new order was dominant, as authoritarian leadership, the implementation of national development policies, as well as placing the regional government only as an extension of the hand of the Central Government. State, by Malley (Dwiyanto, 2004) is said to be; an effort embodies centripetal powers, i.e. the power is a very one-sided, overly favoring the interests of the Central Government and little regard for the interests of local governments.

The powers of the new order regime are so dominant, authoritarian, bureaucratic, and implementation of, the centripetal pushing several areas in Indonesia, especially the area that has a wealth of natural resources such as; Aceh, Riau and Papua do a weapon of resistance in the form of a separatist movement (struggle broke away) from the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (SO).

The birth of the separatist movement caused local governments feel treated unfair or discriminatory by the Central Government, Agustono (2005) and the Argama (2005). In addition, according to the results of the research Moehtadi (2002) and Arman (2004) shows; in some areas there are various phenomena of social cultural and economic life which creates a time bomb, and then after the Reformation erupted in various forms of horizontal conflicts with motives or sentiment of tribal, religious, racial, and class (SARA), and social injustice, economic, cultural, as well as such political cases; Sampit, Sambas, Banyuwangi, Ambon, Aceh, Irian Jaya and Poso.

Another very fundamental changes are the existence of political policy did the amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 which then serve as the constitutional juridical foundation in building a new paradigm system's attempt and the Government in Indonesia. In the system of governance, in particular regarding local government, government reforms on aspects of the relationship of power between the Central Government and local government through Act No.: 22 Year 1999 regarding local governance, where local governments obtain assignments and the broader authority in carrying out the Affairs of Government and is no longer fully dependent on the Central Government.

However, the inception of the law 23-year 2004 about local governance, is the amendment of Act No.: 22 Year 1999, as a substitute for the legislation number: 5 years 1974, not only have an impact on the development of democracy in Indonesia, but also give rise to a variety of conditions (instability) political instability which could threaten the national integration of different preconceived notions against resulting from implementation of the autonomous region. This presumption of difference then exploited by interest groups or political opponents of the Government elite to pursue political interests. As a result of the political interests of the collide took place between a group of pro status quo, reformist, and elite groups that feel marginalized (declassee).
Research results Argama (2005) and Irtanto (2008) showed that the collide political interests as described above gives birth to a vertical conflict at central level involving parties and political elite with the aim of discrediting each other through issues; the upholding of the rule of law and human rights, democratization, decentralization, regional autonomy, as well as the eradication of corruption, collusion, Nepotism with the people's interests on behalf of.

While at the local level gave birth to various horizontal conflicts due to the various local political elite between teammate especially elite declassee (marginalized). A series of such political results from the difference in perception between political forces and interests in the capture sources of power at the local level.

Various strategies the struggle carried out by the actors or the local political elite to fight for his argument in the effort of the expansion areas, such as: (1) political lobby that aims to create imaging that they matter against the service and the public welfare and (2) mass mobilization, through the formation of public opinion to convince the public that with the expansion of the regional social welfare will be increased (Paskarina & Mariana, 2008).

On the other hand, demands and insistence of a very strong community along with the development of reform is; the Government of acre-breadth of opportunities open to all elements and elements of society to participate and supervise the implementation of the program a national development. The essence of the participatory development according to Nasrun (2007) is; the development is carried out by: (1) to optimize the implementation of management functions, (2) actualize behavior publicity (transparency, accountability, consistency, legal certainty), and (3) air-orientation on increased Independence, credibility, partner, and excellence.

With respect to the implementation of decentralization and regional autonomy in Indonesia, Syaukani dkk., (2005) States; the implementation of decentralization and regional autonomy can create a democratic Government and political stability at the local level which then affects political stability nationwide. While Sharpe (in Syaukani et al., 2005) stated that; Indeed, the stability of national politics is basically originated from political stability at the level of the regional (local).

Based on the research results and the statement of the experts above, clearly shows many of the expansion of the provincial, district, and city in Indonesia colored by; the existence of reaction pro (agree) and cons (don't agree) and the attraction of interest between elite groups. This condition is stabilized and led to an escalation of the conflict and the political temperature horizontal at the local level, such as the case of Mambi on extraction and Mamasa Regency Atambua in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Tanggara. Horizontal conflicts that occurred in the area of the expansion caused by the existence of a threat from each group who agree and disagree, as well as the existence of a mass mobilization by tribal sentiments even death threats (Agustono, 2005), and the phenomenon of the expansion area as this may lead to the birth of various horizontal conflicts at the local level that can threaten the stability of national life and integration (Argama, 2005).

The enactment of Law Number 32 year 2004: that has been perfected by Act number: 12 years 2008 and Government
Regulation number: 78 Years 2007, then the proposed expansion of the provincial, district, and city in Indonesia through the stages very heavy and tight. Any proposed expansion areas must meet the requirements of the administrative, technical, and physical ability of the cantonal Parliament, supported by human resources and natural resources, as well as through visitasi processes and legislation. As a result, many of the proposed expansion of the provincial, district, and City experience various barriers so that has not been approved by the Government, such as the proposals; the expansion of the North Kalimantan, Luwuk Banggai Regency expansion into Eastern Sulawesi, South Tapanuli, Province and Southwest province of Papua, Nugraha (2008), as well as some of the proposed extraction Regency in East Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, and North Maluku.

Much of the new expansion in Indonesia that fail implementation policy in the fields of politics, economy, social and culture fit the demands and expectations of the community. The new expansion areas generally fail in: (1) building structure and political infrastructure, (2) Eradicating corruption, collusion, and Nepotism and running a democratic Government, (3) improve the PAD and GDP, (4) improve services and community welfare, (5) Reducing social gap culture, and (6) development of cultural values of local communities. This condition causes the occurrence of various horizontal conflicts which not only disrupts the stability of society, but also life threatening national integration, Bappenas (2007).

The reality of the expansion North Mamuju Regency of reaction pro cons as well as the existence of a wide range of vertical and horizontal conflicts which occurred since the year 1970-80s until the year 2000, which is predicated on issues: (1) political, such as; political and policy development in North Luwu, the interests of the local political elite-elite, the conflict of interest between Central and local elite, elite-access the local political elite are experiencing stagnation, as well as law enforcement are not decisive in resolving various conflicts primarily defense, (2) economic, such as; mastery and the utilization of natural resources, the existence of economic disparity, limited employment opportunities, as well as the problem of low income per capita,

(1) Social and culture such as; conflicts, disputes between the migrants and the native population, harmony between religious life, and (4) the development of local arts and culture less noticed by the local government (anonymous, 2003).

Key issues examined in this study, formulated as follows:(1) how to implementations stages of the expansion policy area? and (2) what factors that support the implementation of the policy of regional expansion? The urgency of research is as a source of data and information, input materials in order to carry out the expansion North Mamuju Regency of West Sulawesi province who guided the legislation Number 32 Year 2004 that has been perfected by law number 12 of the year 2008 and the Government Regulation number: 129 Year 2000. North Mamuju Regency of West Sulawesi province was formed in January 2003 through Act No.: 7 Year 2003, formerly a part of Mamuju Regency. North Mamuju Regency with an area of 6,994.88 km², consisting of 11 Sub-districts with a total population of 219,202, as well as have the potential of natural resources varied, BPS (2007), selected as a location for research with consideration:
The structure of the society is very heterogeneous in terms of tribes, ethnicities, cultures and there are customs, religion, language, region of origin, as well as socio-economic background, and

The extraction area North Mamuju Regency optimally satisfies the various requirements of the administrative, technical, physical and territorial as set in Law Number 32 Year 2004 and Government Regulation number: 129 Year 2000.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

1. Approach and the types of Research

This research is exploratory research type belongs, whereas the approach used is descriptive qualitative approach. This is intended to give description in a systematic, factual and actual against objects that are examined. According to Sugiyono (2005: 1).

2. Data sources and Informants Research

Data source this study netted of the primary data sources are:

(a) Assistant I, Assistant II (b), (c) Assistant III, and (d) a member of the Preparatory Committee the establishment of district (PPPK).

Regular informants included: (a) the head of the BPS, (b) the head of the Agency for the unity of the nation, (c) Head Office library, (d) Archives, and documents,

(e) the head of the Organization and Staffing, (f) the head of the General Secretariat of the PARLIAMENT, Section (g) members of Religious Communication Forum (FKUB),

(h) the leadership of Dharma Wanita, (i) (j) professors, students, and community leaders (k).

3. Description of The Focus of The Research

(1) Stages of implementation of the policy of the expansion area with indicators: (1) regarding a device local governance, (2) preparing the district's vision and mission, (3) the preparation of the regional development strategies, and (4) preparation of regional development programs.

(2) Factors supporting the implementation of the policy of the expansion area with indicators:

(3) capacity of natural resources, (2) capital investment (investment), (3) infra-structure of transport and communications, (4) openness towards foreigners, and

(4) (5) support public (community).

(5) A form of implementation of the policy of the expansion area with indicators are:

(6) In the field of politics with the Predictor includes the following: (a) the development of political structures and infrastructure, (b) transparency and accountability of Government, (c) reel role and active participation of communities, (d) freedom of political association, and (e) the enforcement of the rule of law and human rights (human rights), and (f) the political stability. (2) in the field of Economics with the Predictor includes the following:

(a) accelerating the construction of structures and economic infrastructure, (b) management of natural resources potential, (c) increased employment, (d) an increase in the per-capita income, (e) the gross regional domestic product (GDP), as well as

(f) the original regional revenue (PAD). (3) in the field of socio-cultural predictor covers with: (a) the construction of
the harmony of life between residents, (b) berku-socio-cultural gaps, (c) improved quality of education, (d) the capability of structuring territory and isolated groups of people empowerment, (e) the development of the cultural values of local communities, and (f) utilization local wisdom in resolving various problems.

4. Research Instrument
Research instrument is the researchers themselves. Researchers as an instrument of research using multiple fittings which include: (a) guidelines for interviewing, observation Sheets (b), and (c) a record of the document.

5. Data Collection techniques and Attestation
According to Moleong (2000) validity of inspection techniques data in qualitative research as follows: (a) Credibility (credibility), (b) Transferabilitas (transferability), (c) Dependent (dependability), and (d) Confirmabilities (confirmability).

6. The Analysis of Research Data
The idea that Miles and Huberman (1992) that the process of data analysis as follows: (a) Data collection (data collection) (b) Data reduction (reduction of data), (c) Data Display (presentation of data), and (d) Conclusion/verification (verification conclusion and withdrawal).

III. DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH RESULTS
North Mamuju Regency is a Regency of West Sulawesi new which is a result of the expansion of the North Mamuju Regency. The process of visitasi and legislation proposed the formation of the North Mamuju Regency refers to the requirements of the formation of a new district that is set up in article 5 paragraph (1) of the number: 22 years 1999 and article 3 the Government Regulation number: 129 Year 2000, namely; the ability of the economy, the potential of regions, socio-cultural, socio-political, population, area, and other considerations that allows this autonomous region. After considering the various requirements that formed the basis of the proposed extraction area North Mamuju Regency, finally approved the formation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia North Mamuju Regency through Act No.: 7 Year 2003 on the establishment of the North Mamuju Regency.

1. Stages of implementation of the policy of regional expansion
Based on the results of the research it is known that empirically real, demands and support toward the establishment of Mamuju Regency North pioneered by Concord Family Ties Pasang kayu (IKPAS), community leaders and students has been going on since the year 1998 and resumed in 2002 after the DPRD Mutual Mamuju Regency issued a resolution that appealed to the Central Government of the Republic of Indonesia through the Department of public and Regional Autonomous Government to divide the Regencies Mamuju into five Regencies, namely; Regencies Mamuju, Regencies Majene, Polewali Mandar Regencies, Mamuju Utara Regencies, and Regencies Mamasa. North Mamuju Regency of West Sulawesi province was formed in January 2003 through Act No.: 7 Year 2003, formerly a part of Mamuju Regency. North Mamuju Regency with an area of 6,994.88 km², consisting of 11 Sub-districts with a total population of 219,202, as well as have the potential of natural resources varied, BPS (2007).
The proposed establishment of Mamuju Regency North experiencing the challenges and barriers in 1987 and in 1993 due to the vertical and horizontal conflicts, i.e. between society and the community, and between the public and the Government.

At the time of the order of the reform, proposed the formation of the North Mamuju Regency intensively conducted with reference to the Act No.: 22 Year 1999 about local governance and Government Regulation number: 129 years 2000 about the requirements of the establishment and the expansion Criteria, deletion and Merging areas. The proposals process concluded with good due to increasingly strong demands and support community North Mamuju and visitasi process and legislation smoothly both at the level of local Government and North Mamuju Regency, parliament and the Government of the province of West Sulawesi, as well as at the level of the parliament and the Government of Republic of Indonesia.

Formally, the formation of the North Mamuju Regency specified by Act No.: 7 Year 2003, which at once became the legal basis for the policy implementation stages of the extraction region North Mamuju Regency, such as; the establishment of local governance devices, preparation of the vision and mission districts, the preparation of regional development strategies, and preparation of the regional development programs.

Based on the results of the research field noted that the establishment of local governance was affected with the device either because; the acting Regent was a socialite and sometime member of Special Committee Formation North Mamuju Regency, and has capability to lead North Mamuju. The physical handover operations of Government and the transfer of government assets has also done well due to the commonality of perceptions, attitudes, and interests of both local authorities. The formation of the Organization of Government and charging the Office implemented based on the interests and needs of the region, as well as the appropriate capabilities and competencies shared by prospective officials. Whereas the establishment of the regional House of representatives (DPRD), the election of the Regent and Vice Regent of North Mamuju Regency is exercised based on the rules governing the selection of legislation-a member of the legislature and the election of the head of the region.

Theoretically, the formulation of the vision, mission, and strategy North Mamuju Regency regional development based on the concept of development based on self-reliance or local advantage by making use of optimally whole potential and resources owned by the community and North Mamuju Regency such as; a very convenient geographical constellation and the diversity of natural resources.

Vision, mission, and strategy of regional development, as presented above, are formulated clearly and firmly in the medium-term development plan (RPJM I) and has been implemented in accordance with the periorbitas, goals, and objectives to be achieved, both physical and nonphysical development. It is supported by facts and data in field. The results of the observation and study of documents show that; District vision and mission can be realized, and development strategy on RPJM I prioritize physical development can be realized by local governments.

Based on the description of the above descriptions, clearly show that; formal and theoretical stages of policy implementation of the expansion North Mamuju Regency
area meets the requirements of the Constitution, as has been implemented in accordance with the provisions of the legislation which governs the expansion area, and the vision, mission, and strategy of regional development have been implemented based on theory and concepts of development formulated by the experts of development policy.

2. Factors that support the implementation of the policy of regional expansion

Based on research results, empirically known that facts that support the implementation of the policy of the expansion area is; the existence of natural resources potential, investing in the field of mining, forestry, fishing, and tourism, transportation and communication infrastructure development, openness toward outside parties so as to allow the relationships and cooperation with other cities and counties, as well as the presence of a very strong public support because it has the same perception in support of the vision, mission, and development North Mamuju Regency.

Theoretically, the success or failure of an implementation of the policy including the implementation of the policy of the expansion area is determined by the ability of the actors or implementing policies in leveraging and optimally manage a variety of constituents, as well as the existence of awareness of environmental constraints (norms, structure, organizational units, procedures, and sanctions) and the existence of the will and participation with to do collective designing.

From a variety of literature that discusses the implementation of the policy it was discovered that experts clearly argued policy factors supporting the implementation of policies, among others; communication between the organizations implementing the implementing policies, attitudes, resources, content and context of the policy, environment policy, which affects the blend of the necessary resources, the scope of the policy, the network of actors, community participation, and support the public (community).

In the implementation of the policy of regional expansion North Mamuju Regency, resource factors mainly natural resources, capital investment (investment), as well as transportation and communication infrastructure is supporting the implementation of the policy. North Mamuju Regency has a very natural resource sector of potential mining, agriculture, forestry, fishery, and tourism so that the many investors who have been cultivating a capital. Through the exploration and exploitation of natural resources, local governments can generate financial (finance) reasonably sufficient to support or finance the construction of transportation infrastructure and communications, as well as finance the entire policy implementation activities in various areas of development. This is according to Horwood and Gunn is the ability of implementing policy in combining the necessary resources and capabilities in analyzing the relationship of causality in the implementation of the policy.

In addition, the factors of openness toward outsiders and support public (community) strongly support the implementation of the policy of regional expansion. Local government North Mamuju Regency do various relationships and cooperation with the County and city as well as other universities in Indonesia. This is a manifestation of Grindle, according to an analysis of the interests and strategies of the actors to support the successful
implementation of the policy. According to Mazmanian and the cooperation relationship and Sabatier is an attempt to harness the authority owned structure process implementation through formal access from outside.

Public support (community) is one of the important factors that support the implementation of the policy of regional expansion North Mamuju Regency.

a. The ability of local government is the realization of the goals and objectives of the expansion area as well as improving public participation in the process of regional development gave birth to the presence of a very strong public support against the executors of policy as expressed by Elmore, Hjern, and O’Porter. The ability of local government North Mamuju Regency in managing and optimizing the entire implementation of the policy of supporting factors in the expansion region indicates that: Local governments can implement properly the classic theory of the State, namely; Optimizing the role of Government in development, including the role of improving the welfare of society. Local governments can redirect the attitude and ability of the executor, especially in understanding the content and context of the policy, increase the active participation of the community, as well as create communication between organizations implementing policies as expressed by Mazmanian and Sabatier, Van that Metter and Van Horn. Local governments can optimize all resources especially natural resources as well as integrating the resources required in the implementation of the policy as expressed by Edward III, Grindle, as well as Hoogwood and Gunn.

3. Support national integration
The policy of the expansion area (territorial reform) that was implemented in various countries in the world truly is a derivation (a direct result) of the results of the analysis of the geography of the constellations in relation to national interests, which by Eaton (1986) is locality development strategy efforts or regionalities. Based on the concept that the purpose of the expansion area is for; management or arrangement of the territory of the State, the establishment and maintenance of community awareness (nationalism), as well as strengthen national integration as expressed by Sack (1986), Kuiper and Kuiper (2000).

Just as the purpose of the extraction areas in other countries, the expansion areas in Indonesia also aimed to; shorten the span of control of the Government Administration, accelerate the development of democracy, improve services and community welfare, maintaining national integration and survival of the nation and the State Union of Republic of Indonesia (SO) as defined in Act No.: 22 Year 1999 as well as Law Number 32 Year 2004:

With respect to the purpose of the expansion area as set forth above, then the implementation policy of the expansion area North Mamuju Regency, local governments have been implementing various development policies in the political, economic, social and culture that is not only able to shorten the span of control of the Government Administration, accelerate the development of democracy, improve services and the welfare of society, but is also able to create a group feeling (solidarity groups or social solidarity) as defined by Ibn Khaldun in the "Muqaddimmah" such as; Unity, unity, tolerance, and cooperation throughout the Community element and a requirement for the realization of national integration.
As for indicators or parameters that support attainment of national integration in the North Mamuju Regency are: (1) the existence of the stability of life in society, (2) the absence of conflict (violence) physical, psychological and social, so that people feel safe doing the activities of everyday life,

(3) the growth of a sense of community and justice, and (4) the existence of cooperation and tolerance between the tribes, religious groups, and regional origin.

Furthermore, in order to realize the stability of community life as well as prevent the inception of horizontal conflicts caused by the existence of social and economic jealousy, then local governments accommodate the variety of demands and the interests of society or the local elite-elite, giving opportunities and equal opportunities to all citizens in the management of natural resources in order to improve the standard of living, as well as improve services to the community, especially the Ministry of population, health, and education without any exceptions.

On the other hand, North Mamuju Regency regional governments carry out various policies and activities that encourage the growth of a sense of community and justice, as well as cooperation and tolerance between the tribes, religious groups, and regional origin. Policies and activities are; the development of traditional art and culture of each community citizens of different origin area, conducting assimilation and acculturation, including marriage cross tribal and regional origin, the tabliq akbar attended by various religious, celebration of religious holidays, Lake party, party of the harvest, as well as activities performed at every major national day.

Theoretically, the successful implementation of the policy of regional expansion North Mamuju Regency in support of national integration caused by; implementing the policy of being able to use the appropriate policy implementation approaches and effective, i.e. combining approaches based on the country/Government (top down) and a community-centered approach (bottom up). Top down approach is influenced by the structural functional approach stresses the important role of the Parson Talkott country or Government in implementing various policies to the processes of unification (integration) elements of society into the realm of jurisdiction and control of the State.

While the approach centered on Community (bottom up), which pioneered R William Lidle viewed the question of national integration as a matter of horizontal integration between residents and the vertical integration of the elite mob. Integration is a togetherness, good camaraderie horizontally between the citizens of the community as well as vertically between the State and the community or between the Government and the people.

IV. CONCLUSION

1. Stages of implementation of the policy of regional expansion North Mamuju Regency has been carried out in accordance with legislation, namely Act No.: 22 years 1999 and Government Regulation number: 129 Year 2000 and meet the requirements of the administrative, technical, physical and territorial.

2. Factors that support the implementation of the policy of regional expansion North Mamuju Regency is; natural resources, capital investment (investment), infrastructure, transport and communications, openness toward
outsiders, and support public (community).

3. Implementation of the policy of regional expansion in support of national integration in the North Mamuju Regency, because: (a) attainment of social life stability, (b) the existence of the ease of obtaining public services, (c) increasing the quality of public services, and (d) the realization of integration in social life.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In drafting the RPJM II (2010-2015), the local government needs to prioritize the construction of physical infrastructure and facilities such as; electricity and telephone network, the Center for community service, the object and package tours, as well as roads and bridges that connect between the village and the Sub in order to open the degilation region (the region) and supports the economic growth and trade acceleration.

2. North Mamuju Regency local governments need to conduct mutually beneficial cooperation contract revision (win-win solution) with Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as already provided for in Act No.: 40 Year 2007 regarding limited liability company.

3. Given the potential and reserves of natural resources North Mamuju Regency is large enough, then in the exploration and exploitation of natural resources need to be:
   (a) pay attention to the safety and sustainability of the environment, (b) give the opportunity to the local labor force to work in various foreign companies,
   (c) raise the cooperation with the local, national, and international level, and (d) enhancing distribution and subsidies to the Group; small and medium enterprises, farmers and fishermen, the poor, as well as scholarships to help students.

4. In the framework of the construction and development of national integration are conducive to the implementation of development, then the local government needs to resolve the complexity of problems that can give birth to vertical and horizontal conflicts in society North Mamuju very heterogeneous aspect; ethnic, tribal, customs, language, religion, origin and areas, such as the sentiment of the tribe, religion, race and class (SARA) as well as land disputes. If it can be done well, can create such social solidarity; Unity, unity, tolerance, and cooperation in social life, as well as the adhesive becomes national integration as a whole and continuous (sustainable).

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