

BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM VS PEOPLE EMPOWERMENT POLICY: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM COCOA FARMER EMPOWERMENT POLICY IN SOUTH SULAWESI PROVINCE, INDONESIA

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Bureaucracy and community empowerment is a dilemma that occurs in public policy, because the bureaucracy as policy implementer has paced scalable mechanism and more oriented to the rules, while empowerment is a process of awareness and their involvement in decision-making so that they are enabled to organize their future. Such a process generally should not be constrained by the limitations of time and the parameters that are quantitative. This study seeks to uncover the bureaucratic system as a policy implementer of cocoa farmer empowerment and trying to find a policy model that can empower cocoa farmers in South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The study used a qualitative research method.

The results of this study indicated that the bureaucracy - from the national to local bureaucracy - run cocoa farmer empowerment policy by using bureaucratic system that rigid mechanisms and rules (rule oriented), so that community empowerment is project bureaucracy only - not a true community empowerment. Bureaucratic system as such does not allow the process of raising awareness and giving power to the poor. Cocoa farmer empowerment policy includes many actors or participants that they have an interest varied and even contradictory. The actors or participants include cocoa farmers who are members of the group formed by them to receive fund from the government, the central government as a provider of funds; government as executor; politicians to get votes; private for profit; banks as credit providers. Farmers group formed with other actors is not a means of resources sharing as to become of the goal of network -based organization. But, this group is just a forum to meet the interests of each actor. This group does not perform the function, structure, rules of conduct, power relations of organization that implement of policy network. Therefore, the model of empowerment policies offered in this study is an integrated model of empowerment policy that allows the bureaucracy can empower cocoa farmers as a group of people who are vulnerable to poverty.

Keywords: Bureaucratic system, Empowerment policy, Cocoa farmers empowerment, and Integrated model of empowerment policy.

Introduction

Among the many things done by the government, one of the most important things is to make policy (Cooper et.al, 1998: 157), because public policy is a "tool of intervention" or prescriptions to treat "diseases of public" and meeting the needs of the public. Various public policies made by the government so far for this, both centralized and decentralized nature. Centralization policy is a systematic effort to complete the decentralization policy, especially in terms of the empowerment of the poor. This policy is designed nationally without regard to the needs and capabilities as well as the characteristics of the local government, giving rise to various problems in the area.

The decentralization policy is the main format in governance in Indonesia. It is shown from the Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government, which was replaced by Law No. 34 of 2009 on Regional Government. The essence of this policy is entirely local governments are given the authority to govern, development, and public services are effective, efficient, equitable, and economical (Frederickson, 1984: 9), is no exception empowerment of the poor. One of the main indicators to assess the success of the development of a country or region is poverty. The more people who are poor in a country or region indicate that it is not successful development, and vice versa. To overcome these problems required a policy of empowerment of the poor, as was done by the government for this through PNPM policy (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat or National Program of the Poor Empowerment).

Based on the perspective of politics and public administration, the above policy is a form of empowerment of local government organization to overcome a variety of public problems and to meet the needs of people quickly and to people empowerment. Until now, there has not been a local government that succeeds in the community empowerment program that can be used as a best practice for other areas. It can be shown, a variety of special programs (central) government that aimed to empower poor communities in the area turned out to be of little benefit to the target group, at least there are some become successful " graduates " from the program. Though almost all of the technical ministries have similar programs, and since 2007 until now, the government seeks to remedy deficiencies such programs by establishing an institution called PNPM Mandiri. PNPM Mandiri is a government policy that aims to coordinate all poor empowerment programs, which is managed by different of technical ministries institutions, but it has not yet yielded the expected results.

The policy was also not brought significant progress in poverty reduction in Indonesia and has not produced the best model of poor communities empowerment as a best practice model for other areas and even used as a model to empower of poor communities around the world. The number of poor people in Indonesia in 1996 was as many as 34.01 million people (17.47 percent). Since the trend of the number of poor people in Indonesia fluctuated although there is always a tendency to decline from year to year. The number of poor people in Indonesia is 28.59 (11.66 percent) in 2012. (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2013). Based on these data, for 15 years, since the inception of the PNPM Mandiri program as an umbrella policy to empower of poor communities in Indonesia through 2012, the number of poor people decreased only about 5.42 million people. While the budget allocation for the fairly large scale and in terms of budget allocations from year to year has increased. In 2005, the budget of poor people empowerment under the umbrella of PNPM Mandiri was IDR 36.1 trillion. In 2009, there was again an increase in the budget to IDR 66.2 trillion, then in 2012 the budget allocation empowerment of poor people increased by IDR 94 trillion, and the allocation of significant budgetary surge occurred around IDR 106.8 trillion. Budget as much as it comes from foreign loans.

Another point of poor peoples empowerment of the poor are those who are around the poverty threshold or those classified as near poor. They are vulnerable to poverty, which needs to be maintained through government intervention in the form of public policy. They will be poor people in the event of external pressure suddenly, such as rising prices of basic commodities, rising prices of fuel oil (BBM) and electricity, termination of employment, social conflict and natural disasters (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2013). This can be seen when the economic crisis in 1997, Indonesia has a poverty rate in 1996 as many as 34.01 million people and jumped sharply in 1998 as many as 49.50 million poor people. In one

year there were approximately 15.49 million people are classified as near poor to be poor at the time. This proves they are classified, as near poor it should be given the most attention government.

One of them are vulnerable to poverty and become the focus of attention in this study is the cocoa farmers in the province of South Sulawesi. They become the focus of attention because of the Government since 2009 has made a cocoa farmer empowerment policy called National Movement of Cocoa Production and Quality Improvement (GernasCocoa). The reason the government made this policy is because Indonesia is the world's second largest cocoa producer, by donating 18 percent of the global market (MP3EI, 2011). The reason the government made this policy is because Indonesia is the world's second largest cocoa producer, by donating 18 percent of the global market (MP3EI, 2011).

Indonesian cocoa centers scattered all over the island, but the island of Sulawesi is an island, which has a large area rather than the other islands, which is about 63.8 percent. The area of the province of South Sulawesi has the greatest acreage, i.e. 262 807 ha. The total cocoa land areas in Indonesia, cocoa farmers control the land as much as 96 percent (MP3EI, 2011).

Based on the above, cocoa was not able to increase the income of the farmers in South Sulawesi. Therefore, the study seeks to uncover the bureaucratic system as implementer of cocoa farmer empowerment policy and trying to find a model that can empower of cocoa farmers in South Sulawesi.

Literature Review

Understanding and the Urgency of Empowerment Policy

Public policy is "whatever Governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye 2002:1). Then Anderson argues, the policy is a "purposive course of action or inaction undertaken by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a matter of concern or problems" (1994: 5). From these definitions can be stated public policy characteristics, namely: "the policy is not random but purposive and goal oriented; public policy is made by public authorities; public policy consists of patterns of actions taken over time; public policy is the product of demand, a government -directed course of action in response to pressure perceived about some problems; policy can be positive (a Deliberately purposive action) or negative (deliberately purposive decision not to take action)" (Smith and Larimer, 2009: 3-4). Subsequently, public policy according to Cooper, et.al, 1998: 157) is "inextricably rooted in politics or power relations between the federal government, interest groups, local Governments, states, regions, countries, and international organizations."

Based on the above, the empowerment policy as a public policy is a systematic effort by the authorities to solve the problems and meet the demands and needs of the poor. Empowerment policy is the government's effort gives power to those who powerless. Empowerment is defined Narayan (2002: 14), "empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that effect their lives. "Empowerment means not only provide facilities material but also gives them the ability, authority, authorizing them to control their lives. Empowerment policy is a manifestation of what is called the public policy, which is what is done and not done by the government (Dye, 2002). Undertaken by the government to empower cocoa farmers is a *GernasKaka* policy (National Movement of Cocoa Production and Quality Improvement).

Bureaucratic System and Empowerment Policy

Bureaucracy designed to perform the functions and duties of government, so it is difficult to avoid his presence even though he has always been public complaint in delivery public service and public policy. Bureaucracy is a type of public organization has a specific structure that is different from other organizations. The difference is mainly determined by the rules that the basis of its formation to government policies and programs running.

In connection with the above, the bureaucracy is a tool for the government to implement policies and programs. As a tool for the government, bureaucracy operates in accordance with a system of government that developed in a country. Bureaucratic system is a different of the others, depending on the system of government that was followed. Democratic system of government is different than the system of authoritarian rule in the design and implementation of government policies and programs. Bureaucracy as a tool in democratic government system design policies together with them, because they have interests and needs can be accommodated in the policy. Similarly, the citizens' problems can be solved along with them through public policy designed together (Denhardt&Denhardt, 2007: 7).

In an authoritarian government system, the bureaucracy is always a repressive tool against the people to achieve goals. The policies designed by the ruler did not involve people, because the ruler considered himself most know what the people want and people just accept what the policy of the ruler. Such a system of government that is run by the bureaucracy in the new order, so according to culturist, Kuntowidjojo (1994: 189), the bureaucracy in Indonesia does not have a tradition who identified himself as a public servant. The bureaucratic experience is still true today in the running of public policies and programs, such as community empowerment policy.

Bureaucratic system in Indonesia based on the perspective of public administration is still considered the classic bureaucratic perspective or classical public administration (Frederickson, 1984; Denhardt&Denhardt, 2007). Bureaucracy in implementing public policies and programs put tops and rules as a reference. The bureaucratic orientation still dominated the government bureaucracy in Indonesia. Based on this, the behavior of Indonesian bureaucracy is not clear in the classification of public administration perspective. However, as a tool of government, bureaucratic behavior is still very dominant in the characteristic of classical perspective of public administration. Based on the above, according to the author there are three main characteristics of bureaucracy in the design and implementation of public policy, namely:

Rules vs. Goals

Bureaucracy designed to run certain public policies and programs. In carrying out the policies, the bureaucracy cannot be separated from the rules set by the government (Ripley & Franklin, 1986: 31). Bureaucracy is born of the rules and the rules have been orientation in carrying out their duties, so the goal becomes neglected.

Structure

Designing the organization structure to achieve the organizational goals effectively and efficiently. The structure design shows the division of labor, specialization, communication, chain of command, and span of control within the organization. Bureaucracy as the organization that runs the government policies and programs have a high structure, so that communication and decision-making is progressing slowly than organizations that have a flat structure.

Decision-making

One consequence of high organizational structure is slow in decision-making, so that the problems arising in the implementation of policies and public services cannot be resolved quickly. The bureaucracy cannot avoid the problem, because it was not decentralize decision making to the street level bureaucracy.

Cocoa GERNAS Policy: The Form of Government Intervention to Cocoa Farmers Empowerment

Government policy such as Gernas Cocoa is the policy of increasing the production and quality of cocoa, known as the National Movement for Improvement of Cocoa Quality and Production (GernasCocoa).

The existence of the policy shows Indonesia has a high comparative advantage in cocoa products. Determination of the cocoa commodity as one of the leading commodity of MP3EI (Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development) based on its contribution to a large global market and foreign exchange earners as well. Based on data MP3EI (2011), Indonesia is the world's second largest cocoa producer, by donating 18 percent of the market global. Then, the commodity also produces the third largest foreign exchange after oil palm and rubber. Exchange of cocoa in 2009 reached USD 1.38 billion (derived from cocoa beans and processed). According to data from the ICCO (International Coffee and Cocoa Organization), demand of global cocoa continues to grow around 2-4 percent per year even in the last 5 years to grow 5 percent per year (3.5 million tons / year). China and India with large population is a potential market of Indonesian cocoa.

Cocoa centers in Indonesia spread across in Sulawesi (63.8%), Sumatra (16.3%), Java (5.3%), East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara and Bali (4.0%), Kalimantan (3.6 %), Maluku and Papua Islands (7.1%). Sulawesi Economic Corridor has great potential for the cocoa development, both plantation and cocoa processing industry. The total land area in Sulawesi reached 838 037 ha or 58 percent of the total land area in Indonesia. Of the total area, South Sulawesi Province reached approximately 262 807 ha, West Sulawesi Province has area of 156 104 ha, Central Sulawesi as many as 221 677 ha and South East Sulawesi reached approximately 197 449 ha. Among the total area, farmers have the most extensive area of land (96 percent) (MP3EI, 2011).

Based on data of 2008, approximately 70,000 ha cocoa plantations with old crop conditions, damaged, unproductive, and exposed to attack by pests and disease attack rate of weight so that necessary rejuvenation. Approximately 235,000 ha of cocoa plantations are categorized plants that are less productive and exposed to pests and diseases with medium attack rate so that the necessary rehabilitation, and 145,000 ha of cocoa plantations with untreated plants and lack of maintenance that needs intensification. Pests and diseases that very difficult to overcome by the farmers are Cocoa Fruit Borer (CPB) and Vascular Streak Dieback disease (VSD), causing decreased productivity to 660 kg / ha / year or 37% of the productivity has been ever achieved (1,100 kg / ha / year). This resulted in yield losses of 184.500 tons / year, equivalent to IDR 3.69 trillion per year. In addition to lowered productivity, the attack led to lower quality of cocoa, so the cocoa bean exports to the United States experienced a price cut of U.S. \$ 301.5 / ton. The low of quality of Indonesian cocoa cause the image to become less well in the international market. (Pedoman Umum Gernas Kakao, 2013).

Integrated Empowerment Policy: Policy Network

The concept of people empowerment (poor) is a "golden concept" for the countries that still have a lot of people who have not been able to organize his future or who still regard the poor as a public issue, because empowerment is a process of giving power to those who have no power, which has not able to plan with a decent life, and who had been alienated from the social, economic and political live. Their weaknesses and inabilities that cause they cannot help themselves in improving the social, economic, and political conditions. Therefore, the government needs to undertake a systematic effort as a form of intervention of them so that they able to help him in managing his future.

Empowerment policy, based on the perspective of public governance as one of the public administration perspective, is seen as giving power to the people by involving them in the process of public policy, because this perspective suggests new patterns of interaction among all stakeholders - government, public and private - in the service delivery public, including community empowerment (Kooiman, 1993: 1). Public governance focuses on the interaction between all stakeholders in creating and managing public policy (Hartley, et.al, 2008: 28). Their involvement in the process of public policy making and show responsibility to manage public policy is a shared responsibility, no longer solely the responsibility of the government. Government is no longer a major player in the implementation of public service and determination of public policy.

In efficient and effective delivery of public services, the government requires involve stakeholders, because the demands of citizens who increasingly varied and quickly in the public service delivery. Similarly, in the determination of public policy, the government could no longer cope with the problems and meet the needs of citizens who increasingly varied, because public issues are complex and require urgent treatment.

An important component of public governance perspective is network policy, which Osborne (in Osborne, 2010: 6) call public policy governance. Network policy is the study of the oldest in the study of networks (Isett, 2011: i158). Network policies according to Laumann and Knoke (Isett, 2011: i158), is a set of public agencies, Legislature offices, and private sector organization (including interests groups, corporations, nonprofits, etc.) that have an interest in public decision within a particular area of policy. Because they are interdependent and Thus have "shared fate". Furthermore, according to Compston (2009: 11), a network policy is as a set of political actors who engage in resource exchange over public policy (policy decision) as a consequence of their resource interdependencies.

To understand more about the network policy, Van Waarden (1992: 33-38) describe the main dimensions of policy networks, namely:

Actors

The actors are the number of participants. The number of participants determines the amount of network. Increasing number of actors are involved, the greater the network as well, and vice versa. Actors involved can be individuals as well as organizations. Relevant actor-properties are: their needs and interests, the which form the basis of the interdependencies and give rise to the network structure in the first place; the degree of professionalization, that is, the training and recruitment patterns of organization-representatives such as state bureaucrats; and their mandate, role conception (for example as 'public' servant) and attitudes.

Functions

The most common functions of policy network are, in order of increasing intensity of relationship: a) channeling access to decision making processes; b) consultation, or exchange of information; c) negotiation, that is, exchange of resources and/or performances, or, seen from a different perspective, resource mobilization; d) coordination of otherwise independent action; and e) cooperation in policy formulation, implementation and legitimation.

Structure

The structure of policy networks refers to the pattern of relations between actors. There are important variables in the structure are: a) the size of the network, determined by the number of actors; b) boundaries, which may be open and fluent, or close and monopolistic; c) type of membership: voluntary or compulsory participation. This determines whether the actors may perceive the network as a problem or an opportunity; d) pattern of linkages: chaotic or ordered; e) intensity or strength of the relation, that is the frequency and duration of interaction; f) density or multiplicity. The extent to which the actors are linked by multiple relations; g) symmetry or reciprocity of interconnections; h) clustering or differentiation in sub networks; h) linking pattern or type of coordination: hierarchic authority, horizontal consultation and bargaining, overlapping membership, interlocking leadership, frequent mobility of personnel from one organization to another; i) centrality: none, plural-centric (joint communities), or central unit, i.e. a focal organization as policy initiator; j) degree of delegation of decision making competencies to central units and measure of control by network participants; k) nature of the relations: conflictual, competitive or cooperative; and l) stability.

Institutionalization

Institutionalization Refers to the formal character of the network structure and its stability. The higher degree of institutionalization of a network, the more effective the policy network. This is caused by the development of compulsory membership, ordered linkages, high intensity, multiplicity and symmetry of relationships, overlapping membership, and interlocking leadership, and with a central policy unit.

Rule of conduct

Rule of conduct is one dimension of policy networks. Rule of conduct is a convention of interaction or rules of the game, which govern the exchanges within the network. They stem from the role perceptions, attitudes, interests, social, educational and intellectual background of the participating actors, and are Likely to influence these in turn. Highly institutionalized network may in addition develop their own 'culture' and the convention, just as organizations do.

Power relations

One of the main characteristics of policy network is power relation. This power relationship occurs where the distribution of power, which is a function of the distribution of resources and needs among actors, and of their mutual organizational structures when these are organization.

Actor strategies

In the policy network, the actor uses the network as a strategy for managing mutual dependence.

Research Method**Research Location**

This study located in South Sulawesi Province because the province is the largest producer of cocoa in Indonesia, which is 262 807 ha (Data MP3EI, 2011), which includes four district i.e. North Luwu, Luwu, Regency Bone, and Bulukumba. All districts are the largest cocoa producer in the South Sulawesi Province.

Research Design and Strategy

The research design is a qualitative and research strategy is case study. The using of research design to uncover cocoa farmers empowerment based on context. In the case study, there are three types of research, namely explorative, descriptive, and explanative types (Yin, 2000). The research strategy uses descriptive type.

Informants

Determination of the informants in the study based on purposive technique, i.e. they have competence in relation to implementation of Gernas Cocoa policy and cocoa farmers empowerment. Such determinations are based on the judgment of experts (or the researchers themselves) for a specific purpose or specific situations (Neuman, 1997).

The informants of the study are: a) head of district; b) the officials and employees of the Department of Agriculture and plantation c) Fields Instructors; and d) the cocoa farmers.

Data Collection Technique

Data collection techniques used in the study is observation, in-depth interviews, and documents. Observations were done primarily related to the tangible object, such as the cocoa tree, cocoa beans. Depth interviews were conducted to the informants mentioned above, while the documentation technique was used to collecting documents such regulations, journals, and research results related to the study.

Processing and Data Analysis Techniques

In qualitative research, processing and data analysis techniques are an integral activity. They can be seen on the stages of qualitative data analysis proposed by Miles and Huberman (1992), namely: data reduction, data display and conclusion / verification. The study uses a case study analysis strategy, in which the data analysis is performed uses descriptive data analysis techniques.

Finding and Discussion

Bureaucratic system in Policy Implementation of Cocoa Farmer Empowerment: Empowerment policy or Project?

In public administration perspective, the bureaucracy is implementer of public policy. As an implementer, bureaucracy operates the work based on the value system in national government agencies, because of the bureaucracy set up to carry out the public service and policy. Empowerment policy is the efforts that are designed and run by the government to resolve the problems and meet the needs of the poor. However, empowerment project is the activities are designed and implemented strictly based on the time frame, the amount of costs, target groups, and the number of people involved.

Conceptually, there are at least 3 dimensional of bureaucratic system to run these tasks, namely: rules vs. goal orientation, structure, and decision-making. In general, there are three main objectives of Gernas Cocoa policy to empower cocoa farmers in Indonesia, namely: replanting, rehabilitation, and intensification. The goals are basis for bureaucracy runs Gernas Cocoa policy in South Sulawesi Province.

Rules vs. goals orientation

Bureaucracy is designed to run public policy and to carry out these duties. Bureaucracy obeys the rules set by the government to achieve the goals of Gernas Cocoa, - empower cocoa farmers empowerment. The goal put more emphasis on project orientation of farmer empowerment in South Sulawesi province than cocoa farmer empowerment itself as a goal of the policy. Project orientation referred to the activities of cocoa farmers that are strict limited by the time frame, cost, field workers, and target groups involved. Such limitations are designed by bureaucratic system so that empowerment orientation deviated from the real purpose - not empower to the community, not self-help, and not reliance. It can be shown in the beginning of the policy in South Sulawesi Province, which the government started the policy with renewal program by using SE varieties that has been set by the central government. The results did not provide a great benefit for the farmers as target group and after that many farmers do not plant the seeds of the varieties. One of the farmers in Luwu (*Gzl*) said about varieties, as follows.

"Cocoa replanting program of GERNAS more harm farmers, both of energy, time and cost. There are more than 500 seedlings were distributed to farmers no reason harming farmers also planted small seedlings ... seedlings were distributed to farmers but not planted because the results are a bit ... the seeds of Gernas has a long growth phase and high trees, small roots so easily uprooted when buffeted by strong winds. "

SE variety is a type of seed that has been certified cocoa seedlings and guaranteed by the Government for productivity. However, in reality it is harming the farmers, so that they replacing the cocoa plant to other plants, as mentioned by one of the informants from Bulukumba District (*Isk*), that, "Farmers did not concentration in one type of commodity, they planted various commodities in one land. It is because they

grow crops whose products have a high price in the market."Same thing is also mentioned by them (through FGD) in North Luwu District, that they replacing the cocoa plant to other plants because their neighbors plant oil palm commodity, which its pests attack cocoa plants around it."

FGD results with other farmer groups in North Luwu also showed conversion to other crops,"... The patchouli plant is a plant that makes them stop concentration of cocoa because it has a higher price than the price of cocoa ...Unfortunately when they abuzz switch from planting cocoa trees to patchouli, patchouli tree prices are declining because it is caused by the abundant patchouli in the market. "

Based on the above, the empowerment policy in South Sulawesi Province unsuccessful empowers them, because empowerment efforts undertaken by the government over the project-oriented mechanisms are very strict with the rules that have been determined. Similarly, during 5 years has done, empowerment hasnot done continually, farmer groupreceived fund from the government only once. Those who have received rejuvenate the cocoa tree; will not receive other fund from this program.

The phenomenon mentioned abovepresentedthe policy is still far from the essence of empowerment, because the real empowerment needs to be done on an ongoing basis which enables them to get the ability through experience so that, they can also raise awareness and also to arrange his future. It may happen that empowerment is not limited by time frames, costs, and strict rules.

Structure

One important component of the bureaucratic system is a clear structure. In general, the structure has a tall type of structure. Type of bureaucratic structure shows a clear span of control, clear communication of subordinate and supervisor, and a clear division of labor. Clarity bureaucratic structure accompanied with strict rules influence to lower levels of the bureaucracy as implementers run cocoa farmers empowerment program that has been modeled based on a time schedule, budget, and strict personnel determination. As a result, generally there is a discrepancy in the time of fertilization of plants with the timing of fertilizer aid from the Central Government. Allocations of resources in the form of means of production are given simultaneously throughout Indonesia without regard to the occurrence of a particular area of climate change. Budget system cannot adjust the geographical conditions and extreme climate change. Bureaucratic system is very difficult to carry out the policy, where target groups vary widely in terms of experience, motivation, and mindset.

Cocoa farmer empowerment policy is determined by the central government and the implementation simultaneously at all centers of cocoa in Indonesia will find it difficult to achieve its goals, because in addition to the items mentioned above are also local bureaucracy personnel insufficient to reach all target groups. This happens in BulukumbaDistrict that only had 3 personnel and Bone District also has only 2 personnel (field workers).

Tall type of bureaucratic structure is very difficult to understand the conditions of cocoa farmers. The central government bureaucracy cannot be anticipated the difficulties experienced by them. Failure of cocoa seedlingsof SE (somatic embryogenesis) that was occurs in the areas of central cocoa in South Sulawesi. Similarly, the conversion land use of cocoa plant to other crops, which occurs in all central areas of cocoa production, even this is occurred largely in North LuwuDistrict and it was not a concern of the central government bureaucracy. This proves that bureaucratic structures such as difficulty understanding the situation of the farmers in South Sulawesi province and it is also difficult to realize the empowerment of them.

Decision-making

Bureaucracy as implementers cannot be avoided, so it also is limited in determining the public policy (Ripley & Franklin, 1986: 31). It shows, the public bureaucracy, especially the street -level bureaucrat, determines the success or failure of a public policy because it was dealing directly with the target groups. Therefore, the street -level bureaucrat should have the discretion to address the technical problems in the field (Lipsky, 1980).

Cocoa farmer empowerment policy is a policy that is centralized, resulting in a wide range of problems experienced by the farmers. Crucial problem that was occurs in cocoa pests and diseases, such as rotten fruit and cocoa borer. This problem has occurred during the emergence of Cocoa GERNAS policy in South Sulawesi and until now there is no cure for the disease. In addition, the conversion of land use of cocoa plant to other crops whereas the area is known centers of cocoa production in Indonesia. The emergence of this problem because it absence of decentralized decision-making to the local government bureaucracy to resolve the problem.

Another problem that arises in the cocoa farmers are the massive failure of cocoa seedlings of SE and they refused the seedlings. The existence of such event should the lower level bureaucratic decision making to save the lives of their economy, but it does not have the discretion to eliminate the losses suffered by them in South Sulawesi. Discretion is required in the implementation of the empowerment policy, because empowerment requires high attention of the bureaucracy so that they can organize their future through cocoa plants.

Integrated Model of Empowerment Policy: The Role of Farmers Group In Empowering Cocoa Farmers

As mentioned in the previous section, community empowerment policy made and run by the government is dependent on a bureaucratic system. The system adopted by the Indonesian bureaucracy still tends to use the classic bureaucratic system that focuses more on the rules and oriented leader instruction. The system is contrary to the empowerment system that is more focused on what the needs and interests of those who have not been empowered in terms of social, political, and economic.

In this study, the authors use the policy network model to integrate them that have same vision – farmers empowerment, although different systems and organizations. Integrated farmer empowerment policy can be achieved through the use of farmer groups as a forum to integrate all the different actors but have the same vision. The policy network model includes actors, function, structure, institutionalization, rules of conduct, power relations, and actor strategies. All dimensions of the policy network described below.

Actors

The actors meant here are the participants. The number of participants determines the scale of network. More and more actors are involved, the greater the network as well, and vice versa. There are many actors involved in the farmer's empowerment policy of in south Sulawesi province, such as the government, farmers, entrepreneurs, Banks, and politicians. However, actors most role-playin this case only governmentas provider of funds and skills and farmers as owner of land and labor, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Actors of Cocoa Farmers Empowerment in South Sulawesi.

No	Regency	Number			Areal Wide (Ha)	Total Budget, (Billion) (2009-2013)
		Farmer Group	Members	Field Workers		
1	Luwu	6.338	158.457	34	36.762	72,107
2	North Luwu	6.480	162.005	31	63.006	72,107
3	Bulukumba	2.200	55.010	12	7.431	72,107
4	Bone	8.140	203.522	27	12.880	72,107

Source: Document of Plantation Office, Regency in Figures, 2013

Actors are an important component in the network policies, both in formulation and in implementation. In network theory, influential actors in the network are those who have great resources. In cocoa farmer empowerment policy, the actor who plays an important role is the government, because he has the authority, skills, and funds. Funds provided by the central government during the last 4 years as many as 72.107 Billion per district as the center of cocoa production in South Sulawesi Province. The central and local government also provides skill. Fund and the skilled labor were also not able to empower of them, because the allocation of important resources is very limited to their empowerment. They were included in the empowerment policy only receive funds once during the policy period.

Then, the resources owned by them who are members of farmer group's only land and labor. In the empowerment policy, they were called the target group. The cocoa farmers are highly dependent on government assistance, so that their survival is determined from the government assistance. They heavy dependent on government assistance so that they convert of land use to plants that have a high selling price at the time. Land use, in the last five years, based on data from the Department of Forestry and Plantation North Luwu District, as many as 10053.77 ha. The phenomenon occurs also in other central areas of cocoa production. The dependence can also be seen from the results of interviews cocoa farmers, MHR, TSM, and RA in Bone regency that have land for cocoa and for other crops are also getting funds from the government. Four central areas of cocoa production in South Sulawesi have not optimal to focus entirely on cocoa crops. This means empowerment policy was not able to empower of cocoa farmers in South Sulawesi.

Functions

The second component of a policy network is function of actors. Functions of actors are what the actors in the policy network do. The actor, who can be identified in cocoa farmer empowerment policy is the Central Government, Local Government, Banks / Financial Institutions, Private organization, and Cocoa Farmers. The actor's function in the cocoa farmer empowerment policy can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The Actors Function of Cocoa Farmers Empowerment Policy in in South Sulawesi.

Actors	Access Channel in Decision Making	Exchange of Information	Exchange of Resources	Coordination
Central Government	Policy maker	One way	Providers of funds, inputs and skills	Coordinating Center
Local Government	Policy implementer	One way	Providers of skill only	Local coordinator
Banks / Financial Institutions	None	None	None	None
Private Organization	None	None	Buyer	None
Farmers	None	None	Land owner and man power	Coordinated

Source: Results of in-depth interviews, Document of Cocoa GERNAS Program, 2013

Based on Table 2 above, the central actor in the cocoa farmer empowerment policy is the central government and local governments. The central government provides all the resources needed by them and the local governments as implementer of the policy and to coordinate all the resources. Then, the other actors are not much to contribute in the implementation of the policy, except for cocoa farmers as the landowner.

Structure

The network structure is one of the important components in network policy, because it can explain the situation of the policy network. The structure of policy network includes scale networks, network membership, relationship patterns, and the type of coordination. The structure of policy network can be described in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Network Structure of Cocoa Farmers Empowerment Policy in South Sulawesi.

Actors	Scale of Network	Membership	Relationship Patterns	Type of Coordination
Central Government	Many	Must participate	Regularly	Hierarchical authority
Local Government	Many	Must participate	Regularly	Hierarchical authority
Banks / Financial Institutions	No	Not to be / voluntary	Regularly	Consultation and horizontal bargaining
Private Organization	No	Not to be / voluntary	Regularly and irregularly	Consultation and horizontal bargaining
Farmers	Many	Must participate	Regularly	Consultation and horizontal bargaining

Source: Results of in-depth interviews, Document of Cocoa GERNAS Program, 2013

In Table 3 above shows the network structure of the cocoa farmer empowerment policy, which the government and farmers can affect the structure. In network theory, scale of the membership may determine or control the other actors in public policy. Government and farmers have many memberships than any other actor. However, cocoa farmers do not have a high bargaining power in determining this policy, because they lack the ability to organize their future through its resources.

Institutionalization

Based on the structure above also showed lack of institutionalization of the spirit of farmer groups identified here as a network-based organization. Local governments and other actors as executor is not a part of the farmer groups, so that farmer's empowerment has not been realized effectively. A cocoa seedling of SE from Cocoa GERNAS Program unproductive is clear evidence of lack of success empowering farmers in South Sulawesi. However, farmers in Regency of North Luwu and Bulukumba have found a local clone highly productive (productivity exceeds the ISO standard) but has not been certified by the government so it can not be used as cocoa seedlings to farmers to be planted widely. This indicates the local government lacks instinct in empowering them.

Rule of conduct

Rule of conduct is one of dimension of policy network. Rule of conduct is a convention or habit of interaction between actors or the agreed rules. The relationship between the actors can be assessed from

the consensus or not, open or not (secret). Based on the network structure in Table 3 above, the pattern of the relationship is regular relation between actors in a farmer group. This means that the pattern of the relationship is always based on the rule of bureaucracy, including the organization / farmer groups are always designed with the bureaucratic system. The systems are always seeking consensus among the actors, but the situation of empowering cocoa farmers is complex. Not all relationships between the actors is open but a lot of things that farmers are less clear about the information Cocoa GERNAS program in South Sulawesi.

Power relations

Power relations are important component of the policy network that shows distribution of power. The distribution of power is a function of the distribution of resources and the needs of the actors. Power relations in the cocoa farmer empowerment policy are dominated by the government (central and local). The cocoa farmers as a target group of the policy only accepted decision as stated in the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP). As a consequence of top-down policy, government through the bureaucracy provides all the resources required by the cocoa farmers.

Power relations that occurred in the cocoa farmers empowerment policy through Cocoa GERNAS programs is unequal relationships –instructional relationships, which the government (central) determine and provide all the resources, including the policy guidelines. The cocoa farmers who have land and labor cocoa has no contribution in setting the policy. As a result of the unequal power relations, cocoa farmers are always waiting for help from the government. The farmers have lost the spirit of self help and become dependent on government assistance. This shows government aid as a tool of empowerment cocoa farmers turned into tools for their dependency.

Actor strategies

In public policy framework every actor has a strategy to achieve its objectives. However, in a network-based organization, the actors create and / or use the network to meet their needs, interests and goals, and build strategies for managing dependencies. Government as one of the main actor in the cocoa farmers empowerment policy has been strengthening its strategy to build a strong bureaucracy to implement the policy. Government formulate a clear time frame, detailed budgets, quantity and quality of personnel are clear, as well as provide guidance for the implementation of the cocoa farmers empowerment policy.

The farmers as actor who own land build its strategy to get the resources prepared by the government. They tried to follow all the requirements of the Cocoa GERNAS program to get government funds. In addition the cocoa farmers will conversion to other crops, such as patchouli (patchouli plants as raw material for perfume) in North Luwu Regency, because these plants higher sale value in the market. The same thing happened in Bulukumba Regency, they switch to cloves plant at that higher sale value than cocoa. This phenomenon occurs in the central cocoa in the South Sulawesi Province.

Failure of cocoa development program in South Sulawesi through the policy, because strategies each actor is not synergy in the development of the cocoa plant. The actors build a strategy just to satisfy their interests.

Conclusion

Public policy that is centralized accompany with a rigid bureaucratic system that was built by the government to implement cocoa farmers empower policy were not able to empower of cocoa farmers in South Sulawesi. Therefore, the government should design the farmer groups as a network-based organization in order to avoid the influence of routine bureaucratic system, which always based on the rules in action. The organizations can build a policy network that combines the interests and goals of the actors.

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