

The Role of Actors in the Dynamism of Social Control: The Study of the Social Network Analysis in the Management of Aid Programs in Kampung Laut Community, Segara Anakan Area, Indonesia

Raden Diky Dermawan, Prihandoko Sanjatmiko

*Departement of Anthropology
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Indonesia
psanjatmiko@gmail.com*

Abstract - This paper aims to explain the role of actors in the social network in competing for access and control over valuable resources gained from social assistance programs. This research is a qualitative study, with the data collected through interviews and observation. The study finds that as an area that is considered as a poor area due to its massive sedimentation, Kampung Laut in Segara Anakan has been regarded as a remote area and thus various community-based social empowerment programs have been conducted there. The actors, both those who own the power to control and those who do not, seek to gain valuable resources by competing for legitimacy in the community. The social control runs by the actors in managing the social assistance programs involves the social networks and the power that the actors create and possess. The conclusion of this study is that the structural functional perspective, despite its rich explanation on values and norms, is insufficient in describing complex and heterogeneous communities which are permeated with diverse interpretations and interests. The suggestion that can be offered by this research is that future researches that aim to study the diversity of the community have to observe appropriate theoretical perspectives so that it will be relevant to the development of the community itself.

Index Terms - actor, program, control, social, perspective of interpretation theory

I. INTRODUCTION

How to suspend a poverty issue that for Indonesia today (per March 2017) is 27.77 million people or 10.64% of the population (data obtained from the Central Bureau of Statistics—Badan Pusat Statistik, bps.go.id)? Disbursement of the policy package which is the most important program for the Government as the representation of the state, also conducted by other parties. In the era of President Joko Widodo, many social assistance programs have been distributed to the community, both infrastructure development and community empowerment. Nevertheless, the problem of poverty is an issue that

has never been completed in discussions on the scientific podium, for the reporters, as well as the householders.

[19] sees poverty as a low standard of living which is indicated by the persons' material shortages compared to the community's standard of living. The decreasing quality of health, moral of life, and self-esteem as the poor are the direct effects that are caused by a person's declining standard of living. In contrast to [19] emphasizes poverty as a condition of being in an unfavorable situation over the environment, social, and physical characteristics that causes failure to the individual efforts in achieving the well-being condition, and later will cause inequality

Talking about social assistance programs cannot be separated from the poor society. This was mentioned by [11] who saw the poor society as the object of a social assistance program. In the perspective of functional structures, the word "poor society" is analogous to a culture that has distinctive characteristics from "non-poor society".

Not all social assistance programs in the community provide benefits in line with the program objectives asserted by [18]. In some locations, especially in places with minimal supervision, social assistance programs can be "played around" by certain actors to benefit personally. There are also actors who fight over access to manage it in order to gain certain legitimacy, of course there is also a well-run. Under these conditions, resources cannot be a tool to empower people, on the other hand can be a struggle area.

When it becomes a struggle area, actors who feel they have an interest or motivation will compete for access to manage a social assistance program. Actors, whether they have power relations or will not run a series of contestation and negotiation actions against other actors. That is, the actor will see other actors who want to be partners and competitors. For those who become partners, then formed a social network that contains actors with the same mission. In such dynamics, the

actor will always involve and form a social network with the intention of achieving his motivation.

Such conditions can be found some in places dubbed as remote areas. With status as a poor area, donors of the program will relatively pay more attention to these areas. As found in Ujung Alang Village, located in Kampung Laut District, Cilacap Regency, Central Java. The village that is located around Segara Anakan water is designated as a Remote Indigenous Community (Komunitas Adat Terpencil—KAT) by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 2009. The Ministry built a monument on the village to indicate the status of the community, and this strengthens the assumption that Ujung Alang is a poor community [13]. Ujung Alang is known as an area that has undergone massive landscape changes in the formation of the ocean into the land of sedimentation. These ecological changes directly affect the socio-economic conditions of the people, the livelihoods change from fishermen to farmers is a common thing that can be found. Perceptions of poverty are becoming increasingly stronger.

Actors will involve social networks in an effort to gain access to the management of social assistance programs. In the context of social relationships as components in the social network, [14] sees that social relations are social interactions which are taking place repetitively that will eventually form certain bonds. As the actors come from different backgrounds, they struggle to form social relationships with other actors since they desire to carry out a series of contestations and negotiations in order to gain access or legitimacy in managing the social aid programs. They usually interact by establishing a social network in exchanging information on the incoming aid programs, the implementation, the evaluation, and the dynamism of the social control on the implementation of the social aid programs managed by other actors.

[5] attempts to explain that the position of actors in a social network can provide an access to strategic information or other accesses to other actors within the network. Social networks can be seen as a set of actors' relationships with other actors to gain benefits. The actors within the network will rely on the ability of the other actors to gain access so that they will also have the access to manage the aid programs, while the other actors help in providing supporting access.

The establishment of the social networks by the actors to compete for the access to manage the aid programs is a strategy. Emphasizing the attitude of individuality does not guarantee the actor to succeed in the dynamism of the contestation. Basically, the behavior of each actor is directly controlled or supervised by other actors. Social networks become a tool for an actor to attract sympathies and trusts to benefit the access. Some anthropologists such as [3] and [8] believe there are weaknesses of the actors if they do not form and utilize the social networks in achieving their ambition. The process and the achievement of an actor will not be optimal, and they may even move in the opposite direction. Under this condition, the need for social networking increases.

Social networks continue to be activated and utilized by the actors to gain the access to manage and simultaneously to exercise social control over the social aid programs in

Ujung Alang. Although not all actors have power relations, every actor wants to have the legitimacy from the community so that he or she may gain the access to manage the aid programs. They actors also attempt to manage social control to gain trust in the form of legitimacy from the community. In order to get these things and also to form social networks, [14] emphasizes the importance of a strong social capital (social capital). Social capital is a consequence of the social network formation that will produce structural capital, access, and other information transmission. [9] sees the close relation between social networks and social capital as a reciprocal relationship.

In this study, I wish to provide an explanation on the role of the actors in the social networks in seizing the access and the control over the management of valuable resources in the form of social aid programs. Ujung Alang village in Segara Anakan is an interesting place to study social network analysis since the perception of "poor" emerges from the insider's and the outsider's perspectives, making Ujung Alang as a remote area. The actors, both who have power relations in the community and those who do not, seek to gain access to manage the aid programs by gaining legitimacy from the community. In fulfilling of this ambition, the actors involve the social networks that they established and they owned. On the other side, this study reinforces the argument that structural-functional perspective bound by the explanation of systems and norms is not relevant in explaining a complex and heterogeneous community as Ujung Alang which is considered as a remote area.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study uses a descriptive social network approach. Descriptive approach departs from ethnographic studies of a society, then carried out pengerucutan to the social network context in the community. So that in the findings of this study will be found quantitative analysis, but its birth comes from a qualitative study that emphasizes the exploitation of phenomena. This model approach was born because of a sense of dissatisfaction with the approach of functional structures within the boundaries of the study. In contrast, the social networking approach born of deductive thinking is known as the formalistic approach.

Data collection techniques in the framework of sociogram formation of social networks is done by distributing 10 questionnaires with snowball sampling technique. The question is more emphasized on the interpretation of other actors in the management of social assistance programs. This data collection technique is in-depth interview and participant observation. There are three stages of data collection, namely (1) mapping the relationship between one actor with another actor in the network in each context, known as the "Star" actor; (2) based on the findings of data in the first stage, then traced the actors named by the actor "Star" in the social network; and (c) conducting focus group discussions on existing actors in social networks to find mutual agreement in managing social assis-

tance programs. After collecting the data, then done quantification of data by using Ucinet v6 compilation to form the social network of actors.

A. Poverty in the Midst of Landscape Change

Ujung Alang and the three other villages—Klaces, Panikel, and Ujung Gagak—are located in Segara Anakan. Segara Anakan is a lagoon that connects Java Island and Nusakambangan Island. The water that is covered by 36 species of mangrove plants, 45 species of permanent marine biota, and 17 species of temporary marine biota [13], is the point where three rivers of Java island disembogue, namely Citandui, Cikonde, and Cimeneng river. The three rivers and other creeks carry mud and sedimentary material that can not flow to the open sea or the Indian Ocean. Nusakambangan island, which is located right in front of the river estuary, blocks the flow of the mud. The volume of the siltation then increases during rainy days or when the tide is unbalanced.

The mud and siltation that are blocked by Nusakambangan Island gradually formed a land. Research conducted by [20] estimates the volume of the mud that flows to Segara Anakan through Citanduy river to be approximately 8.05 tons/year, while the mud that flows through Cimeneng river to be about 0.87 million tons/year, and Cikonde river contributes 0.22 million tons/year, and therefore the total volume of mud that flows to Segara Anakan is 9.14 million tons/year. [1] have noted the geological changes taking place in Segara Anakan from 1978 to 2005. In 1978 there was a shift in the utilization of the mangrove forest as a reaction to the physical effect of the sedimentation in Segara Anakan. In that year, the mangrove forest that used to be 17,090 hectares wide became 9.570 hectares wide or grew about 43.8% smaller. During that time, the mangrove forest had been converted to wetland farming areas (8,644.4 hectares), settlements (225 hectares), moor (1,108 hectares), industrial area (97.7 hectares), fishing ponds (515.1 hectares) and others (353.7 hectares).

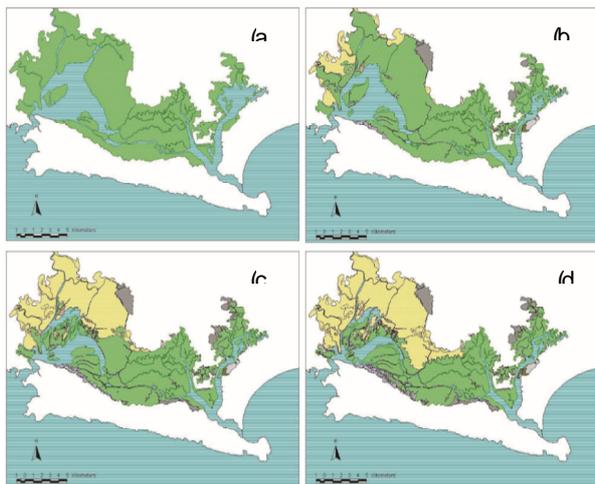


Fig. 1 Landscape changes of Segara Anakan in (a) 1987; (b) 1995; (c) 2003; and (d) 2006 (Ardli and Wolff 2008)

The landscape changes affect the shrinkage of the water and its shallowness. People who rely on fisheries for their livelihoods no longer gain optimal results as they used to before the massive landscape changes took place. Fishermen chose to work in agrarian sector as an alternative to their livelihoods by farming on the coast of Nusakambangan island, doing farming, tree planting in the forest, and gardening. Shifting to agrarian sector is not as easy as we think because there are some obstacles. The community must block the seawater from Segara Anakan so that it will not pollute the ricefields. Another obstacle comes from the conflict between Nusakambangan Prison authorities and the community on the use of the island. The livelihoods of the people that depend on the natural resources can no longer be optimized in meeting the needs of the households due to the landscape changes that eventually change the socio-cultural environment of Ujung Alang.

TABLE 1.
THE LIVELIHOODS OF THE PEOPLE OF UJUNG ALANG IN 2014 (THE BOOK OF UJUNG ALANG MONOGRAPHY JUNE 2015)

Livelihoods	Number of the Persons
Farmer	1.027
Fishermen	1.897
Civil Servant	7
Private Employee	8
Entrepreneur/Traders	63
Labours/Coolie	25
Farm worker	443
Animal Husbanry (farmer)	31
Service Provider	12
Artisan	4
Unemployed	37
Others	15

The table above shows that fishermen still dominate the economic basis of Ujung Alang. The number of farmers are growing and seek to balance the fishermen's position by which more than 1.000 people work in the agricultural sector. Meanwhile other livelihoods tend not to depend on using the available natural resources. The data suggests that the change of the landscape affects the livelihoods that relies on natural resources since they are considered to be no longer providing optimal profits. This dynamism causes the community to emphasize their perception as being a poor community and to hope for social aid programs to come. The shift in the economic basis caused by ecological factors is also shown in the study of [12].

B. Contesting for Access

The role of the village as a representative of the state is weakened by several factors. First of all, the village chief who currently leads is not a local person of Ujung Alang or Kampung Laut. This aspect is accompanied with the lack of the presence of the chief in performing community services. Secondly, as a remote area, the regulations of the village tend

to be irrelevant to the current condition. The village only manages social aid programs in which the budget comes from the state finances and becomes autonomously controlled by the village. Thirdly, following the second point, the aid programs that do not come from the state finances are more likely to be channelled directly to the community or to the actors with social networks.

How do the actors alter access? The study of [10] is eloquent in describing how actors compete and use the access to gain their interests. By having the access, an actor has the ability to get something. The study focuses on the creation of the access based on social relations formed by the actors, and not focusing on the contested property. The social relations that have been established allow the actors to gain advantages from something that he or she manages. Ribot and Peluso see that in the dynamism of the contestation and the negotiations, a form of access networks will be formed. For the actors who are against one another, they will compete and contest. While for those who have mutual agreements, they will negotiate to form a wider social network.

The social aid programs as valuable resources are contested by the actors to benefit from the management. Gaining the access is related to the social networks established by the actors. Thus, to gain the access in the management of a particular social aid program, the actors make use of their social networks. The larger the social network, the more opportunities they have to gain the access. The ownership of the access is a sign of inherent legitimacy that the actors have to manage the resources.

C. Interpretation and Actors Forming Social Networks

In forming a social network that is thought to serve the interests of the actors and is able to contribute in the realization of the interests, an actor provides an interpretation of other actors. Furthermore, the interpretive perspectives emphasize the actor's subjective judgments towards other actors as well as other aspects that surround them. The results of the interpretations become a reference for the actor in choosing "who will be a conflicting friend" because of the contradicting interests and "who becomes a compromising friend" because of the element of integration. The interpretive perspective is important to see the background of the creation of social networks based on the interests of each actor.

The interpretive perspective to examine the human's subjectivity in judging others is explained by some scholars of social sciences. [11] for example, focuses on the concrete form of the meaning of culture without the need to concentrate on the concept of cultural relativism that develops in a complex society. This perspective is in a position that resist opposition amid the debate between subjectivity and objectivity. The structuralist approach gains criticism because it is considered to crumble in integrating the sciences of man in the naturalistic view.

The interpretive perspective is closely related to the behavior of the actors in the social networks they establish. From the perspective of phenomenology, Alfred Schutz tries to provide an explanation on the interpretive approach, especially with regard to the actions and the ideal type of an actor in his or her community. [15] argues that human actions will become a social relation when the actors give meaning to their actions and as other actors understand the actions as meaningful. His understanding relies heavily on subjectivity to determine the continuity of social interaction, both for the actors who give and receive the meaning of the performed actions.

The case of the construction of a bridge which is one of the programs conducted by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs as a Coastal Village Model program (Model Desa Pesisir—MDP) shows the changing perspectives. An actor, KUS, is known not to have a harmonious relationship with another actor, WAH. WAH is known to have always given KUS the access to the management of the social aid programs. Some donors and community groups trust WAH to manage the program. However, the construction of the bridge that was running slow made WAH to conduct further investigation and social control. He found that KUS asked for a bigger budget (worth Rp 120 million) while the budget was only Rp. 60 million. At the meeting with the Department of Public Works, WAH, representing the community, set the budget to be Rp. 70 million. Now WAH had a bad interpretation regarding KUS because he considered KUS to take a lot of profit. Moreover, the development was initiated by WAH's proposal to the authority in which the management was given to KUS.

In another different case, WAH who was the leader of a farmer group received large funding from the CSR of an oil company and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to empower the mangrove trekking area. KUS assumed that the program was useless. To KUS, the development of the mangrove trekking area would not be useful for the fishermen because it would shrink the water of Segara Anakan. Fishermen preferred deeper and wider sea for fishing, not mangrove trees in calm water. KUS interpreted WAH in the case of the management of the mangrove CSR program as an actor who does not give benefit to the community. The benefits gained are only utilized by the actors and the farming group, while the community only experienced the negative impacts even though the mangrove trekking area is considered as the village's specialty.

D. The Actors' Roles in the Social Networks

Based on the data taken through questionnaires that have been conducted in three stages, I have compiled a sociogram to illustrate the social network analysis of the actors in managing the aid programs in Ujung Alang. The process consists of three main stages: searching for the "star" actors, searching for other actors by snowball method, and conducting focus group discussion to bring the involved actors together in order to meet mutual agreement. From the process along with in-depth interviews and participant observation through ethnographic approach, I have found that there are at least 4 actors who are considered important by the community in the context of the management of the aid programs. They are KUS, WAH, SIS, and JW. SIS and JW are village officials with power relations.

amined qualitatively, the three top actors are actors whose names are most often spoken in various discussions about development and community empowerment programs. As for JW, the Village Head who actually has power relations in the community scope earns trust value with the value of 5 from the actors. Based on the sociogram illustrated that JW only establish relationships with actors who are government officials, both District and Village such as NUR actor, Kampung Laut subdistrict. The above conditions illustrate that not always actors who have power relations will also gain trust in the form of access or legitimacy in the context of management of resources worthy of social assistance program.

WAH, SIS, and KUS actors successfully topped social networking trust because the three actors established social relationships with other actors. They do not use power relations-because WAH and SIS are the village's tools, but thanks to the strengthening of their individual social capital, the actor's third position goes beyond actors who rely on power relations for access and legitimacy. The level of interpretation of trust will come together when the social network is also formed. Basically, the formation of a social network is motivated by the trust of the actor to other actors for the fulfillment of interests.

I would argue using the interpretive perspective that the interests and the motivations of the actors form a social network. Social networks will be dynamic as we relate them to the needs of interpretation. Each actor may change his or her social network or move to another social network. The social network will eventually change its shape and its purpose following the mutual agreement of each actor through the interpretive perspective. In this context the actors play a role in the network in determining their own interests. If the interests are mutual, then the social network will be developed and is integrative. Conversely, if the interests of the actors are different, the network will change and possibly will lead to conflict. The sociograms above also show the significance of each actor's social capital in forming and fostering the social network.

[4] describe how actors work in their social networks through network analysis approach, namely similarities, social relations, interactions, and flows. The actors will work within their social networks when at least they meet some of their interests based on the typology of their similarities, social relations, interactions, and flows. The typology describes the dynamism of the actors to contest and to negotiate with other actors. The four typologies are connected as an integral whole.

The actors use the social networks as a mechanism to establish regulations as an action of social control. Social control in this case has two meanings; as a mean that watches and guards social deviances and as a reaction of sentimental feeling when the actors fail to gain the access to manage programs. From the study of the social network analysis, I was being reminded that the social control that takes place in the dynamism of the aid program management is based on the internal control, as proposed by [6]. The actors' motivation in managing social control is linked to one major interest, that is to encourage the participation of actors in order to create a condition of conformity within the community [14].

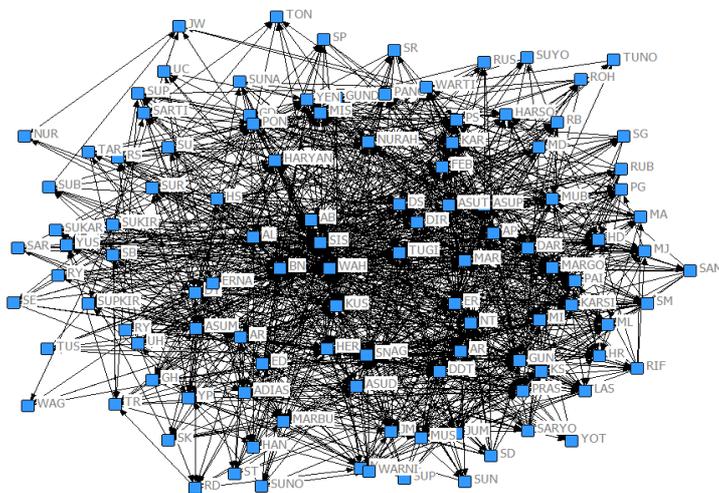


Fig. 2 The Social Network on the Community's Trust to Other Actors in Managing Aid Programs

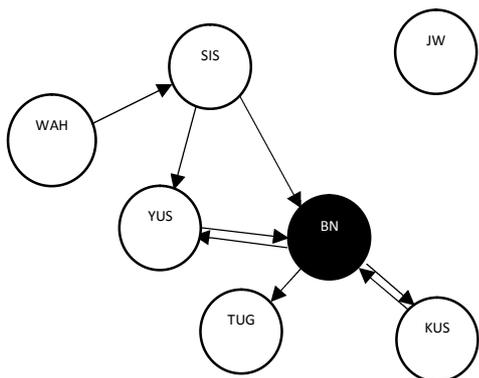


Fig. 3. The MDP Program Partial Network

Sociogram above illustrates the power of the interpretation of actors in their involvement in a social assistance program that once or will go to the village of Ujung Alang. WAH actor has the highest ranking with a value of 62, followed by SIS (value 54), and KUS (value 40) in the third position in terms of confidence in implementing the program. When ex-

III. CONCLUSION

Social network analysis studies have the power to explore findings that are still hidden or escape from the use of functional structural approaches. Described by Mitchell (1969: 1-2) social networks have a wide opportunity to see characteristics in the form of social relationships to interpret the behavior and motivation of the actors involved in it. The advantage is that the study of social network analysis is ultimately relevant to fill the lack of a functional structural approach to more complex and heterogeneous societal studies (Mitchell 1969: 8).

Communities in Ujung Alang inhabiting Segara Anakan waters area can be referred to as poor society, remote, and experiencing various limitations. Changes in the landscape that occur until now is one cause. Nevertheless, the author assumes that Ujung Alang Village is a complex and heterogeneous community. They undergo social interactions and relationships with people of different backgrounds. Therefore, the explanation that focuses on the norm is no longer relevant in exploring the socio-cultural conditions of Ujung Alang Village community. The condition is then behind the selection of social network analysis approach in this study.

As a conclusion, actors involve their networks to fight over a social assistance program. In order to build a quality social network, one actor with another actor has an intensive social relationship. By establishing social relationships with actors, especially actors who have strategic roles in the network, actors will gain access to information and trust to manage social assistance programs. It should be reiterated that the actor's interpretive perspective has an effect on the choice of cooperation or the compromise of actors. This also causes the social network will run very flexible and dynamic, so even with the role of actors in it. In this context, the role of actors in the network is to provide an assessment of other actors as well as social assistance programs as contested property.

IV. RECOMMENDATION

The suggestion that can be offered by this research is that future researches that aim to study the diversity of the community have to observe appropriate theoretical perspectives so that it will be relevant to the development of the community itself.

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