Social Development Policies on Informal Sector in Solo

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Abstract. The development concept applied so far has received criticisms since it is too sectoral- and growth-oriented. This study offers a proposition that social development must – instead, get a central emphasis through developing the fundamental aspects of society, i.e.: structure, culture, and social process. By using data from qualitative research (document study, in depth interview, FGD, and observation) the writing attempts to give an illustration on how Solo Government Central Java Province conducts social development especially for street vendors. The study shows that the inclusive value- and participatory-based social development has been practiced at a certain level in Solo. The article concludes that the local government of Solo has conducted social development by relying more on structural development, through which cultural and social processes are also developed. Furthermore, there have also been dynamic, reciprocal interactions among all aspects in the social development (self-reinforcing) process in Solo. It is the basic message of this writing that, any policy study must direct its concern more towards fundamental elements of societal life, i.e. "structure, culture, and social process" .

Keyword: *policy study, social development, regional autonomy, street vendors*

INTRODUCTION

After five decades, since 1950s, the growth-oriented development concept has failed in developing people's essential well-being, self-esteem and dignity. Based on the world-scaled aggregate data, the United Nations noted that even though resulting in material growth and development, the existing developments have the characteristics of jobless (do not provide sufficient and dignified employment), ruthless (increasingly contribute to social gaps, poverty, and injustice), rootless (are not economically rooted in local community/society, and extinguish the local tradition and cultural values), voiceless (do not listen to people's aspiration, less democratic and participative), and futureless (destroy the environmental sustainability) (UNDP, 1997). Korten adds that growth-oriented development approach has produced three major crises: violence, poverty, and environmental damage (Korten, 2006).

In the Sustainable Development Model as proposed by Stimson et al., the role of 'strong proactive leadership' is notably important as a factor that encourages institutional change. In the case of Solo it can be found in the figure of Jokowi; however the result of the research shows that the vision and mission, consistently manifested by Jokowi into "structural power" of bureaucracy (from policy to budget), are not only able to generate physical sources from resource endowments and market conditions, but also to create and mobilize cultural resources and social process (a more participative, dynamic, creative, collaborative pattern of social interaction). In other words, the social development initiated in Solo has a more complex poten-

tials than those identified by Stimson et al. (Stimson, Stough and Salazar, 2005) [see Figure 1]. Therefore, many sociologists insist that the role of social sciences in the course of Development should not only be analytical-evaluative (since it will not influence the basic direction of development), but also more prescriptive; or even change its emphasis from just the enlightenment approach into the engineering one. It means they should encourage development models emphasizing more on other social and cultural variables such as inclusiveness, social harmony, justice, freedom, and even happiness as their development targets, equipped by achievement measurement tools (such as Socio-cultural Development Index).

Recently there have been Development paradigms that emphasize on the human aspect. In the administration and bureaucracy study, Osborn and Gaebler (1993) offer an approach where the government must spare more space for community participation as well as social dynamics. Korten with his NGO power offers a people-centered development concept (Korten 2006), also some well known concept as Human Development (UNDP) and MDGs (UN). Such studies have similar spirit with this one, however this writing shall offer a Development approach, more directed toward sociological development of people; thus proposes that human development must be done through the development of it's society. Bellah argues:

" It is difficult to be a good person in the absence of good society. The difficulty actually comes from failures of the larger institutions on which our common life depends (p. 4)."

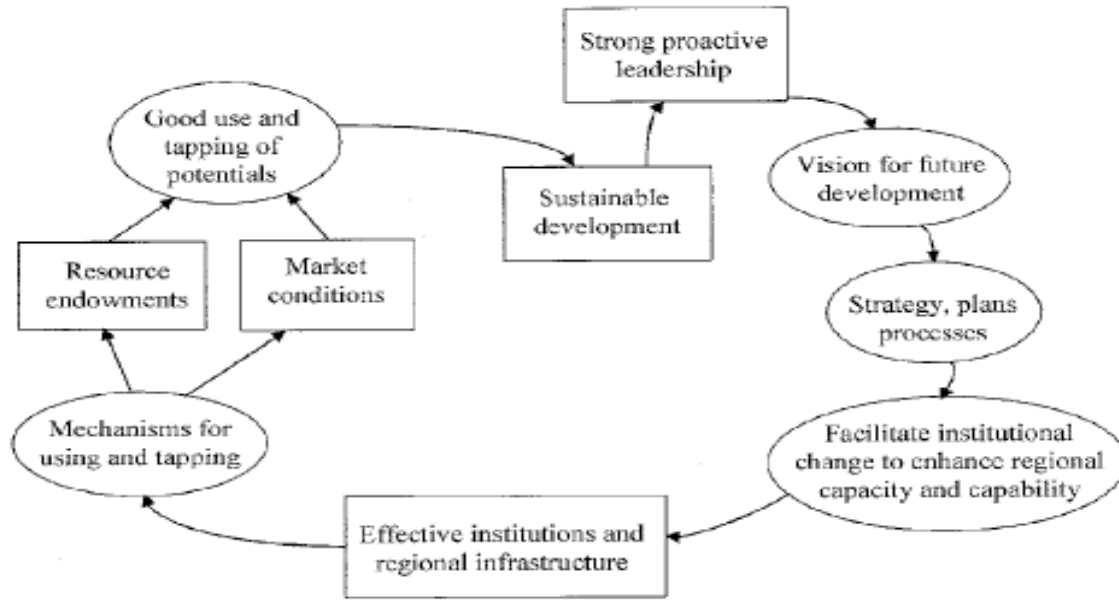Therefore a systemic and holistic societal development

Figure 1. The Virtuous Circle for Sustainable Development
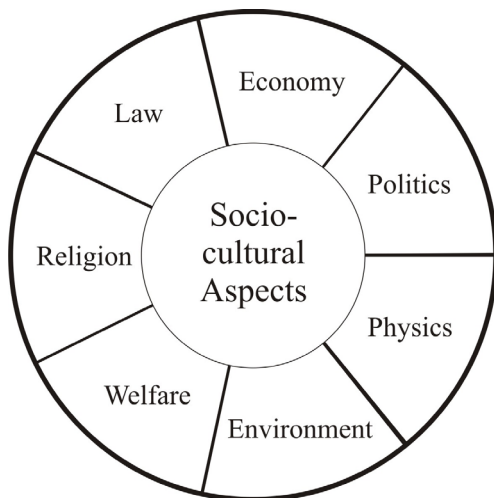Source: Stimson, Stough and Salazar, 2005.

Figure 2. Division of Socio-Culture Life

is very important, instead of just developing "sectors". In order to correct the development concept, one often biased with economic and physical sectors, I need to introduce a systemic social development concept, oriented to the fundamental elements of a society namely: structure, culture and social process. Hence the concept of socio-cultural development can be more fundamental, not just "socio-cultural sectors" development. The separation of social development concept from economic development concept is not to polarize both concepts nor to separate both practice, or even perceive them both as mutually exclusive choices. Since economic life is essentially socio-cultural life, then social development must be considered as the bases or root of economic development [see Figure 2].

Social development cannot be reduced into sectoral development, for all aspects of people's life (economy, politics, trade, industry, etc.) are based on social life. Social development is the development of fundamental societal elements, i.e. structure, culture and social process. A sectoral development without societal development will not guarantee "a genuine wellbeing", since the development of social sectors (such as education or health) is commonly treated merely as a 'solace' (lips service) by the 'giant capitalist' power just to make "happy" the majority of people, while the unjust societal condition (structure, culture, process) can still be maintained for the capitalist's own good.

Social structure is a pattern of relation (particularly power relation) between social groups that implies coercive, imperative, and constraining power of the dominant toward the powerless actors. The power of social structure can be legal-formally institutionalized (such as legislations, government regulation, etc.), or not (such as the "naked" coercive power of business world). Even though the institutionalization of private business is not through legal-formal enforcement, it is effective for controlling public life (through advertisement, physical facilities provided by companies, etc.). This particular structural power is often used by the authority (the state in collaboration with big businessmen) to build "structural domination" pattern that oppress people. Thus, structural development is an effort to balance power relation between the government and people or between the rich and the poor groups through the development policy, legislation, as well as other structural powers that benefits people in its entirety or, in other
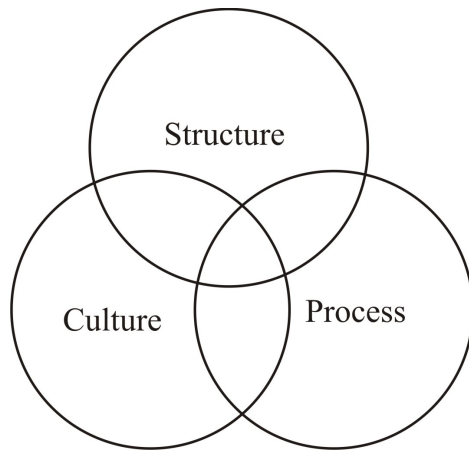
Figure 3. Fundamental Elements of Society

words, modify exclusive (unjust, discriminative) structure into inclusive one (just, provide equal rights).

Culture is a system of values, norms, beliefs, and customs, as well as traditions, internalized by individuals or society, thereby has the power to form a pattern of behavior and attitude of the member of society (from inside). The existing culture is not always the best way of living that give well being to the people. There are various powerful groups trying to conserve the existing culture to protect their own interests and oppress other groups through cultural hegemony. Thus, a cultural development program is needed to improve the quality of society's system of values and customs that inhibit their prosperity or manipulate them both directly (through socialization, education, etc.) and indirectly (through the development of social structure and process).

Social process is the dynamics of the "day to day" informal interaction between society members which has not been structured as well as cultured. Through social process, individuals or groups can freely express their aspiration, dynamically and creatively discuss any discourse among community members; thus the arena can be the source of changes, able to negotiate the existing structure as well as culture ("social order is a negotiated order"). Developing social process means developing or sparing a larger "opportunities" to the people through providing public space and public sphere (the Rights of expressions) for the development of social interaction quantity and quality, both by structural as well as cultural powers.

In the real life, structure, culture, and social process are not separated; nevertheless at some degree they cross-cut each other (mutually support, influence and are embedded to each other to form a complex system, [see figure 3].

Social Development is a systematic and planned effort to develop the societal fundamental elements. However,

we should remember that social development must lead to the more emancipating (equal) and inclusive socio-cultural life. The inclusive concept refers to "the giving of opportunity to all members of society to get fundamental rights and material as to enable them to participate in all aspects of social life. Inclusiveness does not only contain the providing of resources by the government through its policies, but also the development of people's potentials to create an emancipating socio-cultural life. Thus the social inclusive development is wider and more fundamental than just poverty elimination (which has often been the main issue of recent Development Policies (Giddens, 2009; Haralombos, 2008; see also Conyers, 1982; Midgley, 1995). Therefore the development in any aspect (economy, physics, law, religion) must be based on (rooted in) the fundamental element of society i.e. structure-culture-social process and must be oriented toward inclusive value system. Therefore any Social Development is "Value-based Development.

In reform era, through Law No. 22 of 1999 on Local Government, later amended by Law No. 32 of 2004, most of governmental functions are delegated to City/Municipal and Province, local authority such as Mayor, Regent, and Governor, directly elected by people (Prihantika and Sudarsono, 2011). One of the goals is to bring governmental services closer to people and to improve community participation in the development (Prasojo et al., 2006). All of these are notable improvements for Indonesian development system; however do these mean a socio-cultural development in its real sense? As long as local developments are still based on "sector ego" and the economic developments are their basic orientation, the existing social development will only be "sector development", whose destiny is determined by how much portion of development budget is allocated by local government, together with exceedingly oligarchic local authorities (consisting of ruling parties, local capitalists, local aristocrats, and even "local thugs").

Even so, the local autonomy policy gives rooms for local government to issue a more inclusive, innovative policy that accommodate local people's interests. One of the regions often claimed as top achiever in local governance administration is Solo, with Joko Widodo as its Mayor. This is one of the reasons why the research is conducted on Solo. Before hand, the research done by Prihantika and Sudarsono (2011) on the causal map of Solo's Mayor—Joko Widodo—shows that he, together with his deputy Mayor, F.X. Hadi Rudyatmo, has made pro-people policies and programs that are believed to be important factors to improve local competitiveness during his leadership. The policies issued by local authorities

can be the indication of their effectiveness. There are five effective-leadership key components, i.e. collaboration, trust, shared power, flexibility, and entrepreneurialism (Stimson, Stough, and Salazar, 2009).

This research aims to find: (1) empirical proofs of the social development policy existence (structure, culture and process development) in the informal sector in Solo; (2) collect the social development data in Solo that can be made as indicators for composing a social development index[1]. However, since the space is limited, the article will focus only in discussion on social development concept; then illustrate how far development of Solo under Jokowi's leadership has cultivated informal sectors, characterized by Social Development, and how the social development elements (structure-culture-process) cross-cut each other to produce a condition oriented towards a better social inclusiveness.

RESEARCH METHODS

The approach used for this study of development policy in Solo is qualitative approach. The data collection techniques are document study, in-depth interview, FGD, and observation.[2] The documents obtained for the research are Solo government's vision and mission, Medium-Term Regional Development Plan (RPJMD) of Solo, collection of Jokowi's speeches, Solo Budget General Policy, Solo government data, Monjari cooperative profile at Klithikan market, Local Law No. 8 of 1995 on The Street Vendors Organization and Management, the research done by State University at Solo on street vendors in the city, 2009 accountability report of Solo Mayor, photos recording entitled "Developing Solo"

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[1] The Social Development Index has been, for example, made by *The Hong Kong Council of Social Service* (2002), however the institution uses different indicators, not oriented toward social life's basic elements, i.e.: Structure-Culture-Process.

[2] In order to "capture" the Social Development phenomena in Solo as a complex worldly reality, marked by conflicting worldviews, Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) is used, i.e. a systemic research methodology as developed by Checkland and Scholes (1990), Wilson (1990), Checkland and Poulter (2006). Some logical activities identified in the system to implement social development in order to transform structural, cultural and social process elements are: (1) decide the inclusive value system in the city development program; (2) determine the pro-people value system in the development program; (3) decide the eco-cultural value system in the development program; (4) integrate the values in local government's vision and mission; (5) interpret the vision into local government policies; (6) elaborate the policies in the local government regulations; (7) elaboratethe policies and regulations into programs, projects and budgets; (8) provide public spaces to strengthen public sphere; (9) use non-violent apporach to establish social order; (10) revitalize local wisdom; (11) improve the bureaucracy culture; (12) empower people; (13) provide alternative choice of business facilities and infrastructures, with or without relocation; (14) provide opportunity for prat);ipatory policy making process; (15) develop interpersonal communication with the people; (16) organize citizenship education mechanism.

from Solo Division of Communication and Information (Diskominfo), the result of 2010 Solo Socio-Economic Survey from the Central Bureau of Statistics, *Solo in Number* 2010, Solo map, a book entitled "Bringing out 989 Street Vendors" published by Diskominfo, 2007 Street Vendors Survey and Mapping in Solo from the Board of Market Management, Solo Local Regulation No. 3 of 2008 on the Management of Street Vendors. The data used are from informal sector since the 2009 National Socio-Economic Survey data shows that informal sector workers (106,466 people) cover more or less 31% of the total work force (342,393 people). Their education, however, is mostly (25.7%) elementary school or uneducated.

In depth interviews were done to Solo government, through: the head of Regional Development Planning Board (Bappeda), the head of Market Management Board, the Mayor of Solo, the deputy Mayor of Solo, the head of Solo Central Bureau of Statistics, the head of the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP), the head of People's Empowerment Board (Bapermas), the head of Spatial Planning Department (DTR), the head of Socio Cultural Division of Bappeda. Apart from government, in depth interviews were also done to a cultural expert (Mr. Seno), management of Monjari Cooperative at Klithikan Market, Klithikan Market Traders Association and Klithikan market traders. Later, FGDs were done to confirm the data, once to the local government officials, once to street vendors (informal sector) who have been relocated and another to those who have not been relocated, once to experts and people from NGO. Observations were done systematically through audio-visual recording and field note-keeping.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The social development in Solo was initialized by Jokowi's political campaign as a mayor candidate i.e. economic development of *wong cilik* (literary means "little people", the subaltern class). The political promise is an expression of Jokowi's "inclusive value system" as an individual as well as a member of a political party, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). When Jokowi was successfully elected as Mayor, the value system was further developed into the vision and mission of Solo.[3] The vision is: "*To improve the prosperity of the*

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[3] Some principles held by the local government in relation to vision-mission are as followed: (a) shopping center and mall Development is not a priority, while the street vendors (PKL) management is the top priority; (b) the implementation of street vendors management is in accordance with the effort to promote Solo as an eco-cultural city; (c) budget restructuration is required to support the implementation of street vendors management program; (d) Dialog is the best way to communicate the program, and any form of repressive action is not allowed; (e) the

people and to develop the city based on the spirit of Solo as a Cultural City". Whereas one of the inclusive-oriented missions is: "*To develop and improve people-centered economy through real sector development, micro-, small-, and medium-business empowerment, and credit-facilitated-cooperative development; to finalize the street vendors management; to continue the traditional market revitalization program; to improve market traders' managerial skills; and to promote the existence of (traditional) markets and traders*". This is an interesting sociological symptom: the cross-cutting between the cultural aspect (inclusive value system) and structural aspect (formally formulated vision and mission). Such symptom is could be called "structured culture (SC)"**.**

Next, Jokowi's government consistently rendered the vision-mission of inclusive development into city development policies and further specified them into programs, projects and budgets. Accordingly Solo had conducted a structural development, a significant component of social development. Through the structural development, there would be alteration of power relations between informal sector (PKL) actors and other groups in society (for instance in obtaining a space to trade, in their relocation process by the governmental apparatuses). By Local Regulation No 3 of 2008 on the Street Vendors Management, Solo government opted for relocation approach by way of: (1) providing free stalls; since the local government bought the land and built the market by using fund from the Local Budget (APBD), they were free to determine the price of the stalls according to their commitment with the vendors, without any intervention from investors; (2) facilitating the building of a cooperative in order to help the vendors financially independent. The relocated street vendors to the market were given Trade or Business License (SIUP), Company Registration Certificate (TDP), Certificate of Placement Right (SHP) and Street Vendor Identification Card (KTPP), so that their status was changed from informal sector traders into formal ones; (3) apart from that, local government had provided space choices/business stalls for street vendors, i.e.: shelter, tent (in sidewalks and streets, with limited time), and pushcarts.

The relocation program, as a structural treatment, had in fact triggered social and cultural process such as: value system and attitude change of the street vendors, alteration of organization culture, participation in managing their

local regulation on Street Vendors Management becomes mutual rules in solving PKL management-related problems; (f) various forms of PKL management program implementation has been done, including budget restructuring, formulation of SOP, Implementation Manuals and Technical Guidelines, and data collection. Series of formal and informal dialogues—individual and institutional—as well as dialogues with the community representatives have been conducted as an important part of the program implementation as a whole.

own market, development of social control mechanism among street vendors, formation of "merchant" mentality among them, organizing of trainings, opening of capital access, and other empowerment programs. Accordingly, regulation structure in Solo, in one part, reminded the street vendors to their obligation to move out from the illegal space, but in another part also secured for them the right of continuing business with affordable facilities.

Further, Jokowi's government not only upheld economy-related development policy but also cultural issue (eco-cultural city). The vision and mission of development had made the social development in Solo broad-base, thus also included the city cultural identity development, community participation development, non-violent culture, public sphere provision program for street vendors that prompted civic activity and awareness.

Jokowi also instructed non-violent value in constructing organized- and orderly- street vendors; this means the mayor had established a cultural development by using structural power (regulation). The non-violent culture, which according to his belief is Solo people's inherent culture, was set up through formal government regulation. In this case there was a structured-culture symptom, i.e. the old cultural value was made as formal regulation (structured).

Other structural developments of culture done by Solo government were to enliven the city's traditional culture and conserve old traditions. The programs encouraged Solo traditional art performances in any tourism activities, including incorporating them in Solo calendar of events, compelling officials to use Javanese at government offices on certain days, displaying traditional statues or ornaments in the corners of protocol streets, etc.

Solo government also paid attention to the provision of open green sphere that could be utilized by society. The opening of the public sphere was not only the taking over of misused public space (such as Bale Kambang), but also the provision of some stretch of roads for night street vendors activities (for example at Gladak) by the local government. The opening of public sphere in the city was not only important as the open green area (the lungs of the city) but also for the development of public sphere (development of civic consciousness). Solo government seemed to realize the importance of these, proven by the provision of hot spot facility in public spaces/parks and the opening of open stage for public performance. These would stimulate people's creativity and improve the quality of Solo's civic attitude.

Culture is something inherent, sustains for a long time, not easy to change by itself. Such statement shows that

one of the effective way of changing culture is through structural power, in the form of policy, legislation, program, and project development up to decision of city development budget. However, the structural change done by Solo government is actually rooted from the commitment of Mayor Jokowi toward "inclusive values", that is the economic development of the *wong cilik* (subaltern class). Accordingly, the bases of Solo structural change are cultural factors (value systems of its leader), then operationalized into structural elements (policy/regulation) and implemented consistently. In this case, what happens in Solo is: the culture gives birth to structure and the structure gives birth to new cultures.

As have been discussed earlier, cultural development in Solo is marked by the policy of Eco-Cultural City. The considerations are, among others, to provide cultural orientation for Solo, in order to develop its city identity. This is considered important since nowadays there have been significant cultural drawbacks in Solo. The character of Old Solo is considered better and higher than the today's. This confirms the Mayor to decide that "the future of Solo is the Old Solo".

To actually to let the street vendors participate in the development, Mayor Jokowi had enliven old tradition, i.e. Solo people's style of gathering (*jagongan*). Through *jagongan*, the street vendors could informally negotiate their interest with the government's interests and the whole Solo society's interests. This was a very rare phenomena in Indonesia, where a local leader dared to use cultural tradition as a medium for a structural decision goal. The practice of "*jagongan*" tradition was done naturally (up to 54 gatherings), not just artificially. This is an example of "structured culture (SC)".

The giving of the stall to the vendors as their private belonging had also developed a more positive value system in their civic life, i.e. cleanliness and attractiveness values (through organized activities of decorating the market complex), creativity value (through the joint art events for promoting the market) and responsibility value (measured by the meeting attendance list). The participatory attitude of the vendors in managing the market also tended to develop (can be measured by the number/percentage of vendors joining the market traders association). This means that a regulation that provides physical facilities could encourage cultural changes.

Cultural revitalization program in Solo (eco-cultural city) was still mostly a governmental policy, yet it had been implemented. Culturalization (internalization on the civic attitude and behavior) might not happen entirely, however at least the effort of Solo government had resulted on new cultural excitements on the side of Solo people

as well as the street vendors. Such excitements appeared from the way they decorated their stalls; and what is more interesting is when they agreed with Solo government to relocate to Klithikan market, they arranged a traditional procession (carnival) so extraordinarily that it colored the city with traditional nuance.

Based on the previous explanation, there had been social process initialized or stimulated by structural changes in Solo. Yet the "social process" might also lead the way to new social structure, for instance, the regulation on street vendors management, done by the Mayor by relocating and integrating them to traditional market, came from the Mayor's initiative to conduct informal interaction process with the street vendors. *Jagongan* between Mayor Jokowi and the vendors lasted rather long, i.e. 54 times, which showed that the Mayor was serious in undergoing the natural, informal, social process where the related parties could truly negotiate the concept of city's civic order. This traditional approach is in fact not appropriate with the development principle, that is efficiency, however from socio-cultural point of view this approach seemed to be effective. The Solo government's practice to accommodate the all-natural and all-informal social process into the formal SOP is a phenomenon of structured proces (SP).

The relocation of street vendors to Klithikan market created an interesting social process; Mayor Jokowi named them "merchant", not street vendors who were daily chased by Civil Servant Police Unit (Satpol PP) and must be ready to be forced moving all the time. The change of status had in fact given the vendors self esteem to price themselves and their family. A street vendor said "…when asked in the past, I was more afraid of the rain than the Satpol PP, since when it was raining, I have to clear out my selling goods. Now, I don't have to. My family, even, can stop by here, just like visiting their father's office. Previously, such was impossible, besides dirty, the place was "unclean" mixed with the drunkards, brothels, and the like *…"*.

The status as merchant also encouraged certain positive mental attitudes in them. They began to participate in developing their business, exploring their creativity, improving their responsibility by organizing the cleanliness of the market complex, arranging joint cultural events to promote their market. As a result some value systems also developed, such as cleanliness, orderliness, achievement values, etc. So far, the values might just a process, not yet really becoming culture, however once it was is being cultured there it would be a cultured process (CP).

The merchants, especially in Klithikan market, said

that Mayor Jokowi often visited the market incognito by riding bycicle and conversed with them casually and informally. Such communication style might still be very personal, not yet formalized into a standard pattern of communication through regulation or instruction (structured); such personal style might have not become a culture among the city bureaucrats, nevertheless the leader style was a significant social process and such process could potentially developed into structured process (SP) as well as cultured process (CP).

The Mayor's instruction to Satpol PP on non-violent approach in regulating street vendors had encouraged an interesting social process. Without being armed with violent tools in doing their job, the Satpol PP were forced to regulate the street vendors in an alternative way. As a replacement of police batons, they have to carry a pocket book of Local Regulation on Street Vendors. The Mayors's instruction had prompted the member of Satpol PP in the field to develop their persuassive skills; with the pocket book in their hands, they learned to play the role as an agent of socialization of local regulation among the street vendor community. Here the structure had promoted the daily adaptive process through social interaction.

The head of Satpol PP stated that what Satpol PP did is regulate, yet without ruthlessly "expelling" them, in this case they have to implement the value system of "*nguwongke wong*" (make human human). Here we could see that the value system of *nguwongke wong* began to function as a cultural guideline for structure implementation; thus the happening process became more inclusive, that was more coordinative, communicative and provide solutions. Once again this was a portrayal of structure-culture-process interaction.

The non-violent approach was often considered ineffective and inefficient, yet physical actions were greatly reduced, while the street vendors' awareness greatly increased. The signs of orders were started to be obeyed. The street vendors had already known which area must be sterile from street vendors. Up to now, according to the report, there had not been any case of conflict between Satpol PP and street vendors.

All of these value system might not be culturally internalized either by the member of Satpol PP or street vendors, however sociologically they had become a social process that colored the situation in Solo. Such condition had also developed a communication pattern between Satpol PP and street vendor community. The head of Satpol PP stated that they not only established the local regulation, by communicating more intensively, they also recognized the difficulty that the vendors had in the field. Satpol PP then communicated their finding to the Market Board and Mayor Jokowi. Thus, in Solo Satpol PP assumed the role of solving preventive problems, building a more innovative long-term system, not merely conducting the order of evicting the street vendors. Here the concept of order sociologically obtained a more essential meaning.

Solo government also settled the SOP for Satpol PP, stating that while they are in the condition of wearing uniform, Satpol PP member are not allowed to buy any food and beverages to the street vendors; such was meant to keep their consistence of attitude, so that they would seem dignified in front of them.

The development of "social process" also happened between the street vendors and the Mayor, particularly in finding agreement on some resolved cases. The vendors were invited for lunch then they had dialogues; Jokowi asked about the situation and accommodated all the problems. As an illustration: to overcome the less succeeded relocation problem in Panggungrejo, Jokowi listened to what the vendors suggested, i.e. the development of hotspot facility in the new market nearby Universitas Negeri Solo (UNS) in order to attract university students. Solo government even accepted the vendor's suggestion to organize a "*wayangan*" (a shadow puppet performance) on the "launching" ceremony.

One of the aspects of social process that Mayor paid attention to is the public sphere sparing policy (as the space for civic expression). The sphere might not always be a physical space, but also all the chances provided by the Solo government for their people to express their opinions, be it political or social (the opportunity to gather and create a discourse) as well as art and cultural expression or aspiration. Nonetheless, public sphere requires a physical space in the city, freely opened for public; therefore, the Mayor actively provided public space as well as green open space for that particular interest. Jokowi stated that people needed public space where they could gather, greet each other and thus improved the quality of civil interaction.

Regulation drafting by the government is an important "structural development", However its 'practice' in the filed often causes problem; this is "social process" aspect that must be continuosly observed. The happening social process can be consistent with the existing structural provision (structured process), for instance satpol PP truly acted without being armed. However there could also be some negotiations toward structural provisions (processed structure), for instance the street vendors "bargained" that the existing regulation be in accord with the condition in the field (such things often happened in the relocation case in Panggungrejo).

For the goal of creating social development, structure is important, however an adaptive and accomodative

social process to certain degree is also required, since the development must be inclusive. Essentially "development is a process". This is the basic weakness of "technocratically planned Development" that notably relies on structural power that has been determined by the authority. Nevertheless a good and accepted structure by society can gradually become cultural element of society (cultured structure); this is an example of a success of structural development.

According to the proposition, proposed above, social development is, *first*: the development of societal basic elements, i.e.: structure-culture and process; *second*, its orientation must be a more inclusive social life (populist). The portrayal we get in Solo showed that Jokowi had implemented social development since in his vision he mentioned "the prosperity of common people" (this is an inclusive value); second, he oriented the Development of Solo toward "eco-cultural" values (it is not only material, but also cultural, not only for human beings but also its ecological element, i.e. its nature and animals). In one of Mayor Jokowi's missions he mentioned the subaltern class' (*wong cilik*) economy. This is a manifestation of inclusive value that includes the interests of all the people (including the underprivileged). Actually, the development in Solo had structurally been started when the vision and mission was legally formulated, since the vision and mission are the formulations of commitment guideline of the policies taken by the government. Therefore, the structural development in Solo truly inspired by cultural aspect, i.e. the particular value system (inclusiveness); This was what is called a "value based development".

Next, the social development of Solo was indeed dominated by "structural development" and this began when Jokowi consistently put into practice or operated his vision and mission into Development policies, local regulation and other legislation, up to the implementation of programs, projects and budgets. This is a cultured structure. Other local governments often halt on the attractive vision-mission formulation; however the existing policies and regulation do not guarantee the accomplishment of the vision and mission (pseudo or artificial culture). As the "commander" of social development, the government policies and regulations in Solo had been oriented to build "cultural" element and "social process" elements as explained above.

Even though the social development in Solo was mostly encouraged by the "structural power" pioneered by the government, social development could also happen "autokinetically" or by its own intern dynamics. For example, the stall-giving decision for street vendors (the structural aspect) had produced the growth of the vendors' self esteem and this stimulated the growth of new value systems (cultural aspect) among the vendors (participation value, cleanliness value, self-esteem value, creativity value, etc.). The non-violent rule for Satpol PP (structural aspect) had produced not only cultural development (non-violent value), but also the growth of "social process" aspect, such as new interactions between the member of Satpol PP and street vendors. There might also be unintended consequences, i.e. when Satpol PP developed into the bureaucratic unit of local government who was most knowledgeable in dealing with the practical problems encountered by street vendors in the field (more knowledgeable than the Market Board).

As has been stated above, the cross-cutting structural, cultural and social process elements produced a "cross section area". Observing the "cross section area" is very important to see how the structure-culture-process interact and are united and how far does the cross-cutting produce social development.

First, the cross-cutting between the Structural and Cultural elements produces two symptoms, those are (a) Cultured Structure/CS i.e. well-internalized government regulations that become part of people's culture, (b) Structured Culture/SC i.e. cultural elements "promoted" or legalized by the government into formal legislation. *Second*, the cross cutting between Structural and Process elements produces two things, those are: (a) Structured Process/SP i.e. action practice in daily interactions is being promoted into formal regulation; (b) Processed Structure/PS i.e. government regulations is being processed, made-into-discourse, re-negotiated by the society through daily interactions. *Third*, the cross-cutting between Cultural and Social Process elements produces: (a) Processed Culture/PC i.e. the questioning and negotiating of tradition or value system by society through daily interactions; (b) Cultured Process/CP i.e. the practice of daily interactions, are being internalized and became cultural element.

In Solo all variations of cross-cutting took place. This merely shows the dynamics of the existing social development but does not altogether show, for instance, that Structured Culture is better than Cultured Structure in a social development; since it depends on how much the symptom is oriented to social inclusion. For example, if the "*jagongan*" culture was promoted into regulation, then the symptom could be considered good since it was oriented toward inclusive values; however if the thing promoted was "the using of *krama inggil* language" (a polite Javanese language), this could be good for conserving Javanese culture, however for immigrants from other regions/ethnicity, such regulation might seem to exclude them. Accordingly, when we examine how far Solo was implementing social development, then the major criteria is how far the development

Table 1. The Initial Source of Social Development Index

Structural Aspect of Development

No	Activities	Variables	Indicators	Criteria
1.	Interpreting the inclusive value system into the city development's vision and mission	The Vision and Mission of inclusive city development	Explicit vision-mission formulation, related to the inclusive city Development kota (pro-sublatern class, city cultural identity, participation)	1= has explicit formulation 0 = no explicit formulation
2.	interpreting the inclusive development's vision-mission into the city Development policies	Inclusive Socio-cultural Development Policies	Existence of inclusive city Development policy (pro-sublatern class, city cultural identity, participation)	1= has policies 0= no policy
3.	Implementing the policies of inclusive Development into local regulations	Regulation Structure	Existence of inclusive city Development regulation (subaltern class economic management, cultural identity, people participation, etc.)	1= socio-cultural regulations are consistent with socio-cultural policies 0=not consistent
4.	Elaborating inclusive Development policies and regulations into programs, projects and budgets.	Programs, projects, budgets related to inclusive development	The existence of program, project, budget on people-centered economic development, city cultural identity and community participation	1=socio-cultural programs are consistent with socio-cultural policies and regulations 0= not consistent
			The existence of program that provide public space for street vendors.	1=exist 0=does not exist
			The existence of local language use instruction at the local government office	1=exist 0=does not exist
5.	Providing public space to develop "public sphere" (civic activities)	The usage of the city space for public sphere	The regulations open space provision for civic activities	0=open space is bellow 3% 1=the gren open space is above 3% but not used for civic activities. 2= the gren open space is above 3%, used for civic activities.
6.	Deciding the non-violent principle in creating city order and orderliness	Anti-violent approach	The organization of SOP of anti-violent street vendors management program Budget for anti-violent equipments	0= no organization (only establishing order) 1= there is an organization but without non-violent principle. 2= organization with anti-violent approach.
7.	Empowering street vendors	Community empowerment	Local regulations on street vendors empowerment (training, financing, supervision, etc.)	0= does not exist 1=exist, only up to Mayor Regulation (Perwali), instructions, circulated official letters 2= exist in the form of local regulations
8.	Providing alternative business locations for street vendors.	Legalization, formalization and provision of business locations for street vendors	The existence of regulations that provide alternative business spaces for street vendors.	0= does not exist 1=exist, only up to Mayor Regulation (Perwali), instructions, circulated official letters 2= exist in the form of local regulations
9.	Providing opportunity for street vendors to participate in management program.	Participation	The existence of regulation on the provision of street vendors participation	0= does not exist 1=exist, only up to Mayor Regulation (Perwali), instructions, circulated official letters 2= exist in the form of local regulations

103 International Journal of Administrative Science & Organization, May 2011
Bisnis & Birokrasi, Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi dan Organisasi

Volume 18, Number 2

Cultural Aspect of Development

No	Activities	Variables	Indicators	Criteria
1.	Providing open space to develop "public sphere" (civic activities)	Public space and "Public sphere" (civic activities)	Addition of open green areas	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The provision of free hot spot facility by the local government for people in the public space	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The building of open stage for public performance	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The availability of room for people to express their opinion and aspiration	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The existence of public space for people to develop their creativity	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The existence of people's creative activities in the public space	0=does not exist 1=exist
2.	Developing non-violent value and norm in creating order	Non-violent value system and norm	Violent case between local government and street vendors in establishing order.	0= always with violence 1= violence if necessary 2= without violence
3.	Revitalizing the city traditional culture in street vendors management	Traditional culture	The using of traditional way in the interaction between local government and street vendors	0=no 1=yes
			The using of traditional ornament in the traditional market	0=no 1=yes
			The existence of the centers of local art and cultural activities	0=does not exist 1=exist only one 2=exist, more than one
4	Providing alternative business locations to improve street vendors' "self esteem"	Alternatif business locations	The availability of more satisfactory and proper alternative business locations	0= not available 1= available
5	Providing chance for participation to street vendors	Participation of street vendors	The existence of gathering invitation between local government and street vendors	0= does not exist 1= exist
			The existence of Develoment Planning Meeting (Musrenbang) for street vendors	0=does not exist 1=exist
6	Developing nterpersonal communication mechanism between officials and street vendors	Interpersonal communication between officials and people/street vendors	The number of street vendors activies/meeting attended by government officials	0=does not exist 1=rarely 2=become tradition (culture)
			The number of informal visit of government officials to traditional market	0=never 1= rarely 2.= often/regular
7	Developing educating mechanism for people	Non-violent education for people	The existence of non-violent SOP	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The evaluation of Satpol PP's educating attitude by street vendors.	0=bad 1=good
		The imposing of cleanliness value	The existence of waste management organization in each traditional market	0=doe not exist 1= exist
			The availability of sufficient garbage cans in public places	0=does not exist/not sufficient 1= exist
			The existence of individual grabage can for each vendor	0=does not exist 1=exist
			The practice of Periodic Cleaning Day (Clean Friday)	0=does not exist 1= exist
			The existence of 3R (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle) program socialization	0=does not exist 1= exist
		Norm system development	The availability of new tradition of social control mechanism among street vendors in the new relocation area	0= Does not exist 1= exist

No	Activities	Variables	Indicators	Kriteria
8	Developing creativity to produce new cultural product	New cultural product from street vendor community	The existence of physical/non-physical art-cultural product from street vendor community	0= does not exist 1= exist

Processual Aspect of Development

No	Activities	Variables	Indicators	Kriteria
1	Providing open space to develop "public sphere" (civic activities)	Public space and "public sphere" (civic activities)	Frequency development of civic creative activities in public space	0 = Does not exist 1 = exist, no addition 2 = exist, with addition
			Development of the kind of civic creative activities in public space	0 = Does not exist 1 = exist, the same kind 2 = exist, various kind
2	Developing non-violent value and norm in creating orderly street vendors	An approach-change process in regulating street vendors	The development application dialog (rembug) between the government (officials/officers) with the street vendors.	0 = Does not exist 1 = exist
			The change of Satpol PP's role in street vendors management process	0 = only regulating 1 = management with dialogue
3	Revitalizing of the city traditional culture in street vendors management	Revitalization of traditional culture	The increase of local cultural product usage in markets or streets where the vendors do the selling	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			The increase of traditional art-cultural activities by the street vendor community	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
4	Providing alternatif business locations for street vendors	Alternatif business locations	Development of new models of street vendors spatial management	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
5	Providing opportunies fro participation for street vendors	street vendors participation	Increasing trend of street vendors association number	0= increase 1 = does not increase
			Trend of meeting between local government and street vendors association	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			The existence of NGO working together with the local government in order to regulate street vendors	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			The increase of street vendors cooperative number	0= does not increase 1= increase
6	Openning opportunies for street vendors to improve their business career and prosperity level (vertical mobility)	sosial mobility	Cooperative accessibility for street vendors	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			Accessibility of other credit facilities for street vendors	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			Schooling accessibility for street vendors and their family	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			Health accessibility for street vendors and their family	0 = does not exist 1 = exist

7	Developing civic education mechanism in street vendors community (empowerment)	Non-violent and democratic principle education	The existence of anti-violent approach socialization and formal training for Satpol PP member	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			Satpol PP's consistence in practising the non-violent SOP (viewed from daily news report)	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			Satpol PP's consistence in educating street vendors on Civic Order (local government evaluation result)	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			The consistence of local government officials in managing street vendors/NGO members rally/protest on the street vendors management.	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			The existence of local government's evaluation mechanism toward the implementation of democracy education	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
		Cleanliness value education	The existence of scheduled program from the local government for waste management trainings for street vendors.	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
			The existence of counseling or consistent control from the local government on the cleanliness of markets or business location of street vendors.	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
		Business skills education/training	The existence of regular training programs for street vendors	0 = does not exist 1 = exist
		Social control development among street vendors	The supervision by the local government officials to develop social control among street vendors in their business location	0 = does not exist 1 = exist

Source: Wirutomo et al, 2010

was related to structure-culture-process and how far it was oriented toward socio-cultural inclusiveness. Therefore we need a standard and valid Social Development Index. The research done by the writer and several Lecturers of Sociology in Solo by using the method of SSM (unfortunately, due to limited space cannot be further detailed here) has identified a number of Development activities, variable, and social development indicator with its numeric criteria. After conducting some revisions from the research report documents, the result is presented in the form of a matrix in table 1. This is an "initial source" from a Social Development Index which still needs to be validated through further studies.[4]

By using "professional judgment" I can indicate that Solo government had practiced a social development. The spirit of social development as the basis of societal development have been appeared by the consistence of cultural elements (inclusive value system) with the structural

product (local regulation, program, budget, etc.), the existence of structural development that supported cultural change (such as eco-cultural city, non-violent policy in regulating the city), as well as the sparing of space for the "social process" development (such as *jagongan* between the Mayor and the street vendors). In Solo we could see that although the structural aspect (determined by the government) dominated the social development, there had also been "self-generating" developments from Cultural as well as Process aspects. There had even been cases where structural element from the government was influenced by the development of culture and social process (self- reinforcing process).

From macro perspective, we can see whether the Structural-Cultural and Process development by Solo government had been oriented toward significant "social inclusiveness". Based on the 2009 data from Bappeda, the industrial area increased from 101.42 Ha in 2005 to 238.42 Ha in 2009. The area of city slums tended to be steady from 2005 to 2007 that was around 101.42 Ha**.** The existence of traditional market improved from 38

[4] See also the research report entitled: *"The Development of Social Development Index for Informal Sector in Cities: Toward Inclusive Policy for Informal Sector: Case Study of Solo and Depok"*

markets in 2005 to 42 markets in 2009 (10% increase); while the supermarket increased from 20 markets in 2005 to 31 markets in 2009 (35% increase). In 2009 the number of hyper-mart increased by one, grocer market by two and mall by two. The condition shows that Solo has to some extent practiced Social Development, but to maintain its investment climate (becoming an investment –friendly city Solo still provides rooms to upper-middle class economy.

CONCLUSION

The core of social development lied in its "orientation". The growth-oriented development would only emphasize on "how to enlarge and accelerate the economic output". Social Development concerns instead of in building the basic elements of people's social life, i.e.: Structural development (whose bottom line is to organize the "power relation" in society), Cultural development (especially inclusive-emansipating "value system" development), Social Process (that provided "free room" for each human to negotiate his life meaning). In the recent development practices, the "social process" is often obstructed ("put in a cage") by the structure and culture created by those who hold the power. Social development must be value-based development, because it is essentially meant for human, thus can never be value-free.

The growth-oriented Development often perceives that the challenge of Development is poverty, because poverty endangers the regime in power. Whereas for Social Development perspective the major problem is social exclusion where human is taken away from his basic rights as a human as well as citizen through the unjust and poorly-built structure-culture and social process. Therefore social development is not complimentary, it is a "requirement" or basis of all human "development" as a "social being"; hence its accomplishment must be measurable in a Social Development Index.

The new Development paradigm such as "Reinventing Government", "People Centred Development", "Human Development" (UNDP), and MDGs (UN) are indeed significant leaps in the Development concept; nevertheless all are still limited to the accomplishment of the so called "social sectors" (education, health gender, poverty etc.), instead of the development of the basic element of societal life (structur-culture-process), so by using those approaches, we can only measure sectoral accomplishment, not "societal" one.

In conection with Policy Study, this writing shows that the existing Development systems contain basic errors, that is, too much oriented toward sectors, instead of founding themselves upon "socio-cultural life" where all sectors are rooted. Therefore, Policy Study needs to include sociological analysis and directs its attention to societal life basic elements i.e. "structure-culture and process", instead of merely emphasizes on (political or economic) analysis toward Governmental institutions in taking their "policy choices".

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