

# A Symbolic Participation of the Local Community in the Implementation of A PROPER-based Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Program

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## Abstrak

Praktik CSR terus berkembang secara kuantitas sebagai salah satu alternatif sumber daya pembangunan yang menjanjikan, namun secara kualitas pengelolaannya masih dominan bersifat karitatif sehingga belum optimal dalam pemberdayaan komunitas. Oleh karena itu, perkembangan studi dan kebijakan di tingkat nasional maupun global terus mencari format terbaik dalam mengoptimalkan peran program CSR pada pemberdayaan komunitas. Sejumlah literatur menunjukkan bahwa partisipasi aktif dan peningkatan kapasitas komunitas akan kurang optimal apabila program diinisiasi dengan pendekatan direktif, *top-down*, dan kurang memberikan ruang partisipatif berbasis potensi komunitas. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan teknik wawancara mendalam, tulisan ini menemukan bahwa partisipasi komunitas lokal dalam implementasi CSR PLTU bersifat partisipasi simbolik yang berciri sekadarnya, hanya mobilisasi memenuhi prosedur, peran aktor elite yang lebih dominan pada, sehingga tidak mampu memberdayakan dan meningkatkan kapasitas komunitas secara luas. Tingkat partisipasi komunitas lokal ini hanya sampai pada tingkat penentruman (*placation*) dan belum sejalan dengan semangat panduan Proper yang bertujuan mencapai tingkat kemitraan (*partnership*).

## Abstract

CSR practices continue to grow as a promising alternative development resource, yet still predominantly charitable in nature, preventing them from optimal community empowerment. Therefore, studies and policies at the national and global levels remain in search of the best format to optimize CSR programs' role in community empowerment. A number of literature show less than optimal active participation and capacity-building of the community if a program is initiated by a directive, top-down approach, providing only a minimal participatory space based on the community's potentials. Using qualitative method and in-depth interview techniques, this paper finds that the local community participation in PLTU's CSR implementation is symbolic and characterized by artificiality, mobilization to meet procedures, and more dominant role of elite actors that hampers empowerment and capacity-building of the community at large. The local community's participation only reaches the level of placation and is not in line with the spirit of the Proper guidelines aimed at achieving the level of partnership. It is due to the company's approach that tends to be procedural in fulfilling the Proper parameters without providing sufficient space and time to accommodate the community's aspirations and potentials, the limited program assistances, and the pragmatic society that has lost its communal characters.

Keywords: Participation, community empowerment, PROPER policy, CSR Program

## INTRODUCTION

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program as a growing potential alternative for community development accounts for the emergence of global and national policies that propel the quality of CSR programs to empower communities more optimally in supporting achievements of sustainable development (Bebbigton et al. 2008, Behringer and Sze-hgedi 2016). Community involvement and empowerment are important parts of the seven core points of CSR implementation in ISO 26000 (Herciu 2016). A CSR program defined by community sociological empowerment is a form of company's commitment to compensate for the impact of its activities on the surrounding community, especially in enhancing the capabilities of lower and middle class citizens who are relatively more vulnerable (Scholmerich 2013). It is necessary to implement empowerment by involving a quality community participation so that capacity-building can be realized.

CSR management in Indonesia remains charitable in nature to fulfill short-term needs and does not yet touch aspects of community empowerment (Pranoto and Yusuf 2014). This is due to the rather slow understanding of CSR among Indonesian companies that interpret CSR practices as a form of endowment (generosity) instead of responsibility and commitment. In addition, the absence of regulations that provide operational guidance (implementation, assessment, and supervision) of CSR practices in Indonesia hinders optimal structural efforts to drive the understanding of CSR in Indonesia towards sustainable CSR and sustainable business (Lee Tang 2016). The government stipulates and requires CSR practices through multiple policies, such as Law No. 40 of 2007 regarding Limited Liability Companies, Law No. 25 of 2007 regarding Investment, Government Regulation (PP) No. 47 of 2012, SOE Ministerial Regulation (Permen) No. 5 of 2007, and others. As a result, it appears that CSR implementation is mandatory, but without clear references with the absence of operational guidelines for those regulations. Responding to this, KLH (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup/Ministry of Environment and Forestry) through the Ministerial Regulation No. 03 of 2014 regarding Company Performance Rating Assessment Program (better known as Proper) of KLH provides operational guidelines to address environmental impact management, including community empowerment as a social aspect. Studies about CSR practices have touched enough aspects of empowerment to provide explana-

tion of programs that tend to be subpar. These studies imply a debate between two schools of thought regarding the approach of community empowerment programs. The first camp sees that a community empowerment program structurally governed by top-down mechanism through government policy tends to be sectoral (Beto et al. 2011), technocratic, and directive. It is considered too hegemonic, viewing the community only as an object of empowerment instead of an autonomous subject (Ledwith 2006, Snijder et al. 2015), confining community aspirations and cognitions while shutting their socio-cultural insights and potentials (Mtika and Kistler 1999). This approach ultimately leads to the community's low sense of program ownership, low community participation, minimal capacity building, and program's unsustainability.

The second group views that the problem of empowerment lies not in the structural program approach of government policy, but rather is determined by other prerequisites at the implementation levels, such as the correct method to accommodate community's aspirations and potentials, the understanding of empowerment actors concerning empowerment processes that are not procedural and directive, and quality of assistance. Thus, the main focus must be placed on a number of important aspects at these levels of implementation, not on the structural nature of the empowerment program. In this camp, Hobley (1996), Westoby and Dowling (2013), Nuttavuthisit et al. (2015) see that community participation in managing a program can be driven by government policy, private sector directive, and community initiative itself (Yakovleva and Albaster 2003), provided that an assistance is carried out seriously to oversee such participation while accommodating institutional potentials, norms, and systems already existing in the community to run the program. It is necessary to pay more attention to vital aspects of the prerequisites of an empowerment program implementation, such as human rights, justice, and decision-making power (Kemp 2009) at the community level, to create more optimal engagement, community empowerment, and capacity-building (Ballard and Banks 2003, Mansuri and Rao 2012).

This paper analyzes the dynamics of the forms, mechanisms, and levels of participation of the local community around PLTU (Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap/Steam Power Plant) in implementing CSR programs based on the Proper KLH guidelines to explore additional scientific evidences of the second camp's arguments at the prerequisite level of sustainable program implementation methods. The authors argue that

the Proper-based CSR programs of PLTU has less than optimal active participation of local community because its implementation tends to be procedural and ignores important aspects at the program implementation level. In the end, it is not successful in increasing the capabilities of the affected communities as the programs' recipient, creating serious implications for the relations between the company and the community.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This paper is written based on a study uses a qualitative approach with an extended case study method from Burawoy (2009) to explore the dynamics of local community participation in the implementation of Proper-based CSR programs and the community's sense of the importance of their involvement. A survey was conducted in January to March 2019 in Tubanan Village, Kembang District, Jepara Regency, being the ring one or the closest area to the PLTU. It focused specifically on the two closest hamlets, the most affected by the company's activities, Sekuping and Selencir.

The techniques of primary data collection comprised in-depth interview, Focus Group Discussions (FGD), and observation as well as actual documentation. In-depth interviews and FGDs were conducted on selected informants according to the needs of the information criteria (purposive), obtained using the snowbowling method. Among them were a number of key informants, namely administrators and members of program recipient groups who received the Proper award. FGDs were conducted with two groups of citizens who received CSR programs at different phases. Through interviews and FGDs, the authors can map the forms and levels of participation, including the obstacles behind the conditions of participation. The authors also interviewed formal figures, such as village heads, village secretaries, or RTs (Rukun Tetangga, an administrative unit of neighborhood), chairperson of Village Owned Enterprises (Bumdes), and informal figures, such as youth leaders, women leaders, company staff familiar with information about program implementation stages, to gain a full understanding of the societal context, the dynamics of the actors involved in managing company programs, and the social relations between community actors and the company. To complete the primary data, the authors also collected secondary data in the form of previous studies on CSR implementation, CSR program reports, and other secondary sources.

## PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES IN COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

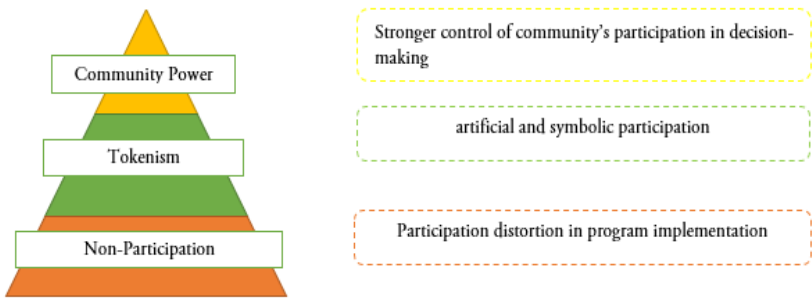
To analyze the role of Proper-based CSR programs in community empowerment, this paper uses a framework of participatory empowerment approach. The growing literature on community empowerment implies a consensus that participatory approach is the latest and best one that's very relevant to community-based sustainable development. This approach is the antithesis of the directive one, considered to overemphasize the active involvement of social practitioners while ignoring active participation of local communities as subjects of empowerment (Adi 2007, Eversole 2012). Most of the literature in the field of community empowerment today seem to continue to strengthen this participatory approach in the reliability of techniques, methods, and principles, connecting them to concepts of sustainable development.

The participatory approach views community empowerment as an effort to achieve a community's socio-economic progress, performed by involving the community as an object, based on the potentials of the available resources for their independence (Cavaye 2007, Cornwal 2008). This approach emphasizes the community as a center of empowerment because people know best what they need and how to succeed (Noah 2011). Community change can be optimized by involving active participation of all elements in it, whether in the phase of identifying ideas, setting goals, planning activities and determining measurements of success, implementation, or monitoring-evaluation. As Bowen and Herremans (2010) reveal, community involvement will increase the trust and ownership of a program. Such reasoning becomes an analytical framework to see the dynamics of local community participation in every phase. Thus, this paper views the concept of participation as active and conscious community participation in each of the phases mentioned above.

The main principles in participatory empowerment strategy are the primary analytical tools in this paper. Ballard and Banks (2003), for example, emphasize several important things to consider in participatory empowerment strategy, namely empowerment goal setting, human resource capacity-building to be undertaken, and alternative empowerment organization to apply. Simpson (2015:3328) sharpens several key principles of participatory empowerment, namely: first, community awareness of problems, solutions, potentials, and goals of empowerment; second, training of individuals and organizational skills according to potentials;

third, social technology to be used; fourth, empowerment mechanism arrangement such as division of tasks, coordination pathways, and so on. Community involvement strategy is significant in the mechanism of participatory approach so that this paper uses principles of the strategy as the main analytical tools referring to Simpson’s (2015) idea above.

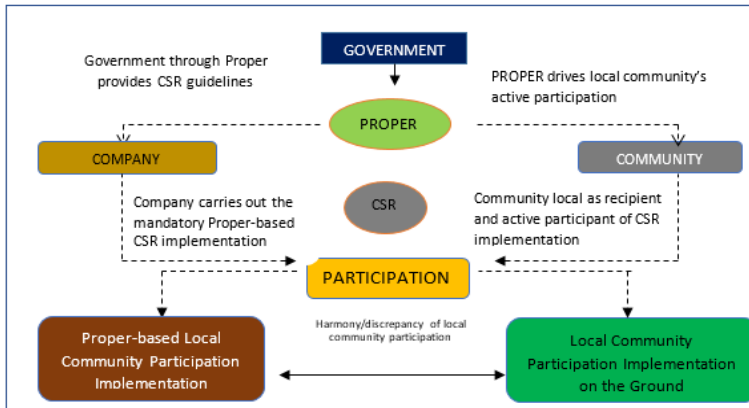
Figure 1. Arnstein’s Levels of Participation (1969)



Source: Author's

Arnstein (1969) formulates participation category into eight ladders of participation based on the distribution of power between community and external agencies (such as state and private sector). In this paper, it is relevant to use an analysis of power relations in the participation in the context of relations between the Tubanan village community and the PLTU’s CSR management as an external agency as the program initiator. Arnstein’s categorization of participation level (1969) consists of non-participation which is the lowest level, tokenism as the second level, and community control as the highest level. It is possible then to break down these three levels into eight ladders of participation. Levels of community participation will thus be analyzed by looking at the suitability of form, mechanism, and degree of the community’s active participation in the planning, implementation, and monitoring-evaluation phases, with the participation ladder parameter. This ladder also provides a space for an analysis of a more active involvement of local community’s elite actors.

Figure 2. Analytical Framework



Source: Author's

### PROPER AS LATEST OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATORY CSR

Proper KLH is a policy instrument to implement the principles of a green economy based on adherence to environmental management performance, energy efficiency, water conservation, reduction of waste pollution, and reduction of economic inequality through the implementation of community empowerment programs. This policy, integrating environmental and social aspects, is stipulated in the Minister of Environment Regulation No. 3/2013 regarding Company Performance Rating Assessment Program in Environmental Management. This regulation explicitly emphasizes a mandatory corporate compliance in environmental aspects and places CSR/Community Development performance as a suggestion instead of obligation (Temmy et al. 2015).

In the domain of CSR policies in Indonesia, Proper is the latest and most operational regulation that provides implementation guidelines for companies. There has been a highly urgent necessity for CSR practices' operational guidelines due to the regulatory vacuum that is supposed to serve as an operational instrument, contributing to slow CSR understanding among corporations in Indonesia towards sustainable business. The implication is seen in CSR practices commonly in the form of charity and short-term donations, more oriented towards

incidental company operations. In such condition, companies run otherwise empowering CSR programs only in procedure and below par, viewing them as voluntary act (CSR Netherlands 2016). Therefore, Proper seeks to provide new directions for more sustainable and long-term oriented CSR practices by encouraging active involvement of local communities to improve life quality of these affected communities, reduce inequality, and achieve community independence.

Proper stipulates and provides technical guidance to encourage companies to implement sustainable empowerment programs. Proper is equipped with details of activity phases that can be carried out and an assessment system to ensure that implementation is in accordance with this policy reference. An independent team runs this assessment, and ultimately identifies and analyzes any gaps between Proper guidelines and a company's CSR practices. If a company's CSR practices are fit or with only a few gaps from the guidelines, it can receive the Green Proper title, which a few years later can be upgraded to Gold as the highest attribute. The achievement is a prestige for the company because then it can claim and be labeled as having good social responsibility performance. Our data shows rapid increase in the number of companies that submit Proper valuations from year to year.

Proper provides guidelines of CSR practices in planning, implementation, and monitoring-evaluation phases. An analysis of successful PLTU's CSR practices using the Proper lens can be carried out in two integrated means. First, in relation to the fulfillment of CSR practice phases according to Proper guidelines, and second, the application of participatory empowerment principles in accordance with Proper directives. In every phase, local community participation is mandatory. In the planning phase, a company must prepare social mapping document and strategic planning document, stipulated by Proper to be done in a participatory manner, involving all community elements and potentials. In this phase, a company is also encouraged to conduct an analysis of the community's potentials, social capital, identification of social problems, and identification of this local community's needs. A company is even asked to identify effective forums for the community to discuss and make decisions together. In the implementation phase, participation of parties within the community is also mandatory, constituting a considerable weight in Proper assessment. It must be proven by attendance lists, photos, and minutes of meetings of discussions with the community regarding the



programs. In the monitoring-evaluation phase, community involvement is once again required, including a community satisfaction index for the program being implemented, which must be included in the program evaluation report.

#### ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE MIDST OF DIMINISHED COMMUNAL CHARACTERS

Community's characteristics are an important variable closely related to community participation in CSR programs and relationship with the company. In this case, the community's characters are prone to pragmatism and opportunism. In sociological terms, the people's communal characters, collectivity, and common values as a rural community have been eroded by individuality due to decades of interactions in furniture trade. The development of the village economic base that helps change the community's characteristics is prolonged after the arrival and commencement of PLTU's unit 1 and 2's construction. The community's characters quickly change to be very individualistic and opportunistic. Personal and small group interests—usually family-based—are people's top priorities. The emergence of new variety of work also creates new, more open forms of stratification. Factors of capital ownership, education level, and strong social networks have become a point of reference in determining relations and classifications within the community. Individuality and pragmatism are also strong enough to imbue the various forms of people's interactions with the company, including the participation in the CSR programs implementation. In addition, figures' influence, a mark of a feudal society, has been on the decline with formal figures growing more dominant.

The power plant not only gives a new color to the community's characters, but also creates potentials of the local community's work diversification and vertical social economic mobility. Livelihoods that previously depended on agriculture and fishing have grown towards being company workers and micro-medium enterprises in the formal sector. Employment potential in the formal sector has increased and is greatly felt by the village youth (nom-nom). The current local young generation is oriented more to work in the company, leaving agricultural business while employment opportunities at the operational stage of PLTU are decreasing and this local youth's education is relatively low compared to the qualifications needed. This is a challenge for the CSR

programs to address in empowering the community and boosting an increase in the number and quality of businesses to diversify employment opportunities, including agricultural innovation, animal farming, and fishing.

As PLTU workers' needs grow, the community has seized the opportunity to open new businesses, such as rental property, minimarkets, mini gas stations, food stalls, and laundry services. Such micro-businesses can be easily found along the Tubanan road and centered around PLTU's operations in Sekuping and Selencir. Nearly every local business opportunity related to PLTU projects, such as trucking subcontractors, limited construction projects, and collecting and selling gypsum wastes, is managed individually, strengthening the community's individual character. Opportunism, individualism, and pragmatism also prompt the formation of various, more fluid groups, according to individuals' or some people's interests in exploiting opportunities from PLTU and CSR programs. This potentially raises latent conflict that manifests among fellow citizens in mutual suspicion and mistrust, making it difficult to consolidate the community's common interests at the village level. Rallies of community groups are not completely resolved by the company and tend to be responded to by giving resources access (compensations and CSR programs) to main actors of the rallies, creating segregations within the community based on interests. As a result, social cohesion that used to be strong is even more marred now with opportunism and pragmatism.

People view communal activities as limited to religious celebrations, independence day, weddings, sea/earth alms, instead of for the sake of the village's socio-economic development. Even community members tend to be apathetic towards community forums, which are usually a medium to discuss and make communal decisions together for the village's progress. Professional groups (farmers, fishermen, breeders), youth groups (Karang Taruna, Sido Rukun, Fokus, Bagaskara) exist indeed but the citizens' organizational capability remains low and group membership, too, becomes segmented according to interests.

## PROCEDURAL AND "HALF-HEARTED" CSR PRACTICES

Proper has provided a CSR pathway in a manageable, accountable, and participatory manner. In the context of Proper-based CSR practices, these things are integrated with each other. A company can only practice

participatory and empowering CSR if it can complete phases according to Proper guidelines. However, it is not necessarily the opposite since the fulfillment of Proper procedures can be done without exercising the proper principles of participatory empowerment. Referring to Simpson (2015), the Proper-based participatory CSR practices in this case can be tested by examining the application of the main principles of participatory empowerment: first, the community's awareness of problems, solutions, potentials, and empowerment goals; second, the development of individual and organization human resources according to potentials; third, the suitability of social technology used; and fourth, the organization of empowerment mechanism with optimal community involvement.

PLTU's CSR practices have completed the Proper phase's procedures, but these have not been optimal in involving active community participation in every phase. In the planning phase, for example, the company has produced a relatively new social mapping document within the last three years and a CSR strategic plan document according to Proper guidelines. The two documents' contents are also relatively in accordance with those suggested in the Proper rating parameters. However, in its preparation, nearly all planning phases did not involve local community's active participation. Identification of problems, potentials, and resources, which in the empowerment logic according to Proper must involve elements of the community at large, did not occur on the ground. Two-way discussion forums that reflect participatory engagement process are minimal. Citizens' forums as local social technology are reduced to one-way delivery of information and appear to be merely organized to fulfill Proper prerequisites. In fact, in the fieldwork it was found that a fair number of community members were unaware of the existence of strategic planning documents, including the contents. Apart from the already eroded communal characteristics of the community, making members tend to be apathetic towards communal forums like this, and the formal elite's dominant power, it is also due to the CSR officers' lack of preparedness to design suitable mechanisms to optimize community involvement.

Participation is further reduced by way of program proposal submission by each community group (farmers, fishermen, stock farmers, and even village government). The proposals' preparations did not undergo participatory consensus mechanisms within a group; these were rather ideas of individuals who want to seize an opportunity

to benefit from PLTU's CSR. Individual and collective/organizational capacity-building does not occur in such CSR program planning process. As such, the absence of optimal assistance for the community in the planning process reflects the company's lack of seriousness in ensuring empowerment. In procedure, it has carried out almost all phases required by Proper in planning. However, the efforts appear artificial as if an attempt to elude obligations.

Similar conditions are also seen in the programs' implementation phase. In procedure, the company has succeeded in fulfilling two emphases in Proper. First, it produces an activity report that reflects the suitability and consistency of what it has planned, both in terms of suitability of program type, timeliness, and budget sufficiency. Second, there are reports and reporting documents showing the local government agencies' and community's recognition of the company's contribution to community empowerment. However, the participatory empowerment principle, one of the explicit criteria with substantial weight in the Proper document, was not fully exercised. Participation of relevant parties in the community in the program implementation was very minimal, partial, and tends to be dominated by certain elites and their groups. Unequal community involvement is also reflected in citizens' rallies, demanding the company to distribute the CSR programs more equally and to involve all elements.

In its implementation, the CSR programs in this case remain charities, not empowerment. Programs such as free medical treatment, goods distribution, and celebration day aids, are forms of CSR commonly favored by the community, but as stipulated in Proper, such programs' portion must gradually diminish and be replaced with capacity-building programs, such as trainings. The dominance of charity programs is also an indication that empowerment process was less than optimal. Community participation in the charity program implementation means being recipient. Several measures that constitute the first steps of community involvement, in fact, were correct, such as the formation of program management team from the group-based stock farmers and fishermen existing already in the community. Unfortunately, participation and capacity-building were less than optimal due to the lack of assistance from the CSR officers team.

One of the main factors behind such circumstance is the model of program presentation by the community through proposal. The bottom-up mechanism in this proposal submission in fact strengthens

and provides a fertile ground for pragmatic, individualistic, and opportunistic dispositions. As a result, the programs proposed tend to be charitable, in the form of goods needed by certain individuals and groups, which are short-term and incidental. This reflects a contradiction to the participatory empowerment principle. Formal elites tend to dominate proposal submissions—those who have great power in relation to the company. Their power and authority determine how quickly or slowly the company responds to the proposal realization. Proposals submitted by various groups, albeit earlier, received different treatment. Community members then develop mistrust against the company, which in turn makes them apathetic and increasingly unwilling to actively participate in the PLTU's CSR programs at all stages.

In monitoring-evaluation phase, the company also seems to have completed the procedures for most of the requirements in the Proper guidelines. There is evidence of program improvement documents, the company's internal management evaluation, and an emergence of new local economic institutions, such as livestock groups and plans, potentials for sustainability. This translates to the company's good intentions to carry out CSR within the corridor of Proper rule. However, once again the aspect of participatory empowerment appears not optimal. Community involvement in the monitoring-evaluation is required by Proper in the form of community discussion forums for joint evaluation and input submission through suggestion boxes and other possible forms. These appear minimal in the implementation of CSR money in this case. Joint evaluation forums did not run well and inputs were not obtained evenly from community elements—dominated by village elites, community leaders close to CSR officers, and vocal individuals who have other economic interests outside the program. Assessment of the community satisfaction index for programs being implemented also does not appear to be included as evaluation report.

The company considers that partial inputs from certain parties and figures constitute one of the bottom-up evaluation mechanisms from the community. However, judging from the participatory empowerment principle, the said mechanism does not show social technology or social engineering for comprehensive engagement. It does not fulfill either the fourth principle of participatory empowerment, namely arrangement of empowerment mechanism with optimal community involvement. The communication channel to PLTU, too dominated by elites and certain

interest groups, makes other community elements become apathetic, distrustful, and unenthusiastic about being involved in the programs' phases.

The explanation above sheds a light on the company's CSR practices. They follow the correct procedural steps to complete activity phases and outputs administratively laid out in Proper. However, from the aspect of participatory empowerment, conditions have not been optimal in involving active participation of all elements of the community. The sense of program ownership and involvement is limited to only the elite and certain parties, which is not good for the program's sustainability. It gives an impression that all phases required by Proper are barely carried out as an attempt merely to elude obligations. Many informants from the community considered that the CSR practices seemed "half-hearted" and based on demands rather than care and appropriateness. It can indeed be reflected from the company's lack of program assistance for empowerment. On the other hand, pragmatic characteristics and the erosion of communal characters by individuality contribute to factors that prevent the company from optimally encouraging active participation, capacity-building, and community independence for sustainable CSR.

#### SYMBOLIC PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Proper emphasizes program implementation containing participatory empowerment in the form of community involvement as the object, based on potential resources. How far the company's CSR programs lead to participatory empowerment can be seen from the local community's participation form and level. The impact of a successful participatory empowerment can also be indicated from the increased capacity and harmonious relationship between the community and the company. The analysis in the previous section shows that the form of community participation tends to be spurious, mobilization without active community initiative, and seems merely procedural to meet Proper's requirements. The level of participation analyzed in this section shows a characteristic level of placation laden with mobilization. The community participation level in this case shows a divide from Proper's empowerment element, which characterizes the partnership level of participation.

Referring to Arnstein's participation ladder (1969), Proper contains guidelines to encourage engagement at the partnership level. At this level, the company as the program's initiator becomes the community's equal partner. It invites the community to partner with and actively involve them in planning, implementation, and monitoring-evaluation. Community elements, who have no access to express ideas and participate in decision-making, are given the opportunity to negotiate and make agreements. An evidence that Proper encourages partnership participation lies in the guidelines for applying the participatory empowerment principles in every phase of program. In the Proper's planning document analysis, a company must prepare social mapping and strategic planning documents that must be carried out in a participatory manner, involving all elements of the community. In implementation and monitoring-evaluation phases, community parties' participation is also a mandatory issue that receives a significant weight in Proper. This includes an assessment of community satisfaction index for program being implemented in the program evaluation report. Active involvement in awareness of one's own potentials and needs as outlined by Proper here reflects the partnership level of participation.

In practice, local community participation in PLTU's CSR planning underwent through two different mechanisms. First, deliberation mechanism at Musdes (Musyawarah Desa, village deliberation) level. This mechanism brews an opportunity for the whole community to be actively involved in planning because it is arranged from each hamlet. It seems that the aspiration selection has been carried out in this format in the hope of accommodating community elements' broad aspirations, but the fact is that participation is only in the form of presence—the community was very passive and the event became one way information delivery by initiators. Ideas only came from a few dominant elites and forums were merely procedural. This form of planning pertains to the characteristics of consultation level on Arnstein's participation ladder.

The second mechanism used in PLTU's CSR planning is internal group discussions (fishermen, farmers, livestock farmers). Planning participation of these professional groups is slightly better than the citizen's forums above. Citizens in these two professional groups communicated fairly well within the groups, generating ideas about Senter's format (Integrated Livestock Center)—one of the PLTU's CSR flagship programs—which was an initiative of Mantra Livestock Group members. Negotiations about the program's format took place between



the community members in these professional groups and the CSR officers, but the officers' authority was more dominant in assessing feasibility and decision to accept the idea. Such participation feature fits the level of placation. This forum's and Musdes' mechanisms belong to the category of tokenism or symbolic participation. As reviewed by Arnstein and Wilcox, tokenism can be interpreted as artificial policy, symbolic action in achieving a goal, which in this case is to obtain the Proper attribute.

Many of CSR implementations of PLTU Tanjung Jati B are charitable in nature. CSR programs proposed and managed by the village government include the construction of road infrastructure, street lighting, and training programs. Meanwhile, programs rolled out to fishermen and farmer groups include the provision of livestock as well as fishing and farming equipments. Programs managed by schools consist of scholarships, school infrastructure development, and nutrition packages. Other programs are aids directly given to the community, such as groceries and free electricity. So, the majority of CSR programs/ PLTU CD are in the form of donations. It can almost be said that the only community empowerment program owned by PLTU's CSR is the Integrated Livestock Center (Senter).

CSR programs' implementation forms above are categorized in the lowest level of participation, namely manipulation. The ladders of such non-participation forms illustrate symbolization and formality of participation through signatures as a form of approval, in this case receipts of aids. In CSR programs of charity, communication occurs only once, namely at the time of aids delivery. Further communication that might occur is regarding complaints over the type and nominal of the aids provided, compared to what is promised in the proposal.

A more participatory form of implementation is seen in the Senter program. Every group member knows and is involved in all implementations according to plan. Schedule arrangement has succeeded in timely animal feeding in rotation. In addition, the livestock manager also gets equal turn, and it has been carried out without foul. Companies as livestock groups' partners also carry out their functions according to the task division in the initial planning. Based on the empirical review, the participation realized is at the level of partnership.



Table 1. Map of Community Participation Level in the CSR Implementation

Arnstien's Level of Participation (1969)	PROPER's Participation Policy				PLTU's CSR Participation Implementation			
	Accumulative	Planning	Implementation	Money	Accumulative	Planning	Implementation	Money
Citizen Control								
Delegated Power								
Partnership							Senter Livestock Group	
Placation								
Consultation								
Informing								
Therapy								Quasi Therapy
Manipulation							Fishermen's Group, Other Groups	

Source: Authors.

Community involvement in the evaluation phase is seen as represented by the coordinator—also called the public relations—as a company's extension. However, company's initiatives at certain times also characterize the participation level of therapy. Communication between companies and beneficiaries is limited. It can be said that these two different characteristics of participation makes a quasi-therapy. The participation level lies at a slice between manipulation and therapy, yet remains on the non-participation ladder.

In implementing CSR, Proper's deficiencies are found, both in terms of a substantial framework and the corresponding implementation on the ground. The Proper guidelines have constraints, such as in the standard of "beyond compliance" assessment, the rating assessment component. Meanwhile, in practice Proper lacks oversight of the CSR implementation; it lacks of emphasis for serious assistance to encourage participation and increase community capacity. This weakness is obvious as Proper gives room for implementation that's limited to the company's strategy to enhance corporate image through a procedural and symbolic CSR.

CSR programs, in being less than optimal to involve communities, have implications in the absence of increased capacity and community distrust of the company, which leads to poor relations (social acceptance) between the two parties. Prayogo et al. (2013) explain that CSR programs have two interconnected functions, i.e. the functions of community empowerment and community relations. In theory, the better the performance of an empowerment program, the higher the community's social acceptance of a company. The understanding of one of these CSR implementation's objectives is in line with Moffat & Zang's study (2015) regarding social license to operate. This theoretical hypothetical pattern is expressed explicitly in one of the evaluation components of CSR monitoring-evaluation in the Proper document, confirming that CSR's implications are the reduced or minimal conflicts between the two parties.

The above study can be used to analyze Proper's relation to the formed social relations. A company already obtaining the Green label, meaning that it has successful CSR participatory empowerment, should experience logical consequences in its relations and good acceptance from the local community as indicated by lack of conflict between the two parties. However, this study finds conditions where conflicts between the company and local community still occur frequently, albeit in more restrained intensity and scope. Why does this happen? Half-hearted engagement, procedural CSR management, and symbolic participation become logical signifiers to account for the contradictions above. In procedure, the company has completed CSR phases and obtained the Green Proper title, but in substance it does not necessarily represent optimal engagement. This has caused conflicts to continue even though a Green Proper is in hand. According to the village government, the company does not provide clarity and certainty regarding CSR programs. Most elements of the local community experience the same, receiving no transparency nor "space" for participation in the CSR programs implementation. Involvements remain by elite actors, such as the heads of professional groups (fishermen, farmers, livestock farmers) and village government officers. The implication is that some members of the local community do not feel represented and are disappointed and distrustful of the company.

This paper also finds that CSR programs are not the only factor to eliminate the company's relationship problems with the community. Others, such as labor recruitment issues, social and environmental

impact issues, and land acquisition also appear to deeply affect the relationship of the two parties. Labor issues remain problematic, related to the portions of local and non-local workers' recruitment, which is not in accordance with the agreement between the company and the village government. This conflict has manifested in workers' rallies to demand an increase of local workers recruitment. This problem only begins to subside with the facilitation of licenses to subcontractors by the village government and an increase in the number of local workers. Meanwhile, dust pollution and the fishermen's diminishing fishing area continue to be a problem, blowing up in rallies, roadblocks, and so on, as land related issues raise community's uneasiness and polemics over settlements, risking splits among community elements. The explanation above can also be a supporting argument that the CSR programs' performance does not pave the way of smooth relationship (O'Faircheallaigh 2015). It means that despite the many causes of conflicts, most of them stem from procedural Proper implementation.

## CONCLUSION

The local community's participation in PLTU's CSR implementation seems to be a mere symbol, which can be seen from the involvement characteristics for procedure fulfillment, the more dominant elite representation in decision-making in every program phase, the lack of autonomous awareness of the community to participate, and the less than optimal improvement of individual and institutional capacity in the community. In theory, the local community's participation in this case is at the level of placation, laden with mobilization. Participation is only represented by a handful of actors or community leaders in the decision-making negotiations during planning, implementation, and evaluation phases. The general local community members are very limited in their role and disposed to be the object of programs, making up "quorum tools" to fulfill the involvement procedures as required in KLH's Proper guidelines. This shows a gap from the Proper spirit to encourage participation characteristic at the level of partnership.

The authors' argument in this paper is evident from the condition of the symbolic participation due to the company's CSR implementation approach that appears procedural and "half-hearted", with a focus of attention on fulfilling the Proper guideline parameters, oriented towards the prestigious Green and Gold labels for the company. Limited time

contributes to the top-down implementation without accommodating the existing institutional potentials and norms in the community. In addition, scant assistance sets off a serious obstacle to the realization of participation and capacity-building. The community's pragmatism and opportunism further contribute to the program's failure to encourage active participation. By virtue of the local community's demands, many CSR programs are charity instead of empowerment.

This paper highlights a number of points to confirm the existing theoretical patterns as well as adding some new explanatory ones. First, it is incredibly difficult to drive the local community's active participation and sustainable programs with top-down policy instruments that are only implemented procedurally. Second, quality mentoring and monitoring-evaluation are absolute requirements that must receive more attention in the Proper guidelines so that both are not merely procedural and oriented towards the prestigious Proper title. Third, participation will be greater in an empowerment program model that accommodates existing institutional potentials, values, and habit patterns in the social structures and systems of a targeted local community. Fourth, the two functions of a CSR program as a company's medium to contribute to the community development (community development tools) and to establish relationship (community relations tools) are tightly linked to each other. A CSR program that's below par in developing a community implies low community support for the company's existence and activities. Fifth, an empowerment CSR program implementation is likely to face many obstacles, both from the company's internal management, such as low quality and quantity of human resources and short-term result orientation, as well as the characteristics and interests of a pragmatic local community.

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