

Actor-Network Theory in Policy Change of Environmental Permit Policy for the Construction of a Cement Factory in Pati, Indonesia

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Abstract

The determining factor in the success and failure of advocacy is the support network in a coalition formed in policy advocacy. This study analyzes the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network in refusing an environmental permit for the construction of a cement factory in Kendeng Mountains, Pati, Indonesia. The government issued the Decree of the Regent of Pati No. 660.1/4767/2014 regarding the environmental permit for the construction of a cement factory. On the other hand, the people around the Kendeng Mountains who have inhabited the area for a dozen years are worried about the plan to build a cement factory that will threaten the ecological balance. The approach used in this study was the Actor-Network Theory of Michael Callon as it can see the phenomenon of the network formed by a Civil Society Organization (CSO) in rejecting the policy of developing the cement industry in their area. This study employed a qualitative method that stands on an interpretive paradigm. Data were collected by observation, documentation, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The results of this study showed that based on numerous dynamics of the overall use of existing network access, coalition actors have succeeded in proposing the desired policy changes in the form of stricter regulations. These winning coalitions are more often involved in a variety of strategies and have greater public support. Finally, this study contributes significantly to the usefulness of the Actor-Network Theory approach in policy change.

Keywords: Actor; Network; Advocacy; Policy Change; Environment

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INTRODUCTION

Environmental problems in Indonesia have always been a source of contention in the media, especially in the aspect of governance, which incorporates elements of the government, the private sector, and society (Pirmana, Alisjahbana, Yusuf, Hoekstra, & Tukker, 2021; Rahardian, Wijayanti, & Mardiyanta, 2020). One of the problems that frequently arise in environmental problems is the granting of environmental permits given by power holders to private parties that do not involve elements of the community members in its manufacture, which, eventually causes conflict between the actors involved. People who are dissatisfied with the policy will almost certainly form resistance to change policies in favor of those who advocate for change (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2019). Meanwhile, those opposed to the government's decision will form an advocacy coalition that networks with several other actors who support their struggle to achieve the desired results (Firmansyah, 2010).

This occurred during the Pati Regency's environmental policy permit conflict over the construction of a cement factory. In this lawsuit, the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network (JM-PPK) attempts to fight for their right to a healthy environment where they live. Social networks can also direct attention to certain issues to themes that are considered significant in public debate or social movements, as well as stimulate the sensitivity of actors in the political arena throughout the public sphere (George, Brown, & Dillard, 2021; Leong, Faik, Tan, Tan, & Khoo, 2020; MacDermid, 1991; Singh, 2001).

In the study of social movements, there has been a long study of strategies and protests (Tang, 2021). The conflict between governance actors in developing countries such as Indonesia is rife. People in the region are being marginalized as a

result of a policy issued by the government (Suharto, Botha, Haryanti, & Wahyunengseh, 2018). The existence of this conflict reveals how society is the main protagonist in the struggle for solidarity that gave rise to a network of actors (Ramadhan, 2020; Wilson & Mutersbaugh, 2020). The organizational conflict model manages the local economic development of the community (Anggraini, Maksum, & Halidin, 2019). Almost all people's resistance related to agrarian issues does not escape the pattern of the government in power (Fitri & Akbar, 2017). In contrast to the existing research, this study tries to fill the gaps by utilizing the actor-network perspective as a novelty that is offered in viewing the conflicts between actors engaged in a series of advocacy involving elements of conflict, protest, mobilization, and lobbying with various stakeholders. Protests against public policy are part of a larger movement of policy advocacy. Advocacy in this context refers to the formation of strong democratic organizations to hold rulers accountable, as well as the enhancement of people's skills and understanding of how power works (Miller & Covey, 2005).

This study seeks to see a network of policy advocacy conducted by the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network group due to policy politics in granting environmental permits for cement factory construction in Pati Regency using Michael Callon's Actor-Network Theory as an analytical tool. This study is important to conduct to see how comprehensive the role of the actor-network is in conducting policy advocacy.

Based on the description, it appears that it is not easy to include public issues by interest groups into the government's agenda. Actors must exert pressure and encouragement so that public issues can be raised by policymakers to become a policy priority agenda. Michael Callon's Actor-Network Theory will help the researchers to see the dynamics of the poli-

cy change in the environmental permit policy of cement plant construction in Pati, Indonesia. The research question is what are the roles of actors in forming a coalition network in rejecting environmental permits for the construction of the cement industry in Pati, Indonesia?

RESEARCH METHODS

This research focuses on the construction of Actor-Network Theory in policy change of environmental permit policy for the construction of a cement factory. This research used qualitative method that stands in an interpretive paradigm to emphasize social action (Neuman, 2014). The research locus was in Pati Regency, Indonesia, and the data were collected through direct observation of a series of network formations in policy advocacy. In-depth interviews were also used by the researchers with several actors involved in the network of policy advocacy being carried out. Documentation techniques were also used to search data and media related to the research theme.

For data processing, this study used interactive analysis which begins with a series of data collection. The data were obtained from several key actors in the form of documents, photos, and notes from interviews with informants, in addition to previous research reports (Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, 2014). The researchers then carried out a data condensation, which is the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming data obtained from the field in the form of interviews, documents, and other empirical data. This study employed source and method triangulation, which were used by the researchers to obtain maximum data and information by checking information or statement with several predetermined informants repeatedly until they reach the saturation point. The employed methods were compared with the interpretive paradigm.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Actor-Network Theory in Policy Advocacy

The network is an important and inseparable element in policy advocacy (Rahardian, 2020; Stone, 2002). The network in policy advocacy can help a coalition formed to overcome each other's limitations in each coalition member. One approach employed used as an analytical tool to see and analyze the role of an actor in a particular issue or debate is the Actor-Network Theory. Referring to the meaning proposed by sociologists such as Bruno Latour, Actor-Network Theory is not part of a macro or micro agent, but rather a social process that rotates entities (Latour, 2013). Therefore, the main focus is on networking. Actor-Network Theory is not a social theory but rather a theory about fluid space that moves in modern conditions and situations.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT), also called the sociology of translation, originated in the mid 1980s in Paris with Bruno Latour and Michel Callon and later with John Law. Since then, several researchers have repeatedly used this theory in different fields in order to explore the association between human and non-human actors in explaining socio-economic and political issues (Alcadipani & Hassard, 2010; Heeks & Stanforth, 2007; Walsham & Sahay, 2006). Networks are made up of heterogeneous actors and their relationships (Jóhannesson & Bærénholdt, 2009). Alcadipani & Hassard (2010) for their part, emphasize the fact that Actor-Network Theory is constituted by a vocabulary of its own, the comprehension and understanding of which are mandatory for its proper usage. Moreover, the aforementioned process of transformation of the networks is achieved through processes of translation, in which a temporary social order is created through changes in the alignment of interests of a network (Sarker, Sarker, & Sidorova, 2006).

Actor-Network Theory provides a suitable analytical framework because it illustrates how deep-seated extant political (Shin, 2016; Siakwah, 2017). Actor-Network Theory has a function as an exploration tool to understand the process of human and non-human interaction to create a stable or unstable network within a specified period. It is certainly very appropriate to use in observing a network in policy advocacy that aims to change the situation from the impact of impartial policies. Actor-Network Theory is classified into four stages as the identification of a stable and unstable deep network by Callon (1991) including the translation process as follows: (1) problematization, issues that lead actors to move (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2019), (2) interessement, attracting interest among actors to get involved (Bulkeley, 2000), (3) enrollment,

the involvement of all elements of the existing actors (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021), and (4) mobilization, mobilizing existing networks to move together (Pierce, 2016; Weible et al., 2011). In building the existing network, the actors formed in the coalition against the construction of the cement industry in Pati used various techniques to obtain networks, both internally and externally.

Environmental Permit Issues: Problematization in Conflict and Networking Buiding

The Government of Pati Regency provides convenience through the legitimacy issued by Decree No. 660.14/4767 of 2014 in the form of an environmental permit for the construction of a cement factory and mining for PT Sahabat Mulia Sakti in Kayen and Tambakromo Districts, Pati Regency. However, the issued legiti-

Table 1. Conflicting Regulations
 Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

Conflicting Regulations	Basic Reasons
Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 0398 K/40/MEM/2005 concerning the Designation of the Sukolilo Karst Area.	The karst landscape is a geological protected area and the Sukolilo Karst Area has been designated as a Karst Area.
Regulation of the Minister of the Environment Number 16 of 2012 concerning Guidelines for Preparation of Environmental Documents and Regulation of the Minister of the Environment Number 16 of 2012 concerning Guidelines for Preparation of Environmental Documents.	Terms of Reference for Environmental Impact Analysis (KA-ANDAL) as an integral part of the AMDAL document which is the basis for the issuance of a Decision Letter is not under the Spatial Plan.
Laws of the Republic of Indonesia Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management.	It contains legal defects, errors, misuse, as well as untruths, and/or falsification of data, documents, and/or information.
Central Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan of Central Java Province for 2010 – 2030.	The Karst area is a strategic area of Central Java in terms of the importance of the function and carrying capacity of the environment.
Pati Regency Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2011 concerning the Regency's RTRW 2010 – 2030.	Karst area is an area that protects the lower protected area.

macy violates procedures and contradicts laws, government regulations, ministerial regulations, and scientific studies. Several laws and regulations, as shown in table 1, are in conflict with the decree.

Mr. Gunretno chairs the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network, which is the primary actor in this advocacy effort. As a figure who has many relationships outside the community, Mr. Gunretno's presence is incredibly beneficial for the community in digesting change. With this network, it is easier for people to access information. Discussing the actors or parties involved, the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network in particular is the main chord. However, apart from that, in its journey as a pioneer of the policy advocacy movement for cement factory development, which is always proactive, the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network has built extensive relationships. The relationships that have been established with the Central Java Forum for the Environment, Semarang Legal Aid Institute, Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) of Semarang, Acintyacunyata Speleological Club (ASC) of Yogyakarta, and Center for Human Rights Studies (PUSHAM) are used as a means to absorb knowledge. Therefore, this opens another point of view from the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network towards ongoing advocacy.

Meetings with the various organizations above were held with various organizations that are members of the Kendeng Mountains Caring Advocacy Team to discuss current problems or obstacles regarding the advocacy that has been carried out. Within the core circle as well as a strategy designer, they discuss what will be done. Therefore, they are the holders of the main commander during the advocacy process. To strengthen the network, the community, who mostly work as farmers, invited experts to research the Kendeng Mountains to count the number

of springs in the area. The use of networks from other actors in advocacy is very necessary for individuals or groups who do advocacy. Actors involved in policy advocacy in the Kendeng mountains area, Pati Regency, Central Java, used networks from other actors to reject the environmental permit policy for the establishment of the cement industry in the Kendeng mountains area (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2019).

Participation of Actors-Network: Inter-essement

One of the strategies adopted is the mobilization of allies and supporters with other parties to realize the interests of the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network (JM-PPK) which represents the voice of the opposing community. The allies who took part in this advocacy activity included the Semarang Legal Aid Institute, the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI), the People's Coalition for the Right to Water (KRuHA), Desantara, KONTRAS (Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence), Acintyacunyata Speleological Club (ASC) of Yogyakarta, and Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) of Semarang. In addition, a lot of support also come from various elements, such as a humanist, Emha Ainun Najib (Cak Nun); an academic, Tjahyo Nugroho Aji; an observer of karst hydrology from the Faculty of Geography, Gadjah Mada University, Benny D. Setianto; an Environmental Law Expert at the Catholic University (Unika) Soegijapranata Semarang; and the religious group Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Kayen District. The roles of these actors and networks greatly influenced the success of the advocacy carried out. The greater the involvement of the parties, the stronger the pressure that can be applied and the easier it will be to carry out advocacy activities (See figure 1).

Efforts to convince other actors in a network formation in policy advocacy are

crucial in building trust among coalition members. This is as revealed by a study by Bulkeley that the coalitions or alliances that have been formed are trying to convince the networks of other actors. They begin to want to be involved in the issues and problems to get the desired changes (Bulkeley, 2000). In addition, efforts to convince other actors are a form of social capital that they will gain by assisting and equipping groups with limitations (Dost & Badir, 2019; Kerr, 2018).

Division of Advocacy Coalition Responsibilities: Enrollment

The Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network, which has already found supporting allies in its advocacy, has begun to organize and share tasks with other actors involved in the series of advocacy carried out. First, the organization of the Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) of Semarang which conducted speleological and hydrogeological investigations, was able to find field evidence of karst caves, karst springs, and other karst phe-

nomena. Second, the Disaster Management Study Center of UPN Veteran (PSMB UPN) and the Yogyakarta Acintyacunyata Speleological Club (ASC) also found 24 cave mouths (Apriando, 2015). Meanwhile, the hydrogeological study found at least 79 springs surrounding the North Kendeng Mountains Area (Apriando, 2015).

The Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network already has data on the potential of the Kendeng Mountains area. The data were obtained from the collaboration between the Kendeng Mountains Caring Advocacy Team, including the Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) of Semarang, Acintyacunyata Speleological Club (ASC) of Yogyakarta, and the Disaster Management Study Center of UPN Veteran (PSMB UPN) of Yogyakarta, and the community established through the local wisdom of the Samin indigenous people. Various types of data have been owned by the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network as the spearhead of the community to reject the plan to establish a

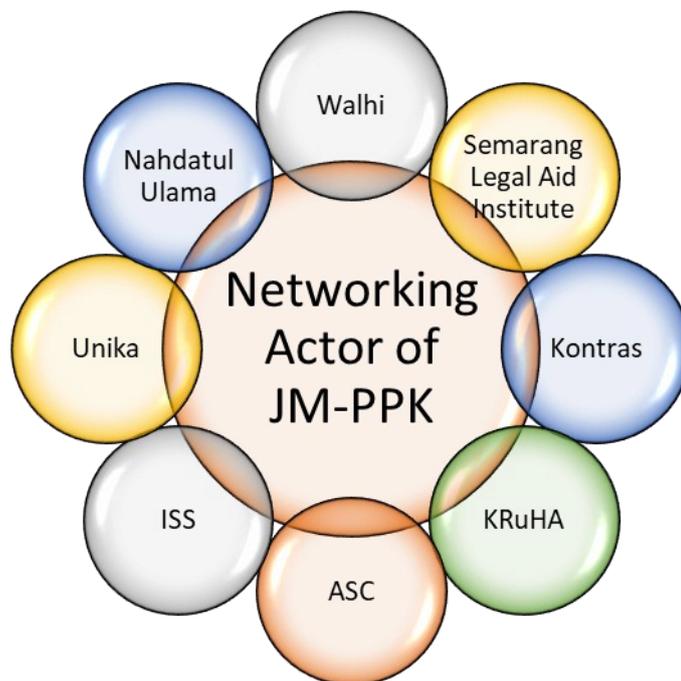


Figure 1. Actor Networking in Environment Policy Advocacy of Kendeng Mountains
 Source: Processed by the Authors (2021)

cement factory. Based on the results of the study of the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network with the Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) of Semarang and Acintyacunyata Speleological Club (ASC) of Yogyakarta, the Kendeng Mountains have a lot of potential, including speleological, hydrogeological, and karst archeological potential. By conducting speleological and hydrogeological investigations, it is possible to find field evidence in the form of karst caves, karst springs, and other karst phenomena. Then, archaeological studies can be conducted to strengthen its designation as a protected area. Based on a speleological study conducted by the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network in collaboration with the Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) of Semarang, Acintyacunyata Speleological Club (ASC) of Yogyakarta, and the Center for Disaster Management Studies of UPN Veteran (PSMB UPN) of Yogyakarta, there are 79 springs surrounding the North Kendeng Mountains Area (Wacana et al., 2014). All of these springs are permanent or perennial, capable of flowing water throughout the season with a relatively constant discharge. The existence of this spring extends from an altitude of 16-341 masl, with a discharge ranging from 0.06 liters/second to 178 liters/second at the time of measurement (Wacana et al., 2014). However, what is most interesting is the discovery of bat-dwelling caves which are quite impressive in terms of numbers, including Goa Lowo and Goa Tangis. As mentioned earlier, the role of these bats is very large for human life, especially in the Sukolilo Karst area in Pati Regency, which is surrounded by hundreds of hectares of rice fields that are undoubtedly vulnerable to the threat of insect pests. The involvement of the actor's role is the main key towards the target to be achieved in a network that has been formed (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009; Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021).

Pressure on Stakeholder Policy: Mobilization

Mobilization aimed to influence the stakeholders of the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network to conduct demonstrations and campaigns. This action is intended to influence the opinion of the wider community about the dangers of the impact of the construction of the cement factory. Before taking action, the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network has prepared press releases so that the action is heard and meaningful. Besides, with the press releases, the action will get the full attention of journalists. Press releases are information media, data media, and empirical media that are relevant to the problem that is happening. The creation of press releases conducted by the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network is not only written and expressed but also refers to data and facts in the field.

Coordination with many elements that are routinely implemented by the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network and other actors aims to build mutual trust in the network formed in the advocacy group where they can discuss the aspirations to reject industrialization activities in Pati Regency. Joint coordination carried out by several actors involved in the advocacy process can later be used as a basis for joint organizing in the mobilization such as lobbying, negotiations, demonstrations, and lawsuits in court. Building mutual trust is needed in advocacy because those involved in an issue or problem together will help each other and complement the resources needed in the advocacy process that runs. The formed coalition uses the trust and openness of the existing members in the coalition to mobilize its members to put pressure on the making of an existing rule or policy (Pierce, 2016). The mobilization carried out by the formed network is the sincerity of a group in encouraging the creation of a policy change (Weible et al., 2011).

CONCLUSION

Networks in policy advocacy have an impact on the main group that is struggling to create policy change. Actor-Network Theory in this study was able to depict the struggle of the Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network in fighting for the change, starting from managing the issue so that other actors want to be involved in the issues they bring, organizing the delegation of tasks in the network, and mobilizing the actors involved in it. The Kendeng Mountains Community Caring Network can process and play public issues to influence network actors who are inside and outside Pati Regency to be willing to participate and get involved in environmental problems that occur. Then, this study shows that several actors in the advocacy process network with the resources they have been involved in the advocacy process in the Kendeng Mountains. Finally, they were able to mobilize people in other areas to jointly fight for healthy environmental rights by rejecting the existence and activity of the cement factory mining industry. Through Actor-Network Theory, this study can explain the dynamics of networking in advocacy run by a group that demands a change. This study also has some limitations which include not being able to depict how resources are used as well as the strategies and conflicts that exist in rejecting the policy of developing the cement industry in Pati. Therefore, hopefully, future research related to the existing issues can fill this gap.

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