

# TNI Involvement Strategy on Determination of Defense Budget Policy in Legislative Institutions

*Tri Nugroho, Arry Bainus, Wawan Budi Darmawan*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to determine the urgency of TNI involvement in the Legislative Institution in determining the defense budget. In doing so, we analyzed the involvement of TNI in the Determination of Defense Budget in Legislative Institutions using the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) method. This study uses qualitative methods by collecting data through interviews with a number of informants, both academics in the field of the defense budget and in the field of defense analysis. Through AHP, researchers found that there are four aspects in determining defense budgets in the Legislative Institution, namely: 1) Political aspect; 2) Aspect of human resource capacity; 3) Institutional Aspect, and 4) Aspect of the Role of the Government. This study found that for the determination of the defense budget, the political aspect ranks the first dominant among other aspects, reaching 56.4%, and then it was followed by institutional aspects of 15.2%, aspects of human resource capacity of 14.9% and aspects of government roles of 13.5%. Based on those results, by considering these four aspects, this study also found with the involvement of TNI in budget decisions in the House, the defense budget can increase until synthesis of 60.9%.

*Keywords: policy strategy, analytic hierarchy process, defense budget*

Tri Nugroho, Arry Bainus, Wawan Budi Darmawan. TNI Involvement Strategy on Determination of Defense Budget Policy in Legislative Institutions. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 12, no. 4: 165-179.

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## Introduction

The development of national defense and its elements in Indonesia experienced ups and downs in accordance with the conditions of the country and the policies of the leadership at that time. In the era of Dutch and Japanese colonialism, national defense was carried out with a focus on expelling invaders from the motherland and achieving independence. After 1945, the national defense focused on how to defend from the hands of the invaders who would regain control of Indonesia and from the rebels who intended to undermine the young Indonesian state. During the Old Order, state defense became the most absorbing component of the budget because of the lighthouse politics and Dwikora and Trikora policies. At that time the defense budget reached 29%, so it can be imagined how big the Indonesian military was. It can be said that the Indonesian Air Force and Navy at that time were the strongest in the southern hemisphere. After that, there was a change of leadership to the New Order era which put forward the territorial defense of the nation with the Army as the spearhead. Domestic security stability is the main focus by putting TNI into all of the nation-state aspects, so it is easier to facilitate the development of infrastructure<sup>1</sup>. The TNI has a socio-political function, one of which is the presence of seats for ABRI representatives (TNI and Polri at the time) in the House. Due to having a voice in the legislative, the defense budget plan was guarded by the Armed Forces in the legislative and become easier to be manifested. In addition, the head of state at that time was a former Army general who was certainly very pro with the Armed Forces. This paradigm began to change when the New Order collapsed and changed to the Reform Order. At the beginning of the Reform Order, the role of the TNI as a social-political function was eliminated which automatically returned the TNI's function only as a defense instrument. This also affects the amount of the budget for the ministry concerned. In 2005 alone, the defense budget was only 0.8% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This only met the needs of 25-40% of defense requirement<sup>2</sup>. Even though there is an improvement in every each year, the value is still below 1%. This situation is very dangerous to the national defense, especially in maintaining the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia in land, sea, and air. This is one of the consequences when the TNI does not have any representatives sitting in the legislative.

Addressing the current global security developments which include conflicts in the South China Sea, Indonesia must have a right

defense policy. Although there is no Indonesian territory that has been claimed by China, the potential for conflict is huge because the Natuna Sea is intersecting with the nine-dash line, the territory line that was claimed by China. The most irritated country with this China maneuvers is the United States. This resulted in other countries outside those two countries being the aim of the two countries to instill an influence, including Indonesia. The United States has offered a variety of weapon system related to the field of defense against ASEAN countries including Indonesia recently. Hence, the US can also instill influence as well as get “allies” that can counteract Chinese power in the Southeast Asian region. Indonesia’s neighboring country which is an ally of America, Australia also has an interest in Indonesia because Indonesia is the last stronghold for Australia in the event of the worst scenario of China invading Australia as like as Japan in World War II. If Indonesia’s policy is closer to China, Australia’s security will become increasingly threatened, but if Indonesia is more in favor of Australia, then Australia will be relatively more “safe” because China will not be able to enter Australia before passing Indonesia. In other words, there are three countries that have interest in Indonesia which will certainly influence the tug of the country’s defense policy strategy in the field of the Indonesian military. (Jakarta Greater)

Indonesia’s defense budget is relatively increasing quite significantly from year to year. Indonesia’s defense budget allocation in 2015 was 102.3 trillion. In the following year, this value increased to 108.7 trillion rupiahs. In 2017, this value became 0.8 trillion rupiahs. (Director General of Budget Ministry of Finance, 2018; 16) When viewed from the ratio of GDP in 2015 amounted to 0.89%, in 2016 was 0.88% and 2017 was 0.84%. In 2018, defense budget allocation became the big two after the budget for the Ministry of Public Works. However, if it is compared to our neighbor countries, this number needs to be reconsidered. In any negotiation, a country will be taken into account if it has great power. While those numbers are relatively small when compared to several countries which become a barometer of Indonesia’s national development because they have the potential for conflicts of interest with Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to determine the urgency of the TNI involvement in the Legislative Institution for budget determination. To choose one of the alternatives or the right solution in determining the budget, researchers used the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) method, by completing four aspects, namely: 1 ) The Political

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*Arry Bainus*

*Wawan Budi  
Darmawan*

Aspect which concerns about the TNI element absence in Parliament, the 1945 Constitution Amendment in 2002 and the perceived political interests; 2) Aspects of Human Resources capacity that discuss Auto-cratcic Decisions and Weak Controls; 3) Institutional Aspects which include ineffective Regulation / Policies and Governance. 4) Aspects of the Role of the Government which includes funds in the procurement of defense equipment, foreign relations, and the Industry Independence Program. These four aspects are used to determine accuracy in increasing the Budget by involving the TNI fully in budget decisions in the House of Representatives, from the result of the reports based on interviews with a number of informants who are experts in the field of defense and security budgets.

In this study, the researchers tried to trace previous studies related to the selection of alternative problem solving and research methods used in determining the goals/objectives of the strategy. The first research conducted by Brigadier (Ret.) Vinod Anand was a senior member at the Service Institution of India. In his journal entitled *Defense Budgeting: Trends and Issues in the Indian Armed Forces Analysis Description Method*, stated that the results of a healthy comparison between capital versus income are 50:50. However, it has several long-term impacts, for example, the food budget for the current level of strength, as well as additional taxes are needed to maintain additional budget plans in the future. The revolution in the military field can be responded with steps that are faster than the process for the last ten years which was very slow. Planning, development, and modernization of strengths, as well as a capacity building, can also be achieved through the current Long Term Integrated Perspective Plan (2007-2022) if this optimal ratio is maintained. Increased defense, changes in imports and independence are some other aspects that will be positively affected. The second study, from Philip Talbot of Birmingham City University Business School, used his journal analysis method called *Resource Accounting and Budgeting for Medical Services: The Territorial Army*, which is stated that as a result of reducing guarding, the army health corps became dependent on medical expertise from TAMS, especially on assignments to Iraq and later to Afghanistan. The third research is from Martial Faucalt, the Institute of Francais Relations International Political and Economics graduated, with a descriptive analysis method in his journal entitled *The Defense Budget In France: Between Denial and Decline*. It is written that France's position compared to its

NATO allies, in order to identify periods of intersection and points of difference in terms of the budget compared to Britain, Germany, and the United States. Brig. (Retd.) (Center for Strategic Studies and Simulation, New Delhi “Defense Budgeting: Trends and Issues” Journal of Defense Studies Vol. 3. No 4. October 2009)

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In those above journals, the previous researchers tried to overcome the decision-making problems with an optional alternative solution by using several selection methods where one of a method that has been used is Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP). The model was developed by Thomas L. Saaty for overcoming complex multi-factor or multi-criteria problems into an accurate and structural hierarchy. Nevertheless, there are no previous researches that observe this TNI involvement in defense budgeting with the AHP method. That is why this research is carried out by present researchers using AHP according to with existing phenomena.

Based on those above phenomenon, the researchers are interested in conducting a study entitled “ TNI INVOLVEMENT STRATEGY ON DETERMINATION OF DEFENSE BUDGET POLICY IN LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS” which will examine deeper related to the Defense Budget Determination Strategy by involving the TNI in budget decisions in the House using AHP which certainly shows that this research is different from the research that has been done before.

## **Literature Review**

### *Strategy*

The term strategy is often used by people to describe various meanings such as a plan, tactics or ways to achieve what is desired. The essence of strategy is planning and management to achieve a goal. However, to achieve this goal, the strategy does not have a function as a roadmap that only shows direction, but must be able to show how to operate the tactics<sup>3</sup>.

Meanwhile, according to Michael E. Porter<sup>4</sup>, the essence of the strategy is to choose different things from what is offered by competitors. According to him, the problems that arise in market competition occur because of errors in distinguishing operational effectiveness from strategy.

From those two opinions above, the strategy can be interpreted as a plan prepared by top management to achieve the desired goals. This plan includes goals, policies, and actions that must be carried out by

an organization in maintaining the existence and winning a competition or maintaining a situation, in which especially Institutions or organizations must have advantages in maintaining a situation<sup>5,6,7</sup>. This is as expressed by Henry Mintzberg<sup>8</sup> which is stated that strategy of a program or a planned step (a directed course of action) as well as the concept of planning strategies have a set of goals or goals that have been determined.

### *Definition and Meaning of Policy*

As a part of the strategy, public policy is not only positive but also negative, in the sense that decision choices are always accepting one and rejecting the other. Public Policy is a decision intended for the purpose of overcoming the problems that arise in a particular activity carried out by government agencies in the context of governance<sup>9,10,11</sup>. In another perspective, Sriboonyaponrat<sup>12</sup> argues that Public Policy Studies studied government decisions in addressing the problem of public concern. Although there is a room for a win-win solution where demand can be accommodated, in the end, space for win-win solutions is very limited, so that public policy is more in the zero-sum-game realm, namely accepting this, and rejecting others. In this understanding, the term “decision”, as well as ethics of the Government, decided to “not taking care” of related issues<sup>12,13</sup>. Thus, understanding here refers to Thomas R. Dye’s understanding that public policy is everything that is done and that is not done by the government<sup>14</sup>. So it can be concluded that public policy is a set of actions that are established and implemented or not implemented by a government that has a purpose or orientation towards a specific goal for the benefit of all people.

### *Budgeting*

Budget is defined as a plan that is expressed quantitatively in currency units in a given period. Horngren, Foster, and Datar<sup>15</sup> provided the following budget definitions, **“A budget is a quantitative expression of a proposed plan of action by the coordination and implementation of the plan”**. Definition of budget in broader way according to Horngren, Foster and Datar<sup>15</sup> is **“a comprehensive expression of management’s operating and financial plans for a future period that is summarized in a set of budgeted financial statements”**.

According to Munandar<sup>16</sup> “Business Budget or Budget is a plan that is arranged systematically, which includes all company activities ex-

pressed in the monetary unit and applies to a certain amount of coming time.” Furthermore, Munandar<sup>16</sup> stated that the budget has three main uses, namely: as a working guide, as a means of coordinating work, and as a means of monitoring work. As a working guideline, the budget serves to provide direction and targets that must be achieved by activities in the future. The budget also serves as a tool for work coordination so that all parts of the organization can support each other, work together well to get the goals set. As a supervisory work tool, the budget also functions as a benchmark, as a comparison tool to assess (evaluate) the realization of activities.

Budget is the focal point of the alliance between the planning and control processes. Budgeting is the process of translating an activity plan into a financial plan (budget). It has a broad meaning; budgeting includes the preparation, implementation, control, and budget accountability commonly known as the budget cycle. Thus, budgeting needs to be standardized in various forms, documents, instructions, and procedures because it involves and is related to the company’s daily operations.

## **Research Methods**

This study uses a qualitative method. Data collection was conducted through interviews with a number of informants, both academics in the field of defense and security and also practitioners in the military, and data collection through documentation studies. To strengthen the data analysis, this study uses Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) which is a flexible model that allows us to analyze and make decisions by combining personal judgment and values logically, can develop a new scale to measure the properties that have been happened. The regional groupings that are aggregately in groups with the same characteristics are grouped using cluster analysis method and further analyzed by descriptive analysis method. There are 3 (three) basic principles in AHP, namely:

1. Divide up problems and arrange those hierarchically. That is, complex problems which are broken down into separate elements, then hierarchically compile.
2. Priority Determination. The elements that are arranged hierarchically are determined by prioritizing our consideration of the elements according to relative importance or preferred. For this, we have to make pairwise comparisons between these elements

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Darmawan*

and do a weighting and addition to producing a single number that indicates the priority of each element.

3. Logical consistency. Logical consistency is needed in setting priorities for elements in order to obtain accurate results in the real world. This AHP procedure measures overall consistency from our various considerations with a maximum Consistency Ratio of 10%.

There are two important Consistencies, namely:

- a. Similar objects are grouped according to homogeneity or relevance. Example: Oranges with Mango.
- b. Based on certain criteria, which differ logically. Example: Copper is twice as soft as iron. Tin is three times softer than copper, meaning Tin is six times softer than iron.

One of the AHP principles is to arrange complex realities into smaller parts (elements) and so on and then rearranged hierarchically; these elements are made into criteria and sub-criteria. Level I hierarchy is the focus which is the overall goal of this system, for Level II is as a criterion, while Level III is a sub-criterion of Level II criteria, while level IV is the alternatives chosen based on criteria and sub-criteria that have been set.

In this method, decision-makers must make a decision problem structure with a hierarchy consisting of three levels where the decision objectives are at the top level, followed by criteria at the second level and the selection of alternatives at the third level. The main steps that must be taken in using AHP that have been illustrated in the research framework (AHP hierarchy) are by:

1. Determine focus, criteria or sub-criteria and alternatives.
2. Give weight to the criteria.
3. Compare, give values for alternatives according to each criterion.
4. Synthesis; final score

In this method, decision-makers must make a structure of decision problems. The simplest form used to make decisions with a hierarchy consists of three levels:

1. First level: goal
2. Second level: problem criteria
3. Third level: choices/policies

The purpose of this structure is to allow an assessment of the significance of variables at the level that exists. The steps in the AHP method include:

1. Define the problem and determine the desired solution.
2. Create a hierarchy structure that begins with a general purpose, followed by sub-sub-objectives objectives, criteria and possible alternatives at the level of the criteria below.
3. Contains a paired comparison matrix that describes the relative contribution or influence of each element on each goal or criteria that are a level above it. Comparisons are made based on the choice of the decision maker by assessing the importance of an element compared to other elements.
4. Make pairwise comparisons so that all choices are obtained.
5. Calculating the eigen vector value and testing its consistency, if it is not consistent then the data retrieval is repeated.

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The experts (informants) as respondents are expected to complete the following questionnaire referring to the hierarchy that is expected to fill in the comparison fields between the right or left factors with the priority scale. This AHP method helps solve complex problems by structuring a criteria hierarchy, interested parties and by drawing various considerations to develop the weight or priority of the right policy strategy in accordance with the AHP hierarchy.

## **Discussions**

The first stage in AHP is determining the focus, criteria or sub-criteria and alternatives so that the TNI Policy Strategy in determining the defense budget in this Legislative Institution can be implemented through a measurable pattern. Identification of criteria is carried out by researchers with various literature study, documents, and direct interviews with various parties (resource persons) who are believed knowing the problem in detail (expert).

Based on the above stages, determining the criteria in the AHP hierarchy scheme refers to the results of documentation studies and in-depth interviews with a number of informants who have capabilities related to the theme raised. Thus the researchers formulated four aspects in determining the defense budget in the Legislative Institution. From each aspect of the criteria selected, the researcher tried to reduce it into several indicators based on the study of formal juridical in article 23 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution and implemented with the drafting of the APBN Consitution every year, documentation studies and interviews with experts who is made an informant by researchers. Those four criteria can be described as follows:

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- a. Political Aspects which include the absence of active elements of the TNI in the parliament, amendments to the 1945 Constitution in 2002 and the existence of political interests.
- b. Aspects of Human Resource Capacity which include autocratic decision and weak controlling.
- c. Institutional Aspects which include ineffective regulations/policies and governance.
- d. Aspects of the Role of the Government which includes the government budget in the procurement of defense equipment, foreign relations, and industrial independence programs.

Based on the above aspects, a hierarchical structure of problem-solving strategies can be arranged using AHP which consists of three levels as follows:

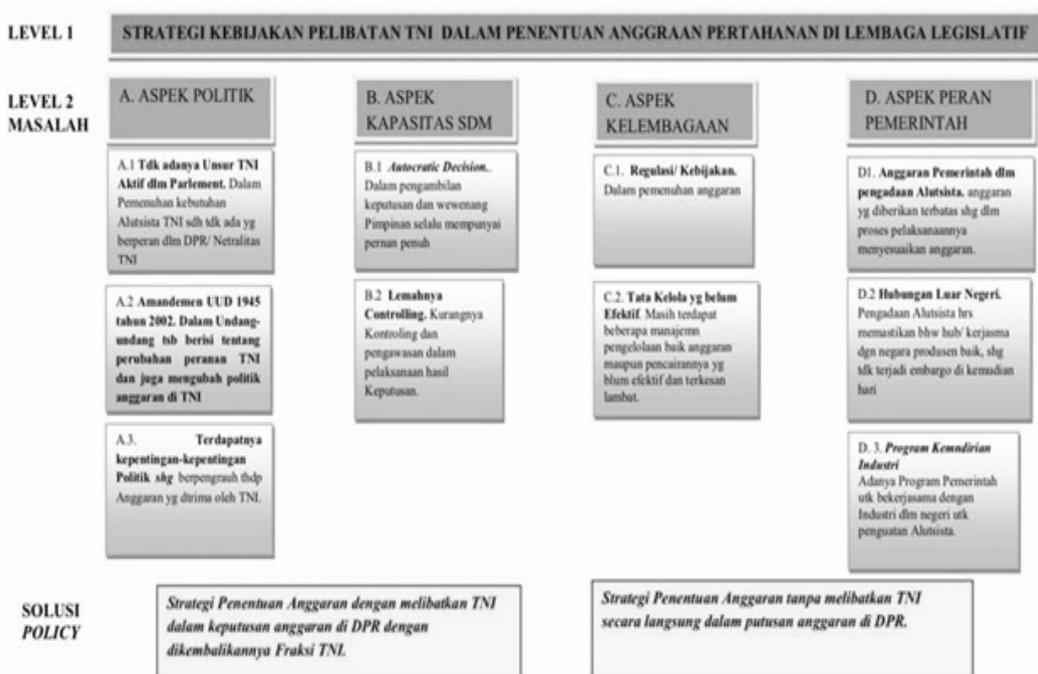


Figure 4.1 – AHP Hierarchy

With AHP calculations using Expert Choice II and using the results of interviews and questionnaires from the experts (informants), it can obtain the synthesis graph results as follows:

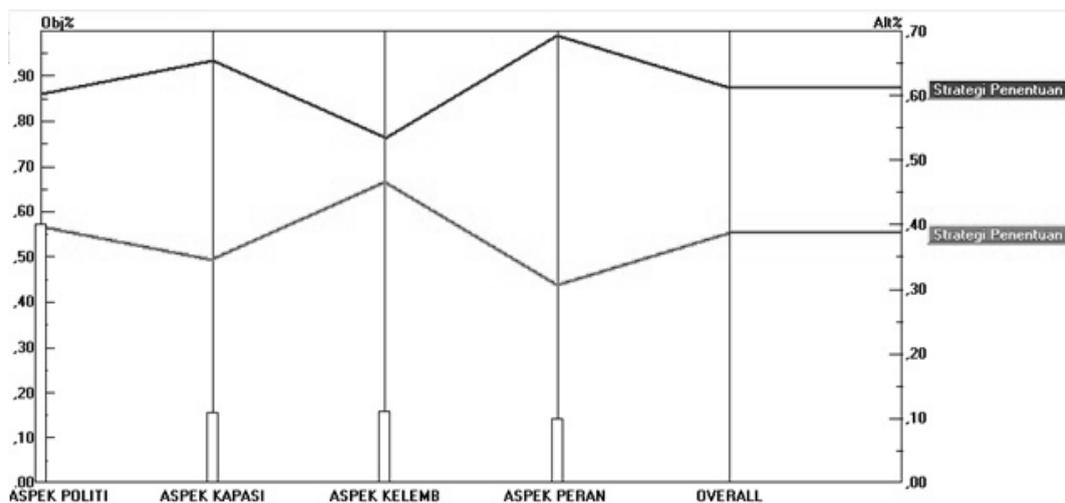


Figure 4.2. – Graphic of the synthesis of policy strategies for TNI involvement in determining the defense budget in the House of Representative

Based on the synthesis of the policy of TNI involvement in the determination of the defense budget in the Legislative Institution above, the strategy of determining the budget by involving the TNI in budget decisions in the House of Representative with the return of the TNI faction with a synthesis of 60.9%, and a budget determination strategy without involving the TNI directly in the budget decision in the House of Representative has a synthesis of 39.1%. So that for the selection strategy that is appropriate to be used in determining the defense budget is the strategy of determining the budget by involving the TNI in budget decisions in the House of Representative with the return of the TNI faction. The values of the four aspects above are based on a synthesis diagram of the policy of involving the TNI in determining the defense budget in the legislature as follows:

Level 1	Level 2	Alts	Pty
ASPEK POLITIK (L.: 565)	Percent ASPEK POLITIK (L.: 565)		56.4
	Percent Tdk adanya unsur TNI Aktif dlm Parlemen (L.: 418)		23.6
	Tdk adanya unsur TNI Aktif dlm Parlemen (L.: 418)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	1.42
	Percent Adanya Amendemen UUD 1945 tgg perubahan TNI bepolitik dan Politik Anggaran (L.: 291)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.094
	Adanya Amendemen UUD 1945 tgg perubahan TNI bepolitik dan Politik Anggaran (L.: 291)		16.4
	Percent Terdapatnya kepentingan-kepentingan politik (L.: 291)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.099
	Percent Terdapatnya kepentingan-kepentingan politik (L.: 291)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.065
	Terdapatnya kepentingan-kepentingan politik (L.: 291)		16.4
Percent ASPEK KAPASITAS SDM (L.: 148)	Percent Autocratic Decision (L.: 420)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.099
	Autocratic Decision (L.: 420)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.085
ASPEK KAPASITAS SDM (L.: 148)	Percent Lemahnya Controlling (L.: 580)		14.9
	Lemahnya Controlling (L.: 580)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	6.3
	Percent Regulasi Kebijakan (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.022
	Regulasi Kebijakan (L.: 500)		.041
	Percent T'aa Kedua yg bhm Elektir (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.086
	T'aa Kedua yg bhm Elektir (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.030
	Percent Regulasi Kebijakan (L.: 500)		15.2
ASPEK KELEMBAGAAN (L.: 152)	Percent Regulasi Kebijakan (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	7.6
	Regulasi Kebijakan (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.041
	Percent T'aa Kedua yg bhm Elektir (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.095
	T'aa Kedua yg bhm Elektir (L.: 500)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.035
	Percent Anggaran Pemerintah dlm pengadaan Alutsista (L.: 510)		7.6
Percent ASPEK PERAN PEMERINTAH (L.: ...)	Percent Anggaran Pemerintah dlm pengadaan Alutsista (L.: 510)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.041
	Anggaran Pemerintah dlm pengadaan Alutsista (L.: 510)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.022
	Percent Hubungan Luar Negeri (L.: 242)		.023
	Hubungan Luar Negeri (L.: 242)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.010
ASPEK PERAN PEMERINTAH (L.: 139)	Percent Program Kemandirian Industri (L.: 248)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	3.3
	Percent Program Kemandirian Industri (L.: 248)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran dengan melb...	.023
	Program Kemandirian Industri (L.: 248)	Strategi Perencanaan Anggaran tanpa melbak...	.010

Figure 4.3 – Synthesis diagram, Policy Strategy for TNI Involvement in Determining the Defense Budget in the Legislative Institution

So based on the synthesis above for the order of the influential aspects in this selection strategy according to the results of the research are as follows: Political Aspect of 56.4% which includes the problem of the absence of TNI elements active in parliament by 23.6%, amendments to the 1945 Constitution in 2002 at 16.4%, There are 16.4% political interests. In determining the defense budget involving elements of the TNI, it has the highest weight, so it becomes the most important dominant aspects or become the first order.

Furthermore, the Institutional Aspect of 15.2% includes regulation/policy of 7.6%, governance that is not effective at 7.6%. So that in determining the defense budget involving elements of the TNI, it becomes the second order.

The next is from the HR Capacity Aspect of 14.9% which includes an autocratic decision of 6.3%, a weak controlling of 8.6%. So that in the determination of defense budget involving elements of the TNI, it becomes the third order.

Then the Government's Role Aspect is 13.5% which includes the government budget in procuring defense equipment by 6.9%, foreign political relations by 3.3%, industrial independence program by 3.3%. So that in the determination of the defense budget involving elements of the TNI, it becomes the fourth order.

## **Conclusion**

From the explanation above can be concluded as follows:

- a. In creating a strategy for involving the TNI in the determination of the defense budget in the legislative body, there are several aspects, including:
  1. Political Aspects which include the absence of active elements of the TNI in the parliament, amendments to the 1945 Constitution, the existence of political interests.
  2. Institutional Aspects include ineffective regulations/policies, governance.
  3. Aspects of HR Capacity which include the autocratic decision, weak controlling.
  4. Aspects of the Role of the Government which includes the government budget in the procurement of defense equipment, foreign relations, industrial independence programs.
- b. In creating appropriate defense budgeting and on target according to existing regulations, based on the synthesis of creating

a TNI Involvement Strategy in Determining the Defense Budget in the Legislative Institution and the existing factors, the right alternative strategy / policy decision is using a budgeting strategy with involving the TNI in budget decisions in the House of Representatives with the return of the TNI faction with a synthesis weight of 60.9% and a decision on the right defense budget determination strategy in determining the appropriate defense budget effectively in accordance with existing regulations can be achieved optimally.

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