

CITARUM HARUM: COMPARISON STUDY OF EXISTENCE OF MILITARY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT POWER IN THE REVITALIZATION OF THE CITARUM RIVER BASIN IN KARAWANG REGENCY

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ABSTRACT

This research is motivated by the increasing popularity of military involvement in various government programs, especially the Indonesian Army. One of them is the Citarum Harum Program. Implementing this program involves multiple sectors, including the Indonesian Army, Regional Government, industry, and society. In Karawang Regency, the military's involvement in the program has received great trust from various stakeholders. It is even believed to bring success if the local government does so. The purpose of this study is to reveal the existence of military and government strength in revitalizing the Citarum River. This study uses several aspects of collaborative governance from Ansell and Gash. The results show that the Indonesian Army is more prevalent in implementing the Citarum Harum Program than the Karawang Regency local government. Measured based on aspects of military strength and resources, it is superior to the local government. In addition, the existence of sanctions and incentives for collaborating with the military is rigid towards the success of tasks compared to local governments. The ability to mediate and facilitate the military is superior due to regulatory support and complete trust from industry and society. This research shows that military involvement in governance is not always inadequate. Fear of repeating past experiences, namely the dual function of the Indonesian Armed Forces in the Indonesian government, does not need to be a concern. In several programs, the military plays a vital role in ensuring the success of program implementation. This research attempts to show in-depth that military involvement or even collaboration between the Army and local governments can be one of the keys to successful development implementation.

INTRODUCTION

The Citarum River is the largest in West Java and is a national strategic river (Kurniawan et al., 2018). Acting as a source of life for 35 million people in West Java, stretching 297 km from the upstream at Situ Cisanti located at the foot of Mount Wayang, Bandung Regency, and flowing into the North Coast of Java Island, Muara Gembong, Bekasi Regency, the Citarum River Basin crosses 13 regencies/cities (Revayanti & Fasa, 2022). The vital existence of the Citarum River, which is a source of raw water and 80 percent of drinking water for the people of Jakarta and is a source of irrigation water for



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420,000 Ha of agricultural land and a Hydroelectric Power Plant with an electricity flow of 1,888 Mw for the islands of Java and Bali (Citarum, 2019)

Ironically, this national strategic river has experienced massive pollution and damage (Widodo et al., 2024). The weak awareness of the community and industry players plays a vital role in contributing to the pollution and damage. The waste dumped in the Citarum River Basin is 3512.2 tons/day, originating from 8 (eight) regencies/cities. As much as 77.7 percent of the sources of waste generation come from the Greater Bandung Metropolitan area, namely Bandung City, Bandung Regency, Cimahi City, and West Bandung Regency. The second most significant source of waste comes from Karawang Regency at 12.7 percent.

Moreover, 9.6 percent comes from Bekasi Regency, Purwakarta Regency, and Cianjur Regency. The two previous revitalization programs carried out by the government, starting from Citarum Bergetar in 2000 to 2023 and Citarum Bestari in 2013, which the government spearheaded, were unable to resolve the problems of pollution and damage in the Citarum River Basin (Erianti & Djelantik, 2019). This condition aligns with the Ministry of Health's Community-Based Total Sanitation data in 2018. The practice of Open Defecation in the Citarum River Basin is very high, reaching 82 percent. This phenomenon could happen supported by the weak legitimacy of the community towards the government that every implementation of the Citarum River revitalization program is a formality without results (Widodo et al., 2024).

The above conditions align with the pollution and damage that occurs in Karawang Regency. The amount of waste (household waste and similar waste) dumped into the Citarum River reaches 9,281 m³/day or 918 tons/day, consisting of 64 percent organic waste and 36 percent inorganic. Overall, pollution due to domestic waste reaches 60 percent of the total pollution in the Citarum. Meanwhile, the handled waste ratio has only reached 41.35 percent or around 400 tons/day of total waste transported to the final waste disposal site. Referring to the Karawang Environment and Sanitation Service, laboratory test data for Citarum River water was released by taking samples in seven places. Among them are the Citarum banks in the Anggadita Subdistrict, Telukjambe Subdistrict, Alun-Alun Karawang, and Purwadana areas. The results showed that the Citarum River water was filled with waste with an average Chemical Oxygen Demand (COD) level of around 60 mg/L. According to Government Regulation 82 of 2001, COD should not exceed 50 mg/L. This condition is exacerbated by the average Biological Oxygen Demand (BOD) content reaching 15 mg/L. Even in the Anggadita Subdistrict, it reached 38.4 mg/L; it should not exceed 6 mg/L. Dissolved Oxygen (DO) results showed four mg/L, which should not exceed three mg/L.

The acuteness of the problem prompted the government to realize the Citarum Harum program under Presidential Decree Number 15 of 2018 auspices concerning the Acceleration of Control of Pollution and Damage to the Citarum River Basin Ecosystem. Through the Citarum Harum Program, the government does not play the role of a single actor. It is because, in the Presidential Decree, there is excellent authority for the Military Institution, namely the Indonesian Army. In addition, the program encourages cooperation between various agencies, including industry players and the community.

In Karawang Regency, the Citarum Harum Program is implemented by the Indonesian Army, manifested through the Citarum Harum Task Force in sectors 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20. The acute problem of pollution and acute damage has encouraged the Citarum Task Force to cooperate intensively with the Karawang Regency government consisting of the Karawang Environmental Service, Karawang Communication and



Informatics Service, Karawang Agriculture Service, Karawang Tourism Service, Perum Jasa Tirta II, industry representatives such as PT Pupuk Kujang and PT Bukit Muria Jaya il (Widodo, 2022).

Based on the above, referring to the focus of the research, namely how the strength of the military and local government in revitalizing the Citarum River Basin in Karawang Regency can be seen from the interests and how the two actors work together. It is related to the interests of the Karawang Regency government, namely supporting the success of the Citarum Harum Program because Karawang is used as a pilot project in West Java. It means there is a direct interest in improving the image of the Karawang Regency government. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Army, manifested through the Citarum Harum Task Force, is interested in ensuring the implementation of Military Operations Other Than War can be successful before 2025; based on the Indonesian Army's perspective, the task's success is the main priority (Widodo, 2022).

Many previous studies have discussed the Citarum Harum Program. Such as research on Citarum Harum focusing on the implementation of policies in the revitalization of the Citarum River Basin (Chandra et al., 2019; M. Diana, 2021; Firdaus & Nurliawati, 2019; Hapsoro & Yeru, 2022; Idris et al., 2019; Karsa, 2022; Lestari et al., 2022; Mustofa et al., 2023; Ramadhan, 2024; Sigalingging & Handajani, 2024; Solekhan, 2023; Solihah, 2020). There are also similar studies that focus on how the implementation of the Citarum Harum program collaboration (Andri, 2020; Aziz & Andri, 2022; Chandra et al., 2019; Idris et al., 2019; Mustofa et al., 2021, 2023; Prayoga, 2022; Zuhadi et al., 2023). In addition, some studies look at community participation in the Citarum Harum program (M. Diana & Kartasasmita, 2019; S. P. M. Diana & Pemb, 2019; Nadia, 2022; Pasundani, 2022; Rahayu et al., 2023; Rakhmawati, n.d.; Rosadi, 2023; Trigianti, 2022).. Then, several studies discuss evaluating the Citarum Harum program (Lestari et al., 2022; Ramadhan, 2024; Sigalingging & Handajani, 2024).

Based on several studies above, the study of the Comparative Existence of Military and Government Strength in the Revitalization of the Citarum River Basin in Karawang Regency has never been carried out regarding the focus or locus of the research. Therefore, this study is rich in scientific innovations obtained. The reason is that this study aims to describe and see how the military strength, namely the Indonesian Army and the Karawang Regency Government, in implementing the revitalization of the Citarum River Basin.

METHOD

This research is designed as qualitative research. This research uses a descriptive type that aims to explain factually and accurately the facts, characteristics, and relationships between the phenomena being investigated (Creswell, 2015). The data sources determined in this study use primary data and secondary data ((Bungin, 2001). Data collection in this study used interviews, observations, document processing, and audio-visual materials (Moleong, 2007) (Creswell, 2014). The Credibility/degree of trust examination technique used by the researcher is the source triangulation technique (Patton et al., 2006).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Raising the problem of damage and pollution in the Citarum River Basin at the national level and making it a priority program has encouraged the contribution of all related stakeholders. The involvement of military agencies through the Indonesian Army



has led to the Citarum Harum Task Force becoming one of the key actors, together with the government, private sector, and community, in encouraging the revitalization of the Citarum River Basin.

In reality, the existence of the Indonesian Army through the Citarum Harum Task Force is more dominant than other actors. The authority held by the Task Force is, in fact, not possessed by different actors, including the Karawang Regency Government agencies, let alone other actors outside the government. Between the Indonesian Army and the Karawang Regency Government, placing the Indonesian Army as a central actor in encouraging the success of government programs through collaboration corridors, this condition illustrates the strength and influence of an organization on other organizations that can be called stakeholder power (Huxam & Vangen, 2006)

In its implementation, the existence of the Indonesian Army compared to the Karawang Regency Government is greater. The Indonesian Army has the authority to determine the action plan for controlling pollution and damage to the Citarum River Basin. Furthermore, the Indonesian Army has the authority to localize and stop the source of pollution and damage to the Citarum River. In addition, the Indonesian Army can request information, data, or documents, including entering and inspecting factories, business premises, yards, warehouses, storage areas, or factory waste disposal channels. Moreover, it can prevent and prohibit people from re-entering to establish settlements in regions with a protective function. Furthermore, it has the authority to involve ministries/institutions, Regional Governments, and the community.

Its operations in controlling pollution and damage to the Citarum River Basin have an imbalance in coordination, initiation, and encouragement of action in the field, which the Indonesian Army more dominantly carries out. Even compared to the West Java Provincial Government, which has the authority to provide direction, initiation, and coordination in the Citarum River Basin management, it still needs to be more optimal. This fact is not excessive when referring to the Regional Regulation of West Java Province Number 20 of 2014 concerning River Basin Management; in Article 8, it is explained that "the provincial government has the authority to carry out river basin management in the regency/city area and river basins across regency/cities." The context above, in line with the implementation of the Citarum Harum Program in Karawang Regency, is that coordination and initiation in implementing pollution control and damage to the Citarum River Basin currently rely more on the Indonesian Army. Based on the study results, it was confirmed that the Indonesian Army became the dominant actor compared to the local government. It was analyzed using collaborative governance from Ansel & Gash (2007) with the following results:



Table 1. Community Participation Score in 2019

No.	Aspect	Indonesian Army (Task Force)	Karawang Regency Government
1	Strength and Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Sufficient personnel, there are 1,700 Indonesian Army Personnel (Karawang has 4 Sectors). b) Strict control focusing on work and 24-hour operational time on the Citarum River (River and land patrols). c) Able to take firm action against violators. d) High initiative in implementing the program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Lack of Personnel/Human Resources. No more than 20 people. b) Excessive workload and not intensive control of the Citarum River Basin. c) Weak assertiveness due to conflict of interest. d) Becoming an actor who follows directions and initiatives.
2	Collaborative Incentives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) State Tasks (Tasks must be carried out according to target and successful/achieved). b) Success of the program or regulatory mandate. c) Awards and recognition. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) State tasks (Program implemented) b) Success of the program or regulatory mandate. c) Karawang as a Pilot Project.
3	Collaboration and Conflict Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) No Collaboration Experience with the government and community/private sector. b) No previous conflict experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) There is cooperation experience. b) There is conflicting experience with the private sector, river basin hall, PJT, and the community.
4	Mediating Ability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Powerful in mediating between stakeholders. b) Stakeholder compliance with the Indonesian Army is very high 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Lack of mediation ability. b) Conflict occurs as the mediated party (government and private sector), (government and community), (government and private sector).
5	Facilitation Ability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The Indonesian Army facilitates meetings of all actors in the Citarum River Basin Coordination Forum (planned and incidental/situational forums 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The government and other stakeholders become actors facilitated by the Indonesian Army.



6	Non-single leader	a) The Indonesian Army becomes the sole leader in collaboration and stakeholder power (Actors targeted by all other actors).	a) The Karawang Regency Government acknowledges and follows the Indonesian Army's leadership in the Citarum River Basin Revitalization Program.
7	Basic Rules in Collaboration	a) The extent of the Indonesian Army (Task Force) authority in realization in the field through Presidential Decree Number 15 of 2018.	a) The regional government's authority is less significant than the Task Force's. b) The regional government follows the direction of the Task Force
8	Actor Trust	a) All stakeholders immensely trust the program's success if there is Indonesian Army intervention	a) Lack of public and private/industry trust in the regional government. b) There is pessimism from the community and industry if the Citarum River Basin's revitalization is only done by the government.
9	Institutional Image	a) The image of the institution is perfect. b) All stakeholders believe that Indonesian Army involvement brings success. c) Feelings of reluctance when dealing with the Indonesian Army have implications for the level of stakeholder compliance	a) The image of the institution has been badly damaged in the eyes of the community and the private sector/industry. b) The private sector and the community see the program's implementation by the regional government as merely a formality/agenda for revitalizing the Citarum (Without clear progress and implementation).
10	Interests	a) Must make the Citarum Harum Program a success according to the mandate of Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2018. b) There are no external interests with the actors.	a) There is a conflict of interest, especially with private actors.
11	Sanctions	a) Strict and precise punishment for members of the Task Force who do not carry out their duties, and the	a) There are no clear sanctions against employees participating in the Citarum River Basin revitalization program.



order of Presidential
Regulation No. 15 of 2018.

Source: Researcher Processing, 2024.

Based on the above context, the analysis of collaboration using collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008) seen from the aspects of strength and resources, incentives to collaborate, experience of cooperation and conflict, mediation ability, facilitation ability, non-single leaders, basic rules in collaboration, actor trust. All these aspects illustrate the dominance of the Indonesian Army compared to the local government in all sectors of Karawang Regency. This condition also illustrates the significant existence of the Indonesian Army during the revitalization of the Citarum River Basin in West Java. However, ideally, the regency/city government has resources and plays a central role in managing Water Resources, including the Citarum River Basin, which is considerable.

It is stated in Law Number 17 of 2019 concerning Water Resources. The central authority of the regency/city government in managing Water Resources has yet to be realized in the implementation of the revitalization of the Citarum River Basin, especially in Karawang Regency. Essentially, the local government has the authority to determine policies for managing water resources, including river areas. In addition, the regency/city government has the right to regulate, choose, and grant permits for using water resources for non-business needs and permits for using water resources for business needs, in addition to forming a coordination forum for water resource management. Many authorities have been unable to encourage the government to change the condition of the Citarum River Basin, which is heavily polluted.

The context above, when compared to efforts to control pollution and damage to the Citarum River Basin, shows that the role of the Karawang Regency government could be more optimal compared to the Indonesian Army. This suboptimality is based on findings in the field, referring to the still weak initiation of the regional government towards managing the Citarum River Basin in the Karawang Region. In addition, there has yet to be a coordination forum between government agencies, industry, and community groups, especially those related to the Citarum River Natural Resources in the Karawang Region.

The absence of this forum has led to an increasing conflict of interest between the Karawang Regency government industry and the community. This condition is exacerbated by the weak assertiveness of the regional government in taking action against perpetrators of Citarum River Basin pollution in its region. The context is theoretically included in the conflict arising from interactions between individuals or groups in social activities, which can be resolved with various approaches, one of which is collaboration. The impact involvement of the Citarum Harum Task Force has been able to bring new strength through the resources and power it has, accompanied by the excellent image of the Indonesian Army in the eyes of stakeholders involved in the Citarum River Basin restoration effort, making PJT II as the manager feel that the complexity of the conflict of interest will be resolved.

In addition to conflicts of interest, the lack of coordination and the lack of resources of the Karawang Regency government to monitor the Citarum River make the government unable to do much. The local government has yet to assign special personnel to support the revitalization of the Citarum River Basin compared to the Indonesian Army, which has 1,700 personnel and 350 people in the Karawang Regency. The large number of resources



focused on revitalizing the Citarum River Basin, including empowerment and order, encourages effective implementation by involving the Indonesian Army and increasing community compliance compared to the local government. Based on the previous context, the existence of the Indonesian Army is manifested through the management of water resources by empowering the community to change the critical land of the Citarum River Basin in Karawang Regency. It is known that the distribution of Critical Land in the Citarum River Basin in Karawang Regency is 20,859.43 Ha, with a critical category of 18,832.78 Ha and very critical reaching 2,026.65 Ha. The reason is that through previous Citarum programs, the essential distribution of land and community involvement has not been a government concern.

This empowerment innovation provides rights and added value for the Citarum River community ownership. In addition, the Indonesian Army also provides facilitation through assistance and provision of superior seeds through "*Demplot*" or demonstration plots in each Sector of Karawang Regency by involving PT BMJ, PT Pupuk Kunjang, and Community Groups. The Citarum Task Force initiated planting trees with economic value, such as corn, cassava, chili, papaya, bananas, and so on, which, when harvested, the results are used again for the benefit of the community.

Problems other than the less-than-optimal pattern of water resource management in the Karawang Regency River area are the weak realization of regulations on the use of water resources in the Citarum River Basin in the Karawang Region. At the beginning of the implementation of the Citarum Harum program, it was included in the supervision of waste from industry, business actors, and the community. However, it is clearly stated that regional apparatus/technical services in the provincial and city/regency governments are tasked with implementing programs and activities in the Citarum River Basin.

CONCLUSION

Although this research highlights the collaboration between several parties involved in the Citarum Harum program, the field study results show the military's vital role compared to the government. Military involvement in government programs can support the success of program implementation. The success of the military compared to the local government in this program can be seen from various aspects, such as the strength and resources owned by the military being superior to those owned by the local government. In addition, the success of the military is due to the existence of a sanction mechanism. This sanction is given when the implementation does not follow the established plan. This research provides a comprehensive picture of the future regarding military involvement in government programs to help the program succeed.

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