



Collaborative Governance: Contradictions of the National Apprenticeship Program in Karawang Regency-Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the achievements of employment policies through the National Apprenticeship Program in Karawang-Indonesia which is actually marked by the conflict between the government, the private sector, and the community. This study uses a qualitative approach, with primary data obtained through direct observation and in-depth interviews, while secondary data is obtained from relevant research literature and documents. The results of the study show that the achievement of collaboration in the implementation of employment in Karawang Regency in the form of the National Apprenticeship Program is unattractive for job seekers, ineffective in reducing the high unemployment rate, and is far from feasible in industrial relations with workers. In addition to the magnitude of the contradiction in the program's objectives, it is manifested in many divorces and terms of interest, it is prone to violations that in practice lead to labor exploitation or neo-slavery.

Keyword : *Collaborative Governance, National Apprenticeship, Karawang Regency.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Employment development is a classic government problem that continues to grow along with the increasing population, job opportunities, and community's economic strength (Arsyad, 2017; Jannes, 2005; Dwiyanto, 2008; (Fretes, 2007). Employment development is intended to increase abilities and competencies and expand the labor market. The aim of fostering and protecting the workforce is to create job opportunities to achieve economic stability to improve people's welfare.

In order to achieve this condition, the Indonesian government issued Permenaker Number 36 of 2016 concerning Domestic Apprenticeship or the National Apprenticeship Program. The essence of the program is a step to accelerate the improvement of skills and competencies of the Indonesian workforce which is considered weak. In line with the mandate of Article 7 paragraph (3) of Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, "the preparation of policies, strategies, and



programs The government's sustainable manpower development program must be guided by manpower planning".

Karawang Regency is the area with the largest level of investment in Java, reaching Rp. 14.835 trillion in 2018, the area with the largest Regional Minimum Wage (UMR) in Indonesia which in 2020 reached Rp. 4,594,324.54-. It is not surprising that Karawang Regency is the main destination for job seekers both within and outside the region. Based on this to maximize the absorption of labor, the Government of Karawang Regency issued a regulation Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2011 concerning the Implementation of Employment in Karawang Regency. This is intended as an effort to provide a competent, professional workforce, accompanied by a broad job market, and humane utilization in industrial relations for the creation of self and family welfare.

The condition of the workforce in Karawang Regency is dominated by the education level of Elementary School (SD), Junior High School (SMP), and Senior High School (SMA). Based on data from the Manpower and Transmigration Office of Karawang Regency (Disnakertrans), in 2018 the number of working people was 1,010,828 people, of the total workforce of 1,117,545 people, and the high unemployment rate reached 106,171 people. This figure is outside the new workforce in 2019 at all levels of education which automatically has implications for an increase in the open unemployment rate (Disnakertrans Karawang, 2020).

One of the causes of the high unemployment rate in Karawang Regency is that many local labor forces are not absorbed in the labor market. This condition is caused by a discriminatory recruitment system, widespread collusion, and nepotism in the company, causing low absorption of the local workforce. Data from the Department of Population and Civil Registration in 2018 shows the absorption of the workforce of 8 to 10 percent of the Karawang Regency workforce each year (Disdukcapil, 2019). There is a negative stigma attached to the workforce from Karawang which is known to be lazy, has low loyalty/work ethic, often complains, is weak, and gradually stops working, so it is difficult for the people of Karawang to be accepted for work. It is common knowledge that the company prefers workers from Central and East Java over the Karawang Regency workforce.

The results of the National Labor Force Survey in August 2018 recorded the number of open unemployment in Karawang Regency of 9.55% of the total workforce, higher than the unemployment rate of West Java Province of 8.72% (Sakernas, 2018). This condition is above the national unemployment rate of 5%. The increasing unemployment of the local workforce is inversely proportional to the image of Karawang Regency as an area with the largest industrial area in Southeast Asia as stated in Presidential Decree No. 53/1989 on Industrial Estate Development.

Weak skills and competencies of human resources are a concern of the government, more than half of the Indonesian workforce is junior high school graduates and below, including in Karawang Regency. Factually, this phenomenon underscores the *urgency* of increasing human resource capacity through job skills training for high school (SMA) and vocational high school (SMK) graduates. Based on data released by the Manpower and Transmigration Office of Karawang Regency in 2018, as follows:



Table 1. General Employment Conditions in Karawang Regency in 2018

No	Education Level/Soul	Work Force/	Working Spirit	/Open Unemployed Spirit/Soul
1	SD	437,469	423,013	14,456
2	SMP	206,395	175,301	31,094
3	4	DI	/	SMA 384,995 327,936 57,059
II	/III	32,871	31,302	1,569
5	UNIV	55.815	53,276	2,539
TOTAL		1,117,545	1,010. 828	106,717

Source: Disnakertrans Karawang Regency, 2018.

The open unemployment rate reached 106,717 people exacerbated by the high rate of urbanization in Karawang Regency, as a result of the attractiveness of the City Minimum Wage (UMK) and the highest paid City Sectoral Minimum Wage (UMSK) across the country (Disnakertrans Karawang, 2018). Data from the Population and Civil Registry Agency (Disdukcapil) of Karawang Regency shows that from 2017 to 2020, applications for making Identity Cards (KTP) in Karawang have increased rapidly. In a day, more than. 90 applicants applied to become residents of Karawang. As a result, there was a significant increase in the population. Ironically, the nonresident population beat the original Karawang population. In fact, the Karawang population increased by an average of 30 thousand people within a year. The latest data recorded the population of Karawang reached 3.3 million people. Meanwhile, the number of nonresidents according to the report from the certificate of moving was recorded at 1.7 million people. In 2017, around 30 thousand migrants lived and settled in Karawang. Then, it increased by 1000 to 31.000 people in 2018, and in 2019 around 11.600 people came to Karawang within 5 months (Disdukcapil Karawang, 2020).

Improving labor conditions related to the expansion of the labor market, weak skills, and competencies are carried out through the National Apprenticeship Program through the government collaboration corridor. Collaboration is needed due to a lot of asynchronous, and lack of coordination in handling a case from weak *networking* and cooperation between institutions. In line with Killian's (2012) statement, it shows that the high sectoral ego that surrounds most public agencies/institutions, and the right solution to overcome the problem of structural ego and sectoral ego is more than just coordination. It is no exaggeration if O'Leary & Bingham (2009) make collaborative governance is present as a practical innovation that is able to cure various policy pathologies, both in terms of politicization of regulations, budget swelling or limitations, as well as the failure of policy implementation (Ansell & Gash, 2007; Sorensen & Tofing, 2012). A lot of previous similar research relates to government collaboration (Raharja, 2008; Dewi, 2012; Zaenuri: 2016; Aisah, 2015), but the research through the collaborative governance Employment Implementation in the National Apprenticeship Program in Karawang Regency, Indonesia has not been widely carried out. Based on this, this research has a very high level of up-to-dateness, by examining the results of the National Apprenticeship Program which aims to improve *skills* and



competencies and even improve welfare, but it actually gets a lot of controversies. The research uses the theory of collaborative governance proposed by (Ansell and Gash 2007) by focusing on the intermediate outcome as a result of the collaboration process. Based on empirical phenomena, the purpose of this study is to answer how the realization of Employment Implementation in the National Apprenticeship Program in Karawang Regency, Indonesia.

2. METHOD

Based on the problems raised, this study uses a qualitative method. Then, the data in this study consists of primary data and secondary data. The primary data is obtained from in-depth interviews with a number of informants, while secondary data is through library research (Creswell, 2014). Determination of informants through purposive techniques consists of 1) Disnakertrans Karawang Regency, 2) Indonesian Employers Association (APINDO) Karawang Regency, 3) Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN), and 4) All-Indonesia Metal Workers Union Federation (FSPMII) Karawang Branch, 5) All-Indonesian Workers Union (SPSI) Karawang, 6) Federation of Singapore Trade Unions (FSPS) Karawang. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique used in this research is data collection, data reduction, data display, verification, and confirmation of conclusions (Bungin, 2001). Meanwhile, the credibility check technique uses triangulation (Patton, 2006).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Inconsistency of Actors in Collaboration

The results of government collaboration are manifested in the National Apprenticeship Program through the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower (Permenaker) Number 36 of 2016 concerning Domestic Apprenticeships which are intended as an effort to increase skills and competencies, in fact, they are inversely proportional, it can be seen from the number of various injuries, which is in the interest of the industry. Although the government of Karawang Regency seeks to accommodate the demands of the community, it is oriented towards increasing the level of community welfare through Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2011 concerning the implementation of manpower in the Karawang district. The essence of the regulation requires that "every company prioritizes optimally so that the open opportunities are filled by local workers from Karawang". This means that the composition of the company must at least recruit 60% of the local residents of Karawang Regency from the workforce needed by the company.

The determination of the composition of 60% local workers and 40% from outside the region in each company by the Karawang Regency government is a strategy to minimize the increase in the unemployment rate of 9.55% (Sakernas, 2018). The regional regulation is one of the cornerstones of the collaboration carried out by the Karawang Regency government with KADIN (Chamber of Commerce and Industry), and APINDO (Indonesian Employers' Association), as well as elements of the community represented by the labor Union. However, the actual formation of the agreement on the National Apprenticeship Program did not involve the participation of labor unions as community representatives.



Collaboration through the National Apprenticeship Program in Karawang Regency is characterized by the inconsistency of actors. Inconsistency is defined as a discrepancy or conflict (Prastio, 2019). The inconsistency of private actors is manifested by recruitment outside the Apprenticeship Program by PT Yamaha Motor Manufacturing II to recruit 180 job applicants from outside the Karawang Regency massively and hiddenly (Disnakertrans Karawang, 2019). This clearly violates Perda Number 1 of 2011 concerning Employment Implementation in Karawang Regency and violates Karawang Regent Regulation Number 8 of 2016 concerning Expansion of Employment Opportunities by requiring every company in Karawang Regency to absorb local workers at least 60% of Karawang people as evidenced by Identity Cards (KTP) and Family Card (KK). The Karawang Regency Government as the leading sector in collaboration took action by canceling the recruitment process and confiscating 180 files of applicants who were predominantly from Cirebon, Indramayu, Tegal, Kuningan, Pekalongan, Pemalang.

This condition illustrates the low commitment of the private sector to the regulations in force in Karawang Regency. While commitment is a strong factor determining the success of collaboration which is closely related to motivation to participate (Schöttle, Haghsheno, and Gehbauer 2014; Ansell & Gash, 2007). The results of the study confirm that the dominant industry in Karawang Regency prefers and chooses workers from outside the region who are considered to have high competence and work ethic compared to workers from Karawang.

Interdependence between actors as a strength in collaboration (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Saarikoski, 2000). The weak commitment of the private sector is manifested in discriminatory treatment of the local workforce which has an impact on the magnitude of open unemployment in Karawang Regency. The union considers that there are many cases of abuse against the National Apprenticeship Program because the program is limited to an image of the Karawang Regency Government which is used as a pilot project. In contrast to where the position of the workforce and apprenticeship participants are in a very disadvantaged position, the essence of a program that aims to train participants is in fact used as a medium in exploiting apprenticeship participants which is worse than *outsourcing* (certain time work contracts). This means that there are other interests as the main goal, automatically the goal in the form of *link and match* will be very difficult to achieve in the sense of collaboration out of the original goal (Asworo, 2015).

Weak Trust in the National Apprenticeship Program

Trust among actors in the collaboration process is strongly influenced by the existence of a common understanding of goals, transparency of information, and consistency of collaborators to a consensus so that it does not give rise to the opportunistic nature of actors (Qu & Loosemore, 2013). The National Apprenticeship Program as an employment solution has, in fact, been criticized by the Labour Union and has not attracted job seekers. Although job seekers are very easily accepted by companies in Karawang Regency through apprenticeships, because of the flexibility of time and very profitable for the company. The lack of interest in the program proves the poor trust of job seekers (community) in the government's collaborative program. Whereas trust is the main foundation of collaboration (Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh 2012) meaning the purpose of the collaboration is based on trust between actors (Ring & Ven, 1994; Gulati, 1995). Poor trust is the cause of the failure of government programs (Das & Teng, 2001).

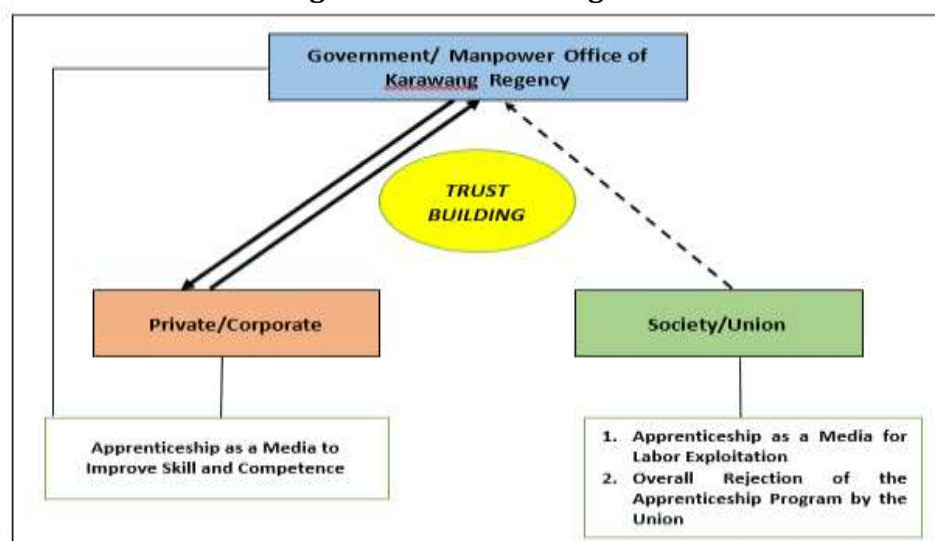


Based on 2017 data, there were only 36 companies with 2,332 apprenticeship participants, while in 2018 there were 48 companies with 3,911 apprenticeship participants (Disnakertrans Karawang, 2019). The low interest in the labour force is inversely proportional to the number of open unemployment which reached 106,717 people and the number of industries reached 1732 companies. Disappointment and poor trust have resulted in people choosing to look for work other than the Apprenticeship Program. Whereas the absolute prerequisite for successful collaboration is building sustainable trust (Huxham & Vangen, 2000; Ring & Ven, 1994; Susanti, 2016: 233).

Contrary to the above, the government and the private sector strongly believe that apprenticeship can absorb the workforce and is the only effective way to increase the *skills* and competencies of workers. Based on that, the company opens wide opportunities for job seekers. One of them is through the Gokko Mirai Indonesia Education and Skills Institute (LPK), which is happy to distribute apprentices to various companies in Karawang Regency. The motive is none other than the more flexible labour apprenticeship compared to having to recruit employees under a certain time work agreement (PKWT). In addition, there is recognition in the form of a certificate of expertise as a result of the Apprenticeship Program which is useful as capital in finding work in the future.

The results of the research show the bad impact of the Apprenticeship Program, which makes workers have no bargaining power in companies that are at risk of being dismissed at any time, in addition to wages received below a decent living standard or regional minimum wage (UMR), and the absence of protection for workers. This is in fact not in line with the preferences of job seekers, even though the similarities in formulating problems and goals as the basis for carrying out collaborations (Ansell & Gash, 2007; Crosby, 2017; Emerson et al., 2012). This means that the purpose of the Apprenticeship Program is in stark contrast to the orientation of job seekers who focus on finding a decent income. The following is a chart of research results showing the strong trust between the government and the private sector which contradicts the low public trust in the National Apprenticeship Program as follows:




Figure 1. Trust Building Scheme



Source: Autors Analysis, 2022.



Description:

- 1) Normal Relationship Intensity : 
- 2) Weak Relationship Intensity : 
- 3) Strong Relationship Intensity : 

Trade unions and job seekers believe that working through the Apprenticeship Program is equivalent to spending a productive age without the certainty of industrial relations within the company, as well as being a means of exploiting the workforce. The above conditions illustrate the contradiction of trust between the Karawang Regency government, the private sector, and the community towards the National Apprenticeship Program, which is actually in its formulation until the establishment of the policy program does not involve elements of labour unions as community representatives.

The Growth of Profit-taking Parties and Vulnerability to Violations

The exclusion of trade unions has led to many violations of the goals of collaboration that are not in line with expectations, resulting in many contradictions in the realization of the program. Contradiction is a situation or condition in which there is conflict and even conflict (Grice & Strawson, 1956; Price, 1996; Quine, 1966; Soekanto & Sulistyowati, 2013; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004; Wirawan, 2009; Grim, 2004; Suber, 2001). The contradiction is that the wages received are very high far from the Regional Minimum Wage (UMR) as a decent standard of living. This means that working through apprenticeships cannot meet the needs of a decent life and is far from the value of welfare. The sad thing is that the National Apprenticeship Program does not recognize wages or salaries, the term used in paying apprentice workers is "pocket money" in the amount of 60% to 75% of the UMR. Trade unions and the public see this condition as the realization of cheap labour.

Actually, the National Apprenticeship Program only benefits some parties. For example, the apprenticeship that took place at PT. TMMI, where interns receive pocket money in the apprenticeship program of around Rp. 3,400,000 per month, adrift of Rp. 834,101 when compared to the nominal Karawang regional minimum wage of Rp. 4,234,010. That way the company pays low wages and saves Rp. 834,101 in one month, which accumulates as many as 400 workers (apprentice participants). This means that for one month the company can save expenses of Rp. 333,604,000, so in one year until the apprenticeship period is complete, the company can save production expenses of more than Rp. 4 billion.

In addition to benefiting the company, multiple benefits are obtained by organizing the recruitment of apprentices, namely the Special Jobs Exchange (BKK) and the Job Training Institute (LPK). The realization of recruitment through BKK and LPK also brings problems when these parties are reapers of benefits from government programs. The fact is that there are job seekers who have to pay IDR 1,000,000 to IDR 3,000,000 in every recruitment to be accepted by the company, more than that, previous job seekers must register as LPK or BKK members at a rate of IDR 100,000 to IDR 150,000



per person, can accumulate profits which are obtained by an average of 100 registrant participants per day.

Based on the findings in the field, there are many problems with the implementation of apprenticeships in Karawang Regency. First, is the potential for abuse of apprenticeship rules, because the number of supervisors from the Karawang Regency government is not able to supervise the total activities of the company. Furthermore, according to regulations, apprentice workers/labour have to get 25% theory and 75% practice are not implemented at all, in fact starting from the first-day interns are required to work directly with full-time employees or permanent employees. Second, the maximum period of apprenticeship is one year, but it is dominant that apprentices can work beyond the specified time limit, even participating in overtime/overtime in producing goods at the company. Like the case that happened at PT. Sankhosa Indonesia which employs interns for more than two years, working 8 to 12 hours a day.

The reality of the above conditions is a form of violation of labour rights which is wrapped neatly through government programs in an effort to increase skills and competencies through the National Apprenticeship Program which does not actually involve trade unions as community representatives in collaboration forums. Accordingly, a formal forum involving all actors is a vehicle and a way of breaking down suspicions between actors in building collaboration and preventing the exploration of mutual benefits in the early stages of a collaboration (Booher & Innes, 2002; Ansell & Gash, 2007).

Apprenticeship as a Means of Union Busting and Neo-Slavery

The Lack of community involvement which is manifested by the workers in collaboration both at the formulation stage up to the realization of the National Manpower Program of the Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 36 of 2016 has created a lot of contradictions. Indeed, community involvement in collaborative forums is the basis for building common ground and ensuring contributions to supporting successful collaboration (Bryson, Crosby, and & Stone 2006). This condition gave rise to a lot of conflicts, where in fact all trade unions in Karawang Regency saw that the Apprenticeship Program was not only dangerous for interns, but also had a negative impact that threatened the existence of permanent workers.

The above conditions are reinforced by the efforts of the Karawang Regency Government and the Private Sector, which are currently intensively implementing the Apprenticeship Program, not at all opening up space for openness to the Trade Unions. The Trade Union element of the FSP-TSK SPSI considered that in the apprenticeship there was a system that severely damaged the order in the company, the aim of which was to begin to lead union *busting*. The reason is that if there are more interns in a company than permanent workers, it will be easier for the company to control the labour movement. In fact, when there is a worker rejection of the company's policy, it is very easy to be expelled and replaced with an intern.

This condition occurs in the union at PT. Tenma Indonesia, there was a union-busting where five members or administrators of PUK SPAMK FSPMI were sentenced to unilateral termination of



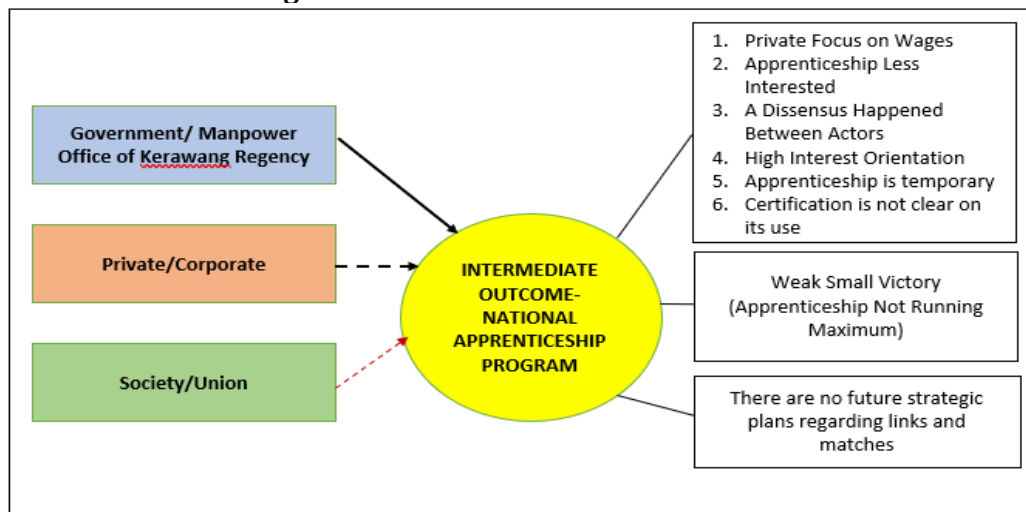
employment (PHK). The many loopholes in the Apprenticeship Program have a negative impact on unions which regularly lose members. In contrast to the profits of companies that use apprentices, they can save costs by reducing the salaries of workers with the same productivity as permanent workers.

Not limited to efforts to suppress labour unions, violations, and inconsistencies of PT. Tenma Indonesia which implements Permenaker Number 36 the Year 2016 in its application does not comply with applicable regulations. Seen from the time of apprenticeship conducted at PT. Tenma Indonesia for three years or more. This condition is seen as a weak commitment from the private sector and the government regarding law enforcement against violations that occur. In line with that, collaboration failure occurs when actions weaken trust and there is a lot of injury to the applicable rules (Ariño and Torre, n.d; Merrill-Sands and Sheridan, 1996).

The poor supervision of the National Apprenticeship Program raises the fact that modern slavery has occurred under the guise of increasing skills and competencies. Based on the research results that are in line with the information from PUK SPAMK FSPMI PT. Tenma Indonesia stated that several workers in the company are apprentices (training/learning) required to work 12 hours per day (*long shift*), with nominal overtime/overtime pay of Rp. 10,000, - per hour. Ironically, when there is a rejection of overtime/overtime offers, apprenticeship participants will be subject to termination of employment (PHK).

From a human perspective, it describes a new style of exploitation and slavery. The modern/neo-slavery itself is defined as a condition in which a person treats another person as his property, so that that person's freedom is taken away and then exploited for the benefit of the person who commits slavery, which is employed and thrown away like goods (Global Slavery Index, 2016). The following is a picture of the results of the study showing the differences in the objectives and the number of injuries to the National Apprenticeship Program.





Figure 2. Scheme Intermediate Outcomes



Source: Autors Analysis, 2022.



Description:

- 1) Normal Relationship Intensity : 
- 2) Weak Relationship Intent : 
- 3) Strong Relationship Intent : 
- 4) Change of Distrust : 

The difficulty of enforcing the apprenticeship program is because in Permenaker Number 36 of 2016 there are many shortcomings, one of which is that there are no penalties for companies that commit violations in all forms. Research shows that apprenticeship participants are used as production tools to meet the demands of the company's needs, with inadequate wages. In fact, there has been exploitation of cheap labor or "neo-slavery" due to the many injuries, the high-interest orientation has led to the failure of efforts to create *links and match*, increasing skills and competencies as the core objectives of the National Apprenticeship Program in Karawang Regency.

4. CONCLUSION

This research succeeded in answering the asynchronous collaboration through the National Apprenticeship Program whose implementation was marked by many contradictions as a result of the harm to the program objectives. This research has limitations because it was only conducted in the Karawang Regency area, Indonesia, but this study succeeded in explaining many gaps and weaknesses of the National Apprenticeship Program. For example, the lack of trust in the private sector and the government has resulted in the low interest of job seekers through the program, which is considered only to spend their productive age. The absence of witnesses to violations in the Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 36 of 2016 has led to the proliferation of abuse which makes apprenticeships a means of exploiting cheap labour known as "neo-slavery". Moreover, by utilizing the number of interns, the company can easily control and even make the program a way of dissolving union busting..

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