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Full Length Research Paper

The situation of orphans and vulnerable children in selected Woredas[i] and towns in Jimma Zone

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Orphan and vulnerable (OVC) children are children that are susceptible to various types of physiological, psychological and social problems. A qualitative research was conducted to assess the situation of orphans and vulnerable children in four woredas and two towns of Jimma Zone, Southwest Ethiopia. 21 focus group discussions and 29 key informant interviews were conducted to collect data required for the study. The data collected were analyzed using thematic analysis. The study revealed that OVC are vulnerable to malnutrition, poor hygiene, child sexual abuse, drug use, child labor exploitation. Moreover, they have little/no access to essential social services such as health, education and housing. The finding of the study also revealed that non-governmental organizations operating in the areas have been supporting very few children with educational materials, health care cost and food. The supports being offered by the non-governmental organizations were insufficient, intermittent, duplicated and limited to few children in terms of their coverage. Consequently, a number of OVC are still in a difficult situation and seek immediate attention. Thus, strengthening families'/guardian's economic capacity through income generating activities, social and emotional inclusive support programs, inter-organizational coordination, launching institutional care/ promoting local adoption for the abandoned and orphans were recommended based on the findings.

Key words: Jimma zone, child, orphan and vulnerable children, vulnerability.

INTRODUCTION

Orphans and vulnerable children are the main problems of developing countries, especially sub Saharan Africa. UNAIDS (2010) estimated that of the 16.6 million children (aged 0–17) who have lost one or both parents to AIDS, 14.8 million are in sub-Saharan Africa.

Within Ethiopia 5.5 million children, around 6% of the total population, are categorized as orphans or vulnerable children (OVC). OVC comprise almost 12% of Ethiopia's total child population. Over 83% of these OVC are living in rural settings of which 855,720 of them are orphaned children as a result of the death of one or both parents due to HIV/AIDS (Save the Children UK, 2008).

The Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS) estimates that 72% of children in the country live with both parents, 14% with mothers only, 3% with fathers only and 11% live with neither of natural parents. The

same survey indicated that 18% of Ethiopian households are caring for orphans while 0.6% or 11, 577 households were estimated to be child headed (CSA, 2011). Poverty, deaths of parents due to HIV/AIDS, war, recurrent drought and its subsequent food shortage/famine are the major factors that made a number of children become vulnerable in Ethiopia (Tsegaye, 2001). However, vulnerability might be caused by other additional factors that include: severe chronic illness of a parent or caregiver, poverty, hunger, lack of access to services, inadequate clothing or shelter, overcrowding, deficient caretakers, and factors specific to the child, including disability, direct experience of physical or sexual violence, or severe chronic illness (Skinner, 2006).

Orphans and vulnerable children have been suffering from a lot of problems associated with these vulnerability factors. Some of the problems they face include hunger, lack of access to health and education, physical and psychological abuse, lack of love and affection and negative communities' attitude towards them (Berry and Guthrie, 2003). Because of these, orphans and vulnerable children require urgent basic needs and services supports that can be provided either within the community or institutionalized care.

In Ethiopia, as in most traditional societies, there was a strong culture of caring for orphans, the elderly, the sick, and disabled and other needy members of the society in the past. Most of these care and protections were being carried out by the nuclear and extended family members, communities and religious organizations (Tsegaye, 2001; Radeny and Bunkers, 2009).

However, the advent of urbanization, widespread of HIV/AIDS, recurrent drought, high population growth, shortage of land and other resources to meet the ever increasing demand have been challenging the informal efforts to address the problems of these destitute segments of the society including the OVC. These manmade and natural factors have also claimed many lives. Consequently, thousands of children were left unaccompanied as neither family nor communities and religious organizations were unable to discharge their traditional roles and functions (Tsegaye, 2001). Under such circumstances, it is important to undertake deep investigation to come up with evidence based interventions measures to be taken which are the main purposes of this study.

Problem statement

Ethiopia counts one of the largest populations of orphan and vulnerable children in the world (Zewdineh, 2008). Berry and Gutrie (2003) stated that orphans and vulnerable children are exposed to various social, psychological, economic and health problems. The impacts of being OVC are especially profound on girls as they face many

challenges in general and in the absence of parental care in particular. Early initiation for sexual activity, exploitation, abuse and sexual violence and female few to mention among the various challenges girls face under such circumstances. These expose them to greater risk of becoming infected with HIV in most cases (Save the Children UK, 2008; Radeny and Bunkers, 2009; Star Foundation, 2011). Garadew (2006) further added that the probability of becoming victims of violence, exploitation, trafficking, discrimination and various types of abuses is high among orphans and vulnerable children.

The largest groups in need of support in Ethiopia were orphans and vulnerable children directly affected by HIV/AIDS, extreme poverty, continuous risk of famine, and internal and external migration. From the more than five million Ethiopian children considered to be orphaned or vulnerable, 77,000 were living in child-headed households and their situation calls for the response of all concerned bodies (Radeny and Bunkers, 2009).

Cognizant of the situations of OVC in the country, Ethiopian government has formulated polices and guidelines that specify the standards of the services provided to OVC, the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders participate in giving services and supports for these children. The main policies, plan of actions and guidelines available in Ethiopia regarding OVC are: Child right Convention adopted by Ethiopian government, Developmental Social Welfare Policy, National Plan of Action for Children, National OVC Plan of Action and Guideline on Alternative Child Care program. These policies, plan of actions and guidelines are meant to create conducive and supportive environment for proper growth and development of the OVC. To this end, the policies, the strategies and the guidelines have paid attention to the need for psychosocial support, education and vocational training, health support, shelter, economic strengthening, social protection of the children (Save the Children UK, 2007).

There is no national wide comprehensive study conducted in Ethiopia recently regarding the situation of orphans and vulnerable children as well as community responses to the needs of the children except baseline surveys by different non-government organizations in different parts of the country. According to the information from these baseline surveys, orphans and vulnerable children are in difficult circumstances that call for the attention of all concerned bodies. For instance, the situational analysis of orphans and vulnerable children report in Tigray Region by Star Foundation (2011) indicated that OVCs lack basic necessities, educational fees and school materials support, parental supervision, emotional care and supports as consequences of which they have become exposed to various types of abuses and exploitations.

However, no study has been conducted yet in Jimma Zone regarding the situation of orphans and vulnerable

children, the communities' awareness of the problems of these children as well as the responses made after the formulation of the national strategies, guidelines and the plan of actions as far as the knowledge of the researchers is concerned. Therefore, this study is conducted to fill information gap in this regard. Thus, the study was conducted to meet the following objectives:

1. to identify community awareness about the situations of orphans and vulnerable children
2. to identify the problems of the orphans and the vulnerable children
3. to analyze the communities' and concerned bodies' responses to meet the needs of the OVC
4. to examine the existing gaps that need further interventions

Delimitation of the study

The study was delimited to four woredas (districts) of Jimma zone namely Dedo, Kersa, Seka Chokorsa, Limu Kossa, and the two towns namely Agaro and Jimma.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

Study time and areas: The study was conducted from March 04-16, 2012 in two towns and four woredas (districts) of Jimma zone mentioned above. Jimma Zone, the study setting, is located in Oromia National Regional State, South West Ethiopia at a distance of 310 km from Addis Ababa, the capital of the country. The Zone has 18 Administrative Woredas (District) and Jimma town (special administrative town). The total population of Jimma Zone is estimated to be 2,868,151 of which children below 18 years con-stitute 29% of the populating according to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2007 report.

Sampling technique: Non-probability (purposive) sampling technique was used to select these woredas and towns. Because as consultation made with the zonal Children's and Women's Affairs Office prior to the study, there was repeated personal report of child abuses and vulnerabilities to the office mainly from these studied sites. Hence, the office wants to get detail information supported with empirical evidences from the grass-root community in order to design strategies with an NGO known as SOS Children's Village Ethiopia for future intervention. The researchers had also no adequate time, finance and other resources to conduct survey. Therefore, interviews, focus group discussions and document review were used to conduct the study.

Interview: key Persons from Women and Children Affairs Office, Health Office, Education Office, NGOs, Social and Labor Affairs Offices were interviewed in their offices regarding the problems faced by OVC, various services being provided for OVC such as food, shelter, health care, education and gaps in rendering services. In addition, in-depth interview was conducted with street children in Jimma and Agaro towns. Interview guide prepared in English and translated into Afaan Ormo and Amaharic languages to ease the interview process was used for this purpose. Totally, 29 key informants and 7 street children were interviewed.

Focus Group Discussion (FGD): The researchers also conducted FGDs with members of CBOs and religious leaders, mothers, fathers and the youths selected from the community. These groups were selected to be involved in the focus group discussions based on the depth of their knowledge about the situation of OVC in their community. Totally, 21 FGDs were conducted for this purpose. 10-12 persons were participated in each of the FGD.

Document review: The Women's and Children's Affairs Offices of the respective woredas and towns were the responsible government body in charge of children related information. Hence, available documents of these offices were also reviewed in order to get relevant information.

Tools employed: In order to collect the data required for the study, the following tools were developed by the researchers based on the review of the literature relevant to the research thematic objectives. These were thematic issues check list for focus group discussions and an interview guide for the interviews. The tools were first prepared in English and translated into Amaharic and Afaan Oromo so that the participants can easily understand and give appropriate responses. Both the interviews and the focus group discussions were tape recorded with permission of the participants. Moreover, the researchers have established rapport with the participants and briefed the objectives of the study in order to get valid and reliable information.

Methods of data analysis: The qualitative data obtained from the study was transcribed and translated back into English. Then, it was thematically analyzed based on the objectives of the study.
Operational definition: The following are the operational definition of the terms/concepts used in this study.

A child: is every human being below the age of 18 years.

Orphan: The Alternative Childcare Guidelines on Community-based Childcare, Reunification and Reintegration developed by Ethiopian Ministry of Women's Affairs in 2009 defines an orphan as a child who is less than the age of 18 and who has lost one or both parents, regardless of the cause of the loss.
Vulnerability: is a state of reduced capacity to withstand social, economic, cultural, environmental and political threats both acute and chronic; the susceptibility of individuals, households, and communities to becoming poorer and poorer as a result of events or processes that occur around them. Three aspects that cause children to become vulnerable are reduced capacity to cope with calamities, resilience weak points (e.g. education, health, welfare, safety, play and participation and inadequate care and services (Tanzania Institute of Social Work, 2010).

According to Radeny and Bunkers (2009), a vulnerable child is a child who is less than 18 years of age and whose survival, care, protection or development might have been jeopardized due to a particular condition, and who is found in a situation that precludes the fulfillment of his or her rights. Vulnerable children include children whose rights to care and protection are being violated or who are at risk of those rights being violated. Children who have been orphaned by AIDS and/ or affected by the HIV and AIDS pandemic, children living with sick parents, children living in highly affected communities and children living without adult care are also categorized under vulnerable children.

RESULTS

Data collected from the focus group discussions (FGDs), document review, key persons and in-depth interviews

Table 1. Number of orphans by Woredas and towns.

S/No	Woreda/Town	Number of orphans		
		Male	Female	Both sex
1	Agaro Town	379	370	749
2	Limmu Kossa Woreda	134	196	326
3	Seka Chokorsa Woreda	340	244	584
4	Dedo Woreda	1,607*	1,185*	2,792*
5	Kersa Woreda	NA	NA	NA
6	Jimma Town	1,282	1,635	2,937
	Total	3,742	3,630	7,388

Source: The respective Woredas and Towns Women's Affair Offices document, 2012.* in the table indicates both orphans and Vulnerable/ at risk children while NA—indicates information was not available.

are thematically analyzed based on the objectives of the study as follows.

Community awareness about the situation of orphans and vulnerable children

One of the objectives of the study is to identify community awareness about the situation of vulnerable children. Accordingly, both the participants of the FGDs and the key informants revealed that there are a number of OVC in their community though they are not quite sure of the exact number of these children. But documented information obtained from the respective study woredas' and towns' Social and Labor Offices indicated that the number of Orphaned and Vulnerable children seems to be the following (Table 1).

Participants of the focus group discussions and key informant interview stated that the communities were well aware of the situation of orphans and vulnerable children in their respective areas. They stated that the number of orphans and vulnerable children is rising from time to time. In addition, the failure of indigenous institutions in providing services for OVC and maintaining social system increased the concern of community regarding the problems of OVC.

Children categorized as OVC by the community

The study tries to identify groups of children categorized as orphans and vulnerable children by the local community. From the in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions, it was understood that orphans, street children, abandoned children, children with mental and physical disability, and children of the poor and sick families were considered to be orphans and vulnerable children.

Problems faced by OVC

These OVC have the following specific problems according to the study participants.

Orphans: The local community called orphans "*Yetima*". Participants of focus group discussions stressed that most of these children are vulnerable to hunger; lack of shelter, clothes, health and education due to loss of their parents who take care for them. They live with their poor relatives such as grandparents who had no regular sources of income. The livelihoods of these poor relatives and grandparents are based on meager income they get from daily labor and selling of coffee straw. Moreover, these poor relatives/parents have large family size, 3-6 children, in most cases. Hence, they face many difficulties to meet the basic needs of the children let alone others.

Street children: Participants of the focus group discussions and the interviews revealed that there were no street children in most of the woreda towns covered under this study. Street children are found in Jimma and Agaro towns, relatively large commercial towns having more than 40,000 populations. Most of the street children migrate to these towns mainly from the surrounding woredas of the zone and the South Nations, Nationalities and People's Region in order to search for basic needs and services they could not get at their place of origin. But this does not mean that children born in these two towns do not join street life. The following two cases are children born and became street dwellers in Agaro and Jimma towns.

"I was born in Agaro and became street dweller in the same town due to the death of my both parents. I am making a living from street vending. I spend the whole day and night on street as I have no home. As a consequence, I was snatched my money and the things I

sale on the street by street gangs so many times. I am not going to school because I have to work and get a means of survival. Apart from this, I cannot afford my educational materials and school uniform.

Another 16 years old street boy interviewed in Jimma town described that in addition to lack of access to basic needs and social services, street children are considered as deviants and thieves by the community. In case properties are stolen by anybody else, the street children are the first to be suspected and assaulted to reveal who has stolen it.

Other street children also stated that they use drugs, alcohol, and benzoic, locally called "Mastish" to overcome cold and feeling of starvation at night. They also chew chat (green stimulant leaf). Moreover, they consume left over foods collected from garbage centers and different hotels in the towns. According to the key informants from the respective woredas health offices, such life styles expose the children to various types of health problems like intestinal parasites, skin diseases and cough. Their health problem is aggravated by the prolonged exposure to the scorching sun heat during the day and cold during the night. They have no access to water and clean environment to keep their personal hygiene as they live in dilapidated areas.

Furthermore, participants of the focus group discussions stated that OVC have become vulnerable to sexual abuse such as rape. One of the focus group participants from Jimma town indicted that 13 years old girl from poor family was raped while her mother and father were at work. However, her case was not brought to court due to lack of evidence. A 14 years old orphan girl interviewed in Jimma town also described how being an orphan exposes girls to sexual abuse as follows,

"I am 14 years old girl. I am seventh grade student. Both my father and mother are not alive. I was brought up by my step sister. Since our father and mother left nothing for us, my step sister faced a lot of ups and down to bring up I and my junior brother. I have nothing to buy school uniforms and educational materials let alone to other things. Meanwhile one of my school classmates introduced me to one rich guy whom she told me that he has an intention to support me in cash as well as in kind. Of course, the person supported me in a number of ways. However, he requested me to give him my virginity. For the time being I was very much disturbed with his request and I wanted to refuse it. But I thought that he interrupts supporting me if I refuse him. After long time contemplation, I accepted his request and engaged in sexual affairs for the first time with the person. I missed my virginity this way. After that I was feeling severe pain for about one week. Still today I am being disturbed when I remember the pain associated with my first sexual contact with the person. Since I fear, I did not disclose

this issue to my step sister let alone to somebody else".

Abandoned Children: These are children born out of illegal marriage and discarded on streets and in invisible places such as toilets. In most cases, such children are abandoned by their biological mothers especially girls as emphasized by the key informants and the focus group participants. The presence of such children is raised from all the woredas and towns covered by the FGDs and the key informant interviews. Every year, 2-4 children are abandoned and reported to the police. Unwanted or unplanned pregnancy is the main cause for child abandonment especially among girls migrated to Jimmatown in order to search for employment as indicated by the key informants interview and FGDs. Some divorced or widowed women also abandon their children because of their economic inability to provide the necessary care and support for the children. There is little/no foster care, local adoption and other alternative institutional care for such children as described by the FGDs participants.

Children with physical and mental disabilities: The focus group discussions participants of all the studied area described that children with disabilities do not go to school. The health and wellbeing of these children is also at risk. Even if there are schools in their surrounding, the physical environment and school facilities are not suitable for children with various disabilities. Families of the children also do not allow the disabled children to be exposed to the community because they fear that the community considers the disability of the children as the result of punishment to the wrong deeds of the families. Hence, children with mental and physical disabilities are whose situation is even worse than that of the other children. However, key informants interviewed from the schools and education offices in the studied areas argued that they were making attempts to take into account the special needs such children. Schools have launched inclusive education program for this purpose.

Children of the poor and the sick families: The presence of the families by itself is not a guarantee for a child to get necessary care and protection from various types of vulnerabilities according to the key informants. Even if alive, the poor and the sick families lack time, money and other resources to invest in the physical, health, emotional and social wellbeing of their children that make their children susceptible to various vulnerability factors. Participants of the focus group discussions also revealed that children of the poor and the sick families constitute the majority of vulnerable children whose situations call for immediate attention. For instance, one of the FGDs participants from community based organizations in Jimma town said "children whose families are bed-ridden due to various disease and infirmity are in danger even compared to children of the

HIV/AIDS families because the latter are in a better position in terms of their access to various supports from GOs and NGOs due to the special attention given to people affected by the disease".

In summary, the focus group participants and the key informant interviews revealed that the OVC were in difficult circumstances from the following dimensions.

Basic needs: The OVC were unable to get three meals a day, whatever the quality of the food is. They have no appropriate clothes and live in dilapidated houses or on streets of major towns of the study area. The abandoned and the street children have no access to even the demolished houses.

Health: They are more vulnerable to various types of disease due to lack of appropriate nutrition, clothes, houses, hygiene care and their exposure to disease causing polluted environment.

Education: Primary education is free in Ethiopia. The main problems of OVC are lack of educational materials and basic needs to go to school. Most of OVC are unable to start school at appropriate school age, they constitute the majority of those who are absent from and drop out of schools even if they begin school. Moreover, they are poor in their academic performance and unable to pass from one class to the next. Lack of basic needs, educational materials and adequate time to study are the major factors for their poor academic performance. Majority of them work for their survival needs or to supplement their families/relative meager income.

Work situation: Most of the OVC are in adolescent age. However, they engage in work which is physically, psychologically and socially harmful to their growth and development. Such work includes street vending, shoe shining, house maids, metal and wood working. In rural areas, OVC are forced to be hired as cattle keepers and agricultural works.

Economically: The OVC who have reached working age have no sustainable sources of income. They have little opportunities for vocational training that enables them engage in gainful activities.

Sexually abuse: The orphans and vulnerable girls constitute the majority of girls sexually abused at early age either deceived or forced by their perpetrators. Especially, street girls are victims of repeated rapes. Participants of FGD stated that large number of child prostitutes are also flourishing in Jimma town.

Child trafficking: Some of them especially girls were being recruited for human trafficking/illegal migration to the Middle East and Sudan and internally to large cities in the country.

Socially: The OVC have little/no time to interact with the significant others including their parents/guardians who play vital role in their socialization. Thus, they are poor in their social skills and exhibit deviant behaviors which are potentially harmful to the community. In-depth interview conducted with street children revealed that they believe that the community has negative attitude towards them and street children have also see member of the community as potential danger to them.

Communities and concerned bodies response to the situation of the OVC

In this study, attempts were made to identify the efforts being made by governmental, non-governmental organizations and the communities in general to ameliorate the situation of vulnerable children at risk children. Key informant interview conducted with various governmental officials and experts revealed that the government offers various services such as free access to primary education, facilitating conditions for NGOs to provide basic services such as access to health with very minimum cost. In addition, Women's and Children's Affairs Offices engaged in awareness creation on rights of children, their vulnerability to various problems and the collection of data regarding orphans and vulnerable children at risk. Of course, the women and children affairs have played important role to facilitate the conditions that children of this kind get support from health, educational offices and NGOs. However, the services provided by these governmental organizations were very minimal. They could not provide food, shelter, cloth, health service freely as understood from the key person interviews as well as the FGDS participants.

The non-governmental organizations (faith based and secular) offer supports for OVC in the towns and the woredas covered by the study. Some of the non-governmental and the faith based organizations offering services to OVC are Organization for Social Service for Aids (OSSA), facilitator Change (FC), World Learning Ethiopia, Family Health International (FHI), UNICEF, Kidanmihiret Child Development, and Faya Integrated Child Development as repeatedly mentioned by the FGDS participants. The services offered by these organizations include the following.

Financial Assistance: Some NGOs, for instance, Mekane Yesus (Ethiopian Evangelical church) have been offering financial assistance to very few HIV/AIDS orphans in Dedo Woreda. However, it was explained on the FGDs that the coverage of the financial assistance is so limited and very few children are benefiting from it. The amount of financial support provided itself is so

meager. Hence, it could not enable the children to fulfill their basic needs. Since there was limited follow up from the financial supporters, guardians of the children also sometimes use the financial assistance for their own purposes rather than meeting the basic needs of the OVC as the FGDs participants stressed.

Educational Materials support: Some of the faiths based and the secular non-governmental organizations were also offering school uniforms and other educational materials for OVC on a yearly basis. However, the provision of school uniforms and educational materials alone does not bring long lasting solutions for these children because this is not the only needs of the orphans and the vulnerable children. Apart from educational material support, these OVC have many unmet basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter and health care. Unless otherwise they eat, they cannot go to school or cannot listen attentively to their education. Very few non-governmental organizations are providing food support for very few malnourished children as the participants mentioned. These non-governmental organizations are OSSA and Kale Hiwot in Agaro town, AAIM, Compactions and Faya in Jimma town.

Health care cost support: Few non-governmental organizations have also been engaging in providing health care supports for the OVC. They provide health care supports such as covering medical check up costs for the OVC once or twice annually as described by the FGDs and key interviewed participants. The non-governmental organizations providing these services for the OVC are Menore Le Ethiopia in Dedo woreda and Kale Hiwot in Jimma town.

Income generating support for Schools: Ethiopian Red Cross Society and World Learning Ethiopia in Jimma and Agaro town and UNICEF in Limmu Kossa woreda were supporting schools on income generating activities so that the schools themselves can generate income and support the OVC particularly with educational materials as key person school directors in Jimma revealed.

Income generating activities for OVC parents and guardians: Efforts were being made to intervene in the problems of OVC by strengthening the poor families'/ guardians' economic activities through income generating activities. For instance, non-governmental organizations such as Global Fund in Seka Chokorsa and Menore Le Ethiopian in Dedo Woreda have been making efforts in this regard. However, it was argued on the FGDs and in-depth interviews that these supports and assistances being provided to the OVC and their guardians are inconsistent, inadequate and uncoordinated. One of the beneficiary guardian interviewed also revealed the same fact.

"I am the guardian of three orphan children. I live in Jimma town. I have got only 2,500 birr cash support from one non-governmental organization operating in Jimma. This cash support was meant to help me start petty trade as income generating source. However, I could not do so because the financial support was so meager to run such business".

The summary of the supports offered by some non-governmental (faith based and secular organizations) in the respective woredas and towns are presented in Table 2.

Service gaps identified

The following are the main services gaps identified from the analysis of the services offered by non-governmental to improve the situations of OVC.

Absence of training for families or guardians on how to raise and socialize children: Some families have little knowledge on how to socialize and bring up children. They have little knowledge on how to handle children smoothly. Many families conflict with their children for simple matters. Due to this, there is a situation in which children leave their homes and migrate to the surrounding towns for simple conflicts with their families or guardians. However, there is no intervention by the organizations operating in the respective woredas to resolve this issue as understood from the FGDs and the interviews.

Lack of coordination and inadequacy of the services: Though there are organizations providing various services, the services being provided are not adequate and lack coordination. The supports being made are mainly focused on provision of educational materials. However, the OVC not only need educational materials and uniforms but also feeding support either in kind or in cash. Even the educational material support itself could not reach all needy children as the FGDs participants mentioned repeatedly.

Little/no availability of services for infant OVC: There are a number of OVC who have not yet reach school age. The provision of educational materials and school uniform supports by the non-governmental and faith based organizations operating in the woredas and towns mainly focuses on those OVC of school age or already in schools. Infant OVC need food, clothes and hygienic material support. However, these services are not available for them.

Little/absence of income generating activities for families/relatives/guardians: There are a number of

Table 2. NGOs operating in the respective woredas/towns, services provided and number of children supported.

S/No	Towns/Woredas	NGOs/faith organization	Services provided	No of children supported
1	Agaro Town	Kale Hiwot	Educational materials, school uniforms, yearly medical checkup, soap, 13 kg of wheat only once in a year for few malnourished children	250
		Mekane Yesus	Educational materials, school uniforms, soap,	360
		Meserete Kiristos	Educational materials, school uniforms	253
		Misgana	Educational materials, school uniforms,	250
		OSSA	Educational materials, school uniforms, food and skill training (only for few work age children)	780
		ICP	Educational materials, school uniforms,	219
		World Learning	Income generating activities for schools, school renovations, educational materials, school uniforms and 130 birr financial support for only 100 children in five primary schools	100
2	Limmu Kossa Woreda	Illu_ Women and Children Integrated Development	School uniforms and educational materials support	67
		UNICEF	Educational material support and school uniforms for very few children	NA
3	Seka Chokorsa	Global Fund	Educational materials in 13 kebeles of the 36 kebeles in the woreda, counseling, startup capital for income generating activities for 45 poor females and financial support for few children	363
		LITINK	Provides education on how to reduce maternal and child mortality	NA
4	Dedo Woreda	Menore Le Ethiopia	Medical checkup twice a year, educational materials, school uniforms	60-70
		Mekane Yesus	educational materials, school uniforms and 100 birr monthly for very few children	NA
5	Kersa Woreda	Plan Ethiopia	Educational materials, school uniforms	NA
		Mekene Yesus	Educational materials, school uniforms for few children	NA
		Faya Integrated Community Development	Income generating activities for orphan children(sheep breading)	18
		Ethiopian Orthodox Church	Financial support for few children	NA
6	Jimma Town	FC	Reunification, skill training and educational materials support for street children, trainings on child right protection and establishing child right clubs in schools	300
		OSSA	Establishing HIV/AIDS clubs, Educational materials, school uniforms, skill training only for few work age children	2,720
		AAIM	Adoption, 150 birr monthly for 60 children through sponsorship, kindergarten education for 30 children by providing food support at schools	90
		Faya Integrated Community Development	Educational material support and food support for very few children	153
		COMPACTIONS	School materials, uniforms and food support for few malnourished children	NA
		Ethiopian Red Cross Society	Income generating activities like cafeteria services for schools	NA
		Life in Abundance	Educational material support, uniforms, house rent and psycho social support for street children	NA
		Medihan Act	Financial support through sponsorship	NA
		FGAE	Educational material support, skill training and adolescent reproductive health	NA

Source: Women's and Children's Affairs Office of respective woredas/towns and document analysis. N.B: (*NA*) indicates the data is not available.

vulnerable children being brought up by poor parents/ families and guardians as the key informants and the FGDs participants revealed. Such families have low income. On the other hand, they have large family size. Hence, they are unable to fulfill the basic needs (cloth, food, shelter, health and education) for the OVC. However, most of the efforts being done so far by the non-governmental organizations are focused on the children alone without taking into account strengthening the economic capacities of such families through income generating activities.

Little/absence of trainings and provision of startup capital: Most of the families, relatives and the guardians of the OVC live in abject poverty. Hence, they need skill trainings on various economically gainful activities and star up capital (credit services free of interest rate). However, little attempt is made by very few organizations operating in the woredas/towns.

Absence of temporary dropping centers for abandoned and OVC with no relatives: About 2-4 children are abandoned every year in each of the woreda and towns covered by this study as understood from the FGDs and the in-depth interviews. However, there is no temporary dropping center for such kind of children at risk in the areas covered by the study.

Absence of promoting local adoptions and guardianship: The efforts being done by few organiza- tions to seek solutions for abandoned and OVC with no relatives mainly focus on international adoption. There are some families with no children in the study area. These families have interest to adopt abandoned children provided that they get minimal basic needs supports as understood from many of the FGDs participants. However, no effort is made both by the governmental and the non-governmental organizations to promote local adoption.

Absence of marriage counseling services: Some families form marriage without understanding clearly the roles and responsibilities associated with marriage such as caring for children and meeting the basic needs of families as understood from in-depth interviews, particularly with Jimma towns Women's and Children's Affairs. Hence, there is a situation in which some husbands leave their wives and children in empty houses and flee elsewhere or chase the wives with their children from homes. As a result, there is situation in which women face economic problems.

Lack of awareness on family planning: Most families/ guardians/relatives living with orphans and other venerable children have large family size. Though there is effort being done by government and the Family Guidance Associations of Ethiopia to make avail family planning services in the woredas and towns covered by this study, the coverage of the service is very minimal. There are also various socio-cultural factors that inhibit many parents from using the services and need further intervention.

Low community participation in solving the problem of OVC: There is very little attempts made to involve Middle and upper class families in OVC support programs as understood from FGDs.

Absence of suitable school for children in special needs: There are a number of children with mental and physical disabilities in the studied areas. Most of these children have not got educational opportunities yet. Moreover, the physical environment and school facilities are not suitable for the very few children who have got the opportunities. As understood from the key person and the FGDs participants, the children also require body supporting materials like brace and crunches; however, such support is not available.

DISCUSSION

There are a number of limitations that must be kept in mind when interpreting the result of the study. The first limitation is lack of financial assistance to conduct quantitative research (survey) that helps us to know the exact magnitude and problems of all OVC in a mea- sureable way. The findings of the study reflect only the perspective of the respondents not validated by quanti- tative data. Secondly, lack of secondary data that indicate the exact total number of orphans and vulnerable children is another main challenge of the study. Finally, since the data are collected from key informant interview and focus group discussions, it cannot represent the whole study population. That means the findings work only for specific studied areas.

Despite these limitations, the research has come up with important findings in identifying community aware- ness about the situations of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), the problems of the OVC, in identifying the efforts being made by concerned bodies to respond to the needs of these children. It also assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the existing responses based on which future interventions will be designed to fill the existing gaps. In addition, most of the researches on OVC focus on assessment of basic need but this research fills the limitation in research by assessing the overall situation of OVC.

Accordingly, it was found that the communities were aware of the existence of a number of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in their localities. HIV/AIDS, poverty, conflict in family and death of parents are the

major factors for the vulnerability of the children as the study participants emphasized. This finding is similar with the reports of concerned government bodies such as Ethiopian Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Health, and the baseline surveys of non-governmental organizations such as Family Health International and Save the Children. These reports and baseline surveys state that the high number of orphans is attributed to the loss of one or both parents to HIV/AIDS, other diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria, high maternal mortality rate, extreme poverty, famine, armed conflict (FHI, 2010:10; MOWA, 2010:1). About sixteen percent of the orphan population of 5,423,459 is orphaned by HIV/AIDS (MOH, 2007:8) and 537,501 of those orphans under age 18 have lost both parents (Population Census Commission of Ethiopia 2007:239). Approximately 18% of Ethiopian households are caring for orphans (Save the Children, 2009:1).

Most of the children categorized as OVC have no/little access to basic needs such as food, shelter and clothes. Majority of these OVC particularly the orphans live in dilapidated houses with the poor and the sick relatives/guardians unable to meet these needs for them. They are unable to get even three meals a day, whatever the content of the food. They have no regular or sustainable sources of income to sustain their lives as they have no family or live with poor relative/guardians. This finding goes in line with the findings of Berry and Guthrie (2003) and Star Foundation (2011) situational analysis in Tigrai region, Northern Ethiopia. Berry and Guthrie (2003) stated that the main challenges of orphans and vulnerable children are lack of food, shelter, schooling, medical care, vulnerability various forms of abuse and economic exploitations. Likewise, the Star Foundation (2011) situational analysis report in Tigrai region identified lack of basic necessities (water, food, shelter), school fees and educational materials, parental supervision, free medical care, electricity and toilet facilities, poor nutrition, child labor, grabbing of children/orphans' property, sexual abuse, early marriage/teenage pregnancy, discrimination among children (disabled and orphans), poor self esteem and high drop outs in both primary and secondary schools as are the major problems faced by OVC.

Their opportunity to start education at appropriate school age is limited. Even if they start, they frequently absent from school in order to work and earn their means of survival or support their poor families' meager income from daily labor. Most of them engage in works which are physically, psychological and socially harmful to their healthy growth and development. They are poor in their academic performance and rarely pass from one class to the next class. Lack of basic needs, schools materials, adequate time and place to study are the major factors for their academic related problems as described by the study participants. The situation is even worse for the mentally and physically disabled children who have no access to educational opportunities because families/relatives do not want to expose such children to the public as they fear community perception of attributing disabilities to punishment by supernatural force against the families'/relatives' wrong deeds.

In terms of their health, the OVC are vulnerable to various types of disease due poor nutrition, hygiene and polluted environment they often live in. Moreover, particularly OVC girls are exposed to child sexual abuse and trafficking which has detrimental effects on their health and wellbeing. Garedew (2006) also indicated that the probability of becoming victims of violence, exploitation, trafficking, discrimination and various types of abuse for orphans and vulnerable children's are high and adversely influence such children's physical, social and intellectual developments.

Furthermore, OVC, mainly street children, suffer psychological problems. Street children have negative attitude towards the community and the community also sees them as deviants. They are undermined, seen as violent, thieves, and users of various types of drugs. Community attitude, poverty, living condition, physical abuse, economic exploitation and lack of care, support and affection are the main factors for the psychological problems of OVC. This finding is in line with the findings of Nduna and Jewkes (2012) that linked structural factors with children distress. Nduna and Jewkes (2012) stated that death of parents, poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, negative home dynamics and lack of communication with parents cause distress in interconnected ways.

Some non-government and faith based organizations have designed programs to respond to the needs of the OVC. They mainly engage in provisions of educational materials, school uniforms and income supports. The supports they provide are based on the felt needs of the OVC; however, there is no coordination among these organizations. This resulted in duplication of resources. This is one of the factors for the imbalance between the supports being provided and the number of the OVC in need of the supports because there is a situation in which a given child gets benefit from more than one organization while still there is a child who has not get any opportunity to be supported. Even there are no/little programs for the abandoned children. The supports being provided also focused mainly on the material needs of the children neglecting their emotional and social needs.

CONCLUSION

OVC in the studied area are in difficult situations. The major problems of the OVC are malnutrition, poor hygiene, lack or shortage of proper clothing, essential social services (such as health, education, and shelter).

Because of these problems, some of the OVC have also become exposed to child labor exploitation, child sexual abuse, drug abuse and child trafficking. The major factors indicated for the vulnerability of these children were death of parents due to HIV/AIDS and other disease, poverty, child abandonment, child neglect and rural-urban migration related to food insecurity.

Some government sectors and most of the NGOs operating in the studied areas have been making efforts to intervene the problems of the OVC. However, the services and supports they have been providing for the OVC are intermittent, inadequate, duplicated, lack coordination and very limited in their coverage. Most of them are providing a hand to mouth support that focused only on the material needs of the children neglecting the social and emotional dimensions. Such supports hardly bring a lasting solution for the OVC. There are even no support programs for the abandoned, the physically and the mentally disabled children.

RECOMMENDATION

1. Efforts should be made to provide skill training and startup capital for the poor parents/guardians so that they will be economically capable to fulfill the basic and others needs of their children. Provision of technical and vocational training is also important for children who have become working age.
2. Intervention programs should also give attention to the social and emotional needs of the children.
3. It is important to promote local adoption for abandoned and orphan children with no relatives. Further intervention program should also take into account the needs of the physically and mentally disabled children.
4. It is important to create coordination among the government and non-government organization in order to avoid the duplication of resources and increase the coverage of the services for the OVC
5. Moreover, zonal wide representative survey has to be conducted to understand the situation of OVC in the zone to come up with findings that can be generalized.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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[i] The 4th administrative unit from top to bottom in the current Ethiopian Federal Government structure.

Full Length Research Paper

Value system and malnutrition in Coastal and Lowland Sasak communities[i]

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Cultural value system includes a social standardization in certain communities. The meaning itself is a reflection of the value system. The meaning then shows the extent of a value system applied by members of the social system in their daily life. This paper will analyze the meaning of feeding toddlers and pregnancy. By assuming the system of cultural value through the meaning that triggers the occurrence of malnutrition case in two Sasak communities, and by using paradigm of post-positivism research, the purpose of this research is to know the difference in value system's overview of both Sasak communities through the process of pregnancy, birth, and parenting. The results of the research show the meanings that trigger malnutrition case in Sasak communities, among others, the meanings of maternal in pregnancy, child and number of children, breast milk and complementary feeding, and the toddlers condition when sick.

Key words: Value system, Sasak, malnutrition, East Lombok.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural value system includes a social standardization in certain communities. The elements that must be understood within a cultural value system are: by understanding history, the social context that becomes a vital measure, and the different elements that make a culture. To understand the cultural value system, there are two important matters that need to be answered: First, what is the real purpose or meaning of each behavior and artifact that arise from each community? Second, what is the function of the behavior and artifact for the community? Understanding culture means making an observation (Honigmann, 1963). According to Durkheim, ideas or values are not personal and unlimited to you; with scale coverage, ideas or values involve all those who are in a certain group, because they are bound by togetherness;

concepts become an important instrument in every stage of change. Through values, then meanings will be communicated (Honigmann, 1963).

According to Suhardjo (1989) in Khomsan et al., (2009), each society has a cultural value system - a set of values and traditions that becomes the patterns of thought and feeling as expected by the community later Cultural value system teaches people how to behave and make an effort in meeting their biological basic needs, including when a person can and cannot eat certain foods, food taboos, and so forth. According to Tan. et al. (1970) in Khomsan et al. (2009), cultural value system also plays a role in providing social values on food; some foods have high social values, and conversely, certain foods at certain social community have lower social values. For

example, rice is considered to have high food social value compared to other carbohydrate sources such as, cassava and corn.

Meaning itself is a reflection of a value system. Meaning then shows the extent of a value system applied by members of the social system in their daily life. This paper will analyze the meaning of feeding toddlers and pregnancy as well as understanding all forms of prohibition (taboo) in Sasak communities. Some assumptions boom malnutrition case that occurs in Sasak communities both in coastal and lowland areas.

Nutrition plays an important role in human life cycle. Malnutrition does not only start after the child is born into the world, but when the child is in the mother's womb. Malnutrition in pregnant women can make the baby to have low weight gain and may also reduce the level of intelligence of the child later. In infants and children, malnutrition can cause growth and developmental disorders, and if it is not treated early, it can continue into adulthood.

As a developing country, the problem of malnutrition remains a serious problem in public health. Based on medical research, the prevalence of lack of weight gain in children under two years old is 24.9 percent. This prevalence value is in diversity. One of the regencies that have not reached the improvement target of malnutrition case is East Lombok, whose prevalence just has reached 25.5 percent (Indonesian Department of Health, 2007).

The first assumption underlying this research is Weber's theory on the meaning of social action (in this case the malnutrition of parents and toddlers). We will understand the rationality that makes parents to allow their children have poor nutritional status. The social values either in Coastal Sasak or rice cultivation areas contribute significantly to the main cause of malnutrition and undernourishment.

The constructed values are also closely related to the ecological differences faced by the two communities of coastal ecology and rice cultivation area. Parents' rationality will be analyzed in the form of understanding and interpretation of consumption and feeding patterns, as well as prenatal care, postpartum, and breastfeeding in relation to malnutrition and undernourishment in Sasak tribe associated with Hindu value, nuclear family's role (kurenan), relatives' role (sorohan), using traditional means to care for babies, with its risk of infant death.

Therefore, based on the description that has been described previously, the research problem which will be reviewed more is, "how the real value system of coastal and lowland Sasak communities plays a role in the meaning of mother and toddler, especially in the process of pregnancy, birth, and parenting".

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research has a post-positivism paradigm, that allows the use of two types of research, namely quantitative and qualitative research.

Quantitative data are needed to explain the income level of farmers and fishermen of Sasak communities and their sources of income. While qualitative data are needed to explain social phenomena in terms of research on the construction of subjectivity "key informant" (the observed), research on the construction of livelihood system which is built by farmers and fishermen households of Sasak communities.

The primary data consist of quantitative data obtained directly from the selected respondent households using questionnaires. Qualitative data were obtained from key informants purposively selected due to their role in the community and deep understanding of the topic being studied. The quantitative data on malnutrition and undernourishment were obtained through structured interviews with the help of questionnaires to selected respondents. The data were from a normal nutritional status. Qualitative data were obtained by in-depth interviews with guided questions and FGD was done to obtain a view of the related parties, and the local community regarding malnutrition. The secondary data were obtained from a number of relevant agencies such as government agencies (Department of Health, both provincial and district levels), and private bodies (NGO); they were about the policies that have been set to reduce malnutrition, and their impact on malnutrition itself.

The research was conducted in two different communities located in coastal and lowland areas in East Lombok Regency, NTB Province. The villages in the coastal area are Gili Belek Backwoods, Paremas Village, and Batu Nampar, Jerowaru Subdistrict, East Lombok Regegncy, while villages in the lowland area are Kotaraja and Loyok Villages, Sikur Sub-district, East Lombok Regency. The research is conducted from March to May 2012; previously, research was conducted in December 2011. The unit of analysis is the household of Sasak communities in coastal and lowland areas.

RESULT

Pregnancy is a boon to every woman or household. Pregnancy means sustenance and sign of life cycle in a generation. In the beginning, Sasak people considered pregnancy as sustenance; therefore, when a woman is pregnant for the first time, the family will make a ceremony. "Beretes" ceremony is a salvation ceremony for the first pregnancy of a Sasak woman. In the ceremony, a small salvation is conducted: "lontar Juarsah" (which contains the story of a woman named Juarsah) is read in front of the pregnant woman by wraping a yarn to her stomach. When the story gets to the part of Juarsah birth, then the yarn is cut and the woman is bathed in her yard (Department of Education and Culture, 1997). The ceremony is held to mark the family's request to God in order to have safe delivery of the baby.

Safe pregnancy of a Sasak woman does not finish at the salvation traditional ceremony. A Sasak woman who gets pregnant is required to pay attention and avoid things that are forbidden. It is ranging from food to her behavior during pregnancy. Sasak people believe that the soul reflection of child can be reflected when a mother is pregnant.

Based on the data in Table 1, most mothers both in coastal (59.1 percent) and lowland (53.3 percent) areas see pregnancy as a sustenance from the Almighty. For

Table 1. The meaning of pregnancy for mothers in Coastal and Lowland Sasak Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of pregnancy for mothers | Communities | | | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
A sustenance from Allah SWT	26	59.1%	24	53.3%	50	56.2%
A surrogate from Allah SWT	11	25.0%	10	22.2%	21	23.6%
A thing of joy/A situation which is certainly expected by every married couple	7	15.9%	11	24.4%	19	21.1%
Total	45	100%	45	100%	90	100%

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 2. The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers to midwives / doctors in Coastal and Lowland Sasak Areas, 2013

| The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers in midwives / doctors | Communities | | | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
An activity that has to be carried out to follow the development of fetus	29	65.9%	41	91.1%	70	78.7%
Something to do in case of serious complaints, such as stomach cramps and bleeding	8	17.8%	1	2.2%	9	10.0%
It is done if a TBA can no longer treat	6	13,7%	3	6.7%	1	1.1%
As a supportive care by TBA	2	4.5%	0	0.0%	2	2.2%
Total	45	100%	45	100%	90	100%

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

coastal household, the presence of a child is also defined as an additional worker. The findings in the field show that children, from toddlers to adults function as workers and household income sources. Each selected household has an average number of children ranging from three to seven.

Among the Sasak people, a "belian" (Traditional Birth Attendant/TBA) gains a very privileged position and is highly trusted by the people for being able to treat mysticism diseases. However, over time, the role of TBAs is slowly being replaced by medical staffs such as, midwives, paramedics and doctors who specialize in ante natal care (ANC) and birth process. Table 2 shows pregnancy taken care of medically.

Based on the data in Table 2, most of the pregnant women in the lowland area (70 percent) ANC is an activity that should be done by mothers to follow the development of fetus, while mothers and toddlers in coastal area (65.9 percent) also have the same notion about ANC activities. A total of 17.8 percent of pregnant women in the coastal area consider that ANC is done only if serious complications or pregnancy disorders occur. From the data in Table 3, it shows that although the role of TBAs has been slowly reduced in pregnancy, mysticism remains a core competency that can only be done by the TBAs. A total of 13.7 percent of pregnant

women in the coastal area and 6.7 percent in lowland area do ANC medically only if the TBAs can no longer treat them.

Table 3 also shows that although the role of TBAs is now being reduced in addressing complications of pregnancy and childbirth process, it cannot be denied that the TBAs remain trusted by every pregnant mother in dealing with issues related to diseases because of spirits and mysticism. A total of 24.4 percent of pregnant women in coastal area reveal that TBAs can protect pregnant women from spirit, and 64.4 percent of pregnant women consider TBAs as assistance of medical practitioners. Assistance here means that there are special ceremonies to avoid diseases that cannot be done by doctors or nurses; and the cleaning of the new born baby. Similarly, in lowland area, 84.4 percent of pregnant women also define the TBAs as supporter of the Ante Natal Care (ANC).

To the Sasak people, pregnancy is also vulnerable periods for women with mental disorder. This can interfere with the fetus and the mother. Sasak people believe that *Belian* or shamans are highly privileged and trusted by the public because they are able to cure mental disorder (personalistic disorder). *Belian* is value-oriented, domi-nated by substantive rationality which moves on the realm of beliefs. They are believed to use charms to treat

Table 3. The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers through traditional birth Attendants/TBAs in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2013.

The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers through TBAs	Communities					
	Coastal		Lowland		Total	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
It is a must to be done for the fetus safety in order to avoid the influence of spirits	11	24.4%	4	8.9%	15	16.7%
As a supportive care by midwife / doctor	29	64.4%	38	84.4%	66	73.3%
It is more important and reliable than the treatments performed by midwife / doctor	2	4.4%	2	4.4%	4	4.4%
It provides safety to the childbirth process occurs	2	4.4%	1	2.2%	3	3.3%
Expensive treatment than midwife	1	2.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.1%
Total	45	100%	45	100%	90	100%

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

diseases that threaten the fetus in the womb; therefore, the panacea is not medical drug but the spell of Belian. Sasak people believe that beliefs and magical things cannot be separated from the role of a Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs). The TBAs are a local term for Sasak people who are able to provide traditional treatment and help the Ante Natal Care (ANC) and birth process. According to Lila, a Midwife, currently the trend of Loyok people for labor activities are rarely handed by the TBAs. Today, people are more likely to hand over responsibility of labor and ANC process to midwives who are appointed by the government, because they are trusted by the community to handle pregnancy complications such as eclampsia. However, it does not mean that the TBAs are completely eliminated in the community. As the people strongly believe in "magic" and "spirit", the TBAs are still very important role in assisting mothers during pregnancy and childbirth process. Sasak people believe that "black magic" can harm pregnant mothers, and the TBAs are trusted and "most qualified" in protecting the mothers and fetus from spirits' disturbance.

According to Ina 'Jasi'ah who has three years experience as a TBA acknowledges that the types of ANCs given usually to pregnant women, among others, "air jampi-jampi" (water spells), "jeringo" (a type of plant roots like ginger that is pinned to a pregnant woman's dress and that of her baby), and talisman of yarn that is potluck tied with small wooden ornament as a bracelet in the hands of mother and baby. There is also "Oroh-orohan" or pregnancy massage which makes the preg-nant women to relax and control the position of the baby in the stomach to avoid breech.
TBA is actually required just before birth or precisely when it begins before birth. The TBA then give water spells so the baby can easily pass through the birth canal. After the water breaks, which is a sign that the labor activity will begin immediately, then medical midwife does her job. After the baby is born and the birth process is complete, postpartum maternal and baby care are

taken back to TBA. The TBA has a responsibility to wash the blood stained clothes mother, bath the baby, care for the placenta and do the ritual of planting the placenta at home. The planting of placenta in clay botok (nemek) at home indicates that the child will not go far from home, and if the child does later in life, he/she will never forget to go home to his/her parents and hometown. The TBA also takes care for the mother, when the baby's umbilical cord falls roughly a week after birth; or when the fire on top of the placenta is out, the TBA takes a medicine to the mother. A month after the birth, the task of TBA is completed. TBAs also help mothers and children in carrying out "peraq api" or "mate api" which means shutting down or extinguishing a fire or stove in the umbilical cord. TBAs tasks finish after the "peraq api" ceremony.

The next stage after a mother underwent nine months of pregnancy is childbirth and parenting. Child itself has a significant meaning for every household. In this paper, the child meaning is suspected to be the cause of the toddler's malnutrition case that occurred in four research sites. The meaning itself can be the tool to understand what type of rationality is as a base of child bearing. Meanwhile, the rationality will reflect the kind of belief behind the child bearing in Sasak lowland and coastal area. Here are shown the results of the tabulation data on the meaning of child in two different areas: Coastal and Lowland Sasak.

Based on the data in Table 4, it shows that 40 percent of mothers in coastal area see a child as an asset or the future savings of family. It has different meaning with mothers in Lowland area who see a child as sustenance from the Almighty. This difference in meaning is under-stood as a form of households' response to ecological conditions encountered. Children in the coastal house-holds are considered as household workers who are expected to contribute to family income.

Based on the data in Table 5, the number of children in coastal area tend to be more than the number of children

Table 4. The meaning of child for mothers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of child for mothers | Communities | | | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
Sustenance from Allah SWT	9	20.0%	22	48.9%	31	34.4%
A surrogate from Allah SWT	16	35.6%	12	26.7%	28	31.1%
Asset/ future savings of family	18	40.0%	9	20.0%	27	30.0%
View of the parents success	1	2.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.1%
Perfection of life	0	0.0%	2	4.4%	2	2.2%
Life Motivator	1	2.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.1%
Total	45	100.0%	45	100.0%	90	100.0%

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 5. Number of children in household which has malnutrition and normal nutrition in Coastal and Lowland areas, 2012.

| No of children | Household which has malnutrition | | | | Household which has normal nutrition | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Coastal | | Lowland | |
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
1-2 children	12	40	25	83	9	60	11	73
3-4 children	8	27	5	17	5	33	4	27
>=5 children	10	33	0	0	1	7	0	0
Total	30	100	30	100	15	100	15	100

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012

in the households of Sasak in lowland. For example, malnutrition case of toddlers in coastal area where the proportions of households that have five or more children are 33 percent. Meanwhile, for lowland households, the dominant household (83 percent) is having a number of one to two children. When it is compared with the toddlers' normal nutritiousn household, the tendency is the households that have a relatively small number of children. It is no doubt that the toddlers' normal nutritious households in coastal area still shows a tendency to have children over four. According to Salimar (2010), the number of children affects household food expenditure level, which means it affects the nutritional status of children if the household has minimum income.

For children aged 0-24 months is a period of rapid growth and development and when babies at this age do not get food nutritional needs, it could lead to disruption of both growth and development at this time or later. To achieve optimal child development, mothers should give breast milk exclusively to their infants until 6 or 24 months old, and continue to give breast milk until 24 months old or more. Complementary feeding provided should be made off cheap and easy food (Dardjito and Suryanto, 2009).

The giving of breast milk and complementary feeding in

this research is influenced by the mother's meaning of the role of breast milk and complementary feeding. Tables 6 and 7 display the meaning of mothers through breast milk and complementary feeding.

Based on the data in Table 6, 68.9 percent of mothers see breast milk as a source of health for children. In lowland area, mothers also have similar meaning. The reality shows that breastfeeding by mothers, especially in the coastal area is more than two years, and no attempt to wean their toddlers, so the quality of the breastmilk decreases and does not become a viable source of nutrition for the toddlers. Breastmilk quality is also influenced by the mother's food consumption patterns. In the lowland area, mothers consume vegetables as a complementary to rice, but less protein. While on the coastal area, the busy mothers who earn a living every day, besides taking care of domestic problems, eat foods potluck with fish protein as complementary to rice, but less vegetables.

Then, based on the data in Table 7 53.3 percent of mothers in the coastal area see food as a source of child's health. Similarly in lowland area, 75.6 percent mothers see food as a source of child's health. Unfortunately, the meanings of toddler foods have not created mother's perception of the quality of food. Mothers only notice

Table 6. The meaning of breast milk for Infants in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of breast milk for Infants | Communities | | | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
The main nutrition intake for the baby's growth	11	24.4%	19	45.2%	30	34.5%
For a healthy child	31	68.9%	24	53.3%	55	61.1%
contain substances that are not easy to make a child sick	3	6.7%	1	2.4%	4	4.6%
A form of the mother's affection for her child	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	1	1.1%
Total	45	100.0%	45	100.0%	90	100.0%

Sources: primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 7. The meaning of food for toodlers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The Meaning of food for toodlers | Communities | | | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
As a source of energy for growing children	11	24.4%	10	23.8%	21	24.1%
For child health	24	53.3%	34	75.6%	58	64.4%
To ensure children do not easily get hungry	10	22.2%	1	2.4%	11	12.6%
Total	45	100.0%	45	100.0%	90	100.0%

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 8. The meaning of complementary feeding for mothers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of complementary feeding for mothers | Communities | | | | | |
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
To help the growth of children	28	31.1%	29	32.2%	57	63.3%
To ensure children do not easily hungry	14	15.6%	14	15,6%	27	31.2%
An effort to save	3	3.3%	2	2.2%	5	5.7%
Total	45	50%	45	100.0%	90	100.0%

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

that the child should eat every day, but the type is not necessarily noticed by the mothers. Instant foods such as instant noodles and snacks are considered by mothers as decent food given to their children.

To achieve optimal growth and development, mothers should give breastfeeding within 30 min after birth, exclusive breastfeeding until a baby is 6 months old, and complementary feeding from the age of 6 to 24 months or more. Provision of complementary feeding to children is an effort to reduce malnutrition case.

Based on the data in Table 8, mothers in coastal area see complementary feeding to toddlers as an effort to help the growth of children. As many as 31.1 percent of mothers see the provision of complementary feeding as efforts in the growth of the children, then 15.6 percent of mothers see complementary feeding as an effort to ensure children are not hungry. Similarly with mothers in Lowland Sasak area, as many as 32.2 percent of mothers see complementary feeding as the provision to help the growth of toddlers. While 15.6 percent of mothers see that children do not easily get hungry. Mothers who see complementary feeding is given to ensure children do not easily hungry become a problem for toddlers. In reality, it is found that infants aged 1-2 months are given soft food by their mothers or grand-mothers. Soft foods are usually in the form of crushed rice. The food is usually in the form of milled rice first. It is worse if mothers and grandmothers do not have time to do rice mill before cooking; rice is usually crushed by mothers or grandmothers directly by chewing food that will be given to the baby. After making

Table 9. Caring for sick babies by mothers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

The meaning of caring for sick baby	Communities					
	Coastal		Lowland		Total	
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
As mother's responsibility	13	28,9%	11	24.6%	22	53,5%
Father's responsibility	2	4.4%	0	0.0%	2	2.3%
Grandma's responsibility	1	2.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.1%
As responsibility of the entire members of the family	10	22.2%	13	31.0%	23	26.4%
Avoid children to not getting worse to lose their lives	8	17.8%	6	14.3%	14	16.1%
A form of affection from parents towards their children	11	24.4%	15	35.7%	26	29.9%
Total	45	100.0%	45	100.0%	90	100.0%

Sources: primary data, processed in 2012.

sure the food is pulverized, the food is then given to the baby. The unhygienic complementary feeding is known by the Sasak people as "pak – pak".

Malnutrition in toddlers is a complex and complicated problem that cannot be solved with a single and simple solution. Theoretically, this problem arises by involving many determinants that are interconnected. Inadequate food intake and the presence of disease in toddlers are direct causes of the occurrence of malnutrition case interplay. Malnutrition in toddlers causes illness (Maigoda et al., 2009). The data in Table 9 show how mothers care for their sick baby.

Table 9 shows the taking care of a sick child in coastal area. 28.9 percent see caring for children as mother's responsibility, 24.4 percent of mothers show affection to their children, and 22.2 percent of mothers in the coastal area see maternal care as a form of obligation and responsibility of the entire members of the family. While in lowland area, as many as 35.7 percent of mothers care for their sick children; they see it as a form of affection towards their children. 24.6 percent see baby care as mothers' responsibility.

DISCUSSION

From the foregoing description, cultural value orientation shows a very large role of mothers in the process of pregnancy, birth and parenting. Cultural value orientation shows two roles of social life. First, cultural values have meaning. For most people, meaning is given by religion. Second, cultural values give us the rules of social action (Ensikolopedia Modern Social Thought). Malnutrition is very synonymous with culture, identity, and the vulnerability of the traditional practices which are faced with social changes in a society. This is partly as a result of their participation in the global economy through the production of commercial crops for the Lowland Sasak people, and commercial fishery commodities for Coastal Sasak people.

In the hypothesis, which we adopt that "certain" cultural

value orientation in Sasak people plays a role in the occurrence of malnutrition case in both coastal and lowland Sasak communities. It means that culture mediates the actions especially for a mother who has a toddler (which is the focus of this research); it also includes cultural feeding of children as early complementary, ie when the baby is a month old in ways where unhygienic administration also triggers the emergence of malnutrition case. Orientation is given to every household in both Coastal and Lowland Communities to meet economic needs; also mothers think when their baby is crying it means he is hungry, which causes early feeding in those communities. In some cases, "Pakpak" is given to children by their mothers to reduce the hassles in the supply of baby food, and also it is as a habit. Instant feeding in the form of instant noodles, light snacks and sweets later become a habit, because the mothers are no longer able to provide special food for their children. Instant food then becomes the best solution when the mothers are busy making a living. This phenomenon is often found by the mothers in a busy coastal area which makes a living in helping their husbands. In addition, food for children is not a priority for a mother; the proof is in the provision of Pakpak rice, and the bad thing is, children are only given rice with a little water and salt. Foods containing protein sources are rarely given. As we know, if a child is not getting protein, then it is most likely the child will lack protein which can result in "marasmus" and "kwarsiorkor" diseases. If there is only a little money, mothers would provide food in the form of instant noodles to their toddlers.

Some mothers reveal that children's foods are not prepared specifically, because the foods which are eaten by their toddlers are same with that of adults. If father works hard for a living, then his children only get the mediocre food. In fact, from the observations result, the average households have chickens and ducks, whose eggs can be consumed by toddlers. If the child is reluctant to eat, the mother does not force him to eat, instead she follows her child's desire to enjoy instant unhealthy snacks. On the coastal area, as previously

disclosed, as the child is defined as an economic asset of household, the number of children tends to be relatively more numerous, and there is no spacing of their children. This causes the older child not to get a lot of attention and has received domestic burden to take care of her/his baby sister and help parents to make a living, among other *menciro*, opium, and so on. Children in coastal area who are weaned are also not given formula milk as breast milk substitutes it; children are only given food potluck and very less nutritional composition. The mothers also consume less decent food, so the quality of their breastmilk produced is also low for their toddlers' development.

Based on the description above, mothers and toddlers' nutrition is linked to the cultural value orientation of the Sasak people, because nutrition is determined by what you eat, how it is processed, and how the toddlers are fed. Types of food materials selected and consumed by a group of people are inseparable from the meaning, knowledge, and beliefs of the Sasak people.

Based on Weber's theory, the social action in caring for toddlers is caused by the different forms of rationality on the coast and rice cultivation area. In coastal areas, parental care cannot be separated instrumental rationality associated with the mechanism of efficient household. This matters because of the household efforts to sustain life in the midst of difficulty. While in the rice cultivation area, parental care cannot be separated from the fact that the toddler family is very fragile due to rampant divorce and remarriage, early marriage, *ngerorot* and '*nurut nine*', making the child to suffer from malnutrition and undernourishment. It has been described that the root cause in the rice cultivation area is not separated from the role of the strong cultural values of Sasak. Thus, the act of caring for toddlers is based on the rationality of strong value-oriented. The emergence of rationality differences between Sasak coastal and rice cultivation area is due to the influence of acculturation of Bugis Bajo and Sasak culture and it is no doubt that it is because of the influence of ecological adaptation by toddlers' households of Sasak coastal and rice cultivation area. This is reflected from the value orientations that are closely associated with the root causes of malnutrition and undernourishment. Cultural value orientation is divided into three parts such as the belief systems and mythologies of Sasak coastal communities and rice cultivation area, knowledge systems and original technologies which are related to poor nutrition and undernourishment, as well as institutional and local associations that are effective in the treatment of malnutrition and undernourishment. In the belief systems and mythology of Sasak people, either Sasak coastal or rice cultivation area, their belief is still colored by Islam *Wetu Telu*, and respect to Mr. Guru; but *tusela* mythological, baby-eating creatures are more trusted by the Sasak rice cultivation area attached to Islam *Wetu Telu*. While coastal Sasak tend to believe mythology in the form of the conquest of

coastal Sasak to the marine creatures that are symbolized with the ability to cause disaster and disease. Dewi Rengganis mythology, and *Bau Nyale* are very strong in Sasak community; because of Islam *Telu Wetu* socializes the mythological values in the puppet activity and the parents socialize their children. This mythology then triggers many early marriage cases and divorce-re-marriage phenomenon. Meanwhile at the coast, the strong influence of Bugis and Bajo reduces the rate of marriage and divorce which is a taboo especially in Bugis society. In addition, life is more difficult in coastal area than in rice cultivation area. Next, it brings up the knowledge system and different technology treatments, so that personalistic etiology is submitted to *Belian*. The strong belief with the scent of mystic also encourages abstinence or taboo and suggestions for pregnant women and toddlers against the logic of medical treatment system. Meanwhile, the belief of coastal Sasak has been acculturated with the beliefs of Bugis Bajo people, especially in the activities of quack medicine and terminology *Sandro*. At the coast, personalistic treatment includes the power of spells, healing massage and water. The form of taboo for women is more symbolized on the woman's relationship with marine; infants and sea. Therefore, abstinence is so much rooted in the deep belief system on sea magical power.

Conflict of Interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Revitalization of *Gampong* Institution in Aceh: Measuring the program of *"Back to Gampong"* in the middle of the changing society: A case in Aceh Besar regency

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The passage of UU No. 18, 2001 on regional autonomy and followed up with the issuance of *Qanun* No. 4, 2003 on *mukim*, and *Qanun* No. 5, 2003 on *gampong* and reinforced by UUPA No. 11, 2006 on Acehnese government is a history of social identity of Acehnese society, which has been neglected during the conflict. The regional government has made some breakthroughs and one of the breakthroughs was *gampong* revitalization through a program called "back to *gampong*". The study aims to answer the dynamic of revitalization of *gampong* institution in the middle of special autonomy implementation and the implementation of *Qanun gampong* in the administration of *gampong* institution. The research uses qualitative approach. Data collection is conducted using in-depth interview, observation and documentation study. Data reduction process, data presentation and conclusion are used to analyze data. The study shows that the implementation of program "*back to gampong*" encourages the strengthening process of *gampong* institution as well as weakens the institution itself. The development of *gampong* that focuses on physical aspect has created coordination gap among apparatus of the institution in planning system and financial management of the institution. The tug in the mechanism of financial development and management at *gampong* has created a space for the involvement and influence from *gampong* elite in *gampong* governance. Non-uniform honorary allocation for *gampong* governmental apparatus is one of the indicators of weak role and function of *gampong* cultural institution because the previous inherent communal values have been calculated economically.

Key words: Revitalization, Gampong institution, Back to Gampong.

INTRODUCTION

During the economic recession in late 1997, the implementation of social, economic, cultural and political lives has undergone perspective changing. One of the changes was when the existence of cultural institution

received attention. Through the umbrella of law of UU No. 2, 1999 on regional government that replaced the previous act, UU No. 5, 1974, the implementation of government in local level based on customary values within the society has started to emerge. In addition, with the pass of UU No. 32, 2004 on regional government few years later has brought re-orientation (of value) that changed the process of developmental democracy in Indonesia, which previously was integrated into UU No. 22, 1999 (Nugroho, 2008; Satria, 2011).

The movement in governmental format from local self-government to self-governing community is the actualization of radical change in regional developmental politic.

This change has long been sought by all regions in Indonesia, including Aceh, which has been in conflict either during or after the independency era; for example, clergy's conflict and *uleebalang* that occurred in the beginning of Independence Day until the "Free Aceh Movement (GAM)" in 1976. The conflicts strengthened during the New Order era and toward the collapse of the era in 1998. Those conflicts are the social resistance from the main stream of state relation and local society (Liddle, 1973; Pye and Karl, 1978).

At the beginning of reformation era, the long period of conflict between GAM and RI reached common ground with a peaceful agreement through MoU Helsinski in 2005. The MoU is described in UUPA (Aceh Governmental Legislation) as the manifestation of recognition for Aceh as "special" territory (Djojosoekarto, 2009). In this case, Aceh has a right to conduct its own government based on its specialization. It is the result from the long conflict between RI and GAM. One concrete implementation of UUPA is the effort to bring back the lowest form of customary institution, *gampong*, which has undergone stagnancy and disintegration of local values during the New Order era. Aceh is not the only place that undergoes local institution collapse within the society, other local institutions such as *Nagari* in Padang should be integrated into state power through UU No. 5, 1979 on village government. The legislation was systematically delegitimized *gampong* structural by unifying them as the smallest government, which is a village. Local institution was removed and the only institution left was village as the extension of New Era government to comprehensively implement economic, social and political development in village society (Bebbington, 2006, 2001; Kolopaking, 2011).

Special autonomy policy and Acehnese Governmental Legislation (UUPA) No. 11, 2006 gave space for social formation discourse of *gampong* society. The formation covers formality aspect of institutional existence and essential aspect of the life of *gampong* society. *Gampong* institution is very essential as the identity image of Acehnese who upholds religion and culture because it is the cultural identity of Acehnese that consists of society unit based on territorial law. Therefore, it is reasonable that there is difference in the understanding of village

conceptualized by the state and the essence of *gampong* interpreted by Acehnese. Dharmawan (2006) describes the basic different between *gampong* and village in sociological way. The differences are on the aspects of: (1) history of socio-societal development, village growths based on "village" legitimation persuaded by technocrat authority (more) for the interest of development organizing; whereas, *gampong* is developed by cultural society and religion originated from the association of socio-religious for socio-societal organizing; (2) democratic life developed in the society, which planted from the "above of the village" and often does not fit to the spirit of most societies; whereas, the democratic developed by *gampong* is democracy-paternalistic with respect to indigenous elders and the existence is known within *tuha lapan* and *tuha peut*; and (3) integration or internalization of village concept throughout the village society, which is a *pseudo-internalization* because it does not fit into the local culture; *gampong* is part of indigenous institution developed a long time ago.

In line with the above opinion, Tripa (2003) reminds that *gampong* is different from village. There are substantial differences between *gampong* and village governments as well as the apparatus and institutions. *Gampong* should be viewed as the unity of legal society and culture in the lowest power structure and having its own power and wealth or income source. *Gampong* was led by *keuchik* and *teungku meunasah*. Keuchik serves in administration of government and the implementation of law (custom). *Teungku meunasah* has responsibility for the implementation of societal religious life, law (sharia), education (religion and moral), and for other sectors related to social life and community. Based on sociological context, bottom-up democratic system is applicable in *gampong* government system. Therefore, societal voice is accommodated, which is different from decentralized village government.

The extensive open of democratic space and regional autonomy marks the new era of political development in Aceh. The pass of UU No. 18, 2001 on Special Autonomy for Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) Province and followed by the issuance of *Qanun* No. 4, 2003 on *mukim* and *Qanun* No. 5, 2003 on *gampong* has revitalized *gampong* and *mukim*. The revitalization is also strengthened by Aceh Governmental Legislation (UUPA) No. 11, 2006. It opens the opportunity to bring back customary values and religion that has united within the society.

As a follow up for the new era of political development, some breakthroughs continue to be done. The breakthrough covers political aspect as well as economical development of society, which is the main priority to improve societal welfare that has collapsed for decades. One of the concrete forms developed by regional government is the development of "*back* to *gampong*" program. The program is an effort to strengthen *gampong* institution in various aspects of society. It is reasonable

since the long period of conflict in the society has affected the social structure of society, especially *gampong*. The program also describes in form of grant called *peumakmue gampong* financial aid (bantuan keuangan *peumakmue gampong*/BKPG) allocated from province. Each regencies or municipalities also give additional aid in form of *gampong* fund allocation (*alokasi dana gampong*/ADG) based on the financial ability of each regency or municipality.

The aim of the program is not only for the improvement of societal economy but also *gampong* institution as a whole. It means that improvement in the capacity and role of *gampong* institution apparatus as the motor for the re-emergence of *gampong* is important. The program is considered important due to the stagnancy of *gampong* institution during New Order and post-New Order eras related to the developmental model of local institution introduced by the state. Therefore, the program received positive response from various societal elements that hope to bring back the identity of *gampong* being neglected.

Nevertheless, it is not easy to bring back the existence of *mukim* and *gampong* to its former condition before the New Order era. The regulation has not given detail technical guidance on the implementation of government in *gampong* level. Another problem is the existence is limited to merely formality. It means that, some authorities are sometimes strongly influenced by sub-district authority. Thus, some studies show that the existence of *gampong* institution as a whole, especially for *gampong* government aspect, indicates the complexity among roles, authority distribution and power relation between *mukim* and *gampong* and sub-district, regency or province (Eko, 2007).

Empirical fact shows problems for *gampong* institution autonomy indicated by decrease in respect to custom, the fade of *gampong* customary institution, corruption of *gampong* fund and weak human resources in *gampong*. If the existing *gampong* and *mukim* institutions are unable to function effectively, the whole apparatus who administer the society life will also be alienated. The diminishing role and function of *keuchik* or the role and function of *teungku meunasah, keujreun blang, paglima laot, panglima uteun, pawang gle, peutua seunobok, haria peukan, tuha peut* dan juga *tuha lapan* that faded are the basic problems found in the institution. The existence of the umbrella of law *Qanun* No. 5, 2003 on *gampong*, No. 4, 2003 on *mukim*, Regional Government Legislation No. 32, 2004, the open space of special autonomy and salary incentives for *gampong* apparatus every month do not immediately re-elevate *gampong* institutional form and the optimum function of the customary apparatus within the institution for the societal social order. Therefore, it is reasonable that *keuchik*'s duties are (Sujito, 2007) limited as sub-district "administrator". Furthermore, *keuchik* leadership reflects single leadership instead of dual leadership. It means that duties and functions shift of *gampong* government is no longer

optimum as its own role and function. It is logical to state that *gampong* institution faces serious government effectiveness problem. Based on the realities, questions emerge; is there any relationship between legislation and *Qanun* and the ability of *gampong* to bridge *gampong* institution reinforcement or vice versa? This is the main focus of this paper.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study focuses on qualitative approach to deeply analyze the dynamic of revitalization of *gampong* institution in the middle of special autonomy implementation and the implementation of *Qanun gampong* in *gampong* institution governance. The research was centered in *Gampong* Lamteuba, Seulimeum Sub-district (agrarian areas) and *Gampong* Mon Ikeun (coastal areas), Lhoknga Sub-district, Aceh Besar Regency.

In addition, site selection is also done to facilitate the collection of data, where the existence of such institutions *keujreun blang* can be found in the *Gampong* Lamteuba (agrarian areas). P*anglima laot* institutions can be found in the *Gampong* Mon Ikeun (coastal areas). That is, institutional *keujreun blang* can be found in agricultural areas, as well as the *panglima laot* can only be found in coastal areas. Site selection is also based on the existence of *gampong* institutions and structures of society as a result of the excesses of conflict. So site selection will be important to describe social reality in the frame of *gampong* revitalization institutional autonomy.

The target of the research was actors who involved in *gampong* governmental structure as societal figures, MAA at sub-district, sub-district authority, regional government, and local societies. In-depth interview, observation and documentation study were used for data collection. Analysis was conducted through data reduction process, data presentation and conclusion (Miles and Hubermas, 1992). Data validity examination was conducted in triangulation by clarifying or comparing data and information from different sources and data collection.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gampong : A historical note

Gampong has two different meanings based on societal understanding. First, *gampong* during Acehnese Sultanate era is perceived as territory to control the natural resources and people who live in it. The interpretation of *gampong* is based on the original place. It is indicated from the various *gampong* names based on the people who settled there. The various interpretations on *gampong* are mostly based on the territory and original homeland (original tribe) and original arrivals (original areas). In another perspective, it is always faced with the context of power (territory) and citizenship (civilian) (Gayatri, 2008).

Gampong in Acehnese is a self-administer societal system and is a unit that organizes the society who domiciles in the village's administration environment or legal environment (Eko, 2007). *Gampong* is also social organization equipped with leadership structure and functional equipment appropriate to certain social,

economic and political contexts. *Gampong* reflects the identity of its inhabitant, in this case Acehnese; and it is autonomy and tends to cosmopolite due to its historical interaction with international capital power through Malacca strait in 15-16 centuries (Reid, 2005). The word *gampong* itself might have been taken from Malayan language meaning *kampong* (village) and *kampoeng* in *Jawi* language. Thus, in reading some historical written during the era of Sultan Fathahillah, in his letters with foreign delegations who visited Batavia, the word *kampoeng* is in capital. The spelling of "K" in Arabic-Jawi language as the official language of the sultanate will change into "G" in Acehnese language after a period is given above the "K" letter (Syarif, 2001).

Reading the history of Pasai kings in Bustanuslatin book by Syech Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, there are many stories on the governmental structure of Acehnese Sultanate around 13 to 17 M century that mentioned the word *gampong* as a government led by *petua*, who is a societal figure trusted by *Uleebalang* and nominated by the Sultan. *Gampong* during Acehnese Sultanate era is important to support Sultan's or *uleebalang* authorities. At that time *gampong* was a base for agricultural commodities.

During Sultan Iskandar Muda era (1607-1636), a dramatic change happened, in which *gampong* governance was more dynamic and democratic. The concept was maintained where *gampong* was known as the smallest governmental territory after *mukim* known as *sagoe cut* (little *sagi*), similar to sub-district. *Gampong* during the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda and the next sultan was interpreted as the representation of society that fully involved in the management process of *gampong* government. A *keuchik*, for example, as the head of *gampong*, will be assisted with *tuha peuet* and *imum meunasah* related to customary and religious matters. Whereas, *keujreun blang* will assist *keuchik* for agricultural sector, *peuteu uteun* for forestry sector, *panglima laot* for marine sector and *peutua seuneubok* for plantation sector. All *gampong* apparatus is still maintained up until now as a form of the integration of religious and customary values in the governance of *gampong* government (Alfian, 1988; Umar, 2006:1-8).

As an institution, *gampong* is a unit of individuals or groups settlements based on territory. In legal perspective, *gampong* is a unit of customary law society territorial in nature. It means that *gampong* is a society unit bound with mutually-agreed customary law. From physical aspect, *gampong* is a settlement pattern that consists of houses (*rumoh*), rice fields (*blang*), plantation (*lampoh* or *seunobok*), open field (*padang*) and forest (*gle*) (Nyak Pha, 2000; Gayatri, 2008). *Gampong* is also social organization equipped with leadership structure and functional equipment appropriate to social, economic and political contexts. As an institution, *gampong* is called territorial unit that describes the settlement pattern as well as a social organization consisting of individual or

groups with social grouping based on its existing and developed roles and functions in accordance with space and time.

In historical context, *gampong* institution has undergone social collapse not only in the era of independency and revolution but also in the era of New Order (Table 1). In the era of independency and revolution, social and institutional structure of *gampong* has changed. *Gampong* institution was weakened in terms of its roles and functions, especially during social revolution in 1960s which caused low political participation among the societies to occupy political positions in *gampong* government. *Gampong* in the era of Old Order cannot be separated from the political power system built by central government. Referring to Maliki (1999), a state approaching its people is not limited to *negaranisasi* (turning the local society level like a state level) but also the power of political ideology based on bureaucratization indicates the collapse of cultural identity of religious and customary values-based society. DI/TII incident in Aceh in 1953 was driven by clergies who joined PUSA due to logical form of their disappointment when Aceh Province was integrated into North Sumatera Province and the removal of autonomy status for Aceh to implement shariah.

During the New Order era (1965-1998), the lowest social structure of a society, such as *gampong* or *mukim* was made as a customary symbol because the substantive institution administered the government, social life and economic was in the hand of villages and sub-districts government. Military bureaucracy was adhered to in the village government, in form of Muspika or Babinsa that directly occupied the important positions in societal development (Crouch, 1978). If the social systems were based on societal social system, *keuchik* or *imum meunasah* would have important role in government administration and religious life aspect. Strong penetration of New Order authority, however, has made customary institutions merely a formality and become tools to facilitate control access of the New Order government in development (Harley, 2008). Social institutions were paralyzed, *keuchik* only administered *gampong* government and could not further involve in protecting the society based on customary and religious values.

Entering the reformation era echoing democratization and decentralization, state through the umbrella of law of legislation No. 22, 1999 on regional government, accommodated traditional institutions side by side with village government as part of political development and realized democracy through the lowest level. Normatively, UU No. 22, 1999 put the village not as the lowest governmental form under the sub-district but as a unit of legal society having right to administer and manage local societal interests in accordance with the village origin rights (Eko, 2005). Nevertheless, many parties considered the legislations were not effective if the state power was strong at the village level.

Table 1. Position and role of *Gampong* institution.

Period	Policy on *Gampong*	Position and Role of Gampong	Description
Sultanate Era	Cooptized in monarchy structure	Under the authority of *uleebalang* in monarchy structure	*Gampong* is part of the lowest territory level in Aceh Sultanate. It functions as institution that assists *uleebalang*
Dutch Colonization	The transplantation of *gampong* institution into colonial authority	Utilizing *uleebalang* authority to control *gampong*. Dutch politic has triggered conflict between *uleebalang* and *gampong* societies	Dutch policies with modern infrastructure development model and cultivation created social change at *gampong* level
Japanese colonization	Became a basis for Japanese power with its *romusha* practice	Balace politic between *uleebalang* and clergies in controlling *gampong*	Utilizing clergies to mobilize *gampong* societies in infrastructure development
Post-Independence	*Gampong's* role and function is weaken	Some government polices has weaken *gampong* position	*Gampong* functions and roles are faded. The introduction of modern bureaucracy system
New Order	The lowest unit under the sub-district	Structural de-legitimation uniforms the governmental unit as a village and the position is under sub-district	Local institution is paralyzed by village government model; *Gampong's* roles and functions are replaced by village government system
Post New Order	Revitalization of *gampong* institutions	*Gampong* position is under the settlement.	Returning existing local institutions previously paralyzed during the New Order era. The involvement of sub-district is still dominant. Gampong revitalization is not working as expected by society

The issuance of UU No. 44, 1999 on the privilege of Aceh Province, in which one of the statements is returning the privilege of *gampong* and – although the implementation of the privileges was not maximum – followed with the issuance of several *Qanun* 5, 2003 on *gampong* government is the starting point of local democratic movement, which was under the absolute authority of state. Acehnese privilege continues to change along with the sign of peaceful agreement between RI and GAM through MoU in Helsinski on August 15, 2005. This privilege is re-improved by including not only customary and cultural aspects but also political aspect by giving an opportunity to form local political parties. This improvement directly affects at *gampong* level in the capacity of *gampong* institution and social structure of *gampong* society as a whole.

The present separatist movement led by the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) or Free Aceh Movement is the contemporary extension of older struggles against the Javabased colonial government even before Indonesia formally gained its independence in 1949. During this history, of which only a brief overview is provided because the references provide further details, the sepa-

ratist became religious, social and economic in nature as well as territorial (Mardhatillah, 2004; Robinson, 1998; Aspinall and Berger, 2001; Reid, 2004, 2005, 2006).

UUPA No. 11, 2006 states that *gampong* or another name is a unit of legal society under *mukim* and led by *keuchik* or another name having right to perform its own household. *Gampong* autonomy is extended in the implementation of development with the existence of UUPA manifested in legislation number 11, 2006. Quoting Eko (Gayatri, 2008), normatively, it describes the autonomy as well as ambiguity. First, *gampong* is situated in autonomy position but is obligated to implement principle of single assistantship. Second, authorization system from regency to *gampong* is subsidiary. Third, *gampong* institution is a blend of self-governing community in customary institutional system and local-state government through assistantship duties.

Governmental institution of *gampong* consists of *keuchik, imam meunasah* and *tuha peut*, with activities centered in *meunasah*. *Gampong* government has collective leadership. It means that all affairs related to *gampong* interest will be brought to *meunasah* to be determined in convention and consensus. Authority
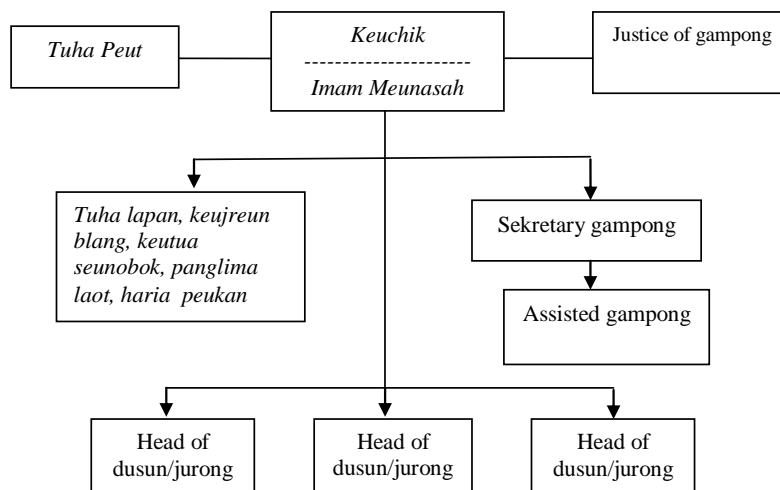
Figure 1. Structure of institution *gampong*.

concept in Acehnese does not separate custom and religion. The concept is further described in governmental structure of *gampong* that consists of *keuchik, imum meunasah* and *ureng tuha*. The authority structure built in *gampong* institution is bound to each other and each has own duties and functions. A *gampong* can be viewed as part of state governmental structure, which involves bureaucracy of government and *keuchik* as the representative of government in its *gampong*. As the representative of government, a *keuchik* performs its functions and obligations authorized by the state in accordance with the prevailing legislation (Abdullah, 1988; Gayatri, 2008).

In addition to *keuchik,* there is also *imum meunasah* called *ma gampong* (mother). Its role is performing all religious activities. *Tuha peuat* or *ureung tuha* (the elder) is the central figure in decision making and as an adviser for *keuchik* in running *gampong* government. In performing its duties, *keuchik* and *imeum meunasah* (executive elements) work with *ureung tuha* (legislative element). Both elements are equal and their works are clearly differentiated. It is different from the village system where the executive head, ex-officio, is also legislative head (Nyak Pha, 2000; Dharmawan, 2006; Eko, 2007). *Gampong* secretary helps *keuchik* in performing its duties related to *gampong* administration. In *gampong* institutional structure there are also *tuha lapan* (societal figure element), *keujreun blang* (administer and responsible for the management of rice fields areas), *panglima laot* (responsible in the management of marine resources), *harian peukan* (responsible in the management of traditional market, which is conducted weekly), *peutua seuneubok* (responsible in the management of plantation sector), and *syahbandar* (administer and responsible in the in and out of ships at the port or sea transportation problem). All of them are important in the societal social life order.

All relationship within the structure is often likened as Aceh's aphorism "*hukom ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeut, adat angon hukom hana tom cre* ", which means that law and custom is like a substance with its nature, custom and law is never separated. In practice, nevertheless, not all customary institutions exist in Acehnese with the introduction of official institutions that provide modern services to the society (Figure 1).

Back to *Gampong* program: Expectations and realities

Sociologically, social change developed from development mechanism process, which is the national ideology as an effort to improve societal welfare, has created huge friction on local values that existed and developed within the society. This dilemma is obvious when a state tries to maintain local cultural identity within the society; however, on the other side, modernization aspects of economy, politics and culture in form of various products in the name of development and prosperity are another indicator for the diminishing of local wisdom previously existing in the society. It is logical to state that state still dominates in some policies even in the product of decentralization policies. Regional autonomy implementation goes as far as to the authority delegation and does not reach society involvement in the development (Aspinall and Fealy, 2003; Antlo, 2003).

The expected decentralization and autonomy on *gampong* is not maximal and tends to weak due to the *gampong* apparatus that performs their administrative duties based on monthly salary from the sub-district government. This consequence directly maintains the long existing bureaucratization system and makes *gampong* position under the *mukim* and subdistrict. It means that *gampong*'s development program will be

attached to authority power above it; therefore, the expected autonomy manifested through legal formal of *Qonun* and UUPA needs to be re-constructed.

Compared to the previous legislation (UU), the issuance of *Qanun* is a big jump. *Gampong*'s identity is recognized as part of Acehnese societal culture and its position is under the *mukim* and has clear authority and customary institution roles. The customary institutions are further strengthened with the issuance of *Qanun* No. 10, 2008 on customary institutions. The *Qanun* mostly contains the functions and roles of apparatus of customary institutions within Acehnese.

The legislation covers the duty of *keuchik* before the role of Aceh Customary Committee (*Majelis Adat Aceh/MAA*) that helps *Wali Nanggroe* in developing and coordinating the existing customary institutions. In practice, however, it has not able to encourage functions and roles of *gampong* institutions and *mukim* to create their identity as mentioned in both *Qanun*.

Authority relationship among customary apparatus in *gampong* institution is the important point for observing the dynamic of *gampong* institutions universally under the umbrella of *Qanun gampong*. It means that, it is reasonable that some literatures critically see another side of *Qanun gampong* either in the context of *gampong* institution reinforcement or in the distribution of authority with the availability of resources through back to *gampong* program. This consequence gives understanding that back to *gampong* program as expected in *Qanun* No. 5, 2005 does not immediately bring its position to the essentiality of previous *gampong* model as expected by the society. It sets aside various problems related to authorities, rights, and obligation aspects or relationship among actors in *gampong* governmental structure.

Reinforcement of *gampong* government through *Qanun* is an effort of the revitalization process of *gampong* as developmental base. The reinforcement covers institutional aspect as well as economical, political and cultural fields. *Qanun gampong* consisting of 72 articles describing the authority, position, relationship order among institutions, the functions and roles of apparatus, and financial management is called the locomotion to the improvement of a *gampong*. It means that if *gampong* institution and society is able to interpret the *Qanun* optimally it is likely that *gempong* autonomy will be achieved. In addition, *Qanun* is expected to be able to increase the electability of customary institutions that previously set aside state polices on local societal government. However, if *Qanun* is made as a mean for authority shift to control *gampong* resources, it is likely to create conflict within the society.

Since the implementation of back to *gampong* program by regional government in early 2009, various development programs have been directed to the effort on improving the prosperity and empowerment of *gampong* society. Various programs conducted not only cover economic aspect but also strengthen *gampong* institutions in various societal aspects. Through governmental and other institutions' efforts, it is expected to bring back *gampong* from its collapse. The working programs from regional government and all societal elements include not only the re-arrangement of *gampong* governmental system but also encourage the reinforcement of economy, politics and culture within the society.

Through those programs, *gampong* is technically directed to prepare and formulate program plan for *gampong* development to maximize the aid for the intended targets. There are at least four actors with direct competence in *gampong* development process: Acehnese government, regencies or municipalities government, *gampong* government and society (including NGO). Provincial government and regency or municipality government is the first sector. They are the center of authority, policies and financial resources that provide strategic direction for *gampong* development. *Gampong* government is the second sector as the actor in *gampong* management along with societal elements. Society is the third sector that serves as the source of knowledge and resources for the driver of *gampong* development. These three elements have important role and mutually integrated in the format of *gampong* development. Likewise, when these elements are disintegrated, *gampong* autonomy will be a dream.

Working programs planning and formulation for *gampong* development as a whole should be implemented in maximum and for the intended targets due to the huge amount of aid given by the government every year. This requires all parties to be ready including apparatus of *gampong* institutional in the process of financial governance and program planning in accordance with the need of *gampong* society itself. Some local or foreign institutions involve by giving training to and helping *gampong* apparatus in working program formulation and planning. This is its own history in the governance process of *gampong* institution after conflict and peace in Aceh (Robinson, 1998; Jemadu, 2004). It is understandable because *gampong* societies are not familiar with the development concept involving huge financial aid. Therefore, to avoid misappropriation and misuse of the funds, government and non-governmental organizations should provide integrated assistance to achieve *gampong* autonomy. As mentioned on printed media, in 2010, Acehnese government gave *pemakmue gampong* financial aid of Rp. 318.950 billion to 6.379 *gampong*. Each *gampong* received Rp. 50 million. In addition, PNPM Mandiri grant also distributed for 244 sub-districts in 18 regencies of Rp. 318.6 billion and operational fund of Rp. 90.432 billion (Harian Serambi Indonesia, July 12, 2011).

Even with the huge amount of fund allocated in the process of program acceleration, there are many obstacles in the practice. The readiness of resources in

Table 2. Critical issues institutional strengthening program of *"Back to Gampong"*.

Regional aspects of development	District	
	Lamteuba	**Mon Ikuen**
Socialization *Qanun*	*Qanun* participates in NGO's involvement on the side, but the involvement of local governments still lacks	
Facilities and Infrastructure	Dissemination of Qanun is not optimum	
	The low understanding of *Qanun gampong* and preparation of draft *Qanun gampong*	
	Still focused on physical development and non-development is still lacking physicaly	
	There is no government office	administration is feasible, but the public service is still less than the maximum
Giving Welfare	Improvement	honorarium
	Honor is often too late and not on time, and are often given two / three months later	
	Honorarium is not uniform	
	Conflict social	
Implementation Customs and traditions	Implementation of customs of low understanding of indigenous *Keujreunblang*	*Panglima Laot* involvement in resolution conflict of low
	Implementation of custom-based farming systems start to fade	Lack of coordination between institutions in the operation of indigenous customary fishing
	The lack of involvement of the district / city in the administration of customs	
	Some disputes / cases have settled procedural law rather than common law (though still able to customary law)	
Coordination between institutions	Institutional Coordination between traditional institutions in governance is not optimum	
	Opened the space for the emergence of gampong elite, which has big influence on financial governance of gampong	

fund management and planning, delays on grant distribution from regency or municipality government and potential conflict among *gampong* society due to different interest toward the grants are among the obstacles. The huge amount of fund received - if there is no delay on the distribution of grants – by every *gampong* every year is something new for *gampong* government in terms of financial governance and planning as the mechanism of grants disbursement. Related to the management system, human resources factor and integration of all elements within *gampong* institution are requirements for the success of *peumakmue gampong* program as a whole (Table 2).

Based on Governor Regulation No. 25, 2009 on the guidance in managing *peumakmu gampong* financial aid or ADG grant, the grant is used for government's operation and *gampong* development. Priority scale on poor household economy and continuous acceleration of *gampong*'s facilities and infrastructures are programs triggered by *gampong* and regency or municipality governments as the follow up for the high number of poverty, unemployment, job opportunity and effort to re-arrange *gampong* institution as buffer for the success of *gampong* autonomy after conflict and peace in Aceh. In order to realize those programs, central and regional governments run various assistance programs directed to the empowerment and development of *gampong* society. Among the programs are PNPM Mandiri for urban and rural areas and BKPG or ADG, which are direct assistance model received by society to improve poor household economy, health care, education, religion and socio-cultural. In addition, the programs also directed to the development of *gampong* infrastructure will be able to bridge the integration of *gampong* development as a whole.

In practice, problems remain the target attainment of *gampong* development through the allocation of the grants. The problems can be related to the planning and

management systems of the grants that have not been on target, accountability, transparency and the ability of human resources in financial governance. These factors are mostly criticized by NGO or society regarding the weak monitoring system on the development policy of *peumakmu gampong* program. The reality shows that to date, grant for *gampong* development such as PNPM Mandiri for rural areas and BKPG or ADG tends to be used for the development of physical facilities and infrastructures instead of non-physical infrastructure. Some projects on physical facilities have been abandoned and cannot be fully utilized by *gampong* society.

Weak participation from *gampong* society on information access of *peumakmue gampong* program, direct assistance mechanism such as "distributing money" create dependency based on the effort to accelerate improvement on poor family economy, and focus on the development of infrastructure projects which are basic problems found in the field in the implementation of *peumakmue gampong* program. What has developed in the society is inversely proportional to societal expectation on the development program of *gampong*. What mostly occur are the misappropriation case on *gampong* budget or ineffective funds absorption. Huge amount of grants disbursed every year has not able to realize autonomy and reduce poverty in *gampong* and household economy of *gampong* society is in poor condition (Mei, 2012; Serambi Indonesia, 2012).

In reality, reinforcing *gampong* institutional structure as a whole in the middle of changing society is not as easy as estimated. Empirical facts show despite the identity of *gampong* institution is returned to its philosophic root of *Qanun* and UUPA the weak *gampong* governmental institutions, structural or cultural still can be found in the implementation of *gampong* development. Those basic problems can be related to two factors, internal and external factors. The internal actor includes the weakness of human resources; whereas the external factor is related to inadequate supporting facilities and infrastructure. Therefore, sometimes the structure of *gampong* institution is only in the memories of a *keuchik* or the institution has no clear structure despite the apparatus (actors) receives incentive or salary every month.

The linkage between functions and responsibility attached to *gampong* governmental apparatus as mentioned in *Qanun* No. 5, 2003 and reinforced with *Qanun* No. 10, 2008 on customary institutions is a form of social order that has long been rooted and closely related to the fulfillment of *gampong* societal subsistence that related to cultural, economic and political aspects. Efforts taken by regency or municipality government to revive and re-function the customary institution of *gampong* government developed through back to *gampong* program at present is not simple as imagined. Top down system of the relationship between state and local community is a pillar for *gampong* development (Painter and Goodwin, 1995; Grootaert, 1999).

Therefore, it will need a long period to change the development paradigm into bottom-up system originated from lower society voice. In addition, the accumulation of prolonged conflict has caused *gampong* government loses trust and disintegration of the existing values as essential part of a *gampong*. Modernity on *gampong* development conducted through the existing program has placed *gampong* as regional development agent in one side, and in the other side reducing *gampong* development model vis a vis top down and bottom up. It means that, gampong's authority and rights are not accommodated thoroughly in *Qanun gampong*. What exist is a historical romantic without holistic interpretation on the meaning of authority, clear power relations or authority of governance system of *gampong* government itself.

Basically, the existence of customary institutions in every social system is very significant to preserve the custom itself. This institution is important as an effort to save hereditary customs. The sustainability of a custom can be predicted through the existence of the institutions. In other words, the existing traditional values become important instruments to observe the sustainability and influence societal attitude and behavior. Previous study shows 90.47 percent of society wanted to re-function the customary institutions in *gampong*. The disappearance of many customs in the society is closely related to the uncertainty of the existence and role of customary institutions within the society. Real data show that almost 93.58 percent of customary institutions have been realized in every areas; the empowerment, however, is less.

The mechanism of back to *gampong* program mostly rests on physical development aspect, which indirectly gives more space to the occurrence of coordination gap developed in planning system and development of *gampong*. The tug on *gampong* planning process involving apparatus *gampong* government has opened the space for the emergence of *gampong* elite, which has big influence on financial governance of *gampong*. Inconsistency in grants allocation to improve the well-being of *gampong* apparatus is one of the factors for the weak role of customary institutions. Therefore, it is understandable if well-being problem is indicator of *gampong* development process. On the other hand, less coordination between regional government of regency or municipality and *gampong* government apparatus regarding the amount of honorarium received by each apparatus is the actual problem developed in the society. This means that the existing position has been calculated economically.

With bureaucratization system that opens up to *gampong* level, *gampong* apparatus should be able to solve any problems related to administrative, planning and financial management, and policies formulation for future *gampong* development. It will be the basic problems in *gampong* governmental structure when development projection is not properly managed with the

weakness of human resources and the existing local potential. The weakening of local customary institutional values is something inevitable in the present format of *gampong* development. Despite various programs directed to bring back the customary identity of *gampong* society with *Qanun* and other supporting regulations, this basic problems continue to emerge in various opinion provided by society or traditional figures in *gampong*. It is especially when *Qanun gampong* is not entirely able to bring back the customary identity of Acehnese and minimum development programs conducted by regional government to reinforce customary institutions (Schulze, 2005).

Looking back at the efforts of Aceh Government to re-function the customary institutions through *Qanun* No. 5, 2003 and *Qanun* No. 10, 2008 that explain the identity of customary institutions in Aceh, it seem meaningless when the authority form and power of customary institutions are linear in nature and have not integrated as rules that clearly describe the existing institutions. Therefore, cultural symbolism is obvious in the existing *Qanun* without good manifestation in the concept of customary institutions empowerment. Routine activities have not shown the identity of customary institutions as in the glory era of Aceh. For example, *teungku meunasah* only serves as imam in *meunasah* or mosque with no further involvement in decision making of *gampong* development. Moreover, *tuha lapan* has not able to serve optimally in formulating or making decision on a case when *gampong* elite involvement is dominant in the formulation of policies. It happens when all functions and roles are limited to historical narrative and abstract. It has not touched the real form of the institution itself.

In ancient times, *keuchik* position, for example, in *gampong* government had board roles and functions on its authority. *Keuchik* was highly respected and the decision made was also respected. Hurgronje (1985) describes, *'The keuchhi, the headman or father of the gampong borrows his authority from the uleebalang of the province to which his village belongs'*. As the father of *gampong* and representative of the government, *keuchik* determined the operation of *gampong* government. This reality is still the basic obstacle in *gampong* governmental structure when the attached roles and functions are unable to be interpreted in the context of social reality. It means that their position in a *gampong* describes cultural symbol retained instead of involving them as subject of *gampong* development.

Even though various programs have been directed to bring back the customary identity of *gampong* society with the existence of *Qanun* and other supporting regulations, this basic problems continue to emerge in various opinion provided by society or traditional figures in *gampong*. It is especially when *Qanun gampong* is not entirely able to bring back the customary identity of Acehnese and minimum development programs conducted by regional government to reinforce customary institutions. Looking back at the form of *gampong* societal life, homogenous bound of societal life was formed in a territory, with its sovereignty and control on natural resources together; if it has its own government with all the legal order, which is based on customary institutions and all its apparatus and legal material; *gampong* will be the important part of the social system of Acehnese.

Conclusion

Gampong is a unit of legal society and custom in the lowest authority structure having its own authority and wealth or income sources. *Gampong* governmental structure consists of three elements: government, religion and representative. Those three elements are known as *keuchik, teungku meunasah* and *tuha peut. Keuchik* that serve in the administrative sector of the government and in the implementation of customary law. *Teungku meunasah* is responsible for the implementation of religious life of the society. Whereas, *tuha peut* is an advisory body and assists *keuchik* in decision-making. In addition to those three elements, the governance of *gampong* government also involves customary institutions element directly in touch with livelihood system of the residents.

Implementation of the program *peumakmu gampong* (back to the *gampong*) turns out in practice to still have many problems. The low custom awards, overlapping authority structures of power and authority in the *gampong* government are mechanized as a result of the shift in the meaning of the role and function of the overall *gampong* governance. Sociologically, strengthening program for the *gampong* in addition to functioning institutional system as a whole village has a positive function (latent function) for the elite *gampong* as they relate to the power struggle and economy of space.

Back to *gampong* program launched by regional government in early 2009 has impacted the reinforcement process of *gampong* institution. On the other side, it opens the space for the weakening of the reinforcement of *gampong* institution itself. Less appreciation of custom and overlapping power and authority in the structure of *gampong* government are the mechanization resulting from the shift of role and function in the governance of *gampong* government. Less socialization on *Qanun gampong* in the mechanism of *gampong* government as mentioned in *Qanun* no. 5, 2003 has impacted the governance process that is still trapped in administrative routine, which in turn will undermine the identity of customary values to realize back to *gampong* program.

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