

**COORDINATION BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE IN REGENCIES:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN TIMOR TENGAH UTARA AND BELU REGENCIES**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to explain and describe: (1) the coordination between the central government and local government in the development of road infrastructure of Amol-Manamas (in Timor Tengah Utara or TTU Regency) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (in Belu Regency); and (2) the supporting and inhibiting factors that affect the coordination between the central and local governments in the development of road infrastructure of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu). The approach used in this research was a qualitative approach with a case study research. The study site was in the TTU Regency and Belu Regency, focusing on developing the road infrastructure of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu). The focuses of this research were: (1) Coordination with sub-focus of the research; (a) Time Synchronization; (b) Actor; (c) Coordination Method; (2) Supporting and Inhibiting Factors of Coordination. Information sources in this research were determined through sampling purposive technique. The data was primary and secondary, collected through interviews, documentation, and observation. The data analysis used the one by Miles and Huberman. The validation technique in this research used the triangulation technique. The research results showed that the coordination on Sabuk Merah National Strategic Road's development done by the TTU Regency and Belu Regency government started in 2014. Coordination related to the development of the border regions could not be implemented as how it should be. There should be a substantial factor that could influence the policy to make a difference in coordinating the border regions. Findings suggested that the same coordination method could produce different development results in both Belu Regency and TTU Regency. There was a difference in the coordination.

KEY WORDS

Coordination, central government, local government, development, infrastructure, road.

Roads are a form of service given to the road user and road beneficiary. The availability of adequate infrastructure can drive higher economic growth, increasing the community's income per capita. Road freight traffic is highly related to the condition of the infrastructure and road connection. It is most likely to be used by vehicles as road transportation means and installing various safety and security facilities of the road freight traffic.

Relating to this matter, TTU Regency's government handled a 24.6 km long Amol-Manamas road improvement project in 2018. The project itself is the authority of the local government. However, the route is also part of the national strategic road, making the central government have the authority to get involved in the road development project activity and the local government. The route is considered to be strategic because it is part of the Sabuk Merah Road bordering the west part of Indonesia and the Democratic State of Timor Leste. It is also the road connecting several tourist attractions located along the border area.

Since the central government intervention on the road in 2008, there is no project activity to improve and develop it. It is not surprising that the condition of the road has been declining and damaging by the day. Therefore, it is essential to have coordination between the central and local governments in maintaining this road. Below is the data of road handing of TTU Regency in 2009-2020.

Table 1 – Data of Road Handling in TTU Regency in 2009-2020

No	Type of Road Handling	YEAR OF IMPLEMENTATION												TOTAL
		2009 (Km)	2010 (Km)	2011 (Km)	2012 (Km)	2013 (Km)	2014 (Km)	2015 (Km)	2016 (Km)	2017 (Km)	2018 (Km)	2019 (Km)	2020 (Km)	
1	Opening And Development of Road in the Regency	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Improvement of the Regency Road	15.3	17.34	20.32	15.43	14.72	21.52	50.34	47.89	24.0	21.95	27.45	14.71	290.87
3	Maintenance of the Regency Road	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.5	5.4	8.45	24.85

Source: Processed Data, 2020.

Table 1 shows that no expansion and development of roads in TTU Regency since 2019-2020. On the other hand, the percentage of project activity to improve the road fluctuates every year. There was no road maintenance during 2009-2014. There was indeed a project activity of road maintenance in 2015-2020, and its percentage has increased each year steadily. Therefore, TTU Regency conducts road improvement and maintenance to manage road quality and provide easier access between regions.

However, things are slightly different in Belu Regency and Malaka Regency as part of the Sabuk Merah Road areas. Road infrastructure development in those two regencies included in the Sabuk Merah Road with national strategic road status is maintained well. In other words, its infrastructure development is better compared to what has been done in the TTU Regency.

Kompas.com reported that the road development on the border of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor Leste, or known as the East Part of the Sabuk Merah Road, has reached 85 kilometers from a total of 179.99 kilometers until the end of 2018. In 2020, the government planned to finish asphalt paving or a hot mix of 46 kilometers from Belu Regency to Malaka Regency. Meanwhile, the remaining 48.99 kilometers were targeted to be finished by 2020. Not only that, but the other 13 bridges would be finished by 2020 with an average length of 60 meters, and they were all steel truss bridges type. Other than on the east part, the government also planned to develop the West Part of the Sabuk Merah Road as far as 130.88 kilometers in TTU Regency after all of the East Part development was completed.

The Belu Regency and Malaka Regency development were prioritized because it connects several security posts throughout Pos Lintas Batas Negara (PLBN)¹ Motaain in Belu Regency and PLBN Motamassin in Malaka Regency. They are the main borders between Indonesia and Timor Leste.

Republika.co.id reported that the Directorate General of Bina Marga confirmed that the Sabuk Merah Road would run through the border connecting East Nusa Tenggara and Timor Leste. The road is divided into the West Part of the Sabuk Merah Road and the East Part of the Sabuk Merah Road. For now, 85 kilometers of the East Part of the Sabuk Merah Road has been paved with asphalt. Another 46 kilometers would be added in 2019, and the target was achieving 179.99 kilometers by 2020.

Rofinus Ngilo, Commitment Making Officer of East Nusa Tenggara, confirmed on Sunday (19/5/2019) that the West Part of the Sabuk Merah Road had not been appropriately handled because the government was planning to finish the East Part first (Republika.co.id). Rofinus also explained that the development of the West Part of the Sabuk Merah had not started yet. Even so, this part of Sabuk Merah was planned to be 130.88 km with 12 bridges. Bina Marga is currently focusing on road development and its facilities in the East Part.

Based on the background, there is a difference between road infrastructure development for the Sabuk Merah Road in TTU Regency and Belu Regency. The author is interested in observing how the coordination was implemented by both regencies and the

¹ State Border Crossing Post.

central government, causing the differences in each regency's road development rate. The purpose of this research is to explain and describe: (1) the coordination between the central government and local government in the development of road infrastructure of Amol-Manamas (TTU Regency) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu Regency); and (2) the coordination between the central government and local government in the development of road infrastructure of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Coordination

Definition of Coordination

According to Handyaningrat (1982 in Nurhidayat, Nurmaeta, and Hardi, 2013:153), coordination is a logical decision using the principle that every task should be distributed to every working unit and that every working unit is only given part of the main task of the overall organization. Coordination occurs due to the functional principle, where every working unit only conducts a specific function in an organization. Coordination is also an effect of the span of control where leaders are obligated to nurture, guide, direct, and control various activities or efforts done by several subordinates under the leaders' authority and responsibility.

Coordination is needed in a large and complex organization where several functions and activities have to be done by several working units in an integrated and synchronous manner. Coordination is also necessary for an organization formed based on the organization line and staff because the main problem is its coordination. Coordination could only be successful with the help of good communication means. Thus, administrative communication referring to working relationships held such an essential role in achieving good coordination. As mentioned above, coordination can be said as the final result of a working relationship (communication). In essence, coordination is a realization of cooperation, working to help each other, and respecting and putting meaning to every task, function, and responsibility. Coordination is crucial because every working unit has its dependency or interdependency on each other in conducting its activity, which drives the needs for cooperation (Nurhidayat, Nurmaeta, dan Hardi, 2013).

Type of coordination

Paul R. Lawrence and Jay W. Lorch (in Handoko, 2003:197) state 4 (four) types of differences in attitude and working that can complicate coordination tasks. They are (1) difference in the orientation against specific objective; (2) difference in the time orientation; (3) difference in interpersonal orientation; and (4) difference in the formality of structures.

Those differences give an understanding of several types of coordination. Hasibuan (2007:86-87) explains two (2) coordination types: vertical and horizontal coordination. Vertical coordination incorporates and briefs the leader's activities on the activity units and working units under the leader's authority and responsibility. Horizontal coordination incorporates actions and activities, briefing that will be done to incorporate activities, briefing that will be conducted on the activities at the same level of the organization (apparatus).

Hasibuan (2007:87) states three (3) coordination characteristics: (1) coordination is dynamic and not static; (2) coordination empathizes the overall objective by a coordinator (manager) to achieve goals; and (3) coordination only reviews a job as a whole.

Coordination Elements

The elements of coordination, as stated by Terry (2006:126), are as follows:

1. Orderly synchronization of effort. Dr. Awaluddin Djamin states that synchronization is an effort to adjust and align activities, actions, and units to achieve harmony in implementing tasks or work (Hasibuan, 2011:86).
2. Timing and directing. Timing shows the time setup and estimation of the work from the entire activity. On the other hand, directing can be said as an activity related to

some efforts such as guidance, direction, suggestion, order, and instruction to achieve the previously determined objectives.

3. Harmonious. According to Glenn Griswold (in Suhandang, 2004:45-46), harmony means mutual understanding and adjustment in both sides in which each of them gives benefit to each other until they feel satisfied.
4. Stated objective. According to G.R. Terry (in Hasibuan, 2011:17), an objective is the desired result that describes a clear scope and gives direction to the manager's actions or efforts. The objective to be achieved is always stated in a plan; it is essential that a stated objective be clear, realistic, and challenging to be fought based on the owned potential.

Obstacles in Coordination

In general, many people have realized the importance of coordination in the government's administrative or management process, but many issues are occurring in its practice. In the end, it reduces the effectiveness of coordination needed by the organization, hindering the goal or objective achievement as previously expected. (Handyaningrat, 1982 in Nurhidayat, Nurmaeta, and Hardi, 2013:154).

Two factors can hinder the achievement of coordination (Handyaningrat, 1982 in Nurhidayat, Nurmaeta, and Hardi, 2013): (1) obstacles in vertical coordination (structural) and (2) obstacles in functional coordination. Obstacles in vertical coordination (structural) may occur due to the unclear formulation of task, authority, responsibility to every working unit. Furthermore, there are some working relationships and procedures not being understood well by related parties. Some doubts often occur between the coordinator and the one to be coordinated. There is often a hierarchical relationship in an organizational structure. Then, there are also some obstacles in functional coordination. In functional coordination, either horizontal or diagonal, obstacles are caused by a lack of hierarchical relationship (line of command) between coordination and those who are supposed to receive the coordination.

Overall, the success in achieving coordination objective depends on these things (Ndraha, 2003:120): (1) how far each institution fulfills its implemented obligation and responsibilities; (2) how far an institutional program is aligned with other institutional programs; (3) how far the institution can maintain its program continuity with other institutional programs, in the case where the related institutions hold professional roles during the entire project implementation; and (4) how successful an institution in managing its loss to other institutions.

Objective of Coordination

According to Hasibuan (2011:87), the objectives of coordination are: (1) to direct and unite all of actions and thoughts to achieve the company's goals; (2) to guide specialist skills to achieve the company's goals; (3) to avoid gap or overlapping work; and (4) to avoid chaos and deviation of tasks from the target.

According to Ndrha (2003:29), the objective of coordination are: (1) to create and maintain the organization's effectiveness as much as possible either through synchronization, harmony, togetherness, and continuity between various dependent activities of an organization; (2) to prevent conflict and create the highest efficiency on every different interdependent activity through mutual agreements that bind all parties concerned; and (3) to create and maintain climate and nature of responsive anticipatory in different circles of dependent and independent work units so that one working unit's achievement will not be able to be disturbed by another work unit's success. All of these could be done through effective information and communication network.

Development

Development can be said as an effort of change based on a choice of particular views that are not free from experience (history), the reality of the situation at the moment, and the

interests of those who make the development decision. Furthermore, development itself has a double meaning. The first meaning explains how development is more oriented to economic growth focused on the quantitative issue from the production and use of resources. The second meaning talks about how development is more oriented toward change and the distribution of goods, and improved social interaction. The second meaning is oriented to social development focused on the distribution of change in the community's structure. All of these can be measured through the decrease of discrimination, exploitation, and improvement of equal chance and balanced distribution of the benefit of development on the community's overall components (Hadi, 2000).

According to Supardi (1994), development is an integral and comprehensive social process in economic growth or social change to create a more prosperous society. In its implementation, a development process goes through a production cycle to achieve consumption and utilization of any resources and capital, such as natural resources, human resources, financial resources, capital, and equipment needed and required to be improved. In achieving the development's goal and objective, there would be many side effects such as the waste of used products damaging or contaminating the environment. It will, directly and indirectly, endanger the achievement of the main objectives of development to improve the community's standard of living.

Infrastructure

Based on Presidential Regulation Number 38 of 2015, the infrastructure is one of the technicals, physicals, systems, hardware, and software needed to provide services to the community as well as to support the network to the community and support the network structure so that the economic and social growth of the community can run well.

The World Bank (in Prasetyo and Firdaus, 2009) divides infrastructure into three (3). (1) Economic infrastructure is the infrastructure either intangible or physical forms to support economic activities, public utilities (in the form of power, gas, water, telecommunications, sanitation), and public work (in the form of irrigation, roads, drainage, and dams, or roads, ports, and harbors for the transportation sector). (2) Social infrastructure can be in the form of housing, healthcare service, and education. (3) Administrative infrastructure can be in the form of coordination and law enforcement. Infrastructure is basic physical needs requiring the organization of a structural system for economic security in the public and private sectors as services and facilities are needed in the form of physical and social infrastructure. The purpose of this is to ensure that the economy can function correctly. The infrastructure itself refers to the technical and physical infrastructure that support the networks such as road facilities, clean water, electricity, telecommunications, waste management, airports, reservoirs, dams, canals, trains. In other words, infrastructure can functionally facilitate the economic activities of the community.

Role, Function, and Status of National Road Administration

Roads as one of the transportation infrastructure play a role in supporting economic growth because roads will minimize the complementary capital for a more efficient production and distribution process. The development of road infrastructure will increase the growth in new areas through the increase of traffic volume. On the other hand, poor and damaged roads will obstruct the allocation of resources, industrial development, distribution of production factors, goods, and services. These will eventually affect the income of the community.

Ikhsan (2009) states that road will affect the variable cost and fixed cost. Infrastructure's cost will increase if it is being built by the private sector. The cost of entry for economic activity will be a lot more expensive, and other economic activities with comparatively superior potential will not be realized due to the lack of infrastructure facilities.

Research Theoretical Framework

It is better if the central government manages the national road, but the management and utilization are shared with the local government (regency). In this case, it is essential to coordinate between the central government (owner of management authority), provincial government (representatives of the central government in the region), and also local government (road management and utilization). In observing the coordination between central and local government in road infrastructure development in this present study, the research framework is established to help understand the research problem, as follows:

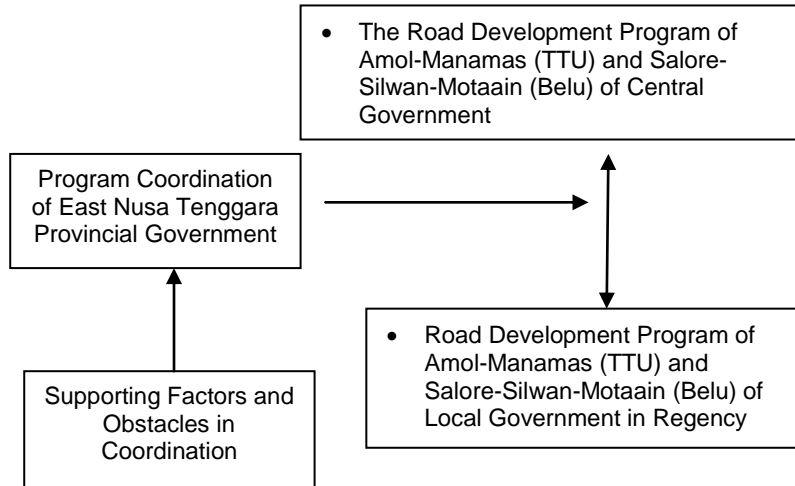


Figure 1 – Research Theoretical Framework

METHODS OF RESEARCH

This study used a qualitative approach with a case study method. The study site was determined using a purposive technique (by using specific considerations). The study sites were TTU Regency and Belu Regency, especially the road development area of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu). The research focuses are (1) coordination between the central government and local government in the road development of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu), and (2) the supporting and inhibiting factors affecting the coordination between the central government and local government in the road development of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu). The first research focus was expanded into some sub-focuses: (a) time and budget synchronization; clarity of task distribution in time and budget distribution between the central and local governments; (b) parties conducting the coordination; (c) coordination method—the method used in the coordination between the central government and local government; and (d) coordination intensity—the level of intensity carried out in coordination between the central government and local government. The source of information in this research was determined through a purposive sampling technique. Data came from both primary and secondary sources. Data was collected through interviews, documentation, and observations. Data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's (2007) method—the steps are data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion or verification. The validation technique in this study was triangulation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

One of the national strategic roads continuously improved is East Nusa Tenggara's border road, especially the one bordering East Nusa Tenggara and Timor Leste as long as 310.87 kilometers (the Sabuk Merah Road). Here are the data related to the Sabuk Merah Road in East Nusa Tenggara.

Table 2 – Data of the Sabuk Merah National Strategic Road in East Nusa Tenggara

NO.	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	Length of national strategic roads in East Nusa Tenggara located in the border area	310.87 Km
2	The total budget needed for all of the national strategic roads in East Nusa Tenggara located in the border area	Rp. 1,357,926,343,000.00
3	The total budget allocated for the last five (5) years for the development of a national strategic road at the East Nusa Tenggara border	Rp. 1,357,926,343,000.00
	Year 2020	Rp. 63,800,000,000.00
	Year 2019	Rp. 208,912,000,000.00
	Year 2018	Rp. 161,900,122,000.00
	Year 2017	Rp. 431,351,140,000.00
	Year 2016	Rp. 431,351,140,000.00
4	The number of national strategic roads on the Indonesian border (East Nusa Tenggara) built in the fiscal year	
	Year 2020	19.40 Km Asphalt
	Year 2019	46.02 Km Asphalt
	Year 2018	7.3 Km Asphalt, 11.68 Selected Material
	Year 2017	22.20 Km Asphalt, 67.68 Selected Material, 19.53 Soil
	Year 2016	22.20 Km Asphalt, 67.68 Selected Material, 19.53 Km Soil
5	The number of strategic national roads in East Nusa Tenggara that have been built in the last five (5) years	
	Year 2020	19.40 Km Asphalt
	Year 2019	46.02 Km Asphalt
	Year 2018	7.3 Km Asphalt, 11.68 Selected Material
	Year 2017	22.20 Km Asphalt, 67.68 Selected Material, 19.53 Soil
	Year 2016	22.20 Km Asphalt, 67.68 Selected Material, 19.53 Km Soil
7	The number of strategic national roads in East Nusa Tenggara that have been built in the last five (5) years	
	Year 2020	145.37 Km
	Year 2019	164.77 Km
	Year 2018	210.79 Km
	Year 2017	218.09 Km
	Year 2016	218.09 Km

Source: Data are processed from the research data by the researcher.

Table 2 presents the data related to Sabuk Merah Road. Table 2 shows the national strategic roads in East Nusa Tenggara located in the border area are 310.87 kilometers. Based on the road's total length, the budget used to develop the route amounted to Rp. 1,357,926,343,000 (one trillion three hundred fifty-seven billion nine hundred twenty-six million three hundred and forty-three thousand rupiahs). The total budget is the amount of money allocated for the last five (5) years to develop a national strategic road at the East Nusa Tenggara border.

The amount stated above is the total budget that has been allocated for funding the development of Sabuk Merah Road for five years. In detail, the budget spent for the development of Sabuk Merah Road in 2016 was Rp. 431,351,140,000 (four hundred thirty-one billion three hundred and fifty-one million one hundred and forty thousand rupiahs). Furthermore, in 2017 the budget used for the development of Sabuk Merah Road was 431,351,140,000.00 (four hundred thirty-one billion three hundred and fifty-one million one hundred and forty thousand rupiahs). In 2018, the budget used for the development of the Sabuk Merah Road was Rp. 161,900,122,000 (one hundred sixty-one billion nine hundred million one hundred and twenty-two thousand rupiahs). In 2019, the budget used for Sabuk Merah Road's development was Rp. 208,912,000,000 (two hundred eight billion nine hundred and twelve million rupiahs). In the last quarter of 2020, the budget used for the development of Sabuk Merah Road was 63,800,000,000 (sixty-three billion eight hundred million rupiahs).

Table 2 also presents the total length of national strategic roads on the Indonesian border (East Nusa Tenggara) built in the five-year financial budget year as described above.

In 2016, the road built was 22.20 kilometers (Asphalt), 67.68 kilometers (Selected Material), and 19.53 kilometers (Soil). In 2017, the total length of road built was 22.20 kilometers (Asphalt), 67.68 kilometers (Selected Material), and 19.53 kilometers (Soil). In 2018, the total length of road built was 7.3 kilometers (Asphalt) and 11.68 kilometers (Selected Material). In 2019, the total length of road built was 46.02 kilometers (Asphalt). In 2020, the total length of road built was 19.40 kilometers (Asphalt).

Belu Regency developed more roads and longer roads compared to TTU Regency. However, the two regencies have conducted cooperation since the Sabuk Merah Road establishment in the two regencies. The priority for the development of Sabuk Merah Road is mainly directed to developing the roads in the East Part. Coordination between the local government of TTU Regency and Belu Regency with the central government is seen from synchronization of time and budget, actors, coordination methods, and intensity of coordination, as well as supporting and inhibiting factors for coordination between the local government and the central government in road infrastructure development of the Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu) roads.

Time and Budget Synchronization

Time and budget synchronization in this research mean clarity on the task distribution. In this case, the distribution of time and budget between the central government and local government in developing the Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu) roads. The synchronization of the time and amount of the budget used to finance the Sabuk Merah Road development between TTU Regency and Belu Regency is different.

Belu Regency managed to obtain the total budget to finance the development of all Sabuk Merah Road in Belu Regency during the five years since the establishment of the Sabuk Merah Road status. Development continues sustainably and intensely so that some of Sabuk Merah Roads had been completed within one year. Meanwhile, the remaining time was used to build the rest of the roads and develop complementary road buildings in five years. The amount of the budget received by TTU Regency was only for building some points of the Sabuk Merah Roads and improving the road damaged by natural disasters. The budget was also used for the development of several complementary road buildings. That is why the amount of funding received by TTU Regency was not as immense as the amount received by Belu Regency.

The development of the Sabuk Merah Road in TTU Regency also does not run sustainably. However, some road improvements were successfully carried out at certain moments, such as when a natural disaster damaged the road.

Furthermore, research findings will be discussed with sub-discussions following the current research focus.

Actors or Parties

Actors or parties were those in charge of coordinating the development of Amol-Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu). The executing actors of coordination are not much different between Belu Regency and TTU Regency, namely the departments related to the development of the road infrastructure. The interesting part was that the actors led to different development priorities between TTU Regency and Belu Regency, even though the coordination was carried out properly by the two regencies.

Belu Regency was prioritized because the development of the Sabuk Merah Road and PLBN are direct instructions from the President as the Head of the State. Apart from that, the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency are supporting actors in accelerating the Sabuk Merah Road development in Belu Regency. Meanwhile, TTU Regency does not have such actors who can accelerate the Sabuk Merah Road development in TTU Regency.

Coordination Method

Coordination methods refer to the technique used in the coordination between the central government and local government to develop the road infrastructure of Amol-

Manamas (TTU) and Salore-Silawan-Motaain (Belu). The coordination method for Belu Regency and Malaka Regency is the same: direct and indirect coordination.

Direct coordination is done by visiting the representatives of the central government in the local area or in the central government. TTU Regency and Belu Regency have done direct coordination during the working visit from the central government representative. Indirect coordination is done by fulfilling the documents and other requirements required by the central government to be submitted by the regency government.

However, there is a slight difference in the implementation stages done by both regencies. In Belu Regency, the budget was instantly disbursed even though the coordination related to the improvement of requirements and data requested by the central government had not been fulfilled. The necessary improvement would be fulfilled while the financing and implementation of the development are running. In TTU Regency, coordination was conducted continuously to fulfill and complete the requirements put forward by the central government so that the budget realization and construction implementation for the Sabuk Merah Road in TTU Regency could be realized sooner.

Coordination Intensity

Different priorities in the development between the east and west parts led to different development and funding. Belu Regency had a higher number of coordination activities between the local government and central government than TTU Regency because the development focus during the last five (5) years was in Belu Regency. It makes sense that the Sabuk Merah Road development in Belu Regency required more coordination between the local government and central government.

TTU Regency did not coordinate much because there was not huge-scale development of the Sabuk Merah Road during the last five years in this regency. The coordination done by TTU Regency was in the form of improving documents and other requirements and uniforming perceptions between the local government and the central government, so the acceleration of the Sabuk Merah Road in the TTU Regency area could be achieved.

Supporting and Inhibiting Factors in Coordination

There are supporting and inhibiting factors in the coordination between the central government and local government in developing the road.

The supporting factors affecting the coordination between the local government of TTU Regency with the central government are as follows. (1) The status of the Sabuk Merah Road is the national strategic road. (2) The road is bordering East Nusa Tenggara with Timor Leste. (3) Much of the road part has not been built. (4) Much of the road art was damaged by natural disasters, and it needs improvement.

The inhibiting factors are as follows. (1) The area adjacent to the borderline is only a district, not a (foreign) country. (2) There was a lack of consistency and commitment from the central government. (3) Security and defense were not the priority. (4) The lack of supporting actors.

Coordination done by the Belu Regency is also affected by supporting and inhibiting factors. The supporting elements are as follows. (1) The status of the Sabuk Merah Road is the national strategic road. (2) The area adjacent to the borderline is a (foreign) country, namely Timor Leste. (3) The road was heavily damaged and was not developed at all. (4) The initiative to build PLBN and the road came from strong actors such as the President, Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, and the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency.

The inhibiting factor is the COVID-19 pandemic—since the pandemic, the road development had been delayed.

Theoretical Framework of Research Results

Based on the above research results and discussion, there is a difference in TTU Regency and Belu Regency coordination. They are affected mainly by geopolitical and geostrategy factors. Geopolitics is the study of the relationship between life and political

activity with natural conditions. In other words, it studies the states and their natural environment. Geopolitics studies the country as a political region that includes internal geographical, and external factors, which is the relationship between countries. The geopolitics object is the analysis and relationship between countries and adaptation to environmental conditions within the country. Thus, geopolitics can be interpreted as states' geography and provide a geographical interpretation of international relations (Hayati and Yani, 2007).

Jakub Grygiel (in Hayati and Yani, 2007) explains that geostrategy is a concept where geographic direction comes from the foreign policy of a country. Geostrategy can describe the geographic orientation of foreign policy from the projection of military power and diplomatic activities. Geostrategy can also be said as a flexible concept because a country's foreign policy can change in a matter of years or months. Geostrategy concept that operates at the state's level is caused by many factors occurring from the said country or other countries.

Based on the research results and discussion, the coordination done by Belu Regency progressed faster considering the geopolitics and geostrategy stated by state actors such as the President, Ministry of Defense, and Indonesian State Intelligence Agency. The geographical and national-international strategic location of Belu Regency made the road development in the regency being prioritized compared to TTU Regency.

Other than geopolitics and geostrategy, the actors also influenced the TTU Regency and Belu Regency coordination results. The most influential actors leading to different coordination results between these two regencies are the President as the Head of State, Ministry of Defense, and Indonesian State Intelligence Agency. The support obtained by Belu Regency from these actors made road development (the Sabuk Merah Road) in Belu run faster and better. TTU Regency did not receive this kind of support from those actors, so the Sabuk Merah Road development in TTU Regency was slower.

The research results can also be described in the following framework:

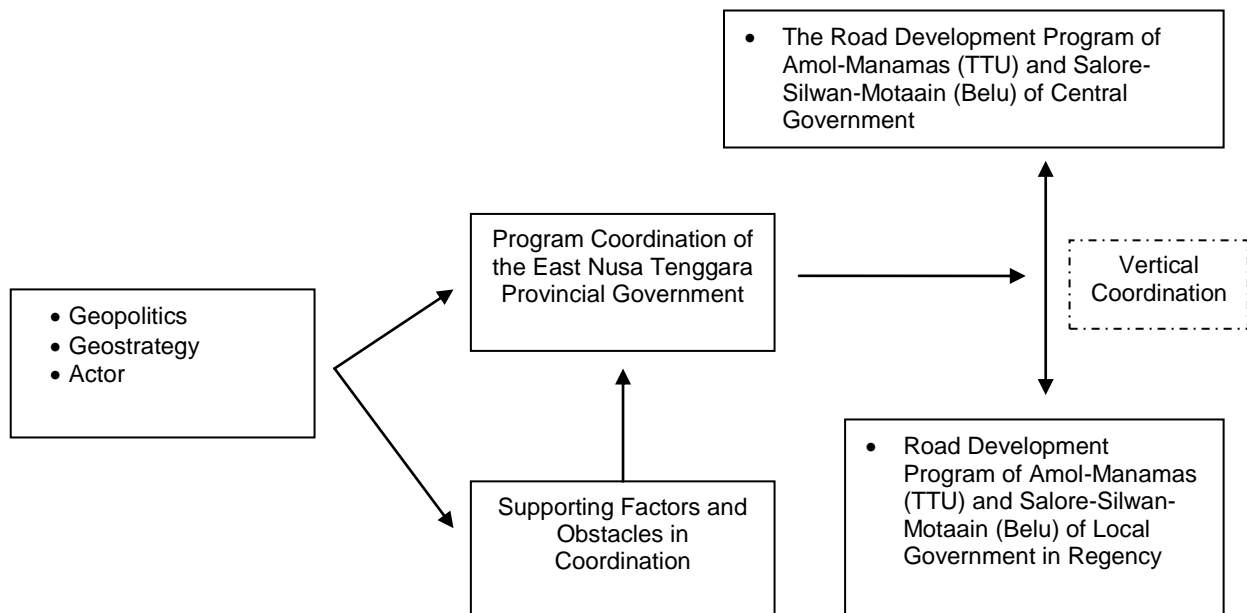


Figure 2 – Research Theoretical Framework

CONCLUSION

Based on findings and discussion, the followings conclusions are presented:

1. The coordination done by the government of TTU Regency and Belu Regency related to the development of the Sabuk Merah Road has been started since the stipulation in 2014. The coordination on the development of the border region could not be

implemented as planned. There should be a substantial factor that could influence the policy to make a difference in coordinating the border regions. Findings suggested that the same coordination method could produce different development results in both Belu Regency and TTU Regency. There was a difference between the coordination from the central government and local government as follows:

- a. Time and budget synchronization
Belu Regency finished their road development faster, proven by the development of Salore-Silawan Motaain road that was done in one year. Some other roads are also in the completion. The budget given to Belu Regency was directly allocated to financing the Sabuk Merah Road development for five years. In contrast, TTU Regency had not finished the Sabuk Merah Road of Amol-Manamas in the past six years after the establishment. Budgeting was only allocated for the improvement of the damaged road due to natural disasters.
 - b. Actors
Belu Regency received support from strong national-level actors from the defense and security department such as the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency, the Ministry of Defense, and even the President. Those actors accelerated the development of the Sabuk Merah Road. TTU Regency only relied on local-level actors' support, so the regency's road development was not as fast as in Belu Regency.
 - c. Coordination method and intensity
There was a difference in the coordination method and intensity between Belu Regency and TTU Regency. Belu Regency chose to run the development and financing while submitting all the requirements along the way. That was why the intensity of coordination in Belu Regency was higher during the process of completing requirements. Until now, TTU Regency is still required to meet the development requirements that have been submitted several times. The coordination's intensity is lower in TTU Regency because it always waits for the best time to coordinate with the central government.
2. TTU Regency had more inhibiting factors for coordination compared to Belu Regency. One of the inhibiting factors for TTU Regency coordination was the geopolitics and geostrategy situation and the supporting actors. For Belu Regency, the only inhibiting factor for coordination was the Covid-19 pandemic. Some supporting factors affected the coordination both in TTU Regency and Belu Regency. The supporting factor for coordination in TTU Regency was the establishment of the Sabuk Merah Road. The supporting factor affecting coordination in Belu Regency was the geopolitics and geostrategy. The main supporting factor for Belu Regency was the actors, including the President, the Ministry of Defense, and the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency; TTU Regency did not have this kind of support.

Suggestion

Based on the research results, discussion, and conclusion that have been explained above, the following suggestions are presented:

1. The development of the Sabuk Merah Road in TTU Regency is slower than the one in Belu Regency. Therefore, some actions should be taken to ensure that TTU Regency could catch up with the development, especially in Amol-Manamas road. Some decisions that could be taken are:
 - a. The government of TTU Regency needs to find the right moment to obtain support from the main actors. One of the actions that can be taken is to form a special team to coordinate with the Ministry of Defense, the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency, and the President to achieve the same success as in Belu Regency.
 - b. TTU Regency has to include all of the actors responsible for policy-making at local and national levels. These actors must be taken to the PLBN Wini and Amol-Manamas road location as part of the Sabuk Merah Road.

- c. TTU Regency should build a strong rationale to convince the central government on the importance of accelerating the development of the Sabuk Merah Road, especially the Amol-Manamas road. Good communication and lobby would help the regency to gain better attention from the central government.
2. From the geopolitics and geostrategy point of view, the road part in TTU Regency is different compared to the one in Belu because the road is directly adjacent to one of the districts located separately from Timor Leste (an enclaved area). Therefore, there should be more intensive coordination from Belu Regency.

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