

# Pola dan kebijakan privatisasi sektor telekomunikasi dalam konflik neoliberal versus state-directed development pada masa Presiden Soeharto hingga Megawati Soekarnoputri 1989-2004 = On the pattern and policy of privatization of telecommunication sector within the conflict between neoliberal and state directed development in the period from President Soeharto to Megawati Soekarnoputri 1989 2004

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## Abstrak

<b>ABSTRAK</b><br>

Peranan dan Konflik Neoliberal versus State-Directed Development dalam Kebijakan Privatisasi Sektor Telekomunikasi pada Masa Megawati Soekarnoputri 2001-2004 , 365 halaman, 6 lampiran, 46 buku, 3 dokumen, 0 tesis, 0 makalah, 5 sumber on-line, 3 kliping surat kabar, dan wawancara 5 narasumber.

Latarbelakang penelitian ini adalah terjadinya fenomena serentetan privatisasi BUMN pada masa akhir Orde Baru hingga masa awal Reformasi secara umum khususnya di sektor telekomunikasi, yang dilatarbelakangi oleh konflik aliran Neoliberal dan State-Directed. Eksistensi dua aliran yang hampir seimbang ini telah menimbulkan dinamika tersendiri dalam pola konstruksi negara. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini mengkaji rentetan perubahan pola privatisasi dalam konteks dinamika perubahan pola konstruksi negara, yang terfokus pada jenis privatisasi dan faktor-faktor penyebabnya, yang telah mendahului privatisasi-puncak pada masa Megawati. Fokus penelitian selanjutnya diarahkan pada mengapa terjadi privatisasi secara transfer aset dan faktor-faktor pemaksanya. Hasil temuan menunjukkan adanya pergeseran pola konstruksi negara, pada satu sisi, dari state-directed bertipe kohesif-kapitalis sedang pada masa Oil Boom menjadi fragmented-multiclass pada masa paska-Oil Boom 1982-1990 bahkan cenderung menuju neopatrimonial pada masa akhir Orba 1991-1997 . Namun, pada sisi lain, secara kontradiktif, aliran liberal-kapitalis yang melemah pada masa Oil Boom kini menguat kembali pada masa paska-Oil Boom bahkan cenderung menuju Neoliberal pada masa akhir Orba. Akibatnya, keterpisahan kekuasaan ekonomis dari ranah politik terjadi yang terefleksikan dalam hutang luar negeri pemerintah dan swasta yang amat besar, krisis devisa dan merosotnya nilai tukar yang harus ditutup dengan privatisasi BUMN. Pola privatisasi di sektor telekomunikasi terseret dari pola contracting out dan managed competition pada masa akhir Orba menjadi transfer aset pada masa Megawati akibat adanya faktor-faktor pemaksa. Dengan privatisasi Telkomsel dan Indosat, pemerintah telah mengambil posisi salah dan rawan dalam pembelahan dijital, yang akan menentukan sukses-gagalnya suatu negara dalam ekonomi elektronis. Diperlukan keputusan yang tepat kali ini untuk dapat mengembangkan teknologi dan layanan ICT baru sebagai koreksi. Kata kunci: Neoliberal, State-Directed, privatisasi, telekomunikasi, dijital.

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<b>ABSTRACT</b><br>

Title On the Role of and Conflict between Neoliberal versus State Directed Development in the Privatization Policy of Telecommunication Sector in the Era of Megawati Soekarnoputri 2001 2004 , 365 pages, 6 attachments, 46 books, 3 documents, 0 tesis, 0 papers, 5 on line sources, 3 clippings of News, and interviews of 5 informants. The background of this research comes from the emergence of the phenomena of successive

privatizations of State Owned Enterprises SOE at the end of the era of New Order until the beginning of the era of Reformation in general, especially, in the telecommunication sector in the background of the conflicts between Neoliberal against State Directed. In fact, the existence of two almost balanced political streams have created dynamics of their own in the state construction pattern. Therefore this research studies successive pattern changes of privatization within the context of the dynamics of the changes of the state construction pattern. They focus especially on types of privatization and its related causes which have preceded over the peak privatization of the Megawati era. The research focus is then be continuously directed to the question why this type of privatization by asset transfer could have happened and its most fundamental forcing factors. The findings show the existence of the shifts of state construction pattern, on one side, from State Directed with moderate cohesive capitalist type in the era of the Oil Boom to its fragmented multiclass type in the post Oil Boom era 1982 1990 even to neopatrimonial type at the end of New Order era 1991 1997 . Nevertheless, on the other side, by contrast, capitalist liberal political stream which was weak during Oil Boom, in this post Oil Boom era has become strong even tend to become Neoliberal at the end of New Order era. As a result, separation of economic power from politic has happened which has been reflected in the soaring debt of both government and private sectors, the crucial devisa crisis and the sudden falling of the domestic currency value. All these economical problems must finally be solved by privatization of SOEs. Pattern of privatization in the telecommunication sector has also been dragged from the patterns of contracting out and managed competition at the end of New Order to asset transfer at the time of Megawati due to the forcing factors. With the privatization of both Telkomsel and Indosat, government has taken the wrong and vulnerable position in the so called digital divide which will actually determine the success or the failure in the electronic economy. It is necessary now to make a correct decision to harness a new ICT development in order to correct position in the digital divide. Key words Neoliberal, State Directed, privatization, telecommunication, digital.