

STRENGTHENING AUTONOMY WITH A PROVINCE (ESTABLISHMENT PROBABILITY OF NEW PROVINCE IN MADURA)

Abdul Halim

Communication Department, Da'wah Faculty of Science and Communication, Sunan Ampel State Islamic University of Surabaya, Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia, 60237
E-mail: halim2014999@gmail.com

Arsyad Sobby Kesuma

Faculty of Ushuluddin and Religious Studies, Raden Intan State Islamic University of Lampung, Bandar Lampung, Lampung, Indonesia
E-mail address: arsyadsobbykesuma@gmail.com

Abstract

This article describes the potency and establishment probability of Madura (Indonesia) as new province. The data were collected from interview and searching some literatures. The discourse concerning the establishment of Madura province is heating up. Through pragmatic thinking, ignoring the debates is not profitable, and considering pragmatic purposes, such as people's prosperity, budget management transparency, people's active involvement, and sovereignty, can change the worst possibility as a consequence of the establishment of a new province. In the end, the establishment of Madura province has become an interesting issue, precisely by sustaining the implementation of regional autonomy.

Keywords: government management and budget; Madura; people's sovereignty; province.

1 INTRODUCTION

This article reflects the ideas that arose after having interactions and a long discussion with several politicians, humanists, intellectualists, public figures, Islamic theologians, and *kiai*. From some of their ideas, "puzzles" were obtained that can be matched one to another.

Nevertheless, one thing can be formulated, if the establishment of a new province in Madura is the most effective and efficient way to achieve people's prosperity. "Madura as a Province" is an "underground" dimension in the consciousness of political practitioners and parties that have importance with respect to the people of Madura future. Public figures, either from the circle of *pesantren* or intellectualists, have been understanding the existence of "amber in the husks".

The Madura's critical young generations slowly walk beneath the idea of the establishment Madura province. The pros and cons of a fresh idea are not the important things, because the intrinsic character of the human mindset cannot be devoid of a point

of view. Supporting the establishment of a new province by a division scheme is parallel with objecting the new province establishment.

Every point of view is based on each argumentation. Optimistic and progressive logic tends to be proactive, while skeptical and careful thinking chooses to wait, even object. The urgency of the establishment of the new province in Madura depends on both the answer to the division problem and the decision of the capital of the province.

This is because the basic requirement, to be done as the first step towards the establishment of the new province, is “escaping” from East Java. The escape of Madura from East Java and the effort to establish a new province also has an impact on the needs of the fifth regency, where “the importance war” surely occurs. Transparency is the keyword that can be used for the public (read: the people of Madura) to be actively involved in the development of Madura. Establishing a new province in Madura is not a big deal as long as the elite and people can be synergistic and unite their steps. Synergy, solidity, voice and unity between the elite and people can be achieved if the egoism and egocentrism of both parties do not arise. In other words, if the elitists, politicians, scientists, religionists, public figures, and other stakeholders do not feel superior to the people and public generally.

There is a factual reality, that is the people of Madura are sociologically separated to be two main classes: the elite class and the common class. The elite class consists of many categories, such as Islamic theologians, intellectuals, politicians, and other educated parties. The common class arises because there are group societies that do not understand completely about provincial government management. Solidity and synergy between elite and common class are first requirements and the most primary thing in order to create a transparent culture that sustains a political culture in the future.

This becomes important to note, the establishment of Madura province is not the end of real political purpose, but just as the bridge to bring people to the political peak. Otherwise, the establishment of new province without the support of management and strong transparent culture is equal with national political practices which have applied all this time. For example, with the regional autonomy policy hoped to achieve autonomy, no corruption, and other ideal values to be built well. But, the reality can't be ignored, that is that regional autonomy is an ideal jargon which almost “walks without value”.

The establishment of Madura province is possible to be new stage for the local elitists to strengthen their powers. Playing in smaller region with decreasing rivals is political play phenomenon which shows the unworthiness as a statesman. Looked from this logic, pros and cons of the establishment of new province can be objected. The pro side sees the easy opportunity to snatch the bigger power by the establishment of new province, while the counter side sees the disadvantage if the new province is born. If those things occur, then the pro-cons problem of the new province's establishment is a wasted discourse, because the victim is still the only one, that is the people of Madura.

As the result, it can be concluded, the establishment of Madura province is a discourse full of interest, that can produce next unstoppable conflict. But, if the people's and elitists' voices unite, the public is realized of their role to build the life of having nation and state, then this new province is an urgent necessity. In other words, the establishment of Madura province is an effort to sustain the national policy of regional autonomy.

The central and province government don't have an argument anymore to object the demand of Madura people to establish the new province. To observe the urgency of

the Madura new province's establishment by division scheme can be seen by pragmatism view.

Charles Sanders Peirce, the founder of pragmatism philosophy, said "Consider the practical effects of the objects of your conception. Then, your conception of those effects is the whole of your conception of the object" (Peirce, 1878). Therefore, the pragmatism in this article's context is a thinking way which discusses the effects or consequences emerged from the establishment of Madura province. The effect and consequence are the reality that arises in a practical context, so the way to measure the existence must be in a practical dimension. Pragmatism is a way of viewing objectively an idea that the thought only used to describe reality, representation, or as a reality reflection. Otherwise, for the pragmatist, a thought is an instrument to solve a problem, a prediction tool, and a form of the action itself (Gutek, 2014).

The study of the establishment of Madura province will be seen from the usability and profit-loss perspective. Pragmatism will test how far the idea and notion in an action plan can be a stepping-stone to achieving the goal. Meaning, the idea and notion will be tested according to the way and method for achieving success (Munitz, 1981). In this context, the discourse that may develop concerning "The Establishment of Madura's New Province" circle is the discourse talk about profit-loss in the future, the practical steps that can be done, and what should be done for the sake of prosperity and welfare. In the region of pragmatism, this thing must be continued to concrete steps.

While idealist discourse follows along the way to concrete works. This pragmatism, as a framework of thinking, can be used in many things, such as public administration (Shields, 2008), political science (Ansel, 2011), studies of leadership (Weber, 2013), international relations (Ralston, 2013), conflict resolution (Caspary, 2000), and research methodology (Shields and Rangarjan, 2013). Whatever the study region, pragmatism is a view to guiding an action to achieve its goal. In the study of the establishment of the Madura province, pragmatism encourages the spirit and morale, so the effort to establish a new province can be achieved and the main objective, which is the people's prosperity, attained also without a problem.

2 METHODOLOGY

This study was used descriptive methods. The data were collected from interview with some respondent and searching some literatures.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The pros and cons of the disclosure

Panitia Persiapan Pembentukan Province Madura (P4M) (Preparation Committee of Madura Province Establishment) is one side that is very optimistic about the importance of the new province. In fact, in order to make the dream come true, the committee has attempted many things, starting with the plan for dividing Bangkalan and Sumenep, having Pamekasan become the province capital city, political lobbying to several DPRD (People's Representative) members all around Madura, Judicial Review with the respect to the constitutional requirements attached to arranging for the establishment of a new province, and even lobbying at the central level (Surya, 2016).

The judicial Review concerns UU (The Act) Number 23 Year 2014 about the Regional Government. They agree to tell the claim based on Indonesian Constitution, *Pasal* (Article) 34 *ayat* (verse) (2) letter d jo Article 35 verse (4) letter a which considered as the main obstacle to establishing Madura Province. On the other side is the side that has less optimism, which is vary and has a number of considerations. Farid Alfauzi, the Vice Head of 6th Commission of DPR RI (People's Representative of Indonesia), said that the establishment of Madura Province is very imminent. The effort will not succeed unless it gets the approval from four People's Representatives in Madura, is approved by the East Java People's Representative, and recommended by the Governor. Whereas, in actuality, the Pamekasan Regent is not completely consentaneous of the ideas and notions drove by P4M (Tempo, 2016).

A relatively neutral point of view, in the sense of not contain any political bias, comes from a Madura-born national figure, Prof. Mahfud MD. The former Head of the Constitutional Court does not question if Madura should be divided administratively from East Java. Establishing a new province or keeping it in the region of East Java, Mahfud MD's way of thinking is still the same; as long as the law is followed then it can be justified. If the administrative requirements are completed, the Madura province will be approved to be established (Kompos, 2015).

If the administrative requirements are completed, the new autonomous region candidate must fulfill technical requirements that are considered very difficult to meet. The technical requirements that must be fulfilled by new autonomous region consist of requirements related to the population, economy's ability, region's potency, funding ability, social-culture, socio-politic, region's area, defense, security, society's prosperity level, and control range (Fahmi, 2016).

In the context of pragmatism, the problem of the three points of view, actually, is that they are not opposed, but rather complete each other with the most substantial content. Counter-productive debates like those above can have the potential to become both a political blunder and generate an opportunity to create an artificial "communal image" about the future of the people of Madura. It can't be ignored the reality that People's Representative either in Madura or East Java is the legitimated people's representative in a democratic country like Indonesia. Obtaining the approval from the representatives, leaders in every regency, and recommendation from Governor is a formal step that has to be done, and also as the democratic political step. However, the dark side of democracy is a reality that cannot be objected.

The decision that considered democratic often reflects about "dark deals" among elitists that completely far from public importance. The optimism from P4M and the pessimism and "neutrality" from outside of P4M are a disagreement problem of subjective importance. The optimist side, which has been fighting all the time, perhaps sees a prosperous "future" if only when Madura successfully becomes a new province. Otherwise, the pessimistic side is the side at loss, or that at least cannot get the important allocation on the struggle to approve the establishment of Madura province. Then, of these things, which is the people's position, the position that is of importance to them?

Determination of the province's capital city

Another example of idealist discourse that is difficult for the people to understand is the determination of province's capital city. According to several media

outlets, both local and national, P4M plans Pamekasan Regency as the capital of the province, but not for long; Pamekasan Regent himself has yet to think that far, even though it is stated that P4M never coordinates with related parties (Kompas, 2015). Actually, the truth of whether the P4M's claim or Pamekasan Regent's statement is true is not the substantial problem. Then, what should discourse in the context of pragmatism and the pragmatic way of thinking?

Region division can be named as legal self-sufficiency and actual independence, and self-government or the condition of living under one's own laws. In this corridor, the division is more focusing on the aspiration, not the condition. The division will give the same opportunity for the region to develop appropriate with each region's potency. Which means, nature and human resource potency will function optimum if given the discretion to determine self-policy.

The division of a region must fulfill the properness as the region ready to be divided. The properness relates with the region's fund ability, region's economy growth, human resource's quality, social-culture aspect, and other properness requirements. This is important, because principally, the division is supposed to accelerate the people's prosperity, by empowerment, service, and involvement of the people. These purposes are written in The Act of Regional Government, which are then specifically regulated in The Republic of Indonesia's Government Regulation Number 78 Year 2007 about the Rule of a Region's Establishment, Abolition, and Unification (Makagansa, 2008). The realization of people's prosperity and development equalization by the autonomy and bigger authority is an important aspect of the new region's division and establishment.

Therefore, the region's division is not only a necessity but also needed to solve the discrepancy and accelerate the development, especially in the "remote area" region which is yet to be reached by government services. The division not only relates to the study of the region's worthiness but is also related to the people's attitudes, aspirations, and readiness. The study of worthiness is the government's domain, in this case The Ministry of Domestic Affairs and Commission II of The Republic of Indonesia's People's Representatives, which is focused on regional government.

The process is in the work of those institutions, and people who want the division can guard the process as long as the process is happening. The division of region must be related to the people's attitudes and readiness in the division candidate region. This is important because it is the people in the division region themselves that will experience the results. People must be prepared so that the division of the region truly can bring great advantages to them.

This aspect needs to be underlined, considering the discourse surrounding the region's division always gives rise to a dynamic that often becomes counterproductive and not conjunctive with the basic purpose of the division itself. In the progress, the existence of judicial review claim to Constitution Court becomes a forward step in the Madura province preparation context. The administrative requirement, that is the approval of regents and region's representatives is obtained. Because four regents of Madura agreed to do the claim to Act Number 23 Year 2014.

Regional government becomes legal standing in the process guarding the establishment of Madura Province. The agreement of those regents means that there are sincerity and indivisibility of Madura people to realize new province. This can be seen from the representation of the region leaders and regent's representatives as the representation of people's aspiration ((Fahmi, 2016). Claim of Judicial Review becomes

proof that Madura people represented by their regents and representatives are ready to establish Madura Province.

This means that the existence of fear of friction occurring in the society needs to be neutralized. Opinion differences concerning where the location of the government and the central administration will be placed in the divided region must be handed over completely to the team formed by the regents to determine the location of the capital. The capital location always becomes a central issue that seizes people's minds and energy. Chaos surrounding this problem often ends with open objections followed by violence and vandalism.

This kind of dynamic can become a tripping stone to the division effort. Conflict over the placement of the capital can provide a reason for several parties that want to object to the division. Not all related parties agree to the division, either on the local or central level. The chaos surrounding the placement of the capital can provide an opening for those wanting to object to the division effort. The people that want the division must surpass this sectoral ego so that they can rule out the differences related to the problem that actually is not crucial after all.

There are bigger issues that must be a common concern, such as how the division can later empower the society as a whole. Overflow natural and mineral resources in every Madura region become an economical factor for the establishment of Madura Province. Moreover, the social culture becomes strong interest in the worthiness of autonomy establishment. The problem of culture, ethnic, and those noble values that being struggled by Madura people. A different value of culture, tradition, and noble value of Madura can be advantaged well by Madura people.

Management by the government of the people's sovereignty

The real challenge occurs precisely after the division, and concern how the readiness of the human resources and government management can be harnessed in order to guard the region in line with the division's purpose. The key lies in the managerial ability and the policy of budget management, so that the allocations are aimed at the right target and have a wide range in the middle of society. This is important because the development acceleration is very correlated with politics of budget policy, not where the location of capital or the central government will be.

The budget must be used optimally to build infrastructure that can stimulate investments and the private sector's growth as the economy's main driver in the region. The division aims to increase the prosperity by increasing people's public service and empowering people to participate actively in the development. Public service must be implemented into several things; transparency, accountability, conditional, participative, right equality, right, and obligation balance. Public service is very urgent in increasing people's prosperity.

This can be achieved, if the government can apply the policy that doesn't disadvantage people. Which means, the service level to the society must suitable with those people's needs and ability level. The attention must be paid to how the region can later function and get on the right track after it is divided. People must together take part in guarding the division as expected by pushing for the realization of good and clean governance. Transparent budget management is only possible in context of good and clean governance that is also public service oriented.

People must make sure the budget discussion for development projects by the executive and legislative branches are done openly and that they are participatory, not done in rooms closed from public knowledge. There is good news that the intention to open the budget to the public has been started in several regions, and it is hoped that this positive trend will keep increasing. Another big challenge is how to optimize the region's budget utilization to productive sectors, such as building infrastructure that supports the economy and generates investment activities and employment creation. Routine expenditures, such as employee fees and shopping goods, all this takes the biggest portion of the total budget.

The new budget paradigm must be started by decreasing routine shopping, and placing infrastructure projects and people's economic support tools on the priority scale in the region's budget structure and allocation. People need to think big. We can take the reference from other countries. People in developed countries truly realize the importance of doing supervision of the government with respect to the tax utilization that they have paid for. They form association groups that act to put pressure on the government. In our country, this role has been filled by many civil-society institutions. But the civil-society institutions themselves, without the full support from society, will not be able to do much, particularly if they are faced with power domination. All of the society's elements must join hand in hand to push and realize budget transparency and accountable governance.

The challenge of new autonomy and prosperity

The division in the economy context must be seen how far the level of society's prosperity in the divided region. Madura, as the region wanting to establish Madura Province, separated from East Java Province, has a poverty level that is relatively alarming. According to data from Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) (Institution of Central Statistic) the poverty rate in East Java Province for the year 2013 reached 12.37% (which represented a decrease from 14.23% in 2011, according to PNPM Mandiri Bappenas' data).

Although the overall rate of poverty in East Java is decreasing, the poverty rate in Madura is still relatively high compared to other regencies/cities in East Java (Aditia, 2015). In 2013, poverty number in Bangkalan Regency reached 23.14%, Sampang Regency was 26.97%, and Sumenep Regency was 21.13%. Only Pamekasan Regency that relatively better, with poverty number reached 18.45%.

The high number of poverty in Madura compared to other regencies/cities in East Java surely is an irony, considering East Java is considered a developed province in Indonesia. East Java has a capital that is Surabaya, becomes a second largest city after Jakarta. The proximity of geographic position between Surabaya and Madura, and the existence of Suramadu Bridge as a connector between Surabaya and Madura should be an important factor to decrease poverty number in Madura. Infrastructure development in Madura must keep conducted by central and province government to increase people's access there to the education, economy, and information technology. So there won't arise an impression that Madura has been quite ignored by the government.

The value of Indeks Pembangunan Manusia (IPM) (Human Development Index) in Madura still lies in the range of 62–68 Bangkalan Regency's is 66.19, Sampang Regency's is 62.39, Pamekasan Regency's is 67.17, and Sumenep Regency's is 66.89. The IPM value of those regencies is far below the IPM value of Surabaya City, which reached

78.97. The low value of Human Development Index score in Madura should be addressed seriously by the government through the quality enhancement of human resources (Aditia, 2015). Article 36 verse 3 Act Number 23 Year 2014 sees demographic parameter including human resources that should be paid attention to first, before discussing Madura Province, because Madura's human resources are still far from developed, for example in Sampang Regency the poverty level is still high and the Human Development Index score is below the average for East Java society, plus 95% of the people of Sampang Regency are just primary school graduates.

It is possible that if the government forced to establish new Madura province, the poverty growth in Madura will increase. This parameter should be paid attention to sincerely; do not let it happen that "we become servant[s] in our own motherland". A view that beckons is people's disappointment with the discrepancy in the economic development of the people of Madura. The existence of Suramadu Bridge actually does not become an effective medium to accelerate the development in Madura. Suramadu Bridge actually does not encourage the infrastructure development index that has become people's prosperity standard.

The problems of disparity and economic discrepancy that are affecting the people of Madura are actually not consistent with the potency of the natural resources in Madura. Madura has an overflow of natural resources (oil and gas). Fadhilah Budiono, a Madura public figure and also Sampang Vice-Regent, said that Madura has 26 oil and gas points on a large scale. With those assets, Madura is ready and deserves to be a province (Bangsaonlie, 2016).

Madura's natural resources potency can't be argued about its wealth. Madura is known as a salt island that has donated 70% of national salt consumption needs. Other than salt potency, Madura has natural resources potency at oil and gas sector. The oil and gas potencies are spread out of Madura island (Sumenep, Pamekasan, Sampang, and Bangkalan). There are five gas wells in Madura island has produced, even still much potency that can be explored. Sumenep Regency has varieties of mineral consist of C-group entrenchment substances, there are: phosphate, limestone, calcite, gypsum, quartz sand, dolomite, claystone, and kaolin. Energy resources consist of C entrenchment substances, strategic mine substances consist of a group lies in Pagerungan Besar island, Sepanjang island, Sapeken subdistrict, Giligenting Island water territory.

Other regions that have same potencies lie in Masalembu Island, Kalianget water territory, Raas Island water territory, and Kangean Block. At least there are 10 oil and gas operator companies manage some oil and gas block in this region (Akhir, 2015). In the sector of the fishery, the fish resource potencies in Sumenep regency's water territory can produce 22,000 tons per year. According to the natural resource potency estimation, there is about 60% of the existing potencies or 137,400 tons per year. The fisheries production reached by Sumenep Regency in 2009 for sea fisheries reached 44,900 tons per year or 32,68% of the everlasting potency (an increase of 10.09% from the year before) with a production value of Rp 169,553,210,000. (Akhir, 2015).

From the explanation above, the writer will pull episteme line of all Madura people's reality from pragmatism perspective. That pragmatism logic is related to inquiry method. Which, pragmatism sees every reality and digs the information to reach out the certain practical target. When it sees the Madura's natural resources reality, Madura's natural resources and social economy discrepancy context, pragmatism logic will give legitimation for Madura people to declare Madura Province.

Prosperity level that isn't taken as long as become part of East Java administrative region encourages Madura people to manage the natural resources' potency and power by themselves for their prosperity. The existence of realization of local potency (natural, social, culture wealth) becomes basic assets that will strengthen all importance of Madura people to be the province and separate from East Java. Although so, first thing that must be aware is the importance of empowering and enhancement of human resources' capacity continuously, while empowered the potency existed so the people of Madura don't become the guest in their own home. Which means, awareness of wealthy nature potency must be accompanied by developing and integrating human resources' empowering. If not, then Madura province's idea only will be elite politician's toy that far from the division substance itself.

Pragmatism logic related with inquiry must reflect on entity attitude. When inquiry of objective reality of the condition in Madura has been realized by the people represented by Regional People's Representative and Madura regents by judicial review claiming, it means there is entity attitude that is the establishment of Madura Province. In this context, the judicial review claim with the Constitutional Court become proof of readiness of the people of Madura to establish a new province. The awareness of the people of Madura of the local potential, the development discrepancy between East Java and Madura, and all of the supporters lent legitimacy to the people's claim that they can reach a higher economic prosperity level by separating from East Java.

4 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Let us get back to the urgency of the division matter. Debates about non-substantial things and regional ego should be avoided, because it is absolutely not productive. All thinking and energy should be focused on fulfilling the division's strategic steps and how to interpret and fulfill Madura after becoming a province, by placing basic the principle of the people's autonomy and prosperity as the pillars. Matters of laws and rules can change, in response to political contexts and needs. If it is realized that politically is the way of managing a nation and government, then every rule must be guided to the effort about the way to manage the nation and government physically and mentally. Otherwise, if the politics ignore those, then the rules are just a matter of logic and textual narrative on paper, which can be interpreted and diverted to serve a certain side's interests.

This is the main matter that must be of concern and requires the commitment of many parties involved in the effort of establishing Madura Province. It is useful, as an endeavor to widen one's horizons, one's views and attitudes, to see and learn from the political dynamics and socio-economic conditions of regions that have successfully been divided. It is also needed to see the people's condition in several relatively developed countries. For the people in developed countries, generally, they are not interested in discussing issues like the ones we fuss about in every discourse concerning the division. They are more concerned about matters of budget utilization, economic improvements, education issues, health service issues, transportation issues, the quality of public services, and employment creation.

This way of thinking should be forwarded; then we will not be left behind by developed countries. With big thinking ability, unnecessary chaos can be avoided and the division will bring big advantages for the people in the divided region.

5 CONFLICT OF INTEREST

Author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

6 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Author thanks to Sunan Ampel State Islamic University of Surabaya for facilitated this study.

REFERENCES

1. ADITIA, D. (2015). Dilema Pemekaran Provinsi Madura: Tinjauan Singkat dari Aspek yang Berbeda. Available at <http://rubik.okezone.com/read/19998/dilema-pemekaran-provinsi-madura-tinjauan-singkat-dari-aspek-yang-berbeda>. Accessed 14.09. 2016.
2. AKHIR, D. J. (2015). Madura Mau Jadi Provinsi Baru, Punya Apa Saja?, Available at <http://economy.okezone.com/read/2015/11/16/320/1250360/madura-mau-jadi-provinsi-baru-punya-apa-saja>. Accessed 14.09. 2016.
3. ANSELL, C. (2011). Pragmatist Democracy: Evolutionary Learning as Public Philosophy. Oxford University Press. New York.
4. BANGSAONLIE. (2016). Madura Siap Jadi Provinsi Sendiri, Bermodal 26 Titik Sumber Migas. Available at <http://www.bangsaonline.com/berita/25260/madura-siap-jadi-provinsi-sendiri-bermodal-26-titik-sumber-migas>. Accessed 14.09. 2016.
5. CASPARY, W. (2000). Dewey on Democracy. Cornell University Press. Ithaca.
6. FAHMI, A. A. (2016). Peluang Hukum Provinsi Madura. Available at <http://www.jawapos.com/read/2016/10/06/55528/peluang-hukum-provinsi-madura>. Accessed 14.09. 2016.
7. GUTEK, G. (2014). Philosophical, Ideological, and Theoretical Perspectives On Education. Pearson. New Jersey.
8. KOMPAS. (2015). Madura Mau Jadi Provinsi, Ini Kata Mahfud MD. Available at <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/11/17/>. Accessed 14.09. 2016.
9. KOMPAS. (2015). Bupati dan Ketua DPRD Pamekasan Tolak Deklarasi Provinsi Madura. Available at <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2015/11/04/>. Accessed 14.09. 2016
10. MAKAGANSA, H. R. (2008). Tantangan Pemekaran Daerah. Fuspend. Yogyakarta (Indonesia).
11. MUNITZ, M. K. 1981. Contemporary Analytic Philosophy. Macmillan. New York.
12. PEIRCE, C. S. (1878). How to Make Our Ideas Clear. Popular Science Monthly. Vol. 12: 286–302.
13. RALSTON, S. (2013). Philosophical Pragmatism and International Relations: Essays for a Bold New World. Lexington. New York.
14. SHIELDS, P. M. (2008). Rediscovering the Taproot: Is Classical Pragmatism the Route to Renew Public Administration? Public Administration Review. Vol. 68, No. 2: 205–221.
15. SHIELDS, P., & Rangarjan, N. (2013). A Playbook for Research Methods: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management. New Forums Press. Stillwater

16. SURYA. (2016). P4M: Pamakesan Ibu Kota Provinsi Madura, Bangkalan Kota Madya. Avaliable at <http://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2016/04/07>. Accessed 14.09.2016.
17. TEMPO. (2016). Madura Sulit Menjadi Provinsi Sendiri, Ini Alasannya. Avaliable at <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2016/04/03/>. Accessed 14.09.2016.
18. WEBER, E. T. (2013).Democracy and Leadership: On Pragmatism and Virtue. Lexington Books. New York.