The Co-Institutionalization Model Changing in Political Identity from The Feminism Theory to Multiculturalism Theory in The Moto of Payakumbuh Urban Area Development

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Abstract. The logo of cities on the island of Sumatra uses many images of rivers; cities on the island of Sumatra are established in the upstream or downstream areas of the river. One of the cities on the island of Sumatra that has the river logo is Payakumbuh City. There is a bridge of Ratapan Ibu that reflects the perception as a city of mother's care for their children. the bridge of Ratapan Ibu reflects the influence of public perception in shaping urban space. The city of Payakumbuh has transformed city identity since it was inaugurated in 1972, among which is "Rendang City". This study aims to explain the change in perception in determining the Payakumbuh City logo in the co-institutionalization approach, this research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The conclusion is that the shift in the motto of the Payakumbuh City is as conservative feminism model in political identity urban area development.

Keywords: Identity Politics, Conservative feminism, Co-Institutionalization

1 Introduction

Over the past few decades, the conceptualization of local and regional identities as subordinate to national identities has been challenged by discourses on globalization. Some experts argue that the combination of anonymous globalization and individualization results in increased identification with more familiar local and regional environments. This has changed the role of local and regional administration, which is increasingly important in the nation-state (Brenner, 2004). The idea of identity politics can be explained from the decentralization policy carried out through the formulation of Regional Regulations (Perda) which regulate the otto of a city. The motto of a city is needed as a form of establishing the identity of an area.

There is a city or regional government policy to introduce to other (regional) communities some selective elements of spatial identity that are already known or newly recognized by the community as a form of identity for the city area, but this can result in the formation of a resistance identity because there is a shift in focus to the role of the local government—identity of the established space in this de-institutionalization. The relationship between identity and space is quite strong and creates a lot of conflicts. Most people attach great importance to their local community and identity. The possibility of change can cause turmoil and become fertile and become fertile ground for risking a new identity. "Identity" is revealed to us only as something to be discovered rather than to be discovered; as a target to be pursued, "a goal"; as

something that one still needs to build from scratch or choose from and then to be protected through more struggles (Alvesson, M., Bridgman, T. and Willmott, 2009a)

The politics of "searching" for the identity of urban development areas is a new way that can overcome the complexity of the old way of using long-term analysis that explains human interaction with the environment (Bauman, 2004), such as the interaction between land formation, cultivation, human settlement, and social organization, economy, and territory in the region. This way it starts with physical layers, such as soil and climate, and then moves upwards for human activities, such as economy and culture. Countries are linked in very specific ways. "Identity" is revealed to us only as something to be discovered rather than to be discovered; as a target to be pursued, "a goal"; as something that one still needs to build from scratch or choose from and then to be protected through more struggles (Alvesson, M., Bridgman, T. and Willmott, 2009b).

Anssi Paasi (Paasi, 2012a) uses four aspects or "forms" of the identity of this area. Although there are differences between the four aspects, they are related to each other. Combining these four aspects creates an area that becomes institutionalized by itself, including territorial, symbolic, institutional and functional aspects. The territorial form is the most obvious aspect, including the border and the way the border is developed from a historical perspective. (Paasi, 2012b). Part of this territorial form includes physical space and its characteristics, such as landscapes and land use patterns. Some regional (spatial) stereotypes are based on this territorial form, and the characteristics of its population are the source of the same symbolic form of an area, and this forms the identity of the region. The government and civil society also regulate the institutionalization of the symbolic form of a region through continuous communication of the identity of the region, including through educational institutions, policy documents, and the mass media. The institutionalization of regional identity was formed along with the political administration of the regional government.

Functional form refers to an area's established role in the larger system, such as its economic relationship with neighboring regions or the area's position in the national government hierarchy. When these four forms are interrelated, these four aspects reinforce each other and produce an institutionalized area with a strong regional (spatial) identity, such as a municipality, region, or country. The institutionalized regional identity is based on a stable community with a collective identity that is passed down from generation to generation, but the government's policy to expand or expand new urban areas or districts is a form of changing the functional aspects of regional identity. The policy of expanding or merging new regions is aimed at increasing the economic competitiveness of the community, as well as causing the institutionalization of regional identity in relation to the competitive position of the region with other regions in this economic competition to quickly deteriorate.

Most people attach great importance to their local community and identity, so this strong relation of identity and space can lead to many conflicts. The possibility of this change can cause conflict flares and become fertile ground for risking a new identity. This "bracket" (brick) policy pattern consisting of an arrangement of sand or clay bound by cement is a form of regional identity politics. The effort to overcome this form of resistance is through the government's policy to compile the old identity with a new identity in the form of a network that is tied to a long-term economic goal but is based on the building of an old established identity.

The application of the co-institutionalization model in urban area development planning causes a form of community resistance to government policies, the regional integration policy through co-institutionalization is a form of shifting from an old established identity to a new identity that is still thin and is a form of threat that generates resistance from public to this government policy (Terlouw & van Gorp, 2014). The co-institutionalization model is the

government's effort to reinterpret ethnic identity and identity than an established society with a new, thinner identity so that people in the area are connected to other communities (Terlouw 2017).

Co-institutionalization is the institutionalization of regional space by connecting the old regional space with the new regional space. The result of this institutionalization is the discovery of a layered identity from a new institutionalized space, this layered identity arises due to the result of reinterpreting the identity of an area that is already established and connected to other people as a whole. (Alimin, 2017) Public political support for government development policies is influenced by the extent to which the implementation of these policies can produce concrete buildings, the function of the building in the process of "searching" for regional identity is not only as a means of community integration but also as a public space that functions as a place for social, economic and cultural activities in the community. The motto of a city is not only a form of social reconstruction of discourse but is the basis for the policy of developing urban areas. The overlapping of local, national, and international, regional identities from functional aspects is carried out through selective uploading and downloading of the identities of smaller and larger spatial elements (Terlouw & van Gorp, 2014).

Political changes will be reflected in urban planning. When plans are made, political changes will be seen; main buildings and protocol roads; changes in the names of the roads and the status of the roads; new residential areas; development of a restaurant and bar district; restricted areas to be entered by certain people or vehicles. Building regulations will be influenced by the level of the balance of power between the community's resistance to the city government. Urban planning is a political matter, the political aspects of urban planning can be explained from the ideas held by the power holders in determining urban planning and how the urban planning is made to reflect the national ideology. Urban planning serves the interests of power holders at the government and legislative body (DPR) levels; religious leaders; single political party (monolithic); or a handful of certain entrepreneurs. This ideology reflects ideas about gender, class and ethnicity. In urban planning there is a contestation of interests between the idea of multiculturalism with the interests of gender, class and ethnicity. (Colombijn, 2006)

Several changes to the regional identity development policy based on the "search" for the "bracket" model have been carried out by the city government in West Sumatra Province, such as changing the motto of the city of Solok from "City of Rice" to "City of Rice Serambi Medina", the city of Payakumbuh from "City of Batiah" become the "City of a Thousand Rendang". There is a combination of thick identity with thin identity in the change in the city's motto, and the thick identity is in "The City of Rice" and "The City of Batiah" which have become established identities in the society of the two cities (Terlouw, 2012) While the thin identity is based on the motto "Kota Bareh " (City of Rice), "Serambi Medina" and "City of Rendang," a thin regional identity that focuses on economic competitiveness is more used to attract foreign investors. Local governments sometimes use different areas of identity for different audiences. The form of developing the identity of development areas has shifted from the form of "discovery" to the form of "search."

The implementation of liberal democracy, such as the implementation of direct Regional Head Elections in the election of Mayors places all citizens with equal rights, and does not discriminate between gender, class and ethnicity relations, and produces urban planning policies that are in line with the interests of voters. However, when the policy that is oriented to ethnic diversity (multicultural) is considered as an idea to unite gender, class and ethnic differences to become citizens of the city as a form of secondary identity and gender, class and ethnic identity, the policy cannot be applied to among feminists who have a different culture from men.(Kaminer, 1990)

There is a conservative bias in difference feminism, difference or essentialist feminism states women's identity as a unique identity within a group in various ways, but the relationship between feminism and the multicultural policy of urban identity politics is complementary. There are similarities between the goals of feminism and multiculturalism regarding the ideas of justice, liberation and equality, but the goals of formal justice and equality shared by feminism and multiculturalism far exceed liberal ideas. Understanding the purpose of multiculturalism equality is to understand cultural differences and celebrate them as human goodness, but the specific idea of feminism related to multiculturalism is the idea of group-differentiated rights.(Ponzanesi, 2007).

There is a relationship between conservative feminism ideas about differences in the culture of women individually and in social and economic organizations with multiculturalism policies resulting from changes in urban identity policies in Payakumbuh, the implementation of liberal democracy produces elected mayors who do not give women access to political positions and produces feminism policies. conservative.

The objectives of this research article include (1) explain the transformation of the identity development of urban areas in Payakumbuh City from "Kota Gelama" to "City of Rendang"; (2); explain the form of Payakumbuh local government policy in linking the community's attachment to the old identity with the new identity "City of Rendang" which aims for economic development as a city branding (city branding) Payakumbuh.

2 Methodology

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach, the use of qualitative methods in this study is related to the essence of the data collected and analyzed as well as the theoretical considerations of the science used. While the use of the case study approach in the research is reasonable because the researcher wants to explain how the shape of the organizational decision-making process, community life, individual projects, personal and family life history, economic development, housing structure and marketing in the implementation of development policies in Payakumbuh City(Yin, 1981).

The unit of analysis in this study is an institution consisting of the Mayor located in the Level II area of Payakumbuh City, Head of the Regional Development Planning Agency of Payakumbuh City, Head of ASITA Payakumbuh City, Chairman of LKAM Payakuymbuh City, Head of Payakumbuh City Tourism Office, Head of the Payakumbuh City Trade Office, Chairman Payakumbuh City DPRD Level II. The selection of informants as data sources in this study is based on the principle of subjects who master the problem, have data, and are willing to provide complete and accurate informants.

For the purposes of more intensive interviews, the informants will be divided into two, [1] observer informants and [2] perpetrator informants. The informant selection technique uses purposive and snowballing techniques which will also be adapted to conditions in the field (Afrizal, 2015).

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 The Perception of the City

The city of Payakumbuh is located on the Batang Agam river, the existence of this river for the people of Payakumbuh has a symbolic meaning like other cities on the island of Sumatra. This river symbol not only means a concentric circle that surrounds the city, but also implies the clarity of the water and the upstream or downstream area of the river flow. The Batang Agam River has a symbolic meaning for the people of Payakumbuah city in perceiving urban space as a city of struggle, such as the bridge of Ratapan Ibu that crosses the river and is institutionalized in the city symbol, which the city government ratified through Regional Regulation No. 4/2018.

The bridge of Ratapan Ibu in the city of Payakumbuh is a symbol that contains the meaning of determination to achieve the life goals of all citizens. Some of these common goals are explained from the symbol of 5 gonjong (gonjong limo) which reflects the one that has a 5-pointed star above it as a form of the center for economic activity, community life, "customs of Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah".

The order of life "adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah" in the Minangkabau context can unite the ethnic differences of the indigenous population and the immigrant community in Payakumbuh City. There are 3 main ethnic identities of the residents of Payakumbuh City as a historical legacy of the development of other cities in Southeast Asia, including the Minangkabau ethnicity as the native population, the Chinese ethnicity as the second ethnic group which is considered as a Foreign East, and the Dutch ethnicity who first introduced Payakumbuh as a modern city.

Payakumbuh City is a logistics depot of the Dutch East Indies colonial government since its involvement in the 18th century Padri War. Then this city developed into an administrative city of the Balanda government. At first, there was Nagari Aia Tabik as the oldest nagari which was connected by the Dutch colonial government in 1840 with the center through the construction of the Bridge of Ratapan Ibu, the name of this bridge comes from the lamentation of the mother who witnessed the execution of the eyes of the fighters on the bridge by the Dutch Konila government. The Bridge of Lamentations of the Mother is a meaning of the city of Payakumbuah as a city of history and heroism and the meaning of a city of trade and economic activity as a form of perception by the government and urban planners.

There is a development of the meaning of the city of Payakumbuh from the perception of a historical city to a city of education development, economic activity and government administration, the development this meaning goes hand in hand with the development of a modern city shaped by government policy. The perception of the government and city planners is different from the public's perception of Payakumbuh City, the perception of government is derived from the function of Payakumbuh City as a national government unit. This perception was built since the Dutch colonial government placed the city of Payakumbuh as a logistics depot in Yajun 1832 to face the Padri War (1803-1838), then this city was used as the seat of the resident assistant who controlled the luhak of 50 cities.

The function of Payakumbuh city as part of the government unit was continued during the Japanese colonial rule which made it the center of Luhak Limo Puluah's government. Payakumbuh city position as a government unit is done through the stipulation of Law no. 8/1956 dated March 18, 1956 which established this city as a small town. This determination was followed by the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 8/1970 on December 17, 1970, making it a Level II Municipal Autonomous Regional Government. The government's perception of Payakumbuh City can be explained by the year Payakumbuh was born in 1970

which is listed in the symbol of 17 rice and 12 cotton which reflects the 17th of December (12), and reflects the goal of social justice for all members of the Payakumbuh community.

In addition to having 10 teeth, the regional symbol or Payakumbuh logo also has a blue base color, which is water. "This symbolizes the hospitality of the Payakumbuh residents. While the red edge symbolizes courage and tenacity for the truth,",.In addition to having a blue base color with red stripes, the Payakumbuh logo is also equipped with an image of a traditional five-sided house with a five-pointed star on it. This symbolizes the center of economic activity, the order of people's lives, "Adar Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah"(customs based on syarak, syarak based on the book of Allah)

The political meaning of Payakumbuh as a unit of government can also be explained from the 7 teeth on the city logo shield which contain the meaning of Nagari entering Payakumbuh City, including Nagari Koto Nan Gadang, Nagari Koto Nan Ampek, Nagari Aia Tabik, Nagari Payobasung, Nagari Tiaka, Nagari Lampasi, and Nagari Limbuka Aua Kuniang. Furthermore, there was a change in the number of gears symbolizing Payakumbuh City from 7 to 8. This change was the result of the policy of regional expansion of Nagari Aua Kuning from Nagari Limukan which added 8 Nagari regulated by Regional Regulation No. 21/PD/DPRD/PYK-1972.

The determination of urban space involves various parties and competing interests so that the urban space is in line with the interests of each actor. 4 of 2018 as a revision of Regional Regulation No. 3/2012 regarding the Payakumbuh City logo. The revision desired by the executive institution is to return the number of teeth of the Payakumbuh City symbol from 8 to 7, but the legislative institution is trying to increase the number of teeth to 10 as a form of channeling the aspirations of the residents of Nagari Koto Panjang, Sungai Durian and Parambahan in Latina District.

In addition to changes in the number of serrations of the city's symbol, another meaning explained by the symbol of Payakumbuh City is the existence of a black band on the word Payakumbuh as a form of unity between religion, custom, and law as a rule accepted by the community. There is acceptance of Payakumbuh as a city with open space to be interpreted through religious values, customs, and laws that apply in society and government. There is an interpretation of Payakumbuh city space from people's perceptions that are built from religious and customary values, as well as the government's interpretation of the law's perception.

These three interpretations are complementary, not contradictory, as happened in the relationship between the community and the Dutch and Japanese colonial governments which linked Payakumbuh City as a government unit. The shift in the meaning of Payakumbuh from a government unit to public space can be explained by the actors and interests who have the authority to interpret the law into Regional Regulations, as explained by the leadership style and development policies that have been carried out since the establishment of Payakumbuh as a Municipality in 1970.
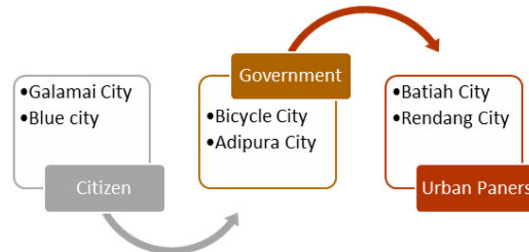

Fig 1. The perceptions of the city

3.2. The Actors and Interests

Urban planning is a political matter, the political aspects of urban planning can be explained from the ideas held by the power holders in determining urban planning and how urban planning is made to reflect the national ideology. Urban planning serves the interests of power holders at the government and legislative body (DPR) levels, religious leaders; single political party (monolithic); or a handful of certain entrepreneurs. This ideology reflects ideas about gender, class, and ethnicity.

Political changes will be reflected in urban planning. When plans are made, political changes will be seen; main buildings and protocol roads (pardae); changes in the names of the roads and the status of the roads; new residential areas; development of a restaurant and bar district; restricted areas to be entered by certain people or vehicles. Building regulations will be influenced by the level of the balance of power between the community's resistance to the city government. Political changes that occurred in Payakumbuh City were in the form of changes in the election of Mayors from an indirect election system by the DPRD to a direct election system (Pemilukada), this change in the electoral system resulted in a stronger Mayor's authority.

Joserizal Zain and Riza Fahlepi are the two Mayors of Payakumbuh resulting from implementing the direct mayor election system. The influence of the Mayor's authority, which is stronger than the implementation of the Regional Head General Election, is a shift in urban area development policies from the government sector to the public sector. There is a change in development orientation from strengthening the government sector to the public interest sector, such as ring road construction. The balance of power between the government and the community in urban planning in Payakumbuh can be explained by the differences in public and government perceptions in interpreting urban space.

The community defines urban space more from a sociological approach to people's daily lives. In contrast, the government defines urban space more from legal and historical perceptions that limit public space to the government sector. The government was the main actor in determining the perception of the form of Payakumbuh City space during the early leadership of Payakumbuh as a Municipality in 1972. The idea of development was more related to the construction of government buildings and roads in the city. Furthermore, there is a shift in development orientation to support the interests of public services, such as schools and health.

The motto of a city does not only reflect the identity of a city, but also reflects the politics of urban development. The development goals of a city area can be oriented to the past in strengthening the ethnic identity of the community and future orientation for economic development. Regional amalgamation (amalgamation) is often seen as an external threat to people who already have an established local identity, and this can lead to the development of identity discourse resistance that binds local residents by focusing on the old urban area. Equals cannot live so easily by constantly adjusting their limits. These communities need to know precisely who administratively to serve and where the boundaries of their authority lie. Therefore, there is often a gap between the vision of the population and the government (administration) of what constitutes the identity of their place, such as the identity of a municipality or territory.

Residents, in particular, tend to value identities that are thick with elements they are familiar with, while the government tends to focus on new economic developments. Often the differences in the identity that the government wants (ideal identity) and the population (desired identity) regarding the future that their community wants become a trigger for political controversy. These political differences in future developments can also widen the gap between

the identity that is communicated and the identity that is understood through the reinterpretation of the identity they perceive by the population, and thus can change the way identity is shared.

The identity gap between the population and the government will reduce the ability of a community to develop strong policies and reduce the ability of the community to successfully promote its interests in other communities and make the community vulnerable to both fragmentation and amalgamation. In this case, political spaces are not only formed but can also be lost. Established spaces such as municipalities can be institutionalized at a time when new spaces take on the limits of some or all of their powers. But this can be the case when cities cooperate intensively or when municipalities are merged. There are several strategies to bridge this identity gap, one of which emphasizes the importance of starting by detecting the differences between the different types of identities. Next, strategize to adapt these multiple identities to create a coherent brand, the fastest and easiest way to align identities.

There is a desire for Nagari residents to have a secondary identity as city residents rather than the primary identity of Nagari residents to achieve better social and economic development goals. The change in local identity from Nagari residents to City residents is the main attraction for Payakumbuh City to attract surrounding Nagari residents to Payakumbuh City. Still, the change in primary identity to secondary identity is an issue of debate between executive institutions and legislative institutions in Paykumbuh City in the formulation of Regional Regulation No. 4/2018 regarding the Payakumbuh City logo. The administrative institution tries to maintain the identity of the city of Payakumbuh as described by the regional regulation governing the formation of the municipality, while the legislature opens opportunities for residents of the surrounding Nagari to become residents of the City of Payakumbuh.

This debate between historical and sociological interests took place in the legal realm and resulted in the approval of the Minister of Home Affairs to allow the development of Payakumbuh City in 10 surrounding Nagari. The executive institution tries to maintain the identity of the city of Payakumbuh as described by the regional regulation governing the formation of the municipality, while the legislature opens opportunities for residents of the surrounding Nagari to become residents of the City of Payakumbuh. There is an interpretation of Payakumbuh city space from people's perceptions that are built from religious and customary values, as well as the government's interpretation of the law's perception. These three interpretations are complementary, not contradictory, as happened in the relationship between the community and the Dutch and Japanese colonial governments which linked Payakumbuh City as a government unit.

The shift in the meaning of Payakumbuh from a government unit to public space can be explained by the actors and interests who have the authority to interpret the law into Regional Regulations, as explained by the leadership style and development policies that have been carried out since the establishment of Payakumbuh as a Municipality in 1970. There are many actors and interests associated with the development of the City of Payakumbuh at the time of leadership resulting from the implementation of the Pemilukada (Regional Head General Election) rather than the indirect election by the DPRD in the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 21/PD/DPRD/PYK-1972 up to the leadership of Dasril Ilyas who put the government (executive institution) as the main actor in formulating the interests of the city community,

The economic development orientation during the leadership of Joserizal Zain and Riza Fahlepi can be explained in market development, the MSME sector, and building the tagline of Payakumbuh as the City of Rendang. The moto "city of Rendang" is not formulated yet in Perda (regional regulations). Therefore, the Payakumbuh City PUPR Service rejected the idea of the

City of Rendang as the city's motto but persisted with the motto "Batiah City," which was formulated by Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2018.

Table 2. Actors and Interests in Payakumbuh City Planning

Political change	Main building	Major Arterial Road	Street name change	New residential area	Restaurant and entertainment area	Roads and areas are prohibited from entering
Regional Regulation (Perda) Number 21/PD/DPRD/PYK-1972 1. Mayor Sutan Usman 2. Mayor Masri MS 3. Mayor Muzahar Muchtar 4. Mayor Muchtiar Muchtar 5. Mayor Darlis Ilyas 5. Mayor Fahmi Rasyad	Construction of PDAM (Sutan Usman) construction of City Hall Building on Jalan Sudirman (Masri MS) construction of City Hall Building in Bukit Sibadui (Dasril Ilyas)	Construction of two-lane Sudirman Sreet (Darlis Ilyas)	Change the name of Jalan Agus Salim to Jalan Sutan Usman	Nagari Koto Nan Gadang, Nagari Koto Nan Ampek, Nagari Aia Tabik, Nagari Payobasuang, Nagari Tiaka, Nagari Lampasi, dan Nagari Limbukan Aua Kuniang)	Ngalau Indah Nagari Koto Nan Ampek tourist attraction (the construction of the *Pasar Ibu* and a number of elementary, middle, high and high school buildings (Muzahar Muchtar), M. Yamin Sports Center in Kubu Gadang	The inner ring road of the city (Muchtiar Muchtar), the outer ring road of the city (Fahmi Rasyad),

Urban planning is a political matter. The political aspects of urban planning can be explained from the ideas held by the power holders in determining urban planning and how urban planning is made to reflect the national ideology. Urban planning serves the interests of power holders at the government and legislative body (DPR) levels, religious leaders; single political party (monolithic); or a handful of certain entrepreneurs. This ideology reflects ideas about gender, class, and ethnicity.

In city marketing and branding, the importance of physical change for city promotion is also increasingly emphasized. This contestation of the city's identity can be explained by the change in the motto (tagline) of Payakumbuh city from Gelamai City to Rendang City. The change in the city's motto has taken place several times since the inauguration of Payakumbuh as a Municipality in 1972 include Gelamai City, Batiah City, Blue City, Bike City, Adipura City,and Rendang City. The change in motto from Kota Gelamai to Kota Rendang is a co-institutionalization policy that uses a "bracket" model to connect the old layer with the new layer as a form of identity politics for urban development in Payakumbuh City.

4 Conclusion

The relation between feminism theory and multiculturalism theory can be explained in the differences and similarities in the perception of the development planning of a city area, the development of urban areas involves the perspectives of the community, government and development planners who compete in formulating the motto and policy of urban development. On the one hand, the multiculturalism policy carried out by the city government is different from the goal of maintaining special cultural rights that are owned by conservative feminists,

but on the other hand there is a goal of justice, freedom of equality which is shared by feminists and multiculturalists.

The similarities in these objectives can be explained from the results of the Payakumbuh Mayor election since Reformasi in 1998 which was carried out through direct general elections, although the election did not give women space in the political sphere as Regional Heads but gave room for policies that respect women's rights in the motto of a city. . The ideas of justice, freedom and equality that are the goals of the feminist movement and multiculturalism go beyond the same goal of the liberal democratic idea to place women's political rights on equal footing with men's political rights.

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