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Research article

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**E-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNANCE, POLICY
COMMUNICATION AND DIGITALIZATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP
IDENTITY (NETNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON THE ISSUANCE OF
ELECTRONIC LAND CERTIFICATES)****电子政务组织治理, 政策沟通和土地所有权身份数字化 (关于电子
地证签发的网络图研究)****Gatut Priowidodo**Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Communication Science, Petra Christian University
Jalan Siwalankerto 121-13, Surabaya 60236, Indonesia, gatpri@petra.ac.id*Received: May 26, 2021 ▪ Review: June 11, 2021 ▪ Accepted: July 28, 2021 ▪ Published: August 30, 2021**This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons
Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>)***Abstract**

The purpose of the research is to obtain an empirical picture of the factors that cause difficulties in implementing public policies based on identity digitalization in e-certificates. The research is based on e-government theory, identity digitization, and policy communication. Netnography research methods were used in a constructive/interpretive paradigm. Data collection was carried out through the ATR Public Group on Facebook on February 24, 2021, March 6 & 8, 2021. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis and netnography models in five steps: defining research questions, selecting and identifying communities, collecting data, analyzing, and reporting. Data verification is supported by theoretical triangulation to obtain better credibility. The research findings cover three aspects. First, the public believes that agrarian reform is considered incomplete. This opinion is characterized by a variety of unresolved land issues. Second, electronic land certificates, which are the entrance to digital identity-based e-government governance, are very risky. Third, the crucial aspect is that the government is considered unskilled in choosing the model of communication channels for the public. Consequently, there are pros and cons to the e-certificate policy, which resulted in the state's failure to execute the electronic land certificate rule. The novelty of this research is in applying netnography design that is relatively new in qualitative research and focuses on the virtual community study. Netnography has a strong and prospective contemporary relevance, especially in the world impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic. This research recommends the state to carefully consider the public's response when issuing information technology-based regulations.

Keywords: Organizational Governance, E-Government, Policy Communication, Digital Identity, Public Regulation, Netnography

摘要 研究的目的是获得导致实施基于电子证书身份数字化的公共政策困难的因素的实证图。该研究基于电子政务理论, 身份数字化和政策沟通。网络志研究方法被用于建设性/解释性范式。数据收集于 2021 年 2 月 24 日, 2021 年 3 月 6 日和 8 日通过 Facebook 上的 ATR 公共组进行。使用主题分析和网络志模型分五个步骤分析数据: 定义研究问题, 选择和识别社区, 收集数据, 分析和报告。数据验证得到理论三角测量的支持, 以获得更好的可信度。研究成果包括三个方面。第一, 公众认为土地改革不彻底。这种意见的特点是各种未解决的土地问题。其次, 电子土地证是基于数字身份的电子政务治理的入口, 风险很大。第三, 关键在于政府在为公众选择沟通渠道的模式方面被认为不熟练。因此, 电子证书政策有利有弊, 导致国家未能执行电子土地证书规则。这项研究的新颖之处在于应用了网络志设计, 这种设计在定性研究中相对较新, 并且侧重于虚拟社区研究。网络志具有强大且具有前瞻性的当代相关性, 尤其是在受新冠肺炎大流行影响的世界中。本研究建议国家在发布基于信息技术的法规时仔细考虑公众的反应。

关键词: 组织治理, 电子政务, 政策沟通, 数字身份, 公共监管, 网络志

I. INTRODUCTION

Information that the government intends to issue electronic certificates of land ownership provokes a public reaction. The policy is written in the Regulation of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/Head of Indonesian National Land Agency No 1/2021 concerning Electronic Certificates, dated January 12, 2021. Although the public does not yet fully understand what an e-certificate is, thundering rejection reactions have sprung up on various social media timelines.

In fact, for further investigation, the Ministry of ATR/BPN has been practicing electronic services for a long time, and there are no problems. The four services are Electronic Mortgage (HT-el) services, Land Registration Certificate (SKPT), Land Certificate Checking, and Information on Land Value Zone (ZNT) [1].

This policy was taken because the government realized that this land certificate issue had to be resolved quickly and accurately. Data from the National Human Rights Commission of the Republic of Indonesia states that the area of conflict in the agrarian sector has reached 2,713,369 hectares spread over 33 provinces in the last five years. Among them, 42.3% or 48.8 million villagers live in forest areas [1], not to mention the many cases of falsifying land certificates and multiple land certificates. The issuance of the e-certificate is expected to be a solution so that this land administration problem can be resolved first. At a minimum, if the issue of restructuring land tenure and distribution of

ownership has not been completely addressed, the people already have digital proof of their land certificates. So far, previous studies on land certificates have only focused on dual certificates [2]-[4], cancellation of the certificate that has been issued fake certificates, and security via digital signature [5]. The results of this research illustrate that people are often victims of administrative malpractice for certificate completion. Likewise, policy communication research places more emphasis on foreign investment public policy studies [6], job creation policy/law regulation [7], government policies regarding the disbanding of organizations [8].

Based on the results of these previous studies, there is a strong research gap that there is no research that examines e-government-based governance that focuses on policy communication for issuing electronic land ownership certificates. In fact, in all of these cases, policy socialization was not easily accepted by the public. Likewise, the issuance of land e-certificates also faces the same problem [9].

Departing from the research gap and polemic on the rejection of e-certificates, this research question is what factors cause difficulties in implementing public policies based on identity digitization in e-certificates? Meanwhile, the purpose of this research is to obtain an empirical picture of the factors that cause difficulties in implementing public policies based on identity digitalization in e-certificates.

This research does not apply a hypothesis that is typical in quantitative research, but it has a concept of applying basic assumptions. Three basic assumptions were elaborated in this research. First, the opportunity to implement e-government in the digital era. Second, policy communication can be implemented well if the government bureaucracy is responsive and accommodative toward public interests. Third, identity digitalization can be carried out successfully if the collaboration between the government and people is based on digital needs.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. E-Government

Good governance of government organizations is necessary, especially if it is contextualized with the development of information network technology. According to Castells, we live in a networked society [10]. Network patterns inspire many emerging aspects of derivation, including, for example, network government [11], network political party [11], and also networks in public sector organizations [12].

In line with information and communication technology development, the government as an agent for providing public services is also adapting and adopting technology-based services. This modernization and reform of public services are called e-government [13]; [14].

According to Rhodes, the characteristics of governance include four characteristics. First, it has interdependence between organizations. Governance has a broader meaning than government, including non-state actors. Second, the ongoing interaction between network members is caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate common goals. Third, interactions are like games, rooted in trust and governed by game rules negotiated and agreed upon by network participants. Fourth, the network is not responsible to the state; they self-regulate [15].

That is why, because of the reduced intervention of state actors in managing organizations, it is feared that one day what Rhodes initiated in his article entitled *The New Governance: Governing without Government*, will become factual. The comparison of governance in Table 1 clearly illustrates the differences in implementation in the three sectors.

Governance mode	State	Market	Network
Service focus	Public good	Private good	Social good
Locale	Hierarchy, bureaucracy	Firm	Community
Decision-making	Vertical, top down	Horizontal (internal)	Horizontal (broader)
Relationship focus	Dependent	Independent	Interdependent
Integration mechanisms	Legal authority, formal rules, regulations, policies and procedures	Arm's length contractual transactions, price structures, supply and demand	Social exchange, relationships, common vision or purpose, mutuality, reciprocity
Negotiation style	Rule-based, procedural	Bargaining, competitive, self-interested and short-term focus	Win-win, interest-based, longer-term focus

Given the several advantages and effectiveness of e-government, several countries have implemented it to increase the transparency and the quality of public services. For example, in the UK and Italy in the field of public health [17]; [18], in Brazil about organization technology [12], in Mauritius regarding tax service [13]; in the EU and Saudi Arabia in the field of business services [19]; [20].

However, e-government practices are not all successful. Some sectors have also experienced failures, for example, due to corrupt practices [21] design-reality gaps, ineffective project management, and unrealistic planning [22]. Another study states that there are eight reasons e-government failed to be implemented, including design-reality gaps, Missing focus, Content issues, Skill issues, Execution issues, Regulatory issues, External factors, Missing user satisfaction [22]. This empirical study is evidence that the adaptation of information technology-based innovations leaves homework that is not light.

Regardless of whether governance is based on e-government or not, the concept discourse has been going on since the 1980s-1990s. Each of the initiating parties has a different emphasis, UNDP for example, emphasizes the implementation of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage state affairs at all levels. Others emphasize the exercise of political authority and the exercise of control in society concerning the management of its resources for social and economic development (OECD). While the Commission on Global Governance emphasizes a continuous process where conflicting or diverse interests can be accommodated, and cooperative action can be taken [23].

The concept became more and more echoed after it was endorsed by the G-8 leaders at a meeting in Gleneagle, Scotland, on 7-8 July 2005. They were committed to economic growth and poverty reduction in Africa from the start and encouraged democratic, accountable, and transparent governance and for sound management of public finances [24]. Meanwhile, Fukuyama defines governance as a government's ability to make and enforce rules and to deliver

Table 1.
The differences in network-based governance [16]

services, regardless of whether the government is democratic or not. The current orthodoxy in the development community is that democracy and good governance are mutually supportive [25].

B. Policy Communication

Often the notion of policy communication and public policy is misunderstood. Policy communication concerns the elements and communication processes that make, implement, interpret and evaluate policies in any form. Policy communication as a special field of research only pays attention to policies regarding communication, such as how communication can occur, with whom, and so on [26]. Meanwhile, Jenkin stated that public policy is a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, on principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve [27]. Pengertian lain menyebut kebijakan publik menekankan proses input-output [28] and created and implemented by the government.

One of the main dimensions of policy communication concerns how people develop new policies. Ways in which issues rise to the level of awareness and concern to create policies about them constitute one dimension of policy communication theory and research [29]. According to LeGreco, there are five components to the operation of policy communication. Figure 1 shows the interaction of these five components.

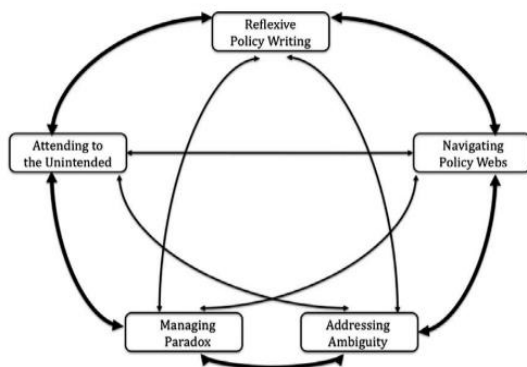


Figure 1. The interaction of the five components [30]

Component (1) denotes reflexive policy writing. Citing the opinion of Giddens, the point emphasizes that reflexivity in social systems is the assumption that agents can talk about what they do. Component (2) refers to managing paradox. Conceptually, managing paradoxes is rooted in the participation paradox. There are four broad categories of paradoxes applied to participatory processes: The four key theoretical and practical dimensions included in the

definition are as follows: *structure*, the architecture of participation; *agency*, the efficacy of participation; *identity*, the character of participation; and *power*, the direction of participation. Several paradoxes are identified under each of these constructs [31], [30].

Component (3) *addresses ambiguity* related to the construction of policy texts that involve creating words or beliefs. Component (4) *denotes navigating the policy web*; namely, at the conceptual level, this component requires many stakeholders to identify how their policy objectives align and collide with other policy texts and practices. Component (5) *attending to the unintended* emphasizes that their well-meaning policy text can be manipulated, challenged, and subverted when translated into practice [30].

C. Identity Digitalization

So far, identity digitalization has only been limited to making it easier to store data related to e-portfolios [32], professional identity [33]; [34], citizenship evidence [35], academic attribute [36], and issuance of blockchain identity [37].

Conceptually, digital identity refers to an identity composed of information stored and transmitted in digital form [35]. Not only commercial transactions that are all digital. Ownership identity is also directed to all digital [38]. Besides being practical, it is undoubtedly hoped that data can be stored automatically and modernly in a large storage space called big data. This means that conventional privacy data protection must be adapted to advances in information technology.

In the future, identity digitalization is not only for personal schemes but includes many aspects [39]. It does not even rule out the possibility of digitizing identity as the first step in establishing a virtual state [40], exemplified by the Republic of Estonia. Estonia is the first country to offer e-Residency – a transnational digital identity available to anyone in the world who is interested in managing an online business without a location.

The acceleration of the realization of a virtual state is also supported by the fact that since the beginning of 2020, the world's population has been hit by the Covid-19 pandemic, so almost all activities have shifted from physical to virtual. [41]. So digitizing data in various aspects is an unavoidable choice. The rights of the people and the government's obligations must be maintained and do not negate each other [42].

Although identity digitization is relevant to technological advances, the data security aspect

must still be a priority protected by the state [43]. Through the digitization of identity, it can also encourage the realization of good governance. The implication is that when governance becomes more accountable and transparent, it will automatically impact improving the global economic competitiveness index [44].

The higher the index of a country's economic competitiveness, the greater the confidence of international investors in that country [45], [46]. This situation surely has an impact; the more countries willing to invest for investment, the more job opportunities will be opened.

The public did not fully understand this big agenda. That is why the policy of issuing land ownership e-certificates is a controversial issue. The public response to reject the policy indicates two things: first, the issue of electronic certificates is a way of communicating public policy and a low level of public understanding when a public policy innovation is taken.

III. METHOD/MATERIAL


This study uses the netnography method in the domain of the constructive/interpretive paradigm. Netnography is carried out through five steps: defining research questions, selecting and identifying communities, data collection, analysis, and research reporting [47]. The digital netnography is defined as utilizing computer-assisted software for research methods to collect online data, collect participant observations, and conduct qualitative data interpretations.

The data was collected through the ATR public group on Facebook on February 24, 2021, March 6 & 8, 2021. The researcher acted as an online observer who was actively involved in observing and discussing topics specifically for e-certificates at the ATR public group forum on Facebook. The sampling technique was done by purposive sampling. The selection of cases with a specific purpose is to obtain views from the ATR Facebook community members regarding the topic of land e-certificate policy. Data analysis was carried out thematically through NVIVO 12 or DAPA (Data Analysis Procedure by Application) [48]. The results of the analysis are displayed visually based on the conversation themes among the group members. The data validity test or triangulation was carried out in two stages: first, confirming the data during the analysis process, second, crosschecking the data when the research report has been written. Types of crosscheck data are revealed through resource persons and theories.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

The Facebook community of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency was established on August 17, 2012, and was attended by more than 26 thousand members. More details can be seen in the profile table below.

Table 2.
Facebook community profile [60]

No	FB Profile AT Ministry	Information
1.	Link	https://www.facebook.com/KementerianATRBP/
2.	Name	Organisasi Pemerintahan: Kementerian Agraria/Tata Ruang/Badan Pertanahan Nasional (the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency)
3.	Logo	
4.	Total Member	28.872
5.	Theme of Group/Community Goal	Restructuring the structure of control, ownership, and use of land more equitably through asset management and accompanied by access management for the prosperity of the Indonesian people
6.	Type of Organization	Government Organization
7.	Community Founding Year	August 17, 2012

A. Implementation Factors of E-Certificate to Public

Based on data analysis, the implementation of the electronic certificate policy can be seen from five aspects. The first aspect is the *reflexive policy writing* point which emphasizes that reflexivity is written in a social system where agents can talk about what they are doing. Both aspects of *managing paradox*, namely managing paradoxes, are rooted in the paradox of participation or pro-cons conditions in the field. The three aspects of *addressing ambiguity* emphasize the construction of the policy text. The four aspects of *navigating the policy web* identify how their policy objectives align or collide with other policy texts and practices. The five aspects of *attending to the unintended* emphasize that their well-meaning policy texts can be manipulated, challenged, and subverted.

However, these five aspects have several derivative aspects as their supporting sub-aspects.

In more detail, the visualization of each aspect can be observed in the following figures:



Figure 2. Visualization of main aspects and derivative aspects of electronic certificate implementation

The five aspects with 13 derivative sub-aspects above guide the understanding that every public policy is not easy to implement in the field when it has been decided. Based on the analysis, it is known that when the regulatory text is in the form of the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial/Head of the National Land Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Regulation No 1/2021 about Electronic Certificates, dated January 12, 2021, issued and pro and cons appeared.

Starting from the *reflexive policy writing* aspect, which emphasizes the reflexivity of the text related to the social system, the public’s response is filled with feelings of suspicion. Worries that these digital innovations will not work well enough. Moreover, this digital technology-based land certificate innovation is still not widely understood by the public. Meanwhile, the aspect of *attending to the unintended* is even more critical. A policy text can be manipulated, resisted, and subverted if it is known that the text production process is full of dishonesty, is not transparent, and does not favor the public interest.

B. Reflexive Policy Writing Aspect

The reflexive aspect of policy writing emphasizes that reflexivity in social systems is the assumption that agents can talk about what they do. Reflexivity in policy serves as a communication practice that enables and limits transparency. Transparency is a prerequisite for policy innovation to obtain an accountable communication policy product. Innovations are made, but landowner data is protected. Bambang Setyoko, a member of the community, said so:

“Maybe this is a work innovation step from ATR/BPN. However, can the land owner’s data be kept valid, and not leaked, so that it is not easily transferred to other people....”

In fact, the idea of innovation is very worried by other informants. Dede Rahmat and Joni Tato La said:

“So, if possible, do not change it. We just hold the certificate; it can still be confiscated; what else is it just drawn; it is very easy to change ownership....”

“The name is social assistance funds for people who have been affected by corruption; how come they want the certificates to be made electronic, I do not think I understand. As a small person, I really support if the corrupt people’s representatives are impoverished”.

Reflexive policy writing is an important component of policy communication, as it provides the opportunity for stakeholders to monitor their actions and understand the changes they are making. More details can be seen through the visualization of the image below.

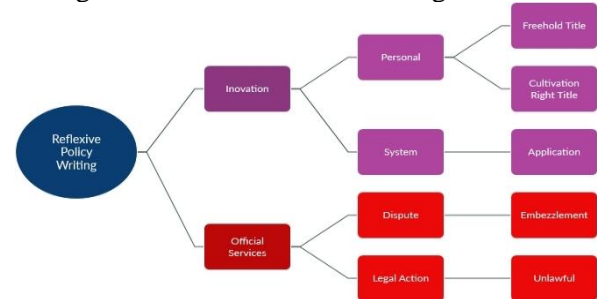


Figure 3. Reflexive policy writing aspect

According to the understanding of informants, policy products must accommodate two interests, namely the interests of the government and the interests of stakeholders. Do not let landowners become victims because there are many mafias in dealing with BPN. As acknowledged by Sutowo thus:

“In BPN alone, there are many mafias, especially the land of the community concerned or in dispute with the leading property; there must be a way for the community’s land to be able to switch to the property with their tricks, first fix BPN from the inside and then issue these programs.”

Even other informants, still questioning the integrity of BPN employees or officials, do not abuse their authority. Furthermore, Arief Budiyanto sued with some questions:

“Do all BPN employees have integrity? Because if not, it will be very dangerous to abuse their authority because it is related to people’s land assets. How for those who are very blind with IT, how to access, how to save, etc. There are still a lot of them who really do not know IT, let alone have a cellphone. How to deal with problems if there are individuals or anyone who misuses this electronic certificate, especially

countermeasures for unscrupulous BPN employees”.

The way of thinking of the informant illustrates that the opportunity for misuse of the document must be watched out for so that there is no loss. This opinion is in line with the understanding that policy is not a static set of rules; on the contrary, the policy is something you do.

C. Managing Paradox Aspect

Conceptually, the *Managing Paradox* is rooted in the participation paradox. By design, policies establish new rules to control behavior and practices; at the same time, policy expects individuals to act autonomously in making their policy texts. Thus, policy stakeholders will inevitably face a paradox when they implement these changes. The most visible paradox is when the policy has been published, whether the implementation is in line with expectations or not. As said by Widi Lisanto and Heru Juni Irawan:

“Instead of taking care of electronic mail... it is better to take care of the HGU (Hak Guna Usaha) which is leased by the conglomerate... then the company that owns millions of hectares of land is reduced... return some of it to the residents... do not control it alone... so that the 5th precept is achieved... the point is that the HGU hand over the residents and the ownership of private or corporate land is limited.”

“Electronic systems can be hacked if they are in the form of letters; they are safe to store and can also be sent to banks”.

The discrepancy between the document and the execution in the field could have implications for the state’s declining level of public trust. This condition can have an impact; service innovation does not get the support of public participation. Four categories of participatory processes, i.e., *structure*, *agency*, *identity*, and *power*, are not maximized. *Structure*, the architecture of participation; *agency*, the efficacy of participation; *identity*, the character of participation; and *power*, the direction of participation [30], [31]. As stated by Lot Marsius Siburian and Kodiansyah Rasau:

“We hope to the land agency. Please order your officers who dare to issue certificates without the neighbor’s signature. In this case, problems often occur; certificates can be issued even though neighbors are not summoned to witness the land size limits.”

“The policies of the central government and local governments are contradictory; HGU holders seize many community lands.”

By design, policies establish new rules to control behavior. However, at the same time, the policy also expects individuals to act autonomously in the making of their policy texts. Visualization of managing paradox in more detail can be seen through the image below:

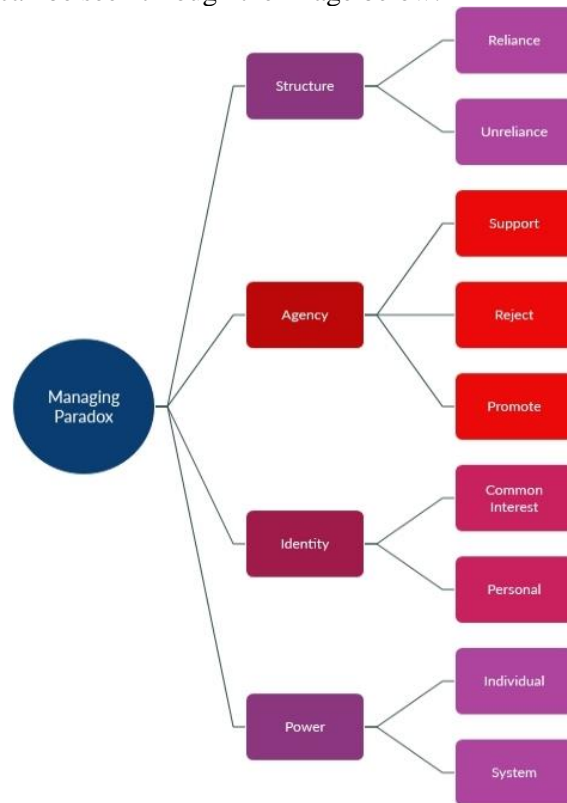


Figure 4. Visualization of managing paradox aspects

Based on these facts, it is certainly not easy if a policy is always in a paradoxical position. At least three reactions must be handled properly, namely the sub-aspects of supporting, refusing, and promoting. The key is the ability of the apparatus to disseminate information to the public. As emphasized by Linkin KC that:

“First, fix the socialization between the community and the government, do not just share it online ... if possible, socialize through the lowest government equivalent to RT/RW so that it is clear and comes from one central government source”.

This fact is in line with the idea that the success of innovation requires socialization support [49], what medium to use [50], [51] and what kind of project [52].

D. Addressing Ambiguity Aspect

The aspect of *addressing ambiguity* is related to the construction of policy texts involving playing words and how individuals interpret the policy text. This aspect also emphasizes the occurrence of the agreement but still maintains differences. The issuance of Ministerial Regulation No. 1/2021 concerning Electronic

Certificates does not require public input such as the stages of the law-making process. Because it is technical in nature, it is fully under the authority of the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/Head of the Indonesian National Land Agency. The informants also responded that this innovation was considered less urgent. Furthermore, Rendy Osing and J Butar-Butar think that:

“This ministry does not really understand the urgency in land matters. The urgent ones are 1. Ease, 2. Cheap, 3. Fast, 4. Complaints, 5. Punishment for naughty BPN employees & Notaries.”

“How does the owner save the file? If the need for BPN is okay, but how do the small people feel that they have no land? I have no idea. If you get a virus, the file will be damaged”.

For the people, the physical certificate is still more important. Because if you only save files, there is a fear of getting a virus. The visualization of the image below clarifies those concerns.

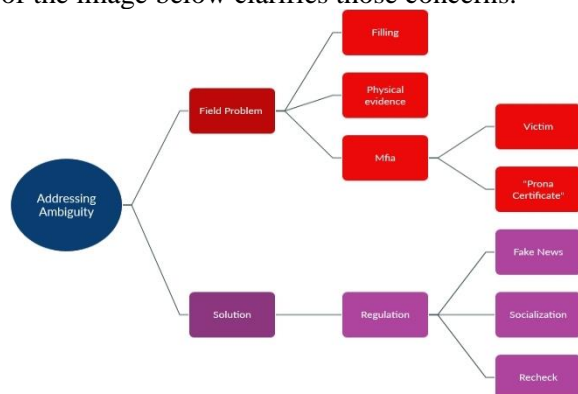


Figure 5. Visualization of addressing ambiguity aspects

The public hopes that it will be easy to access when this regulation is implemented and not complicated. They do not want the experience of the 'Prona' project (National certification program) to repeat itself. Mahmud Abdu, Yudie, and Marsya Julinda Sihombing explained their opinion that:

“It would be nice to administer a new certificate electronically. just register online, the certificate can be done immediately. Like making NPWP, it is better and can avoid the practice of KKN”.

“If you want to help the community: The free mass certificate program (PTSL) should be continued first. Because there are still many who have not certified the land/houses of residents, continue with the program first. Do not make an electronic program just yet”.

“My land certificate has not yet come out; I have submitted it for a long time according to the procedure for submitting a Prona letter a few

years ago, starting at the Tg.Permai Even though before I had paid Land Tax at UPT”.

Based on these empirical findings, the public wants digital technology-based innovation, product, and service quality to improve. Do not let past mistakes happen again. This expectation is in line with the opinion that product innovation targets are important [53], and the use of ICT-based technology is unavoidable [54].

E. Navigating Policy Aspect

The aspect of *navigating the policy web*, namely at the conceptual level, requires many stakeholders to identify how their policy objectives align or contradict other policy texts and practices. Policy texts and talks often serve as a source of communication that takes practice outside of the local context. The scale can be at the micro (district/city), meso (regional/provincial), or macro (national) level. The topics may concern the public interest or technological developments.

Because this regulation regulates the public interest, digitizing documents should not result in data loss because conventional certificate management is still complicated and takes a long time. This experience was acknowledged by Bayoe Jr, Syamsul Kunuti, and Muh Taufiq that:

“It is called the digital world; everything is digital during the dukhon until all technology will be lost, including all data that has been digitized; it is great that everything is on track, just waiting for it to arrive.”

“Likewise, we have been transferred for 21 years from PPN Bongohulawa, but until now, our certificates have not been issued. Gorontalo District, Limboto Sub-District”.

“Agreed that there is also a dispute in my area, in Towoni Village, Baras District, Pasangkayu Regency, West Sulawesi Province. The dispute with PT Unggul WTL has not yet been resolved. We hope that the Ministry of AGRARIAN can revoke the HGU”.

Based on the confessions of several informants, it is clear that the implementation of national-scale regulations is still experiencing many technical obstacles in the field. Certificate management up to 21 years logically does not make sense, but it is a fact. More details can be observed through the visualization of image 4.

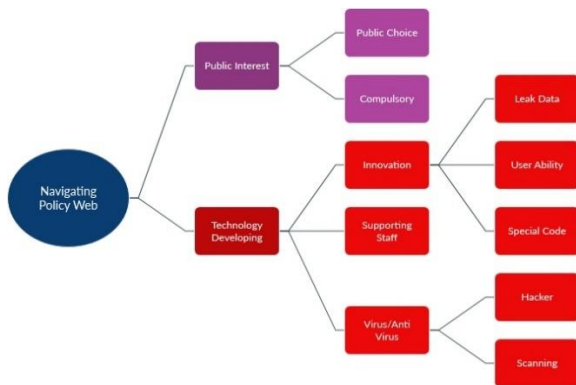


Figure 6. Navigating policy web aspect

It is not easy to unravel this certificate issue. Even Zainal Arifin, another informant, said that the National Land Agency's officials should intervene. He said: "BPN people should go to the field. so that there are no overlapping land certificates". This statement clearly indicates that the issue of conventional land certification (paper base) has not been fully resolved. Especially if this digital-based certification innovation is implemented, then all levels of society must have one understanding.

The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning goals must also be understood by the people so that there is no bad prejudice. This means that there is an alignment between expectations according to regulations and the facts on the ground. This viewpoint is in line with the idea that innovation in public service organizations is considered successful if it optimizes two main things. The first is 'innovation focus' (three public value creation processes: strategy, capacity, and operations). And second, the 'innovation locus' (internal and external) [55]. Meanwhile, there are five service success factors: service procedures, service time, service products, service costs, facilities and infrastructure, and the competence of the officers must support each other [56].

F. Attending to Unintended Aspect

Attending to the unintended aspect emphasizes that policy texts can, in fact, be manipulated, challenged, and subverted when translated into practice. That means that regulation is very likely to be rejected or even thwarted if it is not in line with the public interest. Especially if from the start, the public suspected that there was a hidden agenda related to the issuance of this electronic land certificate rule. The government must convince the people that the issuance of this regulation is very important for document protection. This rule is not a manipulative instrument. As expressed by Amin Chang and Bordjo Sinaga's concerns that:

"It is a lie; I have been taking care of it for more than three years until I took the land certificate SK Camat back from the office of BPN Kisaran Sumut. All make it difficult..."

"Sorry to ask, the land is SHM with plantation/paddy status...a plot of land for sale, but after buying it, we want to split it into an SHM. When we are told to measure fees, inherit inheritance, etc., who deal with making property rights certificates... please explain. Thank you."

Syamsul Kunuti's confession also strengthened the aspect of a manipulation practice: "Likewise, we have been transferred for 21 years from X PPN Bongohulawa, but until now our certificates have not been issued... Gorontalo District, Limboto Sub-District". More details on the *attending to the unintended* aspect can be seen through the visualization below:



Figure 7. Attending to the unintended aspect

The informant's acknowledgment above is a strong signal that public resistance to the policy of digitizing identity through electronic land certificates has a foundation. First, the professionalism of the apparatus is still in doubt. Second, the concern if the evidence is lost. Third, the administrative order is still chaotic. It is not wrong if the public doubts the effectiveness of this new regulation. This condition is in line with the understanding that every public policy should be accepted legally [57], need the right marketing strategy [58], or in other terms, at least get passive resistance [59].

Considering the growing public voice and tending to reject, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency did not impose its will. So as of March 23, 2021, the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/Head of National Land Agency Regulation No 1/2021 regarding Electronic Certificates Policy is suspended. That means the state listens to the people's aspirations and does not act arbitrarily even though the government has the political power to impose its will on the public.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and analysis above, at least three factors are causing the failure to implement the electronic certificate policy. First,

the public argues that agrarian reform is considered incomplete. This opinion is characterized by a variety of unresolved land issues: even five aspects, i.e., *reflexive policy writing*, *Managing paradox*, *addressing ambiguity*, *navigating policy web*, and *attending to the unintended* plus 13 derivative sub-aspects illustrate that the problem of land certificates is very complicated.

Second, electronic land certificates, which are the entrance to digital identity-based e-government governance, are very risky in terms of law and cybercrime that threatens. There is no guarantee that hackers do not hack digitally stored electronic certificates. This does not mean that the public rejects information technology-based innovation, but the state needs to prepare a strong protective instrument. Third, the crucial aspect is that the government is considered unskilled in choosing the model of communication channels for the public. Consequently, there are pros and cons to the e-certificate policy, which led to the failure of the execution of public policies by the state.

The limitations of the study consist of three aspects: First, the netnography method is only focused on the conversation among the informants in the virtual space, so it cannot perceive the emotional aspects of the informants. Second, the netnography method cannot elaborate more profoundly on the social-cultural contexts of an event due to the limited access in virtual communities. Third, the researchers can only analyze data relevant to the topics being discussed at a certain time.

The concrete contribution of this study is to enrich the study on organization communication, especially the one related to e-government in digital-based governance. Second, it enriches policy communication study by showing that every government's policy needs a strategy, goal, and choice of appropriate communication channel when it is going to be implemented.

Netnography is a research design that is only focused so far on qualitative research. There is a big opportunity to develop a combination between research methods and SNA (Social Network Analysis) based on big data in a large-scale study supported by various analysis applications in the future.

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