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PROCEEDING

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON DEMOCRACY AND ACCOUNTABILITY
*STRENGTHENING DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY
FOR CREATING GOOD GOVERNANCE*

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA



PROCEEDING

International Conference on Demcracy and Accountability (ICoDA)

**“Strengthening Democratic Accountability
for Creating good Governance”**

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**Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
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Surabaya. 10 November 2015

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Greetings from the ICoDA 2015 Organizer

Welcome to the International Conference on Democracy and Accountability (ICoDA) 2015.

In commemorating the 61st anniversary of Universitas Airlangga (1954-2015), Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Airlangga holds ICoDA on 10 November 2015. The main theme of this conference is "Strengthening Democratic Accountability for Creating Good Governance." This theme was formulated due to consideration that good governance could be realized only if democracy is strengthened based on public accountability values. The issue is discussed by two keynote speakers and 108 presenters attending the conference.

This conference is attended by scholars, researchers and authors from various countries including Indonesia, Malaysia, and others. The committee has accepted 103 extended abstracts from the prospective presenters. However, there are only 84 extended abstracts that are eligible to be presented at this conference.

The presenters will share ideas regarding the following subthemes: (1) Political and Election System, (2) Media and Public Sphere, (3) Democracy and Identity Issues, (4) Anti-Corruption and Development, (5) Democratization and Socio-Cultural Conflict, (6) Cosmopolitan Democracy and Global Governance, and (7) e-democracy and Open Government.

On behalf of the ICoDA 2015 organizer, I deliver my high appreciation to all presenters who are willing to take part at this conference. Thank you very much for your participation at the ICoDA 2015. Through this conference, we hope that you enjoy the exchange of ideas and open an opportunity to develop academic collaboration in the future.

Thank you.

Surabaya, 10 November 2015



A SAFRIL

Chairman of the ICoDA 2015

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THE OBSTACLES IN OBTAINING SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY: FAILURE IN INDONESIA'S CURRENT POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM

Ahmad Dzulfikar Adi¹, Alfionita Rizky Perdana²

Abstract

In this paper the writers would like to examine the characteristic behavior of Indonesia's voter in accordance to the stimulus of political party that shape people's voting behavior. The writers would like to point out the flaws in our current political party system that creating improper political behavior of the society such as golput (abstain), choosing candidates based on generosity not based on merit. The writers also find some problems on how the current political system sustaining this environment, such as the financing pattern of political parties, the mechanism in political party's regeneration, and the inability of parties to raise support if not using money politics. These problems are the obstacles in obtaining the sustainable democracy in Indonesia and likewise creating social unrest, distrust of society to the political party.

Keywords: political party, funding, regeneration, money politics, voters behavior, general election

The existence of political party has important roles for a better country's domestic climate. Political party is a media for society in a country in using their political rights. Not only as a media for political rights, but also for delivering the people's aspiration. This also happens in Indonesia, political parties exist for people's political rights media and the facilitator for their aspirations. The 2008 Indonesian's Regulations on Article 2 about Political Party has defined political party as a national organization and created by a group of Indonesians voluntarily and based on the willing and aspiration to struggle and defend.

Indonesia is a country with diverse ideology and backgrounds political parties. Indonesia, which has a multi-party system, has a variety of political parties ranging from a secular background, religion, and idealistic. This is due to the multi-ethnic background of the people of Indonesia. So the impact on the background of the existing parties also varies in accordance with the basis of the people they represent. Meanwhile, the model of indirect democracy causes the emergence of general election. This is because the amount of people in Indonesia is large and it does not allow all of them to sit in the legislature. Therefore, elections appear and become a moment to elect competent people's representatives and leaders and they will bear the responsibility and duty to channel the aspirations of the people. General election is the moment to regenerate people's representatives and leaders in a region and country. These moments serve as a forum of political parties to send their candidate to sit as representatives of the people and leaders in an area. This is also the moment used by the voters to elect their representatives. The hope is that people can have representatives to sit in the parliament and deliver the aspirations of society. This is the essence of the people's representatives that represent the aspirations of the people and channel it to be discussed by the executive. In the end the expected output is a better life for Indonesian.

The essence of being a people's representative has been set forth in the Indonesia Regulation No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties Chapter V Article 11 that political parties exist as a means: (1) political education for its members and the wider community in order to become a citizen, Indonesia who are aware of their rights and obligations in society, nation and the state, (2) The creation for a conducive climate to national unity of Indonesia to the welfare of society, (3) Absorbent, collector, and channeling the political aspirations of the community in formulating and establishing public policies, (4) Political participation of Indonesian citizens, (5) The political recruitment process filling political office through democratic mechanisms with regard to gender equality.

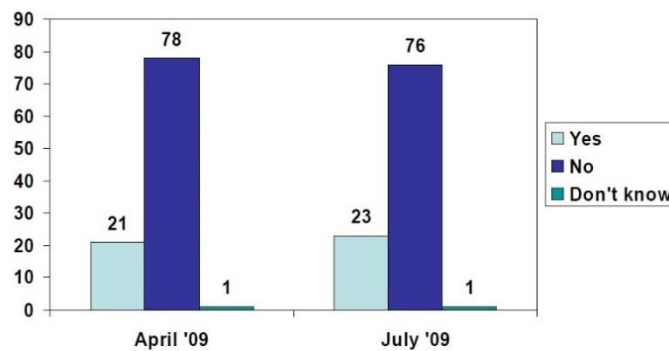
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After the fall of Soeharto’s authoritarian regime, Indonesia experienced four general elections and three presidential elections between 1999 and 2014. If we draw back even further, Indonesia had its first legislative election to choose 257 seats in the People’s Representatives Council dated 29 September 1955. All elections were held relatively fairly and peacefully, and both winners and losers accepted the final polling counts, resulting in peaceful power transitions. Because of its peaceful consecutive elections, Indonesia has been praised by the International community as an example of successful democratization as well as stability (Higashikata & Kawamura 2015, 2). However the steadiness of Indonesia’s democratic regime does not mean that electoral results are stable. No party has ever won the first in a series of elections and acquired a majority in the House of People’s Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat: DPR). Because poling results fluctuated every time elections were held, the composition of the legislature has changed drastically (Higashikata& Kawamura 2015, 3).

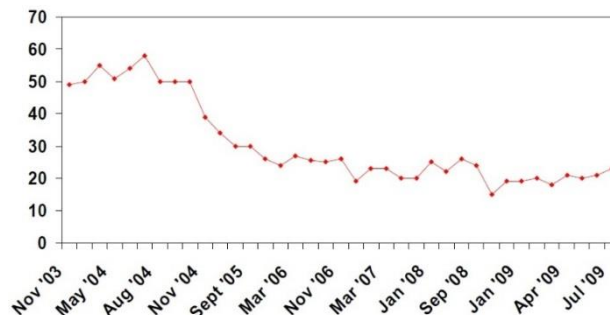
While Indonesia’s democracy maturing, research conducted by Saiful Mujani and William Liddle in 2009 under LSI (Indonesia Survey Institute) shows that most of the voters from before election in 2004 until 2009, about 76% correspondent feel less attached with political parties that should be a vehicle to accommodate people’s aspiration. Even statistic about the index of people’s proximity to political parties is declining year by years. This trend could be mean society distrust toward political parties that as Mujani and Liddle (2009, 4) said, political parties should be representing individual and civil society interest to the government, and in such a way shape that interest in fundamental way.

Figure 1. Is there any party you feel close to? (%)



Source: Mujani&Liddle 2009, 11

Figure 2. Feel close to a certain party (Party ID). Trend 2003-2009 (%)



Source: Mujani&Liddle 2009, 12

It is already as clear as the blue sky that something has gone wrong inside Indonesia's political system that creates resentment among society so that they no longer feel attached to their own vehicle to participate in governing their own country. Shown in the table 2 that there is a trend, peoples are decreasing their identification to political party. Before explaining why, writer would like to start with characterizing the behavior of the voters.

Indonesia's Voters Characterization

There are two characterization in studying Indonesian voters, one of the Indonesian voting phenomenon is that the voters are tend to strongly attached to national party leaders as shown in Mujani and Liddle work (2009, 12), strong character of the party leaders, the charisma, have a significant role to voting preferences and thus creating feeling of attachment as shown in the table below about number of vote presidential candidates have back then in 2004 election.

Table 3. Party Vote Choice Restricted to Seven Parties According to Preference For Particular Party Leaders, 2004 Parliamentary Election (%).

Party Leader	PPP	PD	PAN	PKB	PKS	Golkar	PDI-P	
Abdurrahman Wahid	5.6	1.4	0	83.3	0	5.6	4.2	100.0
Akbar Tandjung	0	0	1.8	0	0	96.4	1.8	100.0
Amien Rais	5.9	2.0	74.5	0	9.8	7.8	0	100.0
Hamzah Haz	95.7	0	0	4.3	0	0	0	100.0
Hidayat Nurwahid	4.2	0	0	12.5	75.0	.3	0	100.0
Megawati Sukarnoputri	1.8	.9	.9	1.8	1.8	3.6	89.1	100.0
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	5.1	23.6	4.1	13.2	11.5	33.4	9.1	100.0

Source: Mujani & Liddle 2009, 36

The feeling of attachment to a certain leader play more role regardless voters party identification, we could see from the table 3 that normally the basis of support comes from the candidate's party, but there is also an anomaly where all candidates are having support from other voters that are not affiliated with candidate's party, and this anomaly is even higher in Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono case. The number of voters former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyonogot back in 2004 mostly are from other party, since PD (Democratic Party) only contribute 23.6% from the total vote that he got (Mujani and Liddle,2009: 14). It could be said that party identification for many voters was less important than preference for leader. To strengthen this argument writer refer to the table below, showing the number of voting distribution among voters affiliated with political parties in 2004 presidential election.

Table 4. Voting for President According to Party ID, July 2004 (%)

Voting for Pres Party ID	Megawati	Hamzah Haz	Amien Rais	Wiranto	Yudhoyono	
PDI-P	81.5	0	3.5	4.0	11.0	100.0
PD	5.4	1.4	1.4	5.4	86.5	100.0
PAN	3.0	0	86.6	1.5	9.0	100.0
PKB	14.5	0	2.9	60.9	21.7	100.0
PKS	0	0	57.1	8.6	34.3	100.0
PPP	10.0	43.3	6.7	13.3	26.7	100.0
Golkar	7.1	.5	1.1	60.4	30.8	100.0

Source: Mujani&Liddle, 2009, 36

From table 4 we could see that even among the voters with certain affiliation to political party there is a diversity of choices, for example PDI-P that should support wholeheartedly Megawati as president there are still 19.5% bias voting for other candidates, likewise the other parties, PD for example that should support wholeheartedly Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as president there are still 14.5% bias voters, voting for other candidates. So the first character of Indonesia voters in voting is considering 'who is the national party leader' and most likely feel attached to this leader.

The other phenomenon is that the voters basing their preferences with party that share the same religious views or *aliran*. As a Moslem majority country, Geertz (1960 in Mujani and Liddle 2009, 7) describes four variants of Islam in Indonesia: the animistic *abangan*, the orthodox *santri* that divided into two which are conservatives or traditionalist and modernists, last is the more Hinduized *priyayi*. For example, PPP (Development Unity Party) and PKB (National Awakening Party) are traditionalist Islamic party led by NU (Nadhatul Ulama) affiliated leaders as Hamzah Haz leading PPP is part of NU elite and Abdurrahman Wahid leading PKB is NU national chair. Meanwhile PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) and PAN (National Mandate Party) are modernist Islamic party led by a more secular leader but still affiliated to NU for PKS and Muhammadiyah for PAN (Mujani and Liddle 2009, 10).

As has been explained by Hayes (2009 in BEM Psikologi UI 2014) voters perception about personal candidate identity will always have influence in the voting process. For example consideration of what the candidates say, how the candidate act, even to some extent the candidate ethnic-religious background especially in a region that still have ethnic consideration. In that matter, Higashikata & Kawamura (2015, 23) on their paper has shown that indeed there is a correlation between religions as one political view with their voting behavior, they clarified that districts which formerly stood strongly behind Islamic parties continued to select those parties or gave preference to abstention over the secular parties in the 2009 election. Then it could be said that second characterization of Indonesia's voters is basing their judgement from same *aliran* shared.

Financing Pattern of Political Party in Indonesia

Financing pattern of political parties becomes one of the pathways to trace the problems in creating a sustainable democracy. It is actually quite difficult to trace the source of financing of each political party openly. Only a few data told about the funding and it potentially arises suspicion from the public about transparency of political parties. However, political parties in Indonesia at least obtain a source of financing from three sources, namely the chairman of a political party, member of political parties in the legislature and executive, as well as parties with an interest in public policy such as companies, individuals, private enterprises, organizations, and groups (Surbakti 2015, 5). Political parties in Indonesia do not base their party's financing sources of dues members, sympathizers, as well as the provisions of the AD / ART (Statutes / Bylaws). This is due to the recent orientation of political parties in Indonesia is no longer on the ideology and aspirations championed by the party, but rather

to attempt a turnover and securing positions in the legislature and the executive. Coupled with the fact that political parties today is placed as a forum to seek power. Supported by the provisions of the 1945 Constitution which puts political parties as participants in elections and nominate the party cadres to sit in the executive chair (Surbakti 2015, 3).

This condition pushes the entry opportunities for parties to make money from legislative and executive works. The problems of financial sources of political parties in Indonesia also raise the fact that Indonesians are rarely sympathetic to donate funds as a contribution to the financing of political parties. Political parties do not give much concern in considering donations from sympathizers. The Indonesia government has also established regulations that prohibit political parties receive funding from the state and local budgets. Therefore, under these conditions the financing from three sources becomes the main reason to accept funding for political party's existence.

What happens next is the cartel political party system in Indonesia (Surbakti 2015, 5-6). There is a feedback must be given to political party from the financing sources and vice versa. Because there are a lot of interests that arise, political parties should allocate seats and gained power for those who have became a source of party financing. Consequently, it is not uncommon businessmen and the haves occupy executive and legislative seats. The problem is not with the social status of these members, but their contribution can encourage political parties to give them power. This affects the emergence of fact that the candidate is chosen because of their wealth, not their competence. Thus, if these people selected and attained power, then there are many new problems arise such as corruption. Corruption emerges as the interest to secure material for the purpose of restoring the capital cost in occupying the seat of power and also for the accumulation of wealth. Meanwhile, the source of financing which comes from the private sector with the interests in taking benefit from public policy also has the potential to cause problems of how political parties are no longer representative for the whole community it represents. Political parties give more priorities for those parties and it often created policies that only benefit those factions.

Regeneration of the Political Parties in Indonesia

Michael Rush and Phillip Althoff (2007 in Saputra 2012, 36) have stated that in the process of recruitment of political parties' member, there are two systems of recruitment; open and close system. Open recruitment system puts anyone who meets the criteria and is competent to participate in the selection process. Meanwhile, in a closed recruitment system, not all people can participate in the recruitment process, only a handful of people who can join. In Indonesia, political parties have implemented an open recruitment system, although in many facts, a closed recruitment system also persists. This can be seen from how the political parties recruit their member by starting an administrative registration. In previous eras, the recruitment pattern is applied from the smallest region without having to complete the administrative process. But in the present, people who want to join the political party only need to complete administrative requirements. Furthermore, after being selected, the new member will be trained by the political parties. The training usually consisted of education about citizenship and Indonesia, knowledge of the political parties, as well as knowledge of skills such as public speaking, and so on. In some cases, political party members are provided with education which suits their professional background.

However, recently this procedure does not become the essential part in the regeneration process, it loses its important. Many political parties take instant and quick pathways. Political parties put forward to those parties which donate or contribute bigger to the party, they will be accepted as a member and prepared to be a representative in the legislature or the executive. The common procedures in regeneration could be just a formality. There is a trend which called as *bedol desa* (Azwar 2008). This is when a leadership change in the party occurs. There is a tendency to recruit new people and ignore the old people in the party. This generates opportunities for recruiting people who is not so that competent or good enough to be a representative in parliament or executive. They are chosen because of the close relation with the leader or because of the large donation from certain

parties to political parties. This can be said as a closed recruitment system. Although each party has conducted an evaluation meeting for member's quality, but a closed recruitment system persists and becomes a source of new problems in Indonesia's democracy. Therefore, Lembaga Survei Indonesia in 2007 and 2008 found that 52 percent of respondents believe that political parties only representing the interests of certain groups, not their constituents (Azwar 2008). This is due to those kind of recruitment patterns.

After recruitment process, the candidate and political party will hold promotions. Candidates, who have bigger capital, would not have difficulties to attract the supporters. This is because the ability to show a good and interesting image through advertising and the paid media. In addition, the candidates who do not hesitate to give money to the constituents is able to raise their votes. Although some candidates are not well-known by the people, these candidates are still possibly elected because of two things: the voters only choose without knowing the candidate well and another possibility is the sequence number of candidates. This sequence number is possible to be filled by member who gives bigger contributions to political party.

Failure of Political Party in Conducting Proper Politics Behavior

Political party as explained before should have the function as first layer of bridging the people with party's representative, specifically to articulate the common interest even the different one so that this interest can be realized into alternative public policy. Moreover such party have political socialization function to introduce political values, attitudes and political ethics.

What is so problematic then, is that voters in Indonesia having a tendency not to choose rationally and thoroughly based on capabilities of the candidates nor what blueprint they will brought into the table. The number of bias tendency is high ever since Indonesia held direct election, and the situation is even worsened by the political party behavior. For example, the phenomena of cartel political party system that force party to take advantage from public policy to get money source in financing the party itself. This give bad example and creating stereotype among society that being the member of House of Representative is to accumulate wealth not to do common good. Political party can't be blame solely in this case since providing service also need money but not having sustainable source of income force party representative to abuse their authority. But still anyhow the act of abusing authority to get money from public policy still cannot be justified by all means.

Another example is the act of money politics, described as buying voter by giving money as in bribing common people to choose the favored candidates from certain political party. Prasetyono (2015) one of government official, head of district in Surabaya confirms that among the peoples, especially in suburban areas, there are stereotype especially about legislative elections that they don't even care about who will take the seat as long as this people get money given by the candidates called as '*serangan fajar*'. The people votes mostly based on how much money the candidates can give, so those who give highest amount of money will win the election.

This behavior explained by Ali Nurdin in his paper about vote buying and voting behavior, that vote buying has significant influence on the voting behavior in which voters who accept vote buying practice feel normatively indebted to the givers and will likely follow the political choice of the giver. Voters who have experienced vote buying tend to favor the same candidate who abundantly provide food material, clothes, or cash to the voters. The loyalty of the voter who has embraced vote buying practice is not determined by the performance of the candidate or the sociological character of the candidate (gender, party identification, region-centered perspective and religion compliance), but rather to the "generosity" of the candidate in delivering consumer goods or cash to voters.(Nurdin 2014, 40). It is indisputable that money politic that become common practice in Indonesia also set bad example in the shaping of good and proper political behavior.

Another example that set bad political education beside cartel political system and money politic, is the recruitment member of political party, just like explained above in the sub-topic regeneration of

the political parties in Indonesia. Only those who have high and sustainable source of income could rise as candidates in the election favored by the parties. This could also mean good candidates that really is capable would forever be overshadowed by candidates that have more money regardless their capacity. What is so wrong is the implication of this stratification, candidates of political party would have zero competencies, thus will lead to society resentment.

Now writer would like to examine the most recent elections, legislative and presidential in 2014 as an example to point out resentment of society towards political party by identifying the abstained voter known as *golput*. First is the presidential election, based on KPU (*Indonesia General Election Commission*) database there are 193.944.150 permanent voters registered, the first candidate PrabowoSubianto and Hatta Rajasa got 62.576.444 meanwhile the second candidate Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla got 70.997.833 with 1.379.690 invalid votes (kpu.go.id 2014). However if the valid and invalid votes combined there are only 134.953.967 votes and that means 58.990.189 stand to abstain from the voting as *golput*, that also means around 30.4% are losing their faith to the elections that is not a small amount of resentment, technically speaking the current government will have support less than half of the eligible voters because the amount of Prabowo-Hatta eligible votes plus *golput* voters would be around 122 million peoples in comparison, Jokowi-Kalla only have 70 million peoples behind their back.

The legislative election that being conducted before the presidential election in the other hand, also have no big differences, according to KPU database there are 185.826.024 permanent voters registered meanwhile the amount of votes only 139.573.926 which means 46.252.097 or around 24,89% peoples are abstaining (*golput*). Not to mention the distribution of seats among the political parties that is so diverse that writer afraid could cause volatility in regards of the fragmentation. The high amount of *golput* voters in both presidential and legislative election that writer called as the amount of resentment society have nowadays.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that there are three problems in generating a sustainable democracy in Indonesia from the political system sector; financing pattern in political parties, regenerating in political parties, and money politics used by the political parties. These problems pushed the appearance of phenomena such as *golput* (abstain) and the incompetent people's representative sit in parliament and executive. Voter's behavior is driven by these problems. Some voters chooses to be abstain due to the fact that the candidates of people's representative are not competent and no progress are obtained during the previous years. Meanwhile, the rest of the voters tend to choose candidates of people's representative who gives them money and daily needs. These problems draw on how the cycle of generating sustainable democracy is difficult to be obtained. As long as these problems are not solved soon, then it will be difficult to obtain the sustainable democracy in Indonesia.

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The agenda-setting process for the post-2015 framework has been characterized by an unprecedented global conversation involving a wide range of state and nonstate actors. The intergovernmental negotiations will culminate in the adoption in September 2015 of a new and hopefully ambitious development agenda. Accountability democracy is crucial in line with more powerful a willingness to develop practices good governance. Practices good governance requires existence of accountability democracy in the process of governance overall. Regime is expected to open and guarantee the access to the public in many ways of public polic, budget for the implementation of policies , and the evaluation of government process.

The following sections it will explains the concept democracy, the concept of accountability , accountability party politic. Makes accountability political parties diindonesia is interesting thing for examined This is the result of increasing number of piling up corruption 2014-2019 period had several caught for example Dewie Yasin Limpo, Patrice Rio Capello , Adriansyah trapped in corruption case. Not to mention governor, regents and mayors that become entangled cases of corruption.If explored, relating to political parties who recruited they as public official.Political parties failed to build kadernya to abstain from mental from mental and behavior koriptif.Cadres referred to not only the members who sit in parliament, but also that sits on executive.In indonesia, a number of serious problems on political one of them lack of accountability on the government system (Kompas,23/12/2011). Section also discuss the situation accountability party politic by taking the case Indonesia.The discussion will be capped by the need to be taken to create democratic accountability in parpol.

Accountability

“Accountability” stems from late Latin *accomptare* (to account), a prefixed form of *computare* (to calculate), which in turn derived from *putare* (to reckon) (Oxford English Dictionary 2nd Ed.) While the word itself does not appear in English until its use in 13th century Norman Englan (Dubnick, 1998). The concept of account-giving has ancient roots in record keeping activities related to governance and money-lending systems that first developed in Ancient di Mesir, Babilonia, Yunani, Rome.

The concept of accountability then by some scientist it as in one form of legitimate form of governance, there is often a focus upon the democratic deficit and the lack of visibility within the union. In case Eropa , (Scharpf ,1999) showed that the lack of power of the European Parliament is also a factor heavily debated. But if we are looking for a legitimate way to rule Europe, we must take into account the accountability process of our representatives. Scharpf even claims that the main reason for the low visibility and hence legitimacy of the EU is due to the lack of public accountability.

Some scientists provides an overview of accountability. Keohane (2002) writes; “An accountability relationship is one in which an individual, group or other entity makes demands on an agent to report on his or hers activities, and has the ability of imposing costs on the agent”. This relatively simple relation can thus take many shapes and forms. The actor can be either a person or a group, and the accountability giver can be a person, group or an entire body such as a states entire population (Bovens et al. 2005). In other words I have chosen to define accountability as the possibility for the people (demos) to dethrone persons in power if they are not content with results presented. This implies that power holders must be held responsible for the their politics.

There are some type of accountability, Jabbra (1989) list 8 types of accountability, namely: moral, administrative, political, managerial, market, legal/judicial, constituency relation, and professional. Meanwhile political accountability is the accountability of the government, civil servants and politicians to the public and to legislative bodies such as a congress or a parliament. Recall elections can be used to revoke the office of an elected official.

Scientists also saw one form of accountability namely found that civil society organizations play an important role in achieving accountability outcomes. Role CSO is political and economic contexts is how CSO are most effective when they draw in a broad web of actors from across the accountability system, including the media, auditors, donors, the legislature, executive insiders, and political parties (van Zyl, 2013, in wikipedia, retrieved, September 2015).

Democracy, Good Governance, Accountability

In the context of good governance, accountability is pre-requisite for the the good governance, democratic and mandate. In this concept accountability often associated with manner or resources management who has given and controlled by an agency, or an individual in order the achievement of aim over a medium the accountability reports of periodically (Zuryani, et.al, 2015).

Change massive due to the process of globalization very drastic particularly in the areas of the government, which has actually been start in the middle of 70^s and it is called "the crisis the ability rule" (governability crisis). In understanding the theory governance, that is a theory that tries elaborate on macro the process of changing in governance.

The crisis the ability ruled caused strong hegomoni state characterized by the dominance of the influence of a country upon all aspects of the community life. Roots per soalannya according to the theory of governance situated on the model of government in which berciri structure that is vertical, bureaucracy condensed by the temper of that intervensionis. The development of paradigm sift of government to governance can be seen from its tendency globalization are parallel with society development in the direction of a civil society or the community residents, a political system more democratic, appreciate human rights and rule of law, of economics of central planning into the direction of the economy the global market.

The system we have when it comes to dealing with politics today is quite different from the system say 20 years ago. The process of globalization has brought forward another level of governance which is now not only based upon nation states and sovereignty. This has lead to an extensive amount of research within the area of democracy. The concept of democracy along with power, is perhaps the two most studied concepts within the field of social science (Buhlin, 2007) and due to this a definition is necessary.

When the word democracy is being used in this thesis it is referring to the western worlds form of democracy. With that I mean to say that democracy means the rule of the people, or demos, and free and regular elections along with free running for public offices. Furthermore my concept of democracy is based upon the criteria shaped from Robert A Dahls classical work "Democracy and it's critics". He presents five process criteria which is;

- Efficient participation – consideration shall be shown to all interests, and all the members of the demos shall have equal powers of raising issues on the agenda
- Equal franchise at the final decision making
- Enlightened understanding – education and public discussions are necessary to form an awareness among the demos
- Control over the political agenda – who makes the decisions and what about? Delegation of power to institutions is possible but only if it can be revoked, demos must have the final control.
- An inclusive demos – everybody effected by decisions shall be a part of making them (Dahl, 2005).

These criteria are not supposed to be understood as rules for democracies, but as guidelines for ideal democracies. There is not one democratic state in the world today that can fulfill all of them.

The three first criteria are enough to form a so called polyarchi, a form of democracy far from the ideal, but the one form existing today.

Advancing a Democratic Approach to Accountability

Democratic approaches to accountability in service delivery that encompass democratic actors and channels for accountability of both the social and political. Political institutions such as parliaments and political parties are believed essential from a democratic perspective as they compete for representation through elections, and have a mandate to hold governments to account. Their centrality cannot be neglected because of their democratic origins and influence on public policy. Social movements, grassroots organizations and groups of citizens are also important from a democratic perspective to the extent that they represent citizens interests and act on their behalf. Their source of legitimacy is different (e.g. the right to assemble, freedom of information, freedom of speech, etc.) but equally democratic.

Democratic accountability can make difference have reason (IDEA,2015):

1. This government put It is people centred and participatory , that public institutions in all countries and at all levels are inclusive, participatory and accountable to the people'. There fore need free and fair electoral processes; democratic political parties; popularly elected parliaments with legislative, oversight, budgetary, representative and conflict management functions; ombudsman offices; and supreme udit institutions all contribute to comprehensive representation and human rights. Social movements and interest groups provide further opportunities for people to participate in and influence the democratic process. The media also serves the critical roles of information provider, arena for public debate and watchdog.

2. It can protect minorities and disadvantaged groups. Democratic accountability can facilitate the human right of all to access public service on equal terms. Its mechanisms translate human rights commitments and equality goals into action through governance reform that provides public institutions with the incentives and skills to respond to the needs of disadvantaged groups.

3. It builds openness and transparency. Democratic accountability entails the public's right to obtain information on the organization, functioning and decision-making processes of public administration. Greater transparency in government budgets, procurement and spending improves oversight, policy choices and service delivery. Yet it is meaningless without the right to information and an independent and active media. Democratic accountability bolsters the right to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kinds.

4. It includes answerability. This principle measures the extent to which a government carries out its duty to explain and justify its decisions. Answerability is linked to how claims holders articulate their demands, but is also related to officials' capacity and willingness to take responsibility for their actions. In this context, democratic accountability can meaningfully contribute to the promotion of people's right to participate in public affairs while providing the free flow of information necessary for governments to be held accountable by their citizens.

5. It includes responsiveness. This principle is about whether public officials consult with and listen to citizens or their representatives before a policy or law is approved, so that decision-making reflects their views and demands for human rights. The African Charter on Values and Principles of Public Service and Administration commits governments to 'put in place mechanisms for civil society participation and consultation in the management of public service provision'. Democratic accountability mechanisms can help ensure people's right to participate in public affairs and exert influence over the policymaking process while fostering the implementation of principles such as the rule of law, equal access to justice, the proper management of public affairs and property, judicial integrity and transparency.

6. It guarantees enforceability. This principle refers to the formal or informal consequences that duty bearers—government officials being accountable—might face, as well as their impact. Research by International IDEA suggests that almost all countries with low scores on service delivery have either limited or no provision for effective sanctions, and no credible incentives for politicians to be responsive. Mechanisms for democratic accountability can provide sufficient incentives and sanctions to encourage governments, elected representatives, and public officials and employees to work in the best interests of the people.

Accountability Party Politic

Political parties have a fundamental role to play in advancing democratic accountability. They are the ultimate representation vehicle for policymaking and because they are held accountable for their actions by voters, there is a reasonable expectation that they will carry out this role in a way that improves citizens' lives. They also have a central role as account holders. Opposition parties have a strong incentive to monitor the actions of the ruling party and to come up with credible policy alternatives in order to win the next election.

Following the reformation, many political parties formed, although centralization in internal very strong. Central office usually located Jakarta, dominated all internal task party up to vote buying that is issues good at the level of national and local. It can be seen to the and the ranking of the candidate for a list of candidates is highly dependent on a sum of money paid by members who want to his name e stated; , and also on the decision of the party management .

In general political parties do not have a communication system political reliable with their constituents . Even if there is one , to do likely to the organization wings .Voters are often also confused by a map coalition was done because oportunistic follow calculations short-term than policy or ideology .

The Situation Accountability Political Parties

Accountability Cadres

A general tendency political parties only creates cadres oligarchic because political parties stuck on the power of capital. Political parties is highly dependent on group or individual who uses power material in the determination of political policies and electing public officers. parpol are more reliant on the recruitment with weights in popularity, elektabilitas and akseptabilitas.

Third variable is potentially lead and unable to promote figure statesman because easily with force financial. Recruitment models like that gives mentality and behavior corruption. Those who qualify into the house of representatives and become the country, using his position to restore political investment has implanted to win jabatan-jabaan public. Thus political party leaders have plowed democracy in the political parties.

Accountability Institution

Political parties face the problem institsionalization because most political parties only function ahead of election, leadership personal more transformed than leadership institutional, recruitmen political parties tending to oligarky. Political parties do not work because a system party politic which turns the high cost politic with low accountability .Political parties formed ahead of election need to examined, do they can serve remedy the situation political, societies and nationality.

Accountability Ideology

The problem main political parties in indonesia the absence footing ideology , that is just the interests of the short-term .Individualism and of pragmatism has become ideology a number of political parties .To the ideology eliciting electoral party , party of just being machined the winner of the election in power-driven individual , ignoring tasks and functions of party politic. Politician approaching voters with transakcion way. The elite political parties use methods ‘ easy and fast ‘ by manipulating sentiment cultural , and money to mobilizing support .

Arrangement Accountability Party Politic

Political party have position status and a very important role in realizing accountability democracy that way and made his party ‘clean’. Political parties can open report funds campaign, which included a list contributor and details of receipts and expenditures is to test the principle of accountability, namely ensure responsibility a political party, prospective members legislative and the executive officer in receipts and expenditures funds the campaign rational, in accordance ethics and not violating the regulation .

Now it has not been created culture accountability political parties. In discourses accountability , two categories ideal that representativeness political parties accountable namely fix concern and having cleanliness himself against alleged misuse of financial. Institutional accountability in the body of political parties could be done through financial management political parties .View of that the government necessary to give financial assistance to political parties .In Argentina , Kostarika , Germany , The European union is an example the state of being giving a subsidy a political party .The main reason is through state aid to political parties can clarify climate transparency and democratization party .By giving a subsidy to a party , the public have a right to ask for financial transparency party since there are public funds meritorious party support.The party cannot spun away from demands for reform of party funding system .There is no political reform without reform party , there is no party without reform of the financial system reform party .

Cadres system also should be thought seriously. In moment election simultaneously , political parties do not ready in preparing candidates regent . Most political parties only rely on figure that can be extracted sound the very large although not cadres and ability to handle party on local level .

Scarcity of cadres owned by political parties is serious stuff because all political parties have insert regeneration in AD/ART. Only, it is implemented unsteadily because it is still dominance of figure a powerful person in internal political parties itself.

Arrangement democratic accountability namely can pass the arrangement election, political parties, and accountability the house of representatives.The right of the people to choose his reign through elections periodic free and fair recognized as a right democratic the most basic. Protection to the rights of this requires recognition of the right to vote and the consequent need for a system the election inclusive, and yielding an representative right in accordance will all people Indonesia.Need interconnected between issue with accountability of a system.That it is suggested that electoral system with proportional open could be maintained because the candidates appointed have responsive higher against its constituen

Conclusion

This paper has describe, accountability, democracy, good governance, accountability, accountability party politic, . the case article in indonesian. the possibility of what that could be done in order to keep the accountability political parties in indonesia ? i think , political party is in need of accountability cadres, accountability institution, accountability ideology.

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**DEVELOPMENT BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHT IN INDONESIA
AS MANIFESTATION OF DEMOCRACY**

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Abstract

Development based on the principle of human rights is development which makes the construction of human rights values as signposts in development planning. In the construction based on the principle of human rights, the government does not sacrifice human beings and humanity in carrying out its development mission. Government authorizes citizens to participate in development and determining the realization of himself as a subject, not an object that is shaped and controlled by other subjects. Development policies based on human rights should be able to be realized as a form of realization of democracy. Human rights are not voluntary or just rhetorical, it was subject of legally binding commitments. Indonesia for the first time ratify of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural right with Act No 11/2005, Indonesia is reporting to the UN ECOSOC Committee. Human right could be integrated more systematically into development policy and practice, for the reason (1) They are intrinsically valuable in aiming to protect human dignity so that development policy should identify ways to at a minimum the 'do no harm'. (2) They are also instrumentally useful to enhance development processes, address certain types of social risk, unsure accountability (Darrow and Toms, 2005).

Key words: development, implementation, human right, ECOSOC (Economy, Social & Cultural Human Right), democracy

Introduction

There was paradox when reading the news related to mining issues in a number of national mass media outlets over the past week. One national newspaper bore the headline "Simplified mining sector". For the sake of accelerating economic growth, the government will facilitate the entry of investment in the mining sector (The Jakarta Post, 2015). In another part, the public demonstrations in response to the development in Indonesia was raise. It appeared recently shows that the development undertaken by the government has not fully taking into account the aspirations of the people. In addition there are demands from various NGOs in the government's focus on integration efforts with the development of human rights, for example the development policy that takes into account environmental issues. Just as happened in Central Java and East Java. In Central Java farmers' protests demanding the cancellation of the construction of cement until today in the mountains Kendeng because they eliminate the main livelihood of the population in the agrarian sector.

The development of a cement plant in Kendeng mountain range, Sukolilo, Pati by PT. Semen Gresik and the government started in 2008. It is intended to boost investment in Central Java. PT Semen Indonesia says it is committed to realize environmentally friendly cement industry by using mine design and use of sophisticated equipment. However, mine is not only the question of environmentally friendly way, but it also takes into consideration the place or location of mining, timing and amount mined. Mining in karst area are at risk of increasing carbon emissions. This project

also covers geological protected and groundwater area Watu Putih that has the function of storing water reserves. Society in North Kendeng potentially loss of water and loss productive agricultural system, which is the source of livelihood of citizens. In addition, agriculture as an economic source of most people in Central Java, this province also the second largest contributor of rice for Indonesia, which is 779 thousand tons.

Meanwhile in East Java, Banyuwangi, Lumajang and Jember activists and farmers demanding government's concern also seeks to close sand mines that are considered damaging to the environment and farmland. From Lumajang, East Java, because of his active campaigning against sand mining on the beach in his village, Salim Kancil a farmer in Selok Awar-awar village was killed by about 40 people in the village on September 26 (The Jakarta Post, 2009).

The spreading points of mining in Indonesia is basically harmful for human right. One thing that posed by industrial and mining is air and water pollution. One of the violations of human rights that often occur in the industrial and mining is violation of the right of people to get healthy environment. Air pollution is an important problem in industrial area which may have an adverse effect on the health of the population. Air pollutions is due to the discharge of toxic fumes, gases, smoke and dusts into the atmosphere (Park, 1985) Sometime, air pollution was not caused by the burning of fossil fuels. As happened in the area of sand mining in Lumajang. Air pollution actually caused from the trucks of sand. According to JATAM there is about 5000 trucks of sand that in and out from the mining area every day in Lumajang (Rappler, 2015). It causing air pollution in the form of dust, besides that these trucks also cause noise. Cement mining even also has a risk of air of air pollution. Cement dust irritates the skin (Ikli *et al.*, 2003). Beside that, the exhaust gases and partuculate of the dust exhausted from cement plants are released to air and degrading air quality and thus creates considerable environmental pollutions (Adak *et al.*, 2007).

One of the important problems faced in economic development is how to deal trade-offs between meeting the needs of development on one hand and efforts to maintain environmental sustainability on the other hand (Fauzi, 2004). Economic development that do not pay attention to aspects of environmental sustainability and right of people will eventually have a negative impact on the environment and society itself. Example is the displacement of agricultural land and green areas for mining also inequality welfare of the population in the mining areas as described above. In the other hand, the natural resources and the environment has a limited carrying capacity. In other words, economic development does not pay attention to the capacity of natural resources and the environment also people right will cause development problems in the future.

Development in Indonesia

Development in the context of Indonesia is often identified with economic growth, good infrastructure, investment, mining, industrialization, employment openness, and economic projects. Large-scale mining investment is also regarded as a development effort. Some argue why mining is good for development because province will get greater income from mining and industrialization. This huge revenue will be used to finance development projects, both for the development of infrastructure and human resource development. In addition, the presence of large companies will have an impact well-being for the area around the mine through the absorption of labor and "welfare dripping" of the economic revival of the area around the mine. Mining is also considered to facilitate the transfer of technology and innovation (Jeannet and Liander 1978; Sachs 1970; Teece 1977). Neoclassical economic understand mining as a function of a country's production. Technically, the function will produce output in the form of labor, capital, energy, and materials (Davis and Tilton, 2002:5). This kind of development meaning that more maenstream exist in Indonesia today.

As a natural-resource rich country, Indonesia sees a substantial amount of inventments and then emphasize economic development depends on that foreign investment. Unfortunately, Indonesian is reluctant to regulate mining, business activity by transnational corporation because fearing that regulation might cause them to leave (Ichihara,2010). The Indonesian government had characteristic

of what Guillermo A. O'Donnell calls "bureaucratic authoritarianism" during the Soeharto era (O'Donnell, 1973). Even after beginning of democratic transition, *reformasi* in 1998, government still maintained these characteristics. Domestic companies are either state owned or privately held by military figures of Soeharto regime, an authoritarian administration which lasted for 30 years until 1998. But these kind of political and military figure still retain substantial power and influence in the country, it gives impact to development and economic activity in Indonesia too. The current government is not inclined to control these domestic mining companies activities (Ichihara, 2010).

And nowadays in economic activity on regional autonomy era, boosting economic growth is often the main excuse for the government to grant mining concession. Then in the regional autonomy era, mining concessions grow rapidly like mushrooms in rainy season. Seeking local revenues, local governments have fought for all types of potential mining industry in their regions to be exploited, especially during the boom in commodity prices from 2005. The approximately 3,500 permit concession in 2004 had grown to around 6,500 in 2006, and increased to 8,000 in 2011. Of these 8,000 about 6,000 is overlap (The Jakarta Post, 2015).

The spreading points of mining in Indonesia is basically harmful for human security; economic security, food security, environmental security. In fact about 70 percent of Indonesia's environmental damage caused by mining operations (Kompas, 2009). Of course the environmental damage effect on other economic sectors too, such as agriculture. It gives impact too for food security. An Oxfam report titled "Digging to Development? A Historical Look at Mining and Economic Development" shows that mining does not much give a positive effect on a country. According to the report developing countries that exporting mines such as gold, silver, copper, zinc and others experienced low economic growth and have a high rate in the poverty rate. Besides the people suffering from various diseases, suffered a high mortality rate and experienced income inequality. In the report, indicated that mining has contributed very little to the income of a region. Studies in the United States, Canada, and Australia demonstrate this. Moreover, local economic development in mining areas was also not due to the impact of the mining sector itself (Power, 2002; 3)

Inequality in development results or distribution is a serious problem in Indonesia today. In North Aceh, Papua, and Martapura. We also will find that mining areas are surrounded by settlements of the poor, damaged roads and many young people have dropped out of school (The Jakarta Post, 2015). The mining as part of development is run well and strongly connected to the uneven distribution of wealth. Jeffrey Winters, American scholar, describes Indonesia as an oligarchy in which a tiny group of the nation's elite dominate the lion's share of wealth. The top 500 oligarchs are 600,000 times more wealthy than the average citizen (The New Zealand Herald, 2014). Power gap materializing in Indonesian society is one of the largest in the world. It is because in Thailand and South Korea the gap is just 190,000 and 69,000 respectively (The Jakarta Post, 2015). Therefore sustainable development based on human rights is very important integrated into government development plans. Important for the development practitioners aiming to promote the integration of human rights systematically into development, law framework offers a way to do this by providing a legitimate starting point to establish the connections, and rules, principles to assist this integration. Human rights could be integrated more systematically into development policy and practice, for the reason (1) They are intrinsically valuable in aiming to protect human dignity so that development policy should identify ways to at a minimum the 'do no harm' (2) They are also instrumentally useful to enhance development processes, address certain types of social risk, ensure accountability (Darrow & Toms, 2005).

Development and Human Right

Development based on human rights principle is actually has grown since the Cold War, which then open way for the human rights community in the West to give attention to the economic and social rights (Ferguson, 2011; Fukuda, 2007). The development of a human rights based approach to development is also growing rapidly since the emergence of civil society as a new actor in

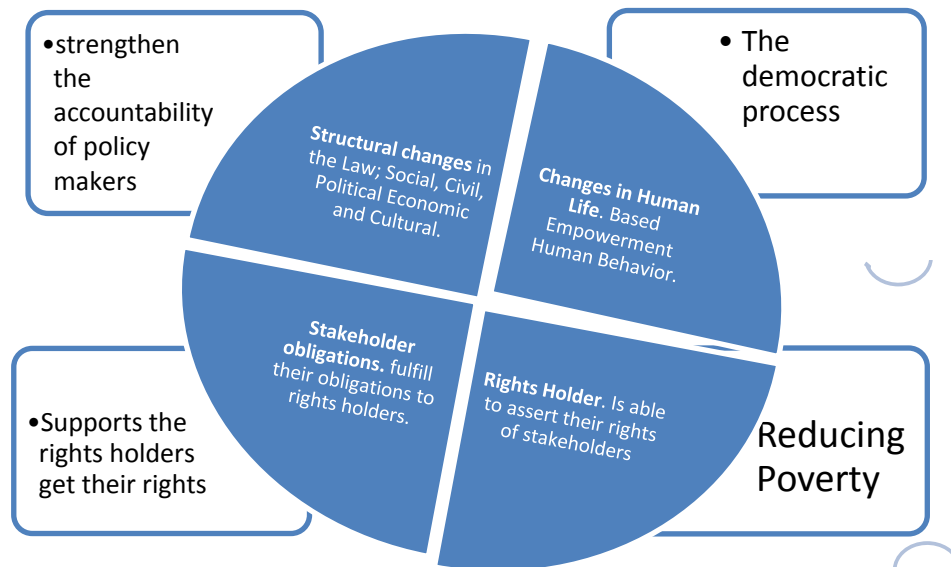
international relations. United Nation (UN) and the following organizations are have a major role in inclusion of human right agenda into international development (Joussoon, 2002: 6).

The development based on human right give a correction to development that only emphasis on economic growth and infrastructure. In the perspective of human rights, development interpreted as a human centered, participatory, and attention of the environment. Development based on human right perceive require equitable distribution income, human capacity building and intended to multiply choice for people. The object of development is continuous progress in the welfare of all. Development approach to human rights is integrated and multidisciplinary (UNHCR, 2006).

Development within the human rights framework is a process of economic, social, cultural, political and comprehensively. (UNHCR, 2006). In the issue of mining and industries itself, it should be viewed from various aspects. The mandate of rearranging the natural resources management can be reviewed in five aspects, namely the mandate philosophical, sociological, ecological, political and juridical (Candradewi, 2003; 3).

The notion of human right as one unit consisting of all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural happened since the Declaration of Philadelphia International Labour Conference in 1944. Then it embodied in the Charter of the Nations in 1945. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 also clearly recognized this unity of all rights (Sengupta, 2002: 838). This idea was later developed by the countries in the world with 160 world leaders endorsed the United Nations Millenium Declaration in 2000, which also decided “To fully respect and uphold the Declaration Universal of human right and to promote democracy, strengthen the rule of law, and respect for all human right and fundamental freedoms internationally recognized, and it including the right to development. (Ljungman, 2005; 3).

The new consensus that emerged in Vienna which essentially Vienna Declaration affirmed “the right to development as universal right and can not be ignored because it integral part of human right. It also encourage the commitment of the international community to cooperate realizing these rights. Thus the right to development recognized as human right, the right that integrate economis, social, and cultural right with civil and political right (Sengupta, 2002 ; 841).



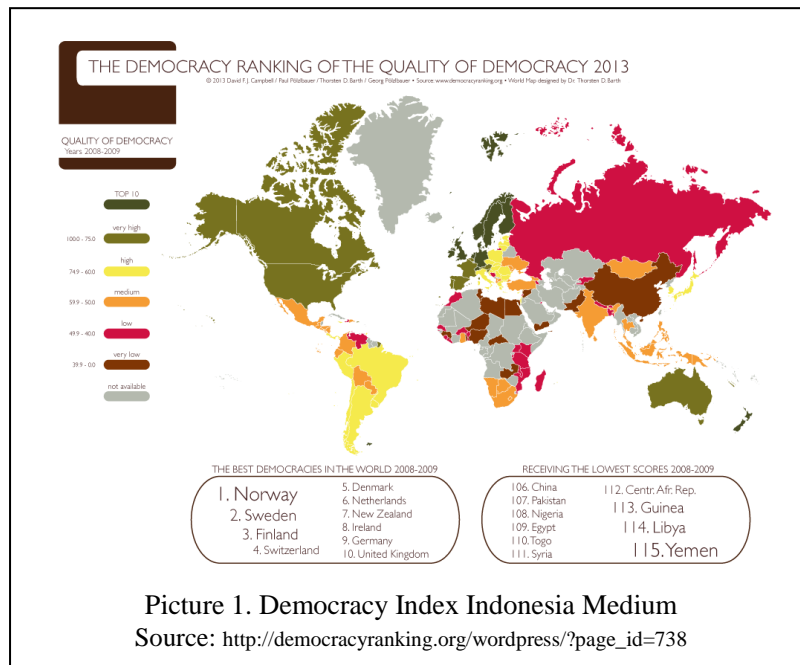
Picture 1. Development Strategy in Human Right Perceptively (methodological)
Source: MP3EI Study In Human Right Perceptively

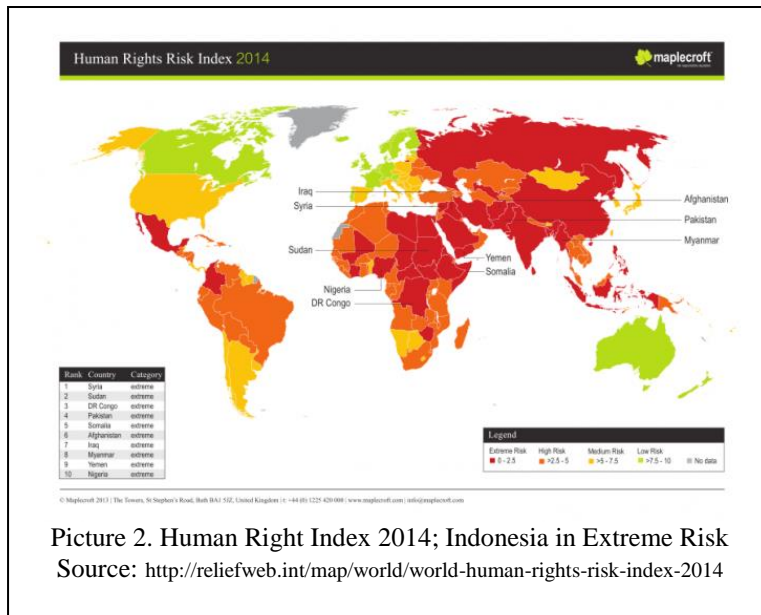
Picture above in the book of “MP3EI Study In Human Right Perceptive” by researchers from the National Human Rights Commission. It explain about development strategy based on human right that emphasis on (1) the process of increasing the empowerment marginal group (2) the process of improving stakeholder accountability obligations, (3) collaborative action between the holder of the right and obligations of stakeholders (Lankford and Sano, 2010) Therefore, the development based on human right approach looked at participations, empowerment of vulnerable groups, equality, and non discriminations and accountability as that is not negotiable in the process and development strategies. The implications, economix, social and cultural (ESC) are treated as important as civil and political right(sipol) (Buhaerah *et al*, 2014).

Therefore, within this framework (development based on human right), the farmers in Kendeng, Central Java, that reject cement plant and choose to maintain agricultural land will be obtain more attention. This is because the people (non-government, farmer or marginal group) has a position as a subject and should not be discriminated. Same with the movement by farmer in Lumajang that reject sand mining by the government, by this framework they will have a freedom to choose which one is better for them. This is because development based on human rights guarantees it.

Development, Human Right & Democracy in Indonesia

The democratic system is not necessarily proportional to the assuredness of human rights of a country. Indonesia's democratic and increase democracy index turned out to have a score that is not too good in the index of human rights. Human rights data show that Indonesia is a high risk for human rights index. Contrary to the democracy index that in a medium score and under the high. Some analys also said that Indonesia is a large gap between democracy and human rights. This fact proves the growing importance of the implementation of human rights-based development.





Picture 2. Human Right Index 2014; Indonesia in Extreme Risk
 Source: <http://reliefweb.int/map/world/world-human-rights-risk-index-2014>

From the second map image above shows that Indonesia occupies the extreme risk in the Universal Human Rights Index. Key emerging economies to drop into the extreme risk category include: Nigeria (10th), India (18th), Philippines (27th) and Indonesia (30th). The indicators in measuring is 70% there is repression of freedom of speech, ethnic and sectarian conflicts; a lack of worker protection; and competition for land and water between local populations and industrial business users. These data further demonstrate the importance of human rights-based development. This is due to a democracy that does not fully guarantee the human rights in a country and it is not impossible imbalance or gap in it.

Actually in Indonesia development based on human rights has been proposed by the Human Right Commission. Overall ideas, concepts, and implementation guidance has been basically very comprehensively summarized in a book research "Study MP3EI In Human Right Perspectives" were published in 2014. Finally it necessary the role of government in the implementation of these study and recommendations.

Conclusions

Human rights are not voluntary or just rhetorical, they are the subject of legally binding commitments. Indonesia for the first time ratify of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural right with Act No 11/2005, Indonesia is reporting to the UN ECOSOC Committee. Development policies based on human rights should be able to be realized so there is no gap between implementation of human right and democracy.

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**MONEY POLITICS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS: PILKADA AND PILKADES
(CASE STUDY IN TWO VILLAGES OF PATI REGENCY)**

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Abstract

The fact that candidacy in local head elections (*Pilkada*) is costly is undisputed. Expenditure incurred in a candidate included (1) the cost of the nomination, (2) the cost of the campaign, (3) witness' payment, and (4) the cost to buy votes (money politics). Candidacy cost in village head elections (*Pilkades*) is also high, which may reach hundreds of million rupiah, while the money is used to money politics. The purpose of this study was to analyze the pattern of money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* in Pati Regency. The regency is known with adage "*ora uwik ora obos*" (no money no vote). Research sites were two villages in Pati Regency. This study used descriptive qualitative approach. Data were collected with in-depth interview to 3 intentionally selected informants (purposive sampling), supported by secondary data from relevant documents, as well as Miles and Huberman qualitative analysis. The results showed that money politics in *Pilkades* was more massive than *Pilkada*, in which the professional liaison candidate-voter (*Korlap*) was the same person, whose close kinship with candidate (*Pilkades*) and voters. In the moment of *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* there were *botoh* (investors) who can be identified as two types of *botoh*: inside or outside vote-canvassing networks (*tim sukses*). This study also found that simultaneous *Pilkades* could limit *botoh* practices. This research suggested reducing money politics by effective regulation and increasing voters' education. In addition, in terms of theory, more attention to money politics is needed for the study of voting behavior.

Keywords: *Pilkada, Pilkades, money politics*

Introduction

The fact that becoming a candidate in a local election (*Pilkada*) is costly is undisputed. To put it into a perspective, for a small town in Central Java with population under 400,000 people and a mid-sized geographic area, a candidate must prepare about three billion rupiahs (Mas'od and Savirani 2011). There are a number of expenses must be borne by a candidate i.e. to fund his candidacy, campaign, witnesses, and another cost to influence voters or buy votes. Buying votes (money politics) is forbidden, nonetheless, in local elections it has always become the means to an end, which is, to win (Badoh 2010). Didik Supriyanto (2005) divides four methods of money politics in *Pilkada* as follows: (1) transactions between private donors with a candidate who will be the decision maker after winning the election; (2) transactions between a candidate with a political party that is entitled with a right to select candidates; (3) transactions between a candidate and the campaign team with electoral officers who have the authority count the votes; and (4) transactions between a candidate and the campaign team with voters (buying votes).

Money politics in elections is not new. In a village chief election (*Pilkades*), money politics is a normal thing (Kana 2011). Two respective researches by Kartodirdjo (1992) and Halili (2009) found

that village chief candidates use money politics to draw sympathy from voters. Like *Pilkada*, the amount of money that must be spent by the candidates is huge. The number can reach hundreds of million rupiahs, usually from 400 million rupiahs to 700 million rupiahs (www.jpnn.com). That amount of money is utilized to gather supporters with money politics. The modus operandi is various: (1) buying hundreds of ballots assumed to be casted for the oppositions with a high price by the electoral officers; (2) sending the campaign team to deliver the money to potential voters; (3) dawn attack; and (4) the external parties, like the gambling lords, sporadically distribute a huge amount of money (Halili 2009).

Pilkada candidates cannot always fulfill the required amount of money. A number of studies showed one of the potential sources of money in *Pilkada* is business people (Hidayat et al 2006; Agustiono and Yusoff 2010). There is also another actor known as investors or *Botoh* (Suhardono 2011). *Botoh* are regular actors in *Pilkades*. They are the investors or rich people whose professions are gamblers (Halili 2009; Rahmawati 2008).

Some scientists deem money politics as a clientelism phenomenon (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith 2002). In *Pilkada/Pilkades* money politics shows a relationship pattern of patrons-clients between political actors and/or economic actors who play a role as the patron and voters as the client. Such private contact is not direct, instead, through a third party (Hicken 2011).

The result of relationship between political elites, financial elites and voters in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* is the circulation of “hot money”. It contradicts the criteria of a fair and democratic election. A free and fair election is an election that is free from violence, bribery, and other illicit actions that will wrongly influence the election final results (Surbakti et al 2015). The above elaboration shows money politics is a stumbling block to a democratic election. This study will explain money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades*.

According to Santoso (2007) generally money politics is only associated with bribery with the goal to make a candidate win the election. Whereas there is a broader issue where money politics is also correlated with every other unlawful actions in regard with funding in the political context (including issues on political parties and elections) involving funding from illegitimate sources and when candidates do not report the existence of those illegal funding. The definition of money politics in Act no. 32/2004, a law that regulates *Pilkada*, only points out to any actions that promises or gives money or other materials to persuade voters to or dissuade them from electing a certain candidate. It is quite different from Santoso's concept of money politics. It means that money politics as a semantics relates to vote buying activities. Giving materials in the vote buying context does not always mean giving cash money. It can take other forms like food, clothes, household goods, medicine, infrastructure, construction material, agricultural inputs and the provision of other services (Pfeiffer 2004).

Studies on *Pilkades* show that candidates are not the only ones to do money politics. *Botoh* can also be the actors by using their money to bribe voters to vote for candidates they support. When there is an election, *Botoh* from surrounding areas will come and play their part to gamble, and if possible they will influence the election results (Kompas, 8/3/2007). According to Halili (2009) *Botoh* will distribute their money for any gambling activities in order to make the candidates they support win the election. They are bold enough to spend their money as long as it is still within costs-benefits ratio that will benefit them.

Pati Regency, Central Java, is the research location because there are a number of studies and media reports that show the possibility of money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades*. From the voters aspect, there are some that are marked as pragmatic voters based on an adage of “*ora uwek ora obos*” (no money no vote) (Rahman 2015). Pati Regency is also an interesting place to do a research on *Pilkada* 2011 as there was a repeated election after being cancelled by Constitutional Court of Indonesia. For the first time, the simultaneous elections to elect chief of villages were held and there were 219 villages from 21 sub-districts.

Methodology

This research is qualitative descriptive, aimed to create a systematic, actual, and accurate description or layout on money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* in Pati Regency. This research was done in Sidolegi Village, that held *Pilkades* in 2012 and in Morodadi Village, one of the villages which participate in *Pilkada* 2015. There were three informants for this research who were chosen purposively based on a measurement on knowledge and experience about money politics. Data was gathered by doing in-depth interviews and studying documents. The data was analyzed qualitatively (inductive). The method to analyze the data followed Miles's and Haberman's interactive analysis (2014). Villages name and villagers identity in this article were altered due to confidentiality.

Findings and Argument

In Pati Regency, *Pilkada* was held twice, in 2011 (as the predecessor's term ended) and in 2012 because the election was repeated. Repeating an election in Pati Regency was triggered by a fiasco on candidacy. The head of DPC PDIP (District Representative Council of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) in Pati Regency, during the process of refining the candidacy documents, has cancelled the the candidacy of Imam Suroso-Sujoko which previously had been supported based on the party's recommendation. Then he announced himself as a regent candidate with Tejo Pramono as his deputy. Consequently, Imam Suroso and Sujoko sued the party to the Constitutional Court of Indonesia and won.

Pilkada Pati 2011 was held on 23 July 2011 with six pairs of candidates. Three of them gained support from various political parties, i.e.: Haryanto - Budiyo (PKB, PKS, Gerindra, PPI, Hanura, and PKPB), Sunarwi - Tejo Pramono (PDIP), and Kartina Sukawati - Supeno (Partai Demokrat). The other three were independent candidates. They were Sri Merditomo - Karsidi, Sri Susahid - Hasan, and Slamet Warsito - Sri Mulyani. The total voters reached 1.091.280 voters with the voter turnout was of 72,3%. The result was that there was none pair of candidates secured the election threshold of 30%. KPU (General Elections Commissions) scheduled to hold second round election on 10 September 2011 for two pairs of candidates, Haryanto - Budiyo and Sunarwi - Tejo, who earned two highest votes respectively. But even that election was cancelled again.

The repeated election was held on 16 July 2012 with six pairs of candidates. However, instead of supporting Sunarwi - Tejo, PDIP decided to put forward other names, Imam Suroso and his running mate, Sujoko. The election result showed Haryanto - Budiyo secured the first place and gained more than 30% votes. Thus, they were inaugurated as a head of region and deputy head of region. However, the voter turnout dropped around 7%.

Pilkades Sidolegi was peacefully organized in 2012 with two pairs of Marmo and Pujo, who had a familial relationship with each other, and Marmo was elected village chief. In *Pilkada* Sidolegi 2012 money politics was still massive and *Botoh* surely played a role (interview with an informant from Sidolegi Village on 27/5/2015). On the contrary, there was a conflict during *Pilkades* Morodadi 2015 which was started by a demonstration by Suyat's supporters. He happened to be the losing candidate. The election committee announced that Suyat failed to go through as a candidate because his academic certificate was indicated as fraud. Nonetheless, the government of Pati Regency, via an election desk, conducted an investigation and issued a recommendation letter to cancelled the decision. This was considered as an intervention by the government. Consequently, half members of the election committee (14 out of 28) and a candidate, Mastadi, withdrew. The new committee was formed with only two pairs of candidates (interview with an informant from Morodadi Village on 28/3/2015). *Pilkades* Morodadi 2015 was held simultaneously with other elections from 219 villages from 21 sub-districts in Pati Regency. From the beginning the government of Pati Regency had been signaling that Morodadi Village would be the potential area of conflict. Hot atmosphere had been felt because there was a member of the election committee who was believed to be sided with one of the

candidates. He was Suwarno, an acting chief of village. Meanwhile, Suyat was a former member of Haryanto-Budiono campaign team, the current regent and vice regent. *Pilkades* Desa Morodadi was won by Suwarno. Money Politics in Morodadi Village was also massive and *Botoh* played a role in it.

A form of money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* in the form of giving an envelope containing some money was done in the afternoon before the election the day after (dawn attacks). The method was done by an 'official' who paid a visit to every house in his 'working areas' evenly. Money politics in the form of goods or fundamental needs have lessened. In a *Pilkada*, the campaign teams just have to 'secure' the head of the village, while in a *Pilkades* it is tighter because they have to 'secure' every family heads with voting rights. For the community, money politics is deemed customary, and they are not reluctant to say how much money they get in the envelope to other people. From the side of the candidates, it is quite lacking without giving out envelopes.

In order to win the election, the candidates form a campaign team, usually from their next of kin or colleagues. The bottom-most part of the campaign team network is called field coordinators (Indonesian: *koordinator lapangan (Korlap)*). In money politics, *Korlap* are the officials who distribute the money to the voters. For example, in Morodadi Village, the campaign team of Suwarno recruited some *Korlap*. Every *Korlap* is responsible to secure three houses or around 12 ballots, assuming that there are four voters in a house. Suyat also formed campaign teams, but every *Korlap* is responsible for securing 40-50 ballots. Based on the experience, most *Korlap* professions are held by the same or fixed people, and they are known by the voters. Generally a *Korlap* knows and understands deeply the circumstances of every citizen in his 'working field'. The level of effectiveness of every campaign team is different, and it is estimated that Suyat's losing factor is that some of the compensations did not reach the voters.

The source of fund for money politics came from the personal money of the candidate, and sometimes there are *Botoh* who offer to give a loan to the candidate with a term that it was given back in bigger amount. Moreover, there is also a fund obtained from his relatives or other next of kin. The money is distributed in phase to the voters, starting from the evening to the morning of the voting. Other forms such as a giving of *nasi bungkus* (wrapped rice) to citizens supporting the candidates is also done in the morning. Mobilizing voters like this is not too hard, for example by picking up the voters by pickup trucks from the farthest village. Doing it in phase is also a strategy from the candidates to destroy the ballots of their opponent.

There is always *Botoh* in every *Pilkades*. *Botoh* usually comes from outside the village in great numbers. *Botoh* is helped by some people who interact with the voters (known as the checkers) who help looking for information (survey) of the power of every candidate to every house. The result of this ballot mapping is then offered to the candidates, and *Botoh* convinced said candidate that they will win with some evidences, such as they have by-name data in every neighborhood. The members of the checkers is not limited to age and gender, and usually comes from outside of the village by passing off as roundsmen or vegetable sellers. Checkers work two months before the election, and the survey is done many times, hence the accuracy of the data.

Botoh sometimes joined in and are willing to fund the candidates. If the candidate is chosen then they will be given more compensation in returning the fund based on their agreement – usually twice the amount. However, there are also some *Botoh* who don't ask to have their money returned because they win the bet. Basically it was all based on the agreement. A strong candidate does not use *Botoh*, and instead controls his own campaign. There are also separate *Botoh* and they are not associated directly with the candidate. There are various modus operandi of *Botoh*, for example *Botoh A* is gambling against *Botoh B*, there is also *unggul-ashor* (win-lose) type of *Botoh*, and it is most commonly found. Then there is also a bet of what ballot comes out first of the voting box, a bet of the voting predictions, and various other betting variations.

In the 2011 and 2012 *Pilkada* in Sidolegi Village and Morodadi Village the highest votes was achieved by Haryanto-Budiono pair, the current regent and vice regent. In the two villages the money given during *Pilkada* was not as big as during *Pilkades*. The amount of money given to the voters was around Rp. 15,000 to Rp. 20,000, but during *Pilkades* it was Rp. 50,000 (Sidolegi) and Rp. 100.000-Rp. 150.000 (Morodadi). In a *Pilkada*, the money was only given once on the morning of

the voting. There was no gift in the form of goods. The officials giving money during *Pilkada* were the same people during *Pilkades*. Some *Botoh* were sighted during *Pilkada*, but the numbers are low and not as crowded as during *Pilkades*. The number of *Botoh* decreased after holding the *pilkades* simultaneously. Before, many *Botoh* came from outside Morodadi Village, but now with the *Pilkades* held at once, the number of *Botoh* in every village decreased – they preferred to gamble in their own village.

The phenomenon above shows that money politics in *Pilkada* is a reproduction of *Pilkades* since the two have the same pattern. The change in election regulation referring to the criteria of a democratic election apparently is not capable enough to encourage the birth of a democratic election, free of the deceits of money politics. Meanwhile, holding the *Pilkades* simultaneously contributed to lessening the area of *Botoh*.

Conclusion

- Money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* shows a similar pattern, but the money politics in *Pilkades* is more massive compared to *Pilkada*, and the amount of money distributed per voter in *Pilkades* is bigger, with repeated delivery.
- Money politics in *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* is done by the candidates through clientelism network called campaign teams, with the bottom-most network being Korlap who has the duty of distributing the money to the voters, with the same people known by the voters, and most of the members have family and/or colleague ties with the candidates.
- The expense from the candidates in *Pilkada* or *Pilkades* is massive – the biggest in money politics, yet the candidates do not always able to use their personal money. The need for capital in money politics is filled by *Botoh* with multiple compensations.
- *Botoh* gain control of the data of the strength of every candidate, and through money politics they arrange the winnings of every candidate for their own interest. Simultaneous *Pilkades* limits the number of incoming *Botoh*, since they prefer to concentrate in their own village.

Based on the above conclusions, some recommendations are given, as such:

- The laws which become the protecting laws of *Pilkada* and *Pilkades* have not assured law maintenance for money politics violations. Regulation reparations, especially those assuring the law certainty for law maintenance regarding money politics violations, are imperative.
- Holding *Pilkades* simultaneously can suppress the number of *Botoh* which use *Pilkades* as their gambling arena. Learning from the *Pilkades* case thus the policy for simultaneous *Pilkada* implementation in 2015 will suppress the number of *Botoh* in the *Pilkada*.
- In the villages which this research was held, the voters were permissive towards money politics, thus voting education is imperative to change transactional voters into rational voters.
- In the context of theory development, further studies should examine money politics in the study of voting behaviors.

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ANOMALIES OF DIRECT LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN SEMARANG CITY

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Abstract

Theoretically, direct democracy is intended to achieve three main goals, namely (1) increase public participation in political process, (2) improve public accountability and (3) enhance public welfare. However, current research in Semarang cities indicated that these three ideal goals of direct democracy do not take place. There are many obstacles and cultural context why this idealism of direct democracy does not occur. This research is aimed at exploring this interesting research findings. The research methodology is primarily based on qualitative research by deepening informant views or opinions in regard to three main focuses, namely the connection between (a) direct democracy and political participation, (b) direct democracy and public accountability and finally (c) direct democracy and public welfare. Relevant secondary data are also used such as other research reports and books.

The research results showed that there are three main anomalies happen in Semarang direct mayor election. *Firstly*, Semarang voters do not ensure themselves that direct participation is strongly needed in local political processes. They believe that participation will happen if there are money or other forms given to them as the substitution of income loss in the day of election. *Secondly*, Semarang voters do not believe that there is correlation between direct election and public accountability. They argue that there are still many corruption, collusion and nepotism occur although the mayor is directly voted by people. They perceive the meaning of democracy in very low level of understanding and knowledge. *Thirdly*, Semarang voters do not believe that democracy will be able to make their life better. They are pessimistic and hopeless to the future of direct democracy.

Keywords: direct local democracy anomalies, voters political distrust, pessimism and hopeless, various contexts.

Introduction

By direct local democracy, the local communities are more aware of their region, and would be able to make decision for their region, although intervention of the central government still needed as a commitment to the choice of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. However, some experts still questioned about achievement of the goal of democracy itself, both procedural democracy and substantial democracy, although the agenda of the five-yearly direct local election had been held hundreds of times (ie from 2004 until the upcoming local elections that would be held in December 2015).

Surbakti (2009) mentioned the existence of money politic in direct election of regional/local government head. This affects emergence of the shadow state and economic bias of the informal economy - politics that will most likely occur in local government in the post Pilkada (Hidayat, 2010). The actors of money politics and shadow state are the business rulers who tend to enter and dominate the political sphere. Finally, democracy belongs to the elite and certain groups who have access and control of the economy. Democracy became a smooth road, a pleasant place, space, and opportunity for the growth of oligarchy (Jeffrey A. Winters, 2015). Therefore, Argued that the plague of money

politics in the local elections, Fitriyah (2012) said that: “Those who spend money politics to win elections are normally expected to recover after elections their investment with a profit. If unchecked, the defense of public interests and the common weal may be on the retreat. These are crimes, and seriously undermine the integrity of elections.”. In fact, Zulkarnain (2010) argued that direct local election is rather a corruption learning, rather than democracy learning. Those phenomenon of money politics, the shadow state and olichargy are direct local democracy anomalies.

This research would focus on how anomalies of direct democracy appear in the local election in Semarang. Semarang is the provincial capital. Its population is deemed to be more politically literate because the support of better conditions and more advanced in the education aspect (formal and informal), fastness and quality of information received, modernity, health, and economy, so it would be the basic of rational consideration in political choice. Thus, the anomalies of local democracy in the election of Semarang should be different variants.

Research Objectives

This research aims to find what and how anomalies in direct local democracy appeared in the Semarang City. Then, this study formulates factors or contexts that affect the appearance of those anomalies in direct local democracy. This research findings will be contribute both empirical and theoretical knowledge to direct local democracy, especially regarding to a concern of anomalies of direct local democracy.

Statement of The Problem

The research questions are as follows:

1. What kinds of direct local democracy anomalies are found in Semarang local election?
2. Toward extends, anomaly of direct local democracy is found related to democracy and political participation?
3. Toward extends, anomaly of direct local democracy is found related to democracy and accountability?
4. Toward extends, anomaly of direct local democracy is found related to democracy and public welfare?

Theoretical-Conceptual Framework

Problems in this study is analyzed by using the theory of democracy, particularly local democracy or direct local democracy. Talking about local democracy, the theory of decentralization and regional autonomy would also be discussed, as both are local democratic tools in achieving its objectives. As for the efforts to achieve these goals, there would appear political behavior anomalies, as a result of the surrounding context.

Theory of Democracy

Democracy (*demos* = people and *krato s*= power or government, which means the highest power (sovereignty) is in the hands of the people. Giddens (1994, 330) then formulate democracy as a political system where the people hold the supreme power, not a king or nobility. This strong determination of the people of a country and the government even prompted the emergence of phrases conveyed by the 16th President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, during his speech on November 19, 1863, which then underlies the thinking of many politicians: “*Under God, shall have a new birth of freedom-and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth*”. (<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm>).

Determination of the people in a democratic system could also be found in the opinion of Sodaro (2004, 31): “*The essential idea of democracy is that the people have the right to determine who governs them. In most cases they elect the principal governing officials and hold them accountable for their actions. Democracies also impose legal limits on the government’s authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to their citizens*”. This opinion contain 3 important and major things. *First*, democracy must provide political participation, such as in the Pilkada. *Second*, democracy encourages the emergence of public accountability for government’s actions. *Third*, in democracy, there is ownership and guarantee of the rights of the people. One of the people’s rights is the right to obtain welfare. The important role of the people in a democratic system therefore cause democracy to be able to reach all people, both in the Central and Regional or Local. For this purpose, democracy is necessary at the local level.

Idealism of Direct Local Democracy

In some matters which are local, the National Government would not be able work effectively and efficiently. By contrast, at the local level, people are more aware of their own area and needs. Thus, the existence of local democracy would be able to answer and solve the problems and meet the needs of local people. This is in line with the opinion of Sisk, et al. (2001, 11): “...inhabitants of a given area have the right and responsibility to make decisions on those issues that affect them most directly and on which they can make decisions”. Thus, decentralization (which spawned regional autonomy) that gives the right and the freedom to set their own household, can be a tool for the achievement of local democracy: a governance that is based on and in favor of local people. By Sisk, et al. (2001, 11): “Central to any meaning of local democratic governance is the concept of self-government and administration closest to the people”. Today, almost universally, decentralization becomes a trend in local government in realizing democracy at the local level (Sisk, et al., 2001, 21). In this local democracy, Smith (1985 in Hidayat 2010) confirms that the main conditions for the realization of an accountable and responsive local government, as well as the establishment of political equality at the local level, is direct local election (local government heads, Pilkada) and DPRD (local representative council).

The importance of principles or values of democracy applied at the local level makes idealism direct local democracy intended to achieve three main objectives, those are: (1) increase public participation in the political process, (2) improve public accountability, and (3) improve welfare of the society. Although idealism direct local democracy needs to be realized, but there are many unique irregularities or improprieties becoming a phenomenon in the local elections.

Anomalies of Direct Local Democracy

According Dictionary.com and Oxford Dictionary of Politics, “Anomali” is mentioned as a deviation from the common rule, type, arrangement, or form. The synonyms of the word anomaly are abnormality, exception, peculiarity, an odd, unusual, peculiar, or strange condition, irregularity etc. Something anomalous is something different, abnormal, peculiar, or not easily to be classified.

Direct local democracy has idealism that is implicitly referring to principal meaning of local government that is from, by and for the local people. By direct local democracy, people of the local level would be closer and reachable, have more opportunities to participate, able to oversee public accountability, and eventually improve sosial welfare. However, if it is then during the implementation of direct local democracy, the meaning as well as goal of idealism is twisted by deviation actions that injure democracy, then this deviation action is called anomaly of direct local democracy.

According on the explanation above, anomaly of direct local democracy could be conceptualized as an unusual political action that occur in direct local elections. It is called anomalous act because the direct local democracy which is intended to increase political participation, public accountability, and welfare of the local people, is twisted by political action that is deviate, for the sake of certain

interests. Actions irregularities such as money politics, shadow state, and oligarchy that occur in local level are examples of anomaly behaviour in direct local democracy.

Methods

Methods used in this research is combining qualitative type and documentation. Qualitative type relies very much on in depth interviews with several key informants in Semarang City. This interview is used in order to get insight data in regard to the political behavior of voters of Semarang City. There are 10 key informants interviewed namely people of election committee, election watching body, political expert and government officials.

Documentation is based on related research reports produced by any person or research institution in regard to Semarang political behavior. This documentation may be from expert research report, mass media, newspaper or survey reports by any related institution.

There are two type of data used in this research, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data are collected from 10 key informants using in depth interview method. Secondary data are collected from documentation related to political attitude and behavior of Semarang people.

Analyzing data is using interpretative, as one strong method in qualitative research. As Creswell (2014) confirms that quality of qualitative research is very much depending on capacity of the researcher to read the transcript, categorize the data and interpret them in scientific analysis and judgment. Data interpretation may lead to figure out trends or may be generalization in the qualitative research method.

Findings and Argument

In regarding to several anomalies of direct local election in Semarang City, research data resulted from documentation namely political survey by Central Java Research Institute (CJRI: 2015) indicates that there is strong anomaly in Semarang voters attitude and behavior toward money politics. Political survey which conducted by CJRI that take 1,000 respondents concludes that 71,9% of Semarang voters is having permissive views on money politics. Big majority of Semarang voters states that receiving or hoping to have money from political competition to substitute their vote is totally accepted and logically right.

Interestingly, Semarang voters view money politics as something usual or normal. They also view that money political is logically right and no moral obligation is broken. This is definitely anomaly since there are twist in political trust. Money politics is something bad but people perceive this is something good. Money politics break the main element of political morality. This public perception or views is contradictory to social ad political norms that is believed that money politics or vote buying is something bad to the future of democracy and political rightness or morality.

Further, political survey by CJRI (2015) continues to confirm that 61,9% of respondents of Semarang voters is egoistic in respond to money politics or vote buying. Majority of Semarang voters confirms that when anyone give them money to vote someone in mayor election, they will surely accept the gifted money, but the choice or who will be elected inside the ballot station is in the hand of themselves. Similar findings obtained from the results of the Hermini research (2015, 630). This political behavior is not only immoral, but also wrong in the context of political correctness. However, interviews with several respondents, they say that this is not wrong but rational choice since the autonomy in electing someone is not other business but their own political business or decision.

Similar political survey conducted by Centre for Elections and Political Parties (CEPP 2015) also confirm similar results in regard to money politics or vote buying. Occupying less number of respondents than CJRI (namely 200 respondents), CEPP also concludes that majority of Semarang

people is materialistic since they refer or hope to be given money to stimulate their willingness to come to ballot stations.

CEPP tries to link this political attitude toward economic capacity of Semarang people. The center tends to make conclusion that this people political attitudes may be caused by big number of people living under poverty line in Semarang. Poverty may contribute to general perception of the Semarang society to money politics or vote buying. In this condition, Hemini (2015, 628-630) mentioned the same thing.

Interviews with AM (2015), election watching committee of Semarang City is stated that:

“memang menghadapi persepsi publik masyarakat yang permisif dan tidak melihat politik uang sebagai sesuatu yang buruk dalam demokrasi langsung membuat tugas kami di panwas kota menjadi sangat berat. Apalagi jumlah pengawas kami yang hanya sedikit kami semakin kesulitan menghadapi gejala masyarakat seperti ini. Namun demikian, sebagaimana tugas pokok kami, maka kami akan tetap memerangi dan melawan serta memproses politik uang tersebut” (because of people perception that money politics in election is not viewed as bad things, this make our job is the heavier. Number of limited officials also contribute in our difficulty to war money politics. However, as our main job or vision, we will always war and proceed money politics in law enforcement processes).

Data resulted from AM is similar to the social figure opinion of AT (2015). AT also confirms that:

“seluruh proses politik selalu didasari atas praktik suap dan politik uang. Sehingga kondisi seperti ini tidak akan mungkin mampu menghasilkan pemimpin yang baik yang benar-benar mampu menindaklajuti aspirasi masyarakat. Karena perilaku pemilih dan yang dipilih sama-sama terhadap politik uang maka masa depan demokrasi menjadi tidak menentu arah dan tujuannya” (all political processes are dominated by money politics so that this condition will not be able to lead to this society into elected leaders who are able to follow people aspiration up. Since political behavior of voters and candidates toward money politics is similar, it is then hopeless to the future of democracy).

Above data resulted from political surveys and interviews confirm strong first anomaly that money politics is then becoming the bottom line of political behavior in Semarang City. This may lead the uncertainty of quality of direct democracy in Semarang City especially and Indonesia generally.

Second strong anomaly is related to relation between election and accountability. Political survey by CJRI (2015) that occupies massive respondents (1,000 people) confirms that Semarang people do not believe in relation between election or direct democracy and accountability. 78.6% of total respondents states that direct democracy can not guarantee public accountability. This refers to the case of Soemarmo (former Semarang City mayor) who have corruption problems. Although Soemarmo is elected by people, but he is not accountable and have a problem of corruption.

Interviews with HW (2015) in regard to the case of corruption, he states that:

“Kasus korupsi yang menimpa Soemarmo memang membentuk opini publik bahwa demokrasi langsung sekalipun tidak mampu menghasilkan atau mejamin tata kelola pemerintahan yang baik khususnya menyangkut akuntabilitas. Sebagai pemimpin birokrasi ternyata korupsi oleh Soemarmo membawa banyak pihak lain seperti Sekda, Kepala Dinas ataupun anggota DPRD”. (Case of Soemarmo corruption leads to public opinion that direct election can not be able to guarantee good governance, especially accountability. This Soemarmo's corruption case brings other actors such as CEO city leader and local parliament members).

Political expert from Diponegoro University, TY (2015) also similarly confirms that:

“Kasus korupsi Soemarmo menjadikan kesulitan para pejuang demokrasi untuk menunjukkan bahwa demokrasi akan menghasilkan kebaikan. Perilaku politik yang by pass dan menghalalkan segala cara menjadi hal yang mencoreng demokrasi langsung di Kota Semarang” (Soemarmo's corruption case make it difficult for democracy activists to confirm

that democracy may result in goodness. By pass politics and doing everything to get power then undermine the significance of direct democracy in Semarang City).

Political surveys by CJRI, CEPP and LPSI (2015) confirm the danger of immoral political behavior toward the future of direct local democracy in Indonesian cities, include Semarang City. These research institutes warn this anomaly may lead to the trust of democracy in very local level.

Finally, third strong anomaly is showed by survey results by CJRI (2015) that 76,5% of respondents (of 1,000 people) does not believe that direct local election will be able to guarantee public welfare. CEPP also releases similar picture related to this. Hermini research results (2015, 629) also mentions similar data

Majority of Semarang people view there is no direct relation between city mayor election and improvement of public welfare. The people simply think that city mayor can directly affect the life of the people to become better. The say that the city mayor can not improve their family economy or even the city mayor can not help them to find a job.

This anomaly is responded by an expert MTA (2015) by asserting that:

“Masyarakat tidak memiliki kemampuan berfikir yang mendalam bahwa relasi demokrasi dan kesejahteraan rakyat adalah relasi tidak langsung. Artinya ada variable antara demokrasi dan kesejahteraan rakyat, yakni bahwa demokrasi langsung bisa menghasilkan pemimpin yang baik, kemudian pemimpin yang baik bisa menghasilkan tata kelola pemerintahan yang baik, dan akhirnya tata kelola pemerintahan yang baik akan menghasilkan kesejahteraan rakyat. Ini seharusnya yang diajarkan kepada rakyat, sehingga mereka tidak mispersepsi terhadap demokrasi langsung” (people do not have deep capacity to understand the relation between direct democracy and social welfare. The relation between them is indirectly. Democracy produces good leaders, good leaders produce good governance, and good governance produces public welfare. This should be learned to the people, so they are not misperception to the importance of direct democracy).

KPU member of Semarang City, AK (2015) supports the importance of voters education in Semarang City in respond this third anomaly. AK further confirms that:

“pendidikan politik penting, yang harus dimulai dari pemilih pemula agar mereka benar dalam memahai demokrasi, khususnya demokrasi langsung. Masyarakat sejak awal sudah harus dikenal dengan nilai-nilai dasar demokrasi, sehingga mereka memiliki pemahaman yang benar tentang democracy”. (political education is important and need to be started from first people who use their right in political election. From the early time, society need to be given knowledge about basic principles of democracy so that they have right concept of democracy).

Conclusions

Referring to above research findings and analysis, there are several important conclusions regarding to political anomalies of the local election can be noted, as the following points.

Firstly, voters participation in direct local election of Semarang City is not motivated based on voters sincerely political will to attend the election. They come to the ballot station are mainly caused by material stimulus namely money. Money is then becoming big issue in mobilizing participation of people in political actions. In Semarang social perception of the people, it is mixed understanding between money politics (vote buying) and political costs. Money politics and political costs must be differentiated each other. Money politics is inappropriate in political competition since using money to buy votes or political support. Whereas, political costs is accepted and appropriate since money is needed to back political success up in political competition. This first political anomaly is currently viewed as something normal in political life, although it is totally wrong.

Secondly, there is other anomaly that people of Semarang City do not believe about relation between election and accountability. There are many causes that happen in Semarang in which the City leaders who are elected by people are having problems in dealing with corruption and bad governance. Former mayor of Semarang City (Soemarmo HS) was an example of a leader committed in corruption in which he was a political elected person. This example leads to instant people conclusion that local election is not guarantee the accountability.

Finally, there is developing distrust that election will not guarantee a social welfare. This anomaly is caused by the fact that there are lots of political leaders (both in provincial or city/regency levels) who are corrupted and not able to increase public happiness and welfare. People mindset of Semarang City is very simple that local election must result in welfare. However, this high hope is disappointed by elected mayor or vice mayor so that people behavior and attitude become negative and pessimistic to the politics. Less capacities of the elected political leaders to follow public aspiration up also make this political behavior grows highly.

Recommendations

Recommendations may be addressed to the above problems or anomalies are as follows:

- a. Strong political education is needed to guarantee that voters behavior is not materialistic and transactional. It is needed to be design a mechanism of political learning from the government and strong civil society to improve or restore this first anomaly.
- b. It is important to raise the significance of accountability in political process in Semarang City level. Many stakeholders need to make sure that accountability is one main element in a process to build good governance. Good governance is one important way to guarantee public welfare and justice.
- c. It is needed to develop the understanding of the public about the robust relation between election and social welfare. The logic is that election will produce good political leaders, and good political leaders will then create social welfare.
- d. Finally, in the Indonesian or Semarang political context, it is important to implement a role model or “*keteladanan*” model so that people will trust to political leaders. Political leaders (namely City mayor and vice mayor) must provide a good example or good manners to guarantee good governance and public welfare.

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INDONESIA'S POPULIST LEADER STRATEGY IN WINNING 2014 GENERAL ELECTION

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Abstract

On October 20, 2014, Joko Widodo, or better known as Jokowi was inaugurated as the seventh president of Indonesia. Jokowi, whose term runs until 2019, succeeds Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, or SBY, who governed for ten years. Jokowi successfully gained majority votes and won 2014 election because people believe he is a populist leader. The emergence of populist leader in the political scene is often seen as a crucial issue. Many scholars believe that populist leader is an authoritarian and anti-democratic. He exploits popular support to achieve power and once the power is in his hands, He forgets his promise and focuses on his private interests. This article examines the strategies implemented by Jokowi in order to win 2014 elections and the actions taken by Jokowi after he takes office. This article argues that Jokowi as a populist leader is quite consistent with his promises. He still seeks to create public welfare even though he has achieved the power.

Keywords: populism, populist leader, Jokowi, Indonesia, general elections

Introduction

On July 22, 2014, the general election commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) announced that Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kala were elected as the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 2014-2019. Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kala won 53.5% votes while their rivals Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa got 46.85% (www.antaranews.com). The majority of Indonesian people choose Joko Widodo because they believed that Joko Widodo is a populist leader (tempokini.com). He has promised that he will give better social welfare for the poor.

The emergence of new populist leader in Indonesia, widely known as Jokowi is a unique phenomenon. Jokowi was not born into bureaucratic, military, or political clan as most other Indonesian politicians had been. Instead, He was part of a lower middle class family-his father was a carpenter and his mother is a house wife (Mietzner, 2015:24). He does not have a particular ideology to be offered as an alternative option. Indeed, Jokowi's ability as a politician is still in doubt because he does not have any political experience. He is just a furniture businessman from a small town, Solo.

Based on that fact, it is not easy for Jokowi to win the 2014 general election. Moreover, his rival, Prabowo Subianto is an epitoma of an elite politician. He was a multimillionaire, came from an aristocratic family, has served as one of Soeharto's top general and was once his son-in law. He is the chairman of Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra Party) and has links with numerous political elites and businessman either in Indonesia or overseas. Therefore, this paper will explain about the strategy which is pursued by Jokowi in order to win the 2014 general election.

Definition of Populism

Populism is a term that is still debated by scholars. Based on Latin American experience in 1930s-1960s, populism is the personalist style of politics that oversaw the rise of mass movements in many Latin American nations. It is generally characterized by a charismatic leader, a multi-class social base, and an urban setting (though there have been important rural exceptions.) Populism invariably exhibits an eclectic and ambiguous ideology usually redolent with a tinge of nationalism. Such nationalism usually defines itself against “another”: the gringos, the world market, multinational corporations, and neoliberalism all work well, either independently or together, to fill that role.

Allan Knight (1998, 226) argues that populism is a political “style” that implies a close bond between political leaders and led. Kenneth M. Roberts (2007, 5-6) states that populism is top-down political mobilization of mass constituencies by personalistic leaders who challenge the elite groups on Behalf of an ill-defined pueblo, or “the people”. While Kurt Weyland (2001, 14) argues that populism is a political strategy through the which a personalistic leader seeks or exercises government power based on direct, unmediated uninstitutionalized support from large numbers of mostly unorganized followers. Based on those three definitions, this paper defines populism as a strategy used by leaders to achieve power either as a political style or a model of mass mobilization.

In order to achieve power, the leaders could use two kinds of strategy (see table 1). First, He uses his charisma to attract people, builds alliance with lower class and atomization society and then gives money and gifts. This strategy is called irrational populism, Second, He uses his skills and experiences to attract people, builds alliance with upper class and middle class and creates job opportunities to stimulate demand (Imelda, 2011, 49-52). This type of strategy is called rational populism.

Tabel 1

Irrational Populism and Rational Populism

Populism	Irrational	Rational
Leadership Characteristic	Rely on Charisma and Ideology	Rely on leadership skills, organizational experiences
Patterns of Alliance or Coalition	Strong upper class, weak lower class and unorganized	Strong upper class, relatively strong lower class and well organized
Welfare Policy	Give money, subsidies, gifts	Create job opportunities to stimulate demand

Jokowi’s Popularity

Many people doubted Jokowi as a politician. It is acceptable because people knows Jokowi as a furniture businessman from a small town of Solo/Surakarta. In 2005, Jokowi was elected as a mayor of Solo which is supported by Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). After a year in office, He did a lot success story for Solo. He developed Solo as a city following the development framework of European Cities and branded the city with the motto “Solo: The Sipirot of Java”. While in office, he was able to relocate junk dealers in the Banjarsari Gardens smoothly, a move which was helpful in revitalizing the functions of the open green land; he emphasized the importance of business firms engaging in community activities; He improved communications with the local community

(appearing regularly on local television). In 2006, He applied Solo/Surakarta to become a member of the Organization of World Heritage Cities and subsequently had Surakarta chosen to host the organization's conference in October 2008.

Success stories from Solo encouraged PDIP nominated Jokowi as a Governor of Jakarta along with Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. In October 15, 2012 Jokowi and Basuki were elected as Governor and Vice Governor of Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. In Jakarta, Jokowi showed a lot of his achievements. Jokowi organized the city. Houses in slum areas were relocated to some flats such as Pinus Elok and Marunda. Jokowi also improved the condition of public transportation to overcome traffic problem. In order to support low-income family in Jakarta, Jokowi introduced popular policies like free healthcare through the Kartu Jakarta Sehat (Jakarta Health Card) or free education through Kartu Jakarta Pintar (Jakarta Smart Card) (news.liputan6.com).

Many achievements increases Jokowi's popularity. According to Phillips J. Vermonte (www.thejakartapost.com), CSIS political and international relations department head, as many as 34.7% of respondents chose Jokowi as a candidate president of Indonesia. Other names chosen by respondents were Prabowo Subianto (10.7 percent), Aburizal Bakrie (9 percent), Wiranto (4.6 percent), Jusuf Kalla (3.7 percent), Megawati Sukarnoputri (3.3 percent), Mahfud MD (1.8 percent) and Hatta Rajasa (0.6 percent). The biggest source of support for Jokowi was from Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) voters — 63.6 percent, followed by voters of the Democratic Party (42.7 percent), the Golkar Party (22.7 percent) and the Great Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) Party (20.6 percent). 22.8 percent respondents said they had not yet have a presidential choice for the 2014 elections. The CSIS conducted the survey face-to-face in 33 provinces from Nov. 13 to Nov. 20. The survey involved 1,180 respondents.

According to Marcus Meitzner, Indonesia political researcher at the Australian National University (www.insideindonesia.org), there are two things that can explain the increasing of Jokowi's popularity. first, the public was disappointed with performance of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). He is busy in building image and ignoring the poor while his ministers are trapped in a lot of corruptions. Second, the absence of new political leaders who offer alternative to better the condition of the poor. Second, the absence of new political leaders who offer alternative to better the condition of the poor. The candidates such as Aburizal Bakri, Megawati Sukarnoputri and Prabowo Subianti are old politicalian in which the people have already known their performances.

According to Christian Von Lubke, a Senior Research Fellow Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg (Ibid), Jokowi's presence at the national level is an answer to anxieties and *apathetic publics* towards the political practices that are loaded with violations of public law and corruption. Lubke sees three assets owned by Jokowi. firstly, jokowi is not from the old oligarchy therefore He has flexibility to be a reformist leader. secondly, jokowi is able to maintain the balance between the businessmen and the poor. for example, Jokowi relocated the street vendors to traditional markets, at the same time He also provided opportunities for businessmen to build hotels, apartments malls and retail business. He also improve the performance of his employees. His ability to mediate various interests, reducing the administrative bureaucracy and creating new economic opportunities have increased Jokowi's popularity in national and international level. In 2011, He was awarded as a Best Mayor. In 2012, He was as a runner-up of the *World Mayor*. *in September 2012, he was elected as a Governor of Jakarta*. Thirdly, Jokowi has a participatory leadership style. Before making decisions, Jokowi listens to people. He also likes to persuade and negotiate. His hobby which is known as "blusukan" to the streets and the location has hypnotized people and political elites.

Jokowi Supporter's

In order to win 2014 general election, Jokowi relies on support from the political party. The main political party supports Jokowi is Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle PDI-P. Then National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) and Party of National Democrats (Nasdem) joint PDI-P give their supports for Jokowi. People's Conscience Party (Hanura) joint the parties at

the end. Although, Jokowi is supported by big three political parties, that will not be enough. Prabowo who is Jokowi's rival also got support from some strong political party in Indonesia. As an old politician and the chairman of his own political party, Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerinda Party), He received support from United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Indonesia), Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera) and National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional).

Then , Jokowi tried to attract the masses. Jokowi got support from the people known as *relawan Jokowi*. Most people are not members of political party. They are already dissatisfied with the party. They spontaneously create a community to support Jokowi as a candidate President of Indonesia. These people come from middle and lower class ([www. thejakartapost.com](http://www.thejakartapost.com)). They are farmers, fishermen, streets vendors and labours. They exist from Aceh to Papua. For example, there is *relawan Jenggala Center* in Aceh, *Realawan Bara* in North Sumatera, *Gerakan Masyarakat Dumai* in Riau, *Komunitas Pedagang Kaki Lima* in Jakarta, *Gerakan Nelayan Sahabat Jokowi* in Cirebon, *Gerakan Jokowi untuk Petani dan Nelayan Nusantara* in 15 province of Indonesia, *Gong Jokowi* in Yogyakarta, *Aliansi Masyarakat Sipil untuk Indonesia Hebat* in Bali, *Komunitas Pemuda dan Mahasiswa Pela Gandong Nelayan* in Ambon and *relawan Hanoi Jokowi-JK* in Papua. Those people voluntarily support Jokowi because they see Jokowi is a simple person, humble, nationalist and close to the poor. They see Jokowi as a representative of them. Therefore there is a slogan "Jokowi adalah Kita". They believe Jokowi will make a positive change in the future.

Populist Policy Campaign

As mentioned earlier that Jokowi was chosen by the majority of the Indonesian people because people believes that Jokowi is a populist leader. He cares about the poor and will struggle for them. In his campaign, Jokowi promised that He will bring better welfare. Jokowi vowed to provide a Rp 1-million monthly subsidy for poor families should the national economy grow by more than 7 percent annually (thejakartapost.com). Jokowi wants to improve the condition of health and education in Indonesia. According to Jokowi, people should be healthy first. When they are healthy, they would be able to study and work. Therefore Jokowi introduced welfare program which is known as Indonesia Health Cards (Kartu Indonesia Sehat/KIS) and Indonesia Smart Cards (Kartu Indonesia Pintar).

Indonesia Smart Cards is specifically aimed at boosting the educational sector and increasing the number of school graduates through 12 years of compulsory, free education. It is believed that marginalized students are still at a disadvantage in terms of staying in school and graduating, in spite of this financial assistance. Low-income families cannot afford extra costs for things such as uniforms, shoes, schoolbags, transportation, supplementary food and extracurricular activities. Therefore, the Smart Indonesia program most probably will be aimed at meeting the expenses for marginalized students' personal needs during their education.

Beside focus on health and education, Jokowi concerns on creating job opportunities. He will invite potential investors to Indonesia. To attract those investors, Jokowi will build infrastructures especially in remote areas such Sulawesi and Papua and establish a pro-business government, which is able to create a more conducive business climate both for local and foreign investors. The investment climate has to be more open and let local investors create growth.

Jokowi also committed to boosting Indonesia's productivity by supporting small and micro businesses and improving the budgeting systems both at the national and local levels. His experience both as Surakarta mayor and Jakarta governor had made him aware of the importance of giving adequate space for small and micro businesses to grow (www.thejakartapost.com). Jokowi will give adequate space for traditional markets and street vendors to develop their economic activities because they are the basis of our micro economy. They should be managed well. According to Jokowi, Indonesian artists, in which most of them are youths, have not been given a large space to develop their arts. In fact, if supported by the good management and marketing, it will bring our youths to the level of foreign countries.

Conclusion

The article concludes that Jokowi, the Indonesia's new populist leader is categorized as a rational populist leader. In order to win 2014 general elections, Jokowi relied on skills and work experience; used a PDI-P as a political vehicle and build alliances with the masses. He promises his supporters that He will bring better welfare. This can be achieved by giving them health and education subsidies and creating job opportunities. After taking office, Jokowi was quite consistent to deliver his promises.

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INDIRECT ELECTION, DEMOCRATIC OR NOT DEMOCRATIC

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Abstract

Opening the doors to people's aspirations extensively through direct elections of regional heads had not yet lead to the desired changes. There are a lot of dissatisfaction of society with the results of our democracy now. The dissatisfaction is understandable because the practice of direct elections have not been able to improve people's living standards and welfare. People's disappointment is reflected in the decline of participation in elections throughout Indonesia. There are some assumptions that were developed to address this phenomenon; First, the public are tired of the political recruitment process. Secondly, they no longer trust the existing political recruitment process. Public disappointment was compounded by a growing number of regional heads who were the results of the direct election of governors, regents and mayors who got caught with corruption. According to the Ministry of Internal affairs data until January 2014, there were 318 out of 524 regional heads and deputy regional heads who had legal cases. Moreover, the costs incurred in direct elections throughout Indonesia are enormous. Seeing the weaknesses of direct elections practice for almost nine years, The research objectives are: first, to find out whether the method of local elections by the Parliament is in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution; second. determine whether the method of election by the parliament is democratic?; third, to find out the advantages and disadvantages of indirect regional election? In this study the author uses secondary data obtained by using literature studies which then are processed again by the author. The results showed are as follow; 1. The indirect election is not contrary to the 1945 Constitution; 2. Indirect regional head election is in accordance with the mandate of Pancasila; 3. Indirect regional head election is democratic. 4. The advantages of the election by Parliament are a. More efficient than direct elections; b. indirect regional head election can minimize vertical and horizontal conflict in society; c. indirect regional head election can minimize the politics of money. While the weaknesses of indirect regional head election: a. People are not able to elect regional head directly; b. Regional head will just be a Results of Parliament's deals; c. regional heads legitimacy is weak because they are not chosen directly by the people; d. Enlarging opportunities for transactional politics "Wani Piro" between the heads of regions with legislative candidates during the electoral process.

Keywords: direct elections, democracy

Background

Nearly 16 twelve years of reform pursued by Indonesia in rearranging the order of social life, politics, economics, law, nation and state has been done, the reforms were undertaken to restructure the relationship between government, society on the one hand and on the other hand the relationship between the central government and local governments. The reforms demand; 1). economic recovery, 2). improved governance, 3) law supremacy and (4) democracy. Democracy is a response to the community's disappointment against fatigue and political pressure for living in the era of new order authoritarian for 32 years. With the collapse of the authoritarian regime, hopes for the emergence of a democratic government is high. So obviously here democracy is the path we choose together what we believe can bring to the ideals of the nation and state. Theoretically democratic governance has several advantages compared to authoritarian regimes. First, democracy is better able to manage

conflict and avoid hard political change because democracy provides an opportunity for citizens to participate in the political process. Second, democracy is better able to avoid threats to human survival because there is surveillance of opposition political parties and there is an opportunity to openly criticize public policy. Third, democracy will bring the citizens of the greater awareness of the concern of socio-economic development and the health of the minority's rights (UNDP, 2003: 56-58)¹.

After a long period of democracy, has democracy brought prosperity as we dream for? What went wrong so that the democracy that we apply for over 16 years has not brought towards the ideals that we expect? Huntington revealed modernization and democratization is a long journey and filled with risks². He describes the transformation groove as a J curve that portrays great risk of failure early in the process but then gradually subsided in the later stages. Others depict it as the process of pursuing a path full of eddies, vicious circles. Others describe it as traveling on a road full of crossroads that demands the right decision. Challenges to democracy can come from within or from outside, like globalization². Although the idea of democracy has spread throughout the world and more countries have embraced democratic political system. Since 1980, 33 regimes have been replaced by civilian governments.

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1. Quoted from Agus Pramusito and Wahyudi Kumorotomo in *Governance Reform in Indonesia with the subtitle looking for democratic political institutions and professional bureaucracy*.
 2. Quoted from Budiono, "Ekonomi Indonesia Mau Dibawa Kemana?" p.11, 2010.
 3. *Pengaruh Globalisasi Terhadap Demokrasi* (Budi Winarno, Globalisasi & Krisis Demokrasi, Medpress, 2007).

of our democracy now. The dissatisfaction is understandable because the practice of direct elections have not been significantly and dramatically improved the level life and welfare of the people. An important agenda of our democratic politics is to transform welfare into economic prosperity. Indonesia's politics has increased which is marked by the flowering of political freedom with various dimensions. But this was not matched by the increased welfare of the people especially the reduction of poverty.

While 140 countries from nearly 200 countries now conduct multi-party elections, but that does not mean democracy has reached an ideal condition as a political system that is considered to be ideal for some people. This system will always be challenged from many sides, both from within itself in the form of decayed democracy or factors that come from outside. Therefore, democracy must constantly be fought for⁴, and should still be considered as a process that is not yet final.

So far democracy is still believed to be a form of political system that can take people to a better life. A belief that we must keep together, the challenge is how we maintain this democratic process towards its maturity. The search for the best democracy format must be done continuously. Adjustments must be done in finding the best format for Indonesia. The process of institutional restructuring should be carried out continuously in structuring the model of leadership recruitment that involves community participation is not only happening in the national leadership but also in the leadership of the region. It is seen with changes in legislation - Act No. 22 which became regulations no 32 and its derivatives, where there is a change of regional head election system, of the system of indirect local elections or through Parliament into direct election.

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4. Budiono, "Ekonomi Indonesia Mau Dibawa Kemana?" p.13, 2010.

The choice of the system of direct election is a correction of earlier elections that used a system of representation by the parliament as stipulated in the Act No. 22 of 1999 on local government and government regulation No. 151 of 2002 on the procedure for the selection, approval and dismissal of the head and deputy head area. Direct election system was used to show the development of local democracy structuring format that developed within the framework of political liberalization in response to the changing demands on the political system and the format of the reform period. Regional head and deputy head of the region directly by the people is a political process towards the area of political life more democratic and accountable. Direct local election is a need to correct the deviation of the implementation of regional autonomy, which indicated the level of local elites. Assuming that regional autonomy would further improve the quality of public services in many cases proved to be only empty promises. What can be seen instead is local elite behavior of the government and parliament that demonstrate a spirit to make personal gain by ignoring the views and the public criticism.

The opening of aspirations doors for the people broadly through direct elections of regional heads had not yet lead to the desired changes. There are a lot of dissatisfactions from the society with the results

With direct election in which people are placed as a subject in determining their regional head, regents, mayors and governors, it is hope that the elected leaders with democratic atmosphere could lead towards a better society. However, the reality is not as we expected. The disappointment of the community is reflected in the decline in participation in elections that are almost evenly distributed throughout Indonesia. The disappointment of the community can be seen from the level of participation in local elections in the following table.

Table I
Level of Public Participation in the elections in some Regions

No.	District / municipal	Abstentions (%)	Winner's votes (%)
1.	Kota Pekalongan	32	43
2.	Kebumen	28	77
3.	Kota Semarang	33	74
4.	Kendal	27	44
5.	Rembang	18	47
6.	Surakarta	25	37
7.	Boyolali	24	42
8.	Sukoharjo	28	36
9.	Blora	26	53
10.	Purbalingga	27	85
11.	Kota Magelang	22	50
12.	Kab Semarang	33	34
13.	Purwarejo	25	47
14.	Wonosobo	21	51
15.	Wonogiri	31	67
16.	Klaten	25	36
17.	Pemalang	35	43
18.	Kab.Pekalongan	26	52
19.	Pati	48	46
20.	Batang	22	72
21.	Jepara	45	59
22.	Cicacap	32	51
23.	Brebes	41	45
	Rata – Rata	29	51

Source : extracted from multiple sources

From the above table, the average number of voters who did not use their voting rights was 29%. This shows that the public actually does not feel directly concerned with political recruitment procession called direct election. The problem of community participation in the elections is important because the participation of the community and their participation in choosing candidates for the leaders of their region is a key element in building a democratic involvement at the local level. The elections were a democratic process in which the election of leaders eligible or not for the next five years. The enthusiasm of the society in choosing their regional heads greatly affect the legitimacy of the leadership in the areas. In the contrary, a low participation means a signal of distrust in the democratic society. Democracy has not been seen as a mechanism to improve the economic life concretely in daily life.

There are some assumptions that are developed: The first, public are already fed up with the political recruitment process that occurs in this country starting from the general election to elect a president, legislators, and the head of the village. Secondly, people no longer trust the political recruitment process. People in this case have been disheartened with the electoral process that do not provide a more meaningful change. They feel that the campaign is just a slogan to attract them to vote for the candidate, not a commitment to meet their needs and interests. They are broke-hearted because the changes they hope from a leader whom they have been chosen were not realized. Third, they feel that no candidates are capable of fulfilling their needs.

People's disappointment grows increasingly larger with more and more governors, regents and mayors sent to prison for corruption. According to the data from the ministry of internal affairs, until January 2014, there were 318 out of 524 regional heads and deputy regional heads who lodged a legal case, as expressed by the Directorate General of Regional Autonomy (Director General of Regional Autonomy) the ministry of internal affairs Djohermansyah Djohan as reported by Indopos (JPNN Group), Saturday (15/2), this is a reality that cannot be denied that the head of the area elected by the people was not able to bring the aspirations of the people. Moreover, the costs to be incurred in direct elections throughout Indonesia are enormous. Based on the data up to December 2012, Indonesia consists of 409 counties and 93 cities across 34 provinces. It means that 409, 93 cities and 34 provinces should do the local elections once in five years. Putting it simply, there are 536 elections or at least 44 elections per year, or about 1 election per week. If it is assumed the average cost for city/county election is 25 billion, the governor's election costs at least 500 billion. Then in 5 years the state spends at least 30 trillion for the elections not to mention the money which must be spent by the candidates themselves is definitely greater. The amount of costs to be incurred are not comparable with the results.

Seeing the weaknesses of direct elections for nearly nine years practice, the write is interested in answering the questions in this paper; 1. Is the method of local elections through the parliament in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution? 2. Is the election methods through parliament democratic? 3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of indirect regional election?

Discussion

What is the purpose of democracy? The notion of democracy is literally made up of two words "demos" meaning people or residents and "cratin or cratos" which means the authority or sovereignty. A combination of the two words-cratein demos or demos - cratos means a system of government of, by and for the people ⁵, or in other words, democracy is the people in power or "Government or rule by the people" ⁶ (Merriam Budiardjo, 1977). While the definitions of democracy by several experts as expressed by Komaruddin hidayat and Azyumardi Azra ⁷ are 1). Joseph A schmeter democracy is an institutional planning effort to achieve political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide the competitive struggle of the popular vote; 2). Sidney Hook argued that democracy is a form of government in which important government decisions directly or indirectly are based on the agreement that is given freely by majority of adult people; 3). Philippe C. Scmitter states that democracy is a government system where the government are held responsible

for their actions in public realm by citizens, who are acting indirectly through the competition and co-operation with their representatives who have been elected.

Ideas about democracy already have long roots since approximately 2,500 years ago. Its roots can be traced from the heyday of ancient Greece when the state of the city (City-state) began to develop in Athens. The growing democracy in Athens was the one which is regarded as the most real democracy because the citizens are actively involved in determining the law and government.

Robert Dahl quoted by Budi Winarno⁸ in an attempt to answer the question of what is meant by democratic states that there are at least five standards that can be used to measure whether a political process to take place is democratic or no. The five criteria are effective participation, equality in voting, clear understanding of citizens or members of a group of associations, supervisory agenda, and the inclusion of adults.

Furthermore, Wikipedia Free encyclopedia says that modern democracy has at least eight characteristics: (1). There is a constitution that gives power and controls the activities of the government, either written or unwritten or a combination of both; (2). Elections for public officials are done freely; (3). The right to vote and run for elections; (4). Freedom of expression; (5). Freedom of the press and the access to the source of alternative information; (6). Freedom of association; (7) equality in law, (8). Educated citizens are informed about their rights and obligations as citizens. Aside the eighths preconditions above, democracy is also understood as majority rule with minority rights.

Definitions of regional head and deputy regional head under article 1, paragraph 1 of government regulation republic of Indonesia No. 6 of 2005 on the selection, approval, appointment and dismissal of the head and deputy head of the region in conjunction with Government Regulation No. 49 of 2008 on changes to Regulation No. 6 of 2005 is "means of implementation of the sovereignty of the people in the province, or county/city by the Constitution in 1945 to elect regional head and deputy head of the region". Elections for public Officials conducted independently is a pillar of democracy. After reform Indonesia has been practicing two systems of elections, elections in the years from 2000 to 2005 local elections held indirectly through the Parliament, in 2005 - now the elections are conducted directly where the head of the regions, such as governors, regents and mayors are elected directly by the people. The choice of the system of direct election is a correction of the elections earlier that using a system of representation by the parliament as stipulated in the Act No. 22 of 1999 on local government and government regulation No. 151 of 2002 on the procedure for the selection, approval and dismissal of the head and deputy head area. Disappointments of direct election as discussed above raised a thought to look for the best format in recruitment/local elections. Local indirect election discourse is back to support democracy in Indonesia. The polemic between the choice of direct elections or elections through the parliament continues to roll in the community. As we know, that in the draft of election law that regulates the election system where regional heads are no longer elected directly by the people but will be determined through voting by parliament. The Idea of the election of regional head through election in parliament should not be regarded negatively. This idea should be considered with a cool head and this should be interpreted as an attempt to find a format that suits the character of democracy in Indonesia. The author conducted various searches for answering questions on this paper.

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5. Komarudin Hidayat & A. Azra: *ademokrasi, Hak asasi Manusia dan Masyarakat Madani*, p.39. 2008.
 6. Meriam Budiarjo. *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, 1977.
 7. Komarudin Hidayat & A. Azra. *ademokrasi, Hak asasi Manusia dan Masyarakat Madani*, p.39. 2008.
 8. Budi Winarno, 2002. *Globalisasi & Krisis Demokrasi* p.39.

First we need to know the model of local elections according to the 1945 Constitution. According to the juridical basis of elections by Law - Act No. 32 of 2004 Article (1) paragraph 2 of Law OF 1945 after amendment states that "the sovereignty is in people's hands and carried out according to the constitution. It means that sovereignty is no longer carried out entirely by the Assembly but are implemented in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Next, Article 18 paragraph 4 of the Act of 1945 states that governors, regents, mayors as the head of the provincial government, county and municipal should be elected democratically. It means that the basic principle is the head of the region is elected democratically. So that if the head of the region is elected directly or indirectly directly is regulated by 1945 Constitution, particularly Article 18 paragraph (4) does not expressly regulate the mechanisms of regional elections. Article 18 paragraph (4) only provides that the head area (governors, regents and mayors) are elected democratically. Indonesia embraced democracy for deliberation. The substance of the elections is the change of leadership/power rotation regularly and periodically to prevent absolute power. Therefore, the election of the head of the region dos not have to be directly. The Constitution did not mention the mechanism to elect the regional head. The most important thing is it should be done democratically. Mahfud M.D. ⁹ also said the same thing, direct or parliament elections are valid constitutionally, each has advantages and disadvantages.

What important is that parliament, government and civil society can minimized the negative effects of the election, directly or indirectly.

The second, the mechanism of regional head election is in accordance with Pancasila. In today's developments, in several discussion forums the application of direct democracy for the election is examined in-depth to be taken into consideration in reviewing the application of direct democracy if it is associated with the Pancasila as the state ideology. The fourth principle is lead in the wisdom of discretion in the consultative/representatives. The interpretation of the fourth principle as expressed by the Chairman of the Executive Council in 1945, Prof. Dr. I Wayan Windia, M.S. assess local elections through the parliament is very appropriate because in accordance with the mandate of Pancasila, the fourth principle. "So far direct election was actually very contradictory with the fourth principle of Pancasila, which mandates consultative or representative," said Prof Windia a professor at the University of Udayana.

The third, the indicator of democracy. Whether an election is democratic or not is not the mechanism but the process as proposed by Kastorius Sinaga ¹⁰. The mechanism of election either directly or indirectly, is only a small part of improving the quality of local level democracy. It does not guarantee (taken for granted) improving the quality of democracy itself. As a yardstick or parameters of a democratic election or not is the principles of the election. If during the election, principles are not upheld even if the election is held directly or by an individual candidate, then the election cannot be said as a democratic election. On the other hand, even if the election is done indirectly through representative institutions, as long as the principle is obeyed and applied consistently by the stakeholders of the election, the election can be said as a democratic election. Thus, we can understand that the electoral system is only one part of the pillars of democracy. What is more essential in achieving a democracy is the substance. Or in other words the process of elections means that the elections are nothing but a process in attaining democracy. Any electoral system no matter how good it is cannot guarantee the realization of democratization. As a yardstick of democratic elections is the principles of elections. If the principles of election are not applied consistently by the stakeholders of the election then do not expect that the elections were carried out to realize a democratic government. Ramlan Surbakti (2008: 56), said at least there are two parameters or indicators of the process of democratic elections. First, the provisions governing each stage of the election containing legal certainty (predictable procedures), namely (1) does not contain any legal vacuum, (2) between the provision consistent (not contradictory), and (3) does not contain provisions

9. Kompas.com. <http://nasional.kompas/read/2014/09/17/23254511/mahfud,MD>. Pilkada Mau Langsung Tidak Langsung Boleh

10. Jeff Heyness (1977) as quoted by Bambang Istianto. *Demokrasi dan Birokrasi* p.25, 2011

which have multiple interpretations. Secondly, the provisions governing each stage of the election are formulated based on the principles of democratic elections (overflowing, free and fair, accountable, educative). The problems are the number of rules that are unclear or open to multiple interpretations, incomplete, not anticipatory and contradictory.

Democracy in practice in Indonesia has been procedural/formal democracy¹¹. Democracy should be more substantial. The implementation of the elections was also done procedurally and negligent in pursuing the substance.

Fourth, we have seen the benefits or positive sides of indirect election or by the parliament: 1). local elections by parliament will be able to save a budget of 142 trillion because the budget allocation for the elections was quite large even the Director General of Regional Autonomy Interior Ministry Djohermansyah Setijoso said that cost of the elections in all regions last year reached Rp 70 trillion. Based on the above reasons, for the sake of budget savings, direct election is very wasteful. The cost is very large because direct election involves all voters in the constituency. Meanwhile, if the head of the area chosen by the board involves only the legislators whose number is only 20-50 people in the district legislature or town and 35-100 people for the province. The election of the head of the Regional quality through direct election makes the price of holding the elections in mismatch with the result of the election. Furthermore, it would be very expensive if we look at the majority of the output produced does not match our expectations. Further disclosed by Dedi¹², the elections are better done indirectly or by the parliament. So far, direct election has not been able to bring Indonesian nation to a better direction. On the contrary would lead to political costs are very expensive. Moreover, the absence of guarantee of a regional leader directly elected democratic behave properly and clean.

(2). Direct elections have failed to create a state administration that is free and clear of corruption (good government and clean government). It can be seen by the many regional heads who became a suspect in corruption and entangled in legal cases and more than 318 regional heads became suspects in law cases in 2014; (3) Regional head indirect election can minimize conflicts vertically and horizontally in the community as was the case in the governor election in South Sulawesi and North Maluku, for example as a form of conflict between supporters of candidates in various areas. The impact of horizontal and vertical physical conflict with the security forces have so far resulted in 70 people killed in protests and unrest after direct election since 2005.

The implementation of direct elections in several regions have resulted in violent conflicts and reap lawsuit in domestic court, administrative court, and the Supreme Court (hereinafter the disputed election Laws No. 22/2007 is under the authority of the constitutional court). Experience shows that the source of electoral conflicts are:

1. The process of updating voter data process has not been able to ensure the availability of accurate data.
2. The process of choosing prospective regional head/deputy head of the region by the political party or coalition of political parties that often is not transparent so it does not satisfy the parties involved. The tension between DPD and DPC/DPC even with the mass is due to differences in the choice of candidates or difference in choosing a coalition partner.
3. The process of determining the candidates for regional head/deputy head of the region as a participant by the Election Commission. If the procedures and the results of candidates for regional head/deputy head of the region gets a reaction from supporters of the group of candidates who are declared ineligible. And conversely conflicts rooted in the eligibility of the candidates will not guarantee the election of regional heads who are honest, clean and have good track record.

12. ¹ Jeff Haynes (1977) quoted by Bambang Istianto, *Demokratisasi dan Birokrasi*, hal 25, 2011 mengemukakan bahwa ada tiga jenis dari Demokrasi 1). Demokrasi Prosedural/Formal; 2). Demokrasi permukaan, 3). Demokrasi Substantif.

¹ Pakar politik Unas , http://www.unas.ac.id/detail_berita/1151_pakar_politik_unas:_pilkada_lewat_dprd_lebih_menguntungkan

4. Retaliations for negative campaigns by the opponent.
5. Violation of the prohibition of the practice of money politics and violations of the neutrality of bureaucracy.
6. Cheating by any party during polling and counting.
7. The determination of the results of the vote count by the Election Commission because of the simple majority in the elections that set the minimum limit of the elected candidate at only 30 percent can result in the unpreparedness of voters to accept the defeat of the candidate supported simply because of the little difference in the votes.
8. Conflict which is based on the performance of the organizers of the election which was considered unprofessional and partisan.
9. Conflict rooted in differences in interpreting of the rules of election.

The magnitude of the potential for conflict was also revealed by leaders who were members of the Design Team of the Special Autonomy Law on Papua's Government went to the office of Golkar Party faction in the Parliament Nusantara I Building, Jakarta, Tuesday (9/9) to deliver these aspirations. "We want the indirect election system to be included in the Autonomy bill because direct election in Papua can cause too many conflicts as to undermine the traditional order and families in Papua," said the Chairman, Basir Rohrohmana after the meeting. Direct election in Papua has more disadvantages not only for the cost but also the big casualties. In Papua many died because of the direct elections. It is also prone to tribal warfare. Indirect election mechanism is the aspiration of the majority of the people of Papua: (4). Direct local elections can minimize ill-money politics. One of the considerations for the changing of direct election into in direct election is to trim the politics of money (money politics). The logic is the candidates do not have the ability to buy the voice of the people which is substantial, but the facts show that in direct election, money politics occurred within a wider scale. This money is used to determine the parties. The price sets by political parties for prospective regent/mayor is between one billion and two billions in order to get the support (Kompas, April 19 2005). The Campaign for a large - scale to boost the popularity of candidates in an attempt to influence community's votes., Former Minister of internal affairs Gumawang Fauzi said that direct election affects the high political costs. In associate with efforts to create a clean government, the minister added that such a huge cost becomes a paradox because to become head of the region it needs billion rupiah and after becoming the head of the region he has to create a clean government (Kompas, July 21 2010).

Syarif Hidayat's ¹³ studies suggested that the economic capital owned by each candidate for regional head/deputy head of the region tend to be a combination of private capital, political donor assistance (entrepreneurs) as well as other sources. Logically they who owe the cost of the election will repay through various concessions to the party post-election freshman year and ultimately marginalize the aspirations of the public at large. This was later confirmed by the opinion Hanta Yudha A.R. According to him, the huge election costs is often accompanied by the practice of money politics and brokerage for prospective head region. They inflate election costs and the higher cost of democracy (Koran Tempo, 23 november 2010). According Wahyudi Komorotomo (2009). There are various ways to do money politics of in the election; (I). Direct money politics can be in the form of (1) . cash payment from the "success team" of certain candidates to potential constituents. (2). The contribution of the candidate to the political parties that support him, (3). Compulsory contributions required by a political party or candidate to cadres who want to run for local office, (II) indirect money politics can be in the shapes of gifts or door prizes, distribution of staple foods to constituents, distribution of cement in a particular electoral district and so on and so forth (Ramlan Subekti).

Fifth, the weakness of indirect election or by Parliament; 1). People are not able to elect a regional leader directly; 2. Regional heads are just the results of Parliament's agreement; 3). The regional heads have weak legitimacy because they are not chosen directly by the people; 4). Enlarge the occurrence of transactional "Wani Piro" between the candidates of heads of regions with Legislative during election.

Conclusions and Suggestions

a. Conclusion

So far democracy is still believed to be a form of political system that can take people to a better life. A belief that we must keep together, the challenge is how we maintain this democratic process towards its maturity. The search for the best democracy format must be done continuously. Adjustments must be done in finding the best format for Indonesia. The process of institutional restructuring should be carried out continuously in structuring the model of leadership recruitment that involves community participation is not only happening in the national leadership but also in the leadership of the region.

1. Indirect Election is not contrary to 1945 constitution.
2. Indirect Election Commission is in accordance with Pancasila.
3. As a yardstick or parameters of a democratic election or not is the principles of the election, during the election principles are not upheld in the elections or the elections even if the election is held directly or by an individual candidate, then the election cannot be said to be a democratic election. On the other hand, even if the election is done indirectly through representative institutions, as long as the principles are obeyed and applied consistently by the stakeholders so that is a democratic elections.
4. Advantages of the election by Parliament;
 - a) The advantages of local elections by Parliament is more efficient than direct election.
 - b). indirect regional head election can minimize conflicts vertically and horizontally in the community.
 - c). Direct local elections can minimize ill money politics.
5. Disadvantages of Indirect election:
 - a). People are not able to elect a regional leader directly;
 - b. Regional heads are just the results of Parliament's agreement;
 - c). The regional heads have weak legitimacy because they are not chosen directly by the people .;
 - d). Enlarge the occurrence of transactional "Wani Piro" between the candidates of heads of regions with Legislative during election.

B. Suggestions

Democracy does not come by surprise as if from the sky. It is a long process through habituation, learning and appreciation. To be democratic needs norms, reference, according to Muslim scholar Nurcholish Madjid, there are at least six norms or basic elements needed by democratic society : a. pluralism awareness, deliberation, which must be consistent with the goals, freedom of conscience, equality of rights and obligation ,honesty and trial and error in democracy.

13. Syarif Hidayat, *Bisnis dan politik di tingkat local :Pengusaha, Penguasa dan penyelenggara pemerintah Paska Pilkada*, 2006 :276)

14. Quoted from Fitriyah, *Fenomena politik Uang Dalam Pilkada* hal 4

Democracy is not something that has been completed and ready to eat, but it is an ongoing process. Within this framework democracy requires trials and ups and downs in a democracy.

1. The author can suggest related to the election of heads of districts that we combine direct and indirect elections by providing space for local knowledge and the needs of the community as a reference. For example, governors are directly elected while regents and mayors are chosen by parliament or viseversa.
2. Substantial democracy should become the reference in assessing the quality of our democracy. Where all stakeholders in democracy and the elections must be prepared to do substantial democracy. Therefore, any election mechanism either directly or indirectly will not be a problem.
3. Providing good mechanism for controlling the course of the elections, either directly or indirectly.

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Limited freedom: Revocation of Political Suffrage of Military Members in Indonesia

I Gusti Agung Ayu Kade Galuh³

Abstract

Suffrage or the right to vote is one of the manifestations of political rights for every citizen regardless one's profession. Such a paradox, in Indonesia, political rights of police/military members has been revoked since 2004. This phenomenon clearly shows the wound in democracy and human rights enforcement in Indonesia. The question is, how long shall it last? Should Indonesian military receive certain conditions to alter such restricted freedom? In this paper, authors feel the importance to do review of similar phenomenon in the United States, South Korea, and Thailand to answer the question. Obviously, we should see it not as a power, but as an absolute right.

Keywords: democracy, Indonesia, freedom, military, suffrage.

In liberal view, human rights enforcement is the recognition of freedom. A freedom that is actualized in civil rights and political rights. Suffrage became one manifestation of political rights granted to citizens since independence day of Indonesia. However, after general elections in 2004, Indonesia National Armed Force / Police suffrage was revoked by the state. Revocation was generated by trauma of military excess power in the past (New Order). Unfortunately, ten years after that, during 2014 general election, it seemed not enough to remove people's pain and trauma. Rejection of civil society to restore voting rights of Indonesia National Armed Force members is based on historical reasons, organizational, and ideological.

Indonesian Constitutional Court grants the demands of the Indonesian Institute for Constitutional Democracy (IICD) requesting Indonesia National Armed Force / Police to remain neutral in 2014 election (News "MK States Indonesia National Armed Force & Police Do Not Have suffrage in 2014 presidential election" in www.liputan6.com). The reason that was brought by the prosecution, among others, is military traumatic past, yet the enactment of the territorial command system, and based on political considerations and other sociological condition. International legal regime allows the restriction of political and civil rights, as long as it is in accordance with the applicable legal mechanisms and motivated strong reasons.

The decision of the Constitutional Court on Wednesday (05/28/2014) confirmed that members of Indonesia National Armed Force / Police supposed to be neutral, and these restrictions can be justified legally. There are numbers of human rights that can not be restricted by the state under any circumstances under the 1945 Constitution article 28I (1). Those rights, namely the right to life, freedom from torture, freedom of thought and conscience, freedom of religion, freedom from enslavement, recognition as a person before the law, and the right not to be prosecuted on the basis of applicable law downs. Thus, political rights, including the right to vote does not include the rights that can not be restricted by the state. The reason for the restriction of civil and political rights in International Covenant usually attributed to the reason of public order, national security, rights and freedoms of others, or required by law.

Military as a defense and security force of the nation is required to be neutral. Fears are often occurred, wheter friction within Indonesia National Armed Force will disrupt the security and stability of the nation. This is certainly one of the strong reasons, even recognized in international law. No wonder if the restrictions suffrage Indonesia National Armed Force / Police can not be fully categorized as a violation against human rights. However, it needs to be re-examined that the right to vote is not a part of the rights of the institution. Suffrage is individual rights owned by each member of citizens regardless of profession. If the reason of neutrality is fear, then the principle of freedom

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and confidential is not strong enough to keep the Indonesian military professionalism? Then, does the revocation step of suffrage in Indonesia National Armed Force members appropriate to maintain the stability of a nation? How long the freedom to choose is limited by the state?

Meaning of Freedom

The key concept of democracy is always related to the recognition of freedom and autonomy of individuals. The democratic system is considered correct for creating and guaranteeing human freedom. In that case, what is democratic concept of freedom? For many writers of democracy, freedom is always attached to the idea of autonomy or self-determination over themselves (self-determination). Thus, freedom is equal with being a top employer yourself. Simply, freedom means there are no rules that block out. If a person has a free will, how far freedom can be truly held? Or perhaps, human behavior has been determined by another authority? Clearly, the meaning of freedom is very dependent on one's conception of the character of human nature, especially human thought (Heywood, 2004: 253).

Rousseau argued that civil liberties and moral freedom obtained through the social contract:

The former involvement being ruled by the general will instead of following our individual self-interest. The latter means obedience to rules roomates we, in association with our fellow citizens, have made. Reviews These rules or laws regulate our actions, instead 'the mere impulse of appetite (in Blaug & Schwarzmantel, 2000: 100).

One's actions are not entirely the result of his free will, but it has been established through the rules that have been made and tried to be obeyed. Indeed, the freedom of human nature has been lost and replaced by freedom created by social contract. So, there is no other than a general interest of the community.

In line with Rousseau, Kant (in Blaug & Schwarzmantel, 2000: 104-109) also see that autonomy is the freedom of individual to determine his fate. According to him, human beings have the right to determine what is best for him. Freedom possessed by every member of the community that in fact born as a human being. Besides, Kant also believed that every human being is equal under the law. Finally, every member of society has freedom as citizens. Someone is recognized as citizen if he can decide what is best for himself, and has a *property* (including education, skills, trade business, and so on). Furthermore, every citizen shall have the right to vote.

If Rousseau and Kant interpreted freedom as positive (*affirmative*) so a person is free to do something, then liberals such as Constant, Mill, and Tocqueville (in Berlin, 1969: 162-166) saw negativity in individual freedom. They argue that no free society, unless the government applies two principles: *first*, there is no power, but only right, which can be referred as absolute, so that every human being with any power over them, have the absolute right to refuse to behave inhumane ; *secondly* there is a limit that can not be contested by the men, the number of moral rules that have long been accepted as the truth to describe how the natural character of a man, what can be done by humans, and vice versa, should not be done because it is not classified as humane. Thus, freedom is defined as free from intervention or something blocking out from outside himself to do something.

Individual freedom, both positive and negative, are not two different interpretations on the concept. However, the definition of brings us to the different actions in the meaning of freedom. How to reach the freedom is offered by these two views reflecting the deepest interest. In the case of suffrage of military, more writers see it as a negative freedom within individual. Author expressly envisage restrictions between the private sphere and the public sphere. So suffrage of Indonesia National Armed Force / Police is part of the private sphere that can be kept confidential and will not interfere with public safety. The military professionalism can be guaranteed through popular control, not merely a limitation of the right to vote.

Military relations, State and Civil Society

The relation between the military and civil society framework is derived from what Huntington spoke about the military and the state:

The military institution of any society is shaped by two forces: a functional imperative stemming from threats to the society's security and a societal imperative arising from social forces, ideology, and institutions the dominant society. Military institution reflects only incapability of performing social values. Effectively reviews their military function, on the other hand, it is impossible to contain military institutions within society shaped purely by functional imperatives. The interaction of reviews these two forces is the nub of all problems of the civil-military relations (Huntington, 1967: 2).

That is, the military formed either function to maintain the security of the people from various threats, as well as a social necessity that arises from social power, ideology, as well as the dominant institution in society. Civilian and military relations are formed as a result of interaction of stress and social functions. Furthermore, Huntington (1967: 3) discussed the military and state relations:

The state is the active directing element of society and responsible for the allocation of resources Among important values including military security. The social and economic relations between the military and the rest of the society normally reflect the political relations between the military and the state.

Enforcement of the doctrine of dual function of the armed forces of the New Order era shows a very high military involvement in the military as well as civilian supremacy put in the lowest place. Implied unhealthy relationship between the military and civilian were also not conducive for democracy at that time. Socio-political role of the military in dual function slogan of the armed forces are too large to stifling the aspirations of society. Military intervention is even able to perform up to the law enforcement activity. In addition, the military's involvement in a number of highly corruption business increasingly difficult to eradicate because of the Cendana conglomerate also play in it.

The fall of the New Order regime change military position of the "untouchable" becomes very brittle and even condemned, holding responsibility for the slow pace of the democratic process in Indonesia. Military became public enemy who were "stripped" off from all its power ever. No more dual function doctrine in Indonesia National Armed Forces. In fact, the right to select members of the Indonesia National Armed Force / Police were lifted to ensure the neutrality of the military as a means of defense and security of the nation. This step is considered as the initial restriction to secure Indonesia's democratic transition before the election of 2004. However, after a decade of Indonesian democracy consolidation process, the right to select members of the Indonesia National Armed Force or police never returned.

Looking at the Case in USA, Thailand, and South Korea

Transition towards democracy in 1998, Indonesia National Armed Force under the command of General Wiranto announced the New Paradigm of the Armed Forces in the social and political role. There are four things that changed for the sake of the reform of the Indonesia National Armed Force:

- 1) *Changing the method so as not to be in the forefront. This meant that the pioneering and modeling roles of the military in society, nation and state life, the which were dominant in the past and objectively needed at that time, were now given to the civilian institutions.*
- 2) *Changing the concept from its role of control to influence. This meant the socio-political role of the military, as part of its total role, was no longer to appoint the military personnel to civilian posts but rather to contribute to constructive thinking.*
- 3) *Changing the method from direct to*

indirect influence. Since the socio-political role of the military in the past had led to its involvement in day-to day politics, the principle of indirect influence meant the military was to be stripped of its socio-political role in day-to day politics. 4) Role sharing with the other components of the nation. This means that socio-political role of the military should be integrated with the roles of all other parties in the integrated national system (in Sukardi, 2005: 105-106).

On many occasions, Indonesia National Armed Force commander always asserted that Indonesia National Armed Force reform has already been on the right track. Moreover, there is a strong intention in their bodies to build a professional military. It was evidence of abstention in the debate over whether or not Indonesia National Armed Force voting rights restored in the election.

The debate of suffrage for military was also occurred in the United States after the Civil War of 1862. At that time, given the right to vote Republican support for the troops, while Democrats, on contrary, still wish that the soldiers were not given the right to vote (White, 2004: 291). There is one state that still allows soldiers to use their right to vote, and the Republican won there. Indeed, there are indications of vote delegation to the Republican army. White also presents the fact, how the Republicans are always lost when soldiers are not given voting rights, such as the election in Pennsylvania in 1864. There is also fear that Indonesian soldiers were given the right to vote. There is a fear of driving the vote of soldiers in only one side.

Thai soldiers also had limited voting rights after a military coup in 2006. However, the right of the army has been restored in 2011. Indeed, there are issues of grave human rights violations committed by the Thai army, especially when the coup government by military Junta. Various civil rights are restricted so that democracy will only be as if the guise of mere administration. It is just like what happened during New Order Indonesia. Thailand showed that the excessive power held by the military can be very threatening to civil liberties. Therefore, it is understandable if the restrictions on the political rights of the army is still a strategic choice the Indonesian government.

Restrictions on political rights a number of soldiers were also carried out by the South Korean government since the transition to democracy. Consolidation of democratic South Korea tend to be more successful than Indonesia. The success did not escape government control over the privileges of the army. In 1991, the government through the National Assembly eliminated the sacred territory "sacred domains" which is a symbol of military rule in South Korea. In 1992, the first civilian president, Kim Young Sam, uphold the principle of democratic civilian rule as South Korea. A number of breakthrough President Kim significantly get rid of the generals in the military bureaucracy that is still associated with the previous administration. President Kim also dared to bring to court cases involving high-ranking military coup in the former government *Hanahoe* (Kimet al., 2006: 247-268).

Firmness on civilian supremacy was followed by Kim Dae Jung in 1998. In contrast to the president Kim, Jung implemented non-discrimination policies to members *Hanahoe* proven cases involved military coup. He even promised to protect the military as an institution, with emphasis on ability and professional expertise in the placement positions and promotions. Thus, South Korea definitely changed the face of the military become more professional. In addition, there is a clear law enforcement against violations committed by the military. Thus, governments uphold civilian supremacy and fully have control over military power.

Returns Suffrage Indonesia National Armed Force: When and How?

Author support Indonesia National Armed Force's right to be returned immediately. However, there is one of the requirements that must be done. Like the experience of South Korea to cut a number of military special powers, then the deletion of the territorial management of the military must be dissolved first. This is because freedom of Indonesia National Armed Force territorial operations can be very dangerous if it is used by certain powers for pragmatic purposes.

The new cases occurred is the using of Babinsa member who claims assigned to record the voter but join the community led voter preference to one candidate (News "Problem Babinsa, Bawaslu Will Call Indonesia National Armed Force Commander" in www.tempo.co). In fact, military is not given the right to vote for the 2014 election, but the use of institutions can still be distorted by various parties. Thus, instead of the limitation of the right to vote or not, but how to control an institution that is not distorted by parties who are not responsible.

In democracy, the people are given the opportunity to grow in the assurance of justice and human rights. For democracy, the people do not need guidance and coaching of circles which do not apply democratic culture. Moreover, there are different perceptions of word formation between civilians and the military. Still using Babinsa member shows that military has not believed in the people. They still regard the people as the object of ignorant and backward, so that they still need to be fostered. While the public perceives that the existence of Babinsa is a form of suspicion to them. As the growing of social level, the more advanced civilization, education increases, the existence of Babinsa amongst the people seemed like an anomaly. The gap will damage social harmony system. Moreover Babinsa placement is more often used as a propaganda tool. Clearly, author agrees merely given back the right to vote for members of the military, on the condition that Indonesia National Armed Force territorial dissolution apparatus whose job is more civil than fostering territorial defense.

Granting the right to vote need not to be exaggerated because there may be members of the military who do not exercise their voting rights, in other word, they don't vote. Beyond that, other rights may be regulated by law. For example, a ban on members of the military to become a campaigner in election campaign team and local elections. In fact, it could set further that members of the military are prohibited from divulging political choices to anyone, including his superiors.

It should be understood that outside of his service, members of the Indonesia National Armed Force is also a member of the common people. The rights and obligations of all citizens equal regardless profession. Actually members of the military will understand the dynamics of democracy when he has the right to vote. Indeed, the military is also a tool of the state, but not necessarily to be equated with a robot without a choice. Parliament and the government's obligation have to provide the right to vote for every citizen, including members of the military, whether these rights will be used or not, the state is also entitled to protect such rights.

Conclusion

Suffrage became one manifestation of political rights granted to citizens since Indonesia's independence. Revocation of the right to select members of Indonesia National Armed Force / Police is not absolutely true because it is not contrary to international law. The argument on behalf of the state security and stability does not necessarily make the country on the right track for later political deprive members of Indonesia National Armed Force / Police. It is precisely to get rid of the military from civil society relations. The author feels the restrictions in the form of political control over the country so that military power is not likely to be abused. For example, dissolution of military territorial authority. In fact, the presence or absence of the right to vote, official territory is often abused by certain parties for political provocation. If dissolution apparatus territory considered reducing military defense function, then the state must grant a license for any activity Indonesia National Armed Force territorial defense in order to stay on track as a neutral and professional institution. However, outside of office hours, members of the military remains a citizen whose right to vote is guaranteed by the state.

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INDONESIA AND DEMOCRACY: DEVELOPMENT FROM THE OUTSIDE

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Abstract

This paper studies democracy and identity issues. The paper proposes that democracy is measurable. There are indexes to measure the quality of democracy. Hereby, Indonesian democracy is in the era of upgrading. One of the contributive factors in supporting Indonesian democracy is Indonesian diaspora. It is undeniable that Indonesian diaspora has been such a very helpful contributions to the development of Indonesia and to the upgrading of Indonesian democracy. Their contributions reflected in the increasing number of diaspora voters in direct election (political participation), presidential and legislative, and the increasing number of social actions also financial donations (national wealth and economic development) to Indonesian people. These two contributions have been well established by the mediation of Indonesian diaspora institution, Indonesia Diaspora Network Global (IDN-Global). Through the innovation of Indonesian diaspora, Indonesia's rank on democracy has been pulled up. The paper uses the Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy to show and to prove that Indonesian diaspora has been succeeded in helping Indonesia to improve its quality of democracy.

Keywords: democracy, index of democracy, Indonesian diaspora, development, contribution

INTRODUCTION

Even though democracy has been defined in many versions, adopted in various conditions, and developed in different characteristics, democracy is measurable (Kekic 2007; Campbell 2009; Schmitter and Karl 1991). David Campbell (2009) stated that we can measure democracy by simply applying the formula of *The Quality of Democracy = Quality of Politics (freedom + other characteristics of the political system) + Quality of Society (performance of the non-political dimensions)*. The formula is built on democracy conceptual framework. Sodaro (2004) offers the four faces of democracy, they are 1) popular sovereignty, 2) rights and liberties, 3) democratic values, and 4) economic democracy. Whilst there also three fundamental principles of democracy, they are equality, freedom, and control (Buhlmann *et al* 2008). Joseph Schumpeter (1943) defines democracy as institutional-collective arrangement of political decision based on individual awareness and competition. David Beetham (1998) mentioned that democracy consists of two principles, they are popular control and political equality. Thus there have been some efforts to measure precisely and rank the democracy based on an index. Freedom House Index, Vanhanen's Index of Democracy, Polity IV, and the Economist's Index of Democracy are some of the efforts made to measure and rank democracies (Campbell 2009), but it has to be considered that measurements don't guarantee total accuracy and precision. Each index has the measurement units used to rank the democracy in many states.

Table 1.

Types of democracy indexes and their indicators of democracy

Indexes and Indicators of Democracy	Freedom House Index	Vanhanen's Index of Democracy	Polity IV	The Economist's Index of Democracy
Political Rights	V			V
Civil Liberties	V			V
Executive Recruitment			V	
Executive Constraints			V	
Political Participation			V	
Competition Dimension		V		
Participation Dimension		V		

(source: Campbell 2009)

This paper discusses the role of Indonesian diaspora in the discourse of democracy in Indonesia. Some argues that diaspora could be positive and contributive factor in democratization and also democracy itself. Diaspora, acting as “the society” in Campbell’s formula, contributes to some elements in democracy, such as 1) national wealth, economic development, education (Newland and Plaza 2013; Abbasi 2010; Weiss 2007) and 2) political participation (Abusabib 2007; Campbell 2009). On this context, as one of the south-developing states, Indonesia has increased the efforts to bring in the political participation of Indonesian overseas back to its home country. Started from 2012, Indonesian diaspora had annual event called “Congress of Indonesian Diaspora (CID)” under the institution Indonesia Diaspora Network Global (IDN-Global). The event was held both in Indonesia and outside Indonesia, listed as 1) CID 1st 2012 in New York, Los Angeles, United States of America (USA); 2) CID 2nd 2013 in Jakarta, Indonesia; 3) CID 3rd 2015 in Jakarta, Indonesia. The activities of Indonesian diaspora boost the optimism of democracy in the state. Later, the paper provides information, relation, and prediction on democracy and Indonesian diaspora. In conclusion, the paper is closed with some proposals on Indonesian democracy and Indonesia in the future.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN DIASPORA

Indonesian diaspora has taken a new wave and a new spirit. Started from August 2012 in Los Angeles, USA, Indonesian diaspora held the first congress of Indonesian diaspora, called Congress of Indonesian Diaspora (CID) 1st. The second congress was held a year later in Jakarta, Indonesia. One of the results of the second congress was the birth of Indonesia Diaspora Network-Global (IDN-Global), an institution that focuses on optimizing the role of diaspora in the development of Indonesia. The third congress was held this August 2015 in Jakarta, Indonesia. From the congresses, Indonesian diaspora gained some data showing that Indonesian diaspora potential was bigger than currently imagined. Sahrasat (2013) stated that in 2012 there were 6,5 million Indonesian diaspora in 178 states, categorized as *Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* (TKI). Sri Mulyani and Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie are the examples of successful Indonesian overseas with global influence at the moment. Dino Patti Djalal (2013) informed that the average income of Indonesian diaspora located in USA is higher (US\$ 59.000) than the average income of American diaspora located all around the world (US\$ 49.000). In 2011, Indonesian diaspora’s remittance contributes around US\$ 7 billion to Indonesia and they contribute 70 trillion rupiahs to Indonesia recorded from 2011 up until 2013. The amount of the Indonesian diaspora’s contribution is almost the same as the government budget allocated to 33

provinces in *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara-Perubahan* (APBN-P) 2012, 69,35 million rupiahs or equal to 98,48% of budgeting. Meanwhile there are estimated around 4,6 million of Indonesian diaspora with 94 trillion rupiahs remittance potential in early 2014 (Congress of Indonesian Diaspora 2nd 2013).

Instead of the great potential upon Indonesian diaspora and the initiative to establish IDN-Global, there are some challenges to face ahead. Firstly, it is so difficult to find comprehensive literature of Indonesian diaspora. Based on IOM (International Organization for Migrant) and MPI (Migrant Policy Institute) the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration (Kementerian Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi) only define Indonesian diaspora as migrant workers (TKI), therefore Indonesian people also yet to popularly recognize the Indonesian diaspora itself (Agunias and Newland 2012). The sounding of CID and IDN-Global has been so helpful in bringing in Indonesian diaspora in Indonesian foreign policy discourse, and later some analysts call Indonesian diaspora as “the strategic assets” for state development. This was the idea on the writings of Rogers Brubaker and Giles Mohan when classifying the contribution of diaspora to the home-country, they are 1) development in diaspora, 2) development by diaspora, and 3) development through diaspora (Brubaker 2005). Secondly, Indonesian diaspora as the strategic agent of development hasn’t been one big issue or main concern in Indonesia’s foreign policy. Before the era of Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the Indonesian diaspora was relatively an issue that never gone public or never become public concern. After the initiative of CID 1st in 2012 and the forming of IDN-Global, Indonesian diaspora as the strategic agent development thus was sounded to mass media, academic journals and researches, and also governmental magazine under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Tabloid Diplomasi*. Thirdly, the last and probably the most difficult challenge is paradigmatic alteration. Indonesian society needs to change the conventional believes that 1) Indonesian people are less-capable and less-skilled than others, and 2) to live outside Indonesia doesn’t always mean that the Indonesian overseas don’t have the love to the state, or popularly called as nationalism. Nationalism has taken its wake up call. Territorial border no longer determines the concept of nationalism and it is proven by the increasing number of supra-nationalism intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and also the diasporas itself (Chinese, Indian, Jewish, Pakistani, *et cetera*). Political bonding has been complemented by socio-economical bonding. These three challenges are important to deal with. By dealing with the challenges mentioned before, Indonesia diaspora will take the podium as the new wave of what Dino Patti Djalal said as smart internationalism and positive nationalism.

INDONESIAN DIASPORA AND DEMOCRACY

The Indonesian diaspora, by and large, is a socially constructed population (Muhidin 2013). Brubaker (2005) highlights the three general criteria to define what constitutes diaspora, they are 1) dispersal, 2) homeland orientation, and 3) boundary-maintenance. The last criterion refers to a set of homeland-anchored collective identities shared by the transnational members of the diaspora over an extended period of time. These estimates ranged between 2 to 6 million. The conservative estimates of the Indonesian diaspora are mainly drawn from international migrant stock datasets. These estimates are mostly based on statistics of foreign-born population obtained from national population censuses. International migrant stock datasets provide estimates of the number of Indonesian-born population living abroad.

According to Laza Kekic, as original author on the wording, “A key difference in the various measures of democracy is between ‘thin’ or minimalist ones and ‘thick’ or wider concepts (Kekic 2007). Sodaro (2004, 168) offers different minimum and maximum examples for democracy, they are “representative democracy” versus “direct democracy” on a “continuum of popular sovereignty”; “laissez-faire” versus “councils and participatory democracy” on a “continuum of economic decision-making regimes”; and “non-discrimination” versus “affirmative action” in context of “democratic values”. Later on, democracy could accommodate Indonesian diaspora, or Indonesian-born population living abroad, in democratization by applying popular sovereignty, making sure that decision-making

regimes supports those Indonesian diaspora, and ensure the democratic values still lies in the heart of the people itself.

The Bureau of Overseas General Election (Badan Pemilihan Luar Negeri, or BPLN) reports that about 2,040,368 eligible Indonesian citizens overseas had registered as potential voters for the 2014 presidential election. The largest numbers of these overseas voters were recorded in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia where most Indonesian migrant workers are located. The ballots were located in 131 cities around the world. The number of Indonesian diaspora shows that diaspora voters is counted as many as half (46%) of voters in Jakarta electorate II, covers South-Jakarta, Central-Jakarta, and overseas. Indonesian diaspora could get the information on election, presidential or legislature, by visiting www.diasporamemilih.com, launched in Singapore. The site was founded solely to open communicational links between Indonesia and its diaspora. Indonesia diaspora also initiated to form foreign electorate (*daerah pemilihan* or *dapil*) to make it easier for the diaspora to vote (IDN-Global 2014).

We can take the study from the presidential election in 2014 which was eventually won by the pair Joko Widodo (Jokowi)-Jusuf Kalla (JK). Based on data from KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) or General Election Commissions, the total number of registered voters in the presidential election in 2014 was 190.307.134 voters but only 69.58% or 134.953.967 voters who had voted. Jokowi-JK obtained 53.15% votes, beating the pair Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa, who obtained 46.85% votes, show results of IDN monitoring activities conducted in nine cities in Europe, eight cities in Asia, five cities in the Middle East and Africa, 15 cities in Northern and Southern America, and eight cities in Australia and Oceania. Around 677.857 votes were gained by Indonesian diaspora, it was 53.74% votes for Jokowi-JK. From these results can be seen that 30.42% or 58.990.183 registered voters did not use their right to vote. According to the potential spread of the Indonesian diaspora who have 2.040.368 registered voters in the presidential election in 2014 gained only 35.02% or 677.857 votes who use their right to vote. The remaining amount of Indonesian Diaspora can be considered as potential electoral voters that expected to support the process of democracy in Indonesia by increasing participation from voters abroad. Another example of Indonesian diaspora's contribution to political participation comes from Hong Kong. Only 700 overseas voters casted their vote in Hong Kong in 2009 election. The number was increased reaching 6.600 overseas voters participated in 2014 election from total 102.000 overseas voters in Hong Kong (jakartaglobe.beritasatu.com 2014). This had been booster for political optimism in expanding the numbers of involving overseas voters, ranging from only 22% in 2009 election to around 70% in last 2014 election.



Fig. 1. Recapitulation of presidential election from 130 foreign electorates
(source: Diaspora News 2014)

Newland and Plaza (2013) stated that there are three impacts brought by diaspora to national economic development, they are 1) trade, 2) investment, and 3) skill and knowledge transfers. We all know that these three impacts will also affect the quality of the democracy, especially on investment and skill and knowledge transfer. Nusron Wahid, head of Badan Nasional Penempatan dan

Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (BNP2TKI), claimed that there are 6 million Indonesian diaspora working abroad and those diaspora contribute almost US\$ 8,4 billion annually from the remittance. The remittances will be distributed to villages across the country. On the other hand, foreign investment in Indonesia counted for US\$ 16 billion (BNP2TKI 2015). That means that Indonesian diaspora's remittance accounted more than half of foreign investment in Indonesia. For 2014, Bank of Indonesia showed that in 2014 the number of Indonesian remittance is 115 trillion rupiahs or equal to US\$ 8,4 billion (Bank of Indonesia 2015). According to the Bank of Indonesia, the number 2014 remittance is highly increased compared to remittance in 2010 (US\$ 6,7 billion), 2011 (US\$ 6,7 billion), 2012 (US\$ 7 billion), and 2013 (US\$ 7,4 billion). The increasing number of remittance means the increasing number of accounted Indonesian migrant workers (diaspora). From 2010 to 2014, the trend shows that the contribution of Indonesian diaspora is increasing, in context of remittance and migrant workers. This highlighted what Newland and Plaza about diaspora and economic development.

In another dimension, Indonesian diaspora has helped Indonesian people in improving humanity and developing human capacity. In 2012, Indonesian Diaspora Foundation (IDF) donated approximately 171.011.090 million rupiahs to the families of Puncak Jaya's accident victims (jaringnews.com 2012). In 2013, IDF donated 16 computers to four schools in Gunungkidul, Central Java. IDF also initiated *A Quarter A Day* program which one of the IDF member saved one-fourth of his/her income in order to help Central Java societies financially. Indonesian diaspora in Qatar (IDN Qatar) also initiated social action at Cipayung, Depok, in 2013 (Diaspora News 2014). Indonesian diaspora in Filipina (IDN Philippine) brought doctorate students to State Junior High School 19 South Jakarta in 2014. The purpose of the visit was to inform Indonesian people of the upcoming ASEAN Community and to improve the cooperation between institutions. In the same year, President of IDF, Benyamin Rasyad, on behalf of Indonesian diaspora, has donated 200 million rupiahs for the victims of natural disasters in Indonesia (Diaspora News 2014). The skills and knowledge transfers brought by Indonesian diaspora might be yet to be extremely concrete, but it has reached the point which signaled that Indonesian diaspora is still yet to be exploited on behalf of the homeland. It is signaled Indonesian diaspora's contribution as the strategic asset of the country is bigger than we currently think.

The vital premise on democracy and economic development is the more develop the economy, society will get more democratic and so do governance (Sodaro 2004; Campbell 2009; Newland and Plaza 2013). The efforts on developing Indonesia's economy from Indonesian diaspora have been established and getting better and wider and also deeper contribution. The statement could be well defended by the democracy index, represented by the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index, on Indonesia shown below.

Table 2.

The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy 2012-2014

	2014	2013	2012	2011
Indonesia	6,95	6,82	6,76	6,53
China	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,14
India	7,92	7,69	7,52	7,30
Japan	8,08	8,08	8,08	8,08
Malaysia	6,49	6,49	6,41	6,19
USA	8,11	8,11	8,11	8,11
Denmark	9,11	9,38	9,52	9,52

(source: articulated from The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy 2014)

From the index shown above, there probably a lot of Indonesian diaspora's contributions on the development Indonesia's economy. The increasing level of Indonesia's macro-economy thus makes great effect on the society, inside and outside the country. Political participation from Indonesian diaspora is increasing and positively shown the result of the development itself. On another hand, Indonesian diaspora also make some constructive and progressive contributions to the state itself, whether it is social contributions or even economic contributions. These facts result on the increasing level of Indonesia's index of democracy. We, thereby, can't reject and can't even deny the strategic prospectus of Indonesian diaspora on Indonesia's democracy.

CONCLUSION

Democracy is measurable. Some efforts are made to measure democracy. The simplest formula on measuring democracy, according to Campbell (2009), is the quality of politics plus the quality of society. Indonesian diaspora, since its institutionalization on 2012 by establishing IDN-Global, has been a very helpful contribution to the development of the Indonesian society quality. The Indonesian diaspora contributions could be well-noticed from the increasing number of diaspora voters in direct election and the increasing number of socio-economical actions (donation) dedicated to Indonesian people.

Campbell's hypothesis on the quality of democracy, taking case in Indonesia, could be well-explained by using Indonesian diaspora as the example of the unit that drive up the rank of Indonesian democracy. Based on the data of the Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy, Indonesian democracy has been ranked up from 6,53 (2011) to 6,95 (2014). We are strongly believing that by upgrading our understanding on how maximizing the strategic potential of Indonesian diaspora, Indonesia could get more benefits from Indonesian diaspora and even more beneficial for the development of the democracy itself.

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ELECTORAL SYSTEM DESIGN, RATIONAL VOTER BEHAVIOR

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Abstract

Voters in the general election are the subject of voting for legislative candidates and presidential candidates that can determine the level of activity of the citizens to give their participation in the democratic system. Rational voter is a suitable type for the democratic system, they choose candidates on the basis of the work program. To establish the necessary rational voter election need design that consists of six elements, four absolute elements and two choice elements. Four absolute elements, they are the scope and electoral district magnitude (district magnitude), the pattern of nomination, voting models, and vote division formulas and or determination of the elected candidates. While two choice elements, they are the threshold and calendar time implementation of various types of elections. This study will explain the design of electoral systems which can make rational voter.

Keywords: Electoral System Design, Rational Voter Behavior

INTRODUCTION

General election system is one of important institutional instrument in democracy country, It is because the general election has been considered as democracy standard for country. The citizen in that country can participate directly in determining their attitude toward their government and country. Existence of political party and electoral management body (EMB) have important role in managing general election. Political party is political formal institution which has role as a subject competing each other to get vote in order to win the election, while EMB or also known as KPU is an electoral management institution. However, beside 2 things, voter has also important role compared to political party and EMB. Voter's role is not only as a subject who vote for candidate of legislative and candidate of president but also as a determiner of activity level of citizen participation in democracy system to involve elite circulation and chance to make a new better policy through their vote.

In accomplishing these two objectives, voting behavior as being standard in order to be citizen who aware to democratic general election are important to be designed. In general election, it gives a chance to mature citizen indiscriminatively. All citizen regardless their ethnic group, religion, and race background have right to vote in general election, as long as they fulfill the requirements. If voters do not selective and lack of knowledge in choosing leader, it will give an impact wrong choosing leader who lead us and take policies that influence significantly to mass people. Giving one vote will determine who will lead us later, this is the important value of voter and voting in general election.

Voting behavior concept can be grouped generally into 3 groups, based on the motivation to vote (autonomy, compulsion, and threat), based on source of motivation (traditional, emotional, clienestik, and work plan) and based on the prospect of voter (retrospective and prospective), which all impact and influence if they are applied.

However, the objectives of this study are, as mentioned previously, to design voter's behavior which support democracy system, look back at the election functions: (1) converting votes into seats, and (

2) as an instrument for the democratization of the political system. To achieve these two objectives must choose a suitable type of behavior to a democratic system is the kind of behavior that included baseline choose choose based on the work program of candidates or voters are rational. Then to form any rational voter elements must be designed in the electoral system?

METHOD OF THE STUDY

Objects of study are some of the literature related to the problems associated with elections and voting behavior derived from scientific journals, books and other literature sources. The using qualitative methods of this study are expected to be able to describe how the appropriate design to create a rational voter. In this paper the author uses rational choice approach which voters or voters use more logical considerations in voting for chosen candidates or generally are interpreted to emphasize the cost-benefit aspect.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Election Function

In practice, the elections have the several functions. Election function can be divided into two, based on the direction of the interaction that occurs in the electoral process itself, so that the function of elections are distinguishable into vertical and horizontal.

Vertical function occurs a kind of political two-way communication between the people and the government. According to Heywood, in the outline of election function of vertical, it is divided into two perspectives, the perspective of top down and bottom up. Top down perspective, the function of elections is to legitimate power, it is a basic function in elections. There are three things why election can be means of legitimacy, the first since the government through elections can convince or renew a political agreement with the people. Secondly, through government elections can influence people's behavior. Last, the government is required to prioritize a deal from the people rather than compulsion to maintain legitimacy. The second function is circulate and strengthen the elite. Election is a way to enter the elite position of the government, so that it can be seen when the candidate selection process whether a change in the circulation of elites circulation figures and whether they occur quite varied. Third, providing the representative. This function is especially a need of the people, which links between the people and the government. Fourth, as a means of political education. Elections are expected to educate politically people on the understanding of democracy.

Broadly speaking, the function of elections is top down is a means to control the government elite toward the people so that the people remain without motion (quiescent), can be subjugated (malleable), and may eventually ruled (governable). Elections can also be a means when the elite are able to manipulate and control the mass.

The bottom up function of elections, in this perspective, elections are seen as way when elite can be called by the people through systematic certain mechanism, to be responsible later and pressed to explain how the policies reflect the interests of the people. The first is politician recruitments. Second, is forming a government. Third is a means of limiting behavior and government policy.

Horizontal election functions has two functions which the first function is the election as an arena for managing conflicts of interest. The second is to create cohesion and social solidarity. By looking at the chart, it can take an overview outline of the functions of the elections, which can be explained into three important points, they are: (1) Selecting state officials, (2) Changing political periodically and orderly (circulation of elites and public policy), (3) Transferring of differences in the interests of society to government institution (national integration, manage conflict societies).

3.2 Elements in the Electoral System

Electoral system in this case are considered as a set of rules and procedures that determine how voters are given and how to convert the vote into seats of state officials in the legislative and executive, both at national and local level (Huntington 1991, 42). While in Law number 10 of 2008 article 1, paragraph 1, the notion of a general election is a means of implementation of the sovereignty of the people who carried out direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair in the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 electoral system is a mechanism adopted to convert the popular vote into seats organizer of State – conversion of votes into seats or governmental positions (Surbakti et al. 2008).

There are six elements that make up the electoral system, the four elements of the absolute and the two elements of choice. Four absolute elements, they are the scope and electoral district magnitude (district magnitude), the pattern of nomination, voting models, and vote division formulas and or determination of the elected candidates. While two choice elements, they are the threshold and calendar time implementation of various types of elections.

3.3 Definition of the Rational Voter for Democratic Elections

This approach was adapted from the paradigm of calculating profit or loss in economic activity in which the activities of voting behavior as a product between profit and loss calculations. Voters will tend to vote for candidates who have the most minimal losses. Voters in this approach are assumed to have reasonable motivation, principles, education, knowledge, and information. Some indicators commonly used by the voters to evaluate a candidate, especially for officials who want to run back, including the quality, competence, and the integration of the candidate.

The implications for the application of this approach by voters in addition to producing a rational voter is also to provide an assessment or testing of citizens towards governance in one period. That is, is the assessment of accountability made by citizens if the organizers of the elected government in the elections already held the mandate of the people through the production of policy appropriate to the context and the problems of citizens or not. As in the stylized picture of democracy, citizens can give rewards and punishment to the representatives of the people would be re-elected or not the next election. This practice of rational choice shows the sovereignty of the people in a democratic system.

So if the line is drawn the points that should be owned by rational voters, among others: (1) Using a careful calculation in determining choice, (2) Conducting the process of controlling toward their chosen representatives and elected.

One of the applications of rational choice theory in political science is to explain the behavior of the public to choose a character or a particular party in the context of elections. Rational choice theory is suitable to explain variations in the behavior of picking on a group that is psychologically have similar characteristics. Shifting choice from one election to another of the same people and the same social status cannot be explained by sociological and psychological approaches.

Voters are rational in essence reflect themselves, namely the nature intrinsic to every voter a personal character that helped decide the voting on most citizens. Rational individual indicators include: (1) Always be able to take decisions when faced with the alternative; (2) Sort out the alternatives so that each is preferred, the same or lower when compared to other alternatives; (3) Develop alternatives in a way that is transitive; if A is preferred to B, and B than C, then A is preferred over C; (4) Always choose an alternative that rank highest preference and; (5) Always take the same decision if faced with the same alternatives, and that the rational voter can always take decisions when faced with the alternative with the alternative sorting, preferably, equal to or lower than other alternatives, preparing it and then choose from the alternatives are ranked highest preference and always take the same decision if faced with the same alternatives.

The latter two approaches voters put in situations where they do not have free will because the motion is determined by the position of the individual in the social layer. While the rational approach that produces rational choice also contained situational factors that play a role in influencing the political choice of a person, such factors political issues or candidates nominated. Thus arose the

assumption that voters have the ability to assess the political issues. in other words, voters can make their choice based on rational considerations.

Of all the types of voter behavior, it has been agreed that the model of behavior that support the realization of a democratic system is certainly behavior that puts the long-term rationality that shape society are aware of and sensitive to the social and political conditions of the country. Then choose the appropriate form of behavior is the behavior of autonomous certainly no coercion and promoting consideration of choosing based on a work program and monitoring (evaluative) against the candidates is selected when already occupy political office.

3.4 Electoral System Design for Realizing the Rational Voter

3.4.1 Scope and Magnitude Electoral District (district magnitude)

The design is minimizing the amount of the constituency (electoral district) of 3-10 seats each electoral district seats 3-12 to DPR or DPRD be 3-6 seats per electoral district. So it can make Multi System Members Constituency SMALL variants. To support the massive electoral district as above, plus the following provisions: (1) The amount of the reduced Dapil also reduce the number of regencies / cities in an electoral district DPR / DPRD, and reducing the number of districts in an electoral district Regency / City; (2) Because the DPR and DPRD representing the population, then the electoral district DPR and DPRD is essentially based on the concentration of the population

3.4.2 Pattern Nominations

The selection of candidates is done openly and democratically involving party members in each area, candidates are arranged randomly in the list of candidates that do not describe the order of the party gain seats (open list system) and public (the public) are given the opportunity to respond to each candidate in the candidate list. Selection of candidates is done openly and democratically by party members in each region will not only be more open appearance of qualified candidates and integrity, but also won the trust of "grassroots" party.

3.4.3 Voting Model

Voters are asked to vote by giving the serial number to all alternative party or candidate are available (ordinal balloting). Electoral system known as Alternative Votes adopted by Australia and Papua New Guinea. The legitimacy of the elected representatives and the accountability of elected representatives more can be created if the voters to vote for the candidate.

3.4.4 Vote Division Formula and or Determination of Elected Candidate.

Using the formula majoritarian or pluralitarian in a manner that would result in ordinal voicing representatives accountable. The magnitude of the electoral districts in the form of one seat for each constituency (single-member constituency) models require an open nomination list (if any party may submit more than one candidate in each constituency). Model nomination form requires open list voting for candidates but not a problem is using the voicing of categorical or ordinal. Model voting for candidates can not not have to use a majority or plurality electoral formula. The legitimacy of the high representative of the people and the accountability of representatives to constituents that become political order desired, then the election of the majority formula should be used.

3.4.5 Threshold

Using formal threshold that is based on electoral law number 10 of 2008 political parties contesting the election are entitled to seats in the House when it reaches at least 2.5% of the votes of the total votes in the general election of members of Parliament (around three million votes), but the

political parties participating in the election that does not reach this threshold may join the next General Election reduce the number of political parties in representative institutions of the people, and because it also aims to open up opportunities for political parties that reached the threshold to gain seats in significant numbers in the people's representative assembly. People's representative assembly consisting of a few political parties / little fractions and fractions with a number of seats gained in significant numbers, then the decision will be competitive to reach a consensus in the interests of their respective constituents in particular, and for the welfare of the people in general.

3.4.5 Time Table implementation of various types of elections.

Calendar elections are conducted concurrent with the separation model kind of national elections of local elections. It is because: (1) For government effectiveness, (2) Reducing the number of parties, (3) Make the party more accountable, (4) Open greater voter access, (5) Election costs less, (6) Synergy Central and Local Government, (6) National and local issues have a place each.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia with a proportional electoral system and the pattern of nomination by using the open list system (open list system) has spawned several political parties with candidates demanding a lot of people to think critically against any candidate who will be the representative or leader. Rational voters chose not based on ideology, but they chose to use the indicators of quality, competence, and the integration of the candidate. They not only see the candidate or the party's work program oriented to the future, but also to analyze what has been done the candidate or party in the past. Of all types of voters are necessary in a democratic system is a kind of rational voters.

The design of the electoral system is perfect for creating a rational voters is to minimize the number of electoral districts in the regency / city in an electoral district DPR / DPRD, and reducing the number of districts in an electoral district Regency / City so it can generate a representative or leader of a far more accountable for candidates submitted by a smaller number so that people know more about the candidates or leaders. Then the model of voting with balloting Ordinal models are also influential to create a rational voters because voters entitled to give ranking to each candidate in an electoral district that is on the ballot (ballot). In this model, voters are entitled to choose which candidate most every voter favorites in a way to rank several candidates. Voters more freely express their choice among the existing candidates. Voters from outside the party are potential voters, so each candidate must try to attract the sympathy of the electorate. But voting models like this has a weakness. Given Indonesia there are still people who are illiterate because the model of the voting requires voters to have the ability to read the level of letters and numbers that high, besides the voters are required to have a high level of analysis for each candidate.

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LEGACY SOUTH THAILAND AGAINST OF MONARCHY SISTEM PARLEMENTER THAILAND GOVERMENT

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Abstract

In the parlance of the social sciences the phrase 'minority community' usually denotes a small community of people who live in the particular region and possess distinct social and cultural tradition or characteristics which mark them off completely from the other communities living in the same region. Minority communities can be divided into different categories, one of them is religious minorities. A religious minority community denotes a community which has developed on the basis of their allegiance and devotion to a particular religion. The Muslims living in mainly in Southern Thailand provinces like– Satun, Songkhla, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat constitute such a religious minority community. Numerically they are next only to the Majority Buddhist in southern Thailand. It is historically known from the ancient time a conflict between The Thais and Malays are still prevailing. World War II period, when the exit of the erstwhile colonial powers brought about vast social and political changes worldwide which impacted the social political life of the southern Thai Muslims as well. Consequently ancient conflict between the Thais and Malay Muslims acquired a new dimension. So we can find that most of the places around the world minorities are generally under control of oppressive majoritarian rule. Most of the cases representatives of majoritarians are also getting a chance to achieve the controlling power of a nation through politics or other way. But sometimes minorities also try to create a new power structure controlled by themselves. To achieve it often they have been taken separatist movements after failing to get that in other different ways. Thailand is also being a part of this world, so it also happens in the case of Malay Muslims in Southern Thailand.

HISTORY OF CONFLICT

In southeast asia often conflict of the dispute the border or the different opinions in life dissolute. Especially in the countries it has various ethnic the nations. So in southeast asia is one of area that the most having the motion of secession. Struggle demanding secession is the fact that threatens national and regional stability. The presence of these various movement secession is paradox a nation state modern , who on the one hand , the government a nation state trying to confront the differences in a bond state , but on the other hand in fact creates an counterproductive of several groups in a nation state (Mcvev 1984) .Movement secession in thailand of (consisting of the Pattani four provinces , Yala , Narathiwat and Satul / Satun) is one the fact that disturbs , not only the government of Thailand but also neighbouring countries in southern.

Movement secession in thailand of (consisting of the pattani four provinces, yala, narathiwat and satul / satun) is one the fact that disturbs, not only the government of thailand but also neighbouring countries around it. Insurgency based ethnic the can result in destabilitas area. Inhabitant of thailand south whose amount is around 4 % , different by a majority of inhabitant of thailand in matters of religion and racial the majority muslim and children malay. The muslim minority in offspring malay in the thailand of had demanded independence from system parliamentary monarchy the government thailand since the beginning of 1930. Demands freedom appear, as the effect political mastery full and centralization the government thailand which one of the impact cause lack of political participation the people of South Thailand.

Conflict early happens when the government thailand make a parliamentary monarchy when it was not accepted by the community thailand. From the moment began to emerge pergerakan-pergerakan resistance to the government thailand which most evenly distributed a norm malay and islam .In 1963 BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional) Since is resistance movement first , in this phase the clearly for movement perlawanan the government than few phases as the movement a movement association of the malays in thailand south GRP (of movement the people ptani and BIPP (the islamic exemption pattani) , this movement established in different aspects of the program and is not too significant in change revolution the people of thailand south against the government thailand. So the emergence of brn then it could get really intrigued in physical thing and non-fisik for the Thailand government. In brn group this movement is an organization the left wing of islamic advocate socialism and fighting for a country pattani independent. Although this motion a little make an impact to the acknowledgement thailand of due to lack of support from south of the thai people themselves because have clashed with that ideology in usung brn. At least BRN is what started the resistance movement separatist south of the thai people.



Due to lack of support from ethnic malay own , in 1968 established resistance movement named pulo (pattani united liberation organization). This group more significant in the resistance movement separatist armed against the government Thailand and many the Malays support it. Although finally this movement to 2 due to conflict internal this movement own .So in phase early days resistance separatist it looks that thailand of resistance they do not go straight .However, entering early days in 1997 all united group and attacked in separatist angkut-angkut military government .With the increase intensitas conflict since them united , the government thailand will do a little a change of strategy for a little reduce or reduce all kinds of separatist from the rebel against mliter conflict .

THE INFLUENCE OF POLICY A GOVERNMENT AGAINST THAILAND

Parliamentary monarchy policy is aimed at all parts of the country to thailand upholds the principle of the kingdom of siam many times ago. One in which all areas thailand have to use language and irreligion thai buddhist .This policy aimed to make in life berpolitik in thailand walking conforming to a norm customary behavior of the same. The central government insisted especially towards the thailand the south must comply to everything evenly .But here in fact the community the thailand insisted do not want to spearheading it because violate wide of the mark or the regulations in their belief.

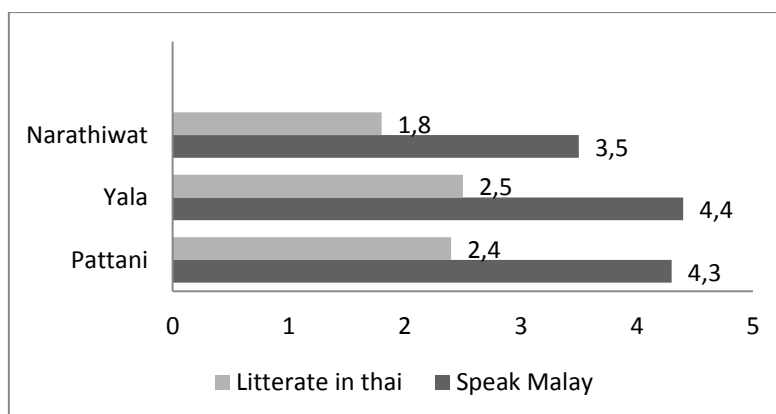
The muslim community in thailand south do not just been talking, they also wrote and read the malay language, because a language this is used as a language introductory in the cottage, in the for religion studies and language introductory daily. The concern that assimilation the muslims with the community thai cause a group muslim losing its identity (dulyakasem, 1984: 227). Linguistic problems , social and cultural bring a significant impact on the process of integration national thailand

modern. Attitude militant inherent in the muslim community thai in potential is obstacles for assimilation they with the thai another. In the context of thailand , problems secession in four the province be considered as the only political issue that threatens territorial integrity thailand. Since being monarkhi , thailand never complaining about by troubles territorial integrity. For that reason movement secession in thailand of having a unique place in the life of state thailand. Conflict between the muslims thailand with the government thai causing the government thailand do not have enough legitimacy to rule the muslims in thailand .Politically , demands merdeka the community thailand of not only is movement secession but also contains elements desire join a political unit other than a political entity current (irredentist). Of the nature of iredentis dominated movement insurrection the muslims thailand .

Different with most separatism in southeast asia , the muslim community thai embrace the idea to rejoin brother seetnis in malaysia. Romanticism history the and then about greatness pattani under dynasty kelantan without extinguished , even got new vigor with the implementation of policies assimilation force (forced assimilation) the government thai after kingdoms malay fallen at the end of the 18th century .Agreement anglo-siamese in 1909 was the beginning insurrection the people of thailand south due to secede them with brother ethnic in malaysia. The agreement is considered not fair and looked up at thailand as a ruler colonial. Mastery of malay nation by the government thai constitute the beginning dissatisfaction thai the muslim community. The limited their political participation much caused by the number of those who in a quantitative manner minority , plus the fact that of the amount that minority not many of them are secular education with spending a lot of their education at religious schools. Not yet melembaganya a democratic system that emphasizes tributes to the rights of the minority the more narrow the motion they.

Feeling as a people who marginalized the more powerful among muslim thai with introduction education modern secular by imposing compulsory education act in 1921 by the government thai .This new law change the status pondok which was originally place education main be a place additional education .The government thai obliging parents send their children to schools secular if do not want to expressed unlawful .In addition economic hardship caused many muslim thai turn to schools secular. A positive impact the system change education advantages for the political participation the community thai south.Dulyakasem (1984: 253 see that the political participation the muslim community thai significantly capable of reduced conflict with the government thailand. Besides problems internal mentioned above, there are external factors who also determine the dynamics of movement secession thailand. In the past freedom struggle indonesia and malaysia gave inspiration for thailand of to demand self-determination from the central government thailand. This also happened to the emergence of various of a nationalist movement in countries colonial in the world increases strength the people of thailand south to immediately demanded independence.

In the graph below shows quite clearly that the majority province of southern Thailand are all using the Malay language and its comparison with that using language far thailand and even then his language they use when they have guests from the city center, but the place of daily living they only use the Malay language.



One of the conflict is malaysia. The involvement of malaysia as a external in that conflict was caused by various factors historical, geographical, of ethnic and religion. The unique in motion secession in four provincial thailand of is it is iredentis, than just secession to form independent state. The insurgency muslim thai received support of the rulers of kelantan. After malaysia souverign of the sponsorships still given though officially malaysian government holding the tenets of conventional wisdom that supports territorial integrity thailand. Once can do that relations thailand-malaysia was suffering from a on suspicion of thailand for malaysia accused of support separatism thai south. Once can do that formality was not always keep the same company by the fact that there is groups empirical in malaysia who support desire iredentis. The government thai often accused malaysia support struggle minorities. Many generations muslim thailland that migrate to malaysia because the economic and other reasons increase their desire to rejoin the country. Though malaysian government rejected the accusations , the opposition as fitting (force party semalaysia) in an overt manner support the merger mean them (tan , 2000: 49) .The attitude of some groups a sympathizer in malaysia and accusation the government of thailand on malaysia is an element that interferes with diplomatic relations both. The resolution of problems thailand of cannot be ruled out the role of malaysia.

RESPON

From all a series of conflicts that have occurred can be seen that which has come up in of policy determination this new skeptically condemn thailand with secession from thailand , even though any attempts had been done by thailand of remain staunchly culture on the establishment of the idealism of her that strong plus support again by malaysia which should is their descendants. Light minded the government of thailand in dealing with various violent separatist group in most southern provinces whose majority of people are sunni muslim malay and polysyllabic in the last decade has provided room political conflicts which only strengthen the rebels. Bangkok argued handling takes patience but in fact the insurgent attacks have become increasingly sophisticated and brutal that the death toll was increased. Each time the power in the country millions monk was changed, which rose leaning government of stalling the issue of southern Thailand which is one of the main bloodiest internal conflict in Southeast Asia.

Their response always used conception a the state of being out of date and crucial conflict strife in bureaucracy and political the national competition. For the first time security policy new admitting political dimension in conflict in the region was published this year. This policy also identify decentralization and dialogue with the rebels as part of the solution. However, this policy takes the intentions of politicians Southern Thailand to depoliticize this issue, embracing civil society, to build consensus on devolution of political power and speed up efforts for dialogue. Dialogue and decentralization may be the solutions that are reluctant to apply the political elites of Bangkok right now but necessary changes will be more difficult to occur over time.

The south and the civilian officials in Bangkok emasculated by the need to respect the military position in the region and trapped in a search option that can stop the violence without a commitment to political reform. approximately 60,000 Armed forces mobilization , formulation of laws VARIOUS - Special Security Act and budgeting billions of US dollars is a step - Steps That Fail to Lose Casualties OR cut Uprising Movement initials . In prayer Label In recent years , catch Ongoing but its scale is yet to invite the public to review demands new approaches . Sometimes ADA Events Terrific The moment captured public attention Happens As this year.

RESOLUTION

Making sense of complex conflicts must accept multi-causality and that bold leadership on a range of political and religious are required to make dialogue, ceasefires, and post-conflict reconciliation

possible. I make no claims that attention to the issues of language loyalty and grief that I have offered is the silver bullet that will decisively deal with violence in South Thailand. Although recognized by many commentators, I hope that my summary of the various positions proposed by specialists of ethno linguistic conflicts will inform peace research on how Thai officials, academics, and civil society activists can develop a theoretically sophisticated and empirically informed picture of language angst in Malay South Thailand. The region is on the cusp of significant changes. There is growing local acceptance of the importance of Chinese and Bahasa Malaysia as closer economic and cultural relations between ASEAN countries becomes a reality. Following Keyes, I argue that as a strong state, Thailand should be willing to extend more official support to the linguistic and literary traditions of its citizens (Keyes, 2003, p. 208). In recent decades Thailand has avoided the coercive excesses of the past that have persisted elsewhere in the region. It has yet to reconsider its unilingual vision, particularly in the far-south. So with that I consider any system favors only one party, namely the government. In my view the imprudent minority separatist movement never can bring their cherished goal of autonomy without the co-operation with the Thai mainstream Government. On the other hand use of power by the central Thai government never will bring peace in that region and will also jeopardize the yearlong effort of assimilation. In my opinion bilateral peaceful political solution is perhaps the only final resort to solve the conflict between Thai Buddhist central government and the Malay Muslim people of South Thailand to build a united Thailand.

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ELECTORAL ACCOUNTABILITY MATTERS: RESPONDING TO COMPARATIVE LOGIC OF SURVIVAL AND FAILURE OF REGIONAL HEADS IN THE EMERGING DEMOCRATIC INDONESIA

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Abstract

The qualitative research addresses the political logic of why and how the incumbents succeed or fail in direct election for regional heads (*pilkada*) in democratic local politics in Indonesia. The key points are that populism, rivalry, and tangibility are the core strategies for the successful incumbents in retaining their offices in four rural and urban regions in East Java. Particularly, the survival of an incumbent hinges on his capacity to manage rivalry risks, namely the capability to manage support and opposition both from formal and informal actors through fair or unfair means. Instead of helping liberal democracy to grow, these strategies potentially support *patronus*-driven democracy, in which a small number of elites control patronage and thus exert influential control over the country's electoral processes. Then, this may tell us that for the longevity of democracy, Indonesia must consider an emergency call for the importance of electoral accountability of elected leaders as well as a complementary perspective on democratic progress.

Key Words: political survival, *pilkada*, democracy, Indonesia

Absolute access, wide personal networks, and rampant power abuse are common perceptions of incumbents⁴ in contemporary local politics in Indonesia. Incumbents have direct access to regional policy making as well as local budgeting processes. They can drive budget allocation and disbursement in favour of their own interests. Incumbents also have greater opportunities to link with many influential people, organisations, and communities and undertake intensive communication to develop political alliances.⁵ Incumbents can act as patrons by disbursing exclusive benefits to their clients. Moreover, incumbents have the influence to mobilise bureaucracy⁶, to intervene in regional election commissions (*KPUD*) and regional election supervisory committees (*Panwaslu*) to support their candidatures.⁷

⁴ Throughout the study, an incumbent is a person who holds the office as a regent or mayor (not as deputy of regent or mayor). The incumbent had stayed in office for 5 years prior to re-election bid.

⁵ As remarked by some political observers, see Yuwono (*Suara Merdeka*, 21 September 2010), Yazid (*Rakyat Merdeka*, 21 January 2011)

⁶ As remarked by a political observer, see Harun (*Rakyat Merdeka*, 26 September 2010). Also, Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) revealed 54 cases of bureaucrats' involvement in the 2009 *pilkada* in four regions (*Jawa pos*, 18 May 2010). General Elections Supervisory Board (*Bawaslu*) found also 1,751 violations in the 2010 *pilkada* (Source: <http://us.nasional.news.viva.co.id/news/read/195259-2010--ada-1-751-pelanggaran-di-pilkada> accessed on 31 May 2013) and 1,221 violations in the 2011 *pilkada* (Source: <http://news.detik.com/read/2011/06/16/175735/1662013/10/bawaslu-terima-1221-pelanggaran-selama-pilkada-2011> accessed on 31 May 2013). Relating to the bureaucrats' involvement, *Bawaslu* revealed two main modus, namely bureaucracy's mobilization to support the incumbents and the deployment of state owned facilities for the incumbents' campaigns.

⁷ As remarked by some political observers, see Ranguti (*Koran Jakarta*, 30 June 2010), Badoh (*Media Indonesia*, 8 January 2010). Some recent legal evidence of local election commission's violations was proven by the Election Organisers Ethics Council (*DKPP*). For instance, the council dismissed all of the Pamekasan General Election's Commissioners due to impartiality violation (Source: <http://www.antarajatim.com/lihat/berita/100318/kpu-pamekasan-hormati-keputusan-dkpp> accessed on 31 May 2013). The council dismissed also three of five commissioners of the Municipality of Gorontalo General Election

Four previous studies of direct election for regional heads (*pilkada*) in Indonesia confirm these points. The incumbents have remained longer in office than the contenders, have control over the bureaucracy, policy formulation and program implementation and gain better mass media self-coverage. These privileges advantage the incumbents when running in the *pilkada*. Besides, the incumbents gain benefits from their position to build personal patronage networks with informal actors, namely business communities, religious leaders, partisan mass media, local politicians and/or local legislators, gangsters, partisan NGOs, and mass-based organisations (Sulistiyanto, 2009; Schiller, 2009; Ratnawati 2009; Hidayat, 2009).

As office holders, incumbents have access to complete information about government finance and budgets. Incumbents' governments can play power games to set grant policies as a vote-purchasing effort (Dahlberg and Johansson, 2002).

Although incumbents have advantages during office, the re-election results do not automatically favour them. According to the Indonesia Survey Circle (LSI)'s compiled reports, the number of failed incumbents in the *pilkada* has increased in the first five years (2005-2010). From June 2005 to December 2006, 87 of 230 incumbents (37.83%) did not succeed in retaining office as a result of the provincial and regional elections (LSI, 2007).⁸ Five years later (2010), this number rose moderately to 44% (64 of 146) (*Rakyat Merdeka*, 26 September 2010).⁹

Inconsistencies between the advantages of the incumbents' favourable position and the re-election results, then, sparked a set of questions to address this political conundrum. What are the factors that lead to re-election? Why are the incumbents, who have access to regional government resources and control over bureaucracy, unsuccessful in securing their posts in a re-election? What are the implications of surviving and non-surviving strategies for democracy? Should we merely rely on *consolidology* to read the day-to-day democratic local politics? A more detailed understanding of local politics is revealed by comparing populist policies and informal politics associated with the incumbents.

This research is centred on the study of the incumbents' political survival and failure in the new and emerging local democracy in Indonesia, mainly in the *pilkada* at the regional level. The study is based on case studies conducted in four rural and urban regions in East Java Province, namely Blitar Regency (surviving incumbent) and Trenggalek Regency (failed incumbent) (rural regions) and Probolinggo Municipality (surviving incumbent) and Madiun Municipality (failed incumbent) (urban regions). The analysis is focused on the *pilkada* that took place in 2010 in Blitar and Trenggalek and in 2008 in Probolinggo and Madiun.

This study applied qualitative research principles with *interpretivism* as the philosophical worldview (Creswell, 2009). In each region, this study interviewed the incumbent regional head, heads of regional government offices, NGO activists, journalists, academics and voters in two villages, through semi-structured interviews. For voters, the study asked about what is taken into consideration in voting or not voting for the incumbents in the re-election bid. The study also collected data from official documents and local budgets (*APBD*) in four regional governments.

This study addresses a similar focus of inquiry, namely the incumbents' policy behaviour (populist politics) during their time in governing their regions, the informal actors and informal political practices (informal politics) attached to the incumbents, and voters' explanations of their reasons for voting and not voting for the incumbents.

Commission due to similar violation (Source: <http://www.jpnn.com/read/2013/03/07/161669/DKPP-Copot-Tiga-Komisioner-KPU-Kota-Gorontalo-> accessed on 31 May 2013).

⁸ Incumbents are regional heads and governors who run for a second election. Indonesia had held 296 regional and provincial elections from June 2005 to December 2006. 230 regional heads and governors ran for *pilkada* as the candidate of regional heads and governors. Also, 63 incumbents of deputy of regional heads and governors competed for regional head and governor positions in the 2005-2006 *pilkada*.

⁹ These data refer to a review of Lembaga Survei Indonesia (The Indonesia Survey Institute) published in *Rakyat Merdeka*, 26 September 2010.

The Comparative Logic of Survival and Failure

There are three interrelated themes concerning the logic of the incumbents' survival and failure in the *pilkada*. First is populism. This is not only about political ideas which are intended to represent ordinary people's needs and wishes. This also covers populist policies and popular activities which the incumbents were praised for. Populism works to construct a well-liked image of the incumbents amongst local people. In detail, populist ideas, policies and popular activities are personal marketing for the incumbents to make them appear as popular figures. They act apparently as figures who care or give very much attention to common people's concerns (problems, needs, and wishes). Moreover, populism functions as the result of the personalisation of (populist) policy outputs. The successful incumbents do solo runs to maximise public praise and develop their well-liked image via the implementation of populist policies.

Second is rivalry. Embracing informal actors and partisan formal actors was crucial for the incumbents to survive. They are a group of local elites consisting of businessmen, partisan bureaucrats, legislators, party elites, and partisan NGOs (and media) providing support for the incumbents to stay in office. They operate to particularly minimise political rivalry risks to the incumbents. This concept is adaptable, representing the operation of the actors playing informal politics with the assurance of transactional relationships as incentives. These actors perform either encouraging or undermining activities for the incumbents. The incumbents' capacity to manage these actors via mutual transactional relationships is central to discouraging counter-movements that may undermine the incumbents' influence amongst local people.

The last theme is tangibility or the ability to deliver tangible aspects of policy outputs and appearances, credited to the incumbents during office. Tangible and direct policy outputs are remembered and shape voters' preferences to vote for the incumbents in the *pilkada*, such as infrastructure at the neighbourhood level, city gardens, subsidised or free groceries and other donations praised to the incumbents. Not only in deciding to vote for the surviving incumbents, the case studies in Trenggalek Regency and Madiun Municipality pointed out that voters, including female voters, considered these policy outputs when deciding to vote for the non-surviving incumbents. To be specific, in Madiun Municipality, the cash disbursed by the winning challenger's camp also shaped voters' preferences not to vote for the incumbent.

Complementary to tangible policy outputs are noticeable appearances of the incumbent amongst local people. *Blusukan* and *takziah* are the two most popular activities remembered and adored by voters. These activities contributed to the improvement of voters' likeability or affinity towards the incumbents. The incumbents' attendance amongst ordinary people shows their care and closeness to the governed. Voters' interpretation of these activities may omit the distance between the elite and the people. Also, the incumbents' willingness to inaugurate both regional and national government projects in neighbourhoods contributed to people easily recognising them. As the majority of the population in East Java is Muslim, the attendance of the incumbents at religious activities as well as connection with *kiai* and *pesantren* is pivotal to constructing their religious image.

The existence of these three factors attached to the incumbents is crucial to explain the logic of their survival or failure. The comparison shows that the incumbent in Blitar and Probolinggo succeeded in performing populism and tangibility and in managing the low rivalry risks from informal and partisan formal actors prior to the *pilkada*. The incumbents in Trenggalek and Madiun actually succeeded in promoting populism and tangibility to the local people. Nonetheless, their failure to control informal politics and actors compelled the incumbents to leave their posts. Conflicting political parties and LMDH's move to divert their support from the incumbent to the winning challenger undermined the incumbent's electability amongst voters in Trenggalek. Meanwhile, the incumbent's poor networks and his over confidence in depending only on the party (PDI-P) network made the incumbent in Madiun unable to defend against money politics attacks. Moreover, both the incumbents in Trenggalek and Madiun did not fully control the bureaucrats, which is actually strategic to setting regional government policies favouring incumbents. In the case studies, the low rivalry risks from informal politics can explain the logic of the incumbent's survival and failure in the *pilkada*.

Good populism and tangibility fulfilment will support the incumbents in gaining credit from local people. Nevertheless, the politics of particularism via incentives, playing between the incumbents and five categories of local elites, were strong enough to minimise the risks of political rivalry that may undermine the incumbents' influence (populism and tangibility) and to block money politics attacks on potential voters. Thus, the rivalry risks from informal and partisan formal actors, which depend on the degree of informal political manoeuvres played out between the incumbents and these actors, are likely to determine the incumbents' survivability, although the incumbents have similar competitive advantages of populism and tangibility.

Making Democracy Valuable

For those studying local politics and democracy in Indonesia, the implementation of the *pilkada* in 2005 sparked critical concern about serious challenges for the emerging democracy, following democratic reforms begun just seven years earlier (1998). The dramatic end of the 32 years of an authoritarian regime, followed by rapid political change, still leaves questions about democratic consolidation thereafter. A logical question mainly addressed by political scholars pertains to the change in democracy in Indonesia, including at the local level. Does the *pilkada* encourage the progress of local democracy? What are the enabling or preventing factors for local democracy to move on? The previous collective works provide evidence that the *pilkada* is a step that will help to deepen democracy (Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009). Nonetheless, other works find difficulty in generalising local politics in post-Soeharto Indonesia, as there are various democracy outputs in diverse regions (Aspinall and Mietzner, 2010). Also, a local democracy study in four provinces (East Java, West Sumatera, South Sulawesi and Bali) asserts that local elites' interests, focusing only on gaining power, have undermined the positive contribution of the *pilkada* to democratic institutionalisation (Zuhro et al., 2011). Essentially, there is no single explanation of the progress of local democracy in post-Soeharto Indonesia. This research adds more detailed content on incumbents' political survival (regional heads) in an electoral democracy. Moreover, it seeks to assert that certain parties have a strong interest in "manipulating" local democracy.

The development of the *pilkada* as part of the country's major democratisation scheme since 1998 has been debated from two particular viewpoints, namely comparative and isolation perspectives. The former views Indonesian democracy in a more optimistic way. The country's democratic achievement is better compared to other countries with a similar and comparable stage of democratisation. The latter viewpoint sees the country's democratisation in detail and partly focuses on certain pillars of democracy (amongst *Indonesianists* and activists). It states that Indonesia's democratic progress should be reconsidered, as there are many structural defects in its implementation, namely, imperfect competitive elections, weak parties and parliament, undermining civil society, women's persistent obstacles in politics and some elitist local politics. Particular to the *pilkada*, democratisation at the local level is still captured by entrenched local elites (Aspinall and Mietzner 2010, 3-17).

By referring to Freedom House's measure of democratisation, based on the assessment of the quality of civil rights and civil liberties, Aspinall and Mietzner have put Indonesia's democracy into the consolidation perspective (2010, 46). Other works in the same publication edited by these *Indonesianists* apply a similar perspective. The consolidation of Indonesia's democracy still has a struggle to deal with the acceptance of democratic constitutional order amongst *sharia* state's supporters, worrying levels of behavioural, attitudinal and constitutional commitment to democracy from key elites, poor performance of corruption and the rule of law and the combination of presidentialism and a multi-party system that may lead to unstable democracy (Diamond 2010, 46-48). From the examination of voting behaviour data in a series (1999-2009) of legislative and presidential elections, Mujani and Liddle (2010) explain Indonesia's democracy consolidation and quality with both positive and negative aspects of voting behaviour. Specific to reviewing the *pilkada* in the regions, other collective works¹⁰ concluded that the implementation of local elections in

¹⁰ The majority of works assess the results and dynamics of the first round *pilkada* in 2005.

Indonesia is problematic in terms of democratic consolidation. The *pilkada* is coloured by weaknesses, namely a lack of impartiality and independence of local general election commissions, some violence, huge numbers of absentees and domination by political parties (Erb and Sulistiyanto 2009, 17-20).

The consolidation of democracy perspective is also applied by Zuhro et al. (2011) to construct a model of local democracy in Indonesia. By employing the conceptual category of deepening democracy, Zuhro and her colleagues assess three main pillars of local democracy in four provinces, namely local cultural values compatible or incompatible to democracy, constructive or constraining roles of actors and functional or dysfunctional roles of local political institutions, both government and non-government institutions.

Nevertheless, consolidation as a perspective to 'measure' democratisation of a country or countries is not without criticism. As a cluster concept, consolidation is structurally understandable but without a core. The division of democratic types, liberal and electoral democracy, to classify either democratic survival or democratic progress in democratic consolidation does not have common ideas. As a result, the consolidation of democracy seems to act as a catch-all concept, lacking a core meaning to unite all modes of usage. Thus, "consolidology" is only a label for the study of new democracies. However, academic communities deploy the term democratic consolidation in whatever ways best fit for research, funding needs, and advertising strategies (Schendler 1998, 97-98). The consolidation perspective is also very formally oriented. It sets the criterion of formality based on "a close fit between formal rules and actual behaviour". In fact, some countries with long traditions of democracy, such as Italy, Japan and India are rampant with the practices of *particularism* which are informal in character (O'Donnel 1996, 40).

From the examination of political survival and failure at the regional levels, this study found three main interrelated elements playing important roles in local democratic competition, namely populism, rivalry, and tangibility. The incumbents' survival in regional elections was supported by the play of incentives and tangible presents. Nonetheless, an incumbent's skilful management of political rivalry risks from some categories of local elites is essential. The study asserts that rivalry is a cross-cutting factor that may support the incumbents' survival or failure in the *pilkada*. In other words, a good incumbents' performance in delivering populist policy outputs and appearance with tangible and direct benefits is not adequate without obtaining backing and protection from informal and partisan formal actors.

This finding arrives at a crucial argument that the *pilkada* is captured predominantly by local elites. The degree of political rivalry on the incumbents, as an explanatory aspect of their survival and failure, is assumed to have a poor impact on the *pilkada* outcomes. The *pilkada* has not yet delivered its main mission as a competitive mechanism of democracy to encourage better local leadership, with positive effects on local development achievements. The domination of elites and less critical voters possibly became one of the factors that potentially caused local development losses. Informal and partisan formal actors transacted their influence and resources to gain individual and constituent-based benefits. They amused local people with short-term, practical and popular development outputs.

Firstly, the study finds that the logic of the incumbents' survival is determined less by good electoral accountability. The incumbent with better local development achievements prior to the *pilkada* cannot maintain office; he even experienced a crushing defeat, such as in Trenggalek. Worse, voters in Madiun Municipality were influenced by money politics disbursed by the winning challenger's camp and removed the incumbent from office. As seen in tables 2 and 3, after the incumbent's removal, local development performance declined. Despite the fact that under the incumbent's leadership, Madiun Municipality had lower achievements in HDI, health index and education index than Probolinggo Municipality, these local development achievements deteriorated under the winning challenger's administration. In Blitar and Probolinggo, the incumbents who succeeded in the re-election bid had lower development achievements after gaining their positions for the second term. Hence, successful or unsuccessful incumbents do not always reflect local development performance during and after their tenure.

Table 2 Pre- *pilkada* Development Achievements (annual change)

Development Achievements	Rural Regions (2002-2005)			Urban Regions (2004-2008)			East Java (2002 - 2005)
	Blitar	Trenggalek	Av.	Probolinggo	Madiun	Av.	
HDI	0.98	0.66	1.04	0.69	0.59	0.62	1.44
Health Index	0.56	0.33	0.53	0.57	0.29	0.47	1.37
Education Index	0.45	0.75	0.80	0.99	0.51	0.64	0.77
Per capita Spending (Rp)/AUD	8,200/0.82	3,800/0.38	7,700/0.77	1,450/0.145	3,675/0.3675	3,170/0.317	9,500/0.95
PPP Index	1.91	0.88	1.79	0.34	0.85	0.73	2.19

Source: the East Java Central Statistics Agency. Processed by researcher

Table 3 Post- *pilkada* Development Achievements (annual change)

Development Achievements	Rural Regions (2009-2012)			Urban Regions (2008-2012)			East Java (2006 - 2009)
	Blitar	Trenggalek	Av.	Probolinggo	Madiun	Av.	
HDI	0.39	0.50	0.60	0.54	0.40	0.48	0.63
Health Index	0.36	0.43	0.42	0.58	0.34	0.41	0.31
Education Index	0.16	0.13	0.56	0.25	0.18	0.16	0.38
Per capita Spending (Rp)/AUD	2,970/0.297	3,530/0.353	3,570/0.357	3,400/0.34	2,950/0.295	3,370/0.337	4,730
PPP Index	0.69	0.81	0.83	0.79	0.68	0.78	1.09

Source: the East Java Central Statistics Agency. Processed by researcher

Secondly, the downward trend in development achievements also happened at the provincial level, particularly in East Java. The composite of provincial development attainments was not better in the post-*pilkada* than the pre-*pilkada* period. In the post-*pilkada* period (after 2005) the provincial HDI, education, health, purchasing power parity (PPP) and per capita spending decreased by more than half compared to the pre-*pilkada* period. Indeed, in 2005, there were 18 regional *pilkada*. The other 20 regions had conducted the *pilkada* from 2006 to 2008. Local leadership and local government are not the most determining factors in the effective running of local development, as decentralisation arrangements that regulate the shares of national and local authorities should also be counted. However, the policy arguments for the *pilkada*, following the implementation of direct presidential election in 2004, are mainly intended to elect more responsive local leaders who can lead effective local development. Hence, this decline in local development achievements demonstrated poor electoral accountability in the post-*pilkada* period in the regions and East Java. The elected regional leaders are not electorally accountable to the public who elected them.

Democracy is not solely about election concerns. Thus, electoral accountability or democratic accountability is the crucial idea of the democratic spirit.¹¹ Election and succession are mechanisms to select better leaderships that are able to deliver equal advancement and benefits for all people. Schumpeter clearly states that democracy is institutional competition for political leadership by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. He adds that effective competition gives people a voice to verify the government and leaders. He also fundamentally contends that the classical doctrine of democracy is about the common good and the will of the people. "The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will" (Schumpeter 1950, 250, 269-270). Therefore, democracy is a competitive method to amass collective interest, aggregated in political decisions (policies) and mandated to the elected leaders. This doctrine clearly underlines the idea of the electoral accountability of the elected leader to carry out the common good and the will of the people.

However, Dahl warns that democratic government cannot avoid defects. Democracy carries out the mission of realising the ten advantages of democracy, ranging from avoiding tyranny to creating prosperity, that are more desirable than non-democratic government (1998, 60-61). As popular government, democratic government under elected competitive leadership is accountable for translating these advantages into realities.

Based on these quantitative and grounded data from the field, relating to the *pilkada* and its impacts, this study proposes an alternative idea to review democratisation, not from the perspective of inquiring into the facts and reasons for what makes democracy work, in terms of the consolidation of democracy. In the emerging stages of democracy, especially at the local level, democratic progress should be viewed from the outcome perspective, to shape the will of the people. In the early stage of democracy in Indonesia, democracy as a constitutional choice needs to gain a quick win or impressive effect as a better alternative than any other form of non-democratic government. The confidence and trust of the people in local democratic government can only be obtained through the better performance and outcomes of democratic government under competitive elected leadership.

Here, it is assumed that electoral accountability is appropriate and complementary to other existing perspectives of democratisation, particularly the consolidation of democracy. Electoral accountability is arguable to analyse democratic progress, particularly to assess the democratic effects of political survival in a re-election bid, such as in the *pilkada*. The conceptual foundation of electoral accountability as a complementary perspective for analysing local political competition refers to Schumpeter's classical doctrine of democracy. A leader elected competitively would chair a democratic government to carry out the common good and the will of the people.

The logic of endorsing democratic accountability to measure democratic progress in the *pilkada*, complementary to democratisation, firstly, relies on the argument of institutional arrangement and accountable and democratic local government. The *pilkada* follows the logic of the presidential government system (*presidentialism*) in electing a leader. Under *presidentialism*, asking the government to be accountable to voters becomes possible. An incumbent leader is an easy target for voters to evaluate this leader's performance (Hellwig and Samuels 2008, 69).

Secondly, democratic accountability is important to consider as a complementary perspective to democratisation, since Indonesian democracy is not sufficiently understood through institutionalism only. In other words, institutional arrangements matter in shaping behaviour and policy, as in the first argument; nevertheless non-institutional or informal factors have crucial roles in performing similar functions as formal institutions. Thus, comprehending Indonesian political dynamics relies both on formal institutions (law, constitution, formal institutions, and institutional arrangements) and informal factors (non-codified norms, value, actual praxis, beliefs). This study demonstrates the importance of informal politics, which more significantly determined the political survival of regional heads in the *pilkada*. Democratic accountability as a complementary perspective is appropriate to comprehend

¹¹ This study uses the concept of electoral accountability and democratic accountability interchangeably. Both concepts have identical meanings.

democratic progress, as it may identify to whom an elected leader gives more response, whether to the large number of constituents or the small number of loyal and supportive elites.

The conceptual root of democratic accountability is adopted from the concept of electoral accountability in assessing an incumbent government. Electoral accountability holds officeholders accountable, since periodic election provides a challenge to respond to voters' demands and needs in selecting policies (Prewitt 1970, 7). The basic argument of electoral accountability is grounded on a belief that elected leaders will answer back to electoral incentives. Then, the leader's performance is the basis of reward and punishment possibly addressed by voters (Svolik 2013, 686). Similarly, other scholars explain the concept as the voters' capacity to reward or sanction incumbent politicians (Samuels 2004, 425; Hellwig and Samuels 2008, 68).

Therefore, democratic accountability is valuable, to enrich the perspective of democratisation, particularly in assessing the contribution of the *pilkada* to democratic progress.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the Indonesian democracy "big bang" since 1998, the importance of informal backers (protectors and defenders) for the incumbents' survival in a so-called competitive election demonstrates one of the vital indicators to read working democracy in this third largest democratic country. One cannot adequately review Indonesian liberal democracy practices from merely institutional or formal change, such as the enactments of laws on direct presidential election and the *pilkada*. Blatant patronage between the surviving incumbents and informal political actors is evidence negating the working democracy. In other words, the strong presence of informality, via legalised transactional policies and practices between the incumbents and their supporters, must be considered in examining Indonesian democracy. Particularly, businessmen and partisan bureaucrats are no less important than political parties in supporting as well as facilitating the incumbents' winning in re-election bids.

Consequently, the leaders who survive are consummate strategists who strengthen *patronus*-driven democracy,¹² because the regular succession of a leader demands the major support of the people; in fact, it is determined by much fewer numbers of vital protectors and defenders. These backers attach themselves to the incumbent leaders who can control the dynamics of support and opposition.

Moreover, it gives an academic lesson that democracy big bang is not merely about authoritarian regime removal and institutional change. It also covers essential actions about better political recruitment as well as the prevention of old interest to contaminate new democratic institutions and platforms.

In addition, the relatively absence of civic spirit amongst voters is another great challenge for functioning democracy. Ignorance, pragmatism, and manipulated group-oriented voting (*anut grubyuk*) are poor examples following democracy big bang. They will not help democracy to hold regional elected leaders accountable for pursuing long-term interest of the people, rather than short-term self-political interest. Accordingly, democracy does not only need equal liberty for every citizen to vote for leaders, but also a developed civic spirit (Rothstein, in Goodin and Klingeman (eds.), 1996). Furthermore, democracy requires accountable elected leaders who run the office under the collective control of the goodwill of the people.

¹² The word *patronus* in this article means defender and protector (Latin word). It is closely related to political patronage means "distributing favours to the supporters in return for votes" (McMillan in McLean 2003)

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MEDIA MOGUL'S INFLUENCE TOWARDS NEWS REPORTING: INDONESIAN ELECTION CASE

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Abstract

The normative notion of the public sphere as a part of social life where citizens can exchange views on matters of importance to the common good, public opinion can be formed. The public sphere comes when people gather to discuss issues of political concern. The importance of process of discussion, which must take the form of rational-critical debate. The debate has a set of rules which include avoiding use of emotion or emotive language, and focus on the rationality of the content separately. Participants should have a common interest in truth, which meant that they bracketed status differentials (so that participants speak as if they were equals). Criticism is vital to this process, so that the proposals being put forward can be tested, but also the participants can discover a meaning as a result of the process itself. Media and the public are very close related to the progress or level of community intelligence when received information from the government. If the government provide real information and not referring to one side or corner and preach the truth, then we can imagine how peaceful this country without divisions. Actually chaos which occurs in a country mostly caused by the news that should not be exaggerated even just an issue that can destroy everything. Therefore the media and the public able to improve the performance better.

Keyword : Government, Media and Public Sphere, Criticism, Political

Introduction

The word Mogul originated either from the most powerful Mongol rulers or from the Moghul Emperors of India who were the icons of wealth and luxurious lifestyle. Currently the term media mogul refers to a highly successful and influential businessman or the proprietor of a media enterprise or any mass media-related complex. By virtue of their ownership, they are highly resourceful and can influence not only regional politics or affairs, but can also impact international affairs. In addition to mogul, various other terms like tycoon, baron, or business magnate are also used as alternates. Not all of them are born moguls and many, in fact, rose from menial backgrounds. Mostly, media moguls include entertainment celebrities or publishers of newspapers and magazines of international importance. Like all the other classes of rich people, most media moguls have a great tendency to become philanthropists. There are others who spend their wealth on a luxurious life style, while there are still a few others who are interested only in accumulating more and more wealth, wrapping it like a silkworm around their bodies until they die in their cocoons.¹

Freedom of press is the popular name for the norms that guarantee the right of citizens to obtain information as a basis for shaping the attitudes and opinions, both in the context of public and aesthetic problems. It is necessary for the mass media as an institution community, which perform the function of imperatives of the interests of citizens to public information. The right to obtain information and forming attitudes and opinions need to be sorted in two dimensions, namely the freedom of the press and freedom of expression. In these dimensions, it can be sorted into 2 groups

¹ N.n. 2013. *Media Mogul (online)* <http://infomory.com/famous/famous-media-moguls/> diakses pada 07 Oktober 2015 pukul 12.55 WIB.

based on the function of mass media, which are the focus of entertainment media to meet physics, pragmatic interests, and news media/journalism that focuses on pragmatic interests.

Social media has become a key term in Media and Communication Studies and public discourse for characterising platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Wikipedia, LinkedIn, Wordpress, Blogspot, Weibo, Pinterest, Foursquare and Tumblr. This paper discusses the role of the concept of the public sphere for understanding social media critically. It argues against an idealistic interpretation of Habermas and for a cultural-materialist understanding of the public sphere concept that is grounded in political economy. It sets out that Habermas' original notion should best be understood as a method of immanent critique that critically scrutinises limits of the media and culture grounded in power relations and political economy. The paper introduces a theoretical model of public service media that it uses as foundation for identifying three antagonisms of the contemporary social media sphere in the realms of the economy, the state and civil society. It concludes that these limits can only be overcome if the colonisation of the social media lifeworld is countered politically so that social media and the Internet become public service and commons based media.²

Freedom as first aspect manifests through the medium of entertainment contextual aesthetic institutions that perform the function to meet pragmatic interests when the interests of citizens is subjective. The significance entertainment of information in the context of freedom of expression is increasing appreciation of the value and sharing in cultural life. Entertainment may move from the level of psychic pleasure pragmatic, down to the level of aesthetic appreciation by sharing in cultural life. Information in the form of creative works such as literary, theater, soap operas, advertising, painting, or a portrait of a beautiful woman, in the context of freedom of expression, hence the discourse and assessment. It accompanying departed from ethics and aesthetics.³

Freedom in a second aspect through the medium of the press or called media journalism played a role in its contextual function into public spaces to convey journalism information. Information regarding journalism basically formed in contextual facts on the public space. The process of obtaining and delivering information contained in the norms of journalism which is based on freedom of the press as the basis in public life in order that citizens can take part (sharing) in the process of the democratic life of the country. Understanding the political dimension of press freedom and freedom of expression that the cultural dimension is often confounded. Information seen from the journalism ethics and epistemology that relies on empirical truth.⁴

The mass media and public opinion are inextricably wed. The central role accorded the public in a liberal requires democracy at bare minimum information on which judgment about leadership may be made. A central question of democratic theory – how are public preference transmitted to decision makers? – this is a question about communication. At other extreme, communication is inherent in such analytical tools as the “normal vote,” where some information must penetrate the shield of every voter who defects from the long term force of partisanship.⁵

Habermas emphasis the critical role of the media in the public sphere, distinguishing between the early press who highlighted political controversy and the more recent development of media that commodity the news. He outlines the development of newspapers in the early 17th century, commenting that the press "was for the first time established as a genuinely critical organ of a public engaged in critical political debate: as the fourth estate".⁶

² N.n. 2014 *Media and Public Sphere* (online) <http://www.triple-c.at/index.php/tripleC/article/view/552> diakses pada 25 September 2015 pukul 10.33 WIB

³ *Ibid*

⁴ N.n. N.d. *Public Sphere* (online) <http://www.zipworld.com.au/~athornto/html> diakses pada 26 September 2015 pukul 10.06 WIB

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ Alinta Thomlon, *Media and Public Sphere*, <http://www.zipworld.com.au/~athornto.htm> diakses pada 26 September 2015 pukul 13.06 WIB

Media Role Problematic

The role of traditional media (television, magazines and newspapers) in modern democracy is increasingly problematic, and serious questions have arisen about its capacity as a site for political criticism or rational debate. Democracy has become the dominant ideology of modern political life. Yet the gaps between ideology and practice are now so glaring that serious observers feel increasingly bound to ask "Are we able to believe even in the possibility of a role for mass communication in the furtherance of democratic ideals?" (Blumler and Gurevitch). Many of the old centres of the public sphere still exist, but are no longer places for political criticism or rational debate. Many theorists have commented that television and other electronic communications isolate people from one another and "substitute themselves for older spaces of politics".⁷

Instead of reporting on politics, the media are active participants in the political process through their role in publicity. Increasingly, the media has become central to political life. Politicians who do not constantly stay abreast of the media's requirements and actively plan their publicity tend to fall quickly out of favor. Those who are not good 'media performers' suffer the same fate. Public debate on television and in newspapers bears little resemblance to the rational-critical debate idealist by Habermas.⁸

Independence Media

Elections in Indonesia are massive in scale. On April 9, over 180 million eligible voters will elect 19,700 legislators from over 230,000 candidates for 532 different legislatures – at the national, provincial, district, and municipal levels – in only six hours at over half a million polling stations across the country. On July 9, voters will turn out again to elect a new president and vice president. In the past, the National Election Commission (KPU), parties, candidates, and civil society organizations have struggled to support voters to make informed voting decisions. Conventional media channels have not proven suited to packaging and targeting such a volume of voter information, particularly when it is geared toward reaching Indonesia's younger voters.⁹

Independence is also our rights as human beings, who have the right to free and independent without being pressured by anyone else. Of course, in practice the so-called independent are also no limitations. Due to an institution or organization can't exist without the support of other parties. As well as about the role of the mass media helped the success of the 2014 election is very strategic in order to run a direct election, general, free, confidential, fair and secure. Therefore it is necessary that the mass media have a responsibility and find the best way to help drive the success of the election process and results. The main expectation is how the newsroom independence of print and electronic media and online. Therefore, the implementation of the 2014 General Election Democratic Party had its day and the month. Publication for the imaging of each party and candidate election participants echoed in various media. No day without news ahead of the 2014 election.¹⁰

From the perspective of political logic, of course, we'll see how Mr. Jokowi (Jokowi) and camp supporters will be positioned as the incumbent face-off firmly with the opposition parties, the Coalition Red and White (KMP). When the government was split on the executive Jokowi in full control, and the legislature is controlled by KMP. Consequently, the potential competition for

⁷ N.n. N.d. *Media and Public Sphere* (online)

<http%3a%2f%2fwww.zipworld.com.au%2f~athornto%2.htm/RK=0/RS=DW3RDqv33Cb0Yo5sDufaT2S1s0s> diakses pada 27 September 2015 pukul 10.10 WIB.

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Andrew Thornley, 2014, *Indonesia's Social Media Elections* (online) <http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2014/04/02/indonesias-social-media-elections/> diakses pada 27 September 2015 pukul 10.40 WIB.

¹⁰ N.n. 2014. *Indonesian election –President* (online) <https://www.indymedia.org/or/index.shtml> diakses pada 28 September 2015 pukul 09.09 WIB

competing for influence and legitimacy will be wide open. Jokowi will get a challenge that is not easy when the presidential system emphasizes the balance of power between the executive and the legislative and judicial branches. The impact of the review of communications media to politics, the dichotomy and media dependencies may exist and protracted.¹¹

If the logic of the media used at the ideal level, the media must be loyal to journalism, especially independence, the balance, and objectivity. This is very important, considering the average media in the country is difficult to dampen the interests of the political-economy of one of the two presidential candidates for the 2014 election participants. We can see byeye, split media to co-opted into one camp. Although there are still trying to neutral media, but the echoes are drowned out by media 'partisan' is.¹²

Indonesian Media are very Influential

Social media and its development in Indonesia and in the world has changed the way we live in the big cities. A lot of negative things, there are many positive things that can be obtained from social media if used and maintained properly. We still remember how President Obama and Jokowi use social media to help them get to the top. However it all comes back to us to use social media wisely.¹³

Many of Indonesia's traditional media outlets are owned by politicians. The coverage, on any given channel, tends to be one-sided. Last month the broadcast watchdog, the KPI, sanctioned two television stations for bias towards their owner, a media mogul named Hary Tanoesoedibjo who is also a vice-presidential candidate for the Hanura party, led by Wiranto, a former military chief. Similar criticism has also been levelled at TV stations owned by the Golkar party's Aburizal Bakrie and by Surya Paloh of the NasDem party. Last September the regulator reprimanded the state broadcaster, TVRI, for its two-and-a-half-hour coverage of a convention of the Democratic Party, which is of course the party of the president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.¹⁴

Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and other social-media applications together provide a platform from which previously silent voices are beginning to be heard, but they do not yet have the reach of the country's dominant television broadcasters. Internet penetration is rising in Indonesia, with some 70m people going online regularly, but that is still only 30% of the archipelago's 250m people. Though parties like the PDI-P recognise the power of social media, they are not about to abandon large rallies or other traditional forms of campaigning. Meanwhile, Indonesia's moneyed politicians are taking a greater interest in social media too. This year a consortium led by Mr Bakrie's family firm spent \$25m for [a stake in Path](#), an up-and-coming social-media app.¹⁵

Conclusion

That the media actually in Indonesia do not fully meet democratic standards. Lots of political elites use their opportunity for personal gain. As the writer explained above that there are some candidates who turned out to have the authority to be able to promote themselves if they want to get ahead in the presidential election. Up until this very day there are some television and other electronic media, they still proclaim himself or his group.

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² *Ibid*

¹³ N. n. N.d. *Berkembangnya social media di indonesia* <http://social-media-untuk-bisnis-di-indonesia> diakses pada 23 September 2015 pukul 21.00 WIB

¹⁴ N.n. N.d. *Social Media Indonesian Election* (online) <http://www.economist.com/banyan/2014/03/social-media-indonesias-elections> diakses pada 24 September 2014 pukul 09.53 WIB.

¹⁵ *Ibid*

According to the author, the influence of the media and the public is very dependent on a very neutral news because a lot of the media in Indonesia that can not be separated from the personal and group competition. And here the victim is the audience of news and ordinary people who sometimes be affected. If you want to move forward and not split the unity of the nation, it is the business and political elite do not see this as any personal gain, but rather the integrity of the country by supporting the president in every program of work up to what is desired by all of us quickly realized.

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N.n. 2014 . *Indonesian election –President* (online) <https://www.indymedia.org/or/index.shtml> diakses pada 28 September 2015 pukul 09.09 WIB

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MEDIA CONGLOMERATION IN INDONESIA: TOOLS TO PRESERVE INFLUENCES POLITICAL INTEREST

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Abstract

Indonesia's Media has grown up after 1999. Growth of media in Indonesia, also shown trends of media conglomeration. Name like Paloh, Tanoesoedibjo, and Bakrie became a media conglomerate and also politician. In the Media Theory stated, Mass media is efficient to change in the mind of people. Mass society theory makes several basic assumptions about individuals, the role of media, and the nature of social change. They used media for preserving his political influences. In the other side, regulation about media ownership always ignore by media owners. Whereas, in Law 32/2002 about Broadcasting Media Chapter 36 verse 4 states, "broadcast content must be maintained neutrality and should not put the interests of group". Many complain from the media audience, but no action from government. Regulator doesn't enforce the law, especially at Broadcast Media. Most of the media uses public sphere, who design for democratization process, not for individual or political party's interest.

Keywords : Media Conglomeration, Indonesia, Tools, Preserve Influences, Politics

Introduction

After "New Order" the era has fallen, new media in Indonesia has grown up. Long time with suppressed and harassed by the New Order, the Indonesian press is now among the freest and liveliest in Asia (Kuipers2011). The number of printed publication increased rapidly from 1998, a hundred newspapers and magazine are published throughout the archipelago, the majority in Java (Kuipers 2011). Such as Kompas Newspaper Daily, with subsidiary company, Tribunnews issued more than 20 new local and regional newspaper. A local brand, like Tribun Bali, TribunTimur, Surya, and TribunJabar has leading regional news in Indonesia. Also at broadcast media, has significantly emerged. More than 150 local TV stations (Salsabiela 2014, 1) and 11 national TV stations was airing in Indonesia after 1998.

Growth of media in Indonesia, also shown trends of media conglomeration. Media holding always has diversification media, to establish the positioning in market. Media Holding have consideration of political issue influence to keep struggle for the market (Halim 2013, 5).

Media owner commonly affiliates with political party. Text on media has a commoditization and collaborated with interest of media owners (Halim 2013, 5-6). Why politician use media to preserve political issue? Baran and Davis (2012, 55-56 stated that mass media is efficient to change in the mind of people. Mass society theory makes several basic assumptions about individuals, the role of media, and the nature of social change. Here we list these assumptions: (1)The media are a powerful force within society that can subvert essential norms and values and thus undermine the social order. To deal with this threat media must be brought under elite control. (2) Media are able to directly influence the minds of average people, transforming their views of the social world. (3) Once people's thinking is transformed by media, all sorts of bad long-term consequences are likely to result—not only bringing ruin to individual lives but also creating social problems on a vast scale. (4) Average

people are vulnerable to media because in mass society they are cut off and isolated from traditional social institutions that previously protected them from manipulation. (5) The social chaos initiated by media will likely be resolved by establishment of a totalitarian social order. (6) Mass media inevitably debase higher forms of culture, bringing about a general decline in civilization.

Now, we see Tanoesodibjo (CEO MNC Media Group) has a rising politician after he showed up in his Television (RCTI, MNCTV, and Global TV) everyday during the 2014's Election. After he quit from Hanura Party, he establishes his own party, Perindo (*Persatuan Indonesia* – Unity in Indonesia) and reach sympathy from people. In February 2015, Perindo claim have more than 4 million member in 34 province (<http://www.koran-sindo.com/read/961912/149/perindo-perkuat-infrastruktur-partai-1423460700>). That's fantastic number for new party. In other media holding like Viva, Bakrie, general chief of Golkar (*Golongan Karya* – The Party of Functional Group, Ruling party in Suharto's Regime) Version of Bali National Congress have a significant influences to create issue for Golkar leadership crisis. Viva have many TV, such as tvOne and ANTV. In other hand, Media Group owned by Surya Paloh, General Chief of Nasdem (*Nasional Demokrat* – National Democrat) Party, new emerging party in 2014's election, have the first News TV Station in Indonesia, Metro TV. With Publication continuously, Nasdem as a newcomer in Indonesia Political sphere reached 36 chair in Indonesia's House Of representative (<http://fraksinasdem.org/halaman-anggota.html>).

Media Ownership, Regulation and Impact

Discussion about media ownership, can't be separate from the regulation in Indonesia. *Undang – Undang* (Law) Number 32, Year 2002, Chapter 18, and verse 1, written: "Concentration of ownership and control of private broadcasters by a single person or a legal entity, either in the area of broadcasting as well as some areas of broadcasting, limited". In a democratic system, according to Siregar (2008: 40), regulation of the media is basically divided into two major parts, namely the media who do not use the public domain and the media are using the public domain. Media that do not use the public domain, for example, books, magazines, newspapers and movies (except if the broadcast via TV), the regulations using the principle of self-regulatory. But, we know the fact of media ownership in Indonesia leads to conglomeration basis on political practitioner. Tanoesodibjo own 4 National TV (RCTI, MNCTV, Global TV, I-News) base on Free to air (used public TV UHF Frequency). Bakrie has 2 National TV (FTA), tvOne and ANTV. So, we still closed our eyes about conglomeration in media industry?

Tamburaka (2012, 84) stated media not only provide information and entertainment, but also to provide knowledge to the audience. So the process of thinking and analyzing things evolve eventually led to a frame of social construct of reality in society . In 2014 election, we know Nasdem as a new comer in Indonesia's Politic sphere, everyday became headline and news report in Metro TV (owned by Paloh) and 3 TV (RCTI, MNCTV, and Global TV) owned by Tanoe, before he move to Hanura Party. That TV used agenda setting to create social construct, Nasdem a good party, clean and always say no to corruption. The impact of agenda setting, Nasdem have significant vote from the election.

Also at tvOne, owned by Bakrie. We never watch Lapindo (subsidiary oil company owned by Bakrie) late payment to Mud disaster victims. And now, when Golkar join Opposition Coalition (lead by Gerindra), tvOne always broadcast government is fail. Ida and Subiakto (2012, 108) argued the importance of media in political process. Mass media is used to accelerate the process of social change, political campaigns, and propaganda. Politician used media, as tool to preserve their own interest. Whereas, in Law 32/2002 about Broadcasting Media Chapter 36 verse 4 states, "broadcast content must be maintained neutrality and should not put the interests of group". The problem is, media as a power of opinion builder, ignoring the regulations and principles of democracy. Ida and Subiakto (2012, 134 -136) said, This Phenomenon act as abuse of power by the politician. Media uses its power to attack, blame, and prosecute political rival (Media owner). Further Ida and Subiakto critic the regulator, tend not dare impose sanctions to the media and the owner.

Tanoesoedibjo's Case : From Businessman to Politic

Before October 2011, Tanoesoedibjo known as Businessman and CEO at MNC Group and Bhakti Investama. In October 2011, suddenly Tanoe announce his membership with Nasdem, a new Political Party, and reach Chairman of the Board of Expert. Since Tanoe join Nasdem, all TV that he had, always expose the activity at Nasdem. Tanoesaid : "I've been expending energy and funds to raise Nasdem" (<http://politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/384171-hary-tanoe--saya-dan-surya-paloh-sama-sama-sedih>). Tanoe's claim represent Tanoe already mobilize his media to gain Nasdem.

After he resign from Nasdem, Tanoe move to Hanura Party, which founded by Wiranto. Tanoe became Vice President Candidate from Hanura, pairs with Wiranto. Tanoe also mobilize all media he had to success his ambition in politic. In KPI's (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia*- Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) Note, every TV's owned by Tanoe play minimum 13 times Hanura Campaign per day (<http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/lihat-terkini/38-dalam-negeri/31943-nasdem-hanura-golkar-dan-gerindra-langgar-ketentuan-iklan-kampanye-di-televisi>). Tanoe was calculated activity in the political sphere, after massive campaign in his TV.

After 2014's election, Tanoeresign from Hanura and build his own party, Perindo. He do same action like two previous party. He mobilize all media he had to campaign, his new party, Perindo. Based on watchlist from Rapotivi.org, Perindo's Campaign, have many concern from TV Audience. At least, tone of report is negative. Perindo's Campaign has been report by 33% reporter as breaker the broadcast rules (<http://rapotivi.org/index.php?r=home/tabulasi&m=8&y=2015>).

What the dangerous about relations between Political action of Tanoe and his media ownership? Chesney in Ida and Subiakto (2012, 162-163) stated media conglomeration have impact to production of information, political, cultural, and economic power concentrated in a few people. Related with Tanoe's political action and his media ownership, we worried about how independence the news issued from his media? Further, his media use public sphere (UHF Frequency, FM Frequency, and public domain) as a medium for his media. Frequency is a strong electromagnetic wave which aired radio messages. Electromagnetic wave is one of the natural objects that exist throughout the period but are limited and have properties of scarcity. In the study of communication, frequency categorized as public property. There are three meanings of the status as the frequency domain, as public bodies, public property and the public domain. All three contain the same substance that frequency as an entity that became public territory. For the public the right to obtain social benefits (social benefits). Public through their representatives in parliament have the right to give a license or recognition whether or not broadcast station were born, both commercial and community broadcasting. Thus, the frequency limitations require that the state take a central role as a manager with the aim of achieving people's welfare (Masduki, 2006: 15). If the frequency in the right used, democratization process will be accelerated with Smart Political Education.

Bakrie's Case: Stalking Horse from Lapindo Disaster

Abu Rizal Bakrie, known as Ical, in Yudhoyono's Cabinet from 2004 until 2009 Bakrie served as minister. Since 2009, Bakrie served as the Chairman of the Golkarup to late 2014, and resumed chairmanship in May 2015. Shortly after being named to the cabinet of Yudhoyono, Bakrie set in motion a new government policy calling for a 3% reduction of Indonesians living in poverty, by reducing fuel subsidies in exchange for financial support to approximately 6 million people. Bakrie argued the government's need to gradually increase fuel prices to keep fuel subsidies from busting its budget, while bringing the cost of fuel closer to international levels. By October 2005 and after two price hikes, the cost of fuel increased by 126%. TvOne always reporting a positive viewpoint and positive tone. When Bakrie became a minister, tvOne never criticize fuel policy. Inversely proportional, when Bakrie no longer served as minister. TvOne criticize fuel increase's policy.

Bakrie's name has been mentioned in reference with the Sidoarjo mudflow that erupted on 29 May 2006 in Sidoarjo, causing significant devastation to the environment and loss of life. This case sticking when Bakrie served as minister at Yudhoyono's Cabinet. Scientists are divided over the cause that triggered the mud flow. One side is claiming it was a natural occurrence caused by a 6.3-magnitude earthquake that occurred two days earlier near Yogyakarta, while the other side and government confirmed the drilling practices of the PT Lapindo Brantas, a company in which Bakrie's family was a controlling shareholder, triggered the mudflow. The media coverage as a result remains mixed. But, in tvOne's coverage, never told about Lapindo as trigger of the mudflow. In this case, especially who direct mention Bakrie's name, tvOne manipulate information. Chomsky in Ida and Subiakto (2012: 163) told about conspiracy of the elite often to control news and information. The media are used as tools of political, economic, and military. On behalf of the interests of media owners, created propaganda for the existence and justification. In other hand, Halim (2013: 42) make a conclusion, power of capital and political frame from media owner, as the ideological basis of media in presenting the news.

Ida and Subiakto (2012: 165-166) stated the interests of media owners, in the classical Marxist theory, with its production materials able to influence and control of media content, and in the end, there is only one value or perspective, the perspective of the owner of the media itself. Related with Bakrie's case, Bakrie as media owner, controlling and manipulate of media content as like as his political interest. Media worker can't do anything if talked about capital and resource in the media.

Bakrie use all media he had to "stalking horse" from responsibility of Lapindo's disaster. With all resource and capital power, tvOne create issue in other side of the news favorable to Bakrie.

Paloh's Case: Build a Party from Zero to Hero

Surya Paloh, chairman of Media Group, a media holding owner of Metro TV, Indonesia's first 24-hour news channel, based in West Jakarta. Paloh also a politician, he known as Former Chairman of the Advisory Board of Golkar, and now Chairman of Nasdem.

Paloh and Bakrie ever compete for the position of Chairman of Golkar in 2009. Metro TV and tvOne live broadcast the election of Chairman Golkar in 2009. Paloh use Metro TV as political tool, make campaign via news in Metro TV (<http://arsip.gatra.com/artikel.php?id=35087>). Facing election of Chairman of Golkar ongoing campaign of two candidates from the Elite, Paloh and Bakrie, each of both using Metro TV and tvOne as a media campaign. Besides packaged in the form of political advertising, the television news was showing the Golkar figures in packaging news. If we look at the news concerning about the National Congress of Golkar, Metro TV always try to bring Paloh as the candidate who received great support from each DPD (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* – Province Representative Council) Golkar with the text: "After DPD level II in West Sumatra which provides written support to Paloh, now turn written support delivered by DPD regency level in Papua".

News support the candidate being offset by the condition of the other candidates such as Bakrie, Yuddy Chrisnandi and Tommy Suharto. The same thing happens when tvOne proclaim support for the Bakrie. The television news only highlight how support for the Bakrie, without preaching how the condition of the other candidates. Typical language used by tvOne is, "Support for Bakrie continued to flow, including from AMPI (Golkar's under bow)". Here looks vulgar imbalances news delivered by Metro TV and tvOne, both obviously wanted to bring their owner by the news. As well as the confidence of agenda setting theory. As if to direct the audience in this case the participants of the General Assembly, on the political jargon to choose candidates who are expected to excel. With the news framing one candidate only, as if that candidate is the strongest candidate that will form public opinion that the candidate is the ultimate candidate.

As well as other events like corroborate this theory, one of which is a talk show that aired "Kick Andy" (Feature News Metro TV) how Lapindo mudflow victims who suffer. Talk show led to the suffering of the victims of the Lapindo contrasted with advertisements about welfare obtained by

Lapindo mudflow victims were aired by ANTV, where victims are so pleased with the new housing that is acquired from Bakrie companies as compensation. Even with so vulgar ANTV mention in their news that Bakrie was the strongest candidate, with the text, "Bakrie as the strongest candidates, who match?". Shows reinforces their covert campaign of each candidate, which strengthens against the political ideology of the two candidates.

And Bakrie is the winner from this contestation. Paloh was hurt and establish new Party named Nasdem. A number of prominent figures in Indonesian politics declared the birth of a mass organization called the National Democrat (or NasionalDemokrat) on 2010. Initiated by media mogul Paloh and Yogyakarta's King, Hamengkubuwono X, the mass organization, finally transform into a political party contesting the 2014 general elections. The event of launching was live by Metro TV more than 4 hours. Everyday, Metro TV full of news from Paloh as Superstar, and advertisement from Nasdem. Situation became massive when CEO of MNC Group, Tanoesoedibjo join as Chairman of the Board of Expert in Nasdem. RCTI, MNCTV, Global TV in collaboration with Metro TV, create issue about Nasdem in headline news.

After Tanoe move to Hanura, Paloh take over the party and ruling the party and Metro TV together. Hard work from Paloh resulted Nasdem, a new comer became Rank 8 from 12 contestant, and reach 6.72% vote (<http://www.kpu.go.id/index.php/pages/detail/2014/316>). Paloh's success is portrayal the thesis from Littlejohn (2014) about agenda setting. Littlejohn stated Media used Familiarity, Personal salience, and favorability to infiltrate agenda setting in the public agenda.

Conclusion

Based on explanation to the above, the authors conclude media conglomeration have significantly tool to preserve influences political interest. Tanoesoedibjo, Bakrie, and Paloh as a media owner, use media to gain his popularity, and controlling the political issue. Frequently, media owner use media for striking the political rival.

Most of the media, used a public sphere, however must be used for public interest too. Media must became agent of change and democratization as Ida and Subiakto (2012) said. KPI and Government must be proactive to enforce the law, especially at Media who used public sphere.

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MODERN PUBLIC SPHERE AND THE CHALLENGE FOR DEMOCRACY

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The idea of Habermas' public sphere is a place where people can exchange ideas and express their mind freely. In the 19th – 20th century Europe, this could be parks, plazas, or pubs, where people had no fear of being ambushed by an unhappy authority. With the advancement of mass media technology, what we know today as 'public sphere' is every media channel from print to broadcast and online/cyber. It is also a cross-border or international sphere. Perhaps people are not absolutely free when speaking at print or broadcast media. There is always regulation or law regarding print and broadcast media. But, what if they speak at social media? Furthermore, how does international journalism work as the new (global) public sphere?

The writer sees social media and international journalism as two kinds –among others- of modern public spheres. They are the objects of discussion in this essay. Standard and ethical issues surrounding them are the focuses of problem. The questions are: How free are social media? Is there any code of ethics regarding international journalism? The writer intends to explore and expose how freedom in social media and the free practice of international journalism can challenge democracy.

At present, people have complete freedom in accessing and using social media. There is no gate keeping, process of selection, nor editing. In the case of international journalism, news producers can be somewhere far away from the objects of reporting, thereby, unreachable by any law and/or ethical code in the countries being reported. With this new paradigm of public sphere, democracy grows rapidly and widely, but not without consequences. Unequal advancement on communication technology may even create disparity between developed and underdeveloped countries. Democracy, in global context, is challenged. Only those with access of communication technology can play some role in shaping our future world.

Manuel Castells underlines in his book *The Internet Galaxy* (2001):

The Internet can free the powerful to oppress the uninformed, and it may lead to exclusion of the devalued by the conquerors of value (p. 275).

This means that modern public sphere –brought by the new media technology- has the potentiality to be misused and abused to exercise power and maintain dominance.

The Practice of Social Media

Two success stories of social media activism are shown by the victory of Barack Obama as the President of the United States (2008) and the Arab Spring phenomenon in the Middle East (2011-2013). In Obama's case, it was the first time in the history of the US presidential election that a huge number of young people give their votes. Most of them are active users of Internet communication, the netizens. Through social media, young people in America spread out the idea of change. They are influenced by what they access, and in turn, they influence others. The unpredicted victory of Obama, undoubtedly, was made possible by the free practice of social media and free flow of international news.

Another story is the downfall of autocracy in the Middle East and the rise of democracy in the first decade of the 21st century. The downfall of Saddam Hussein (Iraq) was followed by the downfall of Moamar Khadafi (Libya), Hosni Mubarak (Egypt), and now the changing process in Yemen and

Syria. The writer refers to these stories as ‘success stories’ in regard to western democratic point of view. Of course, many people will say otherwise. These phenomena can also be regarded as the intervention of western democracy towards Islamic autocracy that has lasted for centuries. Because of these different perceptions, the writer notes the possibility of technological dominance, which might violate the rights of some people.

In the internal conflict of Syria, for instance, the US government denies its involvement in arming the rebel groups. However, it admits helping rebels with communication technology that advance their struggle to topple the Syrian president.

Misuse of social media shows a different phenomenon in Indonesia. Besides the increase of legal suits against netizens who spread out hate speech and libel, there are also cases of crime. One of them is the notorious story of @TrioMacan twitter account blackmailing a conglomerate by threatening to expose his company’s corruption acts in tweets. The persons behind @TrioMacan tweets were arrested by the police. The case discloses the fact that many twitter accounts are operated by a certain group of people, deliberately, to do such things.

The Practice of International Journalism

The problem with the practice of international journalism is who decides what is newsworthy. Is it the authority in the country being reported? Is it the citizens –the public? Or, is it the news producers operating remotely from the country of reportage?

In 1997, when an American embassy was bombed in one of African countries, US media were busy exposing and exploring the scandal of Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky. The editors assumed that the scandal had more significant impact to the American audience. Back in 1992, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison, US media chose to put the affair of Donald Trump and Marla Maples in front pages. In 1994, World Cup event in the US was over shadowed by the news of OJ Simpson murder story. Audience of CNN International all over the world had to swallow constant reporting on an ‘unknown hero’ (OJ Simpson) of an ‘unknown sport’ (American football was hardly known in other countries). This showcased US media penetration to the international community about what is ‘newsworthy’.

In 1999, international news coverage portrayed East Timorese pro-independence as victims and heroes, and East Timorese pro-integration as militias or non-existent. Still in Indonesia, in 1999 – 2000, international media covered the conflict in Ambon as ‘ethnic cleansing’, creating sympathy to Christian Ambonese from international community. This included the shipment of weapons from the Netherland –where many Ambonese living there created the activism of Republik Maluku Selatan (the Republic of South Molucca, dominated by Christians) - to Ambon.

The year of 2010 ended with the leaks of top secret documents of several countries by WikiLeaks. The governments of the countries being reported were furious. Among others: the US, the Kingdom of Arab Saudi, Republic of China, and Indonesia. The US documents, which were leaked, included military operation in Iraq and Afghanistan. Realizing that Julian Assange (WikiLeaks founder and chief editor) could not be charged for disclosing government’s top secrets –because of ‘free speech’, the US authority, supported by British Police, arrested Assange in London for sexual cases that happened in Sweden.

WikiLeaks also exposed the glamorous way of life of some Arab Saudi princes. They were portrayed as frequently partying in a palace bunker that was heavily guarded. The parties involved loud music, alcoholic drinks, and women. This portrayal ruined the reputation of the Arab leaders. WikiLeaks also uploaded information describing commitment between the US and the Republic of China to secularize Indonesian Moslems.

Another case of international journalism was when Reuter in Iran labeled a group of female Iranian martial athletes as ‘ninja assassins’. The news, broadcasted by Press TV, showed a number of

Iranian girls training martial arts in a city near Tehran, claiming that Iran was training more than 3,000 female ninjas to kill any possible foreign invaders. In the report, the woman athletes were asked by Reuter journalist, 'What would you do if your country came under attack'. The girls' patriotic response "We will defend our country" was used by Reuter to call them 'assassins'. It's about martial arts and staying fit, but western media turn it into a 'killing acts'. Following the strong reaction of Iranian media to the report, Reuter made changes to parts of the report but refused to apologize for slander. The Iranian girls, labeled by Reuter as 'ninja assassins', took legal action against the agency for defamation of characters. The Reuter journalist who conducted the interview left Iran shortly before a court case was opened. In 2003, the Washington Post apologized for misreporting in Papua, which defamed Indonesian military general.

The stories presented above showcase the problems of international journalism, from the locus of jurisdiction if legal issues appear to the need to endorse international journalism ethical codes.

Mass Media and Democracy

Brian McNair, on discussion on the media and the democratic process, says there are five functions of the media in 'ideal-type' democratic societies: 1) to *inform* citizens of what is happening around them, 2) to *educate* as to the meaning and significance of the 'facts', 3) to *provide a platform* for public political discourse, 4) to *give publicity* to governmental and political institutions (the 'watchdog' role of journalism), 5) to serve as a channel for the *advocacy* of political viewpoints. In the case of Obama's victory in 2008 presidential election, function number three –providing platform for public political discourse- seem to work well. In Indonesia, in the early years of Reformation, mass media played the role of watchdogs (function number four), after decades of being lapdogs or tamed dogs by the New Order. All McNair functions of the media can be regarded as the manifestation of the fifth pillar of democracy. In this case, modern public sphere (mass media with new technology), can be the backbone or the cancer of democracy. It can build or destroy democracy.

Democracy, under manipulative leaders, is proven to only bring sorrow to people. In Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, democracy is a bad news: deaths in the family, bombings in neighborhood mosques, danger, fear, hopelessness, and above all, accumulated hatred and suspicions.

In his famous 2004 book *The Future of Freedom*, Fareed Zakaria tells a story. A senior US diplomat is received with great courtesy by the Egyptian president. After talking amiably about US-Egyptian relations and the state of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, then the American diplomat gently raises the issue of human rights. He suggests that the Egyptian government might ease up on political dissent, allow more press freedoms, and stop jailing intellectuals. Mubarak tenses up and snaps, "If I were to do what you ask, Islamic fundamentalists will take over Egypt. Is that what you want?"

Zakaria hangs the issue there. It's a pity. He should have added a point: "It's not what the US wants that matters. It's what the Egyptian people want. So what if they want and choose Islamic fundamentalists as their leaders?"¹⁶

Nothing was more shocking in modern political history than the coup in Pakistan by Pakistan's army chief, General Pervez Musharraf, in October 1999. He overthrew the freely elected prime minister, Nawaz Sharif. What was surprising for the international community was not the coup, but the cheering people, who were happy to get rid of eleven years of democracy, and back to military government. It was also only recently that we saw people on the streets of Thailand gave flowers to

¹⁶ A decade after the publication of this story, a democratic election was held in Egypt and the fundamentalist won the election. Not long after this victory, there was a coup by the military, which is now ruling the torn country, and the 'fundamentalist leader' is jailed and sentenced to death.

the military personnel, after it toppled down Thaksin democratic government. In Indonesia, the heroine of democracy and incumbent president, Megawati Soekarnoputri, was easily beaten in the 2004 presidential race by a military general. General Soesilo Bambang Yudoyono, the stiff and unsmiling general (to compare with the smiling general Soeharto), won voters's sympathy.

Raising the question of whether media is supportive of democracy or not sounds irrelevant, since the media were born to deliver people's voice, and have been trying hard to maintain that fundamental function. However, people in the United States of America perceive the media's democratic function as unpromising. They think that the media are too preoccupied with their struggle to maintain freedom of speech and freedom of the press (the 1st Amendment of the Constitution), they ignore their main function to serve the public.

Future Challenge

Even though many intellectuals and political leaders denounced the thesis of Samuel Huntington about the clash of civilizations, what happens in some parts of the world proves him right. There is a clash of and within civilizations. It is caused by the abuse of power in democracy. It leads people to seek solution in religion, or in democratic autocracy.

Whatever the system, democratic society or military-controlled government or international intervention (as the case in East Timorese), people's voice should matters first and priority. The people's choice could be wrong, but they would learn from their own wrong-doing. They never learn from other people (the elites and leaders)'s wrong-doing. If they are free to choose, they would have to take responsibility and consequence of their own decision.

People get disappointed when the slogan of democracy is used by certain people to gain power, and then to abuse it. This might inflict the rise of religion. People might seek solution in religion, which fundamentally aims for peace. Take examples the Christianity in the Midwest America, Hinduism in India, or Islam in Turkey. There should be nothing wrong with the need for the rise of religion. It goes wrong when this very simple phenomenon is opposed fiercely and those who oppose put all efforts to prevent it from happening. The frictions within Islamic countries nowadays (Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, between Sunni and Shiah; Turkey, between Islam and secularism) are never proved to be caused by the real threat of Islamic fundamentalism, but rather by the fear of and strong opposition to it. The birth of ISIS is a proof that Islamic fundamentalism is the effect of failed-democracy, not the cause. And now they convince people all over the world accessing cyber media that those violent acts they committed and broadcasted are just a way to gain the ideal khilafah. It sounds paralel to the destructions of Iraqi's civilizations (and other Islamic countries in the Middle East); President Bush and his allies said it was for the ideal democracy.

As Stern and Berger imply in their book *ISIS, the State of Terror*, the existence of ISIS is an unwanted consequence of the US foreign policy, starting from the invasion of Iraq and the toppling of Hussein's regime in 2003. Since then, Iraq has become a 'terrorist nest'. This phenomenon is happening throughout the Middle East. One of their tools of success is the use of online media, accessed by millions of people, many of them are disappointed one way or the other with democracy.

Conslusion and Recommendation

Mass media, particularly online media as the modern public sphere, argue that the truth is in the hand of the people. It means, mass media work based on the market of ideas, free thinking, free speech. However, Jean Seaton, agreeing with John Mill's market of ideas, points out that market is not the only means of protecting liberty. She says that attention needs to be directed away from the concern to protect the right of speakers. It is necessary, as well, to consider their *obligations*, and in

particular the duty of those with powerful voices and powerful positions in society to exercise responsibility over their rights to speak.¹⁷

About a century ago, an editor of the Times of London summed up the ethics of western journalism as follows:

The first duty of the press is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly, by disclosing them, to make them the common property of the nation. The duty of the journalist is to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it (Hatchen, 1993: 42)

Perhaps it is the time to go back to that state. This is more significant in the practice of international journalism, if the world wants to reach peace through better understanding among people.

The writer would like to conclude this discussion by stating that to reach the ideal democracy, one should not ignore the importance of harmony, which includes respect and tolerance towards one another. Intolerance towards 'the others' would end up in social conflict; disappointment of the practice of democracy will result in the rise of religious fanaticism. The writer also underlines Stern and Berger's reminder about the importance to protect human rights above all.

After concluding this discussion, there are several recommendations that the writer would like to bring up. Free speech and freedom of expression must be clearly limited. Laws regulating the practice of online media should be socialized and enforced. Also, lecturers and researchers of international relation and international communication must pay attention to the practice of international journalism and its abuse of ethics and law.

Several genuine questions come up from this discussion and need to be followed up in further discussion or research: "If we agree to regulate the media, to what extent?", "Can we regulate international journalism?", "Who has the authority to regulate social media and international journalism, and how?"

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¹⁷ Jean Seaton, 'A Fresh Look at Freedom of Speech', in Jean Seaton (ed)'s *Politics and the Media, Harlots and Prerogatives at the Turn of the Millenium* (Blackwell, 1998), pp. 124-125

MEME COMIC: TO BE DEMOCRATIC OR NOT TO BE DEMOCRATIC

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the influence of Meme Comic, an emerging popular culture of Indonesia society as a platform for media sharing of democracy and being democratized and find out the hidden social construction beyond it. People in Indonesia are getting actively to participate in democratic practices. One of examples can be examined through Internet as a media where a group of people can exchange more democratical knowledge each other in a new form of culture. Going back to the past era, civil society had insufficient voice to speak their aspirations up. However, today globalization and Internet put them in easiness to come up with their thoughts which are represented in Meme Comic existence. The arguments are based on textual analysis of the selected memes about reality of democracy in Indonesia.

Keywords : democracy, internet, culture, Meme Comic

Introduction

Democracy is regarded as a system in any countries that uphold the humansecurity and human welfare for their citizen. In recent news, the information of faileddemocratic implementation is often in-depth discussed among the economical, political, and even social-cultural experts of democracy. Many people feel upsetbecause of the mishap of democratic implementation in society. Practically in Indonesia democracy is merely being a status, not a real distribution of welfare. Democracy is not subordination or a control of authority, but it tends to be more the way to distribute prosperosity in society (Meyer, 2003 p. 1).

Democracy proliferates the possibility of welfare distribution among society toprotect human from violence and uncontrolled authoritative groups which pulse the defection of democtratic practices. Generally, the notion of democracy is more being disputable as the regime of todays era and oppress more inequality among citizen.

Indonesia has settled in democracy for long time, from the Old Era untilltheNew Era where people have different opportunity to receive the democracy. The firstformulation of Democracy in Indonesia began with the more elite class who studied in abroad. They consumed lots of Liberal Democracy idealism.The application of Liberal Democracy was only for practical reason because Indonesia wanted to get the independence from Dutch. Therefore, the ideals of liberal democracy pumped up itsimplementation in the Old Era (Anwar, 2001 p. 82). The western powers for Indonesia's independence would influence very much in a way of legitimizing its position. However, in 1950s, the Old Order led by Soekarno had become the hallmark for Indonesian to change its governmental system to be Guided Democracy which was considered more relevant to including socio-economic, security, and politics condition at that time. The change into Guided Democracy was chosen as the stepping stone for Soekarno's regime to surmount the separatist fabrication in the whole areas of Indonesia. In 1950s, it became the bloody incident for Soekarno'sregime because there were assumptions of people that most of Javanese would led more in politics circle of Indonesia. Other than that, the conflicts of socio-culture, tradition, and christenization among society became the backgrounds of the Liberal Democracycollapse.

The socio-culture conflicts in 1950s was correctly described by Tjokro in Fourth International journal entitled '*Social Conflict in Indonesia*' that declared:

“Another characteristic of the regime is the existence of tens of thousands of landless, homeless, and unemployed who are forced by hunger to move to the cities. In the first week of April, action was started against 10.000 persons living in wretched conditions in the city of Surabaya. There are hundreds of thousands of such unfortunates in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. Some of them are thrown into camps and then sent back there where they come from a really vicious circle.” (Tjokro, 1952)

This shows us how hectic the condition where people could not get access to adequate life in their own country. As the regime pushed them in infidelity, the scourge of people had increased under the expropriation of the big landed proprietors (Tjokro, 1952). In Liberal Democracy, the implementation of Democracy was considered low; therefore, there was a renewal of democratic system in Indonesia because of the low equality among parties and civil society where the liberal democracy demolition became the trending event in the past.

The end of liberal democracy became the starting point for guided democracy to be more participative. Guided democracy was formed as expected way to combat the conflicts arise. With his guided democracy, Soekarno said that the arrangement in areas would be collected nationally, and the questions emerged in the areas must be solved to come to its solution. Yet, the idealism of Guided Democracy couldn't be real in terms of raising more conflicts between leader's authority and society's rights. To point this view, Guided Democracy centralized on ruler's personality, so it was determined as the imbalance position where parties didn't have authority as proportionate as they should have. The civil society's rights were ignored. As a result, the role of medias in the era were not functioned well. The voices of society were restricted due to hidden political reasons.

While in Soeharto's regime, Pancasila Democracy was adopted as the idealism suited with Pancasila and Constitution (UUD 1945). Yet, it produced another conflict where the dominance of military leaders exaggerated under civil society's weakness. There were many bribes and money laundering to get political power under Soeharto's regime. Soeharto fortified his power and assumed a personal rule event though he was a proponent of the army where he was more than Soekarno did in the sense of controlling the army (Anwar, 2001). The New Era which lasted in 1998 became the compromises of the embodying Reformation Democracy like today era. However, this kind of democracy is still increasing in the number of conflicts including socio-culture, politic, and even economics.

Now, Indonesian still stands in the vague stage where civil society experience many obstructions in speaking up their thoughts. However, the emergence of Internet has broken down the outbreak of aversion of society. This era is kind of reversal for Indonesian where in the past they got difficult to pronounce their rebellion or supports. Internet emerges as a platform for them to be more participative in respect of deciding decreets in government policy making. The notion of Democracy is not limited to theoretical concept, but more than what it has been seen as it was. Meanwhile, lots of civil society still do not understand what exactly democracy means, and what kinds of democracy they should participate. The two questions are stressing in which part society take a part of it as in the early years democracy has been translated into many versions. The notion of democracy nowadays is reasonable due to the increasing number of well-educated populace who have a stake in upholding democratic system. Their voices are often proclaimed in various social medias even now Indonesia have their own way to express how and what they should do to re-strengthen Indonesian democratic system by Meme Comic implementation. In this paper, I would like to make more analysis how media can influence the stability of Indonesia democratic system, and the way Indonesia use Meme Comic to get involved in democratic participation. This paper will use the theory of Populists Media Democracy to examine further about the Meme Comic existence for Indonesia democratic system.

Discussion

Culture and Internet, the Way Maintaining Democracy in Indonesia

Surfing Internet has become habit for Indonesian people nowadays. Many more people have transformed to be Internet human time to time because of the wide-spreading globalization and Internet access. At this point, I see some eccentric changes that make people more various up to the fore. Globalization is exactly the core program of those changes, and Internet is the machine of globalization to forge the changes flowing to all of aspects of the country. The construction of new habit for example, updating political, social, cultural, or even economical news from Internet, will distinguish what the distinctions happen in reformation era and form a 'new culture' that clings to the people. Here, I will only focus on the new culture of civil society's activeness in responding issues of their country. The culture formed in people's mind will have changed everything in their lives such as their openness, solidarity, free will, and free speech with the ethical methods used. As many people have transcribed their thoughts through media continually, culture is not defined as a set of practices any more, but it is more than that. Culture now is relatively a politics that rule people to make agreements.

Similarly stated in *Click on Democracy: The Internet's Power to Change Political Apathy into Civic Action*, a book which discusses more about the role of Internet which plays in the national election, it says the Internet is the most profound media to affect politics in 2000s United States election (Steve Davis, *et. al.*, 2002). The examination process showed in United States is also a benchmark for Indonesia to look further the achievement of electoral participation. Democracy, on the other hand, is also perceived as electoral process where people can vote their preferred representative candidates. However, democracy is more than just being a vote. We see many advertisements telling society that they will achieve democracy, but in fact democracy is still deemed as a 'Riddle'. Where should we put our concerns in regardless of getting democracy? By having this question, Internet is at least able to answer it. It is quite as clear as stated in *Click on Democracy: The Internet's Power to Change Political Apathy into Civic Action* book which says:

“Our study of the people who used the Internet during the 2000 elections offers strong evidence that Internet is having an impact, though in the manner we expected. We found that the Internet provides citizens who are separated from each other by time and space a way to reconnect and become more concerned about each other and their society. Most of our evidence shows that they are doing this without the assistance of the media and political institution.” (Steve Davis, *et. al.*, 2002, p11)

The brief arguments of Steve Davis can be true by looking at how people lack of connectedness and being so apathy in recent time. The expansion of Internet access produce a greater chance for society to be connected to others who are included into the elements of well-implimented democracy. It might be possible to get connected to people in Madura and South Sumatra at the same time whenever they want to talk about political, economical, or even socio-cultural issues. Regarding to this, Internet is likely to unlimit the civil society's social capital because they can exchange their minds about things related to issues in Indonesia. Social capital that helps people flow the ideas will determine how people can come to consensus in which a particular decision is made. Internet is the most plausible platform to share and receive the up-to-date information and provide the communicative forums among citizens.

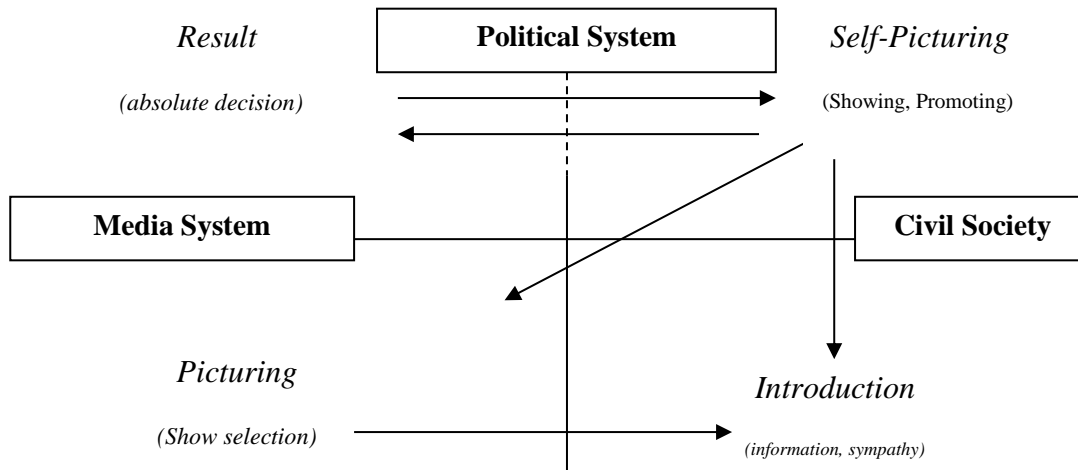
Populists Media Democracy

Before the 2000s, Internet had been created yet. Having said that, Internet could not be classified into a media because it was regarded only as a carrier, yet producer of messages. At the time, people

always perceived medias as televisions, telephones, or written medias such as newspapers. However, the kinds of medias today are shifting to be more complex. The complexity of media sometimes will trap people how to define what exactly media means. Before continuing to discuss how media works, I want to give much clearer definition of media which is ‘A group that constructs messages with embedded values, and that disseminates those messages to a specific portion of the public in order to achieve a specific goal’.²The definition of media itself has given us hints how medias mean and control individuals to communities. Speaking of media definition, it is best described as a group that can be television, newspaper, telephones. In contradiction, globalization has shifted the term of ‘Internet’ as a modern media with advanced technology. This constitutes links to the politics, culture, and economics issues that country needs. Therefore, even though in the past Internet was not perceived as a media, it changed its position on human’s point of view.

Media can relate to a group of people with the same vision or even contrast opinions about particular issues. In response to democracy development through media, society is more likely to engage within medias instead of reality. According to Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer (2000), he says that media democracy is a phenomenon in which mass media either will only influence the way society see the world or political action of politicians and institutions. In media democracy, society’s desire will be formed democratically in medias, and political practices will not Centralize on the top of government. Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer also points out about media democracy: “Media democracy aims at influence triangle or ‘Segitiga pengaruh’ developed by politicians such as surveys of society’s opinion, politician appearance in the medias, political explanation by politics experts which is suited with the taste of mass media.” (Meyer, 2003 p. 10)

The influence triangle can impact the package of decision that would be disseminated to society. In addition, it is one of the most significant things in media democracy development. Society should picture how media accommodates them to speak and share their aspirations in public. Below given the influence triangle cycle:



Picture 1 : Media Democracy

(Source: Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer, Democracy, 2003, Acquisition to implementation)

Meme Comic: The Way People Perceive Democracy

Simply, people argue that democracy is when we succeed to select the representatives in the electoral event. However, some argue selecting representatives is quite not essential for society because general election is only a form of formality. Indonesian mostly perceive electoral event cannot become a

determination whether the regime of a president is going to be successful or not. Having experience of loosing trust in representatives, society looks to deem democracy in Indonesia partially does not work and sometimes impair them.

Commonly, most of the time, people will aspire what they want Indonesia to be through a column in a newspaper or oral comments about the political system in Indonesia through radio or telephone. Contrastly, recent Indonesian tend to use more modern media which is Internet to express their feeling, thoughts, aspiration, or even criticism towards some issues.

One of activities they often do in Internet is creating 'Meme Comic'. Generally, Meme Comic is a new pop-culture in Indonesia which unconsciously people are more attentive to use this platform in any aspects including debating the phenomena of democracy in Indonesia. Historically, Meme Comic Indonesia is a community with the most joint members in Indonesia, 1.7 Million to be summed up (Comic-ID, 2015). Basically, Meme Comic is sort of a graphic design which shows images and some short text that they call it as a 'punchline'. Meme Comic Indonesia was built in 2012, and in the very first beginning, this community only allocated a few people in their social media, Facebook. Even though Meme Comic mostly aims to make a joke or witty text, it has changed into different function. For more or less 3 years, Indonesian has used Meme Comic either for jokes or criticism. People often use Meme Comic to comment on all kinds of issues, especially about democracy which become the trending discussion in Meme Comic Indonesia. I just pick three Meme Comics as my examples on how they got succeed to influence society and collectively speak in one vision and mission. The first Meme Comic that I want to show is associated with the issues of demolishing direct election of regional leader occurred in September 2014.



Picture 2: A critique for Direct Election of regional leader

The issue of shifting election of regional leader spotlights the sparks of anger among netizen (the way Indonesia call society in Internet). There have been found 97,500 tweets with #ShameonYouSBY in twitter because Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono didn't reject the enactment by DPR (Wardhy, 2014). Neither SBY nor society position themselves in contradictive way from DPR which at the time withdrew direct election for regional leaders. The Meme Comic in picture 2 indicates that society consider the demolition of direct election as the same as elimination of democracy. They angrily stated that the New Order has rebirth in reformation era if elites still force to constitute in-direct election system of regional leaders. I think the coming up desires of netizen to this corresponds how media especially Internet pushed them to have 'free speech'. Reality gives them unsatisfying reponse from the institution, so they change their place to gain responsive comment on Internet. By this, it is more larger opportunity for society to get bonded. They search for proactive supports or contrast supports. It depends on the situation they face. In the case of direct election of regional leaders demolition, it causes Indonesian's participation develop. The creative package of information that

Meme Comic serves has more attractive way to persuade mass to be in the point of view. Then, civil society create the Meme Comic with a punchline #ShameonYouSBY as their critiques towards SBY.



Picture 2: #ShameOnYouSBY Meme Comic

Analysed on Meme Comic in this case based on Influence Triangle, Meme Comic actually can be produced by only one person who disagrees with the decision making after knowing the enactment that government has made. Then, the person will spread the persuasive form in more artistic way to collect ragers to either disagree with. Finally, the Meme Comic surged the aspiration from only one person. The collectivism here can be more very effective to create a power under power of government. Power, in this case, refers to the affirmative authority of society where democracy actually should stand on. The civil society tend to preserve 'the sovereignty of people'. They want to emphasize on slack subservience. They were successfully using the Internet to set up and sustain contact with party loyalist (Steve Davis *et.al.*, 2002). Meme Comic expansion can bind the young leaders to be active in sharing their thoughts about democracy, so they will not be passive society nor passive leaders.

To flourish the same ideas in defending their democratic system, they actively criticize the elites with some variants such as Meme Comic. Now, Indonesia has concretely made more strength towards democracy when the civil society are brave enough to swoop unwanted decisions as happened in the above case. At this point, I also see that Indonesian create Meme Comic not only to criticize the elites, but they also vigorously reconstruct social capital among them. Social capital or I prefer to call it as social construction is described at its finest as The "connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them," which it turn enhance "the productivity of individuals and groups" (Steve Davi *et.al.*, 2002). This is what happening because of Meme Comic emergence where people can predefine patterns of conduct. They create Meme Comic for new channels human action, and generate this kind of channel as a social control through institutionalization⁸.

On the other hand, an anonymous creator of Meme Comic made another perception on criticizing the elimination of direct election of regional leaders using a famous public figure who is Basuki "Ahok" Tjahya Purnama, a governor of Jakarta. This picture shows us that public figure has their role to voice society's desire, and people commit a sense of assertiveness to defend democratic system in their country. Ahok said that the core of the problem in demolishing direct election of regional leaders is not about how much fund is needed, instead elites will think that bribing 10 million people takes more time and effort rather than bribing the DPRD members. Again, people with high respect to democracy encourage to create Meme Comic as their representative aspirations. The populist enlighten democracy in Indonesia that the absence of institutions will not impact much in getting voices. Based on the following explanation about populists's power, I believe that Meme Comic is sort of media to convey society's desire. Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell also consider that: "Such populists would like to bring an end to existing democracy, depicted as deteriorated and corrupted, with the aim, of course, of constructing a superior (i.e. 'populist') democracy." (Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell, 2008, p. 16-17)



Picture 4: An example of Public Figure Role in Democracy

Lastly, I believe that all efforts in Meme Comic depiction is more likely to constitute an identity of Indonesian because people experience and react similarly. They can reach Meme Comic culture freely, yet with responsibility. They form the identity in a process that again are in part formed by social structures, and identity is maintained, and changed by social relations (Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann: The social construction of reality). According to David Potter *et.al.* (1997, p. 4) most states also seek continually to promote a sense of national identity and common citizenship in order to have their rule accepted by the people (or at least some of the people). Perhaps, Indonesian will creatively promote their identity to be democratic society in Meme Comic existence in next several years because Meme Comic can facilitate democratization if it is used properly. Therefore, civil society in Indonesia is willing to be democratic in which they have their power as much as stated in the punline of Meme Comic. Being democratic is a phase that provides people an opportunity to voice their thoughts and re-develop their social capital each other.

Conclusion

The development of Internet and new culture in it has contributed very much in democratizing Indonesia. Here, democracy is not limited to elect a representative of society, but it tends to be more attractive than that. Democracy is when society have their own aspiration to defend their sovereignty as such in example of Meme Comic and collectively have the same ideas to vanquish the authoritarianism. Meme Comic has become the most attractive way to insinuate how democratic practices in Indonesia that people can voice their thoughts not as strictly as in the past.

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E-PUBLIC RELATION: SOCIAL MEDIA USING AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

This research wants to reveal how the concept of Social Media and Public Relations applied to government agencies in the local level, the city government. As we know, the function of Public Relations in government has not been widely used media as a medium to reach out to the external public. This study examines the use of social media by local governments and why they use it. It specifically addresses how social media are used as public relations functions to serve participatory, and transparency models across a range of government contexts. From as many as 99 cities in Indonesia, there are only about 50 cities are using social media and only 15 of them were ever communicated via one of the social media platform Twitter. Of the 15 local governments, city government has interactivity highest level compared with other city governments. The used of Social Media to reach external public is encouraged by the KIP Law (Keterbukaan Informasi Publik) issued by government as part of Good Corporate Governance to fulfill MDG's Program. In this research, Bandung government is chosen as the role model that has been succeeds applying e-Public Relation.

Keywords: E-Public Relation, Social Media Using, Good Corporate Governance

INTRODUCTION

The concept of good governance is a new concept which has great influence in the study of a number of policies since the mid-1990s (Rothstein and Teorell, 2012). Good governance concept has been used by many large organizations, one of which the IMF. The IMF declared that "promoting good governance in all its aspects, including by ensuring the rule of law, improving the efficiency and accountability of the public sector, and tackling corruption, as essential elements of a framework within the which economies can prosper" (IMF 2005). That is, the application of the concept of good government has a specific purpose which is expected to improve all sectors of government. Definition of Good Governance as it has been launched by the World Bank Institute, which are:

"There are traditions and institutions, this includes (1) the process by which Governments are selected, monitored and replaced, (2) the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies, and (3) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them ". (Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton, 1999, p. 1)

Based on such understanding, it can be concluded that the indicators in the concept of Good Government include "voice and accountability", "political stability and violence", "government effectiveness", "regulatory quality" "role of law". Good concept Government often associated with the concept of democracy, although the two often overlap definition (Rothstein and Teorell, 2012). The problem is a democratic country seen from the level of corruption. The more "clean and open" state can be said to have a good democratic system. And the better the democratic system which is applied the better the implementation of its good governance.

Adopting the British government which identifies five requirements of good governance, namely:

- a. Good people: The government needs to recruit and cultivate the right people so that they can deploy their skills and abilities effectively to government jobs. This applies equally to ministers, civil servants and public servants more generally.
- b. Good process: this means ensuring that proper structures, systems and procedures in place for the government to run smoothly-both for the development of sound policies and legislation, successful policy implementation or for competent day-to-day administration of routine government business.
- c. Good accountability: there should be adequate arrangements to ensure that people in the government-both elected and appointed-are held to account for their decisions, actions and performance. One important prerequisite for proper accountability are the roles and responsibilities are clearly defined so that can be responsible for what.
- d. Good performance: effective performance assessment within government helps to identify how well public organizations which meet their goals, as well as highlighting where improvements can be made, so that governments are better able to work toward the desired results.
- e. Good standards: high ethical standards in public life is essential to ensure public trust and confidence basis governing institutions. Regulation of strong ethics and ethical leadership in turn support the achievement of a high standard.

It can be concluded that in order to achieve the goal of good governance, the governance system is applied must have one of the above requirements. However, this study focused on achieving good accountability in government.

In recent years, e-government has been a topic of interest to people interested in the emergence of Web 2.0 technologies. E-government is defined in this paper as "the use of ICT [information and communication technology], and in particular the Internet, as a tool to achieve better government". The use of technology and the Internet by the government must and will continue to increase the use of technology to build awareness of the citizens, but there are still many questions and concerns about the progress and future of e-government (Magro, 2012). Some countries may also benefit from the infrastructure of existing e-government. Efforts of e-government can make a difference for the citizens, especially in countries like Singapore, which has allocated about 52 percent of stimulus funds for social protection measures, and which has a high level of development of e-government and agility are appropriate in the public service in various conditions. In Indonesia, the implementation of e-government is more often used by government agencies.

In 2000, the entire state leaders gathered at the United Nations to establish a vision of eradicating poverty in all aspects of the dimensions of which are summarized in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In 2001 the Indonesian government introduced the law on decentralization and local autonomy are causing a shift in service delivery. City management changes such as modification of the planning, programming, budgeting and financial management procedures have helped the local government to be more responsive, participatory, transparent and accountable to the needs of citizens (Chirisa, 2012). This process has been supported by UNDP's program Breakthrough Urban Initiatives for Local Development (BUILD) or Urban Initiatives Program Regional Development. Ten core guiding principle for local governance that is well established (participation, rule of law, transparency, equality, vision, accountability, oversight, efficiency and professionalism), which was later adopted by the Association of Cities at their annual meeting. During the meeting the participants agreed that "the welfare of the people is the most important goal to achieve sustainable development, to bring aid to those in poverty, helpless, and seized socially" (UNDP, 2005, h.17).

Local government system that is better placed to spearhead the delivery of the MDGs as an encouragement of decentralization that tries to ensure that there is accountability, fairness, transparency and the rule of law in matters relating to the services to local residents. When the services are made available to the citizens and they are happy with the services provided, they become more and continue to be committed to the government so that they entrust his business to government (IISD, 2006; Kristina, Yinger, Dios, Worley and Fikree, 2006). As lower levels of government, local governments enjoy closeness with people (grassroots) which is effective agents and actors of change.

As local authorities as often so close to people who are at risk and vulnerability events such as floods, disease or other types of disaster as well as fighting against the MDGs did not escape from their direct observation. It was noted that the central government is unlikely to have the capacity to assess the diversity of local conditions or local requirements and capabilities. Their staff is trained and experimented, but their services are also more distant and expensive. Instead, local governments, with their legal mandate to manage local development and finance of the city, has a comparative advantage in terms of knowledge of the local situation, especially as far as the marginalized and poor people are concerned ... "(UNCDF, 2005 H.4). In this case, local government agencies are better placed in terms of monitoring to act in achieving the set targets of the MDGs. In order for the MDGs can be achieved, local government agencies have an obligation to put the new role and relevant. It becomes a challenge local authority. For example the issue alleviation poverty is greater in rural areas based on the data distribution of the population based on the level of the economy. It is a clear indication that the context and capacity of local governments must take the wheel in addressing the MDGs.

In Reality, what is really happened is “fewer resources and greater demand”

The situation requires greater agility, efficiency and range of public services, especially in the sectors of health, education, gender, environment and employment, which is important for their main rights and the central achievement of the MDGs. E-government can be very useful in this regard. The aim is to provide some potential solutions through e-government, which can help public authorities to remain in accordance with the agreed development goals internationally. For each of the five priority areas taken from the UN Millennium Declaration, the specific development problems and issues arising from the current crisis was followed by the implementation of e-government solutions.

Internet usage in government has become one of the most popular topics, especially in the study PR as more and more government organizations that integrate the Internet, especially social media platforms into their strategies in an effort to engage with the various stakeholders. Research on social media has grown exponentially over the last few years. Based on a wide range of research that has been done before, the use of social media has changed the way we communicate. One of the changes also occurs in the realm of communications Public Relations. With the change in the conventional care system into e-government takes people who have high capability that can run the run the e-government in order to meet public demand. Broadly speaking, research on e-government activities includes government transparency, authenticity, influence, engagement, and dialogue. Relating to the purpose of this study, wanted to know how is the accountability of the government in implementing democratic system to create good governance through e-government.

METHOD

In depth Interview

To find out how the accountability of the government in implementing democratic system to create good governance through e-government is done by pull through in-depth interviews at one of the local governments are using social media to communicate with the public. Furthermore, for the selection of sources is done by looking at the level of interactivity of social media usage at the local government level. From as many as 99 cities in Indonesia, there are only about 50 cities are using social media and only 15 of them were ever communicated via one of the social media platform Twitter. Of the 15 local governments, city government has interactivity highest level compared with other city governments. Selection of speakers focused on relations division that runs the city government functions to deliver information as a form of public disclosure in order to achieve good governance.

RESULT

Bandung government using varied of social media, such as Facebook, twitter, *ngabandungan*, and *suarabdg.com*. Based on field data, the Bandung municipal government media users are mostly young people aged 22-24 years. The data found that most followers have expectations of accessing your account Bandung municipal government to obtain information related to the Bandung municipal government. In applying good governance based on the requirements of the British Government, the Government of Bandung is known that admin twitter Bandung municipal government is a member of Public Relations. It can be said that the Bandung city government implement the good people in the running of social media to provide information to the government for delivering information in accordance with PR duties. However, the administrators who handle accounts of @PemkotBandung also holds another twitter account belonging to the government, which accounts of @diskominfobdg.

The one who run those account is appointed by the Public Relations officer that has authorities. In addition, because the use of new social media in Bandung City Government, there is still no implementation guidelines and technical guidance are clearly in the use of social media as a means of sharing public information by the Government. In this case, the administrators of social media simply to apply the existing rules, a clear and general in nature, such as the type of information that can be shared and which are not, the use of the phrase formal and abbreviations, while for schedule details the delivery of information, how to respond to the public has not been discussed in detail.

In performing its duties, the Public Relations Municipal Government to apply the principles of good accountability, by placing admin twitter of relations division, but admin twitter only knows its obligations, namely to convey information to the public. Most of the contents of the average twitter contain information on the results of re-tweet from another account (e.g. from the mayor, city government offices, etc.) and cc tweet about complaints of citizens at the relevant office. City government has never made an evaluation specifically about media use twitter, because the purpose of the media twitter is to convey information and as an extension of the information from all activities of the city government so that admin twitter municipal government merely convey information and to respond to the complaint without any further evaluation the satisfaction obtained by the public service. Based on this it can be said that the Government of Bandung cannot meet the requirements of good governance performance.

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

The regional government of Bandung has implemented well the principle of participation, which became the main foundation is a democratic system of government. This is evidenced by the many people who participated in the development area of the city of Bandung, their aspirations through the media provided by the local government itself one of them through social media twitter, and on the other hand they also convey what the complaint to the government. In this circumstance, complaints can be used as input for the government, in order to give more attention to the government community. And the results of the research also showed that local governments provide to society as a medium of communication through the mass media, and the institutions of deliberation, and this is an attempt by the government to accommodate the aspirations of the people. However, despite the use of twitter in the government has been done, there are still many governments who do not maximize the use twitter to represent the active use of social media (Graham and Avery, 2013). It is evident that there are still many people who are not satisfied with the information provided by the government, especially in the indicator reduces the uncertainty and conjecture.

From this research, it can be implied that followers (Bandung Public) have not received an answer that can satisfy their information needs. It can be concluded that the Government of Bandung not provide clear information to the public and information provided by the Bandung municipal government accounts still confusing.. Case (2010, h.73) states that, "A helpful response to such a question would not be one of the obvious ones (" yes, " no, 'or' I do not know ") but rather a request for clarification ". Accounts that can provide more specific information will be able to meet the

information needs of followers than the account with no or less specific in conveying information. Through social media, PR Government of Bandung running the public relations activities of communication methods as a way to meet the needs of public information through twitter so as to create public disclosure. However, based on the analysis, account Bandung municipal government cannot meet the information needs of the public, especially in reducing uncertainty and meanings regarding government information. It can be concluded that in running the public relations function, the local government of Bandung city government has implemented the principles of good governance, although not maximized. It can be seen from the means of communication between the community and the government, the supremacy of law, the ease in accessing information, the efforts to provide good service to the community.

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EMBRACING COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT THROUGH GOVERNMENT PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTICE: COMMUNITY INFORMATION GROUP OF SURABAYA GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

This research focuses on the role of Community Information Group (Kelompok Informasi Masyarakat—KIM) in Public Relations (PR) practices of a government institution as an effort in engaging community in Surabaya. KIM in Surabaya was formed by Communication and Information Department of Surabaya government, which involves individuals from district representatives. KIM members participate voluntarily as government agent in distributing public information. The emergence of public stake and opinion in government sector calls for PR functions in government institution, which is Government Public Relations (GPR). The study applied case study approach to develop a deep and holistic understanding of community engagement in the practice of GPR through KIM. The research was conducted in Surabaya as the location of KIM activities. Data was gathered by participatory observation, and in depth interviews to the government representatives, KIM representatives, and community. The study reveals that KIM has reinforced PR functions in government institutions. Although KIM has not achieved public acknowledgement entirety, KIM performs a spirit of community engagement lead to empowerment. Additionally, KIM represents a power sharing attempt as the vital principle in a democracy nation. The findings provide insights for governments aiming to enact engaging GPR functions in a developing and democracy country context.

Keywords: Government Public Relations, KIM Surabaya, public information, good governance

Introduction

This research focuses on the role of Community Information Group (Kelompok Informasi Masyarakat—KIM) in Public Relations (PR) practices of a government institution, as an effort in engaging community. KIM was formed by Communication and Information Department of Surabaya government, which involves individuals from district representatives. KIM members participate voluntarily as government agent in distributing public information. Thus, KIM enables public participation into government's program.

PR is responsible to facilitate two-way symmetrical communication between an organization and its public to meet a mutual understanding (Grunig, 2001). However, the gap between organisations and public's interests has led to an organization-based PR activities (Park & Wang, 2010), rather than facilitated both organizations and public's interests. This has raised criticism in PR activities, particularly in government institutions. The emergence of public stake and opinion in public sector calls for PR functions in government institution which is Government Public Relations (GPR).

In Indonesia, GPR has become more intense in the reformation era. Information access and openness to public is a pertinent agenda for GPR (Ruslan, 2006), which aims to anticipate trustworthiness. This was failed by corruption, collusion, and nepotism (Sungkar, 2008; Wicaksono 2008), misleading publicity, and less information transparency previously (Kemp, 2001). Recently, government has released information openness regulation which underline citizen rights to be well-informed of public

information (UU keterbukaan informasi publik, 2008). Referring to GPR context, public responsiveness and outreach are not to be less significant. Juwarno (2011) notes that GPR needs to see from the eyes of public. In relevant to the case study, this research considers that GPR demands community engagement to link the public and government to work together in finding problems and solutions. Information and knowledge may empower community to participate in public matters. However, the minimum improvement of PR function remains an obstacle in most government institutions. This has indicated by minimum competences of PR practitioners and less effort in empowering PR functions in engaging the public (Juwarno, 2011; Glenny, 2008; Park & Wang, 2010). GPR typically deals with technical task such as photo-taking and media clipping, rather than managing information and empowering the public.

The paper would first identify PR in government sector as an emerging concern in this information era. Secondly, the principals and characteristic of GPR are discussed. The opportunity of GPR in boosting good governance would be addressed together with the implications of GPR enactment through KIM program conducted by Department of Communication and Information of Surabaya government.

Understanding Government Public Relations

The practice of PR in government institution refers to Government Public Relations which aims to see from the eye of public (Juwarno, 2011). In GPR context, the term of public refers to citizens. Thus, GPR is tightly related with citizenship, in which government are challenged with discrimination. Furthermore, Glenny (2008) highlights that communication between government and its public is necessarily two-way symmetrical which involves public in government's decision making process. Additionally, Lee (2011) identifies some notable points in GPR, which are public information, public responsiveness, and public outreach. First, public information is significant as GPR deals with information distribution to public and media to held public reporting. Public information also facilitates transparency that contributes to government credibility and trust building. Agree with this, Cutlip, Center, & Broom (2009) highlight the primary PR task in government institution is to socialize government programs and policy to gain public acceptance. From the perspective of public, information is prominent to achieve a public empowerment. Information plays significant role in decision making process to take a stand and act. Thus, gap of information in society may lead to disparity in literacy, opportunity, and social economic achievements (Kagan, 2000). Refarding this, society should be well informed of public information that impact to their empowerment process and outcomes.

Secondly, GPR characterised by public responsiveness (Lee, 2011) which indicates the different of government with other types of institution. Other organisations, such as private and business organisations, decide their stakeholder groups based on their interest and influence (Frooman, 1984; Freeman 1999). For example, a private bank defines their stakeholders to be investor, suppliers, and customers. However, citizenship rights are, and should be, broader than shareholder rights regarding in decision making (Beckett, 2000). In government sector, every individual is citizen, then government is necessary to be responsive to the public at large (Lee, 2011). Investors, suppliers, customers, and other parties are citizen that government should be responsible to. Notably, the main stakeholder of government is the public referring to all citizens.

Third, GPR concerns in the essential of public outreach (Lee, 2011). Considering public as government's main stakeholder, public outreach has increased in political campaign. Public outreach is inclined to public participation, which has been an objective for every public communication campaign (Rice & Atkin, 2001). However, public outreach has been an obstacle in public information distribution. The earlier press secretary for President Clinton explains that governments have so much information that they need an effective way to distribute it to their citizens. Despite the 'so much information', public are massive and dispersed extensively that government required to involve them in meeting public outreach.

Government Public Relations for Good Governance: Boosting Public Participation, Delivering Responsibility, and Achieving Public Empowerment

Good governance has been an emerging notion in Indonesia. The government and governance performances are contested with professionalism and genuity in delivering public services. Some critics in Indonesian governance referring to bureaucracy and public institution culture (Sungkar, 2008; Wicaksono, 2008) that result in poor public services. In this reformation era, active public concern not only to government but also Indonesian governance reformation. Transparency, accountability, responsibility, and participation are some notable points in performing good governance (KNKG, 2006).

Good governance today is highly recognised as an ideal instrument in measuring government and governance performances. Referring back to the distinct between government and business, some scholars emphasize in the view of citizenship, common good, institutional legitimacy (Green & Hubbell, 1996, in Beckett, 2004); and public interest (Appleby, 1945; Herring, 1936, in Beckett, 2004). Higher demands in professional government have referring to privat sector performance. However, Beckett (2004) criticises a mantra of 'government should run like a business' and highlights that government is the public's business that citizenship rights are more extensive than shareholder rights. Despite of profit oriented, government necessarily provides public services which benefit its public.

In Indonesia, citizenship has been a concern since the previous government era. After reformation era, Indonesian government has been encouraged to implement good governance (KNKG, 2006) to be responsible to its public, such as improving public services. As stated by Purwandari (2009) and Beckett (2004) that government should not be profit oriented, but public oriented which manifested in public services. Thus, relationship between government and its public should not be transactional, but mutual dependence lead to trustworthiness. Additionally, the relationship is necessary a long-term which result in public participation and engagement in governance.

Involving the public in government activities refers to public participation (Hadi, n.d). Foot (2009) notes that in recent decade, citizen and community involvement in governance has been an emerging notion in government policies. Involving the public is a baseline for public participation encouraging public engagement. The process of public involvement may boost social change, enhance decisions that benefits the society at large (Beierle 1999; Thomas 1995, in Irvin & Stanbury, 2004). Irvin & Stanbury (2004) emphasizes that public participation benefits both government and citizens, through its process and outcomes. In relevant with GPR, public participation aims to build mutual understanding leads to trustworthiness, public participation brings about engagement. Overall, the function of PR in government institution covers public services performance based on good governance principles.

Regarding good governance principles, GPR is required to implement both persuasive and educative strategy. In order to engage the public, participatory becomes one of pertinent agenda. Public is necessary to be well-informed that enable to take part in public agenda. GPR is responsible to socialise and educate the public regarding public information that advantages sosial change (Ruslan, 2006). Thus GPR implementation reinforces good governance through informing, educating, engaging, and empowering the public.

Methodology

This research is a qualitative study which employs case study approach. Case study is applied to gain holistic analysis (Yin, 1993) of GPR practices in Surabaya government. In order to develop a deep understanding of community engagement in the practice of GPR through KIM., this research uses in depth interviews and participatory observation (Bryman, 2008). The interview respondents were determined by purposive and snowball sampling (Bryman, 2008), who are the government

representatives (Department of Communication and Information of Surabaya), KIM representatives, and community representatives. Secondary literatures were collected from the relevant documents such as KIM activity plan, government policies, also academic database in PR, GPR, and community engagement.

The research was conducted in Surabaya as the location of KIM activities, such as training, meeting, socialization, and competition. Pertinently, Surabaya government has been encouraged to perform better public services that results in many governance achievements and acknowledgement locally, nationally, and internationally (Surabaya.go.id, 2014). As the second largest city in Indonesia, Surabaya covers 2.836.330 population in 2014 (Dispendukcapil Surabaya, 2014). Growing economic and industry in Surabaya brought about urbanisation that Surabaya consists of multiethnic population (Surabaya.go.id, 2014). In relevant to this research, a strategic public communication campaign is required to reach and engage the public. Department of Communication and Information of Surabaya as the coordinator of KIM, concerns in building public participation through community-based communication program, such as KIM. KIM in Surabaya also performs achievements as 1st winner of KIM competition in Bakorwil IV (Pamekasan) in 2012 (Surabaya.go.id, 2014); 2nd winner of KIM Competition in KIM Week VII of East Java in 2013 (KIM Jambangan, 2013). Additionally, some KIM in Surabaya create and maintain their blogs as public information source (KIM Mojo, 2014; KIM Klasik, 2014). Thus, KIM in Surabaya contributes in improving community-based public communication campaign to build public participation and engagement.

Findings

The data evidenced that KIM implementation has reinforced PR functions in government institutions. Some obstacles signify KIM establishment and sustainability. KIM has not achieved public acknowledgement entirety; however, KIM performs a spirit of community engagement. Additionally, KIM represents a power sharing attempt as the focal point in a democracy nation.

KIM principles and activities

KIM is one of community-based program coordinated by Department of Communication and Information, aiming to enhance public information distribution. Thus, KIM establishment and development are held by the Department, through KIM coordination meeting, socialisation, training, and competition (Kominfo Jatim, 2014), as shown in picture 1-4.



Picture 1. KIM training activity

Picture 2. Presentation of KIM Klasik



Picture 3 and 4. KIM Surabaya members and community performance in KIM Surabaya competition

According to the observation, KIM is establishing its members' competence and commitment building. KIM coordination meetings are generally held directly before or after KIM training. The trainings cover communication strategy for socialisation, excellent services, and citizen journalism by blogging. These materials intend to anticipate KIM members as government agents in socialising public information. In fact, KIM members are challenged by inadequate skills and competence. As a voluntary duty, KIM recruitment is opened for all Surabaya citizens willing to involve in government activities. Competence is not the main focus, but facilitating Surabaya citizens to participate in government activities. By the trainings, KIM empowers its members through improving their knowledge and skills, enables them to contribute in relevant public matters and agenda. As stated by the government representatives:

"Citizen may involve in KIM. This is a voluntary project."

"KIM members are expected to bridge the government and community, such as delivering information. Thus, they are trained to meet the community."

The statements above indicate KIM goal and principles. KIM aims to build a well-informed society (output) lead to a mutual understanding and trustworthiness between government and its public (outcome). This goal is relevant to GPR that government need to see from the eyes of public (Juwarno, 2011). Additionally, the explanation shows KIM principles which are, openness, fairness, transparency, and participation. These principles refer to good governance principles that KIM contributes to good governance achievement.

KIM roles: KIM as GPR agent, Surabaya city endorsers, and power-sharing performance

KIM implementation has resulted in multiflier effects that KIM competence building enhances the effectiveness of information distribution process. KIM trainings educate not only KIM members but also Surabaya society. Some community respondents state that KIM assist them in understanding some urgent and relevant government program, such as health program for poor people and demography program information. As Fairbanks, Powland, & Rawlins (2007) state that the existence of a well-informed public is the basic of democracy achievement. Thus, government information is necessary to be open and accessible to the public.

Furthermore, KIM also listen to society regarding their matters in accesing government information and services that become input in improving public services. Thus, KIM performs as GPR agents in bridging the government and its public by conducting two-way symetrical communication (Grunig, 1984; Grunig 2001). The communication between KIM and public suppose to create effect, from

public awareness to behavior change (Andreasen, 2002). From the perspective of social marketing in encouraging social change, KIM performs both persuasive and educative strategies in changing public behavior.

However, there are some obstacles in KIM as GPR agent. The result of in depth interview to KIM and community representatives indicate that KIM has been challenged by the minimum public acknowledgement and less optimal task performance. KIM representatives stated that:

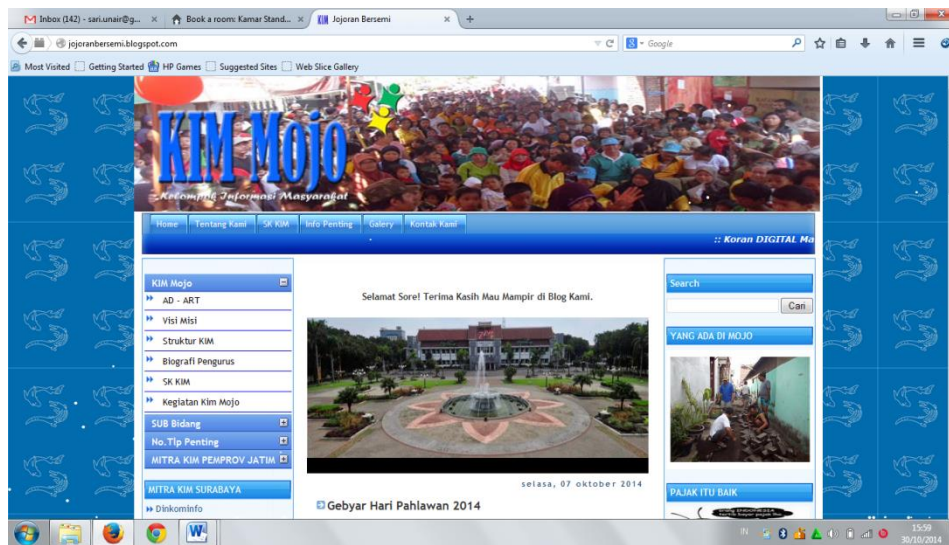
“...Not all district and village government recognise KIM that we actually need their supports in distributing information.”

“We sometimes do not be updated (about public information) from the village government.”

“We just inform as we can (referring to less efforts).”

The minimum acknowledgement from other government institutions may fence the coordination among them in performing their task; while the minimum acknowledgement from the society results in less credibility of KIM in delivering information. As an informal information agent, KIM required a well-build positioning particularly in their role in benefiting both government and society.

Interestingly, KIM takes part in endorsing Surabaya city. KIM as a community-based public communication enables the community to run Surabaya city endorsement. KIM in Surabaya has encouraged to create and maintain their blogs as medium in distributing information. In fact, some KIM blogs are well-maintanenced with relevant information about the disctrict and city activities, as the following blog captures of KIM mojo and KIM Klasik. These blogs perform online GPR enable to reach larger and global community (Grunig, 2009). KIM members employ citizen journalism aims to create publication. The blog written by community is not a personal diary, but concerns to a readable and useful publication (Horton, 2002) which contributes to Surabaya government credibility.



Picture 5. Blog page of KIM Mojo. Captured from <http://jojoranbersemi.blogspot.com/>



Picture 6. Blog page KIM Mojo. Captured from <http://jojoranbersemi.blogspot.com/>

Kim Mojo covers notable information of public services, community activities, and achievement in its district. Interestingly, KIM mojo page not only places pictures of their surroundings, but also Surabaya icons, such as the city hall and the heroic monument.



Picture 7. Blog page of KIM Klasik. Captured from Kimklasik.blogspot.com



Picture 8. Blog page of KIM Klasik. Captured from Kimklasik.blogspot.com

Above are KIM klasik blog pages which also placing Surabaya icons in the home page. The news written includes KIM activities in Klampis district and Surabaya city information, such as the city anniversary celebration and Surabaya government activities. Thus, KIM blogs take role in buiding positive reputation of Surabaya through citizen journalism written in KIM blogs.

Regarding Indonesia as a democracy nation, participation is a vital principle in governance (Fairbanks, et all, 2007; Servaes & Patchanee, 2005). Relevant to the case study, community participation in KIM represents a power-sharing of government to communities by facilitating their involvement in information distribution. KIM enables two-way communication between government and its public. Respondent states that KIM performs as informal public information channel which able to meet the community directly. KIM roles intend to reinforce the role of district and village government (the lowest formal bureaucracy level in Indonesia) in delivering information to its community. Information is formally distribute from province-municipal-district-village government institution. However, this formal information channel and flow are contested by its effectivity in building a well-informed society. Bureaucracy and top down communication have been critical constraint in providing information and public services effectively (Maggy, George, Wahyu, & Theo, 2013). Government is necessary involve its public as stated by Brown, Kerry and Keast, Robyn (2003) that government demand network arrangement with the public to working together. Public acknowledgement in effective governance may overcome the obstacles. Thus, good governance principles aim to overcome these obstacle through the implementation of transparency, accountability, fairness, and participation. Referring to KIM implementation, it contributes in performing transparency of public information, fairness in accessing information, and participation in distributing information and reinforcing government programs.

Conclusion and Implications

The study employs GPR, participatory public communication, and community engagement in public sector theories to examine the activation of GPR strategy through KIM in Surabaya government. The study argues that the emergence of public stake and opinion in public sector calls for GPR enactment. The study reveals that KIM has reinforced PR functions in government institutions; as GPR agent, Surabaya city endorsers, and a power-sharing performance. However, public outreach remains an obstacle in KIM achievement. KIM establishment and sustainability have challenges KIM in reaching the public.

Community engagement requires integrated commitment and efforts in achieving its sustainability. Notably, government is necessary to build advanced KIM by penetrating the spirit of engagement in every level of bureaucracy and community. Although KIM has not achieved public acknowledgement entirety, KIM performs a spirit of community engagement. Additionally, KIM represents a power-sharing attempt as the focal point in a democracy nation. The findings provide insights for governments seeking to implement authentic GPR functions in a developing and democracy country context. Additionally, this research contributes to the growing literature dealing with community engagement in the context of GPR.

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GLITTERING JOURNALISM: A NEW THREAT FOR FREEDOM OF PRESS IN DEMOCRACY ERA

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Abstract

The wide spreading implementation of competition in journalistic held by private corporations or government agencies brings a new challenge for the enforcement of journalistic ethics, especially the problem of independence of determining news coverage. The problem arises because almost all the competitions necessitate the news that can be registered have been published in media on a specific period of time. The determination of theme with the competitions, usually associated with good image of the institutions. All of these conditions will potentially being a trap for journalist that is called "glittering journalism" practice. This concept comes from one of propaganda techniques; glittering generalities. In glittering journalism, news is used to build a positive image on certain issues. Another consequence of this practice is marginalization of another issue that is not appropriate with contest theme. The practices of Glittering Journalism are realized as to bring news as a propaganda tool to support imaging activities for corporates in the society. In other words, glittering journalism could be a threat for freedom of press practices in Indonesia. In addition to seeing the competition journalistic works as a propaganda tools brightly, this paper examines critically through a political economy of mass media approach to a variety of journalism awards in Indonesia.

Keywords: glittering journalism, political economy of mass media, propaganda *techniques*

Introduction

At the beginning of 2015, PT. PGN organized a journalistic competition entitled "Utilization of Gas for Domestic Energy Security" (Pemanfaatan Gas Bumi Bagi Ketahanan Energi Nasional), the provisions of competition stated that the work of journalism that can be included are preloaded in the print media and on line (not personal media) in the period from January 1 to October 31, 2015. Mentioned in the terms PGN provides a prize of 35 million for the first winner, and tens of millions for other winners.

At the same time, PT. Pelindo III also held a contest of journalistic work with the theme "Development of Ports in Enhancing National Competitiveness", this event is organized by Pelindo III. The prize for each winner: 10 million, 7.5 million and 5 million rupiah and the rest of the winners are invited in a fabulous press tour. The proposed requirements were the same with PT. PGN; only journalistic writings that have been published in the media from January 1 to October 31, 2015 can be registered.

At least two competitions that are mentioned above and observed appear on the Google search engine while we write they keyword "journalistic competition 2015". There are still many other journalistic competitions annually held by various private and government agencies, such as PT Telkom, Exxonmobil, Danone, PT. Ministry of Tourism, the Army, and so on.

The various competitions are meant to give an appreciation of the work of Indonesian journalists. The appraisers are chosen from senior practitioners with undoubted capabilities in journalism practice. Assessment was emphasizing the rules of journalistic objectivity in writing the

news. At a glance, there is nothing wrong with the competitions. On the other hand, if we see it thoroughly we can find that such activities would harm the independence of journalists in determining who and what will be appointed and news written in coverage.

In the political economy mass media perspective, this phenomenon can be seen as an attempt interference media power by economic and political power outside of the mass media itself. In turn, it makes the media conform to the structure that is formed by forces outside themselves and loses their own power. The news is no longer driven purely journalistic conscience to speak the truth and public interests, but filled with certain agendas that are aligned with the organization of the competitions.

This paper is intended to open up a discourse about the glittering journalism, a concept that comes from the technique of propaganda; glittering generality. In a glittering journalism, journalists met biased interest in the working process, from choosing the issue, until the writing of news. Like glittering generality, where propaganda is done by displaying the words positive connotation to the level of abstraction is high, then the glittering journalism, the news will focus on the positive things about a particular issue, and package it in a way that makes the reader "glare" on good facts, and neglect the bad and indifferent ones. In short, news could potentially become a propaganda tool for the benefit of imaging.

Discussion

Competition of Journalism and Journalists Welfare Problem

Journalism and objectivity are two concepts that closely linked. In every work of journalism, working "objectively" is a demand that must be done. Being objective is not only contains a resource of news from various parties, but objectivity also means the ability of the media to free themselves from the other interests outside the public interest.

Given such huge burdens, it is critical for press industries to pay more attention on the welfare of journalism professionals. To generate the coverage quality, accuracy, impartiality, is not an easy job and inexpensive. Big risks faced by journalists in completing an incident report, especially if the incident is a crime committed by certain groups, it could be lives at stake. A reporter from "Bernas" newspaper named Udin, who lost his life because of his critical report against the military and the New Order government. He died after being persecuted by strangers in middle of August 1996. The case was never investigated thoroughly mainly because there was not enough evidence. Most recently a number of people have appeared to be convicted for being bribed to make a fake confession of murder.

The heavy demands and high security risk was not comparable to the journalist awards given by the company. Many Indonesian journalists are under paid which of course does not comply with the regional minimum wage (UMR) imposed by the government. They are also not protected or covered by worker insurance and family allowances.

Concern about the welfare of journalists is also a central issue that is brought by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and the Indonesian Television Journalists Association (IJTI) in their mission statement. On the anniversary of Labor Day last May 1, 2015, AJI branches in every town campaigned journalists welfare issue, whose worse than factory workers. The data reported by AJI Bandung that there are many media workers in Bandung are still paid below 2 million rupiah, whereas the minimum wage of the city has reached 2.3 million rupiah.

Based on the research held by AJI Jakarta, the ratio of corporate expenses to media workers are still low. Jawa Pos, for example, allocates only 8% of the total expenditures for their journalists. Another media corporation is Tempo Media Group that only allocates 12.39% in 2012. Similarly, the MNC group and the SCTV (Elang Mahkota Teknologi) only allocate below 10%. This condition is very far behind in the Star Publications in Malaysia that allocates 18.3%, Singapore Press Holding 29.3%, and Fairfax Media Australia 37.12%. ("Worthy Wage Survey", AJI, 2015)

Under these conditions, it makes a heavy burden to journalists to maintain objectivity and independence in the midst of economic trouble, especially if the person has a family. This economic factor was the one that triggered the emergence of "envelope journalism" or journalists who receive orders from the news / specific groups and receive illegal income.

The problems of journalist welfare are seen by economic and political institutions. Through their teams, especially by PR (public relations) department, they play the issue by initiating journalism competitions. The journalistic competitions in this paper are referred to the ones that have specific characteristic i.e. for journalists only; the theme is not related with public interest, and publication of the news. In addition, there are also many journalistic competitions held for school students or college students. With the gift of millions of rupiah, they invite journalists to participate in the competitions that they hold.

In the last seven years there are always journalistic competitions through the years with variety of themes and the organizers. The requirements were fairly easy, just send journalistic work (text or pictures) that have been published in the media in particular periodization. Some of them that held during 2015 are presented in the following table:

No	Organizer	Name of Competition	Theme of Competition	Period of Publication	Prize
1	PT. Perusahaan Gas Negara (PT. PGN)	Kompetisi Jurnalistik PGN 2015	Pemanfaatan Gas Bumi Bagi Ketahanan Energi di Indonesia	1 Januari – 31 Oktober 2015	I : 35 juta, trophy & Sertifikat II: 25 juta, trophy & sertifikat III: 15 juta, trophy & sertifikat
2	PT. Pelindo III	Lomba Karya Jurnalistik Pelindo III 2015	Pengembangan Pelabuhan dalam Meningkatkan Daya Saing Nasional	1 Januari – 31 Oktober 2015	I : 10 juta, plakat, piagam & <i>press tour</i> II : 7,5 juta, plakat, piagam & <i>press tour</i> III: 5 juta, plakat, piagam & <i>press tour</i>
3	Danone-Aqua	Anugrah Jurnalistik Aqua	Kelestarian Lingkungan & Air Sebagai Tanggung Jawab Bersama	1 November 2014 – 31 Okt 2015	I : 10 juta II: 7 juta III: 5 juta
4	Kementrian Pariwisata	Anugrah Pesona Bahari 2015	Pariwisata Bahari	1 Januari – 15 September 2015	I : 10 juta II : 8 juta III: 7 juta Harapan I : 5 juta Har II : 3,5 juta Har III : 2,5 juta
5	TNI AD	Lomba Karya Jurnalistik TMMD 2015	Meningkatkan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Guna Memperkokoh	April – Juli 2015	I : 10 Juta II : 7 Juta III: 6 juta

			Kemanunggalan TNI Rakyat. Dan Membangkitkan Semangat Gotong Royong Guna Memperkokoh Kemanunggalan TNI Rakyat		
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The table above shows throughout 2015 there was some journalistic competition can be followed by all of Indonesian journalists. At the beginning of year, there are three institutions that open the opportunity: PT. National Gas Company, Ministry of Environment, and the Ministry of Tourism. They opened the duration of the competition in a long time (almost a year) for the periodization of the publication of the works of participants. It means that within a year, a journalist has a great opportunity to attend one or all of the existing competition.

Prizes offered so seductive, almost entirely give numbers above five million for the winner. This amount does not include other gifts in the form of goods, certificates / plaques, as well as press tour or a special trip that is arranged for the press. For most journalists, the prize is more than the monthly wages they receive from the company where they work. Winning the competition also means recognition of the quality of the writing (news) is admitted. The juries are coming from senior journalists and academician who gives legitimacy that the winner has a great capability in making news. "Tight" assessment criteria make more reliable journalist predicate attached.

Glittering Journalism and Political Economy of Mass Media

Propaganda, a classic concept which refers to practices of manipulation of data and stories with the aim that the communicant approves the idea or ideas presented. Since 1937 propaganda became a scientific assessment of its own, marked by the establishment of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA). Establishment of IPA was intended to examine the issue of propaganda in the public mindset. Experts see how the technique of propaganda has such a large role in shaping the spirit of nationalism during World War II.

Definition of propaganda itself refers to a series of efforts to provide information, ideas, opinions, or picture of something which is usually not complete or only partial arguments are given, then it will be broadcasted or disseminated in other ways that aim to influence public opinion. According to Ellul (1975) propaganda is basically attempts to incite the importance of an event with the intention of deceiving the public.

One of the findings of the IPA is about the propaganda aim. It is not the same with agenda setting function of the media, which are "only" direct people on what they should think. Propaganda move further, to guide people how to think about a thing. IPA make many publications about propaganda, one of them is "The Fine Art of Propaganda" (1939) that is write by McClung Lee, Alfred & Briant Lee, and Elizabeth. This book contains the formulation of seven techniques or propaganda channels.

The Seven propaganda channels are: 1) Name Calling, propaganda techniques by providing a bad nickname (labeling) for the idea, person or institution, therefore they will be hated by the public; 2) Transfer, this technique brings authority, support, good values of something that has been known previously to other ideas or new things to be accepted by society; 3) Testimonials (testimony), propaganda carried out by "borrowing another person's mouth" the communicator ask the opinion of ordinary people about the sense of awe, satisfaction, experience various negative opinion such a disappointment, hatred and so with the intention of becoming a reference of the target group; 4) Plain

Folks, the technique is more widely used for political campaigns, propaganda communicators by using the statement "part of the public," or the like, the goal is clear to win the hearts of constituents; 5) Card Stacking, such as a set of game cards each case always have good cards and the bad cards, with certain technical communicators can choose the good or bad things just to show the audience that the ideas or their products are well received; 6) Bandwagon, this latter technique uses the tendency of the communal conformity. Every individual has always wanted to become a member of the group and do not want to be excluded. The propaganda makes fear "outsider" as a weapon so that ideas can be accepted, they say the target that all other members have accepted the idea, then the target should do the same thing if you do not want to be considered "people outside the train carriages"; 7) Glittering generalities, in contrast to the technique first aiming to spread hatred, this canal is precisely to make the target group approved an idea or an idea or a particular group, how to connect something with 'word good, great, and awesome' so as to cover or get rid of other things. However, this paper is focusing on the last technique is mentioned above.

Glittering generalities has similarities with card stacking, both stressing on the value of one side of the facts or ideas. However, the difference between the two is that the stacking cards are used to form an opinion good or bad; according to the needs of communicator, while glittering generalities are rather on efforts to form a positive opinion or imaging efforts. The second difference, if the card stacking is no systematic effort to cover up the weaknesses of the public eye, while the glittering generalities, propaganda are not done by leaving bad cards. The communicators only focus on the good things in such a way, with dazzling language. So that other bad things will seem small and insignificant to be noticed again. The analogy to glittering generalities are beads that fluoresce in the clothes worn somebody, make that look indifferent to other details on the clothes and just focus on the luster of beads, or like the lights of beautiful a city lit which dazzling at the night, hiding the dark corners, dirtiness, and the poor of the city.

VR Narayanaswami, formulate the characteristics of glittering generalities. According glittering propaganda characteristics are:

1. Vague, ideas or ideas presented its subtle and detail. The communicators intentionally not explicitly indicate its purpose, or sometimes the real purpose was not delivered and camouflaged by conveying other purposes.
2. Positive word, they choose words that are have positive connotation. Almost all the statements made by the communicator are in the positive meaning.
3. Trusted Source, audiences usually instinctively trust the source of information.
4. Abstract Words; always use a word that has a high level of abstraction such as independence, unity, harmony, or democracy.

The characteristics of such a glittering propaganda were found also in the practice of journalism in Indonesia. Along with the splendor of journalism competitions held by public and private institutions, enable journalists trapped in news images that are tailored to the needs of the contest, this is called a glittering journalism.

In the perspective of the political economy of media, journalism competition phenomenon can be understood as something that can damage the ethics of journalism and destroy the independence of the mass media in doing journalistic work. The organizer make a requirement which is only published news that can be contested, it can be understood as an attempt by outside news media drive.

Donnel & Jowett argues, to see propaganda as journalism then it is must understand as an effort to "manage" or setting the news by certain actors, multiply the positive image and reduce the negative facts, displaying the image of the institution in a better perspective. Propaganda in the form of "news management" of this nature is very persuasive and well organized (DeVito, 1986, 239).

The practice of glittering journalism can also be understood as an attempt by forces outside the mass media influence decisions at the editorial desk. Weakening the independence of the mass media in determining what should be published and how it told the audience.

In "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media", Herman & Chomsky reminds us of the dangers faced by the mass media when political and economic power has thrust their claws into the mass media. There will be no honesty and support to the public interest. Those who holding political power and control of the economy will infiltrate and shape the mindset of the people as they wish, of course, this means the status quo. Society does not have a choice to other information sources, and will eventually be the case that the mass duping. And the mass media, which no longer have the power themselves, have a major role in such deplorable conditions.

The Political Economy of Mass Media theory put forward by Herman & Chomsky also mentioned that the mass media is nothing more than just a business deal where they sell are customers and readers. Meanwhile, the function of education and social control (supposedly) accompanying this industry is no longer a priority, even abandoned. Mass media "sell" its readers to advertisers, the "buyer" news, and anyone who wants to control the information that is circulating in the community.

The forces were able to control the mass media are: firstly, the media owners, to those who have the capital strength in carrying out operations related media. Secondly, the advertiser, the more company to spend advertising budgets to mass media, the greater its chances of controlling the critical power of mass media and the news. Thirdly, the news sources, the increasingly high demand for journalists to present the news quickly and accurately make journalists losing time to verify and investigate the data properly; the news source has the power to filter information in accordance with their wishes. Fourthly, the flak or opposition to the news, a sort of public demonstration against media institutions as well as the threat of the law that is counter the freedom of the press also have a powerful filter to the information presented in the mass media, however the media will spend a lot of energy and costs when there is a prosecution addressed to them as a result of reports made. Fifth, the anti-communist ideology, there is no doubt people are still timid to talk about communists in the public space, this also happens to the mass media, they choose to be more careful and avoid dangerous themes surrounding the communists.

Glittering Journalism: The Success of Public Relations & The Fall of Journalism Ethics

The rise of contests in journalistic work could not be separated from the interference of the public relations team of an institution. It is they who organize a variety of activities as part of media relations and establish a good image of the company. It is their duty to make a good relationship with mass media. Therefore, they held the journalist competition another reason is an attempt to gain a place to the media space.

Professional ethics requires public relations person to be honestly, they are abandoned to provide false information to the public, including the media. However, it is a difficult thing when a company faces a crisis such as worker demonstration, lawsuit, corruption issues, etc. It is almost impossible to close the information from public, and they have no permit to give the deceit. For that reason, a gap is emerged between PR's responsibilities to keep the good image of institution and their ethic that is restrained them lie especially in times of crisis the company.

This condition pushed them to make a strategy to win the battle by keep the public eyes on positive issues. They use journalist to help them and direct the mass media focus on the good things. This is the practice of propaganda glittering generalities conducted by a team of PR agency.

One of the competitions that held by the Pelindo with the theme "Development of Ports in Enhancing National Competitiveness" is a good example to see the glittering journalism phenomena clearly. The period of publishing of journalistic work made during January-October 2015, or almost the entire year of 2015. Yet at the same time, Pelindo II is faces the crisis because of alleged corruption in the procurement of cranes in 2012 which eventually stalled because it can not be used. (taken from republika.co.id, "Case Pelindo II, Criminal Check the Director of Ports Today", 2 September 2015).

This article does not contain content analysis of news content, so it is not certainly known for amount of positive news about Pelindo in accordance with the theme of the competition or the sum of

negative news related allegations of corruption made by the management of Pelindo. However, in the perspective of the critical theory of the political economy of the mass media, the theme of the competition and the requirement of "ever published" had real efforts on structural subordination journalist-structures made by the contest organizers.

Basically, both journalists and PR practitioners are required to uphold the integrity and ethics of honesty to the public. However, the difference between the two is to whom loyalty should be given. A PR surely must put their highest loyalty to the institution where he works, while journalists (and the mass media) give loyalty entirely on the community.

To whom the primary loyalty should be given is point of the issue. The PR officer will use a variety of ways, without having to lie about the information, in order to keep a good corporate image in the eyes of the public. A great PR knows how to establish good relations with the mass media, in the sense that they know how to "tame" the mass media and filter the information. On the other hand, a good journalist should be able to think critically about public issues, especially those that harm the interests of the public. Corruption, environmental destruction and other forms of violations of the law committed by the institution are things that could be categorized as "perverse". A journalist should be able to build a more critical attitude and present valuable information to the public about the issue. For instance, journalists should be able to free themselves from any interest except the public interest itself.

Conclusions

The rise of journalism awards activities throughout the year held by political institutions or economic institutions is a social phenomenon that must be thoroughly criticized. From the discussion that has been done, there are several conclusions, namely:

1. Glittering journalism emerged as a result of the rise of competition in journalistic work by agencies, both private and government.
2. Glittering Journalism proves the success of power beyond the mass media create a structure to control editorial decisions in determining the news
3. Competition journalistic work undertaken by the agencies, both government and private, are part of the work programs initiated by the media relations team, Public Relations, or PR organization. The goal of any public relations activities are imaging, as well as organizing the contest of journalistic work
4. Competition journalistic work is the success of public relations practitioners in shaping the particular image. Meanwhile became a failure of journalists in upholding the ethics of the profession, especially with regard to the independence of the finding and determine news.

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HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN LOCAL ELECTION ERA: REDUCING THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT OF INFORMATION AND CRITICAL POWER OF MEDIA IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The article aims to explore hidden advertising phenomenon in the era of local election in East Java. Based on the Indonesia constitution (UUD) 1945 article 28 which is implemented in the Act No 40/1999 about the principles of press and the Act No 32/2002 about broadcasting, it is stated that the society has the right to obtain information. In implementing its function to fulfil the society's right of information, media should be professional. Hidden advertising is a phenomenon in which news mixed with advertising. News is not objective anymore but only telling sponsorship interest. The research conducts deep interviews with some senior journalists in Malang Regency to understand the pattern of news production in order to reveal hidden advertising phenomenon. The results portray that some of newspapers producing news which are mixed by other interests. It can be concluded that the economic aspect of media affect the quality of the news. The research also proves that hidden advertising news between media and political elites will lead to degradation of good governance quality.

Key words: Hidden advertising, good governance, media, local election.

Introduction

Reformation era, since 1998, has opened democratization and freedom of speak (Siriuyusak, 2005). In this case, mass media has two roles, as a subject as well as an object. As a subject, mass media as stimulator of democratization because its information can explore critically toward New Orde (*Orba*) otoritarian regime. The information has been consumed by scholars and students who were important element promote democratization at that time. After Orba fell down, democratization such as freedom of speak and write are guaranteed by the state. The freedom of the press has begun in 1999 which stated in the Act No 40/1999 about the principle of press. This Act is an umbrella for freedom therefore media and other elements of society simultaneously become an object of democratization, i.e. having ability to express opinion freely. It is linked to Chin-Chuan's (2001, p. 2) statement that "mass media should serve, promote, and participate in democracy." As a result, mass media grew up sharply.

The growth of media fastens to fulfil the public right to get information. The right to get information is also stated in the constitution (UUD) 1945 chapter 28 which is implemented in the Act no 40/1999 and the Act no 32/2002. This information is needed to help society interpreting social realities that relate to public interest (chapter 6 part d in the Act 40/1999).

In order to fulfil the public right of information, professional media becomes main factor. Professional media focuses on presenting the truth information, focuses on public interest, be independent toward news sources and be discipline to verify the quality of information. According to Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson (1992, p. 1), professional media is able to provide information that coherent with social realities so it can create a system of media which relevant to democratization. Adopting Littlejohn & Foss (2008), profesional media can be said as the situation that all information is useful to educate and to entertain people, to help people to adapt with the environment, to control society, and to disseminate social heritage for the next generations.

As consequences, the functions above claim the media to keep the idealism characters, independent from others and be critical. In other words, professional media level is highly determined by how freedom the media workers (journalists, writers and editors) to express their idealism, independency and critical power toward social phenomenon.

On the other hands, media existence can avoid commercialization of the economic powers (Dertouzos & Trautman, 1990). Media is a producer of particular product to offer in the marketplace and the society is consumers. Media existence moves with economic and market logics. This media commercialization often push media move away from the ideal fuctions, i.e. as the window of information and data source for the society (Kriyantono, 2007), and this situation also occurs in other places, such as in the United States and the developed countries (Gamson, et al, 1992), yaitu “The lens through which we receive these images is not neutral but evinces the power and point of view of the political and economic elites who operate and focus it.” (p. 374).

Because media has ability to disseminate messages simultaneously, it has ability to shape public opinion. Through this power, media creates “global village”, i.e. the bridge of globalization in order to reduce geographic boundaries among countries. Finally, media is also able to control the government (*watchdog*). This characteristic of media make other parties that have power –economic, political and cultural power- will be interested in determining media contents (McNair, 1994), with the aim “to offer competing construction of reality to defend what what they would prefer to have taken for granted.” (Gramson, et al, 1992, p. 373). It is linked to Foucault’s statement that “power and knowledge cannot be divided. Power is a creative force that pervades all human activity” (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008, p. 221).

The freedom era of the press has given an opportunity for the media to express freely their opinion without fearing of the government (Siriuyvasak, 2005). However, commercialization of media contents create negative information commodity that impact on social conflicts (Sudiby, 2001). Media news is mixed by business messages or sponsorsips (from individual or groups) that actually will reduce critical power of media and the public right to know (Kriyantono, 2011; 2012a).

This current article will not urge the media to produce news objectively because there is no objective realities as a result that realities are the product of construction struggle through media discourses (Erriyanto, 2002; Gramson, 1992; Hidayat, 2001; McNair, 1994), determined by some elements such as political, economic and cultural power, economy-business, media workers, media routine and ideology (McNair, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Relate to democracy, according to Chin-Chuan (2001), democracy will not never be perfect because various perspectives offered by media. Therefore, this current article focuses more on exploring how social construction and interaction take place.

One of the results of social interaction that construct realities is Hidden advertising, i.e. a phenomenon that news media is mixed with sponsorship. (the sponsor can be organization, corporation or individuals) (Kriyantono, 2012a). News content is not sociological facts about realities in society but merely telling sponsor interest. The news motive and frame are not determined fully by media but determined by other power. It happens because media receive particular compensation from sponsor. As a result, it is difficult to differ news (publicity) to advertising (promoting other parties with receiving payments). Publicity is a message purposefully planned, executed & distributed through selected media to further the particular interest of the client –individual or organization, public or private- without specific payment to media for which time or space was not purchased (Lattimore, Baskin, Heiman, & Toth, 2007; Newsom, Scott, & Turk, 1993; Seitel, 2001). On the other hand, advertising is paid non-personal communication of ideas, goods or services from an identified sponsor using mass media to persuade or influence an audience (Belch & Belch, 2007; Lee & Johnson, 2007; Wells, Burnet, & Moriarty, 2003).

The authors often finds that many news are doubtful their independency, whether they are truly news or news that are mixed or ordered by sponsors with receiving compensations/payments, such as product launching, graduation ceremonies, political candidates, and so on. The research depart from the assumption that there is hidden advertising behind media news. The research tries to provide

scientific data regarding the assumption and explore the practices and motives why the phenomenon happens.

In term of local election (*Pilkada*), hidden advertising, can be mirrored through media tendency to report in special manner toward particular candidates. Refers to definition of advertising, news that reports one party or one side only, such as positive or negative only, should be doubt its independency. Independent Alliance of Journalist (AJI) conducted content analysis toward media report (news). The analysis consisted of *Detik.com*, *Kompas Cyber Media*, *Vivanews.com*, *Okezone.com*, *Warta Kota*, *Pos Kota*, *Indo Pos*, *Koran Jakarta*, *Republika*, *Kompas*, *Koran Tempo*, and *Suara Pembaruan* during 1-15 Juni 2015 and found that 71% of 675 media news tended to report one side only.

This current research is important to provide a model to write news as policy recommendation in term of the media role as a democracy tool. It is beased on the assumption that there is a mutualism symbiosis between media and news source (Kriyantono, 2011; Syahri, Kriyantono, & Nasution, 2015), as one of the factors in news making process (McNair, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). It is important to create regulation about the relationship between political actors and media in order to create good governance which is free from transaction of private interests that reducing media critical and the public right to know. To prove the truth of the assumption, the current research focuses on the model of media report of local election by conducting deep interviews. Interviews also explore some factors that influence any distortions during news productions.

Research questions

Based on the description in the introduction above, the research questions can be defined as below:

- (1) How is the model of media report regarding the assumption of hidden advertising during local election?
- (2) What are the factors that influence the media report model?

Distortion toward the Freedom of the Press

The freedom of the press is press (media) freely to conduct its responsibility to fulfil the public right to get the truth information. When particular parties intervene into the media role, it will cause distortions toward the freedom of the press. Media practices in Indonesia have experienced some distortions: (1) Power distortion. It comes from government apparatus, both are formal regulation and apparatus behaviours. This distortion often happened in New Orde regime. In authoritarian system, the right to express opinion is very strictly limited. The Ministry of information regulation no 1/1984 has arranged cancelation of the letter permit to publish of the press (SIUPP), although at the time, the Act no 22/1982 about press stated that there is no cancelation toward press publication. The apparatus, civil or military, often phone mass media to ask not to repost particular events. They also often invited the media (editors or journalists) to attend special socialization about the government ideology regarding the media news.

(2) Business distortions. The distortion happens when the media owner or other economic power intervene the news production. Example: competition among the media to support political candidate or political party, especially when the media owners are the candidates or the chief of political party. (3) Distortion from the society. Anarchism from the element of society threatens the freedom of the press. It happens when group of people do anarchy to the office of the media as a protest because they are not happy toward the media news. (4) Media worker distortions. It happens when media workers cannot keep their professionalism in writing news. In this context, hidden advertising can be categorized in this kind of distortion. (Kriyantono, 2011).

The research contributes to socialize the idea that media workers themselves can threat the freedom of the press. It can happen if the media news is mixed by sponsor's interest. The research does not accuse media of having transaction in all news production, but, reminds that *hidden*

advertising will likely to happen if the public finds it difficult to differ which one a news, an opinion, and an advertising. Media content is information and information can be categorized as news, opinions, and advertising. The deviation from the the journalistic function often happens, i.e. advertising practices appear in media in the guise of news (publicity). It is hoped that the results of this research is an effort to socialize *media literacy* to the society to be powerful media consumers as well as be aware of their right as media consumers.

Both media and news sources (the company, group or individual) should be honest. Mutualism symbiosis –media needs news source, news source needs media for disseminating information- should not reduce honesty (integrity) to the public. The public has a right to ask that media space and time are used properly for the public’s interest because the public itself who gives media the freedom of the press (Kriyantono, 2012). Information is not the same as news. According to Wilbur Schramm, information is something that reduce uncertainty (Sendjaja, 1998). Not all information can be called news. Advertising, opinion article, and novel, for instance, are information because they help the public knowing something. Information can be called news if it fulfil some criterias: objective (balance, factual, opinion separates with fact, completeness, neutral/cover both sides, credible news source, and having news values (McQuail, 2010). Refers to chapter 6 the Act no 40/1999, the clear distinction between news, opinion, and advertising is part of the public’s right to know. If it is advertising it should be written “advertorial or adv” at the end of news or it can appear in special page or column. If it is not, it will be hidden advertising, it is like a news but advertising.

For some media workers take a short cut to gain additional income and an idealism as journalists is offered in sacrifice. The Indonesia Board of Press found that, during reformation era, 30% only of the press institution had healthy financial. It is no wonder that Suryandaru (2010) dan Novenanto (2009) found that media has not maintained properly its idealism, independence and critical power.

Design and Research Method

This current research used a qualitative approach. This approach was applied because it allowed me to collect information from the respondents in depth. The approach allowed me to ask questions of the respondents in more detail, with flexibility, and freely about all aspects regarding the mudflow crisis. The approach also allowed me to use a variety of perspectives and theories to analyze data as well as a wide range of multiple sources of data (Hesse-Bibber & Leavy, 2006; Kriyantono, 2014; Willis, 2007; Wimmer & Dominick, 2008).

Berger (2000) averred that by conducting interviews, researchers will be able to obtain several sets of data about attitudes, motivations, opinions, and verbal statements. Interviews is applied to explore data from media workers in order to obtain data about news production, including the factors that determine news writing model in term of the assumption of hidden advertising. The researchers interview senior editors from Radar Malang and Malang Post. Content analysis is conducted to explore media news to add data from interview. The two newspapers are chosen because they are under the same management (group) therefore it is interesting to understand whether they have different editorial policy in term of the local election in Malang Regent. The analysis is conducted toward August-September editions based on the actuality reason.

Results

In this chapter, the interviews data are presented in four categories: the news production regarding local election, hidden advertising phenomenon, management of local election news, the main factor of hidden advertising.

News Production

From interviews with senior editor from radar Malang and Malang Post, generally, the local election news production processes are the same as other events. They put journalists in every running candidates to cover each activities. In the afternoon, the journalists must be back to the office to write the reports. Then, the editors will edit them to decide which report is suitable to publish. The decisions are based on journalistic principles only. However, the informants admitted that media – journalists, editors, chief of news desk- has their own subjectivity when they cover and write the news but it will be minimalized when they are conducting a meeting. They usually have a regular meeting in the afternoon to consider and decide which news will be published for the next edition, through editorial meeting. This meeting discuss some aspect for news that will be published, for example, what news will be published, is there something to be added from the news? Is the news needed to make further confirmation? Why some news are properly published? Why are not the others? All the issues are usually decided in the editorial meeting.

The person who has the power to determine the final decision about the news which will be published in the next edition is editor in chief. He gives final control over the news as well as be responsible over any consequences after publishing the news. He also determines the angle of the news, what the frame will be directed. “He looks like a food chef who cooking food materials from journalists in the fields. If the food is too salty, we will give sugar,” admitted Informant A. It often happens that the editor in chief urges either the journalists or the chief of news-desks to complete and to enrich the news by confirming to news-sources.

Regarding the election news, Radar Malang said that they are neutral. This neutral means to cover candidates both sides, to give candidates the same space for news, and to reject black campaign over every candidate. However, Radar Malang admitted that there is media frame which has already came from the journalists, such as the way the journalists conduct interviews, choose the news sources and write the news. In addition, Radar Malang give priority to candidate’s events that have news values, therefore, the concept of balance does not refer to the same number of news appear about each candidate. One candidate has chance to be reported if he/she has event that has news value.

Hidden Advertising

From the interviews, it can be revealed that both Radar Malang and Malang Post conduct hidden advertising regarding local election. However, the way of practicing hidden advertising is different among them. Radar Malang admitted that some clients prefer to advertise them in the form of news and prefer to not mention clearly that it is advertising. Radar Malang agreed to avoid giving the sign of advertorial in the end of news, however, they give other signs, such as write the news in the boxes separate with other news, write in different fonts and give name of the rubric: political information.

The practice of hidden advertising is clearer in Malang Post. They printed hidden advertising in the form of news that the same as the way they printed other news. There are no different place or fonts for advertorial. They also did not write the sign of advertorial.

Management of Local Election News

Firstly, newspapers, both Radar Malang and Malang Post, provide special column for local election news. The special columns accommodates all political candidates. Malang Post provides the page called “Road to Pringgitan” and Radar Malang provides the page called “Menuju Pendopo Agung”. Based on the interview process, candidates’ “creativity” during campaign events are the important factor for getting media publicities because the editors perceive as news-values.

However, from the column of “Road to Pringgitan” Malang Post tries to cover all of the three candidates. The proportion differs among the candidates, either the news content or the pictures. Malang Post tends to provide large amount proportions, both the content and the pictures, for two

candidates, Rendra Kresna dan Dewanti. On the other hand, another candidate, Choma, obtains little proportion of publicities.

The editors are also aware that they cannot avoid getting control from the public and the candidates. For example, Jawa Pos was criticised in being not neutral in the local election of 2010 when Jawa Post gave large amount of news to Risma-Bambang, the candidate that won the election. Therefore, the editors realized to report all candidates into special column proportionally and make the media avoid critics for not being objective.

Secondly, the editors has full authority to control the news content rather than the journalists. It is different than online media which emphasizes on the speed and quantity of information therefore the editors are not dominant in news selection. Printed newspaper still has process and mechanism in selecting the news. This process give the editors the role to control and to determine the news. As a result, the editors has a wide chance to interpret and change the news. In term of the local election, if a candidates, success team, and political parties ask for news from the media, the editors become “the strategic door”. Journalists have no authority to determine which news will be published or not. Although the candidates try to persuade the journalists, this persuasion will be ineffective. The situation is stated by the editor of Malang Post.

In addition, the editors also determine to interpret the portion and frame of the news. Malang Post which admit having a close relationship with either the incumbent or another candidate who is also commissioner of Malang Post, give large amount of proportion toward the two candidates. Although, Malang Post denial to support those two candidates, the editors admit that there is a conflict of interest which push them to do special treatment in making the news. In this context, hidden advertising occurs.

The Main Factor of Hidden Advertising

Printed media faces media-routine which relates to technical aspects, such as time management of news production (from journalists to editors, editors to lay-outers up to printing process), design and layout (how to arrange words, photos, pictures, and advertisement), and so on. News tendency is analyzed to ignore the technical aspects. The technical aspects cannot be ignored in news production in printed media. If the media tends to give large amount of portion to particular candidate, the media actually will face the technical aspects.

However, the media tendency to do hidden advertising does not directly relate to these technical aspects, because the tendency relates to wider factors. The factors for conducting hidden advertising: (i) Media dependency to advertising. It is stated by the editor of Malang Post. This dependency stimulates printed media to provide opportunities for the companies, the organization, and the candidates to advertise themselves. Malang Post provides special column for local government to publish the government activities. For this reason, Malang Post provides columns or pages for all local government in Malang areas (City of Malang, Malang Regency, and City of Batu) and report the activities regularly. Malang Post admits that advertorial for these local government is a form of partnership. With this partnership, Malang Post gains enough income. Malang Post admits that the advertising content is written by the journalists and is confirmed by the local government. There is special request from the government, such as the photograph of Malang Regent, Mr Rendra, must be in wide size. The important thing is that there is no advertising sign in the news.

Secondly, trying to maintain partnership with the government and advertising opportunity (potential clients). This situation occurs because the media depends on advertising. For The candidates who have big chance to win the election, because they have high electability from surveys, media will carefully report their activities. The news is also under consideration in order to avoid the candidates' disappointment. In addition, the media chooses to report those candidates positively because they are potential clients to advertise into the media. In term of media dependency to advertising, the advertorials about the government activities are the important source of income for the media.

The change of public's media choice, from printed media to online media, commercial advertising also moves from printed to online. It is important for media to create cooperation or network with local government, especially about advertising matters. Local government will take responsibility easier toward the local budgeting (APBD) by placing the advertising in media. There is mutualism symbiosis between the media and the local government.

Thirdly, the moment of local election is opportunity for media to gain bigger incomes, Local election is to harvest advertising. The high intensity of positive reportages toward potential candidates is assumed to be important variable to shape vote-behavior or to create the candidates' popularity and electability.

The regulation No 7/2015, issued by the Commission of General Election (KPU), has regulated the media advertising conducted by the candidates. Some regulations: (i) all the print, electronic, and online advertising must be facilitated by the Local Commission of General Election. Local Commission of General Election in every city or regency is also manage the frequency of advertising exposure, duration and time for every candidate. (ii) Advertising materials must contain only vision, mission, program, candidates' photography, and the picture of political party. (iii) The advertising is disseminated only during fourteen days before the campaign break-time.

However, there is a space in the regulation which gives opportunity for the candidates and the media to break the regulation by conducting hidden advertising. Media helps raising the candidates' popularity and electability through (a) informative and narrative news content which impresses the readers. It will be more effective rather than campaign advertising about vision, mission, candidates' photography and political party's picture. The news is more credible because the readers will think it is journalists' made. It is the principle of publicity: telling something about yourself through someone else. The news is also more detail in reporting activities.

(b) From the campaign regulation, the candidates may state that they do not conduct campaign because news media do not contain the candidates's vision, mission, photography and political party's picture directly. News packaging is stronger than campaign advertising to impress the readers. Journalists give the story and photography about the candidates' activities which has ability to create proximity between the candidates and the readers. (3) The time schedule for Campaign advertising is more limited, it is only fourteen days, but news is more flexible. The media is able to cover the candidates' activities in any time, before, during and after campaign era, therefore, there is open opportunity to break the regulation by practicing hidden advertising.

Conclusion

The study has described the phenomenon of hidden advertising conducted by the media and the political candidates in the local election in Malang Regent Indonesia. It also revealed that the hidden advertising occurs due to a mutualism symbiosis between the media and the candidates. The local election is a moment for media to earn bigger incomes and a moment for the candidates to earn popularity and electability. Hidden advertising is undertaken by reporting in regular media news the candidates' activities without any public notification that the media receives some payment from the candidates for using the media time and space. It is advertorial but there is no sign that it is advertorial, so that the readers assume it as a news not advertising. Hidden advertising is also called as the practice of breaking the campaign regulation but it is difficult to prove it.

The research findings have confirmed that not all hidden advertising practice can be revealed due to scope of research limitation. It does not aim to make generalization so the results cannot be extrapolated to other context and it depends. However, the research findings can be assumed as phenomenon that is likely happen in other Indonesia region when conduction local election.

In addition, the current research has contributed to develop knowledge about hidden advertising phenomenon which has threaten democracy in Indonesia. The public's right to get information cannot be fully fulfilled. This summary is created based on the fact that the media system in Indonesia has created the media industry that focuses only to gain economic profit. Hidden

advertising, therefore, has reduced the media ability to control and to criticize because media report only positive things about the candidates who give money contribution to media.

In order to gain significant result whether the hidden advertising is proven in any regions in Indonesia, for future research, deep case study with many data sources, such as observations, focus group discussion, intensive interviews, and combined with quantitative methods, such as an experimental and a survey research, can be conducted to investigate the correlation between government and the media not only in local election but also in the national election.

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THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MEDIA ASSISTANCE PRINCIPLES IN INDONESIA: CONSIDERING POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH MEDIA

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Abstract

This article assess the implementation of media assistance principles in Indonesia. Previous research showed significant result that within the context of aid effectiveness and democratic governance agendas, media contributes in creating good governance. Some scholars have pointed that conventional and new media has taken its role in political and corruption, service delivery, and political participation. This article includes recent interpretations from various scholars, as well as provides nuanced arguments by explaining the role and conditions under which media can be wisely utilized. In the fight against corruption, the media has two important capabilities. Media coverage can magnify the impacts of anti-corruption acts, as well as can change people 'perceptions, norms, and behaviors' towards corruption. Given these capabilities, media can lead in combating corruption. In delivering services, information is the essential bridge between the governors and the governed, furnishing the links that deepen reciprocity, responsibility, and responsiveness. In shaping political participation, informational uses of various types of media has lead directly and indirectly to political participation, particularly the internet.

Keyword: political accountability, media assistance, political participation, internet, social media

Introduction

Political accountability is a key attribute of democratic quality and an essential ingredient in democracy's long-term viability (Diamond et al 1999). It improves surveillance over officeholders and constrains their exercise of power, generating good governance practices and raising governmental effectiveness, and preventing corruption. Narrowly, it is defined as a "relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgment, and the actor may face consequences" (Bovens 2007). Schedler (1999) describes political accountability as a two-dimensional concept composed of answerability and enforcement. The answerability implies that the public officials are obliged to inform and explain their actions in front of their electorate. Enforcement entitles the capacity to reward good behavior and impose sanctions on power-holders who have violated their public duties. The pool of sanctions varies from the destruction of reputation through public exposure, removal from the office, or even imprisonment.

Media can be regarded as an answer for embedding good governance by the political accountability. Good governance depends on a functioning national public sphere, it is the space between government and citizens, where citizens come together, share information, and deliberate on public issues (Odugbemi and Dean 2011). The media is crucial for good governance because it creates the conditions for inclusive policy dialogue, as well as providing a platform for broad-based participation in actual policy processes. These are showing the way political accountability is promoted through media to embed good governance.

Basically, there are three principles for how media assistance should be (Odugbemi and Dean 2011). They encompass the role of media in politics and corruption; delivery services; and political participation.

First Principle: Politics and Corruption

A substantial literature exists in the disciplines of economics, political science, communication research and others on the impact of the media on accountability. The media has been shown to play a role in fighting corruption. Media coverage of corruption can lead to investigations, trials, resignations, and government policies. It can also influence the social climate in a society towards more openness and less tolerance of corrupt behavior.

Freedom of the media, both traditional mass media (such as newspapers and television) and new technologies mass media (such as online news, social media and online communities), can be an effective tool to curb corruption in a country. The rapidly growing literature on the role of media for governmental accountability suggests that a free press is among the most effective mechanism of external controls on bureaucratic corruption and promotion of good governance (Camaj 2013). Studies that investigate the characteristics of the media system as an intervening variable between mass media and corruption suggest that media ownership, distribution, and competition have important consequences for policy outcomes and good governance. Countries where government controls large parts of media (especially newspapers) tend to have higher levels of corruption (Djankov et al 2003). But, foreign ownership of the press is associated with greater transparency in political process and lower levels of corruption (Besley and Prat 2006).

In the fight against corruption, the media has two important capabilities. First, media coverage can magnify the impacts of anti-corruption acts (Arnold and Lal 2012). By reaching a broader audience, the media can mobilize a larger number of people and motivate political leaders to act against corruption. Second and more importantly, media coverage can change people 'perceptions, norms, and behaviors' towards corruption. The individual behavior is influenced by perception of norms that he/she and his/her society applied. Media coverage can create the impression the high occurrence of corruption and that people find corruption is a revolting act, so, encouraging people to change their behavior towards corruption.

Given these capabilities, there are three roles that the media can play in combating corruption. One of the roles is to be watchdogs, by monitoring the government's behavior and guarding the public interest (Norris and Odugemi 2010). Media coverage can ensure government transparency and accountability and act as catalyst of policy change due to misconduct. An important feature of the role of watchdog is to investigate and disseminate information about corruption that was previously hidden and the wrong-doing of public officials.

In the fight against corruption, the media must also be agenda setters. The media needs to highlight corruption to draw attention of the public (Arnold and Lal 2012). For instance, the news media should call people's attention by putting corruption in their headlines. When the media regard corruption as a substantial problem, citizens will be more critical about it, thus also politicians. This is particularly true in democratic countries where politicians need the public vote in the elections. More importantly, people who are not exposed to corruption are now aware of the matter in their society.

Another role of the media in combating corruption is to act as gate keepers. The media should be platforms for citizens to speak about their thoughts on and experience with corruption (Arnold and Lal 2012). The media is also responsible for reflecting the plurality of opinions, perspectives and arguments in the society. The result is the effort of making innovative solutions and suggestions to solve corruption problems.

Second Principle: Service Delivery

On a project level, studies have shown that citizens use the media as a channel for accountability to monitor the delivery of public services (Odugbemi and Deane 2011). Once a grievance has been made public, public outrage, and increased public monitoring will motivate public authorities to correct it. Most governance actors acknowledge that citizens need information about public services if they are to hold government accountable for their provision.

Basically, information is the essential bridge between the governors and the governed, furnishing the links that deepen reciprocity, responsibility, and responsiveness (Kpundeh and Khadiagala 2008). Current discussions in development recognize that the manner in which the public garners information about services and service delivery reveals a great deal about the sturdiness of mechanisms of transparency and accountability. Information is salient in gauging the public's ability to learn about government operations and decisions, and, has been seen to be essential in pro-poor development strategies (World Bank 2003). Access to information movements, budget monitoring initiatives and aid transparency efforts are just some initiatives that have focused on enhancing accountability by ensuring that citizens have better access to information on the services or initiatives that are designed to benefit them.

The media improve domestic accountability by putting issues on the agenda that directly concern the interests of citizens and public institution (Odugbemi and Deane 2011). This forces government to take note of and respond to these interests. The relationship between a free media and government responsiveness has been demonstrated in the areas of public spending on education and health, prevention of famine and public food distribution, and relief spending.

Third Principle: Political Participation

In democratic societies, citizens have the right to express their opinions and attitudes towards almost all public affairs or concerning their own interests in a way that governmental officials aware and respond immediately. Types of political participation is delivered in many activities. According to Verba et al (1995), it includes 1) voting, 2) working in and contributing to electoral campaigns and organizations, 3) contacting government officials, 4) attending protests, marches, or demonstration, 5) working informally with the others to solve some community problem, 6) serving without pay on local elected and appointed boards, and 7) being active politically through the intermediation of voluntary associations. Hence, we assume political participation as all activities done by citizens, including speech, voting, involvement, and collective actions, in order to raise the awareness and response of government officials toward public affairs.

To be actively participated, various types of media are utilised by citizens. In a wide variety of contexts, the media have a key role to play in informing individual (Odugbemi and Dean 2011). Media hold important role in democratic societies — that of providing essential information and analysis, and liaising between governments and their electorate or, in other words — serving the public interest (Lauk and Kus 2012). Informational uses of many media types have been shown to lead directly and indirectly to political participation. Therefore, internet and social media are used for much more than seeking information.

Political participation has taken new online forms with the rise of the internet, particularly with the advent of social media. Nowadays, people tend to keep in touch with family, relatives and friends virally. They can express themselves and discuss various issues of their lives on social media. By then, they will likely to deliver their own perspectives to each social group they are involved in. Di Gennaro & Dutton (2006 in de Zuniga et al 2014) even highlighted that people can pursue their political goals online by forwarding e-mails, sharing opinions about politics and current events, expressing dissatisfaction with governments by commenting on government officials' social media / homepages, and participating in online collective actions against certain policies.

Media Assistance Principles in Indonesia

Politics and Corruption

In the current political climate, the Indonesian media is able to report openly on a range of previously taboo political issues (Kramer 2013). One issue that garners substantial attention is that of corruption. The increase in media attention has been driven by two main factors. First, following 1998, there were changes in legislation that subsequently increased media freedom. Indonesia's Media Bill was redrafted in 1999 during the Habibie Presidency, terminating the watchdog activities of the Ministry of Information, which had previously served as a proxy mechanism for censorship. With these new laws, Indonesia's media became one of the freest in Asia (Anwar 2010). Second, following 1998 there was a widespread proliferation of new media outlets, resulting in an increase in the absolute number of newspapers, television and radio stations and online news websites, inevitably leading to an increased quantity and availability of information.

The desire to report openly on corruption has become almost an obsession in Indonesia following decades of media censorship on the issue. The reason for this is twofold (Kramer 2013): it is the assertion of a commitment to holding those in politics accountable to the public and it forces improved transparency of the government. The media plays a key role in informing the public about political issues and providing information required by the general population so that they can make sound decisions and participate more meaningfully in the democratic process therefore, it functions as a key mechanism for promoting political transparency and accountability.

Setting corruption as an agenda is also easy in Indonesia due to the freedom of the media and the universal value of anti-corruption. Almost all societies condemn corruption and it has high publicity value. Corruption usually makes the news as it involves interest, money, clarity and prominent figure (Utriainen 1997). Hence, the mass media in Indonesia cover cases of corruption almost daily.

A prominent case of corruption that has made the headlines for more than three years would be the case of Gayus Tambunan. Gayus, a mid-level tax official, made the headlines in 2009 as he has engaged in money laundering and has embezzled hundred thousands of dollars from the major companies that were under his supervision (Kimura 2012) To make matters worse, in 2010, Gayus has been found bribing police and immigration officials to be able to take frequent holidays during his detention.

Another role of the media in combating corruption is to act as gate keepers. The media should be platforms for citizens to speak about their thoughts on and experience with corruption (Arnold and Lal 2012). The media is also responsible for reflecting the plurality of opinions, perspectives and arguments in the society. The result is the effort of making innovative solutions and suggestions to solve corruption problems.

A highly regarded example of the media playing a role as gate keepers is in the corruption in the Indonesian National Police (POLRI). The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) named Djoko Susilo, an active Police General, as the prime suspect of corruption in the procurement of vehicle simulators in the POLRI. He has been alleged to abuse his authority and enrich himself and others that has caused losses of US\$19.81 Million to the state (Jakarta Post 9/10/12). The problem started when the POLRI investigated the matter even though the KPK was probing it first. The result was an escalating tension and undeclared war between these law enforcement agencies.

Hence, the pervasive coverage of corruption issues in Indonesia's media has one clear outcome: the prominence of corruption in the government is thoroughly underscored for the Indonesian public. The positive effects of the media coverage are, put simply, increased public awareness of the problem through the broadcasting of case progression, public statements by those in power and condemnations of corruption. Several scholars and institutions propose that without widespread social support, governance and anti-corruption reforms will have little success.

Second Principle: Service Delivery

Indonesian government utilizes media, mainly new technologies media, to deliver better services to the public (Lestari and Moon nd). Indonesia, like many other countries, has long recognized the importance of establishing online services in order to become more accessible and transparent to public. Indonesia first established and developed e-government in 2001, which is based on the President's instructions related to telecommunication, media and information. The presidential directive in 2001 stressed the importance of information technology in enabling good governance and accelerating democratic process. Moreover, the national strategic plan and policy that was contained in Presidential Instruction No.3 was issued to provide greater momentum to the development of e-government services. The initiative focused on the need to develop computerized-based governance system in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of public service delivery.

As a developing country, the Indonesian government has aimed to increase its productivity by using advanced information and communication technologies (ICT) in its government system. As ICT become ever more pervasive, information about the world is now instantly accessible through diverse media. Web services including social networking services (e.g., Facebook), video sharing (Youtube), wikis, blogs, and microblogs (e.g., Twitter) provide people with varied means of interacting and collaborating with one other (O'Reilly 2010).

The Traffic Management Center of the Jakarta local police (TMC Polda Metro Jaya) in particular has been recognized as a best practices of media utilization Indonesia. The local police provide the public with 24-hour non-stop information regarding traffic conditions in Jakarta city. The TMC Polda operates two main social media accounts – Twitter and Facebook – to provide real-time information updates to the public. The Twitter account has gained widespread acceptance by the public as a source of traffic information in Jakarta city. The Facebook account however, has failed to attract. As a result, the citizens of Jakarta are more familiar with the Twitter account. Since its inception in April 2010, the number of followers of this account has reached 1.6 million users by September 2013, and continues to grow every day.

Third Principle: Political Participation

Effendi Ghazali (2014) described Indonesia as a 'social media democracy', refer to its democratic processes are being substantially influenced by the use of social media. The most prominent example would be POLRI vs KPK case in 2009, entitled 'Gecko vs Crocodile' case. It was started when National Judicial Police Chief, Susno Duaji, found out that the KPK had tapped his telephone. Netizens (social media users) was shocked by the fact that Duaji had demanded 10 billion rupiah from businessman Boedi Sampoerna, who were the potential suspect of corruption case he handled. Later, in a press conference, Duaji was naming the 'Gecko' and 'Crocodile' phrase. As older and larger institution, The National Police then 'responded' by declaring KPK Deputy Chairmen Bibit Samad Riyanto and Chandra Hamzah were suspected of abuse of power. The case was getting enormously interesting as speculations surfaced, since both conventional media and social media began exploring the case through leaked information from many sources.

Another intriguing case was the collective viral movement regarding a patient-vs-hospital case, called "A Coin for Prita". In 2009, the government slapped hospital patient Prita Mulyasari with a 204 million rupiah (about \$20,000) defamation lawsuit for e-mailing a complaint to her friends about her care in a government hospital. In response, Indonesia's social networkers turned into outraged fundraisers and with the help of conventional media raised the money to pay what was seen as an unjust debt. In the end we got about 800-million rupiah (\$90,000). The court finally released her and stated that she's not guilty.

Along with the existence of internet and social media, e.g Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Blogs, political participation among young generation has increased rapidly than ever. In contrast to conventional media, social media have the potential to re-configure communicative power relations (Ghazali 2014). By using social media, citizens are in the same competition arena with the government, private corporations, and commercial institutions. Leadbeater (2008) noted that the

openness of social media platforms would facilitates the ‘mass-collaboration’, citizens both individual and groups cooperate and become the source of innovations and ideas in democratic practices.

Conclusion

From the principles portrayed in this study, we can assume that all elements of media assistance is generally applied in Indonesia. Yet, some obstacles are facing ahead. First, how far the media will penetrate or cover certain issues since the ownership is doubted. Big companies of media are mostly owned by elites who have tight relations to government circle. Second, the openness of social media is surely a thing to discuss. Anyone can be the main actor in viral world. Hence, coverage of law aspects regarding public sphere are needed. Third, this paper also still lack a more structural and rigid data to claim each principles wisely. Certainly, some principles are delivered better than others, but almost all of them give a gradual but significant influence on Indonesia’s democracy and accountability.

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POLITIZATION MEDIA AS A TOOL TO TEAR APART INDONESIAN SOCIETY

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Abstract

Basic function of media is as a tool to inform and to connect people. But lately media is getting abused by some people for their individual and group of interest. Main function of media is being abused by the owners. Politization media is a common issue right now, while government still can do nothing because there is no law rule about it. Election 2014 is a perfect case how media owners monopoly their media to their own group of interest. There were two parties competed to win political battle by using media as a tool to gain people trust. The problem was media begun to be un-neutral. Informations that medias informed wasn't based on fact, it was made to make good political image to each party. In this condition, there is an obstacle for indonesia that we face a threat for the community which information by the media could bring people into horizontal conflict. Wrong information by the media could be the source to tear apart our society. The role of government needed to prevent society from conflict, Ratification of the new constitution about politization media need to be done by the government.

Keywords : Media, Politization Media, Horizontal Conflict.

Generally, The definition of media is a tool to deliver is a tool to convey a message, or in other words the media is a communication tool. So simple, yet role the media today for human life is very important. Grossberg once said that "*Human beings have always live in a world of communication, but we live in a world of media communication, where we can travel great distances and across centuries, all in the comfort of our own living rooms. We can "see" what is happening across the globe or out in space or even in unfamiliar neighborhoods of our own cities.*" (Grossberg, 2005). From Grossberg statement, we have to realise that media are taking big role for communication. We are living in an era where we can update whatever happened in this world beyond borders. We could see everything with just sitting on our armchair and without leaving our place. Media provides it all. That is the main function of media, bridging people with Information. This important role that media plays, has a big side effect if it is not used properly. Involving media to a political purpose is now a common situation that happens in many countries. In Indonesia, some medias involved in particular political interest, as the owners taking part in political battle. They promote their ideas and ideology to affect people and gain people trust by using media. Now, the content of the media is un-actual, because it is made to shape people's thought and create good image of someone, depends on whom media having coalition with.

Indonesian Mass Media and Public Awareness

Many factors could be the trigger of increasing public awareness of the media. One most considerable is globalization, modernization, and industrialization of media. Overall in indonesia, media consumption rate among big cities in and outside Java show that television are still the main media used by public (95%), internet (33%), Radio (20%), Newspaper (12%), Tabloid (6%), Magazine (5%) (Nielsen 2014). From the data we conclude that media consumption by the public is quite high, . Dari data tersebut dapat diambil dikatakan bahwa antusiasme publik terhadap media di

Indonesia cukup tinggi, especially the existence of new media called social media which based on internet connection and the development increasing very high lately.. It is believed that newspaper and magazine industry-both referred to as “the press”-is the media (Sen and Hill 2007). Newspaper and magazine dominated in political communication. But in the 20th century, with the emergence of radio, television and the Internet, the print media is challenged (Craig 2004). Which is also happening in Indonesia. In Indonesia there are three main print media organizations, Kompas Gramedia Group, Jawa Pos Group and Media Indonesia-Surya Persindo Group, are the largest publication. The main magazines group are Tempo (both in Indonesian and English), Forum

Keadilan and Gatra have a critical view to the government. Not just print media, electronic media also holds important role for connecting people. Radio played an important role in consolidating the struggle against the Dutch and Japanese colonialism. Then after independence, the mass media, particularly Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), was used by President Soekarno “to consolidate his

political power” (McDaniel, 2002:180 in Low, 2003:13; Sen and Hill, 2000:80). Other Electronic is Television. As in many countries television becomes vital to shape new culture and promoting other culture to local people, same condition apply in Indonesia. In 1963 the Televisi Republik Indonesia-TVRI, which was initially a foundation institution (yayasan), founded under the Ministry

of Information. Then the New Order provided annual subsidy for the TVRI (Sen and Hill, 2000:190)..

Media Ownership

Private-owned TVs emerged since 1988 mainly supported by the Palapa satellite to reach throughout Indonesian archipelagoes. At the beginning, almost all private TVs are owned by Soeharto’s children and cronies. For example, the first private TV, Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia-RCTI, belonged to Bambang Trihatmojo (Suharto’s third child) and Bimantara Group (owned by Tomy Winata, Soeharto’s “good boy”). The Surya Citra Televisi-SCTV (1989), the second private TV, belonged to Henri Pribadi, a Chinese businessman (Suharto’s cousin associate, Sudwikatmono who also owned 20 percent of the TV). Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana owned Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia- TPI (1990), the third private channel. Next, Cakrawala Andalas Televisi- AN TV (1993) owned by Agung Laksono and Bakri, both are the main figure in the Golkar party. Indosiar TV (1995) was owned by Lim Sioe Liong, a Chinese conglomerate who is also a long standing Suharto’s associate (Sen and Hill 2000). That time, the ownership is clearly under the monopoly of the government, which tendency to monopoly the content of the media. Above all, after the Reformasi era, the mass media found themselves in a radical situation and remain more industrialized and less politicized (Heryanto, 2001). Reformation in 1998 became a turning point after which media businesses started to flourish and form a media oligopoly and the concentration

of ownership. There are 12 large private media groups that almost control all of the media channel in Indonesia, they are MNC Group, Kompas Gramedia Group, Elang Mahkota Teknologi, Visi Media Asia, Jawa Pos Group, Mahaka Media, CT Group, Beritasatu Media Holdings, Media Group, MRA Media, Femina Group, and Tempo Inti Media. By this condition, where the government passed the Broadcasting Law No. 32/2002 aiming to halt unhealthy media ownership practices, but they have failed to ensure the diversity of the media ownership. It’s like only concentrating to the 12 largest media group of private owners, turn out lack diversity content they provide.

Media Regulatory

Cotrolling media by Government has been an issue of Indonesian media history since the Sukarno’s regime. Our First President used media as a “tool” for Indonesian revolution, but also as a means of controlling his political and development agenda. Then, the Soeharto’s New Order inherited Soekarno’s way of governing mass media, although chose a more pragmatic approach (Hill and Sen,

2000:53). But now things have changed, government has no control to media because private ownership holds most of influential media. Although has no control of media, but they are in charge to monitor the media by the ministry of information. After Soeharto stepped down, the press was also reformed through the enactment of Press Law No 40/1999. After the collapse of the “Orde Baru” people realised that they need a free press as the part of Democracy, now there are several policies that govern. there are two policies that are intended to be the basis of media practices. First, the Press Law No. 40/1999, which contains the basic principles of press freedom, including the abolishment of the Ministry of Information that served as the press and media control during the New Order era, as well as the establishment of the Press Council as the press regulator. Second, the Broadcasting Law No. 32/2002, which concerns the democratisation of media landscape and ownership by means of decentralisation and establishment of accountable licensing procedures. It also enshrined the formation of KPI (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia/Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) as an independent body to maintain the principles of an autonomous broadcasting system.

Political Involvement of Mass Media in Indonesia

At this time mass media has changed in terms of function, mass media has become a tool of political communication. Mass media is needed by politicians to promote their idea to people, shaping new political image, and affecting people’s way of thinking. Public sympathy indispensable politicians as one of the factors to win political battles. The success of political communication who conducted the politicians that make them closer to becoming ruler. Learn what happened to the mass communication in the US, that the mass communication media of the U.S. “are effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function, by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without overt coercion” (Chomsky 1998). With the number of private- owned media that involved in political activities, there is tendention indicates that owners using their media to support their or their group political activities. We can easily find this in a news reporting model in private television who specialize on news. News reporting on owner who competes in election will be poured with good news and images, Otherwise, the oppositions will be reported negatively to bring down their political images. The mass media are now not being neutral in its reporting conveys. Ownership of the mass media by the political elite in akhinrya threaten the democratic political system. In the liberal era there is "game" played by media when the media business began governed by leaders who have the political power and money. Here is a list of politicians who have the mass media

Politician	Political Position	Mass Media Corporation
Hari Tanusoedibjo	Chairman Perindo Party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MNC Group : RCTI, MNCTV & Global Tv - Online News Portal Okezone.com - Seputar Indonesia Newspaper
Abu Rizal Bakri	Chairman Golkar Party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PT. Visi Media Asia Tbk (Viva) - ANTV, TV one, & Sport One - Online News Portal VIVA.co.id

Surya Paloh	Chairman Nasdem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grup Harian Media Indonesia - Lampung Post - Metro Tv
Chairul Tanjung	Ex-Ministry of Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CT corp: Trans Tv & Trans 7 - Online News Portal detik.com
Dahlan Iskan	Ex- Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jawa Pos Group - Harian Radar - Radar Tv

One evidence of the role of the mass media as a political tool is when the last 2014 elections which at that time there were two presidential and vice presidential candidates Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla as well and Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa. Both candidates, has coalition that one of the team members are owners of the mass media. Coalition Indonesia Hebat Jokowi and Kalla, there is Surya Paloh who owns Media group, whilst Prabowo and Hatta Rajasa's coalition Merah Putih there is aburizal Bakri who owns PT Visi Media Asia Tbk and Harry Tanoesudibjo as CEO of MNC Group. Each of these media companies are very clear they are not neutral in reporting the news. The position of each of them more inclined to coalition politics, and ignore the primary function of the media as a communication tool neutral. There are principles divorced media in such circumstances, where the media should be "both side" in the sense of balance in its position so it is not biased. Politicization of the media in election 2014 were felt up to each media claim victory coalition partner respectively. The owners of the media are trying to control people's minds about who became the winner in the presidential election of 2014, with the news that is not based on fact. And the impact is extraordinary, due to news that is not based on the fact that two media can break Indonesian society into two opposing parties. In the survey data the period of October 2013, shown in the fact that, as (46.91%) of respondents said, making the mass media as their source of information will be the political parties. While (23.01%) stated that political party advertising in the mass media become another source of information for the public. Meanwhile, face-to-face socialization political party ranks only fifth (2.77%) respondents voice, followed by a figure of political parties in the top six with (1.78%) respondents voice (Pol-tracking Institute, 2013). Most of the people who make the news media as a source of information will have successfully led his opinion of political parties by the media tertenu to select a particular candidate. This can be seen as a setback of democracy in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Whether mass media influence the political transformation or political development affects the mass media in Indonesia remains relevant to be analysed profoundly. The fact that both of them obviously and apparently interrelated each other. But for me, both of them can't be separated because they have link and affected each other. The mass media significantly has shaped the public opinion to political party and actors in the previous election. For instance, as is widely believed that the rise of President Yudoyono was thanks to the mass media role (Tomsa, 2007). The survey report released in October 2008 by the Lembaga Survey Indonesia (LSI) shows that there has been a new competition within the mass media campagne among political parties and figures who will run for the presidency. It is because political parties believe that publication through mass media is effective and massive. Mass media so effective to shape public opinion, that's why many politicians work together with mass media owner.. The government which is element of politics still have an authority to limit dan choose quaified news for public through censorship by Lembaga sensor Indonesia.. As we know, using mass media as a political communication tool is an effort to get power and win political battle, media owners have realised this and involve their political interest to gain public's trus and good political

image. These political elite tried to control and limit the news and impressions from their media companies, intimidation and black campaign also used if it is needed. In pemilu 2014 mass media played important role to help politicians win the battle. There were two big coalitions competing for pemilu. Jokowi - JK and Prabowo - Hatta Rajasa which each pairing supported by two Indonesian largest mass media, Metro Tv and Tv One. Metro Tv rolled for Jokowi - JK while Tv One supported Prabowo Hatta Rajasa. We all know, that Metro Tv's owner is Surya Paloh, the chairman of Nasdem Party who has decided to have coalition with Jokowi - JK. On the other side, Tv One's owner, Aburizal Bakri as the chairman of Golkar Party decided to coalition with Prabowo. Pemilu 2014 is a perfect example of the triumph of media to affect people opinion, at that time media succeed to split people support into two. With the un-actual news-report, only lead to conflict between the supporters of each candidate. Now we can still see the conflict going on, not as as it was but clear enough that some public couldn't unite like before the election. It is difficult to expect an independent election when the media does not perform its function in educating the public and maintain neutrality. However, government role is needed to fix this situation by changing current regulation which is the Broadcasting Law No. 32/2002. UU No. 32/2002 concerns the democratisation of media landscape and ownership by means of decentralisation and establishment of accountable licensing procedures, but doesn't contain point which forbid politization of media. By changing the regulation we hope that media could be free from politics and run its main function to inform people neutrally.

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The Limits of Satire in the Context of Freedom of Expression: Case Study Charlie Hebdo

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Abstract

Twelve people who worked for Charlie Hebdo were killed by gunmen in its office in Paris on 7 January 2015 after the satirical newspaper published a cartoon of Prophet Muhammad. According to Islam, drawing Prophet Muhammad is forbidden, let alone make fun of him. Supporters of Charlie Hebdo, who after the attack identify themselves with a slogan of Je Suis Charlie (I am Charlie), believe the tragedy is a threat to freedom of expression. Some also comment that Charlie Hebdo is a French media, operates under French law and culture that respects freedom of expression. Despite that, there are also people who disagree with the comments and believe that free speech must have restrictions. They also think Charlie Hebdo spreads Islamophobia and endangers democracy in France. Charlie Hebdo proclaims themselves as satirists hence it creates a situation whether their message can be considered a mere comedy or provocation of racial and religious hatred. What happened to Charlie Hebdo renders a question to what extent satire is compatible with the spirit of freedom of expression and democracy so needs to be protected.

Keywords: Charlie Hebdo, satire, democracy, freedom of expression, media, human rights

Defining Satire and the Reasons Why It Matters

In recent years research on the increasingly complex relationship between satire and traditional journalism has focused on the satirists and attempted to define their narratives as something more than comedy - some type of popular journalistic hybrid or emerging narrative that is a new form of journalism (Cutbirth 2011). This paper employs Megan LeBoeuf's definition of satire, whether a literature, drawing, or performance, which has to bears the following characteristics (2007, 3):

- **Critique.** Satire is always a critique of some form of human behavior, vice, or folly, with the intent of persuading the audience to view it disdainfully and thereby encourage a degree of social change.
- **Irony.** Satire uses irony, often in a humorous way, to point out the problems with the behavior being critiqued.
- **Implicitness.** Satire is not an overt statement and it does not come to an explicit verdict, but rather the critiqued behavior deconstructs itself with the satirical work by being obviously absurd, most often because it is exaggerated or taken out of its formal context.

There is a number of reasons why satire matters. First, it is a freedom of expression. Undoubtedly, when the freedom of expression is acknowledged it leads to the fulfillment of other rights. This right is recognized by the international law. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) clearly states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". Article 19 Section 2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) declares the same thing with more emphasis on the methods of "...either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice". This means that satirists can use any media to express themselves and any attempts to stop them from doing it violate the law. Regional organizations like African Union, European Union, and ASEAN adopt the principle in their own respective declarations.

Second, on the ground of civic engagement media plays a great role to influence society. Putnam's thesis is the quality of public life and the performance of social institutions are powerfully influenced by norms and networks of civic engagement (Putnam 1995). He suggests that technology, including mass media, affects people's political participation and view on community, government, and the world events (1995, 65-78). According to Gunnarsdóttir (2009) and LeBoeuf (2007) satire as source of information has engagement power because it is able to discuss serious issues and taboos in an entertaining way. Feldman's research (2007) finds out that young Americans abandon traditional news media and turn to satire news program to learn about, for example, election.

Third, satire is a vital tool to critique and mock human behavior without being accused of instigating hate speech, defamation, or blasphemy due to its absurd and implicit nature, despite the possibility that satire can be abused, that is, being used as a shield for hate speech. There is a discussion on Ted website about satire which concludes that satire "...opens people's minds to ideas they might otherwise reject outright, using the emotional lever of humor. Therein lies tremendous value" ("What Role Does Satire Play," 2011). Therefore, satirists are granted with an even larger space, that is, being trusted as source of information while still wielding power to ridicule. These reasons have laid a strong foundation as to why satire matters.

The Limitations to Freedom of Expression

There are two underlying principles of freedom of expression: prohibition of harming others without justified reason and promotion of respect to others (Cohen-Almagor 2006, 238). Any methods to exercise this right must be taken with full consideration that they are not harmful and disrespectful. Despite the increasing interconnection, diversity remains inevitable and a democratic society welcomes multiculturalism. To quote D.Heater (1990), democracy functions when individuals as citizens can "...bridge ethnic, national, and socioeco-nomic rifts... because it helps to tame the divisive passions of other identities". Unsurprisingly, there is anxiety that once news satirists being associated with journalism they will be burdened and limited by ethical manners. But Cohen-Almagor argues in his book, *Speech, Media, and Ethics: The Limits of Free Expression*, there is moral responsibility to freedom of expression. Speech must have boundaries if it brings harm to others regardless if it is satire or not. To assess how it can inflict harm, thus must be restricted, four considerations are pertinent (2001, 4). They are:

- The content of the speech.
- The manner in which the speech is expressed.
- The intentions and the motives of the speaker.
- The circumstances in which the speech takes place.

Cohen-Almagor sums them up and then splits them into two categories based on the works of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Joel Feinberg's *The Offense Principle and Free Speech*. The categories are of physical harm and psychological offence. On the former he argued "Any speech, which instigates...to cause physical harm to certain individuals or groups, ought to be curtailed" (2001, 7). While on the latter his argument is (2001, 22):

"...when the content and/or manner of a certain speech is/are designed to cause a psychological offence to a certain target group, and the objective circumstances are such that make the target group inescapably exposed to that offence, then the speech in question has to be restricted".

The arguments are not supposed to be deemed as a way to dictate people what or how to think because it will violate the freedom of expression per se. Instead, he agrees with Mill that autonomy is

important. There are intimate matters which do not concern anyone but the individual so long as they are done in private. But when they are done publicly, they might cause offence to others and therefore are not protected under the principle of freedom of speech (2001, 8). This is to say that one can evaluate the rightness and wrongness of an action by considering its consequences, believing that the morality of an action depends on the consequences which it is likely to produce. Since one is to judge before acting, one must weigh the probable results of one's doing, given the specific conditions of the situation (Mill 1859, 386). Other than a moral responsibility there is also a legal responsibility. ICCPR and UDHR too validate the importance of limitations to freedom of expression. Article 19 Section 3 of ICCPR states that freedom of expression:

“...carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary: (a) for respect of the rights or reputations of others; (b) for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals”.

Article 20 Section 1 clearly prohibits any propaganda for war, while Section 2 outlaws “Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence”. Article 29 of UDHR emphasizes that such restrictions are vital to maintain respect of the rights, freedom of others, moral responsibility, and public order. Even the most advanced democratic countries have regulations about the limitations of freedom of expression which falls under hate speech category, and are consistent with the international law. The invocation of restrictions is not based on people’s sensitivity level when facing slur. If it is the case it will be difficult to measure whether the restrictions are there to maintain public order or a way to silence dissidents. Therefore, this paper uses the above four considerations to analyze the case of Charlie Hebdo.

Debating Charlie Hebdo’s Irresponsible Satire Versus Freedom of Expression

The publication of Prophet Muhammad cartoons by Charlie Hebdo can be traced back to 2006 when it re-printed a cartoon that had originally appeared in Danish newspaper, *Jyllandsposten*. It was responded with outrage by Muslims who found it was offensive. The cartoons appeared again in 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015 when the massacre happened. In 2011 Charlie Hebdo’s headquarter in Paris was firebombed after a cartoon of Prophet Muhammad under the title “Charia Hebdo” being published (“Charlie Hebdo and Its Place,” 2015). The most shocking tragedy happened on 7 January 2015 when two brothers, Said Kouachi (35 years old) and Cherif Kouachi (32 years old), massacred twelve people who worked for Charlie Hebdo including its five cartoonists. After that at least 3,7 people marched in Paris along with world leaders like President Hollande of France, Chancellor Merkel of Germany, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel, and President Abbas of Palestinian National Authority, to name a few, to condemn the tragedy.

The tragedy is undoubtedly a terrorist attack. Killing innocents is a crime no matter how offended or insulted you are. Charlie Hebdo supporters believe that it is a threat to freedom of expression. Stephane Charbonnier, the Charlie Hebdo editor-in-chief who died in the hands of those gunmen, said in 2011 after the firebombing of his offices that “If we can poke fun at everything in France, if we can talk about anything in France apart from Islam or the consequences of Islamism, that is annoying” (Greenslade, 2015). In the same article Greenslade denounced any attempts to silence freedom of speech by saying “...nothing should be off limits including a religion” and that “Satire challenges sacred cows, but it doesn’t slaughter them. Satire hurts, but it doesn’t cause physical injury. Satire wounds, but it doesn’t kill”. These statements are consistent with what Charlie Hebdo has covered. Here is a statistic of what Charlie Hebdo has mocked since 2005 to 2015 (“Understanding Charlie Hebdo,” 2015):

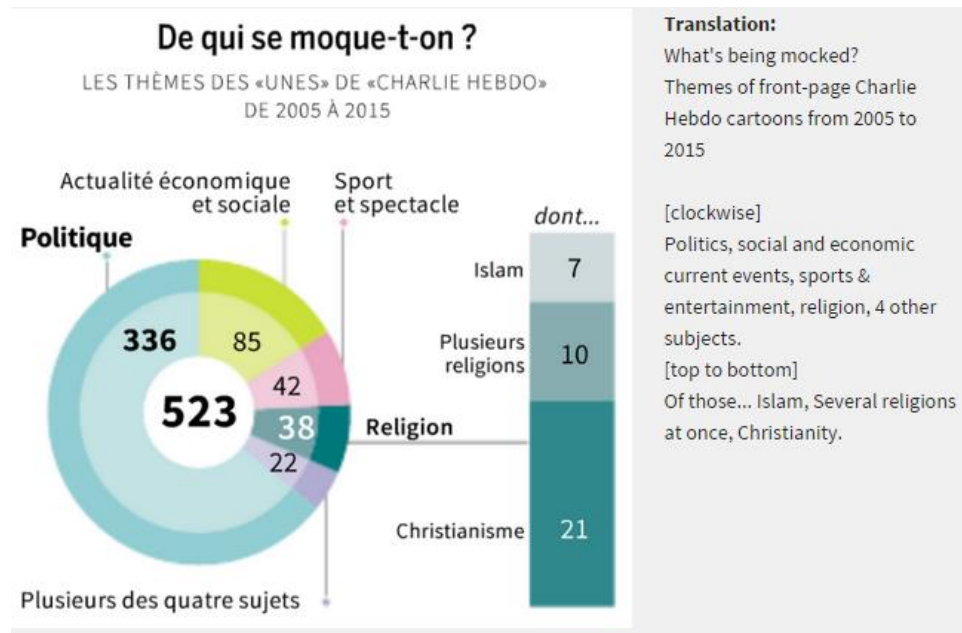


Fig. 1. A statistic of Charlie Hebdo's front-page theme

It shows that the coverage of religion, especially Islam, is given a small portion than other issues like politics, social, or economy. Charlie Hebdo's cartoonists basically mock everything that concerns them with brutal satire. In the wake of January 7th tragedy, Charlie Hebdo describes itself as an irresponsible journal. The word *irresponsible* itself can be interpreted as a belief in no censorship regardless of how offensive the content is because it wants to show reality. It then means Charlie Hebdo does not want to be held responsible if some people feel offended. Nonetheless, those who oppose those statements believe that Charlie Hebdo has crossed the fine line between causing offence and being outright barbaric once too often (Jalil 2015). A survey conducted by Le Journal du Dimanche, a French weekly newspaper, in the wake of Charlie Hebdo tragedy shows that 42% of French believe Charlie Hebdo should have not published the cartoons, given that many Muslims find the images offensive (Linshi 2015). Others even go further by accusing the newspaper of spreading Islamophobia (Gaffey 2015).

Now we can examine if Charlie Hebdo's conduct is in support of or against the principles of freedom of expression, or if it jeopardizes the rights of others, democracy in France, and sets a bad precedent in terms of tolerating hatred in the name of free speech. Firstly, we need to look at the condition in France. The country has been struggling with balancing secularism and religious freedom. On the one hand, the Constitution of 1958 states it respects all religious beliefs and guarantees their peaceful co-existence. On the other hand, France invoked a new law in 15 March 2004 that prohibits all clothing or other attire displaying religious worship in school ("Secularism and Religious," n.d.). In 2010 it introduced the law that bans headscarves and burqas in public places. The decision has been upheld by European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). They argue that wearing headscarves in public could undermine social cohesion (Ware 2014).

Rather than encouraging harmony, it is the decline of multiculturalism that violates human rights and supports stereotype, thus endangers democracy. Muslims and immigrants in France, like Kouachi brothers, have long been disenfranchised. They live in a *banlieue* (suburban slum area) which is an isolated environment and ethnically different where the unemployment level is high. The *banlieue* has become the dumping ground for cumbersome or polluting activities, for example, sewage works and rubbish dumps ("Suburb," n.d.). They are also given a stereotype as gang members and criminals. Tragically, French media and police perpetuate it. The endless discrimination in daily life makes them as if they are second class citizens. The story of being spat on in public is commonly heard. The banning of burqas in public places puts Muslim women in a more difficult situation. While trying to cope with poverty, they must compromise their religious belief or quit their job. Stanford political

scientist David Laitin shows that a Christian citizen with an African heritage is two-and-a-half times more likely to get called for a job interview than an equally qualified Muslim citizen with the same ethnic background (Gorlick 2010). It is a structural violence condoned by government and perpetuated by media.

Secondly, France's The Declaration of the Rights Man recognizes limitations on free speech. It guarantees freedom of expression, including religious views, as long as it does not disturb public order. The Pleven Law, known as Law of Press, prohibits speech in public and non-public places, published or spoken, that provokes discrimination, hatred, or violence against a person or a group of people. These laws speak for themselves as legal responsibility every French must comply. Thirdly, like it or not Charlie Hebdo is a media. It possess power to influence readers with its satire. Thereby, whatever the content is can shape people's opinion about their surroundings. Prior to the attack it was not widely read and only circulated around 60,000 copies. But after the attack it set an unprecedented record in selling 5 million copies (Chazan 2015). It proves how powerful their impact to people.

Charlie Hebdo editor, Gerard Biard, said in an interview with Time that the newspaper defends religious freedom but God should be a private figure and never be political. It wants to destroy religious symbolism in public sphere (Linshi 2015). But, understanding the Muslims' predicament, Charlie Hebdo's publications of Prophet Muhammad should not be under the protection of freedom of expression and therefore must be restricted. The intention per se cannot be categorized as a hate speech. Although the cartoons are outrageous according to the Muslim majority, it is the circumstances in which Muslims in France have been under for so long and the position keenly taken by Charlie Hebdo that makes this newspaper irreverent. The desperation and an ongoing discrimination makes these people more prone to violence and are more sensitive than regular people when it comes to offence. Charlie Hebdo is ignorant of the fact that Muslims in France are marginalized. It is blind to the possibility that its content and manner tend to sustain the stereotype and discrimination therefore causing Muslims more psychological harm. It also denies the tendency for these people to receive more physical assault, not only being spat on by others who are against Muslims and immigrants since they find more reason to hate them. Freedom of expression comes with moral and legal responsibility. Whenever and wherever satirists exercise their right to speech, they cannot use satire as a shield to run away from the consequences of their action, especially if they get a financial benefit from it.

Conclusion

Satire must be protected because it matters. However, it cannot be allowed to have moral impunity when the content of the speech, the manner in which the speech is practiced, the intention of the speaker, and the circumstances where it takes place have enough conditions to create physical or psychological harm to others. Satire, with its own nature, bears a power to influence people. Hence, satirists must be held accountable for whatever they say or do in public. Satire remains one of the vital tools to exercise free speech but the boundaries need to be set so it is not abused or used as a shield for discrimination and racial hatred. Charlie Hebdo has the right to express its satirical view on how people practice their religion. Yet, it must not be ignorant of the circumstances these people are in when they are exposed to the content and whether the manner can be accepted based on moral and legal responsibility that comes in one package with the free speech itself. Insensitivity towards targets' predicament can sustain discrimination and media should never condone it. Satirists cannot exercise the right to speech at the expense of other people's rights. Democracy depends on human rights and multiculturalism to thrive. Any speech, intentional or not, that will risk this foundation must be limited.

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With all my spirit, dream, and love,

Rosa.

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UTILIZATION OF TOURISM INFORMATION THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract

The development of the tourism industry is strongly influenced by the revolution 3 T (travel, transportation and technology information). Information plays an important role in the development of tourism, because information can encourage a person to travel to tourist destinations. Saat information development can not be separated from the development of modern technology. The existence of its appeal dengansejala internet becomes an important phenomenon. Social media is one of the essential attributes of modern society, especially betkaitan with behavioral traveled. This paper wants to discuss the utilization of information media in the form of Social Media in society, and how social media plays in providing tourism information. The study used a qualitative approach. Data collection is done virtually through the Internet by using google document sent via social networking. Interviews dilakukan also use the chat system on the internet. The data collected are then analyzed using analysis of conten. Forms of utilization of information pariwisata through social media in general in the form of information about the object and tourist destinations (aspects of tourism attraction), route, direction, directions to the location of the object (the aspect of tourism acccecibility) and information on accommodation, places to eat and drink, souvenirs (aspects of tourism amenities . Media social role in providing information on tourism in particular through social media such as: (1) upload attractions, photos, charm, location, reviews the object, calculating the cost of traveling; (2) interactive discussions in community groups in medsos; (3) activities which followed the tour with members of the community.

Keywords: tourism information, social media, internet

Introduction

The development of the tourism industry in general is influenced by 3 T revolution or known as the triple T revolution is the revolution of travel, transportation and technology. The first revolution is a revolution of travel or activity related to the trip which travels around the world is growing very rapidly in accordance with the development of human civilization. Related to the transportation revolution degan transportation development tool that is getting closer to consumers with tourism. Beraikutnya revolution is the technological revolution that brings people to the changes in the way of life.

Globalization is a condition that can not be denied any country including Indonesia. Globalization brings consequences the development of information access to various parts of the world easily, quickly and cheaply. The development of the tourism industry can not be separated from perkembangn information technology. Information technology was originally developed for the purpose of this saat communication has evolved into a lifestyle of modern society. Once the importance of information technology to generate its own dependency to the community.

Development of information technology (internet) becomes an important stage in human life, especially in the tourism sector. Advances in information technology allow for all countries to introduce tourism potential to the whole world. Internet became a media promotion of the most

effective, inexpensive, not restricted space, and interesting. The development of information technology also encourages the growth of internet-based reservation system, online reservation that makes it easy to place an order from anywhere in the world, with flexible hours. By utilizing the Internet we can find and access the information about the Any and there throughout the world. The Internet has opened the space to communicate without boundaries through email, social networking (social media), blogs, websites and so on. Constraint Language differences also no longer be a barrier to the free online translation facility. A phenomenon that significantly also affect the development of tourism is a social media presence (medsos) that play a role in disseminating information. This paper wants to discuss the utilization of information media in the form of Social Media in society, and how social media plays in providing tourism information.

Transportation technology and communication systems and information are the two things that significantly affect the growth of tourism this time. Marien and Pizam (1997, in Choi and Sirakaya, 2006) predicts technology plays an important role in the development of sustainable tourism. With the help of technology impact the natural, social and cultural tourism can be minimized. Information technology can provide benefits to the community in terms of establishing communication networks with stakeholders, as well as expand the market on the internet (Choi and Sirakaya 2006: 1276). Information is an important new force in the tourism industry. Tourism information according to Pearce (1992: 156) can be developed by using the concept of Destination Information System (DIS) that integrates a database with information technology devices. Several databases that takes tourists by Sheldon (1997: 166) is (1) the types of facilities (accommodation, entertainment, attractions, guides, MICE, travel agents, tour packages; (2) tourist activity; (3) tourism services; and (4) The destination information (picture geografis, location, access, maps, transportation, climate). Information is a traveler needs to be provided by all stakeholders of the tourism industry.

Technology can be applied to package information to be easily accessible konsumen. This is in line with what was said Sheldon (1997: 8) on anyone who needs information technology in the development of tourism. First, that consumers who need technology to get information on destinations, facilities, prices, geography, tourist destinaasi location, and all the needs during tourist aktivitas. Secondly, the tourism industry (travel agencies, business accommodation, F & B, airline) which requires technology that can help monitor the market trends, the development of destinations, tourist trips inhibiting factor, and the ease needed to serve customers. Thirdly, suppliers who need information about businesses engaged in the tourism industry, consumer characteristics, and the tourism business competition. Fourth, the government needs a touch of technology in terms memantau tourism trends, policy development, services to tourism stakeholders, networking, and development of tourism in general. The government can use the Government Tourist Offices (GTOs) for promoting and regulating the management of destinations. (Sheldon, 1997: 156). Organization of the Internet such as Google, Facebook, Twitter, and the Wikimedia Foundation (sponsor of Wikipedia) facilitate kegiatan pendistribusian information, news and entertainment that we are becoming a content provider, collaborate to create content by posting comments to blogs, post profil personal Facebook, upload video homemade to YouTube, contributing a Wikipedia article, or share random thoughts on micro-blogs like Twitter.

Methods

This study used a qualitative approach, a combination of research paradigm of post-positivism (post-positivism) and constructivism. The reason for using a qualitative approach based on the assumption that tourism is not enough to simply be understood as the reality of naive (black and white), but also a reality to be analyzed critically, and constructed locally and specific (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009: 135). Qualitative approach, associated with or interpretif interpretative epistemology, which is typically used for data collection and analysis that emphasizes the meanings contained therein or who is behind the facts observed (Patilima, 2007: 4). Research targets are users of information technology (internet).

Data collection is done virtually through the Internet by using google document sent social networking passed. The interviews were conducted using chat systems on the Internet. Data collected by typing the transcript of the interview later, grouping and organizing den field data were analyzed using content analysis (content analysis).

Findings and Arguments

Social media (medsos) today has become a norm for use in the community. It can be seen from the increase medsos use in society. From the data collected social media obtained a description of the most widely followed is instagram, tweeter, whatshap, line, BBM and facebook. But there are also respondents Yag follow goggle + and path. There are various alasa follow each medsos, most consider the present. Instagram and line for example been being "in", more updates and consider the function. Instagram palng chosen by respondan to send images, while the line was chosen to write the status.

Forms of utilization of information pariwisata through social media in general in the form of information about the object and tourist destinations (aspects of tourism attraction), route, direction, directions to the location of the object (the aspect of tourism accecibility) and information on accommodation, places to eat and drink, souvenirs (aspects of tourism amenities) Information about the attraction obtained from social media are mostly related to natural attractions (beaches, mountains, and waterfalls). Only a few are utilizing social media to access job in tourism. Pemanfaaatn also relates to the accessibility of information or access to, among others, the achievement of attractions, directions, instructions sticks location. These are usually needed to find alternatives or looking for an unusual route. Users of social networking has generally favored a different route with others but still affordable. These differences have resulted in exploration modl different objects, more exclusive, and produce photographs of different angles biaanya taken. Utilization of social media that is very important with regard to information about akomoidasi place in accordance with the class and the desired price. Respondents most desirable accommodations are usually inexpensive, clean and most close to the tourist destination. Testimoi of users are very influential in the decision to buy property.

Social media role in providing information on tourism in particular include: (1) upload attractions, photos, charm, location, reviews the object, calculating the cost of traveling; (2) an interactive discussion in community groups in medsos; (3) activities that followed the tour with members of the community. Upload attractions usually contain descriptions, charm, location, how to enjoy the object, season or time estimation and cost calculation to the object. Media soaisl also be temapt discussion among fellow members. Discussions can be done individually through private or shared lines (discussion with some members). Patterns that do usually begins with a discussion together, then connected with chat privately. Materials are much discussed is usually related to reviews of attractions just visited. Social media's role in supplying tourism is also practical information that melalau event together with the purpose of tourism activities, and costs Kumul point is predetermined. This joint activities conducted several times a year.

Conclusions

Forms of utilization of information pariwisata through social media in general in the form of information about the object and tourist destinations (aspects of tourism attraction), route, direction, directions to the location of the object (the aspect of tourism accecibility) and information on accommodation, places to eat and drink, souvenirs (aspects of tourism amenities . Media social role in providing information on tourism in particular through social media such as: (1) upload attractions, photos, charm, location, reviews the object, calculating the cost of traveling; (2) interactive discussions in community groups in medsos; (3) activities which followed the tour with members of the community.

The next agenda can be examined for patterns and models of utilization of information associated with a particular category of age, gender and level of education. Research can also be done more intensively with other research methods quantitative example to see the correlation between factors.

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THE ROLE OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM IN CREATING PUBLIC SPHERE IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Contribution of media in creating public sphere in democratic society has been widely known. The features of media allow citizen to share and contest their opinion and thought. Furthermore, academics agree that good quality information of political issue and public interests would provide a basis for citizen to make better decisions making related to their own interests and public concern. However, in many countries media are no longer serve the public interest, they tend to serve interest of the elite. Thus the elite overpowered the public sphere. This also happen in Indonesia, previously media were controlled by the government for long time in an authoritarian system, after the growing numbers of private owned media, there is a tendency that public sphere in media are could only be accessed by the elite. Meanwhile the some of the prerequisite for democracy and good governance is the right to information and equality for people to express their opinion. This condition could only be fulfilled by independent and free of interest's media. Citizen journalism as a new form of media is believed to bring hope in creating ideal public sphere according to model of deliberative online public sphere by Dahlberg.

Keywords: citizen journalism, media, public sphere, democracy

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars believe that media has a significant role in promoting democracy. Simarmata (2014) states that media has the role to provide qualified, substantial information related with public interest and to evaluate the government. The information gained from media could be an important basis to shape citizen critical politic attitude. Furthermore, media in democratic arena play a role as public sphere. A space where people are able to express their opinion and idea to gain mutual understanding for the sake. Democratic public sphere will also result in political opinion that become a basic in leading the democratic process. Ideally, Public sphere should allow people to have same chance to participate in the public deliberation.

However, Simarmata (2014) stated that conventional media, especially television, has been long criticized for their news bias as they no longer serve as a social institution. Television tends to be influenced by elite interests. As a consequence, they who involved in political discussion are only people or group who have access to the media. As a consequence, this public sphere mainly used by they who have power and access and far from information and news that covers important information that can be used by the people to enhance their welfare and life quality.

In Indonesia, previously media were owned and controlled by the government. Their roles were to support the development and the state interest. After the presence of private television, media began to show their tendency to the interest that far from public interest. Where Private Corporation owns the media. As stated by Widodo (2011) in his research that in Indonesia recently there are eight big media

conglomeration. For example, there are around 140 companies spanning under the holding company of PT. Jawa Pos Group (Widodo, 2011). These unhealthy conditions are worsen when the owner of the media has participating in politic and use the media as a mean to reach their goals. The condition also discussed by Beers (2006). He explains that in many countries there were a media shift, from government-controlled media to private ownership and private controlled media. This condition made the economic orientation become more apparent than the objectivity in delivering political issue. Meanwhile media should fulfil the right to information. As democracy require well-informed citizen. When they have proper and balance information, citizen will be able to make good decision related to the interests of public and state. Also, free of interests' media has the potency to develop citizen political awareness, which is the power of democracy itself.

Since the advancement of Internet and communication technology, independent news media such as citizen journalism begin to flourish. This new form of media brings hope for the new public sphere, which fulfilled the public sphere criteria formulated by Habermas on Wayansari (2011). According to academics, this new form of journalism is believed to contribute to the democratic society both in the developed or developing countries. As an example in Pakistan, the emergence of Citizen journalism has triggered the growth of 124 private radio stations, which previously there was only one state owned radio in the country (Riaz & Pasha, 2011). As CJ provide great opportunity to people for being involved in news gathering and reporting the news (Rappaport and Leith, 2007) which is mean given the chance to the unheard people to speak out their thought, provide access and information. With these features, people not only able to report fact but also express their experience and emotions (Thomas, 2011). It is believed that these features can bring benefit for the society as it creating space for citizen to gather and discuss their interests.

One of the academic that support the idea that Internet can enhance the public sphere, is Kellner, he states that Internet has “produced new public spheres and spaces for information, debate, and participation that contain the potential to invigorate democracy and to increase the dissemination of critical and progressive ideas” Dahlberg (2006). Thus, question raised in this paper is whether citizen journalism site as an online discourse is extending the public sphere.

To answer this question, a citizen journalism site will be analyzed using Dahlberg concept of the six requirements of online public sphere. This condition of online public sphere was developed from Habermas' theory of rational communication. This paper will look at on how the public sphere is being facilitated by the citizen journalism site. The Dahlberg six requirements are as follow:

1. Autonomy from the state and economic power.
2. Exchange and critique of criticizable moral-practical validity claims.
3. Reflexivity or participants must critically examine their cultural values, assumptions, and interests, as well as the larger social context.
4. Ideal role taking, which means participants, must attempt to understand the argument from the other's perspective. This requires a commitment to an ongoing dialogue with difference in which interlocutors respectfully listen to each other.
5. Sincerity. Each participant must make a sincere effort to know all information, including their true intentions, interests, needs and desires, as relevant to the particular problem under consideration.
6. Discursive inclusion and equality. Every participant affected by the validity claims under consideration is equally entitled to introduce and question any assertion whatsoever.

METHODS

Desk study (internet research) method is employed in this research by observing the citizen journalism site, Balebengong.net. The primary data is collected through observation. Secondary data

is gained through literature reviews of previous research to support the research. It is traced through books, journals, engine search machine, and research documents. A data analysis is done on qualitative data, which is processed and analyzed according to its content using interpretation. The examination of the Balebengong.net has been carried out by comparing Internet practices with Dahlberg's model of public sphere, which is developed from Habermas theory of democratic communication. The conversation through Internet was observed and compare with ideal conditions of public sphere, which has autonomy from state and corporation interests, exchange, and critique of moral validity claims, reflexivity, ideal role taking, sincerity, and discursive inclusion and equality.

FINDINGS AND ARGUMENTS

Based on secondary data, there were a number of citizen journalism site in Indonesia, some of the popular site that has significant contribution to the dynamic of democracy in Indonesia are: wikimu.com, politikana.com, panyingkul, bale bengong and a number of other sites. Wayansari (2011) argue that user generated content plays an important role in broadening the public sphere in Indonesia. Politikana.com provide an example on how interactive citizen journalism site has become an accessible space for citizens to come together and discuss politics and other public concerns (Wayansari, 2011). Furthermore she found out that Politikana has significant role in extending public sphere and educating politics to the youth at the election time.

3.1. Balebengong.net, citizen media for sharing story

Another pure journalism site in Indonesia is Balebengong.net, which is based in Bali. Balebengong.net established in June 2007 and managed by Sloka Institue in collaboration with Bali Blogger Community. The establishment of this portal is to "create" citizen journalism activities in Bali. Began with the intention to involve citizen in writing and responding to a news so the citizen are not only become a passive audience but also could actively involve in the process of information management, from news production, monitoring, correcting, responding and commenting or even selecting what information is needed.

There is no limitation for everyone to post in this site. They allow everyone to write about everything, as long as it related with Denpasar or Bali. It is written on the "Question and Answer" page on the site, that the site accepts news from the most important news to personal information. They provide chance for the community to share news and information using their own perspective. It is said that objectivity is not the most important thing, the writer is allow to be subjective, however they must write based on the real fact and fairness. First hand information is prioritized. One of the issue on citizen journalism site that always been criticized is the quality of information issue, hence Balebengong has a set of rules for the writer to post on the site. Users are allow to report, write and edit information in any format. However they should write in 5W+1H formula (What, Who, When, Where, Why and Who). Editor has the right to publish the article and also has the right to edit without change the content. Any articles which contain defamation, pornography, violent, or provocative would not be published. Name of the writer should be attached as a form of responsibility

3.2. Balebengong.net and alternative space

Dahlberg (2006) argue that state power and big corporations ownership of media could be a threat to an autonomy and public independency in Internet. The state censorship and Internet online surveillances could limit free speech and public interaction. Whereas Internet has a potential to encourage critical debate. For example the site shut-down by Indonesia government, Vimeo, which is suspected for publishing pornography content. In other side, Vimeo used by million people to share their video, learn to make video, to interact between people who have same Interest and discuss about

it in the vimeo platform. Thus to enhance online public sphere, a site must be free from state and private interest. It must be driven from public need without any political and financial interest.

Besides state censorship, private corporations have the same threat to the journalism activity. The competitions between media provide limited space in media and tight deadlines. Consequently, there is a possibility that many important stories and issues were remaining not covered by the journalists. Here citizen journalist could play an important role writing stories that are not published in mainstream media. Balebengong as a public portal aimed to provide alternative stories from mainstream media such as television, radio and newspaper. They consider that at this time, mainstream media tend to be influenced by the elite as most of the source of information aired on the media come from the group such as politician, legislative members, police, government and others. Besides, Balebengong view information preferred by mainstream media tend to contain tragic things and conflicts. While, according to Balebengong, citizen are tremendous source of information, there are lot of daily issues that is interesting, important and is needed by the citizen to elevate their life quality (Balebengong, 2015).

Thus, several people create Balebengong portal to liven up the citizen journalism in Bali. To provide a chance for citizen to be actively involved in the news production process. They believe that this activity could change the community from passive user to be an active actor. From the observation of the author, this portal has no relationship with government or any other funder. They have support from people, the member of community and from limited advertising. This made the site as an independent site, which has autonomy from the state and economic power. This condition fulfills the first condition of online public sphere required by Dahlberg (2001).

Bali is well known as one of popular tourist destination in the world. At present time, Balinese has an issue that impact directly to the community and Bali environment. There is a plan from Bali Tourism Board (BTB) to conduct reclamation at Benoa Bay. This become a vibrant issue among Balinese include involving government, religious organization and leader, private company, academics, environmentalist and community. However, this issue was not heard in national mainstream media. The role of balebengong can be seen as it provide space for public discussion and encourage critical debate. There are several articles related with Benoa bay reclamation, as such "Temptation of the clergy, defend the people or capital" wrote by Made Supriatna, researcher on ethnic conflict and communal violent who lived in New Jersey USA . "Open Letter for Honorable Mpu Jaya Prema" wrote by I Wayan Prema, a son of small shop owner, "Benoa Bay Reclamation between Jerinx and Wiana" wrote by Dudik Mahardika. In his article he criticized a religious leader and also academic who support the reclamation. He argue that, they should not support company that will bring damage to the Bali environment.

As described above, Balebengong has provided alternative information that differs from the mainstream media and has becomes an alternative platform for people to talk and converse or exchanging ideas about all these sensitive matters. Thus, the exchange of ideas shows deep reflexivity and critical and logical background. At some extent, they also try to criticize the existing value and norms. This can be seen from the article that discuss about the gay marriage in Bali and article about women inheritance rights. For Balinese women, this is an important issue as in Bali a daughter has no inheritance right.

Those examples demonstrate the critical examination (Wayansari, 2011) or reflexivity as said by Dahlberg (2006). As in several discussions, the user shows their effort in understanding the happening issue, try to understand other people perspective and keep show their respect. The process of information exchanging and opinion will only enrich their understanding about the issue. Thus, Balebengong has provided space for users to exchange information, which leads to further learning and understanding about the issue. This reinforced by the fact that in the article, writer also include link to other source for further information and the site also provide comment space and link to twitter and Facebook account, for them who want to discuss in another internet platform.

CONCLUSION

We can conclude that Balebengong is an example of how interactive and independent websites can be an accessible place for public to come together and discuss about issues that considered important for the community. Furthermore, Balebengong is also has fulfill the conditions of online public sphere set by Dahlberg (2001). First, Balebengong was established by civil society based on public concern and free from state or big private sector. Secondly, Balebengong site has functioned as alternative place for some citizen to discuss public issues that matter to them. From the writing it can be conclude that the article shows that the delivered opinions are involved in critical thinking process, contain “critique of criticisable moral-practical validity claims” Dahlberg (2006). Give logical reasoning and background before when they deliver their opinion. Thirdly, discussion on Balebengong are diverse, user are welcome to write any information in several categories that are; “Gaya Hidup” (lifestyle), “Lingkungan” (Environment), “Opini” (Opini), “Sosial Budaya” (social and culture), “Sosok” (sosok) and “Teknologi” (Technology). Fourth, discussion in Balebengong in some degree shows reflexivity as some of the posts showed critical examination of their assumption and interest, giving a logical background before their opinion (Dahlberg, 2001). Fifth, The discussions also reflect ideal role taking. Those who posted opinions and articles open to comments with differing view. Sixth, from the range of writer and the location of writer, Balebengong allow everyone to participate.

Overall, we can conclude that balebengong, a citizen journalism site, has proven to be useful in providing alternative information from mainstream media, in generating discussion among people with different role in community and extending accessible public sphere for those who have interest to Bali. However, it is worth mentioning that this research is done in limited time with one citizen journalism site as case study, thus further investigation is required to get a wider picture of the development of public sphere through online deliberative sites in Indonesia.

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HYPERBOLISING PERTALITE : FRAMING ANALISIS TOWARDS NEWS ARTICLE ON WWW.DETIK.COM AND WWW.KORANTEMPO.CO APRIL 2015

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Abstract

As one of natural resources controlled by Indonesian government, petroleum price fluctuations coverage by Indonesian mass media are often corresponding to its citizens' protests. After series of controversies regarding Jokowi, Indonesian president's attempt to reduce government fund given to stabilise oil price, Indonesian government has currently introduced Pertalite as a new type and more economically reasonable petroleum for consumers' daily use. This research investigates how new petroleum type: Pertalite, are being introduced to the Internet user by two online media: www.detik.com, a commercial online news portal and www.korantempo.co, an extension of surveillance media and formerly terminated magazine in New Order Era. As many as 14 articles from www.tempo.co and 70 articles from www.detik.com in April 2015 were studied using Robert N. Entman's Framing Analysis. The articles found from both online media were collected because it contains the word "Pertalite". The research found that there were tendencies expressed by both online media to foster Pertalite consumption as a result of providing positive impression of Pertalite from varied sources including government officials and automobile industries spokespersons, apart from its lacking of potential consumers' opinions. Despite their different media orientation www.detik.com and www.tempo.co were both has tendency to encourage their reader to try using Pertalite by hyperbolising the economic advantage of Pertalite, but failed to illustrate how Pertalite release is related to Indonesian long term intention to foster energy security, as declared by Indonesian government.

Keywords: Pertalite, framing analysis, www.detik.com, www.tempo.co

Introduction

As a formerly prominent country in OPEC (Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, it has been claimed that Indonesia has transformed from a fuel exporting country into a fuel-deficit country since 2003 (Rivani, 2012). The petroleum price has consistently increased every year from 2003-2015, due to world oil price fluctuation, regardless Indonesian government commitment to subsidy the price instability (Listiyanto, 2008; Umar, 2012).

Petroleum consumption is a basic need for any society (Yustika, 2008; Rivani, 2014). The previous statement is also supported by Indonesian government, who constitutes petroleum as one of natural resources strictly regulated by the country officials. Changes of policy for petroleum price has also been overseen by mass media institutions. Pros and cons related to the petroleum were informed by the media to the society, regarding the institutions' points of view. For example, some media framed the increasing price as tormenting the society (Fitriyanti, 2013). It is observed that some Indonesian prominent online media such as www.viva.co.id; www.okezone.com; www.detik.com has started to introduce Pertalite since 16 April 2015 while www.kompas.com; www.liputan6.com, and; www.tempo.co implying their concern to the society on the next day. www.detik.com has had the

highest number of Peralite published articles while www.detik.com had the lowest number of Peralite articles (see figure 1).

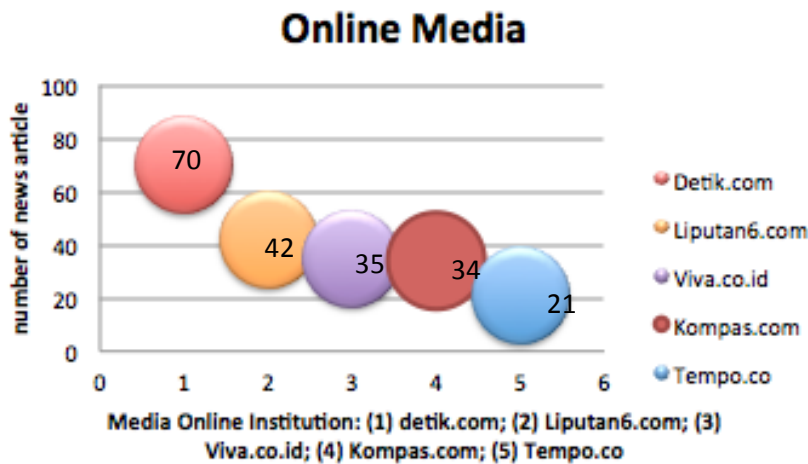


Fig. 1. Online media coverage

It is implied that main subject of press' Peralite introduction to Indonesian society was to replace Indonesian main petroleum: Pertamina Petrol, whose price fluctuation were always connected to demonstration and protests (read <http://finance.detik.com/read/2015/04/20/083440/2891829/1034/bensin-Peralite-dijual-rp-8000-8300-dan-rencana-pemusnahan-premium-ron-88>). However, some media has had introduced Peralite as the newest variant of petroleum from Indonesian Pertamina (Read: <http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2216389/ini-kisaran-harga-Peralite-produk-bbm-baru-pertamina>). On most media reports, the Peralite was claimed to be advantageous to the consumers, although it is more expensive than Petrol. In other words, majority of the online media appear to be in favor of the Indonesian government policy, regardless their media orientation. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse how two different online media: the profit-oriented www.detik.com and the fault-finder www.tempo.co compose their articles on Peralite introduction to the Internet users.

Research Question

In order to describe how Indonesian online media www.detik.com and www.tempo.co frame Peralite introduction to the society, researchers are formulating the research question as follow: How does www.detik.com and www.tempo.co frame their message while introducing Peralite in Indonesia?

Objective

This research would tried to analyse how online news are presented by two different Indonesian online media institutions: www.detik.com and www.tempo.co.

Interconnection of Online Journalism Practice, Mass Media Industry, and Society

As one of the oldest discipline in Communication Science, journalism practice is often associated with people's live, the public sphere, and practice of democracy (Nerone, 2009, p.31). Nerone (2009) also added that mass media institutions have served the society by being a gatekeeper of social discourses. In other words, print media institutions enable individuals to connect with the rest of

society and also promote a government to disseminate policies by distribute credible information to their readers, although it is claimed that media bias has never set off because the institution always taking stance on the information published. Therefore, media content could be perceived as an outcome of power negotiation (Entman, in Nerone, 2009).

Robinson (2009, p.497) stated that mass media portrayals mirrors the society. How media frames their messages is related to how the society responds the discussed issues. Accordingly, it is inferred that media framing outlines both government concern and society standpoint. However, journalistic practice seems to be biased. It could be perceived from the lack of objective and cover-both-side news content. The media bias seems to have bigger chance on online media. Alysen et.al (2003) state that online journalists are more likely to present similar news content with other internet sources, because it provides “news in a hurry” (p. 155).

Not only conventional printed media, but online media has also practicing media framing. Considerably cheaper in production cost, in addition to the readership shift from paper-based print media to paperless news, online media content has contrasting content and publication timing in comparison to print media content. As a conventional printed media is periodically published in daily basis, online media continuously updated by the journalist or site administrator. Consequently it is well known that the content of online media is relatively shorter than conventional newspaper. Despite the lack of information details, online media content which serves the society has repeatedly quoted by conventional mass media such as television and radio, due to its speed and readership.

Developing Entman’s View of Media Framing Concept

The research adopts Entman’s Framing analysis concept (Eriyanto, 2011), which asserts that framing practiced by media institution as a way to accentuate the reality in order to fabricate an eminent news value. This perspective of media production acknowledges the abundance spectrum of reality point of view, therefore it is assumed that writing news without a clear stance and selected sources will reduce the news quality. In short, message selection in writing news story is unavoidable.

Media institution’s stance of certain social issues could be analysed from their published coverage. Entman (in Eriyanto, 2011) describes that two major conceptions in framing analysis are: (a) how media institution select their information, and; (b) how media institution emphasize certain aspects by word choice (see Table 1).

Table 1

Robert N. Entman Framing Analysis Instruments

Define problems	Inquiring how an event/issue are seen? As what? Or what problems stated based on the event/issue?
Diagnose causes	What causes the event/issue? What causes the problem/issue? Who is considered as the problem source?
Make moral judgement	What moral value exists in order to explain the issue/event? What moral judgement legitimates an action?
Treatment recommendation	What closure is offered in order to solve problem/issue stated?

Source: Eriyanto, 2011

The fourth indicators stated above were developed into a coding sheet in order to find news construction on how Peralite were introduced as one of newest consumed petroleum which also become solution to reduce number of driver using subsidied Pertamina Petrol and to give more stable alternative petroleum than Pertamax.

Primary data which consist of 70 article from www.detik.com and 14 articles from www.tempo.co were found by searching any article from either search engine or the site search feature during 1 to 30 April 2015. Not all news were used because the articles were selected because it contain government policy on Peralite. 3 articles from www.tempo.co may contain the word "Peralite" but does not correlate Peralite and Indonesian government policy.

Confirmed Online Media Tendency to Support Government Policy

The research adopts Entmant's Framing analysis concept (Eriyanto, 2011), which asserts that framing practiced by media institution as a way to accentuate the reality in order to fabricate an eminent news. It is found that both media: www.tempo.co and www.detik.com, whilst varied in sources and numbers of articles in April 2015, were exhibiting their work of providing credible news coverage.

[Www.tempo.co](http://www.tempo.co) was chosen not only because it issued the less number of Peralite-related articles in April, but also its former reputation as an opposing mass media in Indonesia which main mission was to be a whistle blower of official scandals, unfavorable government acts or unpopular policies during Indonesian New Order era. On the other side, www.detik.com was chosen because it provided roughly four Peralite-related news daily in April 2015. In comparison, www.tempo.co has had published only 20% of total 70 news published by www.detik.com, barely one article on daily basis. However, on 20 April 2015, there were three Peralite-related news, which continued by two news release from 21 to 23 April 2015.

In comparison to www.detik.com, 14 news on www.tempo.co were written by varied journalists from varied events. In other words, the institution has been practicing different approach from www.detik.com which developed several news stories from one reportage. For example, on 20 April 2015, three Peralite-related news were written by three different journalists materialised from different sources. It is also implied that although both www.tempo.co and www.detik.com have tried to present quality news by quoting credible government officials as their credible source, www.detik.com has demonstrated its commercial orientation by generating several news articles from one coverage or one event. As a result, news presented by www.detik.com were tended to have similar substance with varied titling.

Peralite coverage from both media had begun with quoting credible source. While www.tempo.co was generating news mainly from government officials such as Menteri ESDM (Indonesian Ministry of Mineral Resources and Energy) Sudirman Said, Vice President Jusuf Kalla, Menteri BUMN (Ministry of Stated-Owned Corporate), Menko Sofyan Djalil, and a number of member of House of Representatives whose statement were mostly related to positive sides of Peralite consumption in Indonesia, www.detik.com had also implied its support towards Peralite introduction in Indonesia, the media has positively quote mostly from Pertamina's point of view, while indicating negative perception from gas station officers, and none of the society.

News Thread off the Track

Both studied online media have begun their Peralite reportage by asserting that Peralite was a new variant of petroleum offered by Pertamina, in contrast with the government's intention to replace Petrol by issuing Peralite. Although it is more expensive than Petrol, both www.detik.com and www.tempo.co have stressed their rationalisation that Peralite consumption is economically

advantageous for Indonesian society. In other words, by continuously exaggerating advantages offered by Pertalite through their online news contents, both www.detik.com and www.tempo.co have obscured Indonesian government's long-term goal of replacing subsidized Pertamina Petrol for daily consumption.

www.tempo.co is an extension of Tempo magazine which claimed itself "promoting fair and balanced news coverage in attractive and humorous presentation (trnsl.)" on its corporate profile page of the website. On its website, it is stated that Tempo had been terminated twice in 1982 and 1994, because of its overly sharp critics towards New Order era government. Although its stated tendency to criticise government, it seems that www.tempo.co has exhibited its support towards Pertalite introduction in Indonesia. This might confirm Alysén (2003) statement that online news has more oversimplified content than conventional printed media.

The highlighted commercial side of Pertalite and minor explicit narrative on government stance to reduce subsidized Petrol presented by both online media had concealed government's long-term objective on stabilising petroleum security in Indonesia. In other words, hyperbolised and repeated pressing on economic advantage of Pertalite presented by www.detik.com and www.tempo.co resulted in biased news contents. To sum up, despite their contrasting media orientation, www.detik.com and www.tempo.co has demonstrated their support towards Pertalite introduction by Indonesian government.

Conclusion

It is found that [both media](#) supports government's act by giving positive impression or economic advantages of Pertalite from varied sources including government officials and automobile industries spokespersons, but lack of potential consumers' opinions. It is also claimed that both www.detik.com and www.tempo.co had been exaggerating that Pertalite will completely substitute Petrol at the beginning of their coverage. In other words, problems defined by both media has been bent Pertalite introduction from energy security act to the emerging of new commercial fuel type. Conclusion drawn is that despite their different orientation, www.detik.com and www.tempo.co are both tended to encourage the society to try using Pertalite by hyperbolising the economic advantage of Pertalite, but failed to illustrate how Pertalite release is related to Indonesian long term intention to foster energy security, as declared by Indonesian government.

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JOURNALISM ISSUES ON OIL AND GAS EXPLORATIONS IN MADURA: AN ANALYSIS THROUGH A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MEDIA APPROACH

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Abstract

The focus of this research is the case study of the coverage on oil and gas exploration in Madura. Praxis of environmental journalism in Madura, especially in covering oil and gas exploration becomes an interesting locus, not only because the event framework is the massive oil and gas exploration, but also because of the unique configuration of characters. To view comprehensively at how the media construction is related to the mining issues of oil and gas in this research, researchers used a political economy of media approach. The researcher concluded that the journalistic capacity of *Radar Madura* in reporting the oil and gas exploration is only limited to the description of the events in chronological order. Moreover, the news always dwells only on the direct consequences of the reported events rather than an analysis of the effects and complications in the long term. It only focused on conflict, causing the news to cover only the confrontation, but lacking data and elaboration. Only a few *Radar Madura* journalists that acquire scientific background on the oil and gas exploration issues, both at a basic level and at a detailed level. Furthermore, *Radar Madura* journalists are rarely involved in formal environmental journalism training, both held by the *Radar Madura* management and by the journalism organization such as AJI or PWI. The journalists dominantly used regional state officials, oil and gas industry public relations, or the regional senate members to become their news source. While actually, the usage of alternative news source from the scientific community will help the journalists' limited knowledge, especially technical and specified terms. Socio-culturally, the media construction on oil and gas exploration is influenced by: Firstly, the convergence of *Radar Madura*. The variety of ways to access this media is uncorrelated to the variety of the news object viewpoint presented by *Radar Madura* (diversity of content). Secondly, *Radar Madura* chose the safe way in covering charismatic *kiai*. They chose older *kiai* (from BASSRA) and advocating *kiai*, rather than political *kiai* in this oil and gas exploration case. Moreover, older *kiai* has more supporters and currently most *kiai* and local community deny the oil and gas exploration in Madura. Thirdly, the cooperation in creating advertising or advertorial from the oil and gas company and bribing are the strategy of the oil and gas industry public relations to establish media relations. Fourthly, interplay by journalists (as an agency) arises through their opinions in social medias (such as blog, twitter, or facebook groups) when structures (such as where the journalist is employed) does not provide space to be critical on these oil and gas exploration issues.

Keywords : Environmental Journalism, Political Economy of Media

Background

The praxis of environmental journalism in Madura, especially in covering oil and gas explorations into a very interesting locus is not only because the event framework of the massive oil and gas explorations, but also because of the unique configuration of the characters. The specific issue of how the position of the environmental conflict of oil and gas in Madura is the role and position of Islamic clerics, as one of the important factions in the map of the conflict of interest.

To show evidence and avoid claims, the researcher shows the examples of how Islamic clerics assign roles and also position themselves as an important part of an environmental issue. In the

seismic testing dispute of PT SPE Petroleum in Madura, the Islamic clerics represent themselves as the people's stakeholder. This movement is formalized through the establishment of the Forum of Young Madurese Islamic Clerics (*Forum Kiai Muda Madura*) who gave a contraposition on the seismic testing.¹⁸

In such a long time span, where the exploration runs concurrently with many negative implications for the local environment of Madura, the development of environmental journalism in the Madurese mass media never showed critical signs. The locality issues of oil and gas explorations do not make the environmental journalism viable and grow. Preliminary observations conducted by the researcher showed poor journalistic concentration on the elaboration of environmental conflicts. This issue becomes one of the focuses in this dissertation.

The Madurese press life is unique and interesting to be studied. By the time journalists present a fact, either in the form of events or statements of a source (i.e. clerics, regency government officials, influential leaders, members of state senate, or certain organizational groups) can cause the effect of mass rioting. Anarchism by groups through the destruction of the media office or intimidation by individuals has occurred in Madura. According to the Surabaya Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) member in Madura, Muhammad Ghozi, the violence against the press and journalists in Madura has risen sharply. In 2011, only one case of violence against a local television station, Madura Channel. However, in 2012 until mid-2013 there were five cases of violence related to the journalistic work of journalists. It was reported there were two cases in Sumenep, one case in Pamekasan, one case in Sampang, and one case in Bangkalan.¹⁹ This condition creates calculating and cautious attitudes by Madurese journalists, if they are going to present community figures such as clerics or leaders of a particular group as their sources.

A general overview of how the profile interests of the Madurese media is shown by Rahmawati et al (2008). In their research, the position of journalists, who are in the lowest position in determining the presence of a text on the media, brings deep implications. With a long-running work routine, reporters are very familiar what the editorial considerations are in selecting or constructing editorial news. The political economy of media hegemony entered through the work routine in the Radar Madura editorship. In fact, at the level of sociocultural analysis it appears that the news production in the media currently cannot be separated from the economic influence of media such as circulation, competition among the media, and the ownership intervention towards the media and political institutions.

Reflecting on various facts, we acknowledge that political decisions related to environmental management in Indonesia are largely determined by the dominant economic interests rather than considerations of limited carrying capacity of the environment. Therefore, these political decisions are not largely based on the sustainability principles.

The mass media are also confronted with the same condition. As the interface between the journalistic works with the society, in reality the mass media are not free of interest. When viewed from the idealistic standpoint, good journalism should be able to help the public to understand what is going on around them – so that they can participate actively in the process of state decision management concerning the lives of many people. Following this idealism, hope will certainly grow that journalism will be able to play an important role in determining the democratic quality, including the democratization of environmental management and natural resources.

The issue beyond this idealism, such as the attempts to present the facts and the truth of the various environmental issues to be known by the public without hindrance, is actually very

¹⁸ The Head of Forum of Young Madurese Islamic Clerics (*Forum Kiai Muda Madura*) KH Jurjiz Muzammil regreted the statement of PT SPE Petroleum that is irresponsible if seismic testing activities create problems such as the mud flow in Porong, Sidoarjo. Check <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2010/08/02/180268227/Forum-Kiai-Muda-Madura-Sesalkan-Pernyataan-Pihak-SPE-Petroleum>. Diakses terakhir 18/12/12.

¹⁹ <http://ajisurabaya.org/kantor-radar-madura-dirusak-preman/> accessed on 15 January 2014

complicated. It has been revealed various times that the industry tried to cover up a variety of environmental issues with a discrediting campaign towards scientific study quality of the environment, which can be considered to interfere their business.

This research will be focused on the coverage of the oil and gas exploration activities in Madura (especially in the Sumenep regency) by printed media in East Java. Why is this region selected? This is motivated by the oil and gas offshore exploration activities in East Java is especially only in Madura.

The printed media that were selected in this study is Radar Madura with several reasons: Firstly, the history of Madurese journalism showed unfavorable situation for the media when covering the persona of a charismatic religious Islamic cleric during conflicts with other clerics. Intimidation, terror, and even media office destruction will be experienced by the journalists. According to records, the media office destruction by the mass supporters of the clerics is more often experienced by *Radar Madura*. Therefore, the researcher is interested in studying how the conflict in the context of oil and gas in Madura is. Do the media still dare to make clerics as news sources, either pro or contra oil and gas explorations, avoid both, or only the clerics that always oppose oil and gas exploration plans as their news source.

Secondly, the researcher want to view if there are specific policy or intervention from the media headquarters – Radar Madura is part of Jawa Pos media group (the newspaper with the largest circulation in East Java) – is related with the issue of environmental conflicts caused by oil and gas explorations. This is due to typically the oil and gas industries are major advertisers in the media. Therefore, it is interesting to examine how the media management policy when there is a conflict between corporations and local communities whose territory is used as oil and gas exploration areas. It is to examine whether all coverage policies are determined by the news media headquarters, or it is left entirely (autonomously) at bureau offices or branches of the media.

Research Problems

For a comprehensive overview at how the media discourse on issues related to the mining of oil and gas in this research, the researcher applied a political economy approach of media. Political economy approach is a study that is identified as a critical approach group (McQuail, 2000: 82). Political economy approach focuses on the main study of the relationship between economic and political structures, the dynamics of the media, and the ideology of the media itself. The focus of political economy research is directed to the ownership, control and operational strength of the media market.

From this point of view, the mass media institutions are regarded as an economic system that is closely linked to the political system. The main character of a political economy approach is the media production that is determined by: the exchange value of the various kinds of media content under conditions of market expansion pressure and also determined by the political-economic interests of media capitalists and policy makers (Garnham in McQuail, 2000). Various interests are related to the need of creating profit, as a result of the monopolistic tendencies and integration process, both vertically and horizontally.

Based on the problem background above, the research questions proposed in this dissertation are:

1. How are the production and distribution practices of media texts on oil and gas explorations in Madura?
2. How do interplay between among actor what influence the media construction on issues of oil and gas explorations in Madura?

Literature Review

Research on media coverage of the oil and gas explorations so far has been done by several researchers, including environmental topics. However, research in the oil and gas reporting issues with the political economy perspective of media for cases in Indonesia is still rarely carried out. For this specific context, there has never been a previous research. Therefore, this research can be said to be original.

The previous researches that have been done relating to the reporting of oil and gas, among others are: Research conducted by the PSKP UGM (Centre for Security and Peace Studies of Gadjah Mada University) to local and national media²⁰ (The local media are *Sumatera Express*, *Sriwijaya Post* and *Prabumulih Pos* in South Sumatra, and *Jambi Express* and *Jambi Independent* in Jambi. Meanwhile the selected national media are *Kompas*, *Republika*, *Seputar Indonesia* and *Tempo Interaktif*). These research results demonstrate the phenomenon of local media use the momentum of inauguration and conflict in the oil and gas industries to create profits through advertising or advertorial. Negative impacts arise when business interests restrain and even break the chains of media idealism interest. Information conveyed to the public on the existence of mining becomes biased, partial and even not objective. As an illustration, a story about pipeline leaks can be presented only one day, and it does not continue because the next day the oil and gas companies place an advertorial, either at the initiative of the concerned company or by negotiations carried out by the local media.

In addition, the focus on the conflict between oil and gas corporations with the local community is still rarely carried. There are more studies on the state-society relation in the discussion context of civil society (Barham, 1994), or between state-business in the discussion context of political economy (Maxfield & Schneider, 1997). There is only slightly and less comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the three sectors of state-society-business, but not of the relationship between the two sectors of corporate-society (Warhurst, 2001).

Similar studies have been conducted in Indonesia by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), which discusses conflict more generally between the corporation and the community as well as government (Erman, 2005; Zulkarnaen, 2004). Existing studies generally relate to community relations, or the study of community development in the context of corporate social responsibility activities. Moreover, research on how the media cover the conflict between the local community against the oil and gas industry, which would also involve the state (in this context the local government), still has not been carried out by other researchers.

Environmental conflicts often occur because of economic and political motives. The conflict meant here is “two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives” (Kriesberg, 1998). This definition is very simple and flexible yet provides a place for any rational dimension of conflict. Conflicts between corporations with local communities are different with the conflict between classes, ethnicities (as in Sampit), religions (like in Ambon and Poso), or state and society (such as the events of the May 1998 political reform), because corporate-community conflict is a manifestation of the difference and conflict of interest, especially economy. Corporate-community conflict exists not to destroy each other (as between religious or ethnic groups) or overthrow (such as state and society with the fall of the New Order regime), but to “win” interests, especially economic interests of the community toward the corporation (Prayogo in Achwan et al, 2004).

Community acts as the offensive party while the corporate as the opposite, but the corporation is seen as the party that brings the cause. Essentially, the conflict between corporations with local

²⁰ Centre for Security and Peace Studies (*Pusat Studi Keamanan dan Perdamaian*) or PSKP Gadjah Mada University (UGM), “The Map and Conflict Resolution of the Oil and Gas Conflict in the Southern Sumatra Region”, collaboration between PSKP UGM and BP Migas, December 2008.

communities is different to ethnic conflict, class conflict, social movements, collective behavior, social riots, mass riots, mass behavior, or other similar concepts because the corporate-local community conflict has a more rational and focused purpose and substance.

George Junus Aditjondro cited environmental conflicts such as in the case of governmental restrictions on residents evicted around Kedungombo to work on the “green belt” reservoir by using the legalistic and scientific rhetorics (Aditjondro, 2003: 52-53).

In the case of the resident eviction on the Kedungombo dam project, Aditjondro mentioned that the government uses legalistic and scientific rhetorics (discourse) to endorse its decision. It is stated that the government used the Basic Law on Water Resources No. 11 Year 1974 to decide that the existence of the settlement of people in the green belt around the reservoir should be evicted. In addition, the Department of Public Works and local government officials stated the presence of people in the periphery of the reservoir would cause erosion, which then will cause sedimentation. Aditjondro has been reviewing both discourses, and has proven otherwise. Although the government's action is evidence of “soft” eco-fascism according to Aditjondro, the researcher tends to view it as one of the government pretext that camouflages the “greening” as the reason for its economic interests. This Anti- Kedungombo Dam Resistance Movement has been happening for a long time, where people in Kedungombo joined together with intellectuals to reject the construction of a dam that also use debt funding from the World Bank.

Theoretical Framework

Political Economy of Media

The attempts to understand the relational process between ideology, mass media and the political economy of media are included in the category of political economy perspective. In media studies, political economy perspective of media is part of a critical perspective in addition to cultural studies, critical theory, feminism, message reception theory, and semiotics (Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1990, p. 15). Political economy approach is a study that is identified as a critical approach group (McQuail, 2000: 82). Political economy approach focuses on the main study of the relationship between economic and political structures, the dynamics of the media, and the ideology of the media itself.

The focus of political economy research is directed to the ownership, control and operational strength of the media market. From this point of view, the mass media institutions are regarded as an economic system that is closely linked to the political system. The main character of the political economy approach is the media production that is determined by the exchange value of the various kinds' media content under conditions of market expansion pressure, and also determined by the political-economic interests of media capitalists and policy makers (Garnham in McQuail, 2000: 82). The various interests are related to the need to create a profit, as a result of the monopolistic tendencies and integration process, both vertically and horizontally.

According to Mosco (1996), the notion of political economy can be distinguished in a narrow and a broad sense. In a narrow sense, it means the study of social relations, particularly the power relations, which together form the production, distribution and consumption of resources including communication resources. In broad terms, it means the study of control and defense of social life. There are at least three important concepts offered by Mosco to apply a political economy approach to the study of communication: i.e. the commodification; spatialization; and structuration.

Commodification is related to the transformation of goods and services from the point value into a commodity-oriented exchange rate in the market. The transformation process of use value into exchange value in the mass media always involve the media crew, readers, market, and the state if each of them has an interest (Mosco, 1996). The added value of news production will be largely determined by the ability of the news to fulfill social and individual needs.

Spatialization is associated with the overcoming process or most appropriately stated as the transformation of space and time limitations in social life. It can be said also that the spatialization is the extension process of institutional media through corporate and magnitude of corporate media entities (Mosco, 1996). The size of media enterprises can be horizontally or vertically. Horizontally means that the shape of the media enterprise is a conglomerate, monopoly entity. A vertical spatialization process is an integration process between the main company and its subsidiaries, which are done in one business line to obtain synergy, especially for obtaining control in media production.

Structuration deals with the relationship between the notion of agency, social processes and social practices in the structural analysis. Structuration is interdependence interaction between the agents to the surrounding social structure (Mosco, 1996).

Environmental Journalism

The definition of environmental journalism is rooted from the environmental communication according to the researcher's interpretation of the description by Robert Cox (2010) in *Environmental Communication and the Public Sphere*, where it is various studies and applications of how various individuals, institutions, communities and cultures to shape, deliver, receive, understand and use the message about the environment itself, as well as the reciprocal relationship between humans and the environment.

Environmental journalism does not only discuss environmental issues in development areas. According to Don Michael Flournoy, environmental issues are associated with events such as natural disasters, climate change, global warming, ozone depletion, and others, such as the technological development and government policies relating to the environment (Flournoy, 1988).

Environmental news produced by journalists has five special characteristics based on sources, events, negativism, framing and trivialism (Kaheru 2005, pg. 32). Firstly, source: Journalists who are covering environmental news tends to rely more on the opinion of elite groups as scientists or state officials. For example, Hannigan (1995) found that oil spills reports in California in 1969 relied more on the ruling characters (such as president and federal officials) and organizations (the oil company) as news source.

Secondly, event-oriented: Berger (2002) states that the general environmental news presents a crisis or dramatic events. The media is more interested in reporting relatively large environmental issues such as oil spills or nuclear explosion. Basically, it is difficult for the media to sell news on a phenomenon with visible impact decades later, such as global warming (Dumanoski, 1990, pg. 6). Unfortunately, the tendency to cover through event-centered also potentially leads to inconsistencies in reporting environmental issues.

Third, negativism: Lowe and Morrison (1984, pg.78) stated that environmental news tends to cover any decline compared to any progress. Media prefer news such as offshore oil spills, nuclear explosion, pollution or deforestation. However, Campbell (1999) describes environmental news that is pessimistic and cornering the technology or human failure potentially misrepresents the actual reality.

Fourthly, framing: Media uses specific language to discuss a certain issue so that the viewers accept the matter in accordance to the desire of the media. For example, some media frame the Chernobyl nuclear explosion as a Cold War-related incident and not as a real nuclear accident (Kaheru 2005, pg. 32).

Fifth, trivialization: In covering environmental news, the media sometimes has a tendency to simplify an issue as a result of framing or event-centered. This is done to keep the structure of straight news reporting that does not provide many spaces for background information. This suggests the environmental aspect that becomes the main issue is actually untouched due to the inability of journalists to understand environmental issues in a comprehensive manner.

Media Construction in Oil and Gas Exploration Issues

How the text production practices related to oil and gas exploration issues are discussed in this section. From interviews of the researcher with four bureau chiefs at *Radar Madura* (in Sumenep, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Bangkalan as the *Radar Madura* headquarters), they acknowledge that in certain cases, environmental issues has unique characteristics compared to other issues, because the complexity of causal relationships in describing an environmental event. Another uniqueness is usually environmental issues are long-term and often there is a different scientific perspective in their analysis. In fact, to understand very technical and complex issues, it takes considerable knowledge. Nevertheless, in reality, the journalists are not equipped with that ability, so that environmental issues become a frightening subject for journalists, and they tend to be reluctant to involve themselves in complex environmental issues.

Meanwhile, the interview results of several *Radar Madura* journalists indicate the crucial problem that they face, including lack of technical journalism ability, a time limit (deadline) in working tight coverage, and pressure from the media company where they work. A more crucial problem is the lack of independence of the news sources due to personal economic burden and the lack of knowledge in the sciences directly related to the oil and gas industries. Moreover, the issue of mining has not been considered by some journalists (media) as a crucial and important issue for the public compared to political, infotainment, and sports issues.

It can be concluded that the obstacles are logistical or technological, and long-term obstacles such as the company's economic or occupational stability. Logistical and technological obstacles are also called short-term obstacles, it is related to the time availability for journalists to finish their journalistic work, and this often causes loss of orientation for journalists in seeing the issue.

Journalists are confined to the tendency of news-based events (event-centered reporting). Coverage based on these events ultimately fails in seeing long-term environmental issues. Environmental issues are seen as mono-causal events instead as complex and multi-faceted causal relationships.

Environmental issues, for journalists, are considered the same as other issues, such as political, economic, cultural, social, and other issues. Thus, they unconsciously rely on conventional reporting patterns. They find that in reporting, the task of journalists is only to provide information related to environment correctly. They do not need to include pro-environmental values, because journalists are not environmental activists or campaigners.

Routines media causing environmental issues for journalists considered together with other issues, such as political, economic, cultural, social, and others. Thus, it is not aware of them depend on the patterns of conventional news. They feel that in the news, journalists task is simply to provide information related environment correctly. They tidak should incorporate pro-environmental values, because journalists are not activists or environmental campaigner. Whereas environmental journalism often requires thorough analysis of the background, profile investigation and interest groups, translating data information and technical environment, and to think or to give great consideration to the consequences of the future of the environment

Reporters still rely on press releases or press conference held on the public relations official agencies (local government and the oil and gas industry), so-called "news", actually produced not by journalists, but by public relations practitioners. Thus, the whole building environmental news was born from the idea of industrial wing, even entirely in favor of the oil and gas industry, though not born of thought journalists on environmental discourse.

Researchers also browse the circulation of information that drab: the majority of journalists always obtain information from the dominant sources such as government officials and the oil and gas industry, but mengeksklusifkan other groups that share the same interest. The dominance of voice and data from government officials and the oil and gas industry, in an important public issue has made news lost its relevance as a mode of public enlightenment.

During this research, there is no editorial or editorial in Radar Madura specifically addresses the issue of oil and gas exploration. Opinion and editorial concern abstain from environmental discourse, at least I can make as a confirmatory indication on weak mass media in the presence of environmental conflict issues oil and gas industry

What is the attitude of media management - Radar Madura in this context - in the event of terror, intimidation, threats or violence to journalists? In some cases of violence against journalists Radar Madura, which is more active in the defense or legal advocacy is a professional organization of journalists (AJI or PWI) or the journalist community in the region. Management Radar Madura never provide protection, or direct legal defense if journalists are victims of violence, whether by individuals or specific groups. This condition indicates a weak bargaining position of journalists in the eyes of the media as an institution.

Battle Actors Affecting the Media Construction of Reality

Radar Madura as a subsidiary of Jawa Pos Group is headquartered in the city of Bangkalan, is now 15 years old. Same with the parent company of media convergence, Radar Madura besides shaped wing newspapers have also developed in the form of a news portal (website) radarmadura.co.id and streaming radio on 107.6 FM. This is in anticipation of the development of information and communication technology is rapidly increasing.

As an adjustment to the new technology, the newspaper it was time to develop their news distribution to online media, make an online news and applications that can be accessed anywhere and anytime as long as an Internet connection is available. The online version of the print media have become popular in recent five years, because they also provide space for the participation of citizens through the provision of comments and input, as well as a special channel for the reader.

Expansion or diversification of this kind of media is beneficial for citizens as consumers of media? If you view the contents of a uniform medium between the version of your print media, online media or streaming, then of course the diversity of information (in quantity and quality of media content) will not be perceived by the consumer media. This is just a way to get media content is varied with a variety of choices. Phase had not yet reached the stage increase of insight, intelligence, or choices viewpoint of a news object (in this context the issue of oil and gas exploration) for the reading public.

With a more detailed view on the illustration above, it is important by itself to see how the history of the local and national government policy on the issue of oil and gas, including in providing anticipation of the conflict - two things that will be the entry point for researchers to analyze the relationship with vegetation and development of environmental journalism practices in Madura.

Slices and the meeting point of each entity is mutual benefit. Government regulations (local and national) necessary to ensure and legitimize the oil and gas industry operations; while compensation is cash income areas. The media took advantage by aligning themselves on the oil and gas industry, it also gives legitimacy, with the potential benefits of advertising packages that will be obtained from industry. While the oil and gas industry itself is very interested in isolating exploration of disruption and complexity of regulation and reporting. Medical imaging needs, keep the bad news, while securing themselves from the constraints of regulation, has made the oil and gas industry chose the path of compromise to get closer to the two entities, the media and the government. While kiai position split between supporting and rejecting the oil and gas industry operations. Kiai still always heard fatwa by the local government and the media about this oil and gas exploration. Whereas in other parts there are kiai who are fighting group CSR funds from the oil and gas industry.

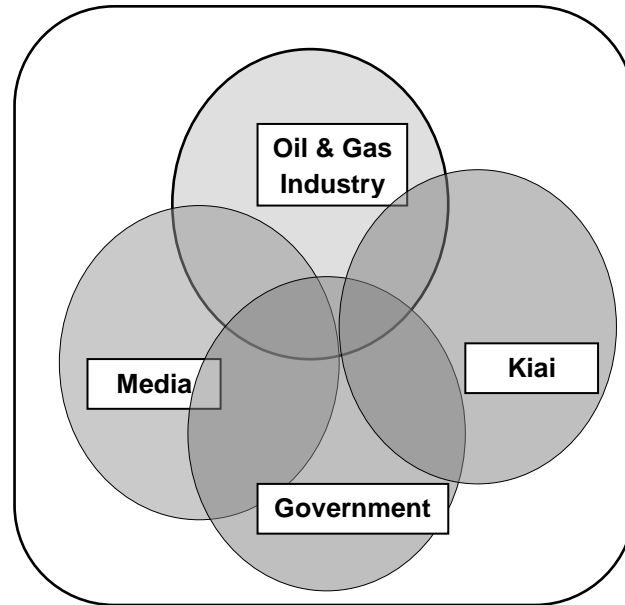


Figure 4.1. Interplay Four Important Entity in Environmental Journalism

The relationship between oil and gas industry and journalists are not in a dichotomy or antagonistic relationship, but rather mutually utilize each other. If the mode of activism often rely on the resistance movement on industry groups, the media context that precisely the opposite is happening. Envelopes are still believed to tame the press; but instead press itself even provide opportunities and with full awareness of waiting for the bid envelope as a form of bargaining at once confirmation of "cooperation" media and the oil and gas industry. Logic is not a case of co-option that is difficult for the oil and gas industry with gigantic financial measures.

In the context of the position and role of Madura kiai in this research shows, their seizure of "cake" of the economy as a result of oil and gas exploration activities through CSR funds. This phenomenon has not been taken up as a news journalist Radar Madura. In addition to containing the risk of mass rioting mass of kiai rival supporters, both parties kiai also not pleased it was reported by the media. PR party oil and gas company also admitted to having tried to allocate CSR community demand in the region affected by the oil and gas exploration. Only for special requests from kiai in the area of exploration, it is submitted at the time of the public relations firm to visit kiai (sowan) before oil and gas exploration plan is executed.

According to journalist and public relations oil company, usually kiai who apply for funds CSR beyond the request of residents in the area of oil and gas exploration are kiai who are also active in the party and no one there who is also a member of the legislature (parliament). Moreover, on the eve of the election of regent legislators, scholars demand from the oil and gas companies will be intensified. In addition, there are kiai who have a boarding school (pondok pesantren) but the kiai of this kind do not have the charisma and fame like the old kiai (known also as small kiai).

Entire Head of Radar Madura and also Chief Editor Radar Madura admit, Radar Madura more safe when lifting charismatic kiai, kiai elderly (especially if it goes into BASSRA) and kiai advokatif than political kiai in case the issue of oil and gas exploration. In addition to the reasons supporters elder kiai more, also the reason a majority vote with the people who come to the surface is rejected any oil and gas exploration in Madura.

Search researchers to how alternative media such as blogs, and personal web, used by journalists Madura to do "autonomous interpretation" of oil and gas environmental issues Madura. This fact is based on the closure of the mainstream media does not give room for freedom of journalists to write and interpret critically on issues of oil and gas Madura. Resistance and reinterpretation is growing and is mediated by the Internet network. The active participation of

journalists have made discourses that have not appeared in the mainstream media can be read and discussed freely.

Researchers see and predict the oil and gas issues or environmental journalism has the potential to be developed through citizen journalism (citizen journalism). Citizens are empowered or trained to be able to critically report and instincts as a journalist, when looking at oil and gas exploration activities causing environmental damage. Criticality citizens on environmental conditions is expected to change the power relations between citizens, the oil and gas industry, government (central or local), and the mainstream media (commercial media especially) becomes more equal. Citizens had only become an object on information received from a commercial media. At the time of the people has had the ability to package and publish the issues or information through social media (blogs, facebook group, twitter, WhatsApp) or other media (commercial or community media), then at the time that citizens have been the subject of oil and gas issues.

Conclusion

There are several conclusions that researchers obtained. In all the manuscripts, documents, and records of interviews and direct observations of researchers, there are some general trends are becoming a trend in the practices of production and distribution of media texts about oil and gas exploration in Madura. The capacity of journalists to report on Radar Madura in oil and gas exploration is still limited to the description of events in chronological order, trapped in the description of facts, but are not able to describe a problem and became the core of the conflict environment. In addition, the news always dwell only on the direct consequence of the events reported, rather than the analysis of the consequences and complications in the long run.

Media institutions are reluctant to care for and oversee the issue of environmental conflict and long-term sustainable manner. Whereas, in the case of the environment, long-term effects have a greater impact in scope, more dangerous, more complicated, and more difficult to overcome. However, because the effects are not immediately visible, then the journalist is more often ignore trivial and considers this issue. Therefore this kind of issue rarely displays sensational drama that attracted public attention. Consistency and commitment on this issue did not last long because of the reasons for the demands of the media organization, or a close relationship with the oil and gas industry.

Furthermore, from a technical point of news, news values that have traditionally agreed, for example about actuality, proximity, conflict, human interest, and others, make journalists deepening shortage in view of environmental issues. Refine solely on conflict, for example, makes the news only contains shades of confrontation, but poor data and elaboration. Because environmental issues are specific issues that are different from many other news topics, the reporter can not be hasty focus on compliance news values.

Still a little journalist Radar Madura who has a background of scientific knowledge, both basic and detailed level, on environmental issues. The implication seems to be able to be serious: journalists are not able to translate its position in the middle of a conflict environment - something that is very crucial as well essential for environmental journalism. Side effect, journalists become susceptible of manipulation by the other groups. In addition, journalists are still rare Radar Madura formal journalism training environment, both of which are held by the management Radar Madura, professional organizations of journalists (AJI or PWI).

Still a dominant journalist habits make local government officials, public relations oil and gas industry, or legislators as news sources, indicating the strength of the particulars elitist discourse knowledge environmental conflicts. Informants such as regent or relevant officials still regarded by journalists as the owner of the knowledge of the most dominant and have legitimacy for the validity of the news. While the sources of the oil and gas industry seems to be the most eligible and interested in each story. The selection of such sources is by journalists, not merely implicitly describe

consciousness away reporters on a scientific opinion, but also because it is considered by elite opinion of journalists far greater value than what is offered scientific opinion.

The substance of the news, for example, about how the history of relationship conflict oil and gas industry and the community, not only need the power of data and information that is accurate, but also involves a journalist on the things that are very technical: chemical pollution, the number of exploration, oil commodity prices, and so on. This information is in no way be explored as strategic data by journalists. Whereas the use of alternative sources of the scientific community will help journalists limited knowledge on issues that are very distinctive, specific, and technical. Instead, the main stream of data search method is simply revolves around the observation, with a great risk of generating raw data. Observation without balancing deepening secondary data, information and research publications, will be encouraging news just focus on descriptive aspects.

There is no division libraries or documentation and information that stores the data and the reference range of topics - especially the topic of oil and gas in the office environment and Radar Madura. This makes journalists Radar Madura not accustomed to study literature in producing documentation or journalistic works. Attempts to display a scientific study related to oil and gas exploration stage, the public reaction in other regions or countries when exploration activities will be carried out, or examples of successful efforts to disseminate the oil and gas industry exploration plans for the project-affected communities, could have dug through the search of documents and data in documentation and information departement or R & D division owned media

During this research, there is no editorial in Radar Madura specifically addresses the issue of oil and gas exploration. Opinions, attitudes, and media concern is that distanced themselves from environmental discourse, at least can make as an indication confirmatory research on the weakness of the mass media in the presence of environmental conflict issues oil and gas industry.

While the interplay (fight) between actors that influence the construction of the media on the issue of oil and gas, among others convergence Radar Madura. The diversity of ways to access this media content, was not correlated with the angle or viewpoint diversity of news objects displayed by Radar Madura (diversity of content). Commodification of news into a kind of uniform policy should be implemented by all subsidiaries Jawa Pos Group.

Radar Madura also prefer to display news that is lightweight and easy to digest readers. They also like to organize marketing or public relations activities, compared with its efforts to increase the capacity of journalists - through in-house training or journalism course specific issues such as gender, environment, minorities, etc. - in order to produce intelligent media content, depth, and not just highlight elements of conflict. Through its various media, Radar Madura able to promote these activities in cooperation with various sponsors. The ultimate goal of course, in order to maintain loyal customers and reach new customers. Packing strategy "special section with a special event" is proven to maintain dominance in the island of Madura Radar.

Madura journalism history shows that the situation is less favorable to the media, when it raised the figure of a charismatic kiai and other members of his extended family when in conflict with other kiai. Still intimidation, terror, beatings, until the destruction of the media office, make journalists very selective and cautious when making kiai as a resource. In the case of oil and gas exploration in Madura, some groups of kiai take the position paved the way oil and gas companies to acquire land, then ensure that the exploration process is not impaired. The journalists in Madura aware of the fact that this conflict also stems from the seizure of 'cake' economy due to oil and gas exploration in the region. The struggle for influence and charisma between two or more clerics who wish to get a bigger portion of the program Community Social Responsibility (CSR) from the oil and gas industry, could fuel mass rioting among students of the religious kiai. The phenomenon of dissent kiai never raised by journalists Radar Madura in the context of oil and gas issues.

Madura journalists are well aware, the majority of public opinion, students, NGOs, and kiai reject plans to exploit oil and gas exploration in the region. So if there are kiai who support or pro in the oil and gas industry, the journalists are reluctant to make it as a resource. Radar Madura more safe when lifting charismatic kiai, kiai elderly (even more so if it goes into BASSRA) and kiai advokatif

than political kiai in case the issue of oil and gas exploration. In addition to the reasons supporters elder kiai more, also the reason a majority vote with the people who come to the surface is rejected any oil and gas exploration in Madura.

Such a close relationship between the mass media and the oil and gas industry, has also complicate the development of environmental journalism in Madura. The mass media is not merely social functioning social institutions provide information to the public, but at the same business organization that can not be separated from the business capital management and capital accumulation. Cooperation loading oil company advertisements or advertorials, cultural envelope is a public relations strategy for the oil and gas industry to establish media relations.

The emergence interplay conducted by journalists (as agency) when the structure of faces (media agency where they works), do not give space to critics on the issue of the environmental impacts of oil and gas exploration. Social media (blogs, twitter, or facebook group), used by most journalists Radar Madura to voice support for the majority of citizens affected by the oil and gas exploration.

This study does have some limitations because it has not reached the stage of seeing another actor - in addition to scholars and public relations oil and gas industry - which affect the construction of the media on the issue of oil and gas. Through research methods or other approaches, researchers expect the results of this research could be developed further. For example, how the role and position Klebun (village head) and blater (thugs) in influencing the work of the media in raising the issue of environmental conflicts in the area of oil and gas exploration and exploitation of Madura. Other topics could be to compare the coverage of the issue of oil and gas between the national media with local media (various media of course print, electronic, or online media) by the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Or see how power relations have been developed during citizen journalism in Madura among citizen in the area of oil and gas exploration in the oil and gas industry public relations, government, and media mainstream that exist in the region. Citizen who have been marginalized (subordinate) traffic in oil and gas information, can be analyzed how when he was able to produce and publish news about the issue of oil and gas through social media or in synergy with other media (both commercial and community media). Some of these topics in a very interesting and challenging researchers to follow up.

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RELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL ECONOMIC OF MEDIA WITH THE STRATEGIES FOR RADIO POSITIONING TO MAINTAIN THE EXISTENCE OF COMMERCIAL RADIO (CASE STUDY OF JJFM RADIO IN SURABAYA)

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Abstract

Competition and contestation among commercial radio broadcasting are tight, so that each commercial radio has a clear character, specific and strong. The competition occurs both on the commercial radio that relies segmentation based on demographic or psychographic. The established commercial radio broadcasting always optimistic to gain profit despite new commercial radios continue to emerge. While new commercial radios are sure to capture new audience and advertisers. The existence of the Broadcasting Act No. 32 of 2002, in fact increasingly exacerbate competition among commercial radios. Because many of the terms and conditions for a commercial radio station to run a business, especially: limitation of the range of broadcasting (Article 31); licensing (Article 33) and the validity period of broadcast licenses (article 34). The strictness of the requirements the implementation of new licenses and renewal of the old with the involvement of broadcast content, requires creativity and seriousness of the radio broadcasting managers to maintain its existence (the number of listeners and the amount of advertising revenue). In the middle of handling this business, some commercial radios then make changes to the program and the segmentation according to which legislative provisions are not allowed to be done immediately and without going through the stages of licensing. The interest of this paper is not to examine violations of the law, but new positioning strategy changes made by the established commercial radios in Surabaya. This paper will examine the relations between theories of political economic of media with the media positioning strategy to maintain the existence of commercial radios in Surabaya.

Keyword: economy-politic of media, broadcasting acts, commercial radio broadcasting, positioning strategy, competition.

Introduction

Radio competition becomes more stringent in order to survive amid the development of increasingly sophisticated technology. The consequence of these developments requires commercial radio stations to develop and improve performance in a professional manner, which is adapted to the dynamics of the public through entertainment, education and information. In fact, the challenges faced by commercial radios even able to make it grow and develop. The motivation for establishing commercial radio broadcastings are very diverse and not solely because of an interest in business opportunities. The development of the commercial radio broadcasting in Indonesia cannot be separated from various aspects, among others: the historical, political, legal, social, economic, cultural, and technology.

Along with the emergence of various radio stations, the role of radio as a mass medium is getting bigger and starting to show its power in influencing society. Radio broadcasting industry in various major cities in Indonesia is growing rapidly. In Surabaya, there appeared some new commercial radio

broadcastings. Number of commercial radios that compete for listeners in Surabaya, there are approximately 35 radios, including Istarsa 101.10 FM, Hard Rock 89.7 FM, EBS 105.9 FM, M RADIO 98.8 FM, She Radio 99.6 FM, Suara Surabaya 100.00 FM, GEN 103.1 FM and others (<http://www.radiojatim.com/>).

Most of those commercial radios are already well established with program and audience segmentation. They compete with each other to have good broadcasting programs in order to attract listeners (Rothenbuhler, 1996). So that advertisers are interested to advertise various products on commercial radios that have a large audience. Typically, if commercial radio broadcasting does not have a clear character and mature, it will eventually have an impact on the reduction in the number of listeners.

JJFM radio initially focused on business information, present a review that support a variety of business knowledge, micro and macroeconomics, finance and management practices. JJFM radio devoted to business people, professionals, analysts, and people who want to increase their discourse through information that is accurate and reliable. It is a place for listeners who want to share knowledge in the world of business with another listener (<https://jjfm.wordpress.com/profile/>).

In mid-2012, JJFM radio officially renamed JEJE Radio, which has broadcast content, segment, and positioning program is different than before. Tagline positioning is also changing, from "The Radio for The Business People" to "More Hits", which is aimed at young people. Target segment of young people is a very brave choice, because it is currently in Surabaya has attended several radio competitors that have similar audience segmentation, among others: Gen-FM, Hard Rock-FM, Istarsa-FM and others. Some radios mentioned earlier regarded as competitors, because they have similarities audience segmentation that is a group of young people aged 20 to 40 years. In some programs, JEJE radio supports the use of local languages or language typical of Surabaya. This is to show the regional identity as a broadcast strength (Bosch, 2014)

The existence of the Broadcasting Act No. 32 of 2002, in fact increasingly exacerbate competition among commercial radio broadcastings in Indonesia. Because many of the terms and conditions for a commercial radio to run a business, especially: limitation of the range of broadcasting (Article 31); licensing (Article 33) and the validity period of broadcast licenses (article 34). The strictness of the requirements the implementation of new licenses and renewal of the old with the involvement of broadcast content, requires creativity and seriousness of the radio station managers to maintain its existence--the number of listeners and the amount of advertising revenue (Hujanen, 1998). In the middle of handling this business, some commercial radios then make changes to the program and the segmentation according to which legislative provisions are not allowed to be done immediately and without going through the stages of licensing. Nevertheless, the existence of any regulation does not lower the interest the private sector to build a commercial radio and even may increase the share of advertising on radio. Therefore, that de-regulation has had little effect on radio advertising's share of total expenditure (Waterson, 1993).

In the middle of the competition is so tight, Surabaya with the majority of the population density in part of students, employees, laborers, and plot for radio managers to target market audience. Business market idea would need to create the desired position (<http://www.jimssouthdelhi.com/studymaterial/bmc3/Radio.pdf>). One commercial radio in Surabaya, which emerged with the new format without going through a new licensing process, is JEJE Radio.

Based on these cases, researchers are interested to conduct a study about JEJE Radio. This study aims to determine the positioning strategy JEJE Radio so it can compete against other commercial radio broadcastings. If a commercial radio is able to create positioning the minds of its audience, then the radio will be remembered from time to time in terms of its programs, or else. (Barber, 2010). This study intends to examine the reasons of the positioning strategy and to elaborate economic and political reasons behind the change in the positioning strategy.

Positioning the commercial radio can be obtained through several stages of planning, namely STPPF—Segmenting, Targeting, Positioning, Formatting, and Programming (Hajar et al., 2014). Segmenting is steps or initial efforts in helping to broadcast programming in order to determine the

needs of the listener is to perform segmentation. Each commercial radio specifies the segmentation to obtain the desired market. Segmentation is the selection of a potential audience as a step and attempt to determine a program to be aired so as to meet the needs of the audience. Kasali (1999) argues that a company, radio or television, must have a crisp and clear segment who want to reach. Market segmentation audience is a very important concept in understanding the audience and the audience of broadcasting and marketing programs (Morissan, 2008: 167). Targeting is the question of how to choose, select, and reach markets that will be addressed. (Masduki, 2001: 21). Positioning or determination of the position of the products is the determination of the meaning of the product in the mind of consumers based on benchmarking with competitors' products. Companies must choose the determination of the position (positioning) for the product or service in the minds of consumers who are in segments that have been (Machfoedz, 2010). Formatting is an image of the commercial radio to distinguish from one another. Radio programs that have a good format will definitely attract the audience. Formatting can be interpreted as a form of personality of commercial radio broadcasting. Once a format is selected, it will be the policy of programming. Good format is a format that is acceptable to the public (<http://www.audiencedialogue.net/pmlr4-2.html>). Programming is steps to provide program. In programming the focus is the audience of radio listeners. A good program is a program that should be able to cover to listeners (<http://www.consumersinternational.org/media/301550/guidelines%20for%20radio%20programme%20production.pdf>). In general, the radio program is composed of two types, namely music and information. The second type of program is then packaged in various forms that the point should be able to meet the needs of the audience in terms of music and information (<http://www.newsgeneration.com/broadcast-resources/guide-to-radio-station-formats/>).

In a radio station, positioning context is closely related to how the radio was able to survive by presenting different impressions in the minds of listeners in order to create a certain image. Besides, the radio should be able to position the radio image, slogan and image. The following is a form of positioning: (1) slogan should be easily remembered by listeners and different from other radio stations. The slogan can be a philosophy of the company, as well as a form of approach to the audience, (2) station image can be done through the publication of a widespread and build audience loyalty, (3) monitoring is done to the movement of other radios, pay attention to everything that is needed by the listener through data already collected, (4) station identity indicates the existence of the station and be reminded, (5) a form of creativity that makes a radio broadcast program featured undefeated that can attract the attention of listeners and advertisers (Darmanto, 2000).

Method

This study will use qualitative descriptive type of research that sought to collect descriptive data that much and poured in the form of reports and descriptions. Descriptive method aims to describe systematically the facts or characteristic particular population or a particular field of factual and accurate. Data were obtained from interviews, previous research data, field notes, personal documentation, and other official documents. A qualitative approach aims to decipher anything or collecting data using descriptive method (VanderStoep 2009). In this case, the researchers describe or depict the extent of positioning strategy undertaken in commercial radio boadcastings in Surabaya to plug their products in the minds of listeners after re-branding. And to describe the strategy and what efforts were made by the marketing and part radio program to attract listeners and face competition.

Findings and Argument

Economics of Media

To understand the characteristics of economics-media, especially in the radio industry, we should first consider the economic characteristics of the media (Noor, 2010: 15). Business media

manage two different markets in the same time; the products produced (listener) and market advertisers. It produces two types of products in the same time, the content (content) and the consumer (audience). Consumer or audience will produce a ranking (rating), which became the capital advertisers.

The media business is not constrained resources in generating products. Or media business resources are not limited in generating output. Various events that occur in the community every day are a source or input for the media, which is an infinite supply. Business media is not specifically producing a commercial product, but produce cultural products that enrich the cultural diversity in the community. Thus the media can contribute to the enlightenment of the public and increase public insight.

In the business media, especially radio, these businesses produce products that are not exhausted or not diminished after consumed by the listener. If there are some people listen to the radio in a place, it does not eliminate the chance of others to do the same. Items of Business media are: message, meaning, symbolism, and values in society. Therefore, the content of products is non-physical media so that the media unit of the product is difficult to define. In a media business, where consumers are not as estimated, for example, is relatively smaller than the original estimate, the reduction in production costs cannot be done. For broadcast media business, such actions were difficult, because the cost to produce and broadcast a program is fixed.

Managing Commercial Radio is Human Management

Managing the radio is one of the most difficult forms of business and most challenging compared to other industries. Managing a commercial radio is basically human management. The success of radio broadcasting media is actually supported by the creativity of the people who work on the three main pillars of which is a vital function of every radio broadcasting media. That element techniques, programs, and marketing. Radio media success depends on how the quality of the people who work in these three areas. That's why good management to the people who are qualified, absolutely required by the radio media.

Facing the challenge of Broadcast Regulation

Managing a radio media provide a very difficult challenge to its organizer, few management position offers equal to Reviews those challenges of managing a commercial radio or television station. Challenges to be faced by the broadcast media management caused by two things. First, the broadcast media in its operations must be able to meet the expectations of the owners and shareholders of the company to be healthy and able to generate a profit. For the second challenge, the broadcast media should be able to meet the interests of society, as a condition that must be met when the broadcast media receiving broadcast license given by the state. Thus, efforts to balance the interests of owners and meet the interests of the community provide specific challenges to the management of the radio.

Although argued that changes the format of Jeje Radio is done at the request of listeners, but the economic motive has always been behind every change of positioning of a commercial radio. As the commercial radio, Jeje radio broadcasters are certainly required to benefit from all products and broadcasting services they do. Business profits is of course a breath of commercial radios as a company. There are a number of employees who work and should be paid. This makes commercial radio known as a business that is always creative and always changing. If it is so, then the existence of the Broadcasting Act No. 32 of 2002 with all the restrictions given, especially regarding licensing requirements, may hinder the achievement of the advantages of commercial radio in Indonesia or even be able to turn off the radio commercial.

Competition among Commercial Radio

Commercial radio broadcasting basically need to be able to implement a variety of functions which include its function as a medium for advertising, entertainment, and information services. To be able to perform all these functions as well as to meet the interests of advertisers, the audience as well as owners and employees is a challenge for other manajemen. Challenge comes from competition from various medias. Most commercial radio and television broadcasting compete directly with each other to get as many advertisers and audiences. In addition to direct competition with other broadcasting media, radio and television also have to compete with other types of mass media such as cable television, Internet, VCD and DVD.

Positioning Strategy of JEJE Radio

Jeje Radio is segmented for young people aged 20-40 years. The reason for this format changes, due complied Jeje Radio listeners in order to bec ome a radio inspiring, passionate, influencer, entrepreneurship minded and have a new spirit. Targeting Jeje Radio that is located in downtown Surabaya, states that 100% of the area in Surabaya can be affordable, even reaching suburb. So that people can enjoy radio programs with the segmentation of youth people. Jeje radio is formatted as a Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR). This format can be called as the most popular format, which program contains top 40 or top 30 songs, as well as new and best-selling songs. Programming of JEJE Radio will adjust to the segmentation. With the new branding follows the character of its audience, young, fun and friendly.

Positioning strategy undertaken by Jeje Radio is through the program and the overall format, internally and externally altered by bringing new spirit, more creative, and youthful. Positioning strategy as radio hits not only valid in the program and slogan, the whole internal and external also hits. Jeje Radio broadcaster must "HITS" means that broadcasters are obliged to be present at each event. Broadcaster is always update their social media and close to the listeners. In addition, radio Jeje radio could HITS everywhere through the event externally.

Real support to the positioning strategy, carried out by Jeje Radio to make the slogan, creative event, forming station station identity and image. Through image, promo conducted continuously and is currently on-air always mention the tagline "More Hits". Jeje radio is using a direct approach with the audience when communicate its positioning. Always convey the latest information and hits as well as broadcast material through off-air event outside broadcasts. Social media is also used as a way of communicating the listener because it is more personal.

The new positioning strategy carried by radio Jeje has positive impact, so as to bring Jeje Radio in fifth place with as many as 105,000 listeners on a number of \pm 35 radio in East Java (AC Nielsen Research in March 2015). The research results certainly raise the sale value of JEJE radio to advertisers. Then this is where the political economy of the media take on the role.

Conclusions

Planning and determination of the new positioning is done by JEJE radio 105.10 FM as the radio Hits Surabaya, is to determine the youthful audience segmentation. Preparation of the program was made to adjust the broadcast format that represents the character of JEJE Radio.

Positioning of JEJE Radio 105.10 FM realized through slogans, station image, the station identity and creativity which includes material broadcast program, the selection of music, the event off-air, the selection of the broadcaster, and the flagship program created by the creativity of which are important components for the sustainability of a commercial radio broadcasting ,

Supposedly Broadcasting Law No. 32 of 2002, make accommodations to the changes experienced by the political economy of the media, so that every commercial radio there is a need to

change the format or build a new positioning, do not have to go through the stages of licensing changes.

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**EDUCATION APPROACH ON MENTAL REVOLUTION AND CHARACTER BUILDING
IN ORDER TO GIVE SOUL FOR THE INDONESIA PEOPLE IN DEVELOPING
DEMOCRACY OR DEMOCRATIZATION (POLITICAL FENOMENOLOGY WAY OF
THINKING ON PANCASILA)**

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Abstract

In his article "Mental Revolution" Mr. Jokowi say "we tend to apply the principles of liberalism that is contradictory to the culture, and character of the Indonesian nation". Developed countries develop strategies "in the master-crippling economic and political sovereignty of a nation is firstly master-crippling it way of thinking". So we the Indonesian must empower our way of thinking. Phenomenology is a radical way of thinking on the ideology of liberalism – modernism- that make the legal system / konstitution liberal democracy run like a machine without character. So the problem is the empowering of the national character. The meaning of mental revolution is a revolution of Pancasila as character of Indonesian people by building Gotong-royong community. Embody the values of Pancasila by applying the concepts of local wisdom namely pakeklik, rembug deso, jimpitan, and lumbung deso in the behavior of a nation that needs to be facilitated by the government to form a commission.

Keywords : political fenomenolgy, character building, local wisdom, Commission on Pancasila implementation.

Introduction

Phenomenology is a philosophy that condition with ethical motives, which is critical of contemporary philosophy the basis of modern science and the way of thinking modernism. Modernism is a wrong way of thinking of modern science to understand better about the nature of reality and human nature. Human being who can master the modern science for the benefit of the system is awakened her life turned out to dehumanise and depolitics human being themself.

Phenomenology is an attempt to rehabilitate (restore) the basis and direction of science and humanity of modern human being. Because in the process of modernizing the science of rational, objective and systematic in creating modernity turns people increasingly deprived of fundamental significance as a human being. Therefore, modern science should be rehabilitated way of thinking with the concept of "back to the things Themselves" or disassemble any artificially construction of the system (which is rational, objective and systematic) to return to the world primordially-life of the underlying (Ito Prajna-Nugroho; 2013). Ir. Sukarno and Ir. Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in fonomenologi criteria, their philosophical understanding as well as the other fighters (founding fathers) are the subject of intense reflective and assert themselves on behalf of their people behave and make the right decisions to face the reality of colonization which dehumanise and depoliticize the Indonesian nation.

Colonial condition turns up to now is still ongoing, although more subtle and appear civilized, but the world system dominated by liberalism even more into it. System of liberal democracy and capitalism are familiar to people in Indonesia since 1965, and became more intensive after the cold war and reform since 1998, has been shackled lofty concepts of political development, economic and national culture. Moreover, military war situation turned into a "war" economy where developed

countries develop strategies "in the master-crippling economic and political sovereignty of a nation/state is firstly master-crippling their way of thinking".

Therefore, to deal with the threat that already lasts long enough and intensive Indonesian nation must assert the sovereignty of political economy by empowering our own way of thinking. We must "back to the things Themselves".

Character Development and Mental Revolution

The concept of mental revolution of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) when it was still in his presidency campaign, in the phenomenology filosofy meaning may be an awareness, affirmation and his decision about the fate of his nation. It said reforms implemented until now only limited to revamp the physical and institutional aspect of the state. Not touched paradigm, mindset, or our political culture in the development of the nation (nation and character building). Bung Karno said that our revolution is not finished yet.

Affirmed in nation-building is time for Indonesia to take corrective action against the effect (generalization) liberalism, especially the values of individualism that is incompatible and contradictory to the values, culture, and character of the nation in which the basic character of the Indonesian nation is the values of Pancasila. Ideas which will surely become one of the central ideas in the lead nation in the midst of pragmatism society. Pragmatic is a condition in which the principle of "important not objective truth (noble goal) from politics, development and education, but how practical usefulness of the three areas to individuals or groups". The conditions in which everyone is only concerned with their own interests and their group and neglect the affairs of the nation.

The education system must be geared to help build (reminiscent, dig) the identity of the Indonesian nation cultured and civilized, which upholds the moral values of religion who live in the country. With a mental revolution through the education process as a process of "care of the nation soul/spirit" the root negative values can be immediately eliminated and systematically instilled the local wisdom values and behavior of the noble nation that had been dug by the founding fathers. According to Ignas Kleden mental revolution is expected to overcome the ignorance and oblivion and implemented through the correct character education process so that the results can be developed into a theory of development (Kompas, 2014).

The negative values, like tsunamis, has eroded and buried the noble values of the Indonesian nation. Under these conditions, in turn, inhibits the realization of positive mental nation that aspired Bung Karno conceived as Trisakti. Three pillars of the existence of an independent state called that "Indonesia is politically sovereign", "Indonesia is economically independent," and "Indonesia's socio-cultural personality". In view of the political phenomenology, using the criteria of the three pillars, the crisis experienced by the Indonesian nation is a "structural crisis of political and economical material sourced from the crisis in a more fundamental level, but often forgotten, namely the spiritual crisis of culture with respect to: 1) failure to establish direction to the future (crisis orientation), 2) the inability to assert itself as a communal entity distinctive spiritual (identity crisis) ".

Mental revolution aimed at creating a paradigm, political culture, and nation-building approach is more humane, in accordance with the cultural heritage, earthy, and sustainable. Because the concept of mental revolution born of the biggest problems of the nation which is the development of character. Pak Jokowi believe that the character of the nation has been firmly entrenched, the country can thrive. As an example of positive mental mentioned Japanese people (Antara, May 10, 2014).

About relationship between the progress of the devopment and the process of national character, Yudi Latif make comparisons as follows: "India's progress through character swadesinya, China with kolektivismenya, and the United States with individualism, stretch the progress Indonesia is the character of Gotong-royong" (Kompas.com - 2009). In the book Academic Paper Character Education

in Higher Education also exemplified the US national character - individualist and Japan and national character - Bushido (Director General of Higher Education, 2013).

According to Mr. Jokowi there are two problems in mental revolution: first, how to solve the problem of social inequality and secondly, planting manners, discipline, and positive attitude through education curriculum. Therefore, the mental revolution as a national movement should not only be a concept in the sky, but could be a concept that is grounded (Antara, May 10, 2014). So It should be explored in more depth the basic values of character ever built and practiced by our ancestors which have been formulated in to the principles of Pancasila.

Dig Deeper on Values of the Noble Nation

Indonesian is *bhineka/plural/diversity* and wealthy nation but just beginning to establish itself as a nation and state since 1945 certainly need tips and strategies themselves. By *Fonomenology* way of thinking for the Indonesia *Weltanschauung* newly formulated, decided and confirmed as part of the existence of the Indonesian by the founding fathers who collectively-intersubjective has built intelligence and courage and with sacrifice and high spirit of nationalism through speech ego transcendent Bung karno on June 1, 1945 in the trial BPUPKI by the name trilogy Pancasila, Trisila, Ekasila or Mutual assistance.

However, since the implementation of the values of Pancasila as the affirmation of communal entities distinctive spiritual nation of Indonesia in setting direction for the future through the 1945 constitution (UUD 1945) as it was felt by Mr. Jokowi whereas such character development mentioned by the June 1, 1945 Speech not being achieved. Because the struggle to make a reality *weltanschauung* always get AGHT by ideologies predator Pancasila is especially liberalism, communism (the cold war era) and radical Islam as a continuation of their struggle since before World War until now.

Now the development in the field of physical and institutional has reached the level of "*swaarwichtig*" or *njlimet* (detail). But now the Indonesian nation has lost it's identity by systematic penetration of foreign cultural values so that the Indonesian nation is controlled by another nation and always become losers or *kasoran* in competition between nations. To make it into the behavior needs to be explored in more depth the noble values of a nation's own culture – we have to "back to the things Themselves".

First, in realizing the nation's mental independence and leadership, especially in the fields of politics and economics, it should be explored in more depth the cultural values to build the character of Gotong-royong which is defined in the Speech June 1, 1945: "Indonesia must state that we established gotong-royong! How great! gotong-royong State! ". ... "gotong-royong is understood that dynamic, more dynamic than 'family' Brothers! ... The principle of gotong-royong between the rich and the not rich, between Islam and Christianity, between which no genuine Indonesia with *peranakan* to become a nation of Indonesia ".

The togetherness -gotong-royong- character in the period before the arrival of religion, our ancestors have developed a system to solve problems of economic crisis and inequality / social justice with the values and norms prevailing at the time. The concepts of scarcity as the equivalent of the economic crisis is *paceklik*, *jimpitan* as the equivalent *sodakoh* (Islam), *persepuluhan* (Christians) *danepunye* (Hindu-Buddhist) and *angpao* (Confucianism), *lumbung deso* equivalent with village stuff and *rembug deso* equivalents with village meetings or social dialog. By region *gemah-ripah*, *loh jinawi* (fertile land and rich natural) through mutual help societies would become *toto*, *tentrem*, *Karto raharjo* (arranged, securely and social justice - civil society).

Second, positive mental leadership is what has been excavated and is taught by Ki Hajar Devantoro are three pillars, namely *ing ngarso sung tulodo*, *ing madyo mangun karso* and *tut wuri handayani*. Those Leadership Mental has been realized by the ancestors and predecessors nation from prehistoric times, the era of Srivijaya, Majapahit, Mataram in accordance with its time, and by the

founding fathers when striving to achieve independence, and after independence we were able to raise Konferensi Asia Afrika and the Non-Aligned movement.

Implementation of Character Education

Character development is the primary mission of the eighth mission of the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) from 2005 to 2025 as stipulated in UU No. 17/2007 on RPJPN. The government then published a book Character Development of National Policy Year 2010-2025 which contains the understanding, the basic framework, directions and stages and priorities, and strategy development of Indonesia's national character. In the national policy character education is the backbone of the nation's character formation strategy.

Character Development National Policy is intended as a reference in designing, developing, and implementing the National Action Plan (NAP) National Character Development. The successful development of the nation's character is directed into an integral part of efforts to achieve national development vision, which is to realize Indonesia as a nation are resilient, competitive, noble character, tolerant, worked together, patriotic, dynamic, cultural, science and technology-oriented and based on Pancasila and animated by faith and piety to God Almighty.

Given the importance and scope of the nation's character development requires commitment and support from the State administering agency. At the President's cabinet Jokowi Character Development stated in Nawa Getter poured into the Medium Term Development Plan (Plan) in the Presidential Decree (Decree) No. 2 Year 2015 concerning RPJM especially on goal eight and nine among others mentioned: "Doing the national character of the revolution through policy realignment of the national education curriculum ... (8) and strengthen the diversity and strengthening social restoration Indonesia through strengthening policies and creating space for diversity education -The room dialog between peoples. (9)

In order to implement character development of the nation through the education process is how the values of Pancasila socialized well in the world of education and the community in order to awaken the soul of a nation strong in Indonesia and what behaviors will be manifested in the people of Indonesia as a local / national as Bushido characters in the national psyche Japan certainly is not an easy task. For the education system need to be adopted or socialization values applied by developed countries / west in developing strategies to master the minds of other nations such as described above.

As is known from the activities of UN agencies to support rural development in developing countries the financing and implementation processes are always associated with the World Bank and the IMF and the WTO. Because the funds are used is the "help" of the developed countries which liberal capitalist ideology that the implementation is certainly not without the requirement that wear prescriptions (in accordance with the interests of) the developed countries too. Help western countries for Indonesia since the New Order in addition to assistance for building infrastructure and production capital (PMA) has a program of rural development and remote communities, among others, through Presidential Instruction for Underdeveloped Villages (IDT) with facilitators through approach Community Development (CD) and Community Empowerment (CE).

Through this approach to CD and CE in the implementation of IDT and then the District Development Program (KDP-PPK) and the process of empowerment of the poor as a result of the economic crisis turned out to be not immediate value investment process liberalism, capitalism and individualism into the soul of the village community. Model CD and CE would be adopted for character education approach in the development of local wisdom character, have identity and orientation and mental pilitif independence and leadership in the face of globalization in the soul of Indonesia as well take care of it.

Mental Revolution in Indonesia Society

As part of the mental revolution and a national movement in order to unearth the values of Pancasila to be behavioral and personality or character of the Indonesian people, the state should implement it in three approaches.

First, to solve the problem of gaps it is ideal if the government implement concepts *paceklik*, *jimpitan*, *lumbung deso*, *rembug deso*. Once when the ancestors of Indonesia confronted by famine as *paceklik*. Many impoverished communities that face the difficulties of life and many who take shortcuts against the law to be able to live. Having discussed together, through an agreement *rembug deso* when people do *jimpitan* after successful harvest in order to build *lumbung deso* for food and other logistical supplies in the event of famine that poor people do not disturbing the rich. As people who believe in God rich people want to set aside provision for the poor for the sake of humanity that is at peace and unity between the rich and the poor. Because the peaceful atmosphere awakened then easily occur social dialogue (deliberation) or *Musyawarah*. With the process will be easy realization of social justice and in turn society into a united and productive to meet the next harvest.

As the process of implementing the values of Pancasila in the era where people embrace different religions, with the first principle *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* process *jimpitan* to hold a command every religion to the rich people (of any religion) share a fortune with the poor, namely *sodakoh* (Islam), *persepuluhan* (Christian, Catholic), *dane punye* (Hindu, Buddhist) and *angpao* (Confucianism) to develop *lumbung deso* so that the poor (adherents of any religion) have a life expectancy as the basis for the implementation of the second principle just and civilized humanity. With the establishment of the village barns where the poor can be met basically purposes (basic need), particularly food, it can be a means of unifying the people were poor with the rich and became the basis of the spirit of the third principle unity of Indonesia because there are no sharp gap between the rich and not rich. With values based on three precepts deliberation *rembug deso* (social dialogue) to be effective as a fourth principle of the Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan, thus will be easily create five precepts Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia.

Secondly, according to the thinking of the President, the process of character development must go through the education system. In this case the proposed use CD and CE approaches to the charge of local wisdom and culture of national vision "begins with a family environment and living environment and work environment, and then spread into the city environment and the environment of the State".

Third, as the development process of character education is the duty of the State to establish a commission in order to facilitate the implementation of development and character education under Law No. 17 of 2007 on the Long Term Development Plan (RPJP) 2005-2025. Independent commissions (such as KPK, KPU, KY and others) with the commissioners who understand the true Pancasila society and national character development program that selected through the fit and proper test. Commissioners were able to be facilitators in the villages accompany the villagers to be himself as a rural community with customs peculiarities of each (local wisdom) to face the globalization. May be useful for the development of the character of the Indonesian nation.

POLITICAL AND SELF-PRESENTATION (A CASE STUDY IN EFFORTS IMAGING OF WOMEN POLITICIANS)

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Abstract

In general, women politicians have the stereotype that only a few female politicians who could show his quality as a capable politician (both executive and legislative). Most people perceive that the presence of women in the political arena of the world simply as "lucky" or the utilization factor of luck and popularity of the previous example, only women politicians from the artist. The popularity of which is owned by the artist exploited by political parties to fill the percentage of women's representation in parliament so that means placing the members considered not qualified, it is seen from the presence of women MPs in Senayan Jakarta barely audible voice, an estimated half of them only come in, sit down and heard. This fact inspires researchers to explore and analyze more deeply about women politicians strategy in presenting itself, it was the goal of the research that has been done researcher. This study uses a constructivist paradigm case study approach, and use impression management theory to analyze it. Based on these results, it was found that the selection of appropriate strategies can present yourself, provide self-image to the public that women politicians are not as bad as reported. Self-presentation made by politicians will not be known to the public if it is not published through communications media. Management of messages through media communication is intended to inform the public about the self-image of women politicians in order to create a positive impression.

Keywords: political communication, self-presentation, and women politicians

Introduction

Election (Election) in Indonesia which took place in 2014 responded assortment ago by the people of Indonesia, both from politicians, businessmen, academics, youth, and the general public from all walks of life are different. In the democratic party is usually a lot of the efforts of political parties to attract public sympathy and withdrawal of sympathetic has been started since the beginning of 2011 and that the role of the members of the party also called Political Communicator, investigators Politics, and The Entrepreneur as a donor Politics, too aggressively in shaping a positive image of the party in the eyes of the people of Indonesia.

Image is the image or picture given by others over oneself and institutions. Every individual has an important role to maintain its image, both images are based on self-called self-image (self-image) or an image based on the institution (image building). The image is one important element in a person because the image will have implications for the reputation of the person, the image is not just a stop to the stage of establishing or creating it, but the image is expected to be maintained and upgraded to a better direction even improved upon the image of a person or tarnished institution. Each unit and individual has its own temperament and behavior, thus intentionally or not they must bring up an image that is not necessarily the same as the image of the organization as a whole. The image of women politicians in the eyes of the community is very diverse, it can be seen from the rules governing the percentage of the presence of women in the parliamentary world. In 2004 the

representation of women in parliament reached 30 per cent in accordance with the regulations of the electoral law which legalized by the DPR / MPR on 18 February 2003, in the election law article 65, paragraph 1 states that each political party participating in the election may propose candidates for DPR , Provincial DPRD and district/city for each electoral district by taking into account the representation of at least 30 percent and not only was it not a few statements in the media that marginalize the presence of women in politics.

Based on institutions Prapancha research found the image of women in politics tend to be poor, the results of this study explains that there has been no female politicians who really made an impression in the public memory, even sex scandal male politicians were widely reported lately worsen the image of women in politics. In the research conducted by research institutions via twitter Prapancha researchers explained that when a number of names of women politicians once incorporated remains commensurate with 1 male politicians who stand out. Women occupy the headlines when a scandal or entangled in corruption cases. From the results of research through twitter Prapancha analyst explained that in addition to the names of the conversation numbers of female politicians is low, their presence in the political world was only mentioned as a formal official who was in charge of this policy was or was tripped cases of alleged corruption. A leader of character is not obtained in the conversation women figures in twitter, even from the monitoring results of the research explained that the chirp of the most dominant to Megawati never review the goodness of leadership or character, which have sprung up in the account of non-media actually a variety of jokes that profiteer former president of Indonesia 5 to it.

In general, women politicians have the stereotype that only a few female politicians who could show his quality as a capable politician (both executive and legislative). Most people perceive that the presence of women in the political arena of the world simply as "lucky" or the utilization factor of luck and popularity of the previous example, only women politicians from the artist. The popularity of which is owned by the artist exploited by political parties to fill the percentage of women's representation in parliament so that means placing the members considered not qualified, it is seen from the presence of women MPs in Senayan Jakarta barely audible voice, an estimated half of them only come in, sit down and heard.

Low female tradition in Parliament in decision-making has become considered normal in Indonesia. This tradition according Widiyanti (2005: 9) derived from the assumption that women are mostly have low formal education, insight is not wide and narrow movement due to multiple roles (domestic and public). Women only supporters and under (subordination) men, so that women would not be able to compete with men in the political sphere or the public sphere when confronted basis vis-à-vis. Even during this time of female politicians is an inherent part in the parliament together with men, however, their political participation is less coloring in the making of public policy. The main reasons this happens because of the low number of women in quantity and far less than the number of men.

This inequality can be seen the number of women in their representation in the legislature outcome of elections ever held in Indonesia. In addition to the quantity of factors, communication ability factors also affect the political participation of women. Women's political language used as an impression management (management / impression management) or less helped contribute negatively to those qualified to engage in the political upheaval in the parliament. Women's political language as an impression management is also much influenced by factors of themselves or psychological factors. Common sense identified women as being weak, easily give up and follow what is running. This psychological influence will then form the attitude they play in political life. The image is constantly overshadows their role in performing tasks in the legislature. Often women legislators are less active in providing ideas or thoughts about the social problems that are busy talking. They assume these problems already exist that handle it so that they need not bother to come to think about it. Views on the image of women politicians signaled the need for a strategy to manage the positive image of women politicians in Indonesia.

This image formation can be done by presenting themselves. The presentation of self is the role played by a person who is formed from the social construction of social interaction. Self-presentation

is intended to provide a picture of himself or the so-called self-concept and self-presentation that is done can give meaning or impression for himself.

Research Purpose, Methods, and Theory

Presentation of self as part of efforts imaging performed with a variety of impressions strategies implemented and communicated in a variety of different settings. Those things that inspire us to undertake this study. This study aims to explore and analyze more deeply about women politicians strategy in presenting itself. Based on the research objectives above, the method that we think appropriate to explore this phenomenon is a qualitative method with case study approach in the constructivist paradigm. The theory that we use to assist in analyzing our research is Impression Management Theory.

Impression management theory mentions that in social interaction of every individuals have tried to portray a picture of himself or herself concept in front of others. This effort is called impression management, namely individuals intentionally use communication to create the desired impression on others against him. In interaction with other people, people use communication to manage the impressions of others against the individual self (Goffman, 1959) in Kriyanto (2014: 218). Communication used by Goffman, is divided into two parts; part is relatively easy for an individual to manage and manipulate, ie verbal communication and that is relatively more difficult parts often occur outside of awareness or unintentionally so difficult to control, that nonverbal communication. Communicant typically will do a check and compare the behavior of verbal (what is said) and nonverbal behaviors (body language).The result appears asymmetric situation in the communication process.

Impression management strategies associated with an individual or an organization or organizations to present themselves during interactions with others. Strategy This presentation uses certain attributes or symbols that other parties recognize or treat the individual as an attribute or symbol that is used for self-presentation.

Results and Discussion

Political observers believe that the first position of women in politics only as a complement. Their work in the political arena is still limited cheerleaders whose role has not been taken into account. Such a view was the result of cultural perceptions are misguided. Some scholars we still stick to the principle that women are forbidden to stand in front of leads, the women are always judged as weak, so that when she stood in front of it will slow down the movement. Now times have changed, many women were awakened by the state and not a few women who think that they have an equal footing with men. The woman is now out of the hegemony of the "stand behind". There have been many who believe that women can stand in front, leading a movement. In some cases not a few examples of women who could be considered successful in the lead, for example, the minister of women who actually perform better than the male ministers. Formerly women still underestimated, now it is expected to appear for leads. Along with the times, the role of women today is already coloring, at least many sectors are actually headed by women instead tend to be advanced.

The response of the gait of women politicians is not always positive, there are some negative sides expressed some opinions about their image in the world of politics. This view is based on several examples of cases including the cases of corruption. For example, the case of Angelina Sondakh. The case of Angelina Sondakh can actually be experienced by anyone regardless of gender. This is the iron law of politics, for anyone who is immature or inexperienced do not need to play "too high". Of course, this case adds to a long list of female politicians deemed "not mature / not qualified", the 30 per cent quota of women according to the author is irrelevant. Let these women politicians compete

fairly with men without any quotas, so that they someday election was based on the quality of themselves instead of placements based on the principle of utilization of popularity. Qualities can be built and studied using the theory of self-presentation strategies through or called Impression Management Theory. Self-presentation strategies based typology Kriyanto (2014: 220-221) which can be done by women politicians, namely:

- Strategy Ingratiation (please others), This strategy is used by organizations or individuals who want to be perceived as a fun party or friendly (friendly). This strategy is realized by displaying positive emotions during interactions with the public, for example, likes to help the public and public respect.
- The strategy of self-promotion (self-promotion), This strategy is used by individuals who want to be impressed as an organization / individual competence. This strategy was applied by displaying the achievements of the organization / individual. The good things that have been done to the community of female politicians and displays various awards obtained by the organization for his achievements.
- Strategy Exemplification (as an example), This strategy is used by women politicians who want to be impressed as a viable organization serve as an example or model for other politicians. This strategy materialized from some action, such as demonstrating the capabilities, advantages, integrity and values themselves.
- Intimidation Strategy, This strategy is used by female politicians in order to be perceived as a strong politician and able to control the situation. Realized by displaying an attribute that represents anger or a desire to punish persons who caused the loss.

Based on the above theory, the selection of appropriate strategies can present yourself, provide self-image to the public that women politicians are not as bad as reported. Self-presentation made by politicians will not be known to the public if it is not published through communications media. Management of messages through media communication is intended to inform the public about the self-image of women politicians in order to create a positive impression. The messaging through online media is one way to inform a wide range of strategies, be it the Strategy Ingratiation, self-promotion strategy, Strategy and Strategy Exemplification Intimidation. Online media chosen because it is easily accessible to the public regardless of time and space.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Stereotype developed in the community regarding the image of women politicians in the arena of world politics can be minimized by good, of course, using a variety of imaging strategy efforts. Imaging is done by women politicians can be done with self-presentation (impression management). Presentation of self-carried out by women politicians will not succeed if it is not publicized well. Online media is one of the media used to publicize their self-image, as some previous studies have shown virulence online media in image formation.

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THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE RELATED TO AFFAIR IN THE WORKPLACE

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Abstract

The phenomenon of affair is a challenge of life for a family in the modern area. The affair perspective can be interpreted with various definitions. Some experts have given different conclusions and interpretations, but the ideas remain the same. The affair is an act of violation, dishonesty and injustice that occurs for those who already have a family, whether he is a husband or a wife. Having an affair signifies that a husband or a wife can make an affair with other without marriage bond/attachment. Those who have affairs do not exercise the applicable rule of law and against the criminal law in Indonesia. An affair does not longer consider is the status, the job, education, and religion. And it can happen to all levels of society so that everyone can be involved in the affair. Various surveys have been conducted in Indonesia reveal that having an affair is a dangerous threat to the family and society. The frequency and the intensity of communication among them cause them to be able to communicate easily using high sophisticated/modern means of communication. These relationships make people to communicate quickly and easily without limit. This phenomenon is implicated in the community so that it results in strong desire to be united among them. In this case, they communicate emotionally with each other and cause them to have feeling of sympathy and love and it can turn easily to have an affair. It cannot be denied that having an affair can provide negative impact in the society since it can create uncondusive atmosphere in workplace.

Keywords : Perspective, relationship, affair and workplace

Introduction

Cheating behavior/having an affair until now has been a very universal issue, not only for the executive level but also cheating behavior also practiced by the janitors. This indicates that the practice of cheating behavior has grown like mushrooms that emerge/come up in a rainfall. This phenomenon not only happens in a big city but also in arural area.

A survey conducted by a the Executive magazine with 500 representative samples in Indonesia. In fact, it was found out that 2 out of 3 have been found to have done cheating behavior/having an affairs. Even some of the respondents claim that having an affair is just an ordinary thing. Therefore, it does need need to be further discussed. This signifies that having an affairs is not a taboo thing that need to argued seriously. However, this kind of violating/deviant behavior can provide serious impact/effect on the family. Nasaruddin umar stated that having an affairs/cheating behavior is a threath towards a familiar in the modern era/nowadays.

Discussion

Sutiyoso (2011) the former governor of DKI, in a meeting expressed that the public figure who have the power of authority are very frequent to have an affairs since the have two power that is intellectual capacity and economy support. The way they perform the cheating behavior by having a date with a girl the girls/victims when they are out of town to do their job/when they are on juty out of town. Though, they sometimes got caught by the local people and reported/exposed through the social media. This thing, of course, can provide a serious effect to the local community, especially in terms of security and trust of the society. In addition to that the cheating behavior can also prove a serious effect on the family.

Article 1 of law No. 1 of 1974 regarding marriage, says that the base of the marriage is the emotional and physical bond between a man and a woman as a husband and wife relationship which aims at having a happy family or household which is blessed by God. Besides Article 33 of law No. 1 1974 futher explained, that husband and wife have obligation to love each other, respect each other , to be loyal to each other, support each other and give spiritual assistance outwardly that one to the other. Even husband and wife have equal rights and position in family life and social life in society and is titled. Therefore, in one marriage there should be no violence, however, this kind of this cannot be avoided and even can lead to domestic violece. In short, it can be stated that here is always a conflict among the couples.

Cases like this can give rise to a question of law that must be addressed because on the one hand the people who have an affair cannot be a good example/model to the public. And they already done an act that violates the laws and regulations in force. Oaths and promises uttered during early marriage is no longer a secret anymore, even tainted by acts by infidelity that have real conflict with the culture and with the legislation in force. Persecution and violence prequently occurred but invisible from the point of view of the eye. The reason why they are willing to accept persecution is afraid of being left, feel guilty and don't want to or known to the public, admitted the failure of marriage similar to admit failure on its own as a women, its depends on the husband, no place to escape, there are the ability to bear children alone and no knowledge that he has options (Rohani Abdul Rahim 2008).

Theoretical Perspectives

Honesty / Trust Theory

The family is the institution of the smallest organization consisting of parents and children. A husband acts as a father and the head of the family in a family, while his wife acted as head of the household and mother of children. All members of this family is a union between one round with countless other as father, mother or son who all have roles and responsibilities of each. Responsibilities and rights of each family member can be played with either the household is still intact in carrying out the functions and roles of each.

Honesty is a form of behaviour such as giving a true and reliable information. Acknowledge his/her fault, Acknowledge when he commit the wrong thing (wrong doing). Practically honesty is commonly judged from his sincere knowledgement about the truth. If someone has been caught to be dishonest, he will never be trustful any longer.

Futher Munzir Hitami (2009) defines that honesty is a character formed from the birth of man in this world which should be instilled from an early age and continue to be strengthened with the passage of human life. Honesty is the basis for the confidence (trust). Proverb says: "Once a counterfeit to the test, lifetime unbelievers". If there is no honesty, trust will be lost. Although in the real world, various phenomena witnessed quite contradictory to the theory.

Nowadays, many deviant cases that are found in a household that considered dishonest practices/behaviors. There are husbands who are unfaithful to their wives even in spite of that there are also dishonest wife to her husband. This means that in family it has already grown and maintained unfaithful/dishonest behaviors/attitudes.

So the husband or wife often start to feel suspicious. This applies even dishonesty because a third person present in the household for damage. If a third person means that a woman's husband in the household who are victims of infidelity relationship. Whereas if third parties present in the household are men means that a victim is the wife of infidelity. Relationship dishonesty committed by the husband of the woman called cheating partner third parties. Neither versa relationship unauthorized and dishonesty committed by the wife of a third party (a man) is also categorized as a cheating relationship.

Infidelity relationship committed by the husband to a woman whose is not valid for him, or beyond its relationship adultery committed by the wife of the man who is not authorized can be characterized by the following features, such as the relationship between the two which shows that there is loyalty, there is an emotional connection to confide, circular sending message, there is exchange of images, there are meetings on specific points that occur anytime in tandem, there is physical contact confide even in the case of sexual relationship and living together without being bound by a valid marriage based on religion. All of these can provide tremendous negative impact on legitimate partner as husband and wife can even impact on children as victims of infidelity relationship.

Social Control Theory

Definition of control theory refers to perspective which discusses the control of human behavior. Control theory is a theory that always tries to find out why people commit a crime. Since control theory is no longer frequent question why people commit a crime. But the question always changes; why not everyone is unlawful or why people obey the law.

The theoretical base of this theory does not see the individual as a person who is intrinsically lawless, but the people who obey the law and avoid committing criminal acts or doing the wrong things. Given that we are all born with a natural tendency to break the rules of society,

There are four key elements in social control theories about criminal behavior as indicated by Hirschi (1969), First affection, covering power in a bond that exists between the individual and the primary channels of socialization, such as parents, teachers and community leaders. As a result, it is a measure of the degree to which those who abide by the law to act as a positive force for individual resources. Second, committed means that the nature of the determination to avoid anything that is considered to be associated with crime. Involvement is a measure of the tendency of a person to participate in conventional activities that lead to successful individuals who valued people, and fourth, Faith requires the acceptance of social norms and attitudes reflect the strength of the conventional attitude. The fourth element is the social bond between an individual and the community environment.

Building a harmonious household requires efforts of a married couple, husband and wife. Domestic conflict could happen to any couple, such as adultery or polygamy. However, this does not mean that all the problem cannot be anticipated. The main principle is that it is very important to know the candidate before getting marriage. So that Make an agreement to mutually be so that it faithful and not hurt each other in the marriage covenant may also be an option in anticipation of infidelity also polygamy. Before having a marriage commitment, we encourage you to first recognize and know very well who the prospective husband or wife, to know the character pairs to their way of life. Personal identification couples deeply important to anticipate things that are not required when they get married.

Husein Muhammad (2011), commissioner of women's nationality commite pointed but as much as 95 percent of the violence occurs in the home and the perpetrator is the husband. Violence takes many forms include physical, psychological, economic and sexual abuse as well as

neglect. "Polygamy is a real form of power (patriarchal ideology) as well as male violence against women or the husband or wife."

Theory of Conflict

This theory assumes that conflict is a major aspect and fundamental in the life of society, and it is not possible to fully overcome. The seeds of consensus for the good and the seeds for conflict is always present in the midst of society. According to this theory, the conflict can not be protected when the agency formal social control such as the police, law enforcement bodies can force members of the public to submit and conform to the regulations set by the authorities.

Conflict is motivated by differences in the characteristics of individuals who carry on interactions. The differences between them are related to the physical, understanding, knowledge, customs, beliefs, and so forth (Raizeza, 2010). By bringing individual characteristics in social interaction, conflict is a desirable situation in the society and not the society that has never experienced a conflict between its members or with other community groups, the conflict will only disappear with the disappearance of society itself.

Conflict is contrary to integration, but it runs as a cycle in society. Controlled conflict will result in integration. conversely, integration is not perfect can lead to conflict. There are several definitions of conflict have been put forward by the experts which based on the considerations and viewpoints different from each of them as follows:

According to Pace and Faules (in Wijaya, 2013) that the conflict is an expression of a dispute between individuals and other individuals, groups with other groups for several reasons. In this view, the dispute shows that there the difference between two or more individuals is expressed, remembered and experienced. This conflict cannot be denied as seen from the perspective of the individual of course one individual with another individual that has a concept, establishment and different thoughts. Because thinking is not the same so as to form a perspective even act differing ways. Especially when a group of individuals that make it one of the most important requirements are all members of those groups have the same view on a particular object that represents a shared commitment.

James W. Vander Zanden (in Nur Ali, 2012) provide an understanding of the conflict as a conflict of values or a claim on wealth, power, status or region where the line of sight, intended to neutralize, or eliminate harm their opponents. So you can take the view that the conflict caused by the contradictions. The value of certain individuals or groups can happen in a short time, but in the individual or in the other group is not necessarily the value can be accepted up differently on the understanding that can be the object of conflict between individuals or groups.

Nur Ali (2012) defines that the conflict is the struggle for status, value, power, where their purpose in conflict not only make a profit, but also to beat his rivals. So the emphasis that the conflict is a form of fights to see the one who won or lost. In a conflict there must be a winner. Therefore, the winner may be high-minded as have the effect of course subjecting the loser. While the loser may be the object who will be suppressed in all his life so far of independence. They can not move a lot because it is a form of oppression / colonization of the force.

The theory of Karl Marx consider that a society as a developmental process that will end the conflict by conflict, the feature of this is in the class struggle and revolution, with the existence of the capitalism, there was a conflict between the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and working class (proletariat), which will in end in revolution (revolution) won the class struggle of the proletariat that would create a society without classes and without a state;

While Ralf Dahrendorf's theory strengthens that social changes in society are not necessarily caused by social conflicts. Social conflicts has not changed revolutionary revolution and will not be able to produce. Society is composed of social group based power and authority. Conflicts occur when one social group dominates the other through revolution or no revolution that will generate social change in society.

Weber further adds that society consists of social groups that are interconnected, and the relationship is very meaningful to them (groups) who take part in it which is characterized by the existence of social relations of domination and imperative control (authority or rule to control the other party). Conflict is a form of social relations between a group and another group which is intentionally directed to attack or fight other groups. Having been able to carry out attacks, and then implement the order to reach the summit of power to dominate or control imperative in society.

Lewis Coser said that the conflict is a form of social interaction that is positive, the first, is that conflict can help revive social norms or can cause new social norms instead. Both conflict is a tool to customize the norm with new circumstances and conditions or the development of society ; All three are conflicts can lead to an increase in the adaptation of social relationships among certain groups. He believes "conflict antagonists binds" means, although there are groups in society have different interests or even they may conflict but through conflicts they could be united if faced with an enemy or foe.

Conclusion

Cheating phenomenon often occurs in the midst of modern society and this can happens at home or at workplace to this day and is at work. Some of them argue that infidelity is an ordinary natural behavior that only run in accordance with human development. Cheating can happen, anytime, anywhere wherever possible. In place of work is one of the objects of the affair. Cheating is a violation of applicable law. Infidelity occurs because of the dishonest treatment of the wife or husband. This dishonesty can arise because of a lack of open communication between husband and wife. Infidelity can lead to violence in the home. Violence is a form of real violations of law or regulations. This phenomenon of course is disturbing good order in the family or in the peace and comfort of the environment in the workplace especially this can ruin the good family.

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TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY (A STUDY OF SYMBOLIC INTERACTION ON TRADITIONAL COMMUNICATION BY USING *BONET* AS A MEDIA FOR CONVEYING ASPIRATIONS TO GOVERNMENT IN BOTI VILLAGE, TIMOR TENGAH SELATAN DISTRICT, EAST NUSA TENGGARA PROVINCE)

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Abstract

Indigenous people in Boti village has a unique habits on democracy especially in how they convey their aspirations to government. This paper aims to describe how does the tradition of democracy in indigenous people in Boti by performing *Bonet* (a traditional dancing). This study used a qualitative approach with symbolic interaction perspective. This theory emphasizes that human behavior is seen as a process that involves individuals to shape their behavior by considering the expectations of those who interact with them. By using in-depth interviews and participant observation, it found that from the aspect of self-concept, indigenous people in Boti village are associated themselves as the one and only community in West Timor who preserve the original cultural as a legacy of their ancestors. One of their native cultures is performing art named *Bonet*. As one of their traditional media, *Bonet* is also used as a means to bring their aspirations to the government. Moreover, the community also decide important decisions in society through *Bonet*. This traditional dancing is defined as a sacred traditional media so that decisions in *Bonet* is considered as a representation of the people's decision. Because of that, Boti people always demonstrate *Bonet* when building communication with government to express their hopes, decisions, and even to protest government policies. Thus it can be concluded that bonnet is a cultural identity of indigenous peoples in Boti which is also interpreted as a way of showing their tradition on democracy in their real lives.

Keywords: Symbolic Interaction, *Bonet*, Traditional Communication, Tradition of Democracy.

Introduction

Civil society and democracy are two inseparable components. Sedarmayanti (2003) claimed that strong civil society is an absolute condition to build democracy. In other words, the existence of solid civil society can build and develop democracy.

The construction and development of democracy are denoted by open government and supportive civil society. This means that government is transparent and civil society supports best practices made by government. Jansen, et al (2011), argued that open government is an essential condition to achieve democratic government. In addition, Sumarto (2009) asserted that good government will be created if two powers show mutual supports. These two powers are responsible, active and aware citizen and also open, perceptive and receptive government. Sumarto's theory indicated that government must open itself and response civil society's voices, in order to achieve an open government. One of the tribes in East Nusa Tenggara called *Boti*; in fact, has a democratic tradition and mechanism where people can express their aspirations to government. This local tribe who is situated in Timor Tengah Selatan District of East Nusa Tenggara Province, according to Rumung (1998), is indigenous people that maintain their ancestors' tradition for generations.

This is unique because their tradition of democracy is related to their high context nature of communication. When conveying their messages, they use idiomatic expressions and tend to intricate. This pattern of communication is also used when they express their aspirations to government. This tribe's tradition of democracy is derived from their *Bonet* show. *Boti* community expresses their aspirations or delivers messages and information particularly to outsiders or government through this traditional art show.

This article is aimed at describing tradition and practice of democracy in *Boti* community by using *Bonet* show. Furthermore, this paper will also discuss signification of *Boti* tribe to communication symbols during *Bonet* dancing particularly in expressing their aspirations to government.

Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with symbolic interaction perspective. According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975) as cited in Moleong (2005), qualitative methodology is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of words written or spoken of people and behaviors that can be observed.

According to Blummer (1998), the term of "symbolic interaction" refers to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Therefore, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of another's actions. This theory also emphasizes that human behavior is seen as a process that involves individuals to shape their behavior by considering the expectations of those who interact with them. In line with Blummer's opinion, Mulyana (2013) also stated that the essence of symbolic interaction is an activity as characteristic of humans, the communication or exchange of given meaning symbols.

The data collection techniques of this study are in-depth interviews and participant observation. Informants in this research are community leaders in *Boti* village.

Findings and Argument

Democratic Tradition of Boti Tribe through Bonet Performing

Bonet is a traditional art show performed by people who are dancing in circle while lyric poems are expressed and replied with rhythm. For *Boti* people, *Bonet* has a priceless meaning and it is performed in almost all important ceremonies.

Actually, *Bonet* has some functions. The first function is to entertain. *Bonet* for entertainment is usually performed when *Boti* people celebrate harvest time, traditional party, and other happy moments or events. For these celebrations, they performed small *Bonet* called *Boen Pasan*. It is called small *Bonet* because the numbers of dancers are only 10 to 30 people. The second function of *Bonet* is to deliver information. This is related to expressions of aspirations to government from lower to higher level. This *Bonet* is called big *Bonet* or *Bone' Naek* with more than 30 dancers. The last function of *Bonet* is to educate. It is performed in some events, wedding party, or other traditional events. This could be big or small *Bonet*.

Bonet is started with *lasi (lais)* or social problems such as family matters, community problems, and other issues related to government's activities and program undertaken to develop the village. They types of social problems (*lasi*) typically discussed in *Bonet* are:

1. *Lais toh*

Lais toh is a social problem in society such as wedding, fighting, etc.

2. *Lais planat*

It is a problem related to government or development of village such as failed program, unresponsive aspirations, government policies that are not helping society, abuse of power, etc.

Messages related to government and development issues are expressed through *Bonet* lyrical poem with 3 key questions; What (main issue or what *lais planat* is going to be discussed), Why (reasons causing *lais planat*) and How (how to solve that *lais planat*). Those lyric poems (*ne'*) use figurative languages that are related to those three key questions. Each lyric poem conveyed by the communicator will be replied by the communicant with reply lyric poem. The reply poem is an answer to questions or *ne'* asked by the communicator. Other communicants in the *Bonet* circle are also allowed to reply the poem to support answers of the first communicant. The content of the poem should be related to the topic of discussion in *Bonet*.

Boy Benu, one of the traditional leaders in Boti community told success stories of expressing aspirations to government through *Bonet*. In April 2105, when Ampera Seke Selan, a legislative member in NTT Province visited Boti village; Boti people expressing complaints of the failure of clean water project through *Bonet*. Initiated by Boti King and other traditional leaders including Boy Benu, it was agreed that *Bonet* to perform in order to mediate a discussion with Ampera Seke Selan. After the dialogue, Ampera Seke Selan immediately called Corruption Department of Local Police Department. A week after that, a contractor undertaken the clean water project again. As a result, Boti people are now able to get access to clean water.

Bonet as a traditional medium of communication in *Boti* community is considered sacred and hallowed. Therefore, important decision-makings in the community always made through *Bonet* show. This is because *Bonet* facilitates a discussion related to community welfare in order to get response from the audience or government.

In conclusion, according to the function of *Bonet* as a media to express opinions to government, *Bonet* is also called a democracy media. Issues discussed in *Bonet* can be categorised also as an essence of democracy. Zudianto (2008) asserted that an essence of democracy promotes dialogues where everyone who is willing to solve problems must be ready to talk with those who have different opinions. This is also claimed by Rahayu (200&) that democratic education is a process to implement democracy by facilitating citizens to participate in democracy practices in their community such as expressing opinion, meeting, associating, voting, also monitoring and influencing government policies.

The democratic tradition of *Boti* community through *Bonet* has been maintained from generation to generation. Community discusses important issues as stated above such as expressing aspiration, solving development problems and conflicts between people through *Bonet*. As a democracy media, every community member performed in *Bonet* show discusses those issues by conveying messages in the form of poems. The *Bonet* show finishes when an agreement is declared. The first communicator will indicate the end of the show by saying a poem about the topic of issue that has been resolved.

The Perspective of Symbolic Interaction about Tradition Democracy of Boti Community through Bonet Show

From the perspective of symbolic interaction theory, the principle of using *Bonet* as the media for *Boti* community to express opinion is exchanging meaningful symbols. The symbols used in *Bonet* are traditional figurative languages. It is conveyed through poem (*ne'*) that means conscience of *Boti* people or their aspirations related to government or development issues in the village.

Furthermore, from symbolic interaction point of view, self concept communicated by *Boti* people can be understood. They claimed themselves as the only traditional community in West Timor area that has original culture derived from Dawanese that has been passed by their ancestors. On of their original cultures is delivering message related to development through polite tradition and culture. Therefore, they selected *Bonet* art show as the traditional media to express their opinion.

Original community means that the entire Dawan people (West Timor tribe) that have some cultural assets. One of them is *Bonet* as the traditional dance. However, as times passed and technology advanced, *Bonet* has shifted in almost all areas of Dawan tribe. *Bonet* still can be found within areas of TTS district. Nevertheless, *Bonet* show in those other areas is merely for entertainment. The discussion of an issue or expression of aspirations are not performed. Therefore, *Boti* people claimed that the original culture of Dawan Tribe has not shifted and can only be found in *Boti* village. *Boti* people are those who live in Village A (in the area of Kingdom/*sonaf*) and still believe in their traditional or ancestors' religion called *Halaik*.

The use of *Bonet* as the media for *Boti* community to express opinion is essentially exchanging meaningful symbols. The symbols used in *Bonet* are traditional figurative languages. It is conveyed through poem (*ne'*) that means conscience of *Boti* people or their aspirations related to government or development issues in the village.

Therefore, the signification of *Bonet* performing as the communication media by *Boti* people are as follows:

1. Religious meaning

According to *Boti* community, *Bonet* is inseparable from their original religion (*Halaik*). Therefore, messages conveyed (including development issues) through *Bonet* dancing is considered sacred and hallowed. As stated above that, this *Bonet* show is performed if there is a problem (*lasi/lais*) in the community. *Bonet* is performed as an effort to solve that problem. The decision agreement declared in the *Bonet* art performing is considered to be sacred; hence, it should be obeyed and implemented.

2. Kinship meaning

Bonet has also been related to kinship because it is used to build relationship between *Boti* people. When *Bonet* is performed, their kinship becomes stronger. Hence, *Bonet* is not only associated as the media to express opinion but also an entertainment for community. It is clearly indicated when *Bonet* is performed by combining sound art (lyric poem) and dance art (feet movement with rhythm and pattern).

3. Reconciliation meaning

Bonet has also reconciliation meaning within the village. Every unresolved conflict in a meeting or formal discussion will be solved through *Bonet* show. Since it is considered to be sacred show, each party who involved in the conflict tends to state facts. In this context, *Bonet* is signified as the media of reconciliation in the village. One of the cases investigated in the research was the conflict about a village forest that claimed by government as a protected forest. After *Bonet* show, an agreement is reached where local government acknowledged that the forest belongs to *Boti* community.

Participation of *Boti* community in expressing their aspiration through *Bonet* performing has indicated the rise of active civil society. As claimed by Sedarmayanti (2003) that aspirations of civil society are not "local" aspirations but universal humanity aspirations. The condition where society is much more aware of their rights and responsibilities indicated active movement of civil society. In this context, awareness of citizens to do their rights and responsibilities independently is growing. Citizen wants their voice to be heard by government.

Conclusions

In conclusion, there are some important points found from this study. The first point, *Bonet* is a traditional art performance that has efficacy and function as communication media to express *Boti* people's aspirations to government. Second, *Bonet* is a cultural identity of *Boti* people that also signified as the way to practice democratic tradition in their daily life. Third point, in the perspective of symbolic interaction theory, *Boti* people claimed themselves as the only pristine and intact community that maintain ancestors' tradition as Dawan people through *Bonet* show. In addition, *Bonet* is also considered as the way to exchange symbols within community. Therefore *Bonet* has religious meaning (*Bonet* as sacred show), kinship and also reconciliation meaning.

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BUILDING UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN POST-CONFLICT BETWEEN AHMADIYYA AND THE MAJORITY SUNNI GROUP IN EAST JAVA

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Abstract

Develop an understanding of the diversity of religious tolerance in post-conflict between adherents of the Ahmadiyya and the majority Sunni groups in East Java is an important thing to note both the perspective of political science, sociology and religion. Methodology this study uses a qualitative approach to the type of ethnography and the research object Ahmadiyya Jamaat in Bubutan East Java city of Surabaya. Results of the study explains, religious conflicts occur due to 1) narrow fanaticism, human religiosity is closely related to the problem of confidence are subjective and emotional and mission execution defendant disproportionate so as to result in inter-religious relations into conflicts 2) establish religious tolerance through mutual respect, grounding values piety teachings of the al-Quran and introduced religious tolerance so that the existence of other religions to be safe in performing rituals to the teachings and practices that are believed. 3) the success of building a religious community communication through post-Ahmadiyya conflict resolution in Surabaya, East Java with promoting the values of humanity, brotherhood, justice, peace and civilized so that the religious harmony in East Java could be a model for communities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Building Understanding, Religious Tolerance, Post Conflict Ahmadiyya-Sunni.

Background of the Problem

Religion has a position and a very important role in the life of the Indonesian nation. Recognition of the position and role of religious importance is reflected in the establishment of the principle on God as the first principle of Pancasila state philosophy, which is also conceived as a principle that animates the other principles of Pancasila. Therefore, the development of post religion religious conflicts in East Java is not only an integral part of national development, but also the part that should underlie and animate the overall direction and national development goals, which for the period 2014-2018 led to efforts to realize the vision of "East Java a city of peace, justice and prosperity.

Inspiration and religious aspirations reflected in the formulation of Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945. In Pasal 29 that (1) the State is based upon belief in one supreme God and (2) the State guarantees the independence of each resident to embrace their religion and to worship according to his religion and belief.

In terms of government, the religious life harmony development efforts have been started since 1965, with the adoption of Presidential Decree No. 1 of 1965 on the Prevention of Abuse and blasphemy were later confirmed as Law Number 5 Year 1969. In the days of the New Order regime, the Government always initiated various activities in order to overcome tensions in religious life, so that the harmony of religious life can always be created, for the sake of national unity and development.

Then recently been enhanced contents and contained in the joint regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs No. 8 and 9, 2006. With the establishment of joint regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs No. 8 and 9 of 2006 is that all the provisions governing life religious people previously declared null and void.

Religious harmony is very valuable capital for the survival of life for all people in East Java. Religious harmony is something dynamic that can change according to the behavior of supporters. Therefore, the behavior of religious leaders and community leaders play an important role in maintaining a climate conducive. This is where the importance of inter-religious relations are communicative relationship that is not limited to religious figures but also the complicity of community leaders and officials of government bureaucracy.

Friction interests of society are sometimes also charged religious issues. The local government of East Java is very concerned to localize the friction that may occur with the involvement of various elements of the community including leaders or religious leaders. The role of religious leaders and community leaders are required to participate in solving the problems of post-conflict and religious changes for Jemaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia, Shia and Sunni in East Java as interest related to interfaith relations and the relationship between community leaders across ethnic and religious cross.

East Java as one of the provinces that are very heterogeneous have multi-religions, such as Islam, Catholic, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu, Khongcu they live together, communicate with each other, also has a variety of potential is always required to empower and improve the independence of religious communities. The current state of security and public order in the province of East Java is quite conducive. This is one of the challenges for local governments to maintain conditions conducive to remember the religious harmony is the initial capital of local government in implementing development programs religions. Through the seminar the results of this research study, in forums ICoDA a strategic opportunity to further provide a comprehensive understanding of the construction of religious relationship that is based on tolerance, mutual understanding, mutual respect and mutual respect.

Research Methods and Subject

This research method using ethnographic approach. Ethnography is used for observation of participation combined with other approaches is the interview with semi-structured patterns and the dimensions of in-depth interviews. Subject in this study the research subject itself were Ahmadiyah congregation in East Java, Surabaya community and religious leaders.

Framework Theory

In explore data about religious tolerance among religions in jema'at Ahmadiyah we use some such theory

Social Prejudice

After describing an important position among the followers of the religion in post-conflict East Java in developing tolerance, the following will explore some of the factors thought to be because the appearance of tolerance and intolerance. In the perspective of psychology (Mujani 2005, 92) known that tolerance and intolerance are the mental characteristics that are part of human behavior. It is the attitude of the individual that appears when he is faced with a number of differences and even contradictions, both at attitudes, views, beliefs and actions, which grows in the community. That is, in general, the appearance of tolerance and intolerance due to the negative bias (negative

prejudice) on a person or religious groups in society influenced by the personality and experience. Human personality is a combination of various nature and concept of the person. Aspects of personality includes the character, nature, adjustment, interests, emotions, attitudes, and motivations. Sociologically (Yaqin 2005, 17) prejudice is an opinion, attitudes, beliefs, negative feelings towards someone and not fair or other community groups (ethnicity, nationality, religion, race, gender, political party, family, certain organizations, social class, etc. another).

The issue is now a religious conflict in East Java, why prejudice and tolerant or intolerant attitudes that emerged among the followers of the religion. In general, mentioned above, that the religious and non-religious aspects can be the cause intolerance among religious groups. Covering the religious aspect and the observance of religious fanaticism and religious broadcasting, currently includes non-religious aspects of economic, political, cultural, social, and others. Religious fanaticism and religious observance is the actualization soul formed from religious traditions.

David Riesman (Abdullah 1993, 88-96) see that the cultural tradition is often used as a determinant of where a person has to do what he has done ancestors. In addressing the conflict of religion and religious traditions in East Java is also not rare emergence of such tendencies. If the tendency is influenced by dogmatic religious emotional element overload, provides opportunities for specific justification (truth claims) who tend to ignore the honest dialogue and argumentative. This exclusive attitude that by Ian G. Barbour (Abdullah 1999, xiii) in *Issues in Science and Religion* touted as ingredient most dominant in the process of attitude formation dogmatism and fanaticism.

The nature bigotry detrimental to religious life. The differentiated The nature of obedience. Therefore, (Jalaluddin 2008, 191) obedience is an attempt to show the direction in (innerdirect) to appreciate and practice the teachings of religion. Based on the arguments above, this study assumes that religious traditions affect the formation of attitudes of tolerance and intolerant person.

In the description of the researchers, in outline, the causes of intolerance is divided into two factors, namely the religious and non-religious factors. Religious factors include narrow fanaticism and implementation of the mission or proselytism.

First, narrow fanaticism. Human religiosity is closely related to the problem of confidence is subjective and emotional. Therefore, every religious believer must believe in religion as an absolute truth (absolute). The implication of this phenomenon is the birth exclusiveness closed, authoritarian, self-righteous and intolerant of difference. It is the attitude of religious exclusivism. Indeed, the adoption of a religion must be supported with this fanaticism. Otherwise religion will lose its value and significance for the adherents even likely to be threatened existence. In this case, there are categories of fanaticism, positive and negative. Positive Fanaticism is fanaticism that is based on the understanding and appreciation of religious teachings, thus forming a private firm in holding their religion, but at the same time, also want to understand the religious experience of others. While the negative fanaticism is a fanatic attitude that is not based on an understanding and appreciation of the true religion or simply by taqlid alone. In practical terms, this fanaticism often give birth to live out an exclusive, intolerant, defensive and reactive, and they tend to prefer the confrontational with other parties.

Second, the implementation of the mission or proselytism. Mission or proselytism is a sacred duty for every faiths. This task is an obligation that must be carried out by followers of the religion, in order to maintain the extension or to save people from straying. This is a logical consequence of the belief in the absoluteness of their religion, especially when religion is concerned claimed to be a universal religion, which is addressed to all mankind. Thus religions feel themselves obliged to broadcast his religion to all mankind, if necessary by force. In addition, because of the belief that he is the true religion, he looked at one another religion, religious believers would not attain salvation. Driven by the desire to give guidance to others who are considered heretical and to save fellow human beings, there arose attempts to show the errors of other religions while stating the truth of their own religion which then continued with efforts to attract other religions to convert religion. These efforts initially may be based on good intentions, can lead to religious intolerance and resulted in strained relations between the two religious communities concerned. In this case the tension in the spread of

religion arise when used in ways that felt less reasonable it, peppered with phrases, written or verbal, cornering or demean other religions.

Of religious diversity in East Java, the most concrete nature of these missionaries is seen in Sunni Islam, Shia, and Ahmadiyya because all three are equally claim to be a universal religion. Therefore, for Sunni Islam, Shia, Ahmadiyyah spread of religion is a logical consequence and part religion inherent in each. In contrast to the Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian example, more emphasis on the aspects of personal coaching adherents. Hence, there is rarely conflict or tension is tension among religions that promotes coaching aspect followers of religions, namely Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. To avoid things that are not desired, then it needs to be realized for Oprandi mode (way of living together) which regulate interfaith relationship or association, including the ordinance and the code of ethics of religious broadcasting. While the non-religious factors described researcher, essentially, basically there is no religion in the world who was born to a hostile, insult or denigrate a religion or other religions. Both the religions of the Book (the religion with the holy book of the prophet) and ardhil religion (a religion without a holy book and prophet). Therefore, the rise of intolerance among religious in essence is not derived from religion, but rather is based on the insight and understanding of religious teachings, but rather is based on the insight and understanding of religious teachings that are less complete and correct (*kaffah*), as well as how religious adherents.

In addition to the religious sentiments of the above, intolerance in religious life in East Java (Ismail, 2011, 4) can also arise due to the influence of other factors, such as political, economic, and social culture. For example, various riots and inter-religious conflicts that involve Sunnis in Sampang Madura, Bangil Shiite followers of Jamaat Ahmadiyya Pasuruan and Surabaya in Bubutan, as mentioned above, is basically dominated by external factors. In this case the religious factor is actually just stick it on these factors, in other words, religious sentiment has been used as a tool or a trigger to stir people's emotions so mobiles to perform destructive and violent actions.

Religious Tolerance

Definition of religious tolerance in view of the reality of development in East Java community after the conflict between followers of Sunni, Shia and Ahmadiyya, researchers set out to explain the notion of religious tolerance from the perspective *Rahmatan lil Alamin*. In another sense Islam has taught the doctrine Tasawuh (Tolerance). Meanwhile, (Le Bon, 1969, 126) Islam also upholds tolerance (*tasamuh*) as an Islamic power. Islam is not a religion oriented coercion or oppression. This case has been described explicitly in the al-Quran as the word that is intended to:

*“Allah tidak melarang kamu untuk berbuat baik dan berlaku adil terhadap orang-orang yang tiada memerangimu Karena agama dan tidak (pula) mengusir kamu dari negerimu. Sesungguhnya Allah menyukai orang-orang yang berlaku adil”.*¹

Is based on the verse, clear that religious differences are not a reason not to be fair. Indeed, to be fair and good behavior toward others of different beliefs is a part of the essential requirement which leads to tolerance. Understanding more tolerance, understanding how to sit in a special issue of the term tolerance is respect (mutual respect) or sociologically how to put the truth of religions as a relative truth and put equivalent position in its form.

Focused than that, this research is expected to pack the unity and community responses followers of Sunni, Shia, Ahmadiyyah to the notion of tolerance or tasamuf in religious life as it has been practiced by the Prophet Muhammad and the Sahaba that is based on the principle of universal compassion, by adhering to some naqli proposition, namely:

*“Dan tiadalah kami mengutus kamu, melainkan untuk (menjadi) rahmat bagi semesta alam”.*²

¹ Surah al-Mumtahanah 60:8

² Surah al-Anbiya' 21:107

The first verse, it tells us that the mission of Prophet Muhammad intisati teachings to the world and that it brings, is nothing but a mercy to all the worlds. In other words, Islam also wants to remind his flock that teachings brought by Prophet Muhammad not limited to anything particular nation. Even the content of teaching also contains universal principles that are able to realize justice to adherents of other religions in the world:

*“Tidak ada paksaan untuk (memasuki) agama (Islam); Sesungguhnya Telah jelas jalan yang benar daripada jalan yang sesat. Karena itu barangsiapa yang ingkar kepada Thaghut dan beriman kepada Allah, Maka Sesungguhnya ia Telah berpegang kepada buhul tali yang amat Kuat yang tidak akan putus. dan Allah Maha mendengar lagi Maha Mengetahui.”*³

Second paragraph, this tells us the interest of tolerance in Islam in religious affairs. Allah SWT. have confirmed that truth is something that has a real and vice versa. Indeed, every individual has the right to choose their own beliefs or religious beliefs armed with reason and revelation that has been given by Allah SWT. Even so, Islam has set three requirements in terms of tolerance through the affirmation of the next verse:

*“Untukmu agamamu, dan untukkulah, agamaku”.*⁴

This means, every religion in East Java should practice the teachings of each faith and in at the same time, they should not interfere with the right grip, beliefs and way of life of other faiths. This fact is not intended to Islam recognizes the truth of the doctrine and philosophy of the teachings contained in other religions. Instead Islam just *iktiraf* form or the existence of other religions in this world as a *sunnatullah*.

Jurgen Habermas: Communicative Society Religion

The main requirement in building inter-religious dialogue in East Java after a religious conflict between Islam majority (Sunni) and the Muslim minority (Shia and Ahmadiyya) not in a superior truth (trut claim). How can the warring parties fulfill the prerequisites dialog, such as dialog actors who achieve autonomous moral consciousness, holding the universal ethical principles, watched every pattern of action taken, creating ideal conditions-state all talks by overcoming all sorts of obstacles, and the possibility of distortion that occurs in communication. Habermas explanation about dialogue preconditions can be understood in the following table:

Table 1: Prerequisites Dialog

Model	Action Type	Theme Talks	Truth Claims
Komunikasi Kongnitif	Konstatif	Propositional	Kebenaran
Komunikasi Interaktif	Regulatif	Penghargaan pada interaksi individu	Kesesuaian
Komunikasi Ekspresif	Pengakuan pembicara	-	Keontetikan

(Jürgen Habermas 1979, 58-59)

According to Table 1 prerequisite inter-religious dialogue is a form of communication and an important part of the formation of communicative communities in East Java, especially against plural society in rural or urban as well as a pluralistic religion. For that, it needs to set up a forum for communication, public space that is democratic, free from domination and hegemony of one party, where actors consciousness open, mature, and able to act critically and take part in interactive communication (Zimmermann 1984, 2). Thus, Habermas expand into a stage theory of communicative religious communities, particularly the theory of interactive stages to the level of individual regulative social system together, namely the level of development of society running in

³ Surah al-Baqarah 2:256

⁴ Surah al-Kafirun 109:6

evolution. This is where it appears that the embodiment of the ideals of the communicative society runs the evolution of social roles based on the learning process of awareness actors communicative action. There is a reason, or underlying the need for dialogue between religions. These reasons (Mukti 1994, 14-16) for example, the fact of religious plurality, the desire to communicate, to achieve mutual understanding and growth, as well as the creation of community cooperation.

The purpose of using theory Jargen Habermas on Communicative Society Religion, through a process of inter-religious dialogue is how post-conflict between religions in East Java can help to improve cooperation between the adherents, to thereby together we can uphold humanity, justice, peace, and brotherhood. Dialogue will overcome rivalry, oppression, hatred, create harmony and distanced attitude to life to destroy each other. In the context of this research, inter-religious dialogue can take many forms, such as the dialogue of life, dialogue of social work, inter-monastic dialogue, a dialogue for a prayer together (*istighosah*), discussion of theological dialogue and ethical dialogue borrow a phrase (Giddens 1994, 208-231) explains that: *“This ethical reasoning can be in the form of justice, and equality. Further, such might function as politics of life, which provides audience on how we should lead our life in dealing with existential problems”*.

Inter-religious dialogue as a form of communication and the processes that occur in the community was able to experience a wide variety of obstacles difficulties as described above. These difficulties and obstacles, especially with regard to communication can be resolved through communication action theory of Jurgen Habermas, given this theory is intended as a basis for the creation of the religious community in East Java to become more communicative and inter-religious dialogue as a process of communication that aspired. Hebermas put forward the necessary prerequisites for the occurrence of a dialogue aimed at the achievement of mutual understanding and mutual understanding. Among these prerequisites are participants in the dialogue which has certain qualifications, including "open", "mature" and "critical".

Understanding of Religious Tolerance

Indonesia is a nation of diverse ethnic and religious have considerable cultural variations. tolerance and attitude safeguard the rights and obligations between religious communities, is expected to be a mediator and meeting point the problems associated with sara so as not to rise to the surface. Tolerance in public life should remain fostered, not to the Indonesian nation divided between each other.

Tolerance comes from the word "Tolerare" is derived from the Latin meaning patiently letting things. So broadly the notion of tolerance is an attitude or behavior of people who do not deviate from the rules, where one respect or honor any action that others do. Tolerance can also be said the term in the context of socio-cultural and religious attitudes and actions mean that prohibits discrimination against different groups or can not be accepted by the majority in a society.

The term tolerance is also used with the definition of "group" wider, for example political parties, sexual orientation, and others. Is still a lot of controversy and criticism of the principles of tolerance from both liberals and conservatives. Thus religious tolerance means a human attitude as people are religious and have faith, to respect and appreciate people of other faiths. In a society based on Pancasila, especially the first principle, devoted to God according to the religion and beliefs of each is absolute. All religions respect human and therefore all religious communities are also obliged to respect. Thus the different inter-religious harmony will be built up.

Discussing issues religious tolerance can not be separated from the organizations or schools-schools of which in the name of Islam and recognize the truth of doctrine because prior Rasulallah death was already explained that later or tomorrow the Muslims will split into 73 groups, as well as in the State Indonesia the majority of Moslem inhabitant who could quickly untouched by Islamic organizations to follow the teachings such as Ahmadiyyah.

Ahmadiyyah Religious Tolerance Towards Non-Ahmadiyyah

The committee invited the learned representatives of Muslims, Christians and Aryas to set forth the excellences of their respective faiths (Ghulam Ahmad 1996,6) The objective of the Conference, the learned divines of every religion would thus be given the opportunity to convince others of the truth of their respective religions, while the listeners would be able to assess each speech in relation to the others and accept the truth from wherever it was to be found. Disputes between the followers of different religions have given rise to the desire to seek the true faith.

Public Responses About Bubutan on Ahmadiyyah

Responding to the inter-religious tolerance, especially in the area Bubutan Surabaya on Ahmadiyah some people around Ahmadiyah said Ahmadiyah teachings can not escape from the past conflict that occurred in 2012 in Bubutan Surabaya date because of perceived violate Islamic teachings actual reopening. In reality on the ground in the sense of Ahmadiyyah in lathe closed and shut themselves to the surrounding community lathe. What and why the public does not know. They know if there are associations Ahmadiyyah from out of town and gathered at their lathe reported to the authorities as to the village and to the police. About tolerance itself so far no problems or problems even in areas that coincide with the gang lathe I where Ahmadiyyah housed the majority of ethnic Chinese neighbors is not Ahmadiyyah completely. In the south there are NU branch offices and in the east of the road there Muhammadiyah mosque and in the west there is Greja Catholic. While the majority of people Bubutan itself is NU.

Anatomy Conflict of Ahmadiyyah

According to research results there are some factors triggering conflict causes Bubutan Ahmadiyyah in Surabaya, East Java: a) Ahmadi in claim misguided by MUI this happens because Ahmadiyyah considered by MUI Syar'i violated because he had believed Ghullam Mirza Ahmad as a prophet sent by God after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. b) The state can not protect Ahmadiyyah, this occurs when a raid into the center of the Ahmadiyya community, the police are supposed to protect the Ahmadiyya but here even does not protect completely, to the point that this country felt like a barbarian country. c) the occurrence of miss communication between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi, which led to the conflict, the real core as we dig into the data jema'at they consider Mirza Ahmadi Ahmadi Ghullam this as a scholars' which is almost like a prophet. So they believe as Isa Al-still that has been promised by God in the Qur'an. But they also continue to believe that the Prophet Muhammad the last prophet and Ghullam Mirza Ahmad Al-Isa is still only promised by God. While other groups considered them heretical because it was never for an open communication. And they also consider this Ahmadiyyan exclusive group. Whereas Ahmadiyyah himself admitted that in fact they are also open to the public if they want to come and ask for an explanation, without inviting them to participate in and influence the flow of her. d) Ahmadiyya world community has always rejected because they consider the Ahmadiyya outside the country was formed by the occupiers or by the countries western orientalist. f) considers the belief held by jema'at teaching was not straight it must be in alignment. g) The Mirza (Bashir Ahmad 1994, 1) moved swiftly from the claim of a reformer to Mujaddid and then to the so-called Promised Messiah and finally had the audacity to lay claim to prophethood. all this took place in accordance with a well-planned strategy to serve the interests of his mentors.

Ahmadiyya Conflict Resolution

Based on research results, Conflict Resolution Ahmadiyyah five ways to be able to offer: a) SKB revoke ministerial apparently triggered the violence. b) restore function as the representative of the Ministry of Religious formal institutions of government to be the enforcement agency to restore

the constitution and civil rights, in particular freedom of religion. c) MUI fatwa judge revoked the Ahmadiyyah as a cult whose impact legitimize violent acts in the name of religion. The clergy itself also needs to be little changed from religious authority as if the owner of the patent Islam, or as a body guard Islamic faith, into the institution's internal communication between Islamic groups and between Islam and other religious groups. d) In anticipation of clashes between followers of Ahmadiyyah with surrounding communities Bubutan Surabaya, resolute efforts are needed from the government. Assertiveness rules will make people more regulated and more mature in the face or live a life together with the followers of Ahmadiyyah.

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MIGRANT WORKERS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN MALAYSIA

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Abstract

As at 31 March 2015, Malaysia records a total of 1,955,723 million registered migrant workers in which about 752,435 migrant workers are Indonesian. The 11th Malaysia Plan (2016-2020), recently tabled in Parliament is aimed at reducing dependency and reliance on low-skilled migrant workers especially in labour-intensive activities. In line with 2020 vision towards developed country status in which 6 years remaining, greater focus will be placed on managing and screening the entry of foreign talent into Malaysia to create safer living communities and to increase expertise. Managing migrant workers are considered difficult and facing through variety of challenges in order to meet the needs of employees', the employer, the sending and recipient countries. Management migrant workers' demands close cooperation and contribution between the government and the private sector. This can be achieved through efficient formulation of comprehensive immigration and employment policy. This paper will discussed several issues namely (1) The concept and application of good governance in managing migrant workers, (2) Policies and the laws regulating migrant workers in Malaysia, and (3) the role of government agencies in delivering good governance to migrant workers in Malaysia.

Keywords: Migrant Workers, Good Governance, Migration Laws & Policies, Basic Support

Introduction

United Nations Convention concerning Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families defined 'migrant worker' as *"Someone who has engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national is accredited to the term "migrant worker"*⁵. According to Immigration Act 1959 (Malaysia) the term foreign workers means "an employee who is not a citizen". A number of reports indicate that many migrant workers are lacking protection of basic labour support and human rights under the laws and policies of both countries of origin and destination countries⁶. Since independence in 31st August 1957, the "push-and-pull factors" at the international level caused foreign workers to immigrate to Malaysia. The pull factors refers to the condition prevalent in the destination countries that attract and encourage workers to leave their home countries and seek better opportunities abroad⁷. The ILO Director-General, Mr. Juan Somavia once said: *"Migrant workers are an asset to every country where they bring their labour"*. No doubt that migrant workers play and important roles as the backbone to Malaysia development. Mr Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General, in his address to the European Parliament in 2004 stated that *"The vast majority of migrants are industrious, courageous, and determined. They don't want a free ride. They want a fair opportunity. They are not criminal or terrorists. They are law abiding. They don't want to live apart, they want to integrate while retaining their identity."*⁸ The problems faced by migrant workers are that they are less protected than the local workers and their security,

⁵United Nation Human Rights Official website, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cmw/cmw.htm>

⁶ Amarjit Kaur, "Managing the Border: Regulation of International Labour Migration and State Policy Responses to Global Governance in Southeast Asia," paper presented at the biennial conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Wollongong, New South Wales, June 2006, pp. 19-24

⁷ Shafi Gilani, I, *Citizens Slaves Guest Workers*, 1985, p.33

⁸ Annan, K. (2004). *United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Address to the European Parliament upon receipt of the Andrei Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought*, Brussels, 29 January 2004. http://www.europa-eu-un.org/articles/sk/article_3178_sk.htm

basic support and livelihood depends on the government policies, treatment and legal protection. Migration will certainly increase in the future because of the global demographic trends, widening disparities in income, human securities and rights across the countries, increasing migrant networks and, environmental and climate changes. In this context, there are currently three major migration issues that demand attention that are governance of migration, protection of migrant workers and maximizing development benefits of migration.⁹ In the 11th Malaysian Plan (2016-2020), the government has set out migrant workers management as one of the way to generate the labour market for outreaching the advanced nation plan.¹⁰ This plan is formulated to elevate market efficiency in order to maximize the productivity, creating good jobs prospect, wage structure, labour legislation and information. To achieve such, good governance is the key to success. As at March 2015, it is estimates that there are 1,955,723 million registered migrant workers in Malaysia. Migrant labour force makes up about 20% of Malaysia total labour force. The sending countries gain remittance and this contribute to their countries' GDP. Migrant Workers in Malaysia sent an estimated US\$1 Billion annually as remittance to their respective countries.¹¹ The following table shows the massive labour migrant to Malaysia. They come from countries determined by the Malaysia policy makers and enforced by agencies such as the immigration and custom department, and the Royal Police of Malaysia.

COUNTRIES	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
INDONESIA	99,570	201,268	105,003	36,329	234,115	76,150	752,435
NEPAL	77	16,595	365,916	100,521	6,612	18,473	508,194
BANGLADESH	120	93,337	94,637	27,228	16,565	12,360	242,247
MYANMAR	123	20,064	91,476	17,524	2,642	5,614	137,443
INDIA	916	5,615	3,908	45,530	18,424	23,501	97,894
PHILIPPINES	40,506	4,048	4,278	5,064	5,803	4,721	64,420
VIETNAM	883	5,030	45,680	1,754	121	585	54,053
PAKISTAN	57	18,703	3,308	3,748	7,599	17,012	50,427
THAILAND	332	635	323	8,413	443	1,888	12,034
CHINA	224	3,843	561	6,628	45	41	11,342
CAMBODIA	4,075	252	3,096	447	243	326	8,439
OTHERS	58	837	5,554	772	259	330	7,810
SRI LANKA	1,888	171	3,258	1,016	319	253	6,905
LAOS	39	3	25	7	2	4	80
TOTAL	148,868	370,401	727,023	254,981	293,192	161,258	1,955,723
A- Domestic Workers B- Construction C- Manufacturing D- Services E- Plantation F- Agriculture							

Source: Ministry of Human Resources

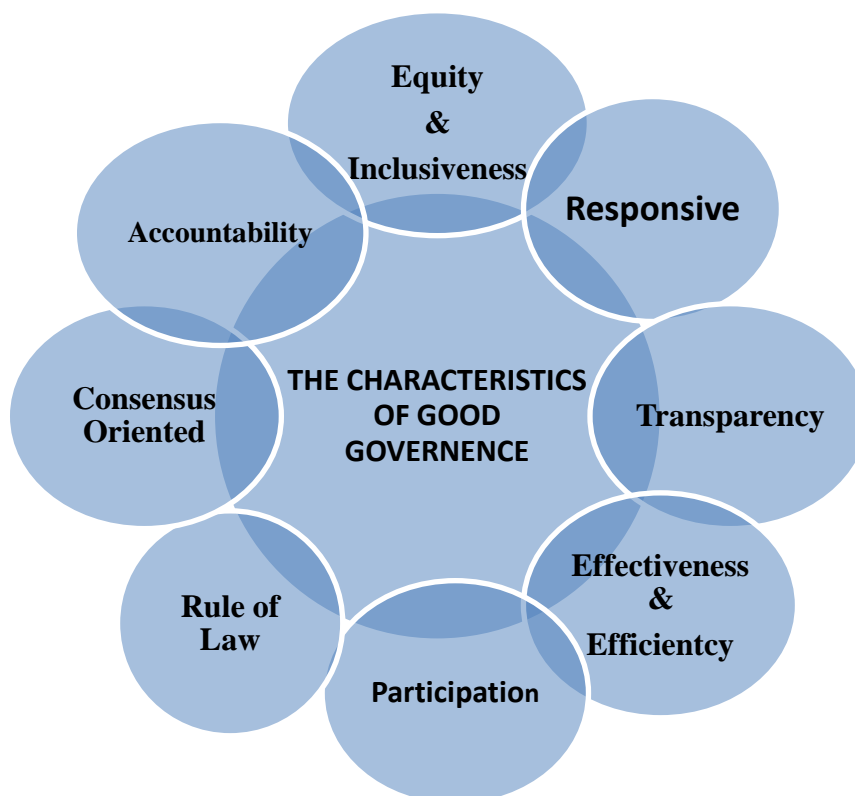
⁹ Rohani Abdul Rahim & Siti Awanis Othman, *Migrant Workers In Malaysia: Employers' Rights And Protections* Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. & Hum. 22 (S): 271 - 282 (2014)

¹⁰ The official Website of 11th Malaysia Plan, <http://rmk11.epu.gov.my/pdf/strategy-paper/Strategy%20Paper%2008.pdf>

¹¹ Chelvarajah L, The Perspective of Foreign Workers and Their Rights and Employment in Malaysia

Good Governance for Foreign Workers in Malaysia

The word "Governance" means the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented).¹² This process and analysis of governance focused on implementing decisions that have been made and structured and is set in place to arrive at their implementation or enforcement. Governance can be practiced and used in several context namely international governance, local governance, national governance and corporate governance. Good Governance can be defined broadly as "the responsible use of political authority to manage a nation's affairs"¹³. Various definitions of "governance" and "good governance" have been introduced by the international agencies through their program's standpoint while in the academic field the application varies in accordance to each and every disciplinary perspectives.¹⁴ According to United Nation Development Programme, good governance has 6 characteristics as describe below :



Source: Report on Good Governance, SAARC Human Resource Development Centre (SHRDC), Islamabad, 2004

In Malaysia, Foreign Labour Policy was developed, revised and improved from time to time to ensure the implementation for recruitment and employment of foreign workers is well organized. The Immigration Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs bears full responsibility for the policy

¹² United Nations Economic and Social Commission For Asia and the Pacific, <http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/good-governance.pdf>

¹³ Reif C. Linder, *Building Democratic Institutions: The Role of National Human Rights Institutions in Good Governance and Human Rights Protection*, 2000, Harvard Human Rights Journal 62

¹⁴ Nasira Jabeen, Good or Good Enough Governance in South Asia: Constraints and Possibilities, Inaugural Address as Professor to the Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity 2006-2007, delivered on April 2, 2007 , at Utrecht University <http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/1215/623/16121616/1326988320403/30PCCJabeen070402.pdf?token=JKlpAQqlzy4Tu3xF9bOU98saMIU%3D>

implementation and it enforces the immigration laws, rules and procedure. The main functions of Immigration Department of Malaysia are:

- i. Issuance of passports and travel documents to Malaysian Citizens and Permanent Residents.
- ii. Issuance of visas, passes and permits to Foreign Nationals entering Malaysia.
- iii. Administering and managing the movement of people at authorized entry and exit points.
- iv. To enforce the Immigration Act 1959/63, Immigration Regulations 1963 and Passport Act 1966.

Effective and efficient Foreign Workers Policy gives positive impact on the country's image and its relations with migrant-sending countries¹⁵

The Foreign Worker Management Division is the secretariat of the Foreign Worker One-Stop Approval Agency which was established to handle applications for intake of foreign workers for sectors that have been approved following the employers' failure to secure local workers. The establishment of the Foreign Worker at One-Stop Approval Agency is in line with the aspiration of the government to practice good corporate governance as well as to reduce bureaucracy, and subsequently enhance the quality of service delivery to the people¹⁶ Malaysia pursues an implicit policy to "hire first and fire last" all Malaysian nationals with respect to the recruitment of low-skilled foreign labour. Importation of contract migrant labour is subjected to the labour market test, i.e., employers must prove that there are no local workers for the particular job by advertising the post before they are allowed to hire foreign labour. Also in the event of retrenchment, foreigners are expected to must go first. The entry, residence and employment of foreign labour are governed by the Employment (Restriction) Act 1968 and the Immigration Act 1957. These overarching regulations have been amended and substantiated with other ad hoc policies and measures to deal with the import of low-skilled and high-skilled migrants. The major part of immigration and migrant employment policies however deal with contract migrant workers and irregular migrants since contract migrant workers account for an overwhelming 98.0 per cent of the total migrant workers, with close to a third in irregular status, posing tremendous challenges to managing migration.¹⁷ Given the dynamics of International Labour Migration (ILM), policies to regulate the importation of migrant labour have evolved over the years, influenced by a number of factors that include labour market imbalances, pressure from labour and human rights organizations, national security and foreign relations, high incidence of irregular migration, and legal and social infractions by migrants. In general labour migration policies aim to:

- i. control and regulate the import of migrant workers;
- ii. reduce clandestine or irregular migration; and
- iii. protect the rights of migrant workers.¹⁸

A wide array of policy instruments and measures has been used to regulate the inflow of migrant workers to balance the short-term versus long-term needs of the economy. These include the use of authorized employment agencies to recruit contract migrant workers, bilateral agreements with selected sending countries, issue of work permits, the imposition of a levy and a freeze or ban on import of contract migrant workers from time to time. These policy instruments have recorded mixed

¹⁵ Rohani Abdul Rahim, Muhammad Afiq Ahmad Tajuddin & Kamarudin Abu Bakar, *Lacuna in the Construction of Foreign Worker's Policy: A Malaysia-Indonesia Relation Experience*, Proceeding of Malaysia-Indonesia Conference (PAHMI) in Pekan Baru, Indonesia.

¹⁶ Official Website of Ministry of Home Affairs of Malaysia, http://www.moha.gov.my/index.php/en/?option=com_content&view=article&id=280&Itemid=771&lang=ms

¹⁷ Kanapathy, V. 2006. "Migrant workers in Malaysia: An overview", paper presented at the Workshop on an East Asian Cooperation framework for Migrant Labour, Malaysia, December 6-7.

¹⁸ International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) 2010, "Internationally recognized core labour standards in Malaysia," report for the WTO General Council review of the Trade Policies of Malaysia, Geneva, January 18-20

success, but to a large degree they determine the trends and patterns of labour migration in Malaysia since the mid-1980s.¹⁹

Agencies involved in the recruitment and employment of foreign workers.	Illegal foreign workers Enforcement Agencies
Foreign Workers Management Division, Ministry of Home Affairs Malaysia	Department of Immigration, Malaysia (Enforcement Division), Ministry of Home Affairs Malaysia
Department of Labour, Ministry of Human Resources	Malaysia Armed Forces (<i>Angkatan Tentera Malaysia</i>).
	Royal Malaysia Police (<i>Polis Diraja Malaysia</i>)
	The General Operations Force (<i>Pasukan Gerakan Am</i>)
	Marine Operations Force (<i>Gerakan Operasi Marin</i>)
	Assistance from other agencies and authorities such as local government, National Registration Department (NRD), the People's Volunteer Corps (RELA).

Table 1: Agencies and Ministries who are responsible on the management of foreign workers in Malaysia

Legislation was introduced in January 1980 to permit the establishment of private agencies to recruit foreign labour. These recruitment agencies play a vital role in sourcing migrant workers. Competition among these agencies has ensured that they provide fairly efficient services at competitive fees. These agents deal with recruitment agencies in source countries and they process all the administrative paperwork and provide the logistics, thereby relieving employers of the complexities in hiring foreign labour. Government attempts in the past to remove their intermediary role and to deal directly with agents overseas have failed. Recognizing their beneficial role, the present bilateral G to G agreements use labour recruiters to facilitate the recruiting process. The role of private sectors in delivering basic support to migrant workers such providing legal representation, cooperation by Immigration Officers with the legal practitioner so that adequate access to detainees and ensure basic human rights are accorded to all.

Challenges to good governance are as follows;

1. Corruption
2. Globalization
3. Political intervene
4. Increase of public education
5. Eliminating conflict of interest
6. Boosting fraud Prevention

¹⁹ Rohani Abdul Rahim & Siti Awanis Othman, *Migrant Workers In Malaysia: Employers' Rights And Protections*, *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. & Hum.* 22 (S): 271 - 282 (2014)

7. Extremism
8. Privatization
9. Workplace deviance

Legislative Provision Governing Migrant Workers in Malaysia

Malaysia has specific policies and laws that govern the Migrant Workers. Immigration law and regulations determines the specific rights and liability of a person entrance into Malaysia. Policies on migrant workers vary to current needs. At present, reassuring economic growth is affecting the economy structure and labour market needs. Sectors such as Plantation, construction, manufacturing, farming and services sectors remain the focus of labour needs. The main notion of cabinet committee on illegal immigrant is to restructure the existing policies on migrant workers as well as to reduce reliance on migrant workers. No new authorization given to managing workers 'outsourcing' except for recruitment for certain work sectors. Governance, procedures and the recruitment process are made more organized. At the same time governance and incentives to local workers are reviewed and restructured. Legislations on the prevention of trafficking in persons, smuggling of people and the immigration legal provisions are further tighten after the application of 6P programme (Registration, Legalization, Amnesty, Monitoring, Enforcement and deportation) that strengthen further the labour migrant management.

All forms of forced labour and slavery are prohibited by Article 6(1) and (2) of the Federal Constitution. Article 8(1) provides that "all person are equal before the law and entitled to the equal protection of the law". Unlike local workers, migrant workers must be treated equal, with fairness and dignity without distinction to their status. Legislations that were enforced in Malaysia and their application to migrant workers are identified as follows;

- a. Employment Act 1955 (the law applicable in the States of Sabah and Sarawak are the Labour Ordinance Chapter 67 and Chapter 76 respectively);
- b. Employment (Termination and Lay-Off Benefits) Regulations 1980;
- c. Employment Provident Fund Act 1991;
- d. Employees' Social Security Act 1969
- e. Industry Relations Act 1967;
- f. Trade Unions Act 1959 (Revised 1982);
- g. Factories and Machinery Act 1967;
- h. Occupational Safety and Health Act 1994; and
- i. Workmen Compensation Act 1952.

The Immigration Act 1959/63, Immigration Regulations 1960 and Passport Act 1966 provide powers to the immigration authorities to manage border controls, issuing visas and repatriation. In order to combat cross- border crimes, the Penal Code, and the Anti-Trafficking in Persons and Anti-Smuggling of Migrants Act 2007 will applies to all residing in Malaysia. The Minimum Wages Order 2012 is enacted to provide a national minimum wages for all employees working in the private sector. Section 25(1) of the National Wages Consultative Council Act conferred power to National Wages Consultative Council to review the Minimum Wages Order at least once in every two years. Notwithstanding that, the council may review the minimum wages rate at any time either on its own accord or upon the direction of the government. Section 26 of the National Wages Consultative Council Act confers power on the enforcement officers of the Labour Department in the Peninsula Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak to carry out investigation, conduct any inquiry and to enforce the Minimum Wage Order.

Conclusion

Good governance in migrant workers management requires cooperation from all, including the administrators, policy makers and the public. A competitive economy requires efficient labour market authorization. The Government will need to improve the efficiency of the labour market in order to accelerate Malaysia economic growth. Improving skills and productivity, increasing efficiency of labour market operations and better management of low-skilled foreign workers will enable the shift towards the higher value and knowledge intensive activities. Labour market strategies will be supported by sector specific strategies to achieve the expected outcomes on improving the quality of jobs, skills and wages. To ensure that migration will benefit the country's development, efforts are necessary by government of receiving and sending countries and also both employers and employees to collaborate and provide support and understanding in labour migrant good governance management. Policy makers may formulate a more transparent and comprehensive policy in dealing with migrant workers. Immigration law and legislation pertaining to migrant workers need to determine specific rights and duties of those involved with migrant labour management.

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THE PARADOX OF DEMOCRACY: INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S PERSPECTIVE ON HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA

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Abstract

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is a relatively new organization developed in Indonesia. Despite their young age, the organization show rapid development. Since the reformation era, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia has developed its organization throughout Indonesia. With the goal of establishing a caliphate, and its principle of anti-nationalism, and anti-democracy, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia attracted the support of many Muslims in Indonesia. Interestingly, despite that organization have anti-democracy principle, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia can exist in Indonesia, which is actually claimed to be the largest democracy country in the world. Democracy guarantees the people to make association, assembly, express, and opinion. Implementation of democracy by the state can precisely affirm and guarantee the existence of the anti-democratic group like Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. Development of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is precisely the effect of the consequent implementation of democracy itself. Another important thing that the demands of some groups to dissolve Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is seen as a violation of democracy value itself.

Keywords: anti-democracy, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, consequences

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is a mass organization (ormas) that growing rapidly in Indonesia. HTI's main agenda is the establishment of a caliphate, which is a government structure based on the teachings of Islam. Caliphate existence is a historical fact because it has existed for 1400 years, even before the institution of the nation-state European version existed. Revitalization of the caliphate was considered as perfect solution by muslim to face the contemporary problems. The second HTI's principle is anti-democracy. According to the HTI view, democracy is a form of robbery of the sovereignty of God. The God is the maker of the law, so that all the legal considerations should be based teachings of Scripture. Conversely, in democracy, the sovereign is in the people. In the principles of democracy, rule of life is made from the people, by the people and for the people. In this principle, people serve as a sovereign holder and people served as a source of power. In a democracy, the God is not involved in making the rules for human life. In a democracy, religious law is under man-made laws. Democracy becomes a belief system because the law of man above upon the rule of God. In a democracy, a truth can be determined by majority vote. With democracy, human beings can be free to govern themselves without being bound to the law of God. These freedoms are in four areas: freedom of religion, freedom in expression, freedom of ownership, and freedom of personality. In these freedom, the rule of God is not a major consideration. Therefore, democracy is essentially a manifestation of the ideology of secularism. This contradicts with the Islamic faith that based on the scripture rule and tradition of the prophet. Also in historical fact, Muslims did not recognize democracy. Law and decision-making is always based upon the *sharia*. Democracy in Muslim world relatively was known just in the modern era. The advocate of democracy in muslim world coming from Western educated background, which is not based on Islamic teachings (Zallum 2013).

The effects of the implementation of democracy – with all aspects – is the degradation of human life. In democracy, an immoral behavior can be legalized by the leader and representative of the people. Justification of liquor; prostitution; gambling; environmental destruction; gay rights struggle, lesbianism, and transgender are a few examples of the effects of the implementation of democracy.

Another effect of the democracy is human life exploitation. Where in the practice of real democracy, the rule-making is done by the capital owners and the political elite. While the majority of ordinary people are marginalized by the political elite. On the other hand, HTI often make opinion that democracy identically with capitalism. With the implementation of democracy, many neoliberal laws passed in Indonesia. With a wide range of analysis, HTI view that democracy, capitalism, and nationalism is "toxic" to human life (hizbut-tahrir.or.id 2013). Therefore it's forbidden to taking , implementing, and spreading democracy principles (Zallum 2013).

Interestingly, despite the principled anti-democratic, HTI can grow up significantly in Indonesia, which is claimed to be the third largest democracy in the world. In the last decade, HTI has been able to hold large-scale events such as the National Congress of the Caliphate, the International Khilafah Conference, and the Conference of Rajab in various cities. HTI activities were attended by one hundred thousands of people. Even in a 2013, HTI event at the GBK (Gelora Bung Karno) Jakarta was covered by national television TVRI. Various responses addressed this matter. Some national leaders questioned the legality of HTI in Indonesia. These figures questioned why HTI, with caliphate revitalitation, anti-nationalism, anti-democracy principles, can be grow in Indonesia. While some other figures, such as from the Liberal Islam, stating that the HTI should be grateful to democracy, because in democracy, HTI can grow rapidly in Indonesia. Whereas on the other, some communities support for the dissolution of HTI. This step was taken by groups like Gerakan Mahasiswa Satu Bangsa (Gemasaba), Pagar Nusa, the National Alliance, and some elements from the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. Several sites on the internet are also calling for the dissolution HTI. They assume that HTI can endanger the sustainability of the country of Indonesia. In some cases, certain groups want to take action against the threat of HTI.

The Indonesian state through the central government, local governments, as well as security forces looked no problem with the existence of HTI. HTI received the legality from government ministries. HTI also got permission to use national objects to hold meetings and international conferences. In the case of level one city in East Java, HTI even received an award from the police because of demonstrations by that group are always running peacefully. HTI's media products are also free to spread in the community. Even when the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) blocked a number of Internet sites belonging to Islamic organizations considered pro-ISIS, Internet sites belonging HTI free from blocking attempt. In a Indonesian foreign policy conference in Jakarta in July 2015, Ansyad Mbai-Chairman BNPT-state that it's welcome for Islamic groups to make effort in caliphate revitalitation and Islamic law formalization as long as without using violence. Ansyad Mbai said that Indonesia is a democratic country, so it's allowed to express opinions, but not by using force. Its interesting to study the unique relation between Indonesia – as the largest democracy country – with HTI well known as anti-democratic group.

Assessment of this unique relationship can be traced through two paths. First, from a sociological perspective and secondly from a political perspective by the implementation of democratic politics. From a sociological perspective, the emergence of groups "fundamentalist" is a necessity in this era of contemporary globalization. As explained Anthony Giddens (2014), globalization is not a single process, but it is a complex process that runs contrary. In one hand, the world goes towards integration, while on the other side goes towards separation and conflict. On the one hand, the world goes towards the integration of global identity, but at the same time, there is a process of strengthening local identities and traditions that oppose integration in contemporary globalization. In another diction, Giddens states that in contemporary globalization, there is a polarisation between cosmopolitanism and "fundamentalism" (1999).

According to Giddens (2014), modernity in this era of contemporary globalization has shaken the old traditions, such as the tradition of nationalism or religious traditions. Therefore, the traditions likely to develop the re-creation in response to contemporary realities. These traditions are not extinct, but reformed in such a way. "Fundamentalism" religion can be seen as a form of re-creation of an old tradition. "Fundamentalism" is a manifestation of a pattern of religious traditions defense in this era of contemporary globalization. In other works, Giddens (1999, 45-47) asserts that "fundamentalism" emerged as a response to the effects of globalization around human life. Further, Giddens asserts that "fundamentalism" give vitality to keep the tradition that are "under sieged" by modernity. Giddens

state that the phenomenon of fundamentalism is a consequence of contemporary globalization, because it is result from globalization effect as well as take advantage from globalization itself. Sociologically, it can be concluded that the religion fundamentalism phenomenon is a necessity in the globalization era. From sociological perspective, the removal demand of religion fundamentalism is an irrational step, because against the inevitability of the process of globalization.

The existence of HTI can be regarded as anti-hegemonic Western power which have always dominate globalization process. Globalization trend that be characterized modernity, the Enlightenment, and capitalism is a form of Eurocentrism (Untara 2015). The liberal democracy and capitalism value seemed cannot give solution to any contemporary problems in globalization era (Giddens 2014). Therefore, the existence of HTI can be considered as non-Western civilization identity revival in the face of Western hegemony. Sociologically, the existence of HTI is a logical thing as a comparison in the face of globalization of Western values.

The second perspective in viewing the phenomena of HTI can be seen through a political view. In a comparative study of social movements, there is the question of why some social movement can be success in one country but failed in other countries. Answers to these questions come from the concept of political opportunity structure. The idea of this concept is that the opportunities and successful social movements will depend on the opportunity offered by a political system. This opportunity can be institutionalized in a two ways, formal or informal. By the formal way, can be done by institutionalizing formal rules that give people freedom of assembly and ensure the openness. Meanwhile, through informal way can be done by building a culture of pluralism (Hooge, 2014, 377-378).

In the concept level, democracy provides the political structure. The success of HTI flourishing in Indonesia is a consequence of the implementation of democracy itself. Linz and Stephan (2001 in the NAS 2005) formulate that the essence of democracy is support political alternatives with the appropriate rights to freedom of association, speech, expression and for basic rights for everyone. Linz and Stephan (2001 in Nas 2005) explains that among the principles of democracy is each individual in society should be free expressed any interest and the values that they have. Furthermore, Linz and Stephan (2001 in Nas 2005) explained that the elimination of ideological, cultural, ethnic, regional, language, or religious aspiration is contrary to basic principles of democracy. According to Diamond (1997), democracy manifestation in the most minimalist concept is the guarantee of freedom of the press, freedom of association, and freedom of expression. Meanwhile, according to Betham & Boyle, 2000 (in Mufti 2013), the democracy guarantee of an open discussion as a method to solve various social problems. This should be guaranteed in the civil rights and political rules. Moreover, democracy also guaranteed pluralism and equality for all citizens. Democracy is usually identified with the freedom of the individual (Shively, 2011).

In a compilation of writings contained in the book "The Dark Side of Democracy: Civil Society Violence in Indonesia" published by Unviuersitas Paramadina, the contributors to the article acknowledges that the existence of the "radical" and "intolerant" is a necessity in the process of democratization. Dissolution of intolerant groups would only violate the principle of democracy itself. Interestingly, none of these contributors who recommended the dissolution of groups "radical" and "intolerant". One of the contributors to the book, Zainal Abidin Bagir (2015) for example, explains that the dissolution of the organization "radicals" and "anarchists" is not a good step and principle. According to Bagir, which need to be stopped from these groups are their acts of violence, not their existence as a group.

It expressed similar other contributors, for example, Titik Firawati (2015) - the lecturer from UGM – state that dissolution vigilante groups is a violation of democratic principles itself. Firawati explain that the existence as a group that causes groups "radical" and "intolerant" is disturbing. Only violence acts sometimes perpetrated these groups were disturbing. Therefore, the government must doing something to face of the violence perpetrated in the group. While Firawati affirming that the existence of these groups is important because they have the right to live in a democracy (Firawati 2015). Whereas in the context of HTI, Firawati (2015) give a recommendation to be make counter-discourse against HTI's discourse. The other contributors to the book offers solution such dialogue, the

strengthening of the law, creation of a code of conduct, and dissemination of discourse to counter discourse taken by groups "radical" and "intolerant". State must guarantee the civil liberties association and speech.

Therefore, as the implications from democracy implementation, HTI activities such spread the idea of a caliphate, forbid nationalism, and preached anti-democratic principles; must be guaranteed. Moreover, in its activities, HTI has always emphasized the principle of non-violence. HTI relying on a strategy of dialogue, campaigns, seminars, and public discussion. This is consistent with democratic principles that guarantee society to make association, assembly, speech, and expression. Therefore, the consequent implementation of democracy, the existence of HTI must be guaranteed. In contrast, the demand from some groups to dissolve HTI is a violation of the principle of democracy itself. That demand shows immaturity some groups to accept the plurality in accordance with democratic principles.

In 2015, Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia released a study on the existence of transnational movement in Indonesia. The study was conducted to determine whether the existence of transnational religious movements; such as HTI, the Muslim Brotherhood, Tablighi Jamaat, and the Salafis; threatening the state and religious organizations that have been established or not. In a study conducted by the Research and Development Department of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, proved that the existence of transnational groups such as those mentioned do not endanger of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Based on these studies, further Research and Development Department of the Ministry of Religious recommended that the government do not worry about the existence of transnational movement in Indonesia. Even the Ministry of Religious Research and Development concluded that such a religious movement must be accepted as a reality in society (Yusanto 2015).

Conclusion

Indonesia experienced a democratization of the authoritarian Suharto regime after 32 years in power. In the process of democratization, appeared diverse political and religious groups with ideological variants. As a country that has always prided democracy, the Indonesian state must be consistent with the democratic principles. Which guarantees freedom of association, assembly, speech, and expression of its citizens. Including groups that are considered as "hard liner" must be guaranteed its existence for not commit criminal acts, terrorism, or violence that harm others. Therefore, in the implementation of democratic, groups such as HTI that have anti-nationalism and anti-democracy principles must also be maintained. Because it is part of the right to association, assembly, and expression. In addition, HTI also never used violent crime, terrorism, or violence. Therefore, it difficult to find reason to ban or prohibit groups like HTI. Banning the existence of HTI only violate the principle of democracy itself. Therefore, the desire some groups to ban HTI or threat HTI's activities, can be considered as an act of anti-democracy. So far, the state is still consistent with the principles of democracy by ensuring the existence of HTI so that its activity is growing in society. In a well-known proverb among the people of Indonesia, the paradox of democracy in Indonesia may be likened to a "senjata makan tuan." The consequent implementation of democracy can actually confirm and guarantee the existence of the anti-democracy groups.

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BUILD AWARENESS *BHINEKA TUNGGAL IKA* FOR ACHIEVING PEACE

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Abstract

This article aims to elaborate the issues related to *bhineka tunggal ika*. Awareness will be unity in diversity should be constantly pursued and developed. Realizing that not only the elements that multivariety and layer, but also intertwined elements to one another. The challenge facing not only from the outside such as globalization, but rather a challenge from within. methodically exposed problems with the analysis, synthesis in her reflective critical thinking and ends with a conclusion. The exposure is done by adopting a historical approach to reflective.

Keywords: nationalism, *bhineka tunggal ika*, peace

Introduction

Indonesia nation was not formed in an instant but through a long process of struggle, ranging from popular resistance that is regional, then evolved into nationalist struggle marked by the emergence of organizations nationalist movement that finally crystallized, to encourage the Indonesia youths to unite vowed in the Youth Pledge on October 28, 1928. Historically, a common commitment that grows in suffering oppression, who then gave birth to the experience of struggle together through efforts to overcome all differences of religion, ethnicity, race, culture and others by one goal each, namely independence. So it becomes Indonesia is not easy. The process of "being that" through a process that requires a struggle full of twists and turns and intrigue to unite the mind together. It all proved by the history of the struggle of the Indonesia people themselves.

Indonesia independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945 by Bung Karno and Bung Hatta, State of Indonesia which is free, is a great country which is supported by several advantages such as geographical advantages, namely Indonesia rich in natural resources, and the strategic position of Indonesia is located between two continents (Asia Continent and Australia) as well as between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean make Indonesia is on track transpolitic-economic and cultural nations in the world today and in the future, in addition to these advantages, Indonesia also has the advantage of social, cultural, and ideological superiority.

Indonesia nation must give thanks to almighty God because until now can maintain the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia's air *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* based on *Pancasila*. However, if some areas are not included, neglected, exploited, let alone suppressed, then the sense of nationality will evaporate. When the flavor nationality began to evaporate and determination to shared (the spirit of unity) is not felt anymore, then living is only small groups based on language, race, religion, regionalism is different in the sense that is homogeneous in and exclusive to the outside. For people who only are able to live their own communities and their group, nationality is an empty word. Without Indonesia nationalism nothing more than a conglomeration of tribes and different ethnic, and even Homeland will undergo destruction.

Abdurrahman Wahid (Fatoni, 2014: 20) stated that Indonesia must remain vigilant and maintain the integrity of the Republic with all the differences in ethnicity, religion, race, culture, and others, because diversity is inevitability the law of God for His creation, and therefore diversity must

be accepted without any difference. It is not so clear to us that it accepts differences and origins are not a sign of weakness, but rather shows the strength.

Challenges ff *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*

There are several challenges faced by the Indonesian people in maintaining its unity, namely globalization, conflict, consumer culture, and ideology of global radicalism.

Globalization

Globalization is defined as a process that produces a single world, people around the world become interdependent in all aspects of life whether political, social, economic, and cultural (Robertson in Sztompka, 1994; Hallak, 1988). Ohmae (1990) referred to it as "the borderless world" a world without borders. So globalization can be defined as the spread of habits-habits worldwide and growing mutual awareness globally.

Globalization has weakened the national identity (Lauder, et al., 2006; Rinne and Ozga, 2011) and eliminate the boundaries between countries. Globalisation generates two contradictory phenomenon, namely standardization and diversification. Standardization of culture through the similarity of products and systems organizations in public life. Hand others, diversification of trying to preserve various aspects of society to promote access to diverse features world heritage (Hallak, 1998). We can watch the passage of globalization in every place. Humans form a network throughout the world and make the local region to be global, as well as the local region to be global (Plummer, 2010). Through the globalization of the world into a global village (*global village*). The information and events happening in a distant place can be watched by millions of people at the same time. Globalization that seemed to make the borders do not mean in the sense of a world without borders as proposed Ohmae. We seemed to be a citizen of the world.

Ritzer (2004) went on to explain the phenomenon of globalization with some of the concepts that globalization versus globalisasi, the development of capitalism, McDonaldisation, and Americanized. While Ohmae (1990) stated that globalization involves four major powers and have called 4i namely investment (capital investment), industry (industrial development), information technology (IT), and individual consumers. All four of these aspects will affect the economic policies of each country. Every product from various countries freely out in every state (neoliberalism), consequently capitalist companies from developed countries are very strong, will always expand the market to the whole world, thus indirectly will kill the economy recipient country. Whether through the system neoliberalism can be created so that all people can live decently in peace as a human being. That is exactly what is not guaranteed by the laws of the free market that is handing the economy on the market, the weak states it will be mired in poverty, injustice, and despair that would deprive life of peace coveted by the public.

In addition to neoliberalism, globalization also brings the issue of cultural homogenization, more precisely is the homogenization of culture to Western culture (Martono, 2014: 201). Western culture will become the dominant culture in the whole world. The whole world will be rubbing lifestyles, consumption patterns, values and norms as well as the ideas and beliefs of Western society. In this condition, the uniqueness of the local culture will disappear because of the dominance of Western culture.

Conflict

Globalization, trade liberalization, and the strengthening demands suburb ask for their rights both socially, politically and economically to accelerate welfare, as well as regional ego are all factors that can lead to conflicts between tribes, between religions, and between groups.

The conflict was marked by the growing development of the mobilization of the masses in solving various problem which in turn could lead to separatist movements that aim to secede from the Republic of Indonesia, such as the separatist movements that occurred in Aceh, Maluku and Papua. Although the problem of GAM (Free Aceh Movement) in NAD have been successfully completed with the realization characterized by the implementation of a grain of understanding Helsinki in 2005 with the basic framework of the Republic of Indonesia as a mechanism for resolution of the issue (Bappenas), but separatist movements still need to watch out.

The above conditions can occur because it is caused by the erosion of a sense of nationalism that exist within the community and then develop into a prolonged conflict that eventually lead to the disintegration of the nation, if not quickly done actions wise to prevent and mitigate them to the root of the problem completely it would be endless problems. Strengthening back the motto Unity in Diversity is a response to the perception to livetoegether in the corridors of the Homeland and realizing national integration.

Consumer Culture

Capitalist production is no longer simply to meet the needs of the community, but on the contrary it creates the new things that are not needed and are not perceived as a need to offer such by companies, so that we feel need it. The layout of the challenge for humanity is on Basically capitalism compelled to produce things that are new polynomial with the quality, the better, while socialism did not want to expand and improve the quality of its production, but want to ensure the survival reasonable peace for all citizens, but the soul of socialism is often blocked by a lazy attitude , undisciplined, complacency, an attitude so long, which in turn makes the socialist economy looks poor.

The giant capitalism will manipulate needs are not realized, when many people have been manipulated by the promotion and advertising, then they will be spending a continuous basis, because they will be restless if there is nothing new and they do not have it. In this case people are not going to have enough sense, which in turn can lead to a sense of selfish (loss in social care) and hedonistic, as they no longer notice that there are actually brothers around who can not meet their needs. Over time people poor can be considered as disruption, because they assume that the poor are disrupting their right to happiness.

Ideology Global Radicalism

Ideology in towards civilization more dignified exposed to various influences ideologies, including the ideology of radicalism that is global overall insight into the philosophy of religious and ideologies that are universal, the justification and source of motivation for his followers to commit violence, especially in the form of acts of terror against all parties viewed as an enemy that must be destroyed (National Resilience Institute of RI, 2012). The ideology of global radicalism disrupt the achievement of the various policies set. When in fact the ideology of *Pancasila* as the nation of Indonesia has been proven and tested is able to unite pluralism of various tribes, racial, ethnic, and religions in Indonesia.

The growing global ideology of radicalism This would pose a threat of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia, and it is a real challenge at the moment, for example, is the act of a group of religious radicalism. (Fanani, 2013) Being a Muslim liberal, progressive, fundamentalist, radical, or inclusive of course is fine, because it is a fundamental right of every citizen of Indonesia. The problem is when the patterns of diversity we believe in and live threaten the existence of other people , What's worse, when a group claiming itself the most correct and have a single truth, then forcing the other group follows the familiar group. Action group of religious radicalism that sometimes using means of violence, both verbal and non-verbal, certainly very contrary to our constitution which guarantees freedom of religion, expression, belief, and will ultimately jeopardize the integrity of the

Republic. Tantangan see some of the challenges above, it is necessary to attempt to maintain the integrity of the Republic for the welfare of the people of Indonesia, by way of the following.

Affirming Motto Unity in Diversity

Conceptually, Indonesia has had nations principles and vision of a strong, embedded in the slogan "*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*". A principle which can bring together national traditions and pluralistic society archipelago in the novelty of the nation-state of Indonesia; with a readiness to respect differences while striving for unity in the basic state, state constituante, shapes, symbols, and language of the country, as well as legislation as a consensus together. With the principle of equal, the implementation of state are expected to protect the people and the country of Indonesia based on the spirit of unity that could cope with familiar individuals and groups (Latif, 2014: 342). The conception of national unity bacground multicultur tribes Indonesia want to unite in place NKRI. To guard integrity of the Republic, it can be achieved through cooperation , coordination , and accommodation in the sense that every individual should have the awareness of air- *Bhineka Tuggal Ika* to realize a safe country, serene, fair, prosperous and unseen.

Indonesia Society Needs to be Has Sense of National Ethical and Humane

Ethical in the sense of having the awareness that living in the community have a responsibility equal to the prosperity, security, order, and so on that can not be delegated to others, then also marked by happiness we feel as much as possible should also be perceived by others and suffering that we experience as much as possible not to drag others to participate taste (Sujarwo, 2011: 211). Based on the criteria of ethical and unethical it can be concluded that the ethical behavior based on human values (humanist).

Humanist in the sense attitude in principle to respect each person in his entirety as a human being, the dignity as a creature that is free, that is the right to determine their own way of life and beliefs. Humanism is the perspective in which a person is respected not because the traits or abilities like because he is stupid or clever , male or female, religious communities which, he's good or bad, comes from the area where, but rather seen as merely he was a man. Brotherhood based on the values of humanity is the culmination of a fraternity that would strengthen *bhineka tunggal ika*.

In relation to nationality, humanist meaning attitude that always respect the dignity of each citizen as a whole, even citizens who weak should not be used on the name of the nation's progress.

The spirit will of Indonesia nationalism is a manifestation of gratitude for the gift of the homeland wide, strategic, rich, elegant, and compound, by developing a sense of belonging and love Nusa Nations. Sense of belonging and love Nusa Nations should be reflected in the spirit of unity in diversity and the ability to develop a sense of kinship with the positive spirit of mutual cooperation and dynamic. In the end a sense of love, a sense of unity, a sense of kinship only foam realized by willingness to sacrifice, give priority to the general interest above personal and group interests (Latif, 2014: 342),

Multicultural Education

The formation of multicultural communities through education both formal and non-formal and even informal community should be done in a systematic, integrated, and sustainable. Multicultural education democratic is deemed necessary because of the development of social conditions, politics, and culture of the nation, especially since the reform era full of social turmoil of political and conflicts in various levels of society.

Multiculturalism need was reaffirmed in a simple to understand or acknowledge the diversity, and conversely no one country that only has the custom single national. Commitment to acknowledge this diversity, is the foundation for citizenship civilized democratic towards civil society *civil*

society and multicultural education here which became one of the key instruments in building the commitment.

Through education expected to not only improve the understanding and knowledge of various socio-cultural values, but more than that, namely to implement these values in society, nation and state. So the Education Multicultural be definition as education about the diversity of cultures in response to demographic changes and cultural certain communities, even the world as a whole. In this case of course the role of Citizenship Education and Education *Pancasila* is also a must that run in conjunction with the Multicultural Education.

In Multicultural Education curriculum may include materials about tolerance, ethno-cultural civilization, religion, the danger of discrimination, and conflict resolution, human rights, democracy and plurality, universal humanity and other relevant material. However, the formulation and implementation in Indonesia still need to be discussed more seriously and specifically, it is deemed necessary because it is not only in regards to the material or the content of Multicultural Education itself but also about the strategy to be used in its application, whether for example in the form of a separate subject, or integrated with other subjects, or inserted in each subject. Apart from all the obvious notice appears logical development today requires Multicultural Education, which is expected to provide an important contribution to the formation of "Unity's" in the midst of diversity that really actually is not just a slogan and motto (Magniz, 2007)

Conclusion

Need ideas and in retrospect that the role of harmonization, balance, equality of rights and obligations, brotherhood, sincerity, honesty, equality, unity, and independence necessary to maintain the integrity of the pluralistic Indonesia nation state towards the state and civil society filled with peace.

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ONE-STOP SERVICE FOR LISTING POPULATION, DENSITY, AND PREVENTING DOUBLE IDENTITY: INDONESIA CASE

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Abstract

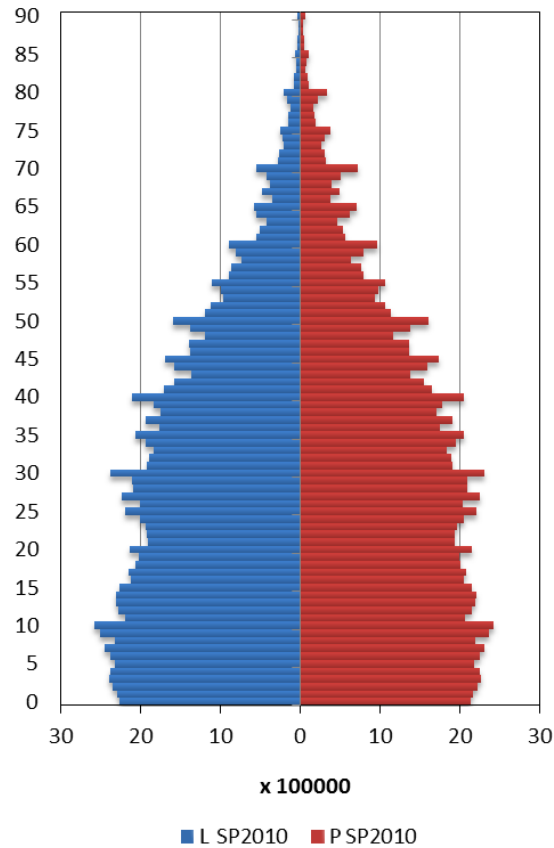
To making an good governances in the public spheres, issues which adhere in person identity right after their birth until they are died. Indonesia having a problem with their accountability on population density and some of the people have no identity which causing any difficulties while they want to create and manage their life. A name, as important as a body, is a corpus administration differentiate from others and it's cannot be detached even though they have died. Indonesia as a archipelago state in their consideration as the state's obligation to provide protection and recognition of personal status and determination of the legal status has a Central Bureau of Statistics as the head bodies to administrates of population and in it is said that the birth and death is an important event still having a problem because of their fragmented territory and procedure, this case isn't only happen inland but also in the big city because no merging of systems to record changes in the interests of the population. A number of population administrations that must be met residents are not in accordance with the service that should be implemented in line to arrange them. The first identity of a body is a Birth Certificate, which should be manages in 60 days after birth. This document which should also be listed soon in the family card, but because it is not taken care of simultaneously, then raised the question of the administration of that person in the country. One-stop service on making the first identity is the solution which can prevent errors between them, may be a way for the government to anticipate crime associated with double identity, and may be a solution to preventing problems while making immigration documents. In addition, adding the registration number of the population in the Birth Certificate can also reduce the possibility of data errors.

Key words: one-stop, good governance, public sphere, adhere identity, Central Bureau of Statistics, Birth Certificate, family card, double identity.

A country cannot calls as a country without any human population. It is part of the state existences instead of territory and the state's government itself. At this time, the development of mankind can be said to be very fast moving, the number of residents in each country rise quite sharply and become a problem for the government which is mainly to support the right to life of each individual regardless of age or gender. Needs of each individual is to be supported by the government of the country because the population is one of the most important instrument. Based on those problems, Indonesian's government has a Department of Population and Civil Registry that records the entire dynamics of the country's population. Department of Population and Civil then launched a variety of programs, in which it not only includes the collection of data on population alone but includes also the joints of his life by holding a census differentiated based on the year of the census. Body was subsequently appointed to conduct a census is the Central Bureau of Statistics, where they fielded census officers in the entire territory of the unitary state to record the number of people, including people who are in an areas which classified as 3T: frontier, outer, and left behind.

Such work is closely related to interests and parameter, correction strategic and demographic data controller of Indonesia, and this work then submitted by the government to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which is included in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as the United Nations platform on economic and social issues. The latest census held in 2010, the process is

running one month in which the Central Bureau of Statistics has launched a census run in framed behind zero years (0), it requires more time to process because the data that has been entered and released the results due to the Indonesian region are very wide and divided into various the island with a variety of geographic conditions which all of them are not always easily-accessible. That's why, the validity of the figures released between data produced by the census, the population registered, and the real number of Indonesian population overall often had discrepancies with the existing conditions.



Indonesia Population Pyramid in 2010 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2013)

Those miscalculations contains many errors due to the recording of data, or of the population there who have not registered or even have a formal identity are issued by the government. A number of residents also suspected not even have a Birth Certificate as his first identity. This is when it occurs in urban areas because parents do not have time to enroll their children to the Department of Population and Civil Registration Card or change the family, while in the interior regions still found a number of tribes who live in places untouched by others. Besides the homeless and the occupants of the boat or floating homes also encountered problems in the absence of a fixed residential address. This of course resulted in a miscalculation to map demographic on which to base will be projected population misses, so that the necessary simplification of the system but with numbers high validity that allows people to take care of an identity document whose implementation without consuming time and distance so it is not became a problem for them. In addition, data verification can be run from both parties, both the government and the population and other document management did not encounter any obstacles.

Methods to Change Data Recording Errors

Dynamics affecting anthroposphere part of the population that has a branch of science, namely demography. Change recording system is needed because Indonesia adopts the form census type Canvasser where the officers came to the residence and recorded demographic data by asking the family card which is then recorded immediately by the officer because Indonesia is still a developing country that is not all heads of families are able to use technology to record the necessary data for the census. In addition, the type of census used by the Indonesian government is still the overall combination between the type of *de facto* and *de jure* for chopping way. For those who live permanently used way of *de jure*, namely enumerated where they live officially, whereas for which no permanent residence enumerated by means *de facto*, which is enumerated in place they are found by census field workers. *De jure* is a population census based on legal evidence possessed by the population, one of the evidence law questioned is the Family Card and Identity Card. While the *de facto* recording residents who met the officer in an area, even though the person who met non-resident areas concerned. Based on the number of data search by the author on the official website of department of Civil Registration, when the recording of the Deed born children were found when after these documents came out, not necessarily the child has been enrolled in the Family Card, only in Sidoarjo regency whom choosing to put the child into Family cards in advance so that the child has a Population Identification Number, but it was contrary to Presidential Decree No. 25 of 2008 section 11 subsection (1) and (2) the write if changes to the Family Card for birth must have a Birth Certificate citation and in the Birth Certificate, only the Population Administration Information System number are listed therein. In other local governments, in the management of a Birth Certificate is only required the photocopy of Family Card. After the process completed and a Birth Certificate has been finished, then the resident can register a newborn child on the Family Card. This is necessarily requires residents to come to the Department of Population and Civil records up to three times, and when no data recording errors residents must change the data that had been recorded previously and it certainly takes a lot of time. Necessary reform of the bureaucracy with one-stop service that can include in the service of the population and it can change the shape of the data verification not only of the official of the population but also by the document register. Government Regulation No. 24 of 2013 also did not standardize data recording further population due to the policy of regional autonomy. In addition, someone Population Identification Number can be included in the Birth Certificates can prevent existing data errors in the central data system.

The Importance of One-Stop Service for Making Good Governance

Population Administration Information System in Indonesia currently has some form of data records which can then be updated with the documents to other population. However, if the registration error first occurred, then later there will be errors in the issuance of the next citizenship documents. This system should not be separated, so that the required data is actually equal to one individual as it is if there will create multiple identities in one individual and it is forbidden by the law. Individuals with a dual identity also have the possibility to commit a crime is higher than having one identity, because if not caught, the opportunity to be able to achieve anything he wants to be more easily achieved. In this case the authors have encountered problems on state or government officials, then the author found some number of data within different documents but refers to an individual, the differences in the name of a Birth Certificate and listed in the Family Card while both of them are the base of the manufacturing other documents such as educational certificates, passport and National Identity Card. Passport refers to the birth certificate as the first official document to someone, but the educational certificate and Identity Card referred to the Family Card. Education diplomas accounted for under the Family Card is currently enrolled children to undergo education, because the family card is considered as a derivative of the child's birth certificate. In addition, the authors also found when different names between the passport and National Identity Card makes a person get into trouble when entering the immigrations of other countries, as other countries have an understanding if an Indonesian passport

for seventeen years and older or those who are married, accompanied by a National Identity Card. Though both the estuary of two different documents. Therefore, the problem of recording of data between a birth certificate and Family Card is very fatal if is not immediately resolved.

With the change of the system is a comprehensive one-stop service, the number of these problems can be much minimized. Changes in the population corpus recording system will suppress the difference between a irth certificate and family card as two of the most important personal documents of each individual. Presidential Regulation No. 23 of 2008 article 1, paragraph 11, Population Identification Number as identification numbers that are unique population or typical, single and attached to a person who is registered as the population of Indonesia, so that the numbers are purely for the individual and their inclusion on the entire population documents will facilitate the verification of government. Newborn child would automatically follow the domicile of the mother. When both of these documents can be administered concurrently, the first time it takes to take care of not too long, psychologically it can reduce the reluctance of people to come to the Department of Population and Civil Registration. Secondly, verification between the government easier and handed over to the care of the moment, he is also able to directly verify the data between the two, because of the differences that exist between them today comes from the processing of such documents should be separate. Validity of data between the two documents will impact on other documents such as passports and identity cards immigration issues in other countries more easily. Third, when the census population as one of the state's obligation to take care of its people will be on target because of the numbers surveyed with numbers miscalculations probability would be very low because each person registered in the Population Administration Information System has also been listed on the Family Card. And the last thing, of course it is easier for the government to count the number of Indonesian citizens in each of the population census, mapping the density and the other needed conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Overall, these changes will lead to efficiencies for the both sides, the government and the society.

Conclusion

Census goes hand in hand with the emergence of human civilization. The many activities beneficial to the survival of the people who inhabit a country to get kesejahteraan. Nilai contained in the population census not only to count the number of residents, but also can be used as a parameter on which to base a variety of other services that are shaded by the government. But if something goes wrong amount because the data recording will certainly come to change the mapping implemented related institutions while doing his job. Of the various residence documents held by residents, two first documents that must be met is a birth certificate and a family card. When the data is recorded in both documents are not the same, it will make a difference to documents derivatives on both. In addition, there are differences as well as to create chance of crime if the population can not be held accountable, it can also be a problem with the existence of the Population Administration Law has been implemented by the government. The existence of a comprehensive one-stop service will provide fresh air for both sides, the government and society. For the government, it can minimize data recording errors that can create opportunities to be crime, whereas for the community, the need for identity documents will soon be fulfilled without complicated procedures.

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO LIFE (STUDY OF MATERNAL IN NGANJUK)

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Abstract

Indonesia is a country with a large population. Ironically, a large population is not matched by the conditions in the health sector. Development of the health sector in Indonesia is still low which is marked by the increasing number of maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth. The issue of the increase in maternal mortality rate (MMR) in childbirth also occurs in Nganjuk. Increased maternal mortality rate (MMR), one of which is caused by a lack of education and knowledge of women about the importance of health care during pregnancy and childbirth. This is caused by the presence of a patriarchal culture that led to the subordination of men over women, so that women could not get their rights, one of which is the right to education and knowledge. this study assume that the lack of women in education and knowledge about health, have an increased risk of death experienced by women due to give birth. Therefore, this study was conducted to determine the cause of increased maternal mortality (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk and solutions are being made to overcome this problem. This research was analyzed by using the theory of belonging to Mary Wollstonecraft about Liberal Feminism using qualitative approach in Nganjuk district. Data were collected through interviews, secondary data and direct observation. The results showed that the main causes of the high maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk district, are: lack of education and knowledge about pregnancy health, including the myths that developed in the community, lack of awareness of mothers to maintain her healthy pregnancy and disease congenital condition that affects the mother's pregnancy. Actually, the government has implemented many programs in the district Nganjuk to handle such problems include: Gerdaristi for high-risk's pregnant women, Jarimas, Integration ANC, Class Pregnancy and Mentoring. But the program is still less than optimal due to the lack of socialization program so that the maternal mortality rate is still increasing. Therefore, women need to get the right to education and adequate knowledge about the health of the pregnancy from an early age so that the number of deaths in childbirth could be avoided.

Keywords: Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) due to give birth, education and science, pregnancy's health

Background of the Problem

Indonesia is a country with a large population. Data from BPS stated that the population of Indonesia in 2014 reached 252.2 million. Ironically, the population is large enough, it is not offset by good conditions in the health sector. Development of the health sector in Indonesia is still low, including women's health. It can be seen from the increasing number of Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) due to give birth.

The maternal mortality rate (MMR) in childbirth is one of the main indicators of the health status of a country. AKI also indicated the ability and quality of health services, the capacity of health services, quality education and knowledge society, health and environmental quality, social, cultural as well as obstacles in gaining access to health services. In 2012, the position of AKI in Indonesia to other countries are still lagging behind neighboring countries such as Malaysia (62 per 100,000 live births), Sri Lanka (58 per 100,000 live births), and the Philippines (230 per 100,000 live births), while

in Indonesia AKI number of recorded number of 359 per 100,000 live births. Data AKI makes Indonesia began far from the MDG target for MMR in 2015 was set at 102 per 100,000 live births.

In general, maternal mortality in the world are caused by hemorrhage (25%), infection after childbirth (15%), unsafe abortion (13%), disorders of high blood pressure (12%), obstructed labor (8%), the causes of direct obstetric Other (8%), and indirect causes (19%) (National Development Planning Agency, 2007). Based on data from Household Health Survey (Survey) in 2010, the direct cause of maternal deaths occur 90% at delivery and immediately after childbirth are hemorrhage (28%), eclampsia (24%), infection (11%), complications of puerperal (8%), abortion (5%), obstetric trauma (5%), embolism (5%), obstructed labor / loss (5%), and others (11%) (Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011).

The issue of increased maternal mortality rate (MMR) in childbirth was experienced by Nganjuk. Based on data from the Health Department Nganjuk 2014, showed that the number of maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth increased rapidly since 2010 until 2014. In 2014, the Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk amounted to 108.74 per 100,000 live births.

According Manuaba (in Wibowo and Darmastuti, 2009), factors that can increasing the number of maternal mortality rate (MMR) in general there are 3 factors, that is a direct factor, factor between, and indirect factors that are closely related to social and cultural issues, culture and public education. One of the causes of high maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth is the low level of education and knowledge for women, especially regarding the importance of maintaining healthy pregnancy.

The low level of education and knowledge of women about pregnancy health caused by the patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture itself interpret the biological differences (male and female) as an indicator of decency in behavior, causing the restriction of rights, access, participation, control and enjoy the benefits of the resources and information, and this occurs mainly in women (Puspawati, 2012). Patriarchal culture led to the subordination of the dominance of men over women so that women with can't get her rights, one of which is the right to education and knowledge.

Feminism philosophy strongly opposed the patriarchal culture as causes of the inequality of rights between men and women. Fenimisme liberal states that between men and women have equal rights and equal opportunities, both creatures have the ability to reason. Mary Wollstonecraft, argued that if humans have the capacity to reason, then men and women equally certainly have that capacity. So that people are required to provide education to women, as well as to men, because all human beings are entitled to equal opportunities to develop the capacity of reason and morality, so that they can be fully human.

In this case the education and knowledge refers to knowledge about pregnancy health. this study assume that the lack of women in education and knowledge about health, have an increased risk of death experienced by women due to give birth. Therefore, this study was conducted to determine the cause of increased maternal mortality (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk and solutions are being made to overcome this problem.

Formulation of the Problem

Based on the background of the problem and that assumption, the formulation of the problem can be formulated as follows:

1. What is the cause of increased maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk? Is it true that women's lack of education and knowledge about pregnancy triggered when maternal mortality?
2. How can a solution to deal with problems related to an increase in maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk?

Theoretical Basis

Liberal Feminism Theory

Liberal feminism was first formulated by Mary Wollstonecraft in his book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Wollstonecraft encourage women to take part in decision-making and policy-makers are autonomous, and how to get it should be done through education. According to highly educated women do not need to be self-sufficient economically or politically active to become autonomous. The general objective of the liberal feminist is to create create a just society and care about the freedom to develop.

Roots than liberal feminism argued that liberal political thought have basic properties that put man on the unique characteristics compared to other creatures, namely the ability to reason with an emphasis on moral or prudential aspects. (Tong, 2004: 15) In other words the principle of liberal feminism is women and men have the ability to reason, so that they have rights and equal opportunities to advance themselves. liberal feminists see still happening oppression against women, yet the fulfillment of women's rights, opportunity, and freedom because she is a woman, it means women still face repression, even though women have gained a top position but can not be appreciated fully by the environment or the surrounding ,

Mary Wollstonecraft argued if humans have the capacity to reason, then the man or woman would equally have the capacity. So that people are required to provide education to women, as well as to men, because all human beings are entitled to equal opportunities to develop the capacity of reason and morality, so that they can be fully human. Wollstonecraft trying to bring the vision of a woman who has the physical strength and mind, and is a slave on his desire, not a slave husband and children. Wollstonecraft want women to be "personhood" (the whole person), women are not "just a tool" and "toy boy" but the woman is "a destination", reasoning agent, whose self-esteem is in its ability to determine their own fate.

Liberal feminism is desired to liberate women from oppressive gender roles. Oppressive gender roles are roles which are used as an excuse or justification for giving a lower, or no room at all for women, both in the academy, forums, as well as the market. Government has an important role in the liberal feminist activities and take responsibility to eliminate discrimination in both sexual and earnings and take responsibility for making women in the country are safe from sexual abuse, rape and violence often experienced by women.

Health Status

In accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Health No. 1202 / Menkes / SK / VIII / 2003 on Indonesian Indicator Determination Guidance Indicators of Healthy and unhealthy Provincial and District / Municipal Health, mentioned some important indicators to measure the health of people in an area are as follows.

- a) The maternal mortality rate (MMR) due to give birth is the number of women dying during pregnancy or during the 42 days of termination of pregnancy regardless of the duration and place of delivery, which is caused by pregnancy or its management, and not due to other causes, per 100,000 live births ,
- b) Nutritional status is an expression of a state of equilibrium in the form of specific variables or embodiment of nutriture in the form of specific variables (Supariasa, et al, 2001). Nutritional status is an important factor in the formation of qualified human resources is a healthy human, intelligent, and productive. Malnutrition early in life will affect the quality of the next life. Malnutrition in children not only cause physical growth disorders, but also affect intelligence and productivity as adults (Hand, 2008). Malnutrition is a state of malnutrition caused by shortages of energy and protein intake of micronutrients also in the long term.

Research Methods

This study used a qualitative approach in some districts in Nganjuk. Data was collected through interviews, secondary data and direct observation. This study was conducted to determine the cause of the rising maternal mortality ratio (MMR) due to give birth in Nganjuk and solutions in the form of programs undertaken to address these problems.

Results and Discussion

Based on data from the Health Service Nganjuk known that the maternal mortality rate in 2010 is most prevalent in the district Tanjunganom (3); In 2011 in the district Lengkong (3) and Ngronggot (3); In 2012 in the district Lengkong (5); in 2013 in the district Ngronggot (3) and Tanjunganom (3); 2014 in the district Prambon (2). Within 5 (five) years, District Lengkong, Ngronggot, and Tanjunganom 2 times occupy a number of the highest maternal mortality, namely the districts Lengkong (2011 and 2013), sub Ngronggot (2011 and 2013), sub Tanjunganom (in 2010 and 2013).

Cause of maternal death in childbirth are caused by two main factors. The first factor is caused by a disease suffered by mothers who give birth. This disease can be an inherited disease that affects the mother before giving birth and medical condition of the mother during labor. In general, the causes of maternal mortality in the study site are: embolism, hepatitis, bleeding, eclamsia, heart, decompensasi, cordis, HPP (hemorrhagic post partum), PEB (Pre eclampsia weight), tuberculosis, KET (Ectopic Pregnancy Impaired), Abortion incomplete , Cardiomegali, Ca Lung, hyperemia, cerebral palsy, diabetes, APB and Meningitis. Data from Nganjuk District Health Office show that in 2010, the cause of death is embolism. In 2011, the cause of death is HPP, Eclamsia, and PEB. In 2012, the cause of death is Decompensasi cordis. In 2013, the cause of most deaths is Decompensasi Cordis. Whereas in 2015, the cause of death is HPP.

The second factor is caused by socio-cultural conditions in society that influence people's behavior and understanding of the risk of death of a mother. Data research findings indicate that one of the main causes of maternal deaths are caused by lack of knowledge of mothers about the health of the pregnancy, thus triggering a lack of awareness of mothers to care for their pregnancies so many pregnant women who do not conduct the examination pregnancy and did not keep the nutrients so that many pregnant women are lacking nutrition. In addition, people still believe the myths / local culture related to pregnancy that was not properly medically causing high risk to the mother's pregnancy as marriage youth, culture incontinence which only eat rice without a side dish nutritious food such as chicken, eggs, and fish, etc.

Based on interviews, data showed that to address the problem of maternal mortality, the government Nganjuk has made programs to improve facilities and standards of health care for pregnant women. The program services provided to pregnant women, among others:

1. Gerdaristi (Movement Assistance Pregnant Women and Infants High Risk) is a program that empowers people, especially families who are at high risk pregnant women assisted by cadres who have been selected and have received training,
2. Facilitate people's access to health services,
3. Class pregnant women,
4. Integrated ANC (Antenatal checks) are pregnancy tests done to check the state of the mother and fetus regularly covering Visits Visits K1 and K4,
5. Home visit is a visit to the homes of pregnant women and postpartum,
6. Cadre meeting regularly to assess pregnant women,

7. P4K (Program Planning and Delivery Complications Prevention) is a government program that is facilitated by a midwife. The program is held with the aim of involving the active role of the husband, family, and community in planning for safe delivery and preparation for the complications for pregnant women, including postpartum family planning use planning,
8. Dissemination to adolescents on perkawinan early, due to an unwanted pregnancy, and others to students at school
9. Gentasibu (Movement Poverty Malnutrition) is a movement made by the community to alleviate malnutrition (weight very less).

But apparently, the programs implemented Nganjuk government can not cope the amount of maternal mortality rate that is still increasing. Lack of socialization evenly throughout the district led to the implementation of the program be less than optimal. It is also caused by low levels of knowledge and awareness in maintaining the health of pregnant mothers. Pregnant women tend not to realize the importance of maintaining the health of the pregnancy so that the risk of dying in childbirth is still a lot going on. Myths and cultural development in the medical community as opposed to the impact of women's lack of education, caused by the patriarchal culture that developed in the community with the older generation that affect future generations.

This patriarchal culture that restrict women's rights to get a proper education so that their knowledge about pregnancy health tends to be low. Therefore, through the movement of liberal feminism piecemeal patriarchal culture can be eliminated. Mary Wollstonecraft argued that as if human beings have the capacity to reason, then the man or woman would equally have the capacity. So that people are required to provide education to women, as well as to men, because all human beings are entitled to equal opportunities to develop the capacity of reason and morality, so that they can be fully human. Women need to get back the rights that should be obtained, including the right to education and knowledge about pregnancy health in order to reduce the number of maternal mortality ratio (MMR) due to give birth. Not only that, it should be socialized from an early age about healthy lifestyles for women so that when pregnancy her body is strong enough and do not have the disease or medical disorder as prevalent in pregnant women as today. It is associated with a healthy lifestyle through the consumption of nutritious foods at an early age.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Based on the results of this study concluded that the causes of maternal death in childbirth there are two factors of disease factors and factors of social and cultural conditions in the community such as: lack of knowledge and keadaran of maintaining the pregnancy health, economic issues, as well as the myths of the local culture. The government has tried to find solutions to reduce maternal mortality by making improvement programs and standards of health care facilities for pregnant women. But the program does not run optimally because of lack sosilasasi and low awareness of the mother to maintain a healthy pregnancy. Therefore, needs to be disseminated evenly to the pregnant mothers so that the program can be fully utilized. In addition, the necessary education from an early age about the health of the pregnancy so that women can overcome can be anticipated early on how to maintain good health in order to prepare themselves in facing the problem of pregnancy and childbirth as a natural thing for women. This is done so that women have the awareness to always maintain their health from an early age so that the risk of maternal death due to give birth could be avoided.

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MIGRANT WORKERS AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROBLEMS IN VILLAGE GOVERNMENTS

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Abstract

The year 2015 is an important time in implementing Undang-Undang No. 6 Tahun 2014 about Village. This Constitution give a bigger role for village in managing a big money called Dana Desa or village Fund through certain democratized budgeting process. This research wants to unveil the migrant workers' issues and the village government democratization process through budget allocation. Migrant workers' problem such as illegal migration and human trafficking have long been phenomenon for village people in Indonesia. This research is a qualitative research with the village government authority in Banyumas as informants. Banyumas is one of the migrant workers pocket in Indonesia. The data then analysed using interactive analysis. The result concludes several unexpected result. First, democratization in village budgeting process do not work well due to the politics limitation of the village government. Second, the final budget is set by higher authority rather than democratized process in the village. Third, village government people hoping to solve this problem using bigger money and bigger authority under new Law system.

Keywords: migrant workers, democratization problem, budget participative, village government

Introduction

Village is the smallest form of democratic government system in Indonesia. Therefore it has been a long history that the concentration of Indonesia's poverty is in this rural area. Instead of 'being heard' under democracy system, villagers are becoming 'left behind' in the country's development process. This people are difficult to keeping up with the country's development and getting money in the formal economy. Due to difficulty in seeking formal job and formal funding source such as banking, they then seek international migration as a way out.

Previous research is parted in two groups. First, the migrant workers' problems and how they cope with this problem individually (ECOSOC, 2007; and Wulan, 2010). Second, what is the government already doing to prevent and solved this migration problem (Wulan, 2011). Different from previous research, this research will analyze migrant workers' problem from the perspective of imperfect democracy process in the village.

Banyumas is used as location of study for several reason. First, it is an origins area of many Indonesia migrant workers. Second, it has *Peraturan Daerah* or County Law about responsibility of Village Government in managing migrant workers. Third, there are so many migrant workers' cases in

Banyumas during 2014 such as death, loose contact with family, or illegal migration and human trafficking (Wulan, et al., 2014).

The year 2015 is important date due to the implementation of Undang-undang No. 6/ 2015. This Law ensure the delegation of authority for the village. It also gives raise in village the budgeted fund from about Rp 70,000,000 into Rp 1,200,000,000. This year could be a turning point in making fundamental changes in dealing with migrant workers' problems.

Literature Review

Migrant workers' phenomenon is an example how a democratic village are fail to accommodate the job needs by their citizen. The issues could be coming from people, the authority, or the political process in the village. Here are previous theories and researches about migrant workers, democratized and budget participation in the village.

Migrant Workers' Problems

Migrant workers or *TKI (Tenaga Kerja Indonesia)* are every Indonesian citizen that legally working outside Indonesia in specific period and accept payment from their job Undang-Undang No. 39/2004. Under this law, *TKI* have to go abroad and find job through the help of intermediary brokerage company or *PJTKI (Perusahaan Jasa Penempatan Tenaga Kerja Republik Indonesia)*.

Peraturan Pemerintah RI No.3/ 2013 stated that a county has to make a program of capacity building and protection program for *TKI* and *TKI* candidate. It is impossible to give capacity building and protection to without having the exact data about *TKI*, therefor Banyumas issued Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas No. 2/ 2015. Under this county law, village have authority to registered migrant workers and migrant workers' candidates.

Most of Indonesian migrant workers is working in 3D (*Dirty, dangerous and difficult*) environment due to their lack educations and skills. This environment makes this job have so much inherent problem. First, human trafficking and illegal migration as in (Wulan, 2014). Second, social problem such as divorce and children left behind (Bryant, 2005). Children left behind are children that left at home by parents that working outside the country that potentially developed into social problems.

Democratized & Budget Participation in the Village

Democracy is a political system in which its government are held by people through direct election or using representative (Hill, 2011). Elements of democracy are including some regular elections, limited terms for representative and leader, and adult participation in politics (Hill, 2011).

Village is a specialized region that granted democracy system. On the other hand, in the same level authority, a kelurahan or subdistrict non village do not have this privileges and manage by government's officer. Democratized element in village as in Undang-undang No. 6 Tahun 2014:

Head of the village is chosen using direct election in the village, There are village representatives that also choose using democratized processto monitor the village leader, There is mechanism for participative budgeting system.

Budget participation is a process within organization where an individual having involved in the decision that having direct effect on them. (Dakhli et al, 2010). This participation can be in terms of choice, voice and explanation (Byrne and Damon, 2008). Budget participation for villagers are in terms of voice in *Musrenbang. Musrenbang(Musyawaharah Rencana Pembangunan)* is development planning held by rural authority to heard stakeholders' opinions (USAID, 2007).

The process of budget is doing *Musrenbang* every year to make *RPJM* once in 6 years and APBDes yearly. *RPJM (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah)* is a document about development planning

for 1 period head of village take led. This RPJM should be break down in *APBDes* (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Desa*) yearly. *APBDes* are formalized village income and expenses budget planning. *APBDes* then have to be approve by head of the district and major of the county to make the village got yearly funding.

The absent of one elements in budget participation can be seen as pseudoparticipation. Several research already examines whether the participation in Indonesian Village are real or ceremonial. Sopanah et al. (2013) using cases *Musrenbang* in Tengger, Bromo Mountain, East Java found out that this system is working. On the other hand, the research by Sopanah et al. (2009) stated that budget process in the local government are just pseudo participation. Pseudo participation is a process where the subordinate or ordinary people believe they have already participated in the budgeting process but in the end the budget is only decide by the higher authority (Libby, 1999).

Research Method

Research are conducted in Banyumas County, Central Java, Indonesia. The informants of the study are with the village government authority (Head of the village or village officer) and Head of District (note: a district is consisting of several village). Banyumas was chosen due its specialty as one of the migrant workers pocket in Indonesia.

This study is a qualitative research. The data collection is using Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Data the analyzed using Miles and Huberman's (1984) interactive analysis. The FGD are conduct several times during March-September 2015.

Migrant Workers' and Village Budget

There are many problems with migrant workers' and village government. Based on our study, the result will be discussing below.

Migrant Workers' Problems

A village is a place where most of the resident are relatives. Citizen lives there for many generations. But nowadays the world change dramatically. The person not only have to meets basic needs such as foods, clothes, and a modest house. Nowadays they have to fulfill further needs such as children education, a comfortable house, and higher esteem need from their society as pointed out with Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory (1987, in Robbin & Coulter, 2012).

Most of villager maybe realized that just living and working in village is not enough and they started finding another place to earn better money. But since they relatively having lower education, becoming migrant workers are the only way to coupe with that. This is concluded by "Mr. A", a head of the Cilongok District: "... *nantinya kalau tidak peduli kedepan, warga yang ingin jadi gaji besar bisanya cuma TKI.*" (If the village government do not care, many village citizens that want to have a high salary could only become Indonesia's blue collar migrant workers.)

This statement also could be summaries that many of village governments do not care enough about their people. They cannot set up a higher education and training that make villagers ready to enters carrier lives as high income workers. This government also fail to creating job and opportunity to make them retain in the villages.

Migrant Workers and Budget Problem in Democratized Village

This village that cannot create job opportunity for the people should be rooted back to budget problems in democratized village. The objective of democracy is the entire participation from every

elements of people in the governmental process to achieve high society. This participation including in budgeting process that make every stake holder need already accommodate in the system.

There are some problems in village budgeting system. First, the participation is just a pseudo participation. It means that the proses of hearing the villagers' participation through mechanism called as *Musrenbang* (*Musyawah Perencanaan Pembangunan* or discussion of development planning) are only ceremonial. These citizen inspiration only write as a proof that they already do the hearing process but do not used to be sources in making planning, instead of using those ideas, the head of the village will still use their own program while they were campaign to be elect as leader in a democratic system. This is as "Mr. B" an ex-head of Melung Village comment: "*Dari sisi perencanaan lebih banyak politis bukan demokratis dan partisipatif. Banyak (anggaran) karena (janji) kampanye (kepala desa). Musrenbang hanya formalitas.*" (Planning are based on politics rather than democratic. Most of the budget programs are coming from campaign promise while the head of the village wants to be elect for his position. *Musrenbang* are only a formality process.)

Second, While the village succeed entering citizen participation in the budget, in the process it needs validation from higher authority to get the budget approve. In Indonesian Government system the hierarchy are: central government, province government, county or city government, district government and village government. This bureaucratically system really difficult to exercised budget just by 'sending paper'. The lowest authority sometimes need to directly discussing with higher authority to make their main programs funded. "Mr. C" a head of Gumelar District explained about this budget bargaining process: "Seperti (program) pengaspalan jalan juga susah sebenarnya. Tapi kalau tidak begitu bagaimana (bisa memajukan wilayah), jadi butuh bantuan. Saya langsung maju ke bupati berani. Contoh aspal akhirnya masuk." (Example the program of making highway is actually a difficult job. If it were not happening then will be difficult to develop this region, therefor I need help. I directly meet the head of county to make special request. The result we can make a good highway as seen right now.)

Whilst discussing about village development planning process, most of the rural government ambiguity about how far their authority in this area. "Mr. M" an officer of government department Langgongsari Village opinion: "*Masalahnya (berangkat jadi TKI)gak lapor. Memang tadi kewenangan kades dalam hal migrasi (karena)sepertinya (itu) hak calon pekerja (jadi) tidak punya kewenangan untuk cawe-cawe.*" (The problems is when they went to be migrant workers, they did not register to the village office. It seems a human rights and not the authority of village government.)

"Mr. M" feels that there is no use in registered migrant workers due to its nature as human rights. "Mr. N" argument is different from other village officer's opinion. "Mr. N" a Sudimara Village Secretary feels authority ambiguity when it comes to the cross border issues"

"Itu kan Perda Kabupaten Banyumas (padahal) biasanya (para buruh migran berangkat) pakai PJTKI (Kabupaten) Cilacap, Tegal, Brebes. Bagaimana apakah bukan pakai Perda (daerah asal tapi) pakai (Perda asal) PJTKI nya." (The authority of village in registered migrant workers are using Banyumas County Law, but mostly this people are going abroad using broker companie from another county such as Cilacap, Tegal, Brebes. Which County Law is used, the origins or migrant workers' or the address of broker companies?)

Actually *Peraturan pemerintah Daerah (Perda) Kabupaten Banyumas* No. 2/ 2015 section number 20 it becomes the duty of the village authority to registered and having complete data about how many their citizens are migrant workers. It also means that the data and the registered should be in the migrant workers' origins, not the *PJTKI*'s. It is important to the village government to understands their position in migrant workers' problem. Realizing the potential problem, could make them accommodate the people needs of better living through working internationally. This authority can try to make planning and budgeting about how to make the register process easier.

"Mr. W" a government officers from Jatisaba Village implicitly stated that their village has already know about migrant workers' phenomenon and move further with planning and action:

“Sudah ada komunitas eks buruh migran sekitar 2 bulan yang lalu, diluncurkan ada dinstosnakertrans dan beberapa eks buruh migran dari luar desa. Termasuk migran yang masih di luar negeri sudah komunikasi termasuk migran yang di dalam negeri juga sudah ada paguyuban: Irian, Maluku, Jakarta, dan sebagainya.” (We already formed and launch ex migrant workers community 2 months ago by inviting county department of social, employment, and transmigration and others ex migrant workers’ community. This community already building contact with citizen that working outside village. Not only outside Indonesia but also inside Indonesia such as in Papua Island. Moluccas Island, Jakarta, and other places.)

Hope for implementation Undang-undang No. 6/2015 for migrant workers’ problems solutions

Undang-undang No. 6/ 2014 come up with enormous power and fund for village to developed as democratic and community based authority. This authority and money can be good in tackle migrant workers problems. First instead of just issued a registered document for the migrant workers, the village office also can take levy for that issuance. This is relevan with Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia No. 113/ 2014 that every village should have its own source of income, such as levy. Therefor this levy needs to be legalized using *Peraturan Pemerintah Desa* (Perdes) or village’s law. Still there not many village governments could make itu. This make “Mr. B” an ex-head of Melung Village, Kedungbanteng Village pointed out that the big funding should be allocate for trainings:

“(Pelatihan) legal drafting itu penting karena (untuk pembuatan)Perdes.(Pelatihan) perencanaan berbasis buruh migranharus ada kurikulum tingkatan (pelatihan). (Karena banyak yang) mampu, tapi tidak paham langkah-langkah (untuk) mencapai output itu. (Pelatihan) bagaimana merencanakan pelatihan (untuk buruh migran) level desa juga perlu.” (Legal drafting training are important to make village’s law. Training to make planning based on migrant care. This training should have level, because many of them do not know the right step to attain the output. Training how to planning a migrant workers training in the level of village is also important.)

This hope means that democratization is limited by the human resources capacity of village government. It means that capacity building in training is very important to make significant development in the village development post Undang-undang No. 6/2014 implemented. The allocation for citizen capacity building, whether is also important thing to make the democratization and budget participation process in the village works well.

Conclusion, Recommendation, and Limitation

According to the discussion above, there are several conclusion and recommendation. The conclusion and recommendation are as follows.

Conclusion

There are several problemson dealing with migrant workers’ issues in the village. First, the democratized village government that less capable in their fields and limited by higher authorities. Second, the participant of democratized budget that lack of education and information in helping village achieve its common prosperity. Third, the difficulty matching between planning, budgeting and realizing programs in dealing with migration issues.

Recommendation

Undang-undang No 6 Tahun 2014 about Village give many powers to village government to tackle the migration problem. First, this law guarantee that the head of the administrative village is choose using democratized process and development village using participative budgeting process. This enable village to ready with the needs of its citizen in dealing with migration process. Second, the

enormous source of village fund manage by village government should be assess and accompany by central government to managing the planning, budgeting, and realization process to avoid its misuse.

Limitation

There are several limitations in this research. First, it only conduct data collections using Focus Group Discussion. Further Research might continue using in depth interview to the village government to gain more insight about democratization process and migrant workers' problems. Second, the research is conducted before budget year 2015 finish. The next research should analyze the real development changes in budget realization in the village after Undang-undang No. 6/ 2014 implemented.

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THE MYTH OF RAPE THROUGH THE FEMINIST LENSE AND ITS REALITY FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF RAPISTS IN THE PENGKALAN CHEPA PRISON

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Abstract

Gender-based violence, such as rape is on the increase in Malaysia and this is of no exception for Kelantan, despite it practicing Islamic-oriented administration and governance. The nation was in shock, when in 2014 a gang rape was reported to have taken place in Kelantan where 38 adult men had raped a teenage girl aged 16 in Ketereh. In relation to this, Royal Malaysia Police (PDRM) recorded that the state of Kelantan is the fourth highest state to have rape offenders in Malaysia from the year 2001 to 2014. This study, is thus, seeking to understand the perspectives of the rapists towards the rape myth that propels rape as crime and violence in Kelantan. The feminists' view on the violence of rape serves as a framework to understand this form of violence. Meanwhile, the Pengkalan Chepa Prison (PPC) is used as our case study. All 44 adult rapists in PPC were given the closed-questionnaire forms. The study outcome for the myth of rape shows that the highest percentage of rapists stated that rape is sex and not violence.

Keywords : rape, Pengkalan Chepa Prison, myth of rape from rapist's perspective, myth of rape from feminist's lenses, rapist's perspective

Introduction

Kelantan, a state well known as 'the foyer of Mecca' is located in the East Coast of Malaysia. Kelantan also practices and Islamic administrative system. On May , 2014 Kelantan was in shock following a gang rape whereby 38 men were reported to have raped a girl aged 16 years old (Utusan Malaysia, 20 May, 2014). There is a noticeable change in the gender relationship in Kelantan in terms of the age of the victims. The percentage of the suspect's age as reported by the Royal Malaysia Police has shown that 13-15 years old is the highest group of the victims. Statistics shows that from 2001-to May 2014 for the age group of 13-15 years, they totaled 14,9260 (Source: Royal Malaysia Police Statistics , 2014). Pauline Fan, has also depicted an image of gender relationships in Kelantan and the oppression of the status of women.ⁱ The fear of sexual assault or rape is a part of every woman's life. In a plethora of ways this constricts and restricts females' mobility and manner of living, where they have to succumb to these man-made rules 'do not walk alone at night', 'Do not talk to strangers', 'Do not hitchhike', 'Do not dress in a provocative way' are just a few of the rules that females are socialised with.ⁱⁱ Rape myths are stereotypical beliefs that people may use to rationalise or minimize rape and the extent to which an individual endorses "rape myths" is defined as their level of RMA (Burt, 1980).ⁱⁱⁱ Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) state that, "Rape myths are attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (p. 134). RMA tends to increase if an individual holds traditional or stereotypical gender-role views (Pollard, 1992); for example, the notion that women

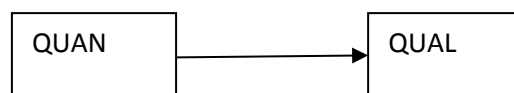
should take responsibility for looking after the family in terms of parenting, cooking, cleaning, etc. (Ben-David and Schneider, 2005).^{iv}

91 had been reported in Kelantan in the first five months of 2014 (The Star, 3 Jun 2014). Kelantan administration also adopts an Islamic approach as can be seen in terms of what the women are wearing (Kota Bharu Municipal Council– Islamic City (MPKB-BRI).^v While there are controlling laws, policy and discipline by the state administration towards gender relationships, we cannot turn a blind eye to the increase of rape cases in Kelantan. Kelantan has also presented the hudud law on March 2015. Rape myth dictates that rape is sex and not violence. However, the feminist movement in the United States has argued that *rape is largely an act of male domination of women, rather than an act motivated by sex drive* (e.g., Betries, 1972; Brownmiller, 1975; Mehrhof & Kearon, 1972; also see Robertson, 1981, p. 221).^{vi} The concept of rape myths was first introduced in the 1970s by authors such as Brownmiller (1975) and Barber (1974), although it was Martha Burt who really brought the topic to the forefront of sexual aggression research. Burt (1980) defines rape myths as “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists” (p.217). Burt (1980) proposed that rape myth acceptance (RMA) exists as a result of society’s expectation that men should be dominant, powerful and sexually aggressive, while women are required to be passive, submissive and sexually reluctant.^{vii} Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) defines “rape myths as the attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (p.134). Chapleau, et al. (2008) found that men were found to be more supportive of male rape myths than women.^{viii}

Methodology

This study uses the rape theory from the feminist perspective and the dissertation writing does not segregate the researcher from the study where the use of the researcher’s diary will be brought into the dissertation writing. This study will also use the sequential case study method where this method has several phases during the data collection. It is divided into two which is the sequential explanatory design A and the sequential exploratory design B. However, this study employs approach A which is through the quantitative to the qualitative data.

Sequential Explanatory Design (a)



Morse (1991) further elaborated: “a sequential explanatory design is typically used to explain and interpret quantitative results by collecting and analyzing follow-up qualitative data”. It can be easily useful when unexpected results arise from a quantitative study”.^{ix} In terms of the data collection, this study adopts the *mix-methods* using the *close-ended questionnaire* instrument and the *open-ended questionnaire*. 44 rapists were selected to answer the closed-ended questionnaire. The data collection for the open-ended questionnaire was divided into 3 phases. The phase division was decided upon due to the security reason and also the constraint imposed by the Pengkalan Chepa Prison. For the open-ended questionnaire, from the 44 rapists involved in the close-ended questionnaire, 5 were selected to answer the open-ended questionnaire. The selection was done by Pengkalan Chepa Prison by selecting respondents based on their age, the duration of punishment (sentence) and the level of risks. This is to ensure the safety of researcher and also mitigate the pressure to the respondents. For the data analysis, this study employs the SPSS method by analyzing the quantitative data (close-ended questionnaire form) while the Nvivo method was used to analyse the qualitative data (open-ended questionnaire form).

Rape Myth and the Reality from the Rapists' Perspective

From 65.9% the answers given by the rapists stated that *rape is sex*. Feminists have stated that rape is a form of violence and not sex. Brown miller (1975 :378). It is evident that a lot of respondents assume that rape revolves around having sexual intercourse and not as a form of violence. They understand that rape is sex and not involving force and power. Rape is a form of violence that uses sex as weapon (Burgess dan Holmstorm, 1974). It is a fact that rape is violence, not sex. It is a form of violence in which sex is used as a weapon to put the victim in a position of helplessness and degradation. It is the invasion of an individual's physical and personal dignity. The primary motivating factors are anger and desire.^x This myth is reinforced by certain stereotypes about male sexuality such as men's alleged inability to control themselves if they are aroused. These are false images that *rape is not a sexual act. Rape is an act of violence which uses sex as a weapon*. Rape is motivated by aggression and by the desire to exert power and to humiliate. Just as wife-battering had to be taken out of the privacy of the home and criminalized in order to effectuate any change, *rape must be taken out the sexual realm and placed where it rightfully belongs in the domain of violence against women*.^{xi} According to Robin Morgan, rape is the "perfected act of male sexuality in a patriarchal culture," the "ultimate metaphor for domination, violence, subjugation, and possession." Ann Cahill writes in a similar vein, rape is "a crime that epitomizes women's oppressed status," one of "indisputable violence and loathing."^{xii} Estimatedly 40.9% stated that men could not control their lust, so rape is a spontaneous attack. Feminists have ruled out that rape carries with it 3 elements namely power, control and sex (Shame, Secrecy,And Silence, Study Of Rape In Penang).^{xiii} Evidently, rapists rape as they are not able to control their lust, so it is a spontaneous attack. This is the rapists' perspective, but feminists stated that rape is not happening spontaneously as it a socialization process in the society and in the family and it is seen as the form of violence committed by men on women on the basis of patriarchy (Koss, 1993, Rozee, 1997).^{xiv} It is a fact establishing that this belief is obviously false since it is dependent in large part on the preceding premise concerning victim precipitation. Sexual assaults are not usually done spontaneously or impulsively; studies have shown that in most instances, rape is premeditated and often involves a pre-rape time period of interaction with the victim (Cobb & Schauer 1974; Flowers 1987).^{xv} Rape myth also dictates that women encourage rape. 47.7% from the rapists' answer agreed that women encourage rape. Obviously, respondents saw rape as '*consenting to the sex act*' and rape is seen as 'sex. Women are seen as the object of sex and object that stimulates rape (Rapists Views in Shame, Secrecy,And Silence, Study Of Rape In Penang).^{xvi} In Perspectives On Rape And Sexual Assault (June Hopkins) by Symons (1979) it is stated that '*women inspire male sexual desire simply by existing*' (p.284).^{xvii} It is also found that because rapists are believed to be motivated by lust, their victims are believed to have seduced them. The blame is shifted from the assailant to the survivor for reasons such as her dressing (suggestive), her behavior (provocative), or her whereabouts (going out at night or walking alone). This misconception makes the women responsible for the rape committed against them. No woman's behaviour gives a man the right to rape her.^{xviii}

Other than that, 56.8% stated that most rapists are those who are very familiar to the victims. It is evident that the percentage shows that the rapists are someone known by the victims. The victims are normally someone who always attracts the attention of the rapists. A piece of evidence dictates that a woman is likely to be raped by someone she knows. Police statistics in 2000 (Bukit Aman Police Headquarters) shows that out of 1,217 reported rape cases in 1998, 20 percent were committed by family members whether related by blood or otherwise, 64 percent were by people whom the survivor knew but were not related to such as friends, boyfriends, colleagues and employers otherwise 16 percent were by strangers.^{xix} Among others, 56.8% had agreed with the statement that they can stop rape if they wish. However, this will be and reverse if rapists resort to force, threat, physicality and violence against women, to have a sexual intercourse so women have to succumb to it for their safety. By this, women can put a stop to rape if they can get the men to control their lust and desire. Brownmiller has stated that women have to be the object to men and perform sexual intercourse for the sake of their safety from being hurt physically.^{xx} Further pieces of evidence state that the Philadelphia study noted that higher degrees of resistance provoked higher degrees of violence and the

findings dispelled the myth that it is impossible to rape a struggling woman.^{xxi} Other than that, myths covering women raped when they are walking alone at night are also dwelled into. From 36.4% the rapists' answers show that they agreed with the statement above. It can be seen that rape does not just take place when women walk alone at night. It is conclusive that rape has a disregard to place, time and victim. It has been stated that figures from the Bukit Aman Police Headquarters showed that in 1998, 67 percent of rapes occurred in homes or buildings, which are supposedly safe for women. Only 20 percent occurred in bushes, estates and other isolated places.^{xxii} Other than that, 38.6% from the respondents' answers stated that women are raped by their own husbands. This shows that rapists in the Pengkalan Chepa Prison have some knowledge with regard to the permission to have a sexual intercourse although they are in a marital relationship but marital rape is not acknowledged in Malaysia, and yet feminists have dictated that marital rape is a form of sex-related crime. Nonetheless, marital bond is fundamental to a legitimate sexual relation, although it is not a ticket for men to rape their wives. The concept of "marital rape" is one which does not exist legally. By legal definition, a woman cannot be raped by her husband, since the "crime" of rape is ordinarily and legally defined as forcing sexual intercourse on someone other than the wife of the person accused (Brownmiller, 1975; Gallen, 1967; Griffin, 1971; New York Radical Feminists, 1974).^{xxiii}

Rape in the marriage happens when there is lack of consent by the wife to have an intercourse with her husband (Rape: the price of coercive sexuality). Men think that when they are married, they have full right to their wives, but it is inaccurate as women also have their own personal rights under human rights. Consent is vital in any sexual relationships. Sexual relations are only a form of social transaction where it is present without any physical violence (Rape : The Price Of Coercive Sexuality).^{xxiv} Nevertheless, should there be any form of hostility and violence, then it can be termed as rape (Catherine MacKinnon, 174).^{xxv} The available evidence on marital violence indicates that a number of women are forced into having sexual relations with their husbands through intimidation or physical force. Faulk's research (1977) identified cases where sexual intercourse was forced on a wife after her husband beat her. It is a stated fact that this is tied to the perception that a woman is the property of her husband and therefore he has an absolute right over her body.^{xxvi} Marital rape exists in situations where a spouse takes advantage of sexual access either with use of threats or force, demanding unacceptable sexual acts or violent sexual assault as part of the abusive relationship (Jung: 1987). When rape is by a husband, it is often a repeated experience (Painter: 1991).^{xxvii} Marital rape is not recognised in the Malaysian law except if the woman is living separately from her husband under an Order of the Court or has obtained an injunction restraining her husband from having sexual intercourse with her.^{xxviii}

From 56.8% the respondents' answers stated 'No' for the statement that women often file false accusations towards men on rape, and if she was really raped, the first thing she would do was to inform someone about the incident. Normally, women will go into silent mode when they are raped, as it involves their virginity as women. In the society, a woman's virginity is very important and rape is the ultimate fear among women. It is clear here that women do not have any autonomous right on their own sexuality (Rape: the price of coercive sexuality).^{xxix} Cheryl Buckley stated that women have been socialized by the society to become feminine. The root for this socialization is patriarchy. For a lot of women who have been raped, they do not see themselves as the victims of rape, although what happened to them has fulfilled the criteria deemed fit as sexual force (Koss, 1987).^{xxx} By this, most women will not reveal the actual incident that they have been raped due to the stigma of the society and the patriarchal system. Various studies have shown that rape is a very under-reported offence. Estimates suggest that only a small proportion of women who have been raped, report it to the police. The average period between the rape incident and survivor making a police report is 52 days (AWAM Rape Report: 2001).^{xxxi} There are many reasons why a woman may choose not to tell anyone, least of all the authorities, that she has been raped. Some are too upset to consider it; others feel too embarrassed about discussing the intimate details, some feel it is easier to forget if they don't tell; some may have been threatened and some survivors are children who do not know it is rape. There is also the fear of going to the police and not being believed; particularly when they have been raped by someone they know or have not been physically injured. Many survivors take a long time to overcome their fear and confusion before reporting the rape.^{xxxii}

Conclusions

In conclusion, it is easy to see that *rape myth acceptance*, or RMA in our society today has led to the perception that rape is sex and not a crime or violence towards women. This violence is fueled from the society's acceptance on the patriarchal policy and the malestream system. Brownmiller (1975) proposed that rape occurs as a result of the patriarchal system of gender inequalities, which empowers men and oppresses women.^{xxxiii} The society's perception on the rape myth also has to change to give room for women to feel safe and protected. Gender equality must be retained. Rape myth acceptance in the society does not mean that it is something true, but in fact it has to be based on the experiences and views of women and men in a given situation. Societal beliefs about rape are in large part a by-product of the large amount of misinformation and mythology about sexual assault. They are also the result of other values and behaviours in the culture. Chappell (1989) reports that cross-cultural studies have found that rape is most prevalent in cultures with low female power and authority and where masculinity is expressed with violence.^{xxxiv} Some authors have described Australia as one of the most misogynist countries in the world (see Westbury 1991). Historically, female convicts were released to fulfill the needs of the male immigrants with an official endorsement of rape' (Gilmour 1990, p. 28). The cultural norm is for women to submissively receive sex and their unwillingness to be disregarded: 'A real man will not take no for an answer'.^{xxxv} Combine all of this with a cultural endorsement of violence as a means of solving interpersonal conflict and rape rates are undoubtedly high (Broadhurst & Maller 1992).^{xxxvi} The major conclusion here is that there is minimization of the severity of rape when the man and the woman were or are romantically or sexually involved and combating the myths. The rape of a woman by a man with whom she has had past sexual relations is perceived as less consequential psychologically and less violating of her rights. It seems that past romantic and sexual relations between a rapist and his victim makes it harder for people to characterize sexual assault as rape, and therefore influence the minimization of the perceived severity of the rape.^{xxxvii}

ⁱ " the gang rape in Kereh is not merely a heinous act of sexual violence;it is also a symptom of the deteriorating status of women and gender relations in Kelantan.Beyond the horrors of the particular incident, this case raises pertinent questions about changing attitudes between sexes, as well as the link between religious Puritanism and the unprecedented perversity that plagues Kelantanese society and Malaysia as a whole" (Pauline Fan , Malay Mail, 4 Jun 2014).

ⁱⁱ Louise Maxwell &Graham S (2014), *A Review Of The Role Of Radical Feminist Theories In The Understanding Of Rape Myth Acceptance*,Journal Of Sexual Aggression, (20) (1), 40-54

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^v Majlis Perbandaran Kota Bharu- Bandaraya Islam (MPKB-BRI)

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**SHOULD WE SUSPEND FOREIGN AID TO CORRUPT COUNTRIES? RANK
CORRELATION ANALYSIS OF LOW INCOME COUNTRIES' ECONOMIC GROWTH
AND PERCEIVED CONTROL OVER CORRUPTION**

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Abstract

The debate regarding foreign aid is a relentless one. Recently one of its more popular topic is on whether it is appropriate to give millions dollar of aid to corrupt countries. This paper tries to contribute into the discussion by emphasizing that foreign aid is basically a mean to foster development, rather than an end in itself. On considering the aforementioned topic therefore, we ought to determine whether corruption should even be put into the equation at all. The paper would do this by posing the question of whether a given country's level of corruption in particular year tell anything about its level of development. The answer would be derived from Kendall Tau Rank Correlation analysis of 35 low income countries over the period of 15 years. Following its analysis, the paper would conclude that there is no generalizable cross-country correlation between the two, and that country by country's analysis could vary widely. This warrants, therefore, a close inspection to the particularity of corruption – development dynamic for each cases before passing the verdict.

Keywords: Development, Corruption, Foreign Aid, Rank Correlation

Introduction

Controversies regarding foreign aid are still prominent, even to this day. Among the most recent concern has to do with whether it's appropriate to give aid to corrupt countries. The argument goes that such aid would only be pocketed by the irresponsible few of recipient countries' elites. Lately, the argument had even moved further by accusing that foreign aid fosters corruption¹. On the other hand, indeed, studies such as Alesina and Weder (2002) shown that commonly it is factors such as historical ties or the donor's interest, not the recipient's level of corruption, that influence the direction of aid given by a country. U.S Aid statistic even shows that corrupt countries receive about 8 US dollars more aid per capita (Alesina and Weder, 2002)². It is either that donors are indifferent about its aid recipient's level of corruption or that it is giving more help to corrupt countries.

This rises the following issue. Should we bar corrupt countries from receiving aid? There are at least three things to be considered here. Firstly, the relationship between foreign aid and level of corruption itself is still quite vague. Okada and Samreth (2011) and Tavares (2003), as example, had even argued that foreign aid reduces corruption. Secondly, this vagueness represents high stake. This is because it has also been argued that especially in poor country, foreign aid fosters economic growth, which is not only one form of development in itself, but also the mean by which other forms of development could be attained³. Barring corrupt countries from receiving aid therefore, might distract countries from its developmental quest. Thirdly, this paper argues that we should remain true to the

¹This line of argument was recently brought back to the headline by the 2014 report of Independent Commission for Aid Impact, though its existence precede the 2014 report.

²This suggestion that more corrupt countries receive more aid was further reinforced in Alesina and Weder (2002)

³See, as example, Papanek (1972), Dowling and Hiemenz (1982), Dalgaard et al (2004).

fact that foreign aid is a mean for development, not an end in itself. Considering this, we might want to bar corrupt countries from receiving foreign aid if we could determine that the present of corruption in that countries would make the recipient worse off in their developmental effort. But the dynamic of corruption and economic growth, which due to its importance would be used in this paper as indicator for development as a whole, is quite complex. Shleifer and Vishny (1993), Voskanyan (2000), and Mauro (2002) as example, argued that the two has a negative correlation though they highlighted different transmission mechanism. On the other hand, Hausmann (2015) argued that there is no correlation between the two. To complicate things further, analysis from Kutun, Douglas and Judge (2006), seems to suggest negative correlation between the two in Middle East and North Africa (MENA) countries. Study by Egger and Winner (2005) and Cole, Elliott, and Zhang (2009) suggests that such relationship might also exist in China.

It is in this discussion that we'd like to make our contribution. To do this we would like to ask the question of whether a given country's level of capability to control corruption in a particular year tells anything about its level of economic growth in the same year. If it does, then a country's capability to control its corruption should be considered in dispersing foreign aid around the world. If it does not, there would be two possibilities under the assumption that correlation does not imply causation. First, there is no line of causality running from corruption to economic growth. Second, there is a line of causality running from corruption to economic growth but its contribution to economic growth is not significant enough to consistently tell anything about the level of economic growth. Either way, in this case it could be argued that we might be better off from concentrating in a factor with higher significance.

Data Source and Methodology

To analyze the aforementioned problem, following indicators would be used. Firstly, "Control of Corruption" index, released annually by World Bank as part of its bigger "Worldwide Governance Indicators" index⁴, would be used to approximate a country's level of corruption. Secondly, GDP Growth dataset by World Bank would be used to approximate a country's level of development. Due to the availability of these data, the analysis would be conducted from 1998 – 2013. The sample population would be made up by countries that are more likely to receive foreign aid, which would be defined by this paper as "low income countries". As to which countries would belong into this category, the paper relies to the categorization made by the World Bank. The result is a pair of 450 datapoints from 35 countries.

The paper would assess the correlation of both indicators. One of the most common way to do this would be by using parametric statistic. However, this method would require both datasets to be normally distributed. This is not the case with both datasets⁵. Various data transformation has been tried⁶ yet the problem does not rectified. This distribution issue could be easily rectified, however, by dropping out the outlier⁷. But such action would omit considerable datapoints from the dataset, not to mention that dropping out outlier for no valid suspicion regarding discrepancies in the data collection has always been controversial.

⁴The index was started on 1996 and formerly updated only biennially until 2002. To adjust for this fact, the figures for 1996 – 2002 would be adjusted accordingly (annualized).

⁵The normality of the datasets was tested through vatri Shapiro-Wilk, Anderson-Darling, Lilliefors, and Jacques-Berra

⁶Following the suggestion of Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) the paper has used square root transformation, logarithmic transformation, and the combination between the two.

⁷The paper followed stricter definition of "strong outlier" which is defined as data lower than 1st quartile – (3 x Interquartile Range) and higher than 3rd quartile + (3 x Interquartile Range)

The paper would therefore resort to use non-parametric statistic, which requires no assumption as to the data's distribution. The method in use would be Kendall Tau Rank Correlation. Formulated by Maurice Kendall in 1938, this method measures the correlation between the ranking of datapoint in two different datasets, or, perhaps more statistically, this method measures the association between two measured quantiles. The resulting computation would be a coefficient (τ) ranging from -1 to 1. τ (pronounced as "tau") of 1 suggests that the order of datapoint's ranking in each datasets is perfectly the same, whereas τ of -1 would suggest that the order of the ranking is perfectly reversed. The τ of 0 would suggest that the two datasets are perfectly independent and therefore no pattern could be discerned from their order of ranking.

Table 1

Example of two datasets with $\tau = 1$

X	Y
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4

Table 2

Example of two datasets with $\tau = -1$

X	Y
1	4
2	3
3	2
4	1

Kendall Rank Correlation would enable us to assess correlation between a country's perceived capability to control corruption and its economic growth. A significantly positive or negative τ as example, would complement the argument that foreign aid should take into consideration the country's level of corruption. If τ turns out to be 0 or close enough to 0 however, it would suggest that there are no discernible patterns between the two.

Analysis

Table 3

Aggregate τ for all pairs of datapoint and its breakdown by countries.

Country	τ
Islamic State of Afghanistan	-0,09

People's Republic of Bangladesh	-0,05
Republic of Benin	0,03
Burkina Faso	0,12
Republic of Burundi	0,14
Kingdom of Cambodia	-0,07
Central African Republic	0,23
Republic of Chad	-0,38
Union of the Comoros	0,34
Democratic Republic of the Congo	-0,08
State of Eritrea	-0,03
Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	-0,23
Republic of The Gambia	0,34
Republic of Guinea	-0,08
Republic of Guinea-Bissau	0,3
Republic of Haiti	0,15
Republic of Kenya	0,08
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	-
Kyrgyz Republic	0,01
Republic of Liberia	0,14
Republic of Madagascar	-0,01
Republic of Malawi	0,38
Republic of Mali	0,16
Republic of Mozambique	0,1
Republic of the Union of Myanmar	-0,99
Nepal	-0,05
Republic of Niger	-0,54
Republic of Rwanda	0,41
Republic of Sierra Leone	0,12
Somali Democratic Republic	-
Republic of Tajikistan	-0,2
United Republic of Tanzania	-0,21
Republic of Togo	-0,21
Republic of Uganda	0,32
Republic of Zimbabwe	-0,08
Aggregate	0,03

Analysis for all available pairs of datapoint suggest that, at $\tau = 0,03$, there has been hardly any correlation at all. Take these two extreme examples as illustration. The greatest decrease of corruption index in the analysed data was experienced by Nepal between 1996 and 1998. Something must had gone terribly wrong in the two preceding years that by the end of that period Nepalese belief of their government's capability to control corruption decreased by 1710,2% (that is more than 17 times)⁸. Yet, they still managed to register a GDP growth of 3.02% which aggregately is only the 126th slowest growth experienced by all the sample in the period. Or, for an example from a completely opposite spectrum, consider Chad's in 2004 which managed to record its all time high GDP growth as well as the aggregate's highest at 33%. In the same year, however, Chad experienced a decrease of 1,44% in its corruption index, which aggregately ranked only modestly as the 221st lowest entry. With such an extreme degree of change in its variable, we might expect that there would be a similar magnitude of change in the corresponding variable.

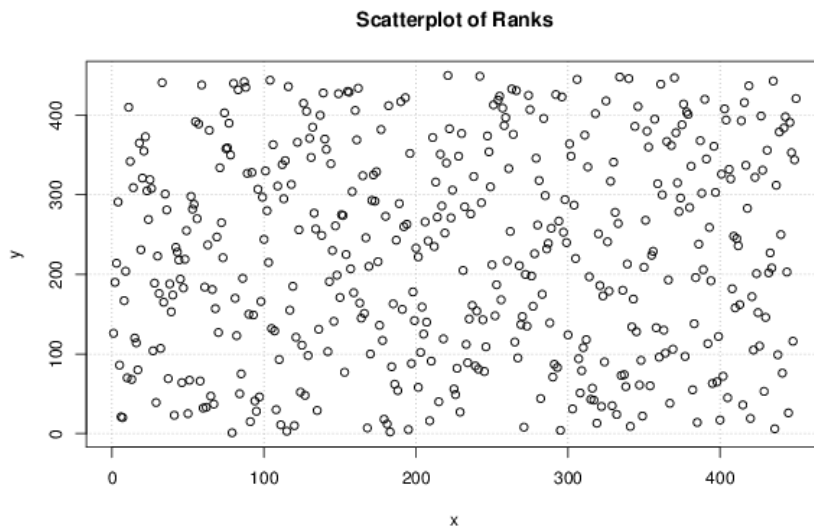


Fig. 1. Scatterplot of All the Datapoints

The problem with τ , however, is that as the amount of pairs of data increases, it gets increasingly harder to achieve the exact same order of ranking, as the number of permutations for such order would increase exponentially. In this respect, therefore, there are merits in complementing the aggregate point of view with country by country analysis.

The country by country analysis somewhat vindicated that argument. Table 3 shows that out of 33 country whose data are available, only five countries have τ of either $\leq 0,03$ or $\geq -0,03$ (which indicates similar or weaker correlation in both direction compared with the aggregate τ). But aggregate τ 's conclusion that there has been no significant correlation remains, as out of the other 28 countries, only three countries have τ of either $\geq 0,4$ or $\leq -0,4$, which is commonly used as the lower threshold for weak significance in correlation analysis. To complicate things further, even when considering only these three countries, the nature of the correlation is still not quite consistent. Rwanda, as example, has τ of 0,41 over the period of analysis, suggesting a positive correlation. Data for Niger, however, shows τ of -0,54, which suggests a negative correlation. And this is not to mention that one country, Myanmar, managed to has τ of -0.999999940395355, or, for all that matters, -1. We have to mention, however, that data for Myanmar is only half as complete as any other countries, which might somehow explains its perfect correlation. But still, the revelation that

⁸This might have to do with the uproar concerning the level of corruption on Nepali religious establishment in late 1998. See Pradhan (1998).

Myanmar's relative economic performance in a period of six years is a perfect mirror of its control of corruption performance shows how complex the correlation between the two could be.

Table 5
The perplexing case of Myanmar

	GDP's Growth	Rank	CoC Index's Growth	Rank
1998	5,866213	6	8,550692	1
2000	12,34553	3	-6,17537	4
2002	11,68478	4	3,758234	3
2003	13,844	1	-20,419	6
2004	13,64191	2	-14,7445	5
2013	8,244875	5	4,310935	2

This conflicting story of correlation permeates the whole sample. The total tally of positive against negative correlation in all of the countries is 18 against 15. And 51,78% of the pairs of the analyzed data shows occurrences where one variable goes into one direction and the other into another. This upholds the aggregate analysis result which conclude that overall there is no discernable pattern between the two variables.

Conclusion

This paper does not seek to engage the question of whether corruption is right or wrong, or whether corruption causes or exacerbate development. That would be beyond the realm of both the authors' field of study and methodology employed in the analysis. What this paper tries to answer is that whether a change in a country's relative capability to control corruption tells anything about its relative developmental performance. This paper suggests that the data does not support such argument. There doesn't seem to be any pattern to justify cross-country generalization of correlation between corruption and growth. What this warrants, therefore, is to analyze country in case by case basis, and to build the case individually as to whether corruption in that country would inhibit development significantly to the point that the recipient would be better off from not receiving foreign aid. And while doing so, we have to keep our mind open to cases like Myanmar or China. The distinction between "chaotic" and "well-organized" corruption might matter. Whereas the former would provide no certainty for business (as we couldn't be sure that we bribe the "right" person), the latter would, which in turn would make it more pro-growth relative to the former.

Relative is the key here. It might be argued that a country with no corruption might developed better compared with one that has a “well-organized’ corruption. But to be the former entails cost. And poor country tends to be those that are less able to pay that cost. Attaching such institutional-building string into aid, or even worse cutting it off altogether, would, as some have argued, both distract the countries from its immediate needs (development) and deprive it from much needed fund. This is not the ideal solution. What poor country needs is more, not less aid. And even when a legitimate link could be established between one particular country’s control over corruption and its development to the extent that the country would be worse off by receiving the aid, the conviction that institution building would therefore be needed would only emphasize the point that the country need more, not less aid. This might be achieved through various ways, such as improving mechanism to ensure that more of the aid make its way through the bureaucracy, or to establish a separate independent fund whose purpose is solely to develop institutional capacity of the country. Less aid, however, is not the answer.

Acknowledgement and Directions for Future Research

Some acknowledgement needs to be made regarding the data. Firstly, this paper has been quite parsimonious with its input of data by only selecting one source of data for each analyzed variables. But there are other indices for corruption and development, and future research might benefit from using a broader selection of data. Secondly, the paper’s selection of data directly limits the interpretation of its conclusion. Control of corruption index measures perceived control over corruption, not the corruption itself, whose real extent, to be fair of, might forever remains elusive. Therefore there is a possibility, no matter how negligible, that there is no positive correlation between a country’s perceived control over corruption and the real extent of corruption in that country. This paper also use economic development to define development. But there are many ways to define development, just like there might be other economic indicators that could complement GDP growth in describing development. Lastly, correlation being explored in this paper is of short-term basis, as the data paired here represent growth from only one-year period. This might be amongst the issues that future research would want to address, as long term correlation between the two might not necessarily follows the short term correlation.

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THE OPTIMALITY OF FORENSIC ACCOUNTING ROLE THROUGH SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION APPROACH TO PREVENT CORRUPTION PRACTICE IN EAST JAVA

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Abstract

Corruption is one of legal case where its number is still increasing in Indonesia. Moreover, regional autonomy makes the intensity of this case in each region is higher and higher. Looking at this condition, an effective effort to prevent the corruption and make the doers regret what they have done is needed. One of the ways to prevent the corruption and could be done is using forensic accounting. Forensic accounting is an integration between accounting, law and the ability of investigation or politic. This study aims to know whether the optimality of forensic accounting through situational crime prevention could prevent corruption practice in East Java. This study used secondary data as the first data which will be analyzed by library research method, and it will be arranged its prevention mechanism and its solution. An early result shows that forensic accounting can be used as an effort to solve corruption practice. The object of this study is only limited to corruption practice in East Java which did not solve yet. The implication which is expected from this study is the using of forensic accounting as the main way to prevent corruption practice in Indonesia. And giving proper punishment toward the doers who did corruption practice so that Indonesia's national economic condition can be free from corruption. This preventive effort will result government and society which are clean and transparent, and also the efficient and effective work can be reached, especially government work in Indonesia.

Keywords : corruption, forensic accounting, law, politic

Introduction

Background Study

Corruption is a criminal action which becomes a big problem all over the world. In Indonesia corruption is a legal case which the development from its number and operate mode that is used by doer are so fast. This situation places Indonesian's transparency as stated by Transparency International (as anti-corruption institution in the world) in not that good position, it is on 107 level from 175 countries in the world and scored 34 (ti2005). This position shows that the government conducting in Indonesia is still categorized as corrupt, so that it is needed a bigger effort to against and fight this corruption practice.

Corruption practice in Indonesia also spread in level of region, it is because the regional autonomy which gives huge authority to regional government in conducting its government. According to Ministry of Home Affairs report, in January 2014 there are 318 regional head and vice head which are involved in corruption practice. East Java is one of the regions which has higher corruption practice, according to Indonesian Corruption Watch study in 2013 East Java is the most corrupt region in Indonesia with 31 cases have arrived in investigating phase by law institution (Beritasatu 2014). Besides the big quantity, the mode that is used by the corruptor is categorized as sophisticated so that it is hard to find the doer. The head of KPK also stated that "East Java corruptor

is categorized as hard case because they do corruption orderly and leave no footprint". So it is needed great strategies to prevent and reveal corruption practice especially un East Java.

One of the effective ways to prevent corruption practice is using forensic accounting. It is proved that there are some corruption practices in Indonesia which successfully revealed by forensic accounting, for instance Agreed-Upon Due Diligence Procedures (ADDP) by World Bank, Bali Bank scandal by Pricewaterhouse Coopers (PwC) auditor, L/C BNI Bank which is 1.3 trillion rupiah and corruption practice in Public Election Commission (Tuannakota 2009)

But, the development of forensic accounting in Indonesia is still low. It is proved that there is still few number of Public Accountant Office that could apply this knowledge and there is still no standardization in forensic accounting field in Indonesia. Besides with the description of corruption practice above, this field is expected could be main pole toward corruption eradication. For those reasons above, the authors need to discuss about the optimality of forensic accounting to prevent corruption practice especially in East Java. The discussion will reveal the modes of corruption practice in East Java which is next will be explained the probability of the solutions with forensic accounting theories.

Statement of the Problem

1. How is the mode of corruption practice in East Java?
2. How is the use of forensic practice to prevent corruption practice in East Java?

The Objective of the Study

1. Knowing the mode that is used in corruption practice in East Java
2. Analyzing and describing the use of forensic practice to prevent corruption practice in East Java.

Significance of the Study

This study is expected to be useful for the authors or even readers and all parties which are involved in this circle, and also could give suggestions and information to government especially Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi*)

Literature Review

Forensic Accounting

According to D. Larry Crumbley, a chief editor of Journal of Forensic Accounting (JFA), stated that simply forensic accounting is an accurate accounting which is fit with the purpose of law. It means that this accounting could survive in debating while in litigation, or in judicial or administrative consideration. Forensic accounting is integration between accounting, law and the ability of investigation or politic field

The duty of the forensic accountant is to give law suggestion in the court (litigation). Beside that, there is also forensic accountant duty in law field outside the court (non litigation) for instance in making solution alternative of a case in quarrel, the calculation formulation replacement loss and effort to calculate the effect of judgment/contract violation.

Forensic accounting is divided into two parts: investigative services and litigation services. Investigative service leads deception observer or deception auditor, where they are capable in accounting knowledge detecting, preventive, and handling deception and misinterpreting. Litigation

service represents testimony from deception observer and forensic accounting services which are offered to solve valuation issues, in divorce case for example.

Situational Crime Prevention Approach

Situational preventive tries to decrease the chance of certain crime with increasing the risk (for the doer), increasing the level of difficulty and decreasing appreciation (Clarke 1997). This approach has three indications to determine its definition, they are:

1. It is led to specific crimes.
2. Involving management, design or manipulation of environmental condition systematically.
3. Creating crime as a thing that hard to occur, conditioning crime that has been done will have less benefit for the doer (Clarke 1997)

Situational crime prevention is basically more stress on how to decrease the doer chance to do crime, especially in certain situation, place and time. So that a crime preventer must be understand rational thought from the doer. The result from this approach is for short term.

Corruption

According to UU No 31 year 1999 jo UU No 20 year 2001 stated that the definition of corruption is included as:

1. Against law, self-enrichment or other corporation which could damage financial of country. (section 2)
2. Authority misapply because of position which could damage financial of country (section 3)
3. Group of bribe (section 5, 6 and 11)
4. Group of darkening position (section 8, 9 and 10)
5. Group of position exertion (section 12)
6. Group which related to pilling up (section 7)
7. Group of gratification (section 12B and 12C)

Method

Method of Data Collection

This study used literature study as the method of data collection, gathering information and qualitative data are obtained by enrich literature review from any sources like book, internet, journal article, papers, scientific articles etc, which could support or answer the statement of problem that has been made.

Method of Data Analysis

Based on the characteristic of this approach, this study used descriptive analysis approach. Descriptive study has certain characteristic, such as: 1) self-centralizing on problem solving that exists, actual problem, 2) data that are obtained are firstly arranged, explained and analyzed, doing descriptive study is not only limited to the gathering and arranging data, but the data that is obtained will be explained, and the author interpreted data to get best understanding (Surakhmad 1994 in Wijaya 2003)

Discussion

Corruption Practice Modes in East Java

Theoretically corruption crime and its kind of crime have been explained by Association of Certified Fraud Examiners (ACFE) in Fraud Tree scheme which is Occupational scheme. Corruption practice is one of three kinds of fraud which is categorized as Occupational Fraud. In this scheme there are four branch of corruption practice modes that are explained, they are conflict of interest, bribery, illegal gratuities and economic exertion (Tuannkota 2009)

So if we observe deeply there are some of corruption practices in East Java which are included in those four corruption practice modes. Corruption practice that has been discussed in any national media was corruption practice which happened in Probolinggo Regency Department of Education. The head of department of education was sentenced as suspect on this case. He was responsible the misuse of authority in supplying HP printer as the part of information and communication technology supplying in Probolinggo's Department of Education. The mode that is used by the Department of Education and the tender winner was falsification of the HP printer type from 1000s to 1000 type. Besides, there was also violation in school which should accept the allocation of the HP printer, from 558 school list there was only 515 schools which accept this allocation. From this case, the financial loss of country was estimated about 14 billion rupiahs (Change, 2013). If we go along this case with fraud tree theory, this case can be categorized as conflict of interest, where the head of Department of Education misuse his authority, this case can be also categorized as bribery category.

Corruption practice that recently discussed by national media in the end 2014 is corruption practice which involve the head of Bangkalan house of representative, Fuad Amin Imron. In this case Fuad Amin accepted bribe from PT MitraKaryaSentosa (MKS) in natural gas trade which cooperate with PD SumberDaya (region business in Bangkalan region). The gas that is bought by PT MKS contractedly will be distributed to PLTG East Gili in Bangkalan. But the reality is up to now the gas never arrives to PLTG. From this case, it was alleged that there is improper cooperation between PT MKS and the head of Bangkalan house of representative, where at the time of contract signature in 2007 Fuad Amin was still the head of Bangkalan regency. From the development of this case, Fuad Amin was stated as suspect of money-washing and be punished with UU No 8 year 2010 section 3 and section 3 line (1) UU No 15 year 2002 but it changed into UU No 25 year 2003 about Prevention and Eradication money-washing crime (Metro 2014).

If we learn this case deeply, the modes from those two cases represent other cases. From both cases above, actually it can be an opportunity to optimize forensic accounting in corruption prevention.

The Optimality of Forensic Accounting through Situational Crime Prevention Approach

Corruption is organized-crime which is done with developed-mode with using sophisticated information technology and financial manipulation. So that it needs accurate preventive tool to prevent or reveal corruption practice. Forensic accounting is unification of three field, they are auditing, accounting and law which can be used to reveal corruption practice. When we observe it deeply the unification of forensic accounting is not only the unification of theories but also the unification of process.

Corruption practice revealing starts from general auditing process, in this process auditor proactively tries to see the weaknesses in internal handling system, especially the things that touch in asset protection which could occurs a fraud. If from this general audit result is found inappropriate result or accusation from other parties, or there is complaint, so the process continues to the audit investigate level. Audit investigative is the first step of forensic accounting. From the audit investigative will be resulted whether or not the exist prove from the inappropriate result above, if there is a prove so the case will be continued to law field. So from the explanation above, it can be concluded that those three ways should run-well.

Forensic accounting could take important role in revealing or preventing corruption practice. This role can be identified from the work scope of forensic accounting. At least forensic accounting has two important roles which are as financial investigator and expert witness.

From its role as financial investigator, it will use its competence and knowledge in accounting system, internal control and investigate fund current which enter or out of organization. Investigation is led to answer these questions follow:

1. Where has the doer get the money been?
2. How much money that they get?
3. Where does the money move?
4. How does it move?
5. Does the doer save the money or they only be as mediator?

In answering those questions, financial investigator will search any documents and accounting book, the documents is finally analyzed. This analysis is used by investigating officer to reveal bribe case by Fuad Amin in Madura that finally led to the money-washing crime.

Role as expert witness, forensic accounting can be hired by lawyer, or public prosecutor. He/she will give an explanation about the evidence of accounting book, any documents needed, who is needed to interview, he/she can even give an explanation about the amount of loss as the impact of the crime. Forensic accounting explanation as expert witness is often use as consideration by court to decide civil or criminal case (Vendy 2010)

The application of these two roles is expected that a forensic accountant with his/her forensic accounting knowledge could do asset recovery. Asset recovery is an effort to recover the loss with finding and re-controlling asset that has been taken (Tuanakotta 2010). So that make the corruptor poorer is not only a word and can be real. Besides, forensic accounting role could also detect the weaknesses of the internal handling so that it can fix the internal handling (Jumansyah et al. 2010)

If the asset recovery and internal handling fixing are well done, it could prevent official corruption practice. As Hendi Yogi Prabowo suggested that in explaining Situational Crime Prevention Approach to prevent fraud, according to him Fraud is prevented by eliminate parts of Fraud Triangle, they are motivation, opportunity and rationalization (Prabowo 2012). With the application of asset recovery and system fixing at least could eliminate the motivation and someone chance to do corruption.

Conclusion

Conclusion

According to data and explanation that have been done, it can be concluded as follows:

1. Corruption practice which is higher is caused by some modes, such as conflict of interest, bribery, illegal gratuities and economic extortion.
2. The optimality of forensic accounting role is very crucial in prevention and detecting corruption practice. Unfortunately, the development of profession and the knowledge is not well-developed yet because there are some obstacles, one of them is there is still no standardization of forensic accounting in Indonesia.

Suggestion

The suggestions that the authors could be given are:

1. It is needed to strengthen PPATK. For instance by adding the number of human resources so that report analysis from PJK could be more optimal.
2. It is needed basic standard about forensic accounting profession in Indonesia.
3. It is needed supports and serious effort from the stakeholder to develop forensic accounting knowledge and profession. For instance, opening magister program with forensic accounting concern or establish institution forensic accounting profession certification (LSP-AF)
4. It is needed strict punishment to all corruption practice doers so that they feel regret and never do that again.
5. The optimality of situational crime prevention approach must be massively done by all institutions to prevent corruption practice.

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ANTI-CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT

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As we all know it already, corruption has always been one of the most serious problems the human kind had ever faced in the history. Not only does it hurt us materially, but also psychologically due to the affect that came afterwards following the event. Corruption is the abuse of power of the government for the personal privileges of someone while disadvantaging others especially the state fund. Corruption is not only involved in the abusement conducted by the government, however also conducted by the private side and public high-ranking officers such as police, civil servant and as well as the ones close to those people. Ethimology the word “corruption” meaning horrible, ugly and rotten. “corrupt” also meaning is able to be bribed (through power for the personal privileges). Terminologically can be defined as the application and receiving process of bribery, the one applying and receiving can be both considered as corruptor. Based on David M. Chalmers, corruption as the process of manipulating of act and policy regarding monetary which endangers economy. While J.J. Senturia explains corruptions as the abuse of governmental power for the privileges of personal.

From the explanation both by ethimology and terminology above, it can inferred that : 1. Corruption on the understanding of act is the betray of trust, 2. Corruption on the understanding is all acts of power abuse, though the convicted does not gain any material profit, 3. Corruption on the understanding is all acts on the form of abuse and not their right. The principle of accountability is the principle of solving corruption needing the support, either in the form of legislation body, or in the form of partnerships and community support. The existence of laws and regulations are automatically necessary principle. The principle of transparency requires that the policy conducted so that any deviations can be known by the public and this should involve the community and sectors : 1. The budgeting process that is from the bottom up ; 2. The process of preparing ; 3. The discussion of the process of planning regulations relating to funds processing strategy ; 4. The process of discussions on the procedures for project fragment mechanism.

First we should identify the acts as well process that are classified as corruption, there are bribery, fraud and forgery, extortion, and nepotism. Bribery is a form of crime that involve a number of gifts to a person with the intention that the acceptance of the gift to change the intention and behavior in a way that is contrary to the duties and responsibilities that may come in the form of money, referrals, special rights or in the form of valuable goods. Fraud and forgery is a form of corruption involving theft of money, property or valuables by someone who is given the mandate to maintain and take care of money, property or other valuable items. While extortion is the use of threats of violence or destroy in the appearance of an information in order to persuade a person to cooperate. And nepotism is a form of crime in which choosing family or friends close by based on the consideration of the relationship instead of his ability. Many factors trigger the start due to the factors causing corruption both internally and externally. According to Sarlito W. Sarwono, no exact answer to be known but there are two things that can be observed ; 1) The thrust of the self, 2) Stimulation of friends. While another expert Andi Hamzah state that that some of the causes of corruption, among others are : 1) Lack of civil servants' salaries in comparison with the increasing needs, 2) The background of the custom or culture of Indonesia which is the source or causes widespread corruption, 3) poor management and control is less effective and efficient that provide opportunities for corruption. There is an assumption which states that corruption is functional due to the fact that it can boost the economy, hence the degree of bribe is considered to give a positive contribution that can overcome the rigidity and complexity of the rigid administrative system. The issue of morality many associated with the understanding of international religious values on someone, but unfortunately being religious can only be seen from the outer skin of someone, hence many people who claimed to

have become a good religious fanatics but in terms of daily life behavior still not concerned with the interests of others.

There are also factors that affect the corruption act from outside, or the external factors ; the legal system, Political System, Cultural institutions, Structures and social systems, and Economic factors. The cause of corruption is often seen from several legal systems to prevent it. However, the system is only effective in preventing corruption in the countries that have effective legal administration with a strong tradition of justice. While the legal system where judges have a lot of authority will encourage corrupt behavior when applied in countries that do not have a court of other independent effective legal system. Political system develops being more oriented on the relationship of patron-client; a personal relationship between the leaders and followers that are not based on the principle of equality, therefore often we hear of corruption being coupled with collusion and nepotism. Cultural institutions work habits throughout the company / institution on both management and employees on all layer formed and standardized and accepted as work behavior, as well as making the entire device is attached to the body corporate. Structure and political system will provide more opportunities for corruption if the community level were to appear since traditional culture will provide an opportunity or as a source of emergence of corruption, according to the family values considered to be the cause of nepotism. While the issue of poverty is not sufficient to be a factor that plays a very classical role to justify the acts of corruption, additional example : a village employee to withdraw money for administration business.

In the history of Indonesia, the nation has had efforts to prevent and eradicate corruption law since the old to the new order (era). Corruption eradication efforts have been made since the 1960s in the form of the establishment of commission institutions which was in the will of the government and established through an improved legislation rule. At the time of the old order (era) Soekarno has twice formed the corruption eradication agency, but the government at that time was being half-hearted run. As for the danger of corruption drew closer, a product by the name of the committee Retooling state apparatus and formed by AH Nasution and assisted by two members namely prof. M. Yamin and Ruslan Abdulgani. One of the tasks is that government officials are required to fill out a form. Unfortunately the effort finally experienced a deadlock since most of the officials suspected of corruption hid behind the president himself. In 1963, through the Presidential Decree No. 275 1963 known by Nasution and assisted by Wiryono Prodjo Dikusumo charged a cases of corruption on court and this institution was called "Operasi Budi" where the goal was the state-owned enterprises and other institutions in combating Suharto's corruption such as the commitment of students to sense the existence of protest. The rise of the wave of protests ended Suharto's respond by forming a committee of four consisting of Prof. Sjoannes, Casino, Milopo and A Tjokroaminoto Their task was to cleanse the Department of Religion, Bulog, CV Waring, PT. Mantrust, Telkom, and Pertamina, however the committee did not respond, administration then appointed Admiral Sudarmo as the President of OPTSTIB then formed to partner in corruption eradicating task. In 1997 a disastrous economic start crisis hit Asia and Indonesia was the most severely hurted.

There are many measurements that can be taken as a way to eradicate corruption. To eradicate the cronic corruption problems in our lovely country of Indonesia, it is essential for us to comprehend the origins of those steps. Larmour dan Wolanin categorize these steps in three different strategies : interventionism, managerialism, and organization integrity. These three approaches are designed especially to eradicate corruption. Interventionism is an ex post "curative" crime approach or the corruption-controlling approach, with the assumption of the society being protected by the law-enforcer. This approach continues, as example, through the enhancement of detection possibility, punishment and the toughness of the punishment implied hence the actual and potential vilation can be pressed and prevent someones's will to conduct a corruption crime. On the other hand, managerialism takes on the ex ante "preventive" anti-corruption act by decreasing the chances for a corrupt act through the building of right system on the management process. The Klitgaard formula states that corruption = monopoly + chance - acuntability perhaps does need a managerialism approach. This kind of approach is done through the decreasement of corruption chance through demonopolization or privatization-letting the market competition work- and a clear way of decision-

making process, transparent and accountable to differentiate the public-consumption goods and service.

Organizational integrity approach to controlling corruption requires the integration of control strategies of corruption and ethical standards through the organization's operational systems. In other words as Karmour and Wolanin said: "This is a social norm in an organization that accurately defines and reject corruption". The term "integrity" has similarities to the structural integrity of a building. Hence, an organization that has the integrity to fight corruption as a whole body through the operating system. National integrity system approach Transparency International corruption may be classified in this category. The final goal of this system is to make corruption a "high risk" and "low return" especially by strengthening the organizational integrity of the structure of the pillars of the state, such as the executive, legislative and judicial systems. This approach is built by John Bratthwaite to integrate the notion of shame. He said that the dynamics of shame in a society largely controls the onset of irregularities such as crime and corruption. Here, if the community is not the subject of criminal or corrupt behavior to be humiliated, evil or corrupt behavior will be the scorn and lead to internalization of norms of a group. Gillespie and Okruhlik classified anti-corruption strategy or "cleansing of corruption" as a strategy of community, legal, politics and market. Community strategies targeting fundamentally change people's attitudes and values from tolerance to intolerance of corruption through education, ethical norms, and public awareness. Legal strategy focuses on the use of sanctions mechanisms to deter and suppress behavior or corruption through law enforcement activities to raise the effectiveness and the possibility of detection, punishment, and the application of fines.

On the other hand, market strategies emphasize the function of competitive forces in the market allocation of public consumption of goods and services through deregulation and de-bureaucratization of public policy. Finally, the political strategy of using tactics to control the use of public force through the institutionalization of good governance in policies and decision making process. Jeremy Pope, one of the founders of Transparency International, categorize the anti-corruption reform through four categories: prevention, law enforcement, public education, and institution building -Each targets pose risks or costs, and reduce the profit incentive of corruption. Prevention has put on first the issue mean of corruption by reducing the opportunity for malicious acts, through simplification of the process of governance. For example, deregulation and de-bureaucratization; privatization, institutionalization vertical and horizontal accountability of governance in public sector management, transparency and public participation in the decision making process. Enforcement strategies, compared with interventionism and legal strategies, tactics focus on the effectiveness of detection, penalties, and fines on corrupt activities. To this end, it becomes essential to have an independent judicial system and law enforcement system. The rule of law must be upheld. Furthermore, some legal approach must also be filed: freedom of information laws, whistle-blower, a free press, and judicial review; the power of effective investigation, prosecution, and court decisions; preparation for extradition and legal cooperation internationally; reversed burden of proof and the fact of effective law; and the use of civilians as a way to seize assets of criminals. Public education measures, as well as community strategies, focusing on resources and tactics to enforce anti-corruption values, ethics, norms, and behavior into public awareness, and empower them to fight or do not tolerate corrupt behavior. Legal environment, administrative, and society must be created to facilitate this effort.

Finally, the approach to institution building, such as the integrity of the organization's strategy, aimed at seeking everything in its power to foster quality, integrity, capacity, and effectiveness of anti-corruption and government agencies in combating corruption. Some things that can be implemented are: create effective independent audit; build a system of law, the ombudsman, and anti-corruption agencies by promoting staff integrity and have the ability; institutionalization of ethical norms and rules of department; and making processes transparent and accountable. Fundamentally, the whole approach to anti-corruption at the top can be categorized into three typologies: preventive, repressive and educational strategies. Preventive measures, organizational integrity, market, political and development strategy is fundamentally body strategies to prevent the problem of corruption occupying the first place. It already includes eliminating or reducing the

opportunities, incentives and socio-profit, political, economic, and organizationary- in behavior or corrupt activity. On the other hand, repressive measures, as well as interventionism, legal, and enforcement strategies, fundamentally ex post approach to fix corruption problems that have occurred. A similar step is to detect and sanction corrupt behavior by ordering the punishment of perpetrators of corruption and prevent violations of the act of corruption. No matter how, the implementation of repressive measures should include preventive strategy by researching the possibilities that will appear as part of the preventive stage.

In my personal opinion, the eradication of corruption cannot be separated with the education world. We all as educated people ourselves recognizes that education is not only a way in which to create a smart, intelligent individual, however much more than just that, also in terms of education itself that covers all aspects of life including characters, attitudes and as well as culture. That somehow corralates to the fact that the cultural aspect in Indonesia is placed under the Department of Education. This is why I stated that corruption-eradication cannot find its way being separated by education, since education builds the culture, to educate the society on becoming a better person, including an honest one. A corrupted mind cannot find its way through the advanced-thinking of an honest person, neither can an honest man find his way through corruption. Let us take an example of Japan, a very advanced-built economy state with an incredible way of culture. The people of Japan has always had its unique way of doing things, starting from their economy strategy up to their one of a kind way of living called “bushido”. The Japanese knows all too well that in order to build a strong economy, while preserving their way of life by passing it on to their younger generation, they must first be able to educate the young people. And by educating here does not only mean to teach them to be smart, intelligent-yet selfish individual, however also to create a generation in which civilized. A generation that obeys the elders, know respect, being kind, have excellent manners, keep the surrounding clean, and the most important thing is being honest, because the most important thing in building a civilization to thrive forever is by knowing the true essential value of honesty. Their way of thinking is implied through their educational curriculum, in which the first 3 years of the elementary school is wholly dedicated to shaping their life. Which means that there is no grading or whatsoever, no scaling with numbers or grading, but just focused on the life-education, such as discipline, obeying, respect, honor, helping each other, and honesty. Look how much Japan has changed now, from the loser of World War II to becoming one of Asia’s Miracles these days. Whenever there is to be a corruptional accusation toward a governmental officer, he would directly step down from his place as a replay to that. This shows just how much the Japanese are holding on to their faith, to their hard-working, honorable way of life. And we can all follow the Japanese in success of building a way of life which involves honors, discipline and honesty through education, from the early age of a childhood, implementing the true meaning of education and culture.

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DEVELOPMENT "SOFT SKILL COMPETENCY" FOR THE OFFICIALS IN THE SUB-DISTRICT OF IMPLEMENTING PATEN TO INCREASE SERVICE QUALITY IN SURABAYA

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Abstract

This study aims to determine the development of "soft skills competency" is needed for officials in the district of implementing PATEN in Surabaya. The research problems preceded the innovation of service in the district called PATENT (Integrated Administrative Service). PATEN is a simple innovation with the concept of "close to the customers. Although it has been doing service innovation, there are still many public complaints related to service in the district, identified from the official website of the city of Surabaya (www.surabaya.go.id), the results of investigation of Ombudsman and the Public Service Commission (KPP). This study was conducted in five districts : Tegalsari (center Surabaya), Semampir (north Surabaya), Sawahan (south Surabaya), Sukomanunggal (west Suarabaya), and Tambaksari (east Surabaya). The conclusion from this study is the need to develop soft skills competency for officers districts in the form of (1) intrapersonal skills (positive thinking, control emotions, improve patient) and (2) interpersonal skills (respect for others who applied to be polite, friendly and good communication). While suggestions for the development of "soft skills competency" for the district officials must be implemented soft skills training, especially for front staff.

Introduction: Many Problems Public Service in sub District PATEN

The main task of the government is to provide services to all citizens Demands to provide quality public services become an important agenda for governments. To improve the quality of services at the district level, the Ministry of Home Affairs has made the Regulation No. 4 of 2010 on the District Integrated Administrative Service (PATEN). PATEN is a simple innovation that centralize services in the district. PATEN goal is to improve the quality of service to the concept close to the customers, service closer to the community.

Surabaya is one of the cities that all the sub-district has organized PATEN. Although it has been carrying out PATEN, but there are still many problems that arise in connection with service process in the sub district. Based on data obtained from public complaints of Surabaya that contained on the official website of the Surabaya city (www.surabaya.go.id) many people are disappointed with the service in the sub district. The public complaints could be grouped into 9 types of problems as follows : (1) the officer only gave short answers when questioned, (2) sub-district officers to be indifferent, (3) officer answered questions arbitrarily (4) less friendly personnel and no desire to help (5) the officer did not provide information / explanation satisfactory (6) (6) lack of officer response to the difficulties attendant society, (7) the officer did not give the solution / suggestion satisfactory, (8) the officer did not provide services assurance, and (9) the officer remained relaxed although many people queuing up.

Another problem that connected with the service sub districts PATEN in Surabaya also identified by the Ombudsman. Based on the results of the investigation of the Ombudsman Representatives of East Java during November-December, 2013, all of sub districts in Surabaya get an assessment as a red zone. It is related with the services that still less than optimal due to lack of front office personnel ramahnya districts.

The issue of service in the district in Surabaya also been identified by the Public Service Commission (KPP) of East Java. E-kios facilities of public service is not enabled. E-kios is a machine that looks like "Automatic Teller Machine" (ATM), whose function is to perform public services online. This equipment has three different menus: "Surabaya Single Window" (SSW) specifically for licensing, "e-Health" for health care, and "e-Lampid" for administration of population (births, deaths, moving, and coming). Results of investigation of the KPP said that the sub-district officials did not provide the public with e-kios, but prefer using the manual method. The use of e-kios is still "complicated", requires patience and diligence of officers in helping people use the facility. The investigation found that officials are reluctant to help people who want to use the e-kios.

The problems faced by the sub-district officers in providing public services is seen that actually the officers face the problem of soft skills that require expertise in performing their duties. If related with public complaints to public services in the sub district, officers are still have problems in the art of soft skills that is how officers manage relationships with others (interpersonal skills) such as respect for others, having empathy, being friendly, good communication, will respond to complaints. In addition, the sub-district officers also still have problems in organizing themselves (intrapersonal skills) as they less patient in giving service to the public.

Public Service: Type of Service in the Sub-District

Definition of services given by Grönroos (1990: 27) that is :

"A service is also an activity or series of activities of more or less intangible nature that normally, but not necessarily, take place in interactions between the customer and service employees and/or physical resources or goods and/or system of the service provider, which are provided as solutions to customer problems"

Based on the Grönroos definition, characteristics of the service is :

1. This is a series of activities that are not visible
2. The interaction between customers and employees, or other things provided by the service provider
3. Intended to overcome the problems of the consumers / customers.

Definition of the services provided by Zeithaml, Parasuraman and Berry (1990: 15) the following :

" First, services are basically intangible. Because they are performances and experiences rather than objects, precise manufacturing specifications concerning uniform quality can rarely be set. Second, services – especially those with a high labor content – are heterogeneous; their performance often varies from producer to producer, from customer to customer, and from day to day. Third, production and consumption of many services are inseparable.

Based on the explanation Zeithaml, the characteristics of the service are:

1. Service is essentially invisible
2. Services are heterogeneous vary between service providers, service users from time to time
3. Between production and consumption of services inseparable

Furthermore, Philip Kotler (2004: 43) also gives the notion of service as follows :

" service as an activity or an advantage which is given by one party to another party which is basically intangible and can not effect any ownership."

Service is any activity or benefit that may be given one party to another that is essentially intangible and does not result in the ownership of anything anyway and production may or may not be related with a physical product.

From of the three definitions of the services provided by Grönroos, Zeithaml, and Kotler can be seen that the service :

1. Intangibility; service can not be seen, touched, or heard before the service process occurs
2. Inseparability; services can not be separated from providers and recipients
3. Variability; services have diverse nature of aspects of the provider and the recipient of the service from time to time
4. Perishability; service is a commodity not durable and can not be kept within a certain period
5. interaction; service is basically the interaction between providers and users

Based on the decision MENPAN No. 63 / KEP / M PAN / 7/2003 and Law No. 25 of 2010 on Public Service, the type of public service activities include :

1. Administrative Services; services that generate various forms of official documents required by the public, such as identity cards Occupation (KTP), certificate Birth, Certificate of Death, Book Owner Vehicle (reg), Driving License (SIM), Certificate of Motor Vehicle (vehicle registration), Permit Building (IMB), passport and so on.
2. Goods services; services that generate various forms or types of goods used by the public, such as the telephone network, electricity supply, water supply and so on.
3. Services; services that generate various forms of services required by the public, such as education, health care, management of transportation, postal and so on.

Types and forms of service in the sub district is the administrative services that require a form of service "direct delivery service". Because of the type of services that require "direct delivery service", then the interaction between the officials and the public will be in the form of service with that required oral communicative interaction. For this reason it is indispensable specific competence of personnel related with the interaction to others. The necessary competence is soft skill competency.

Soft Skill Competency

Soft skills is actually a development of the concept, which is known by the term emotional intelligence (Emotional Intelligence). Emotional Intelligence began bustling discussed after the writing of Daniel Goleman (1996), entitled "Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ" in 1996 studied both from the world of education, industry, and other professional institutions.

Daniel Goleman states the concept of emotional intelligence in his book entitled "Emotional Intelligence" (1996: 35) as follows:

"Emotional intelligence: abilities such as being able to motivate oneself and persist in the face of frustrations, to control impulse and delay gratification, to regulate one's moods and keep distress from swamping the ability to think, to empathize and to hope".

Furthermore, the definition of soft skills given by Dennis E. Coates (2006: 86), states that:

"soft skills are skills a person in touch with other people (interpersonal skills) and skills in organizing themselves (intrapersonal skills) are able to develop to the maximum performance".

Soft skills are one's skills in dealing with others (interpersonal skills) and skills in organizing themselves (intrapersonal skills) were able to develop to the maximum performance. Interpersonal skills are the skills to recognize and respond appropriately feelings, attitudes, and behaviors, motivations, and desires of others. How one is able to build a harmonious relationship to understand and respond to others is part of interpersonal skills.

The definition of soft skills is also given by Gabriele Peter Kuhlinger and Friedel John (2012: 7) :

“Soft Skills heißt übersetzt „weiche Fähigkeiten“. Dahinter verbirgt sich Ihr Potenzial, gut mit Menschen und deren Handlungsweisen, aber auch gut mit sich selbst umzugehen. Früher wurden Soft Skills als soziale Kompetenzen bezeichnet. Darunter versteht man auch heute noch Faktoren wie Zusammenarbeit, Kommunikation, Konfliktfähigkeit usw. Bis in die 90er Jahre reichte es allerdings aus, in Bewerbungsv oder Mitarbeitergesprächen beispielhaft diese soziale Kompetenz darzulegen.”

Soft Skills is the hidden potential of a person to work well. Soft skills are also called social skills, as indicated by the behavior. It is understood as a factor of cooperation, communication, and conflict management.

More detail, Gabriele Peter Kuhliger and Friedel John (2012: 7-8) explains that people who have high levels of soft skills, considered to be emotionally intelligent. Emotional intelligence is a person's wealth. With emotional intelligence that he will be able to manage personal emotions and others well.

“Menschen, die über ein hohes Maß an Soft Skills verfügen, gelten als emotional intelligent. Emotionale Intelligenz beschreibt Ihr Vermögen, mit eigenen Gefühlen und denen anderer richtig umzugehen”. (2012 : 7)

“Emotional intelligente Menschen verfügen über folgende wesentliche Kompetenzen: Sie (1) können sich selbst gut beobachten und wahrnehmen,(2) besitzen hohe Motivation,(3) verfügen über Einfühlungsvermögen sowie, (4) gute kommunikative Fähigkeiten.”(2012 : 8)

Emotionally intelligent people who have skills, namely (1) can see themselves with good, (2) have a high motivation, (3) have empathy, and (4) are able to communicate well.

According to Peter Gabriel and John Friedel (2012: 8), Soft skills are innate, thus intelligence soft skills given by God to anyone.

“Die gute Nachricht: Emotionale Intelligenz ist angeboren, also jedem gegeben! Nur: Was man daraus macht, ist jedem selbst überlassen.”

Just what will be obtained from the soft skills obtained, depending on each individual in applying. Soft skills can be developed with the exercises as often as possible. Train yourself to smile to others, communicate well, understand the feelings of others, and others. Someone who wants to develop their soft skills should be minded that he did not want to seem nosy or interfere with another person, but as a person who is friendly and helpful. Without soft skills, someone does not have any advantages. This is consistent with the description Kuhliger Gabriele Peter and John Friedel (2012: 8) the following:

Der Einfluss des Intelligenzquotienten auf den beruflichen Erfolg beträgt Untersuchungen zufolge derzeit nur etwa 25 bis 30 %, bei Führungskräften sind es sogar nur etwa 15 %. Damit wird deutlich, dass harte und weiche Faktoren aus der Sicht von Personalverantwortlichen und Vorgesetzten zuv Sammengehören.”

For someone who is classified as a professional, the influence of IQ (success of the study) was only about 25 to 30% to achieve success in the work; whereas for executives, it takes only about 15%. It reinforces that soft skills are very influential factor in the job.

According to Daniel Goleman (2005: 42-43), emotional skills framework consists of two things: Personal Competence and Social Competence. Personal Competence is the skill associated with oneself (self), while the Social Competence is the skill associated with another person (other).

Personal Competence is a skill that determines how individuals know themselves. To assess the Personal Competence There are two (2) of the following:

1. Self Awareness; determine the condition themselves. To assess the Self Awareness, can be used the following parameters (2005: 83-187):
 - Awareness of emotions: recognizing emotions themselves and their effects.
 - Self-assessment carefully: know the strengths and limits of themselves.
 - Confidence: self-esteem and confidence about their own abilities.
2. Self Management; manage the conditions and resources themselves (2005: 130-151):

- Self-control: managing emotions and urgings that damage.
- Trustworthy nature: maintaining the norms of honesty and integrity.
- Adaptability: flexibility in the face of change.

While Social Competence is a skill that determines how individuals handle a relationship with another individual. To conduct an assessment of the Social Competence, there are two things:

1. Social Awareness (social awareness); awareness of the feelings, needs and interests of others (2005: 220-234):

- Understanding others: to perceive the feelings and perspectives of others, and demonstrate an active interest to their interests.
- Orientation services: trying to meet community needs.

2. Relationship Management (social skills): proficiency in managing interactions with other people (2005: 280-286)

- Communications: send a message that is clear and convincing.
- Conflict management: negotiation and problem solving.

From the various definitions and dimensions of the aforementioned soft skills, soft skills in this research is a skill possessed by a person in dealing with others (interpersonal skills) and including himself (intrapersonal skills) to be able to do the development work optimally. Collaborate with the opinion of Daniel Goleman, the intrapersonal skills include self-awareness and self-management, interpersonal skills while covering Social Awareness and Relationship Management. Soft skills can be developed through practice and learning.

Soft Skill Competency owned by the sub District Officials

Has conducted research in five sub district PATEN in Surabaya, sub district of Tegalsari, Semampir, Sawahan, Tambaksari, and Sukomanunggal. Each sub district represents the area of Surabaya central, north, south, east, and west.

Soft Skill competency in the form of interpersonal skills possessed by the officials is as follows:

- a. Self awareness owned officials is still less than optimal. This is influenced by the lack of skill and attitude officials. Lack of personnel skills can be identified when there is a problem during the service process, the officials have not been able to finish well. Officials often still emotional and submit the settlement to the leadership. While the lack of attitude officials, can be identified when the officials is still often feel offended dignity because people's behavior that triggers emotions.
- b. Self management possessed sufficient forces optimal. This is influenced by knowledge, skill, and attitude officials good enough. Officials realize that their duty as a public servant who must work well and obey the rules, so if there is a change of tasks such as the service at the night, they will be doing a good job. In addition, a good attitude of the officials in their duties also strongly supports optimal self-management, in which the officials being that they should be patient, do not favor some people, do not accept bribes, and are willing to accept the assignment change is the main capital of the officials.

While soft skills competency in the form of interpersonal skills possessed officials is as follows:

- a. Social awareness owned officials is quite optimal. This is influenced by knowledge, skill, and attitude apparatus pretty good. From the aspect of knowledge, the authorities realized that the things behind people's emotions more because they really need the document as it will be used for an urgent need. In addition, officials also understand that their main task is to provide services to the community. From the aspect of skill officials capable of providing a good service with the appropriate

rules and regulations. Further, from the aspect of attitude, the authorities have made clear that they do not always understand the society if they do not obey the rules, the statement further emphasized again that the authorities must provide optimum service to the public but must not violate the rules.

b. Relationship management owned officials is still less than optimal. This is influenced by knowledge, skill, and attitude officials are still lacking. From the aspect of knowledge, authorities made little effort communication with the public when there are problems. Even then done with moderation, because the authorities considered that the services in the district do not require lengthy explanation. From the aspect of skill, the authorities only provide just enough explanation to the public on the grounds there are many other people who should be given the service. However, the authorities still want to try searching for the cause of the problems in the service process and willing to listen to reason society. Further, from the aspect of attitude or the attitude of authorities give a statement that they do not need to speak a lot in providing services because of the type of service in the district does not require lengthy explanations because already there are clear rules that can be used as a reference.

Development of Soft Skill Competency Required

Soft Skill competency in the form of intrapersonal skills need to be developed for the officials is as follows:

- a. Self-awareness; positive thinking
- b. Self management; control emotions and improve patience

While soft skills competency in the form of interpersonal skills need to be developed for the officials is as follows:

- a. Social awareness; respect for others who applied to be polite and friendly
- a. Relationship management: good communication

Recommendation

To improve the quality of service on the sub district PATEN in Surabaya, necessary for the development of soft skills competency officials especially the front office staff in performing their duties to deal directly with the public. Therefore, the necessary training and guidance on the basics of treating others well in the public service. Training can be conducted internally by the sub districts. This can be done because the status of the sub district that has become SKPD, thus had a budget that could be used to carry out the activities as needed. Training should also be done by the Agency for Employment and Training of Surabaya as the official agencies that handle development of officials

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ANTI-CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGY TO ERADICATE CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA

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Corruption is a problem that cannot be avoided in many countries including Indonesia. High level of corruption in Indonesia makes Indonesia occupied 118 levels in the assessment of transparency international, and this raises a big question, what's wrong and what happened with the system that occurred in Indonesia, why the difference was highly significant compared with other countries like Finland. Finland ranked number three as the state of the cleanest in the world by Transparency International 2012, but Finland admits that rewards given by Transparency International does not mean his country is free or clear from corruption. In Finland there are also elements or parts that are corrupt, but the level of corruption in Finland is very low if compared with Indonesia. The Finnish government keeps trying to reduce the number of corrupt in the country, even though so many countries want to learn from the methods of controlling corruption in Finland. Finally, Finland has issued an Anti-corruption Handbook for Development Practitioners published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland in 2012, for learning to the other countries. As described in the handbook of Finland said that corruption is divided into three parts, small corruption, high level corruption and the last, government corruption. An important factor affecting the efforts of Finland to control and overcome corruption, the factor is structure and culture, decision making structure, policy and transparency of all government activities, related factor with law department and the justice system, social factor. Many institutions and how it's done in Finland is also applied in Indonesia but it still does not make Indonesia become a clean and free of corruption.

Corruption comes from the Latin, 'Corruptio' or 'Corruptus'. Corruptio derived from 'Corrumper' the ancient Latin language. From the Latin, fell into many European languages like as English, namely Corruption or corrupt, France are corruption and Dutch are corruptive, korrupctie. For this reason korrupctie become 'Korupsi' in Indonesian languages. In Indonesian dictionary, Corruption itself is false, rotten, bribery forgery. In Law dictionary, corruption is bad, damaged, misappropriation of money / goods belonging to the company or the State; accepts that by using his position for personal interest or misappropriation or embezzlement of State or companies as where a person works for personal gain or others.

Corruption or bribery is a big problem that almost experienced in every country and every country has the same problem of corruption. But corruption in Indonesia very crucial, difficult and complicated to solve them, because corruption in Indonesia is not only happening in some sectors but almost in various sectors department and government. Level of corruption in Indonesia is very high level when compared with other countries such as Finland. High level of corruption in Indonesia many carried out in various sectors of element department and government. Corruption not only done by central government or each area government but almost every element government in the smallest area. Combating corruption in Indonesia actually had to walk a long time since the era of reform that's 15 years ago. Many efforts has done were to public official and elements government guilty of corruption. It does not count how many state officials who felt the jail as a result of corruption it does, but still does not make them all of them prevalent. Policies of combating corruption in Indonesia has strived by government, many state institutions such as Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), Komisi Pemeriksaan Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara (KPKPN) and Non-Governmental Organizations (LSM) play a role in monitoring the activities of development, but it does not make Indonesia become into a clean and free of corruption. Based on valuation of corruption perception index, Indonesia still categorized as a country with the highest corruption compared to other country such as Finland, it

indicates that something is not quite right in the implementation of policies or the performance of some institutions that govern.

Combating corruption in Indonesia begins when the Old Order, New Order and the Reform era. Began of corruption in New Order and followed by the next government who also did corruption with large – scale make it become a National Culture. Even today, corruption culture this still continues. Nationalization in 1958 was viewed as a starting point for the development of corruption in Indonesia. Corruption in Indonesia is very difficult in eradicate because both the government and members of the public are still many who not understand the types of corruption that often occurs in the society and in government also, such as for example bribery has done by people of society to government. Inconsistent law enforcement make it Indonesia very difficult to escape by self from corruption. The abuse of power / authority, the third system and guidelines for anti-corruption is only done for a formality, the low income official government must be able to family finance, fifth, poverty is usually used the reason people who consider themselves less capable, greed usually used by officials government, sixth, culture that gives tribute service fee, and the prize is able to provoke a person to engage in corruption and bribery, seventh, when caught the corruptor easily bribed law enforcement that can be released or at least commuted, eighth culture that tolerates or less taking dizzy when discovered the existence of corruption because it is considered normal, the ninth lack of religious lessons and moral ethics to hedge against any act of corruption.

As we know that in 2012 Finland is the third cleanest country in achieving the highest corruption perception index in the world. But the corruption perception index it can't be the benchmark that Finland is a country that is free of corruption, government of Finland acknowledges that there is still corruption but corruption level is very low, it is very different from the State of Indonesia. Finnish Countries that embrace the system well-being or welfare state, the country has a tax rate which is very large almost 50% of revenue, but the community Finland have heightened awareness will pay taxes, it is because of the reciprocal of the State government that is in Balance by social services, health , education is guaranteed.

Combating corruption is a major issue of concern from the government of Finland, the Finnish government incentives have always attempted to minimize opportunities for corruption and increase surveillance to detect corruption.

Anti-corruption in the Handbook for Development Practitioners published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland in 2012, corruption can be divided into three categories:

- Small corruption, which occur in daily life in the society such as public services. And this is usually done enumerated by the national authorities who have a low income when to meet directly with the public related to bureaucracy or administrative matters, the most common form that often occurs in the form of extortion and alignments unfair to relatives or friends in awarding government contracts.
- High Level Corruption, corruption takes place at the end of a political policy formulation, in the case of corruption involving government officials here are usually at a higher level and provide substantial economic benefits for the culprit. As an example would be easy if there are infrastructure development on the condition that the company pays a commission to the official. Corruption can also refer to the corruption in the political process and elections.
- Ruler of the Government, corruption is recognized as the most destructive act of corruption in this case refers to a phenomenon in which outside interests like the mafia networks, private sector, etc., able to break the laws of the State.

As a country that has a high corruption perception index, it does not mean there are no acts of corruption in Finland. Often the case in this country is a case of bribery committed by the State, but the amount is very small and tends to decrease from year to year⁹.

⁹ Finland, Ministry for Foreign Affair. 2012. *Anti-corruption Handbook for Development Practitioners*. <http://formin.finland.fi/public/download.aspx>

In some cases of corruption in Finland, which is the easiest case to be detected and reported is corruption as it relates to the daily life of society, so that people can play an active role to report acts of corruption that is going on around them. Whereas in other corruption detected more difficult because it involves people - people who have high positions in the government.

The success of the Finnish government in dealing with corruption cases, making many countries want to learn what strategies are used by Finland in the case of such crimes. So that the Finnish Ministry of Justice published the Corruption and the Prevention of Corruption in Finland to share experiences that make Finland became the cleanest country in the world of corruption. An important factors in the effort to eradicate corruption Finland are:

- Factor structure and organizational culture, administrative structure of the Finnish government with a relatively low level of bureaucracy that bit with the balance of the level of autonomy in the area. In the culture of the organization, the Finnish government has the principles of equality, objectivity, proportionality and appropriateness of an action seen from the goal.
- The structure of joint decision-making, the greater the opportunities for corruption when the decision-making done by only one or a few people, whereas if the decision is taken by the power of the crowd, all the people involved must be convinced. In addition there is always a chance of the emergence of a whistleblower case of bribery transactions.
- Transparency of government of all activities, public administration openness is a fundamental principle by Finnish government Decisions taken by the government should be published widely and open to criticism from other state agencies, communities, and the media. In this country everyone has the constitutional right. Transparency is a key element in the prevention of corruption in Finland, most documents can be accessed by the general public so that the public can monitor the activities of government, the government also provides some funds for the party - political parties, as a form of transparency, and the parties shall announce the funding campaign.
- Oversight of government policy, the Chancellor of justice and the Parliamentary Ombudsman to review the performance of administrative and judicial authorities periodically. They are also authorized to conduct a special investigation in response to public complaints or instances in response to allegations of abuse were reported by the media. Supervisors also conduct an audit of government offices, to examine the government's finances and property, ensure public funds are used in accordance with the way it's supposed destination.
- Factors related to law enforcement and the judicial system, the country has a separate unit that had dedicated in the investigation of corruption. The responsibility of this case is the local police, but the most serious crimes and complex, including cases of bribery and other forms of corruption, namely those that will be followed up at the National Bureau of Investigation.
- Social factors, the education system in Finland is rated as one of the most effective, ability to read very influential to the public to understand, run and protect their rights. At least the majority of members of the public are able to recognize corruption when found.

The standard of living in Finland is very high, in terms of salaries given to public sector and private sector has the distinction of relatively little, other than that in the country supported by the service adequate welfare such as free health care, education, and government also maintains the unemployed and groups require special needs. Because the Finnish government considered with good income levels and high standard of living can be seen as a disincentive for taking bribes. Beside in several aspects of the Finnish society is also an important component in creating an independent state will be corruption, because the Finnish society, including people who are very obedient, honest and obey the law.

According to the corruption perception index by Transparency International, Indonesia was ranked 118 in the world, and this is very different from the State of Finland. In decision-making in Indonesia is not too different from Finland. Indonesia also has applied the principle of consensus in

decision making, namely through the House, but it is not very effective because in general the decision makers to bring the interests - the interests of certain groups.

Indonesia also has BPK whose task is to audit the financial statements of government to ensure that funds are used for intended purposes in the right way. As for the supervision of public service delivery by the government since 2008 has established the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia. If the structure and culture of the organization, the bureaucracy in Indonesia is still too complicated and long. In addition, the Indonesian government should learn from Finland regarding the policy of transparency and publicity, openness and easy access to this policy that was taken, so the public can actively supervise the government. In fact, the transparency principle should also be applied to the party - political parties so that people can choose the right leader. Media also must be agents of objective information, don't lead public opinion the interest person or specific groups. High taxes in the State of Finland in value is not too burdensome for the public to be aware when they pay taxes at higher rates, will be used for the benefit of them, such as social services.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ANTI-CORRUPTION MANAGED SYSTEM: SINGAPORE-INDONESIA

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Abstract

Economic development of a country has become the center of attention of the government, if a country has good economic development, not necessarily the people in the country come to feel prosperous. But in this case it takes an economic development so that people become prosperous. This economic development is played by the people in the country itself, both the population and the government. Economic development is also dependent on the number of residents as well as residents of a good quality. Related to public awareness, anti-corruption system is also the same as economic development, but has a different task. Anti-corruption system is expected to be the solution for society in combating corruption are rampant. To prevent corruption, the system is applied has various steps and strategies that corruption does not spread well in small communities and government. Because if the system of corruption that is applied in a country does not go well, then economic development therein will also be hampered, and vice versa, if the economic development in the country is not good, then the anti-corruption system in the country will not work either, because in the economic development needed public awareness of corruption.

Keyword : Economic Development, Anti-Corruption, Anti-corruption System.

Economic growth is a process of change in economic conditions of a country on an ongoing basis towards a better state for a certain period. Economic growth can be defined as well as the increase in the production capacity of an economy which is manifested in the form of increase in national income. Economic growth is an indication of the success of economic development.¹⁰ Economic development in Indonesia in recent years can be said to be going through a period of instability, in contrast to other countries in the region of Southeast Asia, especially Singapore. If you see a comparison of economic growth in both countries, obviously Indonesia defeated by Singapore which has a stable economic statistics.

In addition to comparing the economic development of both countries, there is also a difference in the prevention of acts of corruption in both countries are very influential. Such efforts can certainly determine the level of a country's economic growth through political elements. If the anti-corruption efforts a country is run properly then the politics will run correctly in it anyway so that the country's economy can be developed. Because basically corruption is closely connected with political elements. Before proceeding further discuss efforts to combat corruption, the following statement can be discussed about the strategies or efforts to combat corruption.¹¹ (Fijnaut dan Huberts : 2002):

It is always necessary to relate anti-corruption strategies to characteristics of the actors involved (and the environment they operate in). There is no single concept and program of

¹⁰ Purba, Rinal. 2013. *Pengertian Perkembangan Ekonomi*. [Online] <http://www.akuntt.com/2013/10/pengertian-perkembangan-ekonomi.html> (diakses pada tanggal 16 September 2015 pukul 14.00)

¹¹ Carl B. Klocars. 2006. *Enhancing Police Integrity* [Online] diakses pada https://books.google.co.id/books?id=C8QEeQDBX_gC&pg=PR22&lpg=PR22&dq=Fijnaut+dan+Huberts+:+2002 (diakses pada 19 September 2015 pukul 15.30 WIB)

good governance for all countries and organizations, there is no 'one right way'. There are many initiatives and most are tailored to specific contexts. Societies and organizations will have to seek their own solutions.¹²

Economic State of Indonesia-Singapore

When looking at Indonesia's economic growth in recent years can not be ignored if the conditions are less stable when compared to other countries or even neighbors. In 2014 Indonesia face of slowing economic growth and undergo the risks are so significant. The final quarter of 2013 has recorded the adjustment of the Indonesian economy is still going to continue weakening commodity prices and external financing conditions more stringent, and the balance of payments pressures. These developments generally support the sustainability of macroeconomic stability, including helping to lower the current account deficit, although its impact continues, adding uncertainty to the domestic economy.

The World Bank estimates that Indonesia's GDP growth will further slow to 5.3 percent for 2014 according to the base case (Table 1). Domestic demand in the face of the limitations not only of tighter financing conditions, but also the limitations that are potentially more long term because commodity prices and trading conditions are less supportive than in previous years. In particular, private consumption, the mainstay of the Indonesian economy, has so far remained strong, but it seems to be receiving more pressure, so that it will interfere with growth. Investment prospects depend on warehousing investments being faced with tighter credit, reduced the funds can be invested from profit-related commodities, and increased import costs also seems to be slowing down. Expenditure related to elections in 2014 seem to be adding domestic demand materially, due to activities related to the campaign will increase private consumption, even if only temporary, and part of it can be replaced with other shopping. Overall, the risks to the growth outlook skewed to decline.

Table 1: According to the baseline scenario (baseline) GDP is projected to grow 5.6 percent for 2013 and 5.3 percent for 2014

(percentage change, unless otherwise stated)

	Tahunan			Triwulan tahunan ke Desember			Revisi tahunan	
	2012	2013	2014	2012	2013	2014	2013	2014
1. Indikator ekonomi utama								
Jumlah pengeluaran konsumsi	4,8	5,1	4,8	3,9	4,8	5,2	0,1	-0,2
Pengeluaran konsumsi swasta	5,3	5,1	4,9	5,4	4,4	5,2	0,2	-0,3
Konsumsi pemerintah	1,2	5,0	4,4	-3,3	7,0	5,0	-1,1	-0,1
Pembentukan modal tetap bruto	9,8	4,4	4,4	7,3	3,1	5,4	-0,9	-0,5
Ekspor barang dan jasa	2,0	4,4	5,4	0,5	3,8	7,0	-1,3	-0,3
Impor barang dan jasa	6,6	0,5	3,4	6,8	-1,9	4,0	-1,9	-1,2
Produk domestik bruto	6,2	5,6	5,3	6,1	5,1	5,4	0,0	0,0
Pertanian	4,0	3,7	2,7	2,0	5,3	2,6	0,3	0,3
Industri	5,2	4,5	4,2	5,4	3,8	4,4	0,1	0,2
Jasa-jasa	7,7	7,1	6,8	7,6	6,2	6,8	-0,2	-0,2
2. Indikator eksternal								
Neraca pembayaran (AS\$ miliar)	0,2	-14,0	-12,8	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,4	-8,8
Saldo neraca transaksi berjalan (AS\$ miliar)	-24,4	-30,6	-22,8	n/a	n/a	n/a	-1,4	-0,7
Neraca perdagangan (AS\$ miliar)	-1,7	-9,1	-2,5	n/a	n/a	n/a	-1,2	-1,5
Saldo neraca keuangan (AS\$ miliar)	25,2	17,1	10,0	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	-8,1
3. Pengukuran ekonomi lainnya								
Indeks harga konsumen	4,3	7,0	6,1	4,4	8,6	5,1	-0,3	-0,6
IHK keranjang kemiskinan	6,5	7,8	6,7	5,4	9,7	5,2	0,6	0,4
Deflator PDB	4,6	4,4	6,4	2,7	6,6	5,8	1,8	2,2
PDB nominal	11,0	10,3	12,0	9,0	12,0	11,6	1,9	2,3
4. Asumsi ekonomi								
Kurs tukar (Rp/AS\$)	9419	10600	11800	9630	11800	11800	200,0	400,0
Harga minyak mentah Indonesia (AS\$/bareil)	113	104	103	108	105	103	-1,9	-2,0
Pertumbuhan mitra dagang utama	3,4	3,4	3,9	3,1	4,0	4,0	0,0	0,0

Catatan: Proyeksi aliran perdagangan berkaitan dengan neraca nasional. Kurs tukar adalah asumsi dari rata-rata terakhir. Revisi relatif dibanding proyeksi pada ZIQ edisi bulan Oktober 2013
Sumber: Kemenkeu; BPS; BI; CEIC; proyeksi Bank Dunia

Source : Kemenkeu; BPS; BI; CEIC; proyeksi Bank Dunia

¹² Fijnaut and Huberts. 2002. "Konsep Pemberantasan Korupsi", dalam *Pendidikan Anti-Korupsi Untuk Perguruan Tinggi*. Kementerian Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan RI, Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Tinggi, Bagian Hukum Kepegawaian : Jakarta. 2011. Pg 90.

In other cases, the Indonesian economy is also hampered because of Indonesia's gross external financing remains high. Coupled with the high external debt payments in Quarter 4, 2013, which will further increase the pressure on the rupiah. For example, according to Bank Indonesia, the repayment of foreign debt will reach 21.0 billion US dollars in the final quarter of 2013, and 25.7 billion US dollars in the first three quarters of 2014 (Table 2).

Table 2: The high external debt payments in Q4, 2013 will add to the pressure on Rupiah...

	Okt - Des 2013	Jan-Sep 2014
Pemerintah dan BI	2.131	10.087
Swasta	18.894	15.617
<i>Bank</i>	3.720	3.074
<i>Non-bank</i>	15.174	12.543
<i>Lembaga keuangan non-bank</i>	1.738	2.199
<i>Perusahaan non-finansial</i>	13.436	10.345
Jumlah	21.025	25.704

Catatan: Berdasarkan posisi hutang luar negeri per September 2013; pembayaran hutang tidak termasuk sekuritas dalam negeri yang dimiliki asing, valuta dan tabungan, dan kewajiban lainnya
 Sumber: Bank Indonesia

Source : World Bank

Meanwhile if you see the economic developments in neighboring countries, Singapore, Indonesia looks far behind. As reported by the Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore, Singapore's economic development in the overall increase. For the whole of 2014, the Singapore economy expanded by 2.9 per cent, slower than the 4.4 per cent in 2013. Growth in the manufacturing sector improved from 1.7 per cent in 2013 to 2.6 per cent in 2014, supported by the biomedical manufacturing and chemicals clusters. On the other hand, growth in the construction sector moderated to 3.0 per cent from 6.3 per cent in 2013, weighed down by private sector construction activities. The services producing industries grew by 3.2 per cent in 2014, easing from the 6.1 per cent growth in 2013. Growth was supported mainly by the finance & insurance and business services sectors, which recorded growth rates of 7.7 per cent and 2.9 per cent respectively. The wholesale & retail trade, transportation & storage, and information & communications sectors expanded by 1.7 per cent, 1.7 per cent and 3.6 per cent respectively.¹³

The global economic outlook has softened in recent months, with growth in 2015 expected to come in only marginally better than in 2014. The pace of recovery is also likely to remain uneven across the economies, with the US economy being the main bright spot. Growth in the US economy is expected to accelerate in 2015, supported by domestic demand. However, growth in the Eurozone is expected to remain weak, due to sluggish labour market conditions and deflationary pressures. China's growth is also expected to ease further in 2015 on the back of sluggish real estate activities, although the slowdown is likely to be contained. Furthermore, while the recent plunge in oil prices could benefit oil-importing economies, it has dampened growth prospects in oil-exporting economies.¹⁴

¹³ Ministry Of Trade And Industry Singapore. 2015. "Overall Performance In 2014", dalam *MTI Maintains 2015 GDP Growth Forecast at 2.0 to 4.0 Per Cent*. Press Release : Singapore. 2015. Pg 2.

¹⁴ *ibid*

After seeing the state of the economies of both countries, it can be said that Indonesia still lags behind Singapore in the field of economics. Even to look into the future, Singapore is more ready than Indonesia in economic development. This happens because it begins with the weakness of the system of government that provides an opportunity for the government for corruption. In addition, Indonesia looks can not give a solution to prevent such crimes. Therefore we will also see the system of anti-corruption in Indonesia and Singapore.

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Comparison of Anti-corruption System Indonesia-Singapore

Indonesia

In Indonesia had always been known for rampant corruption. Since the New Order era and a political leadership of Suharto in Indonesia increasingly closed, all the media is regulated by the government to form a public opinion that the government at that time had a good image. So in the new order of the press may only expose the good things of Indonesian domestic politics, but is not allowed raises political vices in the country.

All that is regulated by the government in order to get positive attention from people that the Soeharto era running fine. Briefly speaking, the press of the time getting treatment false, biased and lifeless, even though the legal umbrella of freedom of speech, expression, ratification of international law and the Press Law that allows for freedom of the press. All that relates to the practice of corruption which is rampant in line with the limitation of the media in covering news relating to politics. That system made by Soeharto to maintain its image in the eyes of the people of Indonesia.

According to Henry Prat Fairchild and Eric Kohler Definition System is a series that is intertwined among some sections down to the smallest part, if a section or sub-section is disturbed then the other part also felt the disorder.¹⁵ Sistem anti-korupsi di indonesia tentunya mempunyai unsur-unsur tersendiri, diantaranya strategi dan upaya agar tindak korupsi di indonesia tidak semakin menyebar

Singapore

Corruption is a problem that needs to be dealt with in both the public sector and private sector. Singapore has adopted a total approach in both sectors for a long time. The anti-corruption measures must be applied consistently across the board, regardless of whether it is petty corruption or high level corruption. The Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB) is the sole agency responsible for combating corruption in Singapore. CPIB was founded in 1952, even before Singapore gained independence from the British. It is one of the oldest agencies in the world dedicated to fighting corruption, and CPIB developed over the past 58 years to our current state today.¹⁶

On the whole, the overall strategic approach to fighting corruption applies across the board, with no distinction made on whether it is petty corruption or high level corruption. No exception is made for anyone and there are no 'black areas' where the law cannot deal with. In their experience, the same

¹⁵ Inu Kencana Syafie dan Azhari, 2006. *Sistem Politik Indonesia*. Diterbitkan oleh PT Refika Aditama: Bandung.

¹⁶ Koh Tek Hin. 2007. *Corruption Control in Singapore* [online] dalam http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No83/No83_17VE_Koh1.pdf (diakses pada tanggal 1 oktober 2015 pukul 19.20 WIB)

commitment to action is necessary in order to be successful in curbing corruption at all levels. Since Singapore attained self-government in 1959, corruption control has been top of the government agenda.

When Singapore took over from the British, corruption was prevalent. The Prevention of Corruption Ordinance was weak. Corruption was not a seizable offence and the powers of the anti-corruption bureau were inadequate. Public officers were poorly paid and the population was less educated, did not know their rights and often the way to get things done was through bribery.

Corruption control has become a strategic tenet of their system of governance. The smooth conduct of government affairs had to be grounded on a rational basis, with clear rules for all to follow. There had to be no room to tolerate those who hope for windfalls from powerful friends or from greasing contacts in high places. There was much reform required. The law was strengthened. Vigorous enforcement took place. Government administration was improved. All these provided the impetus for Singapore's transformation from a corruption-infested city state to the present state they are in.

The strong anti-corruption refrain was heard again and again, including this statement made in 1979 by then PM Lee Kuan Yew, which best explains the need for a corruption-free Singapore: "The moment key leaders are less than incorruptible, less than stern in demanding high standards, from that moment the structure of administrative integrity will weaken, and eventually crumble. Singapore can survive only if Ministers and senior officers are incorruptible and efficient [...] Only when we uphold the integrity of the administration can the economy work in a way which enables Singaporeans to clearly see the nexus between hard work and high rewards." This is still the same position today and the will of government to stamp out corruption wherever it may be is still very strong.¹⁷

After seeing the anti-corruption system comparison of the two countries, we see that Indonesia is actually already have measures or strategies to combat corruption, but it is less effective and does not run completely.

Economic Development Relationship with the Anti-corruption System

When looking at all the phenomena that occur in both countries, both Indonesia and Singapore already has a strategy and measures to combat corruption in each country. The effort is expressed by the formation of anti-corruption systems in both countries, but in Indonesia the result looks worse than Singapore in combating corruption so that development of Indonesia's economy is slower than Singapore. With still many acts of corruption in a country, the economic development in these countries will not be able to look good, which can result in decreased levels of public welfare.

These sentiments reflect the determination and political will for the fight against corruption. Political will is a key ingredient in the transformation effort from Singapore's corruption infested past as it forms that all important sub-structure, upon which all the super-structures of anti-corruption work rest. It provides the soil and the nutrient which allows the seeds of anti-corruption work to germinate and grow. The government has matched its words with deeds - it mobilized the public, and the entire civil service to fight corruption.

Conclusion

This is not owned by Indonesia in combating the problem of corruption. Starting from the legal system, the system of anti-corruption, anti-corruption agencies, law governing corruption, strategies and measures in combating corruption is owned by Indonesia, but the awareness of us that is still lacking to make this country free from corruption. The awareness is quite starting from little things we

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

used to do everyday, discipline yourself and remind people around to pay more attention and keep state assets so that the country's economy is getting better.

Democracy is supposed to function properly by the government so it looks fragile because of frequent violation of state regulations by the public. It was because the sanction given by the government is less severe for the offenders, ranging from minor offenses, namely littering or vandalizing public property is punishable by heavy fines as imposed in Singapore. By way of disciplining people like that then private Indonesian society will be familiar discipline and want to keep the country's assets and the future is expected to become a culture for the people of Indonesia.

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MOTIVATIONAL STRATEGY IN TEACHING ANTI-CORRUPTION IN SCHOOLS

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Abstract

Nowadays, Indonesia has the serious number of corruption cases, 590 cases in 2015 (ICW 2015). It means that it will bring deficit to country. Thus, Indonesia requires a proper solution to overcome that problem. There are four approaches toward corruption: lawyer, business, market/economic and cultural approach (Wijayanto 2010). However, cultural approach brings the significant influence against corruption, which has been known as Anti-Corruption Education. Getting started in teaching anti-corruption in schools, teachers are required to have capability in encouraging their students against corruption because teaching anti-corruption depends mostly on the environment that influence the students' character. Hence, teachers need to create motivation for students learning anti-corruption through some techniques called motivational strategy. Ultimately, the author aims to discuss deeply about motivational strategies in teaching anti-corruption in schools includes creating student motivation, maintaining motivation, and encouraging retrospective evaluation applied in anti-corruption learning methodology formulated by Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Keywords: Motivational Strategy, Teaching, Anti-Corruption, School

Introduction

In the past decades, Indonesia has experienced a particular problem which called corruption. Compare to other nations in south-east Asia, Indonesia was predicated as the most serious number of corruption cases (Wiyono 2006). Another data given by Transparency International mentioned that Indonesia achieved rank 107 in corruption index, facing a sharp increase from 114 in the previous year (TI 2014). Moreover, ICW (Indonesian Corruption Watch) as the Indonesian organization experting on corruption observation found that there is a rising trend in 2014 with 442 cases to 590 in 2015 (ICW 2015). Based on information obtained, it can be stated that corruption in Indonesia requires a proper solution or it will bring deficit to the country.

To overcome the problem, there are some ways can be conducted. Wijayanto (2010) formulated four approaches toward corruption; lawyer approach, business approach, market/economic approach, and cultural approach. Lawyer approach is one way to anticipate and reduce corruption number by using lawyer or others who have right for standing justice to arrest corruptor. Whereas business approach focus on giving extra bonus for the best worker in company based on work achievement. Creating good competition in business by showing the best service to consumers is the purpose of market/economic approach looking for uncorrupted deed. On the other hand, cultural approach puts a lot of attention in building anti corruption mentality for better nation using culture or education.

Without asiding other approaches, cultural approach especially education probably give the best result for banning corruption. There are some reasons behind this assumption. First, cultural approach will strengthen learners personality because they study about corruption and its impact to nations. Second, it will automatically deposit more funds because learning activity will live longer in students' memory than another treatment. Furthermore, Crittenden et al. (2009) found that environmental factors caused person to corrupt, in which people with endemic corruption country intend to imitate their peers to do less ethical code such as corruption. In Indonesia, cultural approach as explained has been

established with the name of Education of Anti Corruption. This role model of education has been applied in some levels starting from elementary to university.

In education realm, teaching and learning activity is not only about sharing knowledge but also initiating students' willingness to learn something. The willingness to learn is called motivation which has the big role in teaching and learning activity (Sardiman 2012). Scheidecker and Freeman (1999) in Dörnyei (2001), states that nowadays motivation has become the significant issue regarding to teaching and learning activity (Manning et.al 2012). While getting started in teaching anti-corruption, teachers are required to have capability in encouraging their students against corruption because teaching anti-corruption depends mostly on the environment that influence the students' character (Crittenden et al. 2009). It shows that teachers need to create a supportive and good environment to spur their students learn and against corruption by using techniques called motivational strategy.

Motivational Strategy

In psychology realm, motivation becomes the most significant concept. (Guilloteaux and Dörnyei 2008). Motivation is the process of encouraging a person to make a certain purpose then to be pursued by action. (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011). Motivation considers (a) *why* people decide to do something, (b) *how long* they are willing to sustain the activity, and (c) *how hard* they are going to pursue it (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011). Motivation is generally differed into intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The intrinsic motivation consists of three types: (1) *To learn* means as engaging in an activity for the pleasure of understanding something new; (2) *Towards achievement* deals with engaging in an activity for the satisfaction of surpassing oneself; and (3) *To experience stimulation* refers to engaging in an activity to experience pleasant sensations. While extrinsic motivation is divided into four types: (1) *External regulation* refers to the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation; (2) *Introjected regulation* involves externally imposed rules; (3) *Identified regulation* occurs when the person engages in an activity; and (4) *Integrated regulation* involves various behavior that is fully assimilated with the individual's other values, needs and identity.

There are several distinct motivation phases. Firstly, the initial phase is *choice motivation* which leads people to set the goals, to form intentions, and to launch action. The second motivational dimension is *executive motivation* which focuses on generating and carrying out subtasks, ongoing appraisal, and action control. Lastly, the completion phase of motivation is *motivational retrospection* which concerns the retrospective evaluation of how things went (Dörnyei 2001).

Motivational Teaching Practice

Within in classroom, motivation is considered to be one of the most influential factors in learning and academic achievement, a number of researchers from diverse field of education studies have tried to define, analyze and conceptualize this term (Brophy 2010; Dörnyei 2001b). Gardner (2001) claims that motivation drives an individual to put in effort to achieve a goal; it makes the individual persistent and attentive. Every teacher who thinks *long-term* development of his/her students holds the responsibility to motivate students (Dörnyei 2001). However, motivating learners postulate the principles or techniques to promote learners' intention, goals, and action in classroom. Techniques that promote the learner's goal-related behavior is called as motivational strategies. In other word, Dörnyei states that motivational strategies deal with process of motivating a person intentionally to pursue plans and attain certain effect (Dörnyei 2001).

Motivational strategies includes the instructional interventions applied by the teacher to generate and stimulate student motivation and self-regulating strategies used purposefully by individual students to manage the level of their own motivation (Guilloteaux and Dörnyei 2008). To organize the motivation, the classroom practitioners should apply the diverse techniques. Sardiman (2012) states that there are some techniques to stimulate the learners' motivation in learning, such as scoring, gifts, competition, ego-involvement, holding quiz, assessing, compliment, punishment, willingness to learn,

interest, and goal. However, Dörnyei made several systematic attempts in motivating learners which are organized in four motivational dimensions (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011).

a. Creating the basic motivational conditions

The early way to motivate learners requires the teachers to generate motivation effectively among learners. It can be attained by creating the following three conditions: (1) appropriate teachers behaviors, (2) a pleasant and supportive classroom atmosphere, and (3) a cohesive learner group with appropriate group norms (Dörnyei 2001).

b. Generating initial motivation

In establishing motivation in classroom, the teachers face the issue how to find ways to encourage their students to accept the learning goals and to enjoy the classroom activities (Dörnyei 2001).

c. Maintaining and protecting motivation

To maintain and protect the learner's motivation, the teachers should make learning stimulating and enjoyable, present tasks in a motivating way, set specific learner goals, protect the learners' self-esteem and increase their self-confidence, allow learners to maintain a positive social image, promote cooperation among the learners, create learner autonomy, and promote self-motivating learner strategies (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011).

d. Encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation.

This last phase of motivational strategies deals with the learners' reactions of their past performance. This phase is going to show how the teachers are capable of leading learners in evaluating their achievement to become better in future (Dörnyei 2001). The teachers can conduct this phase by promoting adaptive attributions, providing effective and encouraging feedback, increasing learner satisfaction, and offering grades in a motivational manner (Guilloteaux and Dörnyei 2008).

Teaching Anti-Corruption

In terms of meaning, Teaching Anti Corruption can be defined as an activity done by teacher or lecturer who generate a set of academic tools in Anti Corruption topic to the syllabi of pedagogical activities (PRME 2012). Settling anticorruption value in education of Indonesia drives many benefits. Teaching Anti Corruption help to enhance Anti corruption character in Indonesian generations, also to build students' personality in staying away from corruption or even put no interest in doing corruption (Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2011). Consequently, bringing understanding to young generation about corruption and its destruction to nation will result a big impact to their attitudes, hoping that they will keep the personality to create better next good governance in their years.

Learning concept in Teaching Anti-Corruption

Teaching can not be separated from learning concept. In line with the idea, learning concept in teaching anti corruption is a necessity. Learning concept in education of anti corruption stimulates two things; internality in integrated learning and intensity of anti corruption attitudes (Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2011). In addition, Budiningsih (2004) brings a theory of internality in integrated learning value in education that must have :

- a. Definition and understanding of integrity character
- b. Integrity feeling
- c. Integrity action
- d. Internality of some values (religious, ethic, and morality)

Intensity of anti corruption attitudes consist of 3 main components (Fishbein dan Ajzen 1975), they are:

- a. *Attitude toward behavior* (ATB) which is influenced by behavioral belief that contain positive and negative evaluation of certain behaviour such as corruption.
- b. *Subjective norms* (SN); which is influenced by subjective norms should or not should in surroundings such as religious norms, social norms, etc.
- c. *Control belief* (CB): influenced by *perceived behavior control* that providing opportunity for individual person to imitate or not imitate what people in surrounding do.

Methodology of Teaching Anti-Corruption

Teaching methodology positionate a crucial position in teaching-learning activities. Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs (2011 9) has formulated teaching methodology of anti corruption for their students intending to learning activity than teaching as follows:

Table 1

Role model of learning methodology in anti corruption

No	Teaching	Learning
1	Teacher-centered	Student-centered
2	Teacher is dominance in class	Teacher is facilitator in class
3	Classroom environment is boring	Classroom environment is liveable and interactive
4	Students involved in unsupportive competition to beat their peers	Students involved in supportive competition by analyzing and finding problem solving together
5	Students is a banking system of teacher knowledge e.g student must memorize, etc	Students is the actor who analyze, determine, evaluate problem (more likely to produce knowledge)
6	Teacher assesment is based on students' memorizing quantity	Teacher assesment is based on students' reflection to improve the process in increasing achievement
7	Learning resource are teacher and textbook	Learning resource are based on experience and the success of their peers to solve problems

Using Motivational Strategy in Anti-Corruption Education

There are number of studies dealing with the motivational strategies in teaching and learning process, such as there search conducted by Gardner (2009) who investigated student's motivations and achievements in English and their relation to teacher motivation and strategy use in the classroom. The results of his study suggested that teacher motivation was related to teacher use of motivating strategies, which in turn were related to student motivation and English achievement. However, motivating the students to attain the good achievement in English is different from motivating students to practice anti-corruption in daily activities. Motivating students to learn anti-corruption needs the hard efforts in every phase of motivational strategies.

While the aim of using motivational strategies in teaching general subjects in schools is improving academic achievement of students, motivational strategies used in teaching anti-corruption to students

have the aim to improve the moral education of learners based on cultural approach stated by Wijayanto(2010).Teaching anti-corruption in schools has a huge amount of influence for students where students are going to able in reflecting upon experiences of corruption in their daily life (UNDP 2011). Hence, to bring the successful anti-corruption education needs the teacher who can spur their students to have high morality against corruption. The challenge is how to build the character of anti-corruption to students which means that the situation faced by the teacher is how to make learning and their material useful for all of students in classroom (Saunderson 2013).

Whether teaching academic subjects or moral subjects, teachers are postulated to make systematic attempts in motivational strategies (creating, generating, maintaining, and evaluating). Motivational strategies is vast significant for the teachers to enhance the students' engagement. It must be recognized that all of teachers whether professional or novice, public or private, hold the same big responsibility to create, develop, and sustain the motivation of students' learning engagement. Furthermore, the teachers should not only motivate the students but also should establish students' own self-motivation (DörnyeiandUshioda 2011). Indeed, the students will consciously engage the learning by themselves. Thus, in this paper, the writer focuses on using motivational strategies in anti-corruption education as the noticeable way to engage the students in learning anti-corruption.

As explored above, creating the student's basic motivational conditions is the early stage to motivate the learners. Creating student motivation set the effective use of motivation and correspond the pre-action phase of motivation. To create motivational conditions among students in learning anti-corruption based on the methodology above, teachers are postulated to create the student-centered learning which the teacher takes the role as facilitator in class.Besides, teacher should be able to make the classroom environment as liveable and interactive as learners feel (Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2011).Hence, one of the techniques of creating basic motivational strategies that can be used by the teachers to motivate students in learning anti-corruption is creating a pleasant and supportive classroom atmosphere (Dörnyei 2001). Teacher who has tension between he/she with students, there will be no a pleasant classroom climate. Therefore, teachers should be aware of students' anxiety which become as the one of the most potent factors that undermines learning effectiveness and foreign language motivation. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p.110) assert that:

“Learner involvement will be highest in a psychologically safe classroom climate in which students are encouraged to express their opinions and in which they feel that they are protected from ridicule and embarrassment.”

In can be inferred that teacher can set the pleasant and supportive atmosphere in classroom by involving students in every activity. What can be applied to set good classroom climate includes some points such as teacher's rapport with the students, students' relationship with each other, and the use of humor (Dörnyei, 2001).

Furthermore, the way of teachers for motivating students in anti-corruption education is maintaining and protecting the student's motivation. Maintaining motivation requires the teachers to correspond the action phase of motivation. In theory stated above, this stage of motivational strategies require the teachers to make learning stimulating and enjoyable, to present tasks in a motivating way, and to set specific learner goals. Furthermore, teachers should also protect the learners' self-esteem and to increase their self-confidence, allow learners to maintain a positive social image, promote cooperation among the learners, create learner autonomy, and promote self-motivating learner strategies (Dörnyeiand Ushioda 2011). Those Conducting those strategies can address some role model of learning methodology in anti-corruption that teachers can involved the students in supportive competition by analyzing and finding problem solving together. Besides, teachers can use this motivational phase to set the students as the actor who analyze, determine, and evaluate problem (more likely to produce knowledge) (Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2011).

The teachers were asked whether they have motivated their students and their motivation affect students effective in learning anti-corruption or not, they stated that they have done it automatically in the learning process. It is stated by Dörnyeiand Ushioda (2011) that many common teachers argued that they already do some strategies to motivate students which they do simultaneously with teaching practice in classroom. However, teachers should not only focus on one perception, 'teachers'

perception', yet they should recognize what students' believe about their learning achievement called self-evaluation. This phase of encouraging students' to have positive self-evaluation is in line with the anti-corruption learning methodology stated above that teachers assess the students' reflection and lead students to learn resource based on experience and the success of their peers to solve (Ministry of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2011). Ultimately, those motivational strategies are the keys in motivating students successfully to learn anti-corruption as the cultural approach against corruption in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The data shows that Indonesia has the serious number of corruption cases. It obviously brings effect for the nation future, therefore one of the solution to decrease that number of corruption cases stated by Wijayanto (2010) is cultural approach which is applied in education in schools. However, teaching anti-corruption in schools is not as easy as teaching other regular subjects, such as Math, English, etc. It focuses on the moral education that need particular techniques. Therefore, this paper discusses about particular techniques that can be used in teaching anti-corruption in schools to attain the good outcome as the students against corruption in their environment called motivational strategies. Some phases in motivational strategies (creating basic motivation, maintaining learners' motivation, and encouraging positive self-evaluation) can be used by the teacher in applying the anti-corruption learning methodology that focuses on student-centered learning formulated by Ministry of Educational and cultural Affairs (2011). This motivational strategy is very significant as the tool to reach cultural approach against corruption among learners. Therefore, this paper should not be treated as only the discourse about motivational strategies in teaching anti-corruption in schools but rather as a framework that should be sustainably modified and enriched based on creative motivational strategies development of the teachers.

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E-CORRUPTION LAW ENFORCEMENT STRATEGY: THE ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY OF MOVEMENT CONTROL AND FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA BY PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AS WHISTLEBLOWERS THROUGH WIKITRUST

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Abstract

Indonesia is a country that still has a bad reputation as the most corrupted country in the world. The official report of Transparency International agency (2014), has managed to put Indonesia on the order of the ranking position of 107th with a score of only 34 on a scale of 100 for the Corruption Perception Index of 175 countries in the world that have been measured. Indeed, the levels of corruption are ironic, and strong entrenched in this country. Disclosure of all corruption practices occurs in all fields generally involves the culmination of a bureaucratic apparatus from local administration to central administration and even ministers. The research method approach is a qualitative descriptive study of primary and secondary data. Thus, alternative strategies are needed to against corruption by the public and allow it to partner with interested stakeholders through WikiTrust. WikiTrust is an alternative coodinattng of online aspiration system of web services of interactive media in terms of the alternative movement to monitoring, reporting, preventing, and increasing the role of community participation as whistleblowers in efforts to against corruption in Indonesia. The efforts through WikiTrust is quite interesting, creative, and applicable, for it provides some main channels, such as channel of creative campaigns, channel of corruption indications, channel of bureaucrats assetmonitoring system, channels of discussion forums, aspirations, and many more. The expected impacts are rapidly increasing role of public participation and inclusive, as well as able to spread the influence of anti-corruption movement.

Keywords: Corruption, E-Corruption Law Enforcement Strategy, Whistleblowers, Wikitrust

Introduction

Indonesia is a country that still has a bad reputation as the most corrupted country in the world. Various renowned credible international agencies, such as the agency of Transparency International, Global Corruption Barometer, and so on put Indonesia as the top rank of the most corrupted country. The official report of Transparency International agency (2014), has managed to put Indonesia on the order of the ranking position of 107th with a score of only 34 on a scale of 100 for the Corruption Perception Index of 175 countries in the world that has been measured. Although this position has shown a little improvement compared to the year 2013 in which the Indonesia's position was in the order of 114 with a score of 32, the increase is still far from expectations and significant result.

While the Global Corruption Barometer (2013) conducted a survey of 114 thousand people in 107 countries, in Indonesia, however, this survey included 1,000 respondents in five big cities (Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Makassar, and Bandung). This survey aims to measure how far the effectiveness of

fighting corruption and to identifying public sectors that are prone to corruption activities in each country. The result said that it was found some corrupted institutions based on the perceptions and experiences of the Indonesian people, that is of the 12 public agencies which have been assessed and evaluated the parliament ranked in the second position after the police institution. The other result are that the survey in Indonesia showed 72% of people stated that corruption was increasing, 20% stated did not change condition, and only 8% who stated that corruption declined. Regarding the point of questions related efforts to eradicate corruption, 65% of people stated that it was not effective yet, on other hand, only 32% claimed that it was effective. Others answered that they were not sure whether it was effective or not.

The same bad thing happens to Indonesia's position which is still below the average of the Corruption Perception Index ASEAN countries, Asia Pacific, and the G-20 community. According to data from Transparency International agency (2014) in the ASEAN region, Indonesia still lags behind other countries, such as Singapore (98), Malaysia (52), Thailand (38), and the Philippines (38). Various data indicate how high the level of corruption in Indonesia. Data and facts from the agency show that the prevention and eradication of corruption as well as strategic sectors do not work as expected.

Indonesia is one of the countries in which the internet users are categories as the largest, the most active and the most rapid in the world. According to the Global Web Index Data (2014), Indonesia recorded a population of internet users which reached the 7th largest in the world with 58 million inhabitants who had access to the internet. While the data from the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, stated that the number of Internet users in Indonesia had exceeded 82 million people. In addition, Indonesia is also listed as the 2nd country with the most rapid growth of internet users, which is 430 percent in the last five years. Meanwhile, it was also predicts that netizens would reach 150 million people 61% of the total population (JPNN, 2014). In fact, according to research institute MarkPlus Insight (2014), the number of netizens grew significantly by 22% from 62 million users in 2012 to 74.57 million in 2013 and predicted strong Indonesian netizens figure will reach 100 million Internet users in 2015.

Behind the magnitude of the potential and rapid growth of Internet usage in Indonesia, if it is put to good use in surveillance efforts and the fight against corruption will certainly be able to give a good effect, for example, making a motion creative campaigns via multimedia or *Meme* comic that becomes the current trend. This potential is in line with the results of the survey in Indonesia by Global Corruption Barometer (2013) which stated that 80% of people were willing to act in a real or a strong commitment against corruption. Unfortunately, people experienced still limitations and concerns or fears, because of the lack of security and the effective channel for society as whistleblowers to make a complaint and reporting corruption and fear of risk was not available.

The rise of the various cases of corruption, especially at the level of public institutions will certainly threaten the national integrity system. To tell the truth, public services agencies should provide good services, full protection and careful supervision, but some of them have poor integrity. According to Transparency International agency (2014), broadly speaking, the practices of corruption are dominated by the procurement of goods and services by public institutions. More over, the public role to participate in overseeing the planning process is still fairly low.

It means that we need to be more optimal dealing with the community participation. Society must be increasingly critical and active in both the prevention and reporting of corruption possibility. Enforcement agencies to fight against corruption should be supported by community participation through various resistance movement which totally agree to consider corruption a major enemy that must be fought together. Efforts to against corruption can be more aggressive then

Thus, it required alternative strategies, that is, a movement against corruption by the public and allow it to partner with interested stakeholders through *WikiTrust*. These efforts must to be done continually by strengthening or supporting anti graft boby, monitoring the effectiveness of the reformation of public service institutions, and involving community participation in efforts against corruption. The expected impact that it is inclusive and the role of community participation increases rapidly as well as able to spread the influence of anti-corruption movement because all this time public participation in reporting an indication of corruption is still low. Based on explanation above, it is very interesting

to take a corruption issue into further analysis. Consequently, this paper is titled E-Corruption Law Enforcement Strategy: The Alternative Strategy of Movement Control and Fight Against Corruption in Indonesia by Public Participation as Whistleblowers through *WikiTrust*.

Research Methodology

In this study, the authors used qualitative research by documents technique derived from Transparency International, Global Barometer Index, MarkPlus, JPPN, Journal, and many more. The qualitative data are concerning with data processing through three activities, selecting the data, presenting the data and verifying the data. After the authors obtain the data and information and then would conduct analysis with multiple methods of data analysis: (1) Qualitative analysis deal with observing and understanding, also interpreting any data related to the formulation of the problem; (2) Descriptive analysis, deal with preparing the data, accumulating the data, discussing the data and interpreting the data based on logic and theories to make the relevant conclusions.

Literature Review

Definition of Corruption

According to Muhammad Ali (1998) in Ministry of Culture and Education (2011), gave stripped explanation of corruption, as follows:

1. Corrupt means rotten, like receiving bribes / kickbacks, using power for their own interests and so forth;
2. Corruption means foul deeds such as embezzlement, acceptance of bribes, and so on.
3. Corruptor means that people who engage in corruption.

Thus, corruption is a crime-ridden act and immoral behavior ranging from bribery, abuse of authority, and so on.

The Forms of Corruption

The forms of corruption have a few indicators. The following forms of corruption according to a handbook issued by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK 2006) in Ministry of Culture and Education (2011) are bribes, financial loss to the state, extortion, embezzlement in office, extortion, cheating, conflict of interest in procurement, and gratification.

E-Corruption Law Enforcement Strategy through *Wikitrust* Platform

WikiTrust is an alternative aspiration by online web services system which has interactive media platforms in a monitoring, reporting, preventing, and increasing the role of public participation as whistleblowers as an efforts to against corruption in Indonesia. *WikiTrust* is concept is interesting, creative, and applicable that will be available a few main channels. The process is fairly easy to get involved, that is to take advantage of internet users in Indonesian. Public just logins with a pseudonym along with certain information, but their information will not be displayed in order to keep the screary and someday it may be a possible if the data is required to be given to the competent authority.

Besides the guarding reporting any indication of corruption, which may violate the law thing *wikitrust* also uploads the assets from especially the bureaucratic apparatus and accomodates creativity of the

public via a web service interactive media. There are some parts of interactive channels. First, the channel of upload system means that any public official can be monitored by the public to upload documentation (e.g. photos), their own assets or their assets discovered by the public (cars, etc.) and accompanied by the description. Next, the channel of open tender procurement process means that it is the way of prevention of corruption with a tender open to the public. Similarly, the anti-corruption campaign creatively channel means that shelter of creative work which allows the public to connect to each other and to promote anti-corruption movement through digital creative work, such as *Meme* Comic, Video, Caricature, Music, and so on.

Each incoming reporting should meet certain qualifications and pay attention to other applicable requirements. This rule should not be racial or contain other harmful things. The application of this rule is intended to avoid the potential violation of the law, such as defamation, and so on. This will not weaken, but rather will be the basis of the strengthener in this concepts. Each of these reports will be verified directly by the administrator. It is intended to avoid incoming reports. If it passes the verification, the reporting will unappropriate be worth-notifying or publishing to the public. Each reporting that already has been verified either qualify or not, then it will be notified to the complainant as a form of follow-up and has the possibility to be used as a reference for law enforcement agencies to invest if needed later.

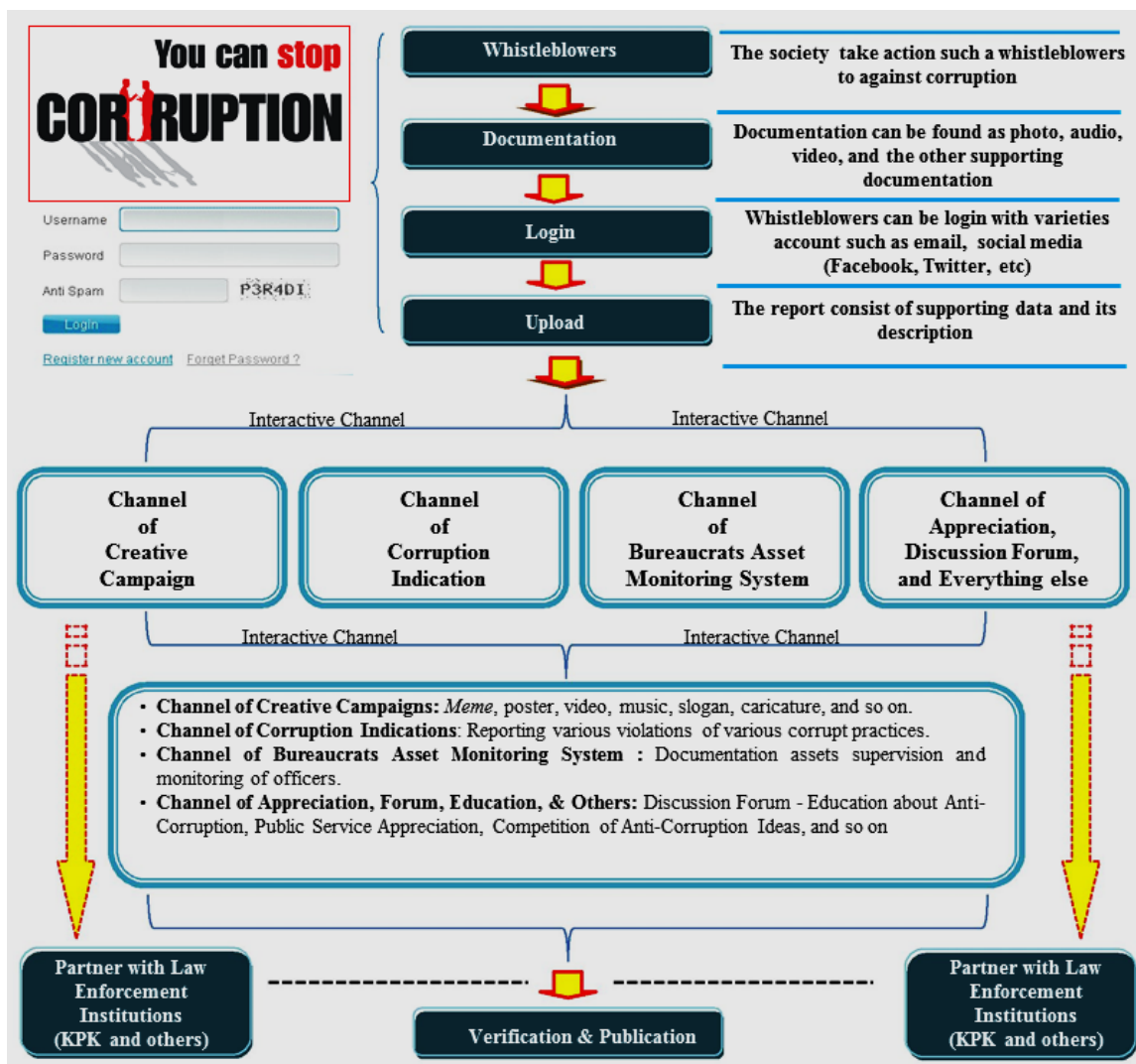


Fig. 1 The Concept of E-Corruption Law Enforcement Strategy Through WikiTrust Platform

1. Channel of Creative Campaign

This channel that facilitates aspirations of creative community in anti-corruption campaigns, such as *Meme*, Caricature, slogan, Multimedia (or a song, video, and so on).

2. Channel of Corruption Indication

This channel that facilitates indication of the problems about the procurement of goods and services in an open tender as well as an indication or reporting violations of other corruption practices.

3. Channel of Bureaucrats Asset Monitoring

It is a creative channel that contains uploaded of asset documentation, especially officials assets. Then the public can monitor or supervise assets authorities in order to minimize and the cases of bureaucrats who get rich quickly. It is necessary to note that the report should be accompanied by received additional information such as geographic location, topic, completeness status reports, and related institutions that the government and the community can monitor directly.

4. Channel of Appreciation, Discussion Forum, and others

This channel that facilitated public to be more communicative and interactive, and engage in discussion forums, it is also available channel containing the people's appreciation of public service institutions which have better performance based on assessment. Furthermore, this channel organizes creative competitions or anti-corruption movement through papers, videos, posters, caricatures and other works.

Thus, the public role as whistleblowers who would like to contribute can be empowered to actively participate to eradicate corruption through the efforts of the complaint reporting and creative anti-corruption campaign. In other words, *WikiTrust* facilitates, encourages, and invites the public to express their creativity to spread the creative campaign containing messages anticorruption values such as Honesty, Fairness, Responsibility, Courage, Simplicity, and so on. It is expected that people can know and understand the forms of activity and the values of anti-corruption.

The access is easy, in which each community can create and send reports of complaints or support by login using email account, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, etc and then make registration and fill the new complaints which were accompanied by other supporting data. Later, complaints received will verified by administrator to be published and followed up further. Each new incoming complaints will be verified and published if it passes the verification or comply with the rules, then *WikiTrust* can also possible for cooperation with law enforcement agencies if required.

Impact of Implementation

E-corruption law enforcement strategy through interactive media web platform *WikiTrust* is present to democratize and to encourage the involvement of public participation so that there is effective engagement of social capital. The following positive effects expected to be obtained:

1. The role of public participation increases rapidly and inclusive as well as able to spread the influence of anti-corruption movement.
2. The aspirations of the community are fulfilled in the form of creative movement to put pressure campaign, refuse bribes, construct discourse through social media, and report incidents of corruption surrounding the alternative channel. Therefore, it can increase public participation which all this time it is hindered and has limitation accessibility.
3. The service fulfillment of the basic rights of citizens and understanding of the values of anti-corruption increases, so that bribery or the other can be reduced when dealing with public institutions, such as the police, the courts, business licensing, education and health.
4. The protection and effective channel are available for citizens to make complaints and reporting indications of corruption.
5. It makes officials more cautious or can minimize the corruption because they would feel to be watched and monitored by society.

6. The success of the realization of good governance and open in Indonesia is intended to improve the resource management in a country and improve the lives of citizens by improving the integrity and accountability of public officials in carrying out their duties.

Conclusion and Recommendation

WikiTrust provides new nuances alternative movement together in a monitoring, reporting, and prevention as well as increasing the role of public participation that is inclusive as whistleblowers in efforts to against corruption in Indonesia. Every society as a whistleblower which has committed or wished to contribute can be empowered to actively participate to take the fight to eradicate corruption through the efforts of the complaint reporting and creative anti-corruption campaign. It is hope when the public already knows the expected influence anti-corruption, the corruption practices can be minimized.

From the conclusion above, then it should be necessary to increase cooperation and good synergy among law enforcement agencies or stakeholders as the frontline to be united together into a powerful force to against corruption. By doing so, *WikiTrust* is expected to provide reinforcement to the relevant authorities to prevent and crack down on the criminals. Then, balanced communication among law enforcement and the public must be maintained properly..

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AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGEMENT OF JASA TIRTA I (PUBLIC CORPORATION MALANG) IN IMPLEMENTING GOOD CORPORATE GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

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Abstract

Each company is required to compete with its competitors. So, it takes a practitioner of public relations (PR) which is able to bridge of companies in order to compete in era of competition. State-owned companies are also required to be able to compete with private companies that have a large budget to support the performance of the Public Relations division. One of the state-owned company who perform and implement public relations management program actively company Perum Jasa Tirta I Malang. Results of research conducted programs implemented by Perum Jasa Tirta I intended for internal public and external public. For the internal public, include the implementation of health Activities, Siraman Rohani, Ikatan Karyawan Jasa Tirta I which is filled out by the employee of PJT I and also internal communication in the form of making internal magazine and activity sharing knowledge. External programs more varied, including the CSR activities are divided into two parties are; Bina Lingkungan and Penyaluran Kemitraan, The exhibition, which is always followed by PJT I routinely every year, Procurement Cooperation/MoU, Customer Service, Community involvement, until Manufacture Album with the album tittle album "Senandung Jasa Tirta I – Hanggulowentah Tirta" which is sung by the entire leadership of Perum Jas Tirta I Malang. Each program carried out by the Public Relations division Perum Jasa Tirta I Malang is uploaded on the official site. This is done to uphold good corporate governance and activities in accordance with the Declaration (Integrity Pact/Pakta Integritas) Employee Company (Perum) Jasa Tirta I.

Keywords:Public Relations, internal and external public, good governance practice

Introduction

In order to survive during the globalization era, each enterprise has to be able to compete its competitor. In other words, Companies must be able to read the opportunities as well as knowing what is required by the internal and external public; therefore companies need a practitioner of public relations (PR) who are able to bridge the companies' needs in order to compete in today's era of competition.

The development and advancement of today's Public relations' world cannot be underestimated. PR practitioners not only act as a guess relation officer and a guide of the company, but they should be able to carry out their duties and functions as the companies' main pawn. Even today the role and function of a PR has considerably grown so that nowadays public relations practitioners able to hold and carry out management activities. It is known as PR management.

The activities of PR management are not simple. PR management starts from the planning, organizing, staffing, and leading up to the process controlling. Even today the PR practitioner is required to seek to draw on programs that can be implemented within the company. PR management which managed properly can actually improve the performance of the company's image to repair after the crisis. During this time many people thought that SOE (state-owned enterprise) is a company that

is most difficult to obtain information and is closed. So it is not so with PerumJasaTirta I (public enterprise I) Malang.

Duties and responsibilities of PerumJasaTirta are very large, namely maintaining water resources. In its application, water is the main supply for various sectors (agriculture, domestic, industrial to the environment). This makes PerumJasaTirta I made several attempts at one programs that can help them to continue to be consistent in the implementation of tasks and responsibilities. The implementation of the program is carried out by the Public Relations division.

Strategy and public relations program conducted not only for internal public, but also for the external public. From the preliminary data that have been taken throughout the year 2013, which is intended for internal public is in the form of printed material, for example, an internal bulletin devoted to its employees. In addition PerumJasaTirta held a Family Gathering, which is in the form of healthy walking activities that involve the entire family of PerumJasaTirta I Malang.

Product PR PerumJasaTirta I Malang which devoted for external parties was exhibition. The exhibition is usually done to commemorate World Water Day, which was held in Jakarta around May 2013. Another program for external public was held "16th Scientific Meeting Web of Water Quality Monitoring (JKPKA). The event was held on Monday, December 30, 2013 held at SMA Negeri 1 Nglames, Madiun Regency. PerumJasaTirta I Malang also released a bulletin titled "The Record of the 23 Year Journey JasaTirta I Public Corporation 1990-2013". The bulletin, outlines all the activities that have been done and the achievements obtained by PerumJasaTirta I Malang.

The activities of the implementation of the programs carried out by the PR seemed to reject the opinion of Jefkins as quoted by Emilia Bassar (2011) illustrates that the role of PR in certain sectors, as described below:

"The importance of PR techniques can be seen in the process of implementation of the census. The population census is obviously very important, because without the statistical data produced will be difficult if not impossible to make future planning. Besides that, the family planning campaign is an ideal example to describe the use of PR is good and bad in developing countries."

PR division PerumJasaTirta I Malang wants to prove that the state-owned enterprises is able to compete private companies. It can be seen from the application of public relations programs of PerumJasaTirta I Malang. They are always evolving and adapted to the conditions of their stakeholders. This study becomes important because a shift in the role, functions and responsibilities of public relations practitioners themselves. In which PR practitioners especially in state-owned enterprises are no longer as they were, which is synonymous with the absence of disclosure of information relating to the company. But in the era of globalization companies are required to compete. In addition, the increased public demands for getting information disclosure making the role of public relations is getting heavier. That's because the PR practitioners are expected to provide the broadest possible information to the public, especially to the stakeholders of the company.

Reform efforts over the disclosure contribute to the good governance movement. Activity improvement of governance or good corporate governance is also expected to be applied to the PerumJasaTirta I. The principle of good corporate governance becomes the main reference to improve the performance of a government agency. One supporter of the improvement of governance or good corporate governance is the disclosure of information to the public. Disclosure of the information has been regulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 14 of 2008 on Public Information. Therefore, this research focuses on the analysis of public relations management of PerumJasaTirta in implementing good corporate governance efforts.

So the researchers wanted to examine more deeply about the implementation of the management of public relations at PerumJasaTirta I Malang, that in fact the state-owned company is the headquarters of some of PerumJasaTirta scattered in various parts of Indonesia. Thus indirectly, the decomposition of the above has provided an impression that this research will be directed at public relations management implementation that will result in a reflection of the information disclosure activities in order to achieve good corporate governance.

Quotations and References

Management of Public Relations

Principal function or stages in management, which is a process of action to do things as follows:

1. Planning

Schermerhorn, Jr. (1999) said that planning is a process to determine the objectives to be achieved and the steps to be taken to achieve it. Through planning, a manager identifies the desired work and identifies ways to achieve it.

2. Organizing

Organizing functions here include the provision of a separate assignment for each party, forming part, delegate and assign a track authority/responsibility and communication systems, and coordinate every employee in a solid team work and organized.

3. Preparation of staff (staffing)

These functions include the determination and the requirements of the personnel employed, attract and select candidates, job description and determine the technical requirements of a job, assessment and training, including the development of the quality and quantity of employees as a reference for the preparation of each function within the organization's management.

4. Briefing (leading)

The briefing is a process to foster the spirit of employees that work hard and guiding them to implement a plan to achieve goals. Directing functions include making others do the work, encourage and motivate subordinates, as well as creating a climate or atmosphere that is conducive to work, particularly in methods of communication from top to bottom and vice versa, the expected emergence of mutual understanding and trust that good. Develop the discipline of work and a sense of belonging to each of its employees and management team (internal public).

5. Supervision (controlling)

The final function of management include the preparation of a standard of quality and quantity of work, either in the form of products and services provided by the company/organization in achieving the objectives of mutual satisfaction, productivity and the creation of a positive image. In this connection, Schermerhorn Jr. said that this function is a performance measurement, comparing the actual results with the plan and take corrective action as necessary.

PR Management Process

PR Management process usually carried out through several stages as follows:

1. The collection of facts. At the stage of gathering this fact, PR is required to do research that point to know what the problem is happening or will happen, so do not be late and eventually became a crisis in the company. (Cutlip, 2006, 322-326)

2. Problem Definition. In this stage, the PR act as "Fire extinguisher" rather than as "Fire Prevention." It starts with the assessment of the existence of something wrong, or something that should go well. After the assessment, the process becomes the task of systematic and objective research that is designed to describe in detail the problem, the factors that aggravate or alleviate the problem and the public involved or affected by the situation. (Cutlip, 2006, 327-330)

3. Planning and Programs. Planning and the stages of the electoral program and the establishment of an activity or program that we want to make based on the facts obtained in research homework. This process not only ends when the plan has been set. We also have to think about time, where, when, how and by whom the activities are carried out. This stage is the relationship between the leader and his subordinates that bind so that they are willing to understand and want to donate energy to

effectively and efficiently achieve the desired goal the company or organization. (Cutlip, 2006, 351-352)

4. Taking Action and Communicating. At this stage, the PR has started conducting and coordinating action or action in accordance with the program. This stage reinforced with the right communication strategy so as to support the program of action. (Cutlip, 2006, 386-389).

5. Program Evaluation. At this stage, the evaluation must be conducted thoroughly. Both from the staff and leadership of the highest in the company in the success of the program has been run. Because the purpose of this evaluation is to determine the advantages and disadvantages of what has been done by the company in implementing its program within the specified time span. (Cutlip, 2006, 412).

Good Corporate Governance

The term of good corporate governance cannot be separated from government agencies. This is because the relationship held between government agencies and service to the public. The term governance is defined by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) described in its policy document entitled Governance for Sustainable Human Development as: “Governance is the exercise of economic, political and administration authority to a country’s affairs at all level and means by which state promote social cohesion, integration and ensure the well being of their Population.”

Bappenas in <http://bappenas.go.id>, mentions fourteen principal values of good governance, namely: Insights forward (Visionary), Transparency, Public Participation (Participation), Accountability, Rule of Law, Democracy, professionalism and competence, responsiveness, Efficiency and Effectiveness), Decentralization, Private and Civil Society Partnership, commitment to Reduce Inequality, commitment to Environmental Protection and commitment to Fair Market.

Author Network

There are several internal programs implemented by Public Relations practitioners of Perum Jasa Tirta I. Among them are as follows;



Diagram 1
Internal Program Public Relations Jasa Tirta I

Of all the above internal program, almost entirely performed through the process of forming a PR program, which begins as follows:

(1) Collecting facts. PR practitioners must collect fact in order to know what the problem is or even what will happen. So it will not possibly lead to crisis at the company. That's the main supporting the public relations officer to administer several programs which are organized. By doing some simple research, PR of PerumJasaTirta I will know very well, the facts underlying the program that is organized. One of them is holding Knowledge Sharing. The branch offices in several regions make the flow of information that is often not easily accessible. Good flow of information from the central office to the branch office as well as information from branch offices to headquarters. If this trend continues without treatment, fear will become an obstacle to the implementation of the three tasks PerumJasaTirta I, which has been regulated by government regulation (Main Duties, Additional Tasks and Duties of Government).

(2) Definition of Problem. In this phase, PR actually acts as "Fire extinguisher", no longer as "Fire Preventer." This is because the assessment of the existence of something wrong or find something that should go well. After doing research and gathering facts, PR should be able to identify in detail about what issues, factors which aggravate or mitigate the problem. As well as the internal public should be involved or affected. When you see a few internal programs that have been conducted by PerumJasaTirta I, it can be seen that each program has problems respectively. So that PR can be easier to develop plans to overcome the problems. One program that has a problem of high definition is the Internal Communications. Regular communication program is very important because PerumJasaTirta I had experienced the problems associated with the internal information flow.

After knowing the problems that becomes the source of breakdown of the flow of information. Public Relations begins a movement that is by preparing and printing Internal Communication Media for Employees in PerumJasaTirta I. These internal communication media issued once every 3 months.

(3). Planning and Program is the next step that must be done by PR to draw up a program. Planning and program itself is a stage of the selection and establishment of an activity or program that we want to make based on the facts that have been gained. Public relations should also think about the time, where, when, how and by whom the activities are carried out. This stage is the relationship between the leader and his subordinates that bind so that they are willing to understand and want to donate energy effective in achieving the desired goals the company or organization. Examples that can be taken is to set up a program Knowledge Sharing. Public relations not only make the schedule regularly on these activities, but also make contact with each to at DJA (branch/regional offices) of PerumJasaTirta I. Thus it would be easy to continue to coordinate on a few things related to the formal forum event.

(4). Taking Action and Communicating. At this stage, PR already begun to coordinate action in accordance with the program. In this phase is also reinforced with the right communication strategy so as to support the program of action. They conduct activity or Health program in form of Fun Bike activity. This activity is not only attended by approximately 40 employees of PerumJasaTirta I, but also two bicycles communities. Before PR of JasaTirta I conducted Fun Bike activity, they communicated with two bike communities (SESAT and SESUATU) to do the Tour De Bromo - Malang - Selorejo,

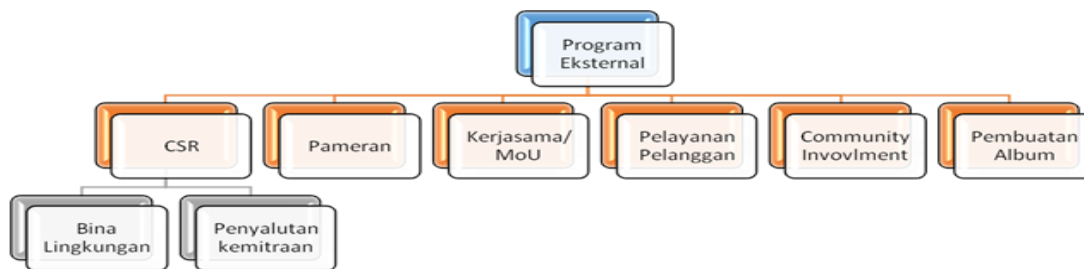
(5). Evaluation Program. The final stage should be done by PR PerumJasaTirta I was evaluation. Both from the staff and leadership of the highest in the company in the success of the program has been run. Result and purpose of this evaluation is to determine the advantages and disadvantages of what has been done by the company in implementing its program within a predetermined time range. Unfortunately, from 10 programs that had been conducted, only two programs were evaluated. That's because both programs have a special program that is always changing in each period. For example, IKAJATI who always change its management regularly and publishes media called BWJT once every three months. So it requires periodic evaluation as well.

Some internal programs that have been conducted by PerumJasaTirta I can also be analyzed by using program-based PR problem in Developing Countries. Some PR problems in developing countries are as follows: Communications, Marketing, Audiences, Mass Communication, Advertising and Educate Market Dilemma. But two points only concern of these companies, namely: Communications and

Audiences. For communication problems can be solved by using Internal Communication Media, Knowledge hearing and religious gatherings/recitation.

Then, the second problem is the audiences. Internal audience of PJT I program is devoted to the employee/employees. Why employees are regarded as one of the problems in developing countries? This is because there are employees who do not complete the job properly or in accordance with the job Desk given the same is happening in PerumJasaTirta I. So some programs created by the Public Relations focuses on how the relationship between employees and including the keeping the good relationship (silaturahmi) by providing spiritual cleansing.

PerumJasaTirta I not only have a program for internal only. Some external program for any lot created. There are total of 13 external programs that have been applied for. From the findings of the data that has been described, the program can be subdivided as follows:



Not much different from the program prepared for the Company. Programs that are compiled for external public carried out through several stages. Starting from:

(1) The collection of facts. PR must conduct fact gathering in order to know what the problem is or even what will happen, so possible crisis will not happen in the company. That's the main supporting the public relations officer to administer several programs which are organized. At least by doing some simple research, PR practitioner of PerumJasaTirta I will know very well, the facts underlying the program made. One of the external programs of PerumJasaTirta I was CSR (Corporate social responsibility)-owned JasaTirta I was divided into two, namely the Community Development focused on providing aid to areas that need help and also Interwoven Partnership, where the program is the provision of capital to the active and creative industries in order to survive. In order to determine who are the worthy to obtain funds of Interwoven Community Development and Partnerships, Public Relations PerumJasaTirta I have to know the environment and conditions in the field.

(2) Definition of Problem. In this phase, PR actually acts as "Fire extinguisher" no longer as "Fire Preventer" because they should assess the existence of something wrong or find something that should go well. After doing research and gathering facts, PR should be able to identify in detail about what issues, factors which aggravate or mitigate the problem as well consider whether external public should be involved or affected or not. One program that will always be executed routinely are participating in the exhibition related to preserving the environment or environmental preservation; therefore, PerumJasaTirta I not only occasionally participating in the exhibition. But in a year PerumJasaTirta I can repeatedly deliver programs to the external communication of this.

(3) Planning and Preparation Program is the next step that must be done by PR to draw up a program. Planning and program itself is a stage of the selection and establishment of an activity or program that we want to make based on the facts that have been gained. Public relations should also think about the time, where, when, how and by whom the activities are carried out. This stage is the relationship between the leader and his subordinates that bind so that they are willing to understand and want to donate energy effective in achieving the desired goals the company or organization. A unique program as an example of the planning and preparation of the program is when PR PJT I took an initiative to contribute to the education field. PR practitioners of PJT I carried out a program named

"SOE Directors' Movement of Teaching." This movement is an additional activity due to the fact that its implementation is based on the spirit to provide additional knowledge may not be obtained by the students during their teaching-learning period. PR, thus took the initiative to invite the Board of Directors of PerumJasaTirta I to be a "teacher" for students at the Senior High School.

(4) Taking Action and Communicating. At this stage, PR already begun to coordinate action in accordance with the program. In this phase, PR practitioners of PJT I also reinforced the right communication strategy to support the program of action. The example of this stage is a visit of PerumJasaTirta PR practitioner to their customers so that they can maintain good relationship with their customers. This is one example that shows how PR of PerumJasaTirta I performs PR program systematically. By taking action and communicate directly with customers, they will feel very honored. It can strengthen and improve relationships with customers. Besides, PerumJasaTirta I also visited some of its customers' places, namely PT Indonesia Power (hydropower Wonogiri), PT Sritex (Installer meters of water) and North Surakarta water company. During a visit to wonogiri, PerumJasaTirta I do manufacture spoil bank which serves to accommodate the Wonogiri reservoir dredging.

(5) Evaluation Program. The final stage should be done by PR PerumJasaTirta I is evaluation of the staffs and leaders in the company. Result and purpose of this evaluation is used to determine the advantages and disadvantages of what has been done by the company. However, as the reseacher found in the internal program, PJT I almost never carried out an evaluation for the external program. It becomes the the lack of PR program planning. Consequently, the levels of success or failure cannot be measured properly.

Not much different from the internal program PerumJasaTirta I, on the external programs such company can be attributed to the preparation of the program based on the issue of PR in developing countries consisting of Communications, Marketing, Audience, Mass Communication, The Dilemma Advertising and Educate Market (Ruslan, 2004, h.303). External programs owned JasaTirta I Public Corporation which is in line with PR program problems in developing countries are on the point of Communications, Marketing and Audiences. Communication has been a problem in the state-owned company due to its wide working area. Thus requires solid coordination in terms of communication.

It is not enough just using the phone, message or e-mail, forums and face-to-face formal should remain a priority. Moreover, relations with customers and stakeholders that must be maintained. In related to that, the Board of Directors of PerumJasaTirta I have a regular program associated with customers, namely by making direct visits.

Next, problem which is typically faced by various government office in developing countries is marketing. Although JasaTirta I get financial assistance from the Government but the company cannot their operational costs fully in the fund. Thus indirectly, PerumJasaTirta I should be able to take action to support the business cycle of the company's revenue. One way is to do collaborations with several parties, both from the private and state-owned enterprises as it was done in 2013. JasaTirtaI done some MoU with various parties and also made visits to several customers JasaTirta I. The main problem is to educate the market. In accordance with the additional task as mandated in government regulation to JasaTirta I, which states that the additional task of PerumJasaTirta I is doing partnerships and community development program. According to the regulation, PerumJasaTirta I is assigned to be able to provide education to the public or stakeholders so that they understand that environmental preservation becomes the duty of the public at large.

Thus, we can understand that to make a PR program is not easy due to the fact that there are many stages to be fullfilled in order to develop acceptable internal and external program for the company's stakeholders Explanation of the above also suggests that the PR function is very complicated. The following are some PR of PJT I functions:

1. The entire PR staffs of PerumJasaTirta I always support any activity even as a pioneer of management in achieving the main goals of the company. This is proven by the existence of several activities that deliberately designed and applied for the achievement of the objectives of PJT I. One

example of Public Relations staffs' program in PJT I is an activity involving the board of directors, such as "SOE Directors' movement for teaching".

2. Public Relations Division PJT I also play a big role in fostering a harmonious relationship between the organization and the various internal and external public. One example of the activity is Knowledge Sharing which is done regularly in every three months and take place in various offices under the PJT I working area. This event is created not only to exchange information from co-workers but also employees have the opportunity to determine what activities to be performed and which has been implemented by each division. For external parties, PJT I assisted the planning to the implementation by the PR is to get closer to customers by way of a visit to several customers and partners are owned by PJT I.

3. PR of PJT I are also trying to create a two-way communication to spread the message, information and publications. So it becomes very natural that the government-owned public relations company is considered as one of the active PR in creating communication activity. One of them is shown by the making of the album Synergy 2013. The album contains about the importance of environmental conservation and preservation of water is fronted by several leaders of directors PJT I, Ministry of SOEs and the Secretary General of the PU. The album making is expected to be a medium of communication that can be received well. Besides that, the PJT I web also provides separate columns for people who wish to provide input and criticism of the government-owned company.

4. PR of PJT I routinely conducts CSR as a form of corporate responsibility to contribute in the form of real help (treatment, providing education funds etc) or in the form of advice or counseling related with health and hygiene environment. So that this company does not release and also ignores the general interest of the community who work in PJT I working area.

5. Every employee of PJT I have the agreement set forth in the Integrity Pact that all employees of JasaTirta I will carry out the duties and obligations in a clean and professional manner. Besides that, all employees of PerumJasaTirta I will never take action that aims to harness the Company for personal, family or certain groups, either directly or indirectly. The existence of the Integrity Pact was supported by PerumJasaTirta Public Relations I.

6. The forum which is provided by IKAJATI is a forum that enable the employees to exchange information. So it is not just listen or just "hearing" of what is required by the employee against the policies that have been made.

Not only in the development of internal and external programs, but the results of research and interviews conducted by the researchers showed that PerumJasaTirta I is a company that strongly supports the activities of good governance and transparency of information to the public. Form of public disclosure is with the help of a Website owned by PerumJasaTirta I. The web of PJT I includes very complete information, not only outlines the company's profile, but also illustrate the working area of water resource management company until annual finance report. The web provide information for the public. It can be seen in the image below in the orange circle. This shows that PerumJasaTirta I have established a disclosure information to the public by using the web company.

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RESPONSIVENESS WITHOUT ACCOUNTABILITY: THE CASE OF SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN CAMBODIA

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Abstract

This article examines two cases of social accountability implementation in Cambodia. The findings show that responsiveness in public service delivery is possible but limited without formal systems of accountability. The level of responsiveness depends on a unique combination of political and administrative conditions. Insights from the case studies can be useful for future implementation of social accountability initiatives in developing countries.

Keywords: Cambodia, accountability, social accountability, responsiveness, public service delivery

Social accountability as a good governance concept and procedure has been introduced in transitional societies to close the gap between state and society. It is a form of “nonelectoral yet vertical mechanism of control of political authorities that rests on the actions of an array of citizens’ associations and movements and the media” (Peruzzotti and Smulovitz 2006, 10). Its emergence adds to the repertoire of democratic control with elections as the principal strategy. The stocktaking of social accountability experience in developing countries has generated valuable insights into the impacts of social accountability initiatives by identifying the enabling conditions under which social accountability practices can induce positive change which include the functioning of democratic institutions, political will and citizen actions (Arroyo and Sirker 2005; McNeil, Malena, and others 2010). This set of social accountability literature emphasises *how* social accountability initiatives can influence public responsiveness. What is lacking, though, is *why* government officials are willing to comply with what citizens demand. Deepening understanding of this missing link can go beyond analysing the impact of social accountability per se to providing a more precise direction to navigate the underlying politics of responsiveness.

In Cambodia social accountability was pioneered by the World Bank jointly with the Ministry of Interior (MoI) to ride on a wave of decentralization reform beginning in 2002. Under the banner Demand for Good Governance (DFGG), civil society organisations were trained in relevant concepts and skills followed by piloting and actual implementation of social accountability tools to coordinate citizen demands to improve the quality of basic public services. At the core of DFGG’s theory of change is the shift in relationship from confrontation to constructivism—from “shouting” to “counting” in the words of the Bank—between civil society and government in working out mutually acceptable solutions to local service problems (Rodan and Hughes 2013). This mode of working eclipses the more common approaches of imposing reputational cost or public shaming because of the optimism in the promise of political will or political opening. Further, Cambodia’s unconsolidated democracy gives little hope of interventions from independent institutions to improve political and bureaucratic responsiveness. As the findings will show the political opening approach is not without effectiveness and particularly fits in the context where formal systems of accountability are weak or unreliable.

In this paper I assess two cases of social accountability implementation, one ‘successful’ and the other ‘unsuccessful’, by focusing on the supply side of social accountability practice to tease out the factors of political opening that shape the emergence or the lack thereof of public responsiveness. The discussion is expected to enrich understanding of social accountability and responsiveness in

Cambodia and make empirical contribution to the wider literature on the politics of public goods provision.¹⁸

The Politics of Responsiveness

Responsiveness—defined in this paper as deliberate actions by state actors in response to popular requests that improve the original conditions—in a democratic context stems from systems of formal accountability. However, as exemplified by the case of China, responsive government is possible without democratic accountability. The country is described as “responsive authoritarianism” for its relatively strong state performance despite the dearth of democratic participation. This exception has driven political scientists such as Francis Fukuyama to establish the study of state building independently but interactively with democratisation to pinpoint the complexity of the state. As will be laid out by the brief review below, responsiveness is multifaceted and constitutive of both formal democratic and informal kinship elements.

With all its weaknesses, election remains an indispensable driving force of responsive public policy. The fact is that governing parties can still be vulnerable to election loss despite multiparty elections in post-communist and transitional countries are widely seen as mired with irregularities and manipulations. To hold on to power, governments therefore need to grapple with policy shifts to satisfy the unhappy electorate and maintain existing support base. With data spanning 86 “electoral authoritarian” countries over the period from 1975 to 2004, Michael Miller argues that poor electoral showings for the governing party *can* bring about policy change (Miller 2014). In the African context, for the purpose of re-election, politicians pay serious attention to serve their constituencies. But the clientelistic nature of African politics means that it is not programmatic policies but narrow-base private goods such as cash handouts and government jobs (Lindberg 2010).

Liberal conception of politics postulates that the promotion of responsiveness has to also be augmented by institutions of checks and balances that can pre-empt transgression, uphold the rule of law and propel executive agencies to take specific actions with regard to extra-state demands, a concept Guillermo O’Donnell terms “horizontal accountability” (O’Donnell 1998). Properly designed, the functioning of horizontal accountability can take numerous forms. The central idea is that with more veto points and monitoring mechanisms, politicians and bureaucrats can be oriented to a more disciplined and considerate exercise of public duties and discretionary power. In short, more control is believed to lead to less shirking and more responsiveness. Having said that, the dearth of horizontal accountability is the very Achilles Heel of most new democracies. Liberal democracy as we know it in the West needed centuries to take shape and was strongly influenced Christianity (Huntington 1993), a clue as to why the political system has had hard time taking root in the Global South. So what implications does this lack of democratic consolidation have for responsive government?

According to Lyly Tsai and Staphan Lindberg, informal norms fill in the void left by weak formal accountability institutions. Tsai’s research in rural China demonstrates how being members of village temples, a type of “solidary groups”, make local village officials responsive to citizens’ demand for public goods and services. A village temple derives its moral legitimacy from the deity it hosts which is seen as guardian of the village and from the fact that it “encompasses” the entire village and “embeds” villagers and local officials. This structure combines with the temple’s religious authority to engender strong collective identity and responsibility among members to contribute to the collective good of the community. As a result, local officials are very active in meeting villagers’ needs. In exchange, local officials earn “moral standing” or “good name” as incentive for their work (Tsai 2007). In a similar vein, besides re-election, lawmakers in Ghana feel the urge to deliver because of their traditional role as “heads of family”. The role, Lindberg argues, conferred at lawmakers the moral obligation to “take care of, support, and help when necessary, his or her family”.

¹⁸ See McLoughlin and Batley 2012

The failure to do so can result in diminishing social status and thus fewer followers (Lindberg 2010, 126).

The review thus far outlines some salient causes of government responsiveness namely the re-election pressure, checks and balances and moral responsibility, which constitute the electoral, legal/constitutional and moral dimensions of political opening. The overarching argument is that politicians or bureaucrats react to political incentives and sanctions. But a further question can be posed to this line of reasoning which is why government officials—with the moral duty to provide public services, for example—choose to act on certain demands but not others? The case studies below which examined the use of social accountability tools in public service delivery in Cambodia contribute to the understanding of how local officials and service providers make decisions that directly determine the level of responsiveness.

Community Score Card in Primary Health Care

A major plank of DFGG focused on promoting social accountability in social sectors such as health and education. These areas were seen as less politically contentious and thus were more likely to gain cooperation from the state for reform actions. This section examines the case of community scorecards in primary health care implemented by Takeo-based NGO Buddhism for Health (BfH). The Community Scorecards for Health Services project (CSHSP) was implemented during 2012 targeting 20 health centres in Takeo's Kirivong operational district (OD). The Chi Khmar health centre (HC), which provides primary health care services for more than 160,000 villagers, was selected for this case study.

The Ministry of Health has since 2008 instituted an accountability structure to engage citizens in the health sector. For each health centre, it includes the simple procedure of complaint box and more complex organisations including village health support groups and health centre management committee. These institutions were designed to promote accountability from below, but in practice there exists multiple defects. Official view from the OD chief is that these institutional arrangements assume that citizens should engage with public officials and service providers. But most of the time villagers do not feel comfortable to do so as they are very concerned about the consequences of public criticism, justified or not.¹⁹ Social accountability tool in the form of community scorecards is intended to fill this institutional gap. Unlike existing accountability mechanisms, the conduct of community scorecards is led by NGOs and the advantage of this stewardship, according to the OD chief, is that NGOs are generally perceived as impartial and trustworthy so citizens are more likely to express opinions with their presence.

Designed primarily to enhance the quality of health services through citizen feedback, the CSHSP largely achieved this objective. BfH's monitoring reports show that performance deficits of the HC as reported by community scorecards participants including issues of staff attitude, hygiene, prescription and working hours were measurably improved upon: Toilets in the health centre has water supplied from a new pump; complaints over attitude, working hours and prescription were addressed through internal meetings leading to friendlier behaviour, more regular working hours and more diligent prescription practice. The fact that this new mode of accountability procedure generated responsiveness is a notable achievement that requires explanation.

A major explanatory factor concerns state preparedness. PECSA, DFGG's predecessor, was formally launched in 2007 five years before the implementation of the CSHSP. This duration afforded the government ample time to familiarise with the concept and practice and anticipate its ramifications. The fact that a joint initiative was ever formed foretold the government's willingness to listen and act.

¹⁹ Interview with HC chief, commune authorities, project facilitator, Takeo, 9-10 September 2014, OD chief, Takeo, 13 November 2014 and BfH, Phnom Penh, 14 August 2014.

The government was selective of NGOs to be engaged in the social accountability programme. NGOs were distinguished between ‘advocacy’ and ‘development’ (Rodan and Hughes 2013). Development NGOs are considered to be supportive of the government’s on-going poverty reduction effort and thus makes them preferred partners in social accountability constructivism as idealised by the government and the World Bank.

BfH is a typical ‘development’ NGO. The organisation has had a presence in Kirivong for more than a decade administering health schemes such as health equity funds and community-based health insurance. This period of work culminated in strong, reciprocal relationships between BfH, health officials and local politicians laying the groundwork for new ways of working. Further bureaucratic clearance came when a national workshop was held prior to implementation of the CSHSP to formally showcase ministerial commitment to apply community scorecards to strengthen health performance and outcomes. It was vital because endorsement from the ministry was imperative to form and induce collaboration from its sub-national agencies and local politicians.

Finally, a decisive determinant of state action was practicality. The health centre is adequately equipped to address the identified issues. The set of tasks largely fell within the scope of local capacity and discretion. That means no ministerial actions or substantial funding were required which would have complicated and delayed the solution process and thus undercut the level of responsiveness.

Citizen Report Card in Urban Water and Sanitation²⁰

This section examines another social accountability project that received a different level of responsiveness from local government and service providers. The Deepening Local Democratic Governance through Social Accountability in Asia project (DLGDP) was implemented by Phnom Penh-based NGO Silaka from 2011 to 2013 with financial support from the United Nations Democracy Fund. The project derived from successful social accountability experience in India and aimed to apply the model to advocate for expanding access to piped drinking water and solid waste collection for the urban poor. Two *sangkats*²¹ in Takmao—a municipality 12-kilometre south of the capital Phnom Penh—were chosen to be the project sites, which are the poorest and least accessible to the services among the six *sangkats* in the municipality. DLGDP’s strategies combined elements of advocacy and conventional social accountability tactics.

Final project evaluation shows that more than one year after the project ended access to the services remains fundamentally unchanged. Several factors can be ascribed to this lack of change. First and foremost was the project’s failure to achieve a political breakthrough by obtaining formal commitment from powerful central state actors. Unlike primary health care in Kirivong, piped water and solid waste collection in Takmao have a more complex institutional setup. The provision of clean water in Phnom Penh and its adjacent areas including Takmao is the responsibility of the Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority (PPWSA). The PPWSA is an autonomous state enterprise, meaning its executive director has the prerogative over all aspects of the firm’s operation. To some extent, local governments are involved to evaluate perspective users’ income status to determine the level of subsidy, a social programme to help low-income households it has run since 1999.²² Solid waste collection, on the other hand, is a mandate of the Ministry of Environment (MoE) but is outsourced to a private company who has a contractual agreement with another ministry—the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF). Both services are not part of decentralization reform.²³

²⁰ This section benefits from fieldwork data provided by Eng Netra in Eng, Vong, and Hort (2015)

²¹ A *sangkat* is an urban administrative unit within a municipality

²² In spite of the programme, according to Silaka’s survey in 2012, only 29 percent of 150 poor households in Takmao have access to piped clean water.

²³ At the time of writing, the MoE has begun piloting the decentralization of waste collection to a number of districts.

Given this institutional setup, decisions on service delivery are either highly centralised or determined by private business interests. But in implementing the project Silaka adopted a demand-side tactic of prompting the *sangkat* councils to address villagers' demand for access to service, an approach that frustrated the councils. Although the project was approved by Ministry of Interior, which greenlighted the municipal government and *sangkat* councils to work with Silaka, the apparent lack of power of these state actors and corresponding pressure from the project implementer contributed to an antagonistic relationship and a sense of futility.

Similarly, the nature of public service outsourcing did not incorporate a workable accountability procedure as the owner of the waste collection firm asserted: "I don't think Silaka has the right to demand that I respond. I hear them but it is up to me and the government whether we can and will respond to the demand."²⁴

Silaka's big bang approach had a number of disadvantages if compared to the CSHSP. Unlike The CSHSP, which cultivated years of habituation before substantive implementation was set in train, the DLDGP was a case of implantation inspired by foreign success story. It lacked a patient workaround with the political aspects of social accountability that permits the relaxation of state scepticism and resistance. Organisationally, Silaka lacks the local knowledge and hands-on experience with regard to public services that BfH has. Silaka's work has a thematic focus on capacity building, gender equality and good governance without specific geographic concentrations. Consequently, the organisation could not build a local footprint on where it wanted to have an impact.

Lastly, the lack of service coverage was complicated by the commercial nature of these services. For both services, expansions are possible only if there is adequate capital to finance the needed infrastructure and enough fee-paying users to generate profits. The waste collection company was not under pressure from MEF, its contractor, to expand its coverage areas. The only obligation is that the company spends US\$20,000 annually to renovate the city's roads. The PPWSA faces similar feasibility considerations. By including new households, both fee-paying and subsidised, PPWSA faces the challenges of capacity scale-up and resource mobilisation. These factors will have a bearing on the priorities of its expansion plan and subsidy programme.

Conclusion

This article throws new light on the origins of responsiveness through empirical insights generated from two case studies on social accountability implementation in Cambodia. The case materials suggest that responsiveness was a product of issue-based political tinkers that have to be continuously negotiated between state and non-state actors. Given the prevailing balance of power, government officials were not necessarily driven by electoral outcomes, formal accountability or moral duty but by a unique combination of habituation, practicality and constructivity that open the political will of the government to be responsive in the provision of public goods and services.

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PARTNERSHIP MODEL OF THE PROVISION OF EXCELLENT SERVICE-BASED HEALTH SERVICES IN BASIC HEALTH SERVICES

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Abstract

Health is an important aspect of human existence. Human productivity can be optimized with robust health. Based on such a proposition, a health service is important for governance. In reality, health policies formulated by local government officials in an era of regional autonomy have not been able to reach the entire community, in most areas under the jurisdiction of local governments in Indonesia. Based on this stance, researchers are interested in studying a partnership model for the provision of excellent service-based health service in basic health services. It is interesting to study as a problem-solving effort in regard to the poor health management system currently functioning in communities. Based on the above background, problems are formulated as follows: (1) How may personal factors (partnership actors) consisting of knowledge, understanding of the concept of partnership, expertise & role agreement, and cross-sectoral partnership experiences be described, in the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services? (2) How may the level of cross-sectoral partnerships be described? (3) How may partnership management factors be described? (4) What do partnership actors do in developing cross-sectoral partnerships in the health sector? and (5) How is the partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services?

Keywords: partnership, healthcare, excellence services, basic health services

Introduction

Health is vital to human life. Human productivity can be optimized with good health. Based on such a concept, a health service is an important element of governance. Government implementing policies and programs in health services should be able to improve health services for the public. Given the importance of health services for every citizen, assigning important roles to health-care providers (hospitals, health centers, neighborhood health center (posyandu), polindes) will answer public needs for health services. Health services should be able to benefit the entire community. The health service providers, as providers of curative, rehabilitative, promotional and preventive services, play an important role in the health service system. Because of the importance of the health service institutions' role in the overall health service system, various efforts to improve the health services quality become a priority in development. These efforts must be pursued so that all the community can benefit from affordable health services and can be served evenly.

The change in the governing system from a centralized to a decentralized one, with the implementation of regional autonomy, offers very important momentum for local governments to sharpen their development priority scale, including health sector development. Health sector development is considered as a strategic method in realizing quality human resources (improvement of human development quality index). Therefore,

health sector development should be viewed holistically, as it means that health development cannot be separated from economic, social and political development. Meanwhile, from all sectors, health development is still understood as technical issues that only involve doctors, nurses and other paramedical staff. In terms of policy, health development also has not been widely subject to a public discourse. Health development seemed as being able to make changes automatically to respond to recently-developing social and political dynamics.

Health has become one global problem. This is in line with the declaration of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at a UN summit in 2000, containing eight (8) main objectives for millennium development. Three of the 8 main objectives cover health sectors. According to the 8 (eight) main objectives, there are 11 (eleven) targets to be achieved, while the targets relating to the health sector are: (1) Reducing child mortality by 2/3 (two thirds) between 1990 to 2015, Reducing maternal mortality by 3/4 (three fourths) between 1990 to 2015, Controlling the spread of HIV/AIDS and beginning to suppress the number of new cases in 2015, (4) Controlling malaria and beginning to suppress the number of malaria cases and other diseases by 2015. With MDGs international commitments, then, all countries, from developed, developing and economical-transition nations will jointly carry out important measures in terms of domestic, international and systemic policies.

Discourse evolved in health development started from the paradigm of health for all (Mardiasmo, 2002: 74-75). This paradigm is in line with principles underlying the implementation of regional autonomy, i.e. democracy, justice, and community participation, as well as efficiency and effectiveness in delivering health services to the community. Although regional autonomy has been implemented and all health institutions have worked optimally, according to World Bank (2008) there are still many weaknesses, among others: 1) While the number of Indonesian health workers has increased, dual practice legitimacy has made the system ineffective; 2) decentralization has failed to realize its inherent potential in improving the provision of health services; 3) The health infrastructure quality is also poor and many health centers lack adequate equipment; 4) inefficiencies and poor service quality have led to the lower utilization of health facilities; 5) The use of inpatient services is also very low in Indonesia; in particular impoverished citizens who use inpatient services is approximately only 60 percent that of the better-off.

Health policies put in place by local government in an era of regional autonomy in most local governments in Indonesia have not been able to reach the entire community. This can be seen from the achievements of the human development index (HDI), according to the United Nations Human Development Index measured from various indicators, such as: *income, education, health, life expectancy, economy, gender equality, and sustainability*. The achievement of HDI Indonesia according to the UNDP in 2012 was at the 121st rank out of 187 countries in the world (<http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/IDN.html>). Based on this data, it can be interpreted that HDI of Indonesian society still needs to be improved, such as by upgrading the quality of health services.

The District of Jombang and the District of Magetan located in East Java have implemented good health service innovations. District of Jombang has innovated programs of Puskesmas IDAMAN and Puskesmas IDOLA. Jombang government program aims to provide quality health services in health centers (Puskesmas), which meet or exceed customer expectations, for both internal and external customers. In Panekan Health Center (Puskesmas Panekan), District of Magetan, there is a free shuttle service program for midwives. The objective of this program is to provide more quick assistance and to ensure the security and safety of pregnant women at high risk in delivery/giving birth. Based on the above phenomenon, researchers are interested in studying a partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based health service in basic health services. It is interesting to be studies as

a problem-solving effort to upgrade the poor health management system in the community. Furthermore, improvement to health management for the poor is needed. This is based on the thought about efforts to increase the institutional capacity in improving health services.

Study of a partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based health service in basic health services was inspired by several assumptions, among others: health services currently implemented are not able to create excellent services in basic health services and reach to the poor evenly; it is required to increase the health management system for the poor based on excellent services in basic health services. Health institutions such as Health Office, General Hospital (RSUD), regional general hospitals (RSUD), health centers (Puskesmas), sub-health center (Puskesmas Pembantu), IHC (Posyandu) and Polindes have strategic roles in the provision of basic health services and the creation of MDGs achievements. To support their creation, Airlangga University has become a National Health Science Center.

The urgency for study of a partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based health service in basic health services is expected to provide added value for health institutions and stakeholders, among others: as an alternative partnership model for the provision of excellent service-based health service in basic health services of health centers, especially for the improvement of health management systems for poor people. As an answer to researchers' scientific responsiveness and responsibility to participate in improving excellence-based health services management in basic health services, so that the objective of MDGs can be achieved.

The study problems are formulated as follows: (1) How is the description of personal factors (partnership actors) consisting of knowledge, understanding of the concept of partnership, expertise and role agreement, and cross-sectoral partnership experience in the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services? (2) How is the description of the level of cross-sectoral partnerships? (3) How is the description of partnership management factors? (4) What do partnership actors do in developing cross-sectoral partnerships in the health sector, in their effort to provide excellent service-based health services in basic health services? and (5) How is the partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services?

Partnership in the Provision of Health Services in Basic Health Services

Partnership is essentially understood as the term „solidarity“ or cooperation of various parties, either individually or in groups. According to Notoatmodjo (2003), a partnership is a formal cooperation among individuals, groups or organizations to accomplish certain tasks or to achieve certain objectives. In general, there is a wide understanding of partnership (Promkes DOH RI) including: (a) partnership is defined as the existence of minimum interaction and interrelation between two or more parties in which each party is a "partner"; (a) Partnership is a process of searching/realizing togetherness which is mutually beneficial and voluntarily educational in the effort to achieve mutual interests; (c) Partnership is an effort to involve various components, either sectors, community groups, government or non-government institutions to work together in order to achieve a common goal based on an agreement, principles, and their respective roles; (d) Partnership is an agreement in which a person, a group or an organization work together to achieve the goals, to take and execute and divide tasks, to bear together all risks and benefits, to review the respective relationships regularly and to repair the agreement if necessary. (Ditjen P2L & PM, 2004). The definition of partnership in this study is a formal cooperation among individuals, groups or organizations intended to accomplish certain tasks or to achieve certain objectives.

There are three key principles that need to be understood by each member of a partnership in building a partnership, they are:

Principle

Individuals, organizations or institutions that have been willing to build a partnership must feel they have the same or an equal position as the others in achieving agreed goals.

Openness to each member's deficiencies or weaknesses as well as resources. All must be known by other members. Openness must exist from the beginning until the end of the partnership. Mutual openness will lead to mutually complementary effort and help each other among the groups (partners).

Benefit Principle

Individuals, organizations or institutions that have built a partnership obtain benefit from the partnership established in accordance with their respective contributions. Activities or work will be efficient and effective if done together. (Ditjen P2L & PM, 2004)

Partnership adds value to the strengths of each sector to implement its visions and missions. However, partnership is also an approach requiring conditions; thus, the following steps are needed:

1. Identification of problems
2. Selection of problems
3. Identifying prospective partners and potential actors through correspondence, telephone communication, sending brochures, action plans, vision, mission, Articles of Association (AD/ART).
4. Identifying partners' role/networking among partners in the effort to achieve the goal, through: discussions, meetings, visits by and to each party, etc.
5. Developing an agreement relating to partnership, objectives and responsibilities: the formulation of activities is achieved by combining resources available with each partner, etc. If all of these have been set, then each party has opened up an opportunity to carry out more varied activities, as long as they are still within the scope of the agreement.
6. Arranging a work plan: the creation of POA, the preparation of a work plan and activity schedule, the management of roles, duties and responsibilities.
7. Implementing integrated activities: implementing activities that have been agreed through activities, technical assistance, periodic reports, etc.
8. Monitoring and evaluation.

Models and Types of Partnership

In general, partnership models in health sector are grouped into two types (Notoadmodjo, 2007), namely:

1. Model I

The simplest partnership model is in the form of networking or building linkages. This partnership is the form of work networking only. Each partner has its own program, ranging from planning and implementation to evaluation. Such networking is formed because of the similarity of services or service targets, or other characteristics.

2. Model II

Partnership model II is better and more solid than model I. This is because each partner has greater responsibility for the joint program. Vision, mission, and activities in achieving the partnership objectives are planned, implemented and evaluated together.

According to Beryl Levinger and Jean Mulroy (2004), there are four kinds or types of partnership:

1. *Potential Partnership*

In this type of partnership, the partnership actors care for each other but they do not work together more closely.

2. Nascent Partnership

In this partnership, the partnership actors are partners but their partnership efficiency is not maximized.

3. Complementary Partnership

In this partnership, partners obtain benefits and gain added influence through focused attention on the scope of fixed and relatively limited activities, such as delivery and resource mobilization programs.

4. Synergistic Partnership

This kind of partnership gives partners profit and influence with systemic development of problems through the addition to the scope of new activities such as advocacy and research. The forms/types of partnerships according to Health Promotion Center of Ministry of Health RI consist of alliances, coalitions, networking, consortia, cooperation and sponsorship. The forms of partnership may be contained in: - Mutual decision (SK); - MOU; - Working Group; - Communication Forum; and - Work Contract/agreements

Study Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is considered appropriate to be used in studying the partnership model of provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services because, firstly, the researcher carries out research based on a scientific background or entity, thus describing the object in accordance with reasonable conditions (natural setting). Meanwhile, for Bogdan and Taylor, qualitative research is a research process that produces descriptive data in the form of written/spoken data from the observed/examined subjects and objects. The setting of this study also involves the aspects of location, which is in bureaucratic institutions related to basic health services, i.e. in District of Jombang and District of Magetan. This location is selected based on several arguments: (a) District of Jombang has innovation in basic health services i.e. Puskesmas IDAMAN and Puskesmas IDOLA programs; (b) District of Magetan (Panekan Health Center) has innovations in basic health service, i.e. free shuttle services for midwives. Based on existing conditions, the researcher chose two districts, Jombang and Magetan as the study location; (c) Based on HDI (Human Development Index) value, HDI achievement of Jombang is 70.18 and Human Development Index (HDI) is 73.14. These achievements can be categorized in quadrant II; (d) the HDI achievement of Magetan is 71.41 and HDI is 73.17.

The analysis study unit is a health center, in particular, partnership providing excellent service-based health services in basic health services. It is related to problem-solving efforts to upgrade poor health management systems in the community. Furthermore, through this study, it is expected that a draft partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services is to be prepared. *This study is descriptive qualitative research. Qualitative research can be defined as research that produces descriptive data on spoken or written words. A descriptive study was selected to answer questions about what, who, why, where, when, and how the object of study manifests.*

In order that the collection of data and information runs effectively and efficiently, it was carried out through three stages, i.e. in-depth interviews, observation and documentation. The collection of data in the field was managed through the following strategies, (a) determining informants by purposive sampling (for key informants) and snowballing for the development of informants, (b) interviewing informants, (c) making records, (d) asking 6 Jombang Regional Government SKPD SKPD Puskesmas Idaman and Idola Programs SKPD

descriptive and structural questions, 5) analyzing interviews, (e) creating domain analysis, (f) finding themes related to partnership providing excellent service-based health service to be implemented in local governments, and (g) writing the study report.

The examination of data validity in this study used a triangulation technique of data sources, which was conducted by: (a) comparing observation and interview data, (b) comparing what people said in public and what they said privately, (c) comparing the conditions from somebody's perspective with others' opinions and views, (d) comparing the results of interviews with document contents. This study uses qualitative data analysis techniques following Miles and Huberman (1992:15-21). This analysis consisted of three flows, i.e. (a) data reduction, which was defined as a selection process, attention focusing on simplification, abstraction and transformation of raw data derived from written notes in the field, (b) Presentation of data using narrative texts, (c) drawing conclusions.

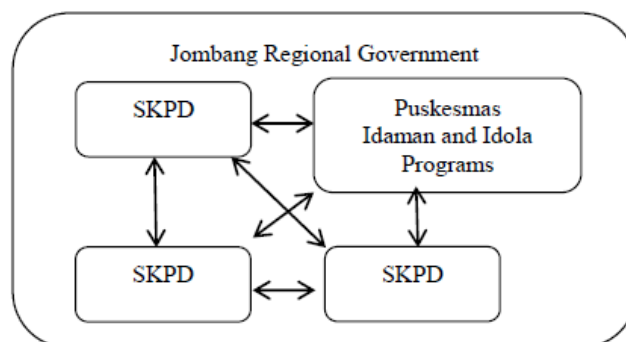
Cross Sectoral Partnership Level

Cross-sectoral partnership level is a form of partnership from various elements in a program or activity. Referring to the opinion of Heideneim (2002), there are five levels in a partnership i.e. full collaboration, coalition, partnership, alliance and networking. The top level is full collaboration, while the lowest level is networking.

In the middle, there are coalition, partnership, and alliance. Partnership levels can be categorized as top, bottom and middle, based on certain indicators. Full collaboration is the highest level in which there is written agreement, written vision division, and written task division. A level under it is a coalition, in which there is formal agreement, all of the members are involved, there are new resources, and a joint budget. At partnership level, there is a formal contract, no new resources, and there is distribution of risks and rewards. Alliance has a semi-formal form: there are some new resources and task coordination. The last is networking that has loose bond characteristics and no significant benefit/profit.

UPTD Puskesmas Cukir has SOP and also a clear division of roles for each collaborating partner. The form of partnership existing in UPTD Puskesmas Cukir is more evident in government inter-sector, illustrated as follows:

Figure 1
Partnership Level in UPTD Puskesmas Cukir

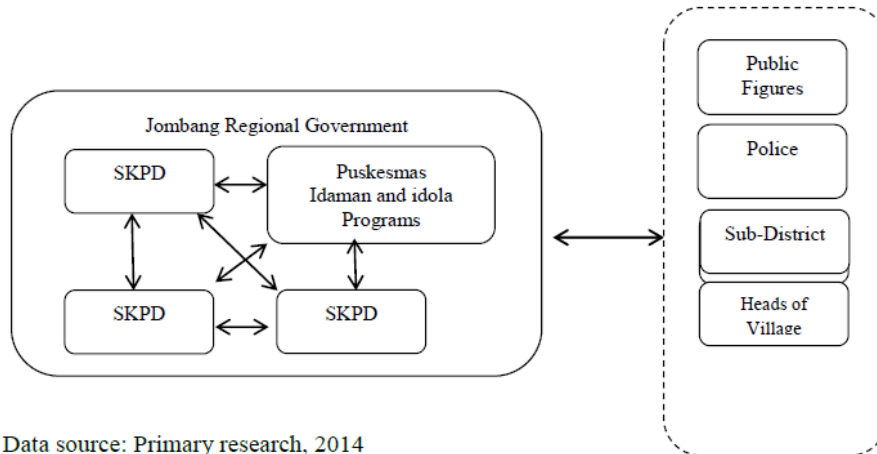


Data source: Primary research, 2014

In addition to SOP and a clear division of roles in UPTD Puskesmas Cukir, there are also additional resources, and responsibility shared based on a specified SOP. 7 Jombang Regional Government SKPD SKPD Puskesmas Idaman and idola Programs SKPD Village Midwives Heads of Village Public Figures Police Sub-District

Health services in Panekan Health Center (Puskesmas Panekan) is almost same, but the health services in Panekan Health Centers involve other partners beyond government, including heads of villages, police, heads of sub-district and village midwives.

Figure 2
Partnership Level in UPTD Puskesmas Panekan



Data source: Primary research, 2014

Based on data obtained, partnership level in Cukir and Panekan Health Centers can be categorized as a synergistic partnership. Based on the partnership level in Cukir and Panekan health centers, there are indicators, among others, contracts between each SKPD in health services (a formal contract), excellent health service can be conducted with the resources and financial support from local government (new resources), health services are based on a clear SOP and are known by all stakeholders. It can thus be concluded that there is a division of authority and responsibility (shared risks and rewards).

Management of Partnerships in Providing Health Services

Partnerships in health services both in Cukir and Panekan have an SOP. This indicates that such health service act according to written rules. The health care program is based on the decision of the Regional Head (Bupati) containing the efforts to translate the vision and mission of the Regional Head in the form of programs and activities.

Regulations or working procedures in excellent service-based health services in basic health services is the basic reference in running the program. The specified regulations (policies) should be known by all stakeholders, because they are part of the successful implementation of excellent service-based health services in basic health services. If the specified rule has been socialized among all stakeholders, then, with optimal communication and coordination, commitment among SKPD and community can be built, social and political support and the legitimacy of the Regional Head as well as the support of resources will succeed in promoting excellent service-based health services in basic health services. Clear rules and prioritizing public interest are the key for the success of health service.

Development of Cross-sectoral Partnership in the Fields of Health

The continuity or sustainability of a partnership can be shown in the form of a follow-up by the partnership itself. According to Indrajit (2006), this continuity will only occur if a number of key factors are considered seriously, namely:

1. High trust and commitment to succeed among those joining in the partnership (trust, faith, and passion);
2. Consistent and continuous execution, which means to not give up easily or change an approach every time a variety of technical problems arises;
3. Periodically performing a "Plan-Do-Check" process to the alliance benefits which is reviewed from the perspective of each organization joining a partnership transparently; no need to cover up any disappointments that arise (of course to be communicated and the attempt made to find a way out); always making never-ending "growth home" innovations, because people's needs are always increasing over time; and
4. The process of partnership implementation to uphold high professional values and champion ethics.

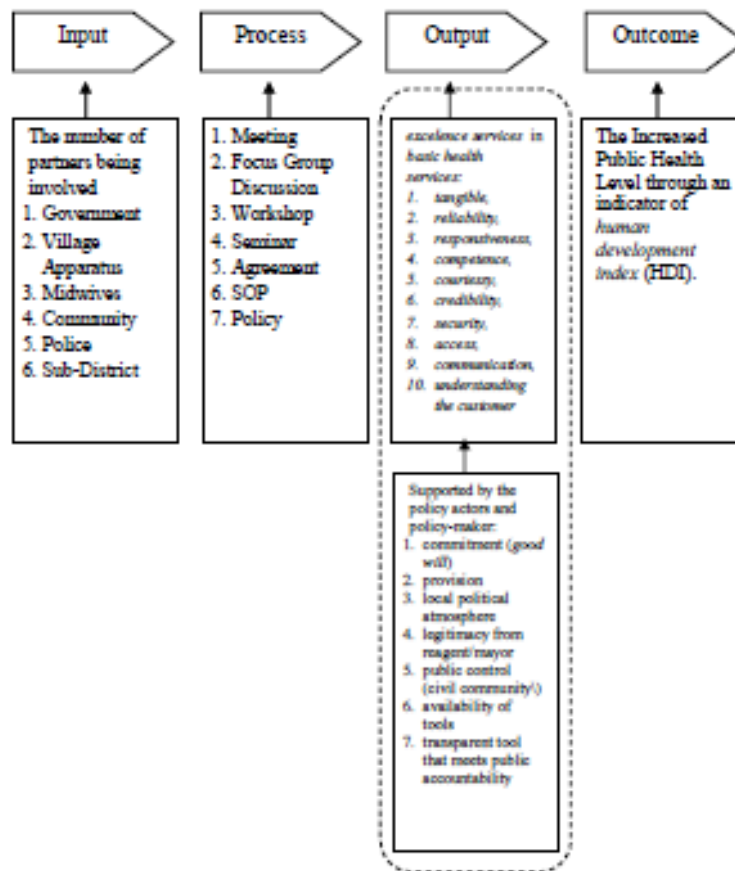
The health service partnership in UPTD Puskesmas Cukir dan Panekan is categorized as successful but it must still be improved. The success indicators can be seen from the inputs, processes, outputs, and outcomes. Input indicator is measured from the willingness of partners in realizing excellent service-based health services in basic health services, the mutual agreement in the partnership, the source of funds/expenses that are intended for the development of partnerships, the planning documents agreed to by relevant institutions. The benchmark for the success of the process can be measured from indicators such as the frequency and quality of a team or secretariat meeting as necessary. The benchmark for output success can be measured from the following indicators: the number of activities undertaken by the relevant institutions in accordance with the agreement on the institution role. The benchmark for the successful outcome is the decrease of the rate of morbidity and maternal mortality (MMR) in giving birth.

Partnership Model for Providing Excellent Service-Based Health Service

This model is a part of a theoretical development phase, also called a "proto-theory". In a study, a model helps researchers reveal their thoughts on a particular subject. Sometimes, various models are set by scientists in a particular field and become a kind of theoretical guidance for all kinds of research in that field. After all this time, those models can finally be accepted as a complete theory. Silverman (2000) states that a model is actually also a "framework" that can be used to outline an issue that is being investigated.

In a model, there are several concepts of thought becoming the major parts of a particular theory. In other words, a model is often a practical form of a theory; as a sort of "translation" of a theory that can be directly used in a particular study. Brooks (1989) is one of the endorsers of what he calls "scientific model". According to him, a model is a mental framework (thought framework) that can be used in experiments. In this study, a model of public participation strategy will be arranged in the preparation of responsive, transparent and accountable village fund allocation through a scientific model approach. partnership models in the provision of health services in Cukir and Panekan Health Centers, based on excellent service in basic health services, can be formulated as follows: 9 Input Process Output Outcome The number of partners being involved 1.Government 2.Village Apparatus 3.Midwives 4.Community 5.Police 6.Sub-District 1.Meeting 2.Focus Group Discussion 3.Workshop 4.Seminar 5.Agreement 6.SOP 7.Policy *excelece services in basic health services: 1.tangible, 2.reliability, 3.responsiveness, 4.competence, 5.courtesy, 6.credibility, 7.security, 8.access, 9.communication, 10.understanding the customer* The Increased Public Health Level through an indicator of *human development index* (HDI). Supported by the policy actors and policy-maker: 1.commitment (*good will*) 2.provision 3.local political atmosphere 4.legitimacy from reagent/mayor 5.public control (civil community) 6.availability of tools 7.transparent tool that meets public accountability

Figure 3
Partnership model of the provision of excellent service-based Health Services in Basic Health Services



Data source: Primary research, 2014

Conclusion

Based on the explanation and data analysis above, a conclusion can be summarized as follows:

1. The personal factors of partnership actors in Cukir Health Center (Puskesmas Cukir) and Panekan Health Center (Puskesmas Panekan) support the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services. The government partners in UPTD Puskesmas Cukir have conducted socialization and standardization of health services through the establishment of a standard operational procedure (SOP). The similar thing also happened in Puskesmas Panekan in the form of free shuttle service for midwives. The understanding of the partnership concept, expertise and role

agreement, and the experience of cross-sectoral partnerships in the effort for providing health services, is communicated through mutually-shared SOP.

2. The level of cross-sectoral partnerships in the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services is categorized as a *synergistic partnership*. In the partnership level in Cukir and Panekan health centers, there are indicators, among others, of contracts between each SKPD in health services (formal contracts), the excellence health service can be conducted with the support of resources and finances from local government (new resources); as health services are based on clear SOP and known by all stakeholders, it can be concluded there is a division of authority and responsibility (shared risks and rewards).

3. The partnership management is dominated more by factors of Head of health center (as actor) and health of health office and head of local government (development of the vision and mission and health development). Head of health center plays a strategic role in enforcing rules or procedures, mechanisms and communication quality, mutual compliance attitudes, coordination and coordination organization, problem resolution, monitoring and evaluation.
4. The development of cross-sectoral partnerships in the field of health in the effort to provide excellent service-based health services in basic health services has been conducted by, first, commitment (goodwill) from local governments, especially in accommodating ideas from his/her staff. Second, the provision of a local political atmosphere in connection with the political support from the DPRD. Third, legitimacy of regents/mayors regarding the full control over bureaucracy under their jurisdiction. Fourth, public control (civil society) in response to the urgent need for cheap and proper health service availability for the public, through policy monitoring and evaluation. Fifth, the availability of transparent tools meeting public accountability standards.
5. The partnership model for the provision of excellent service-based health services in basic health services is prioritized in the public interest.

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INCREASING TRANSPARENCY ON PUBLIC INFORMATION (CASE STUDY: OPENTENDER.NET)

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Abstract

The openness of government organization to the public is a must in the process of democratization. The openness of government organizations needs to obtain the support of independent institutions as a form of third party involvement according to the spirit of re-inventing government. In Indonesia, two independent institutions that are working together -ICW and LKPP- attempt to encourage the government to be more open to the public in terms of budget utilization. This effort is manifested through the development of opentender.net site. However, in its practice, opentender.net site contains information about the budget ceiling only. Such information does not inform the details of the usage of the budget. Though it is closely related to transparency. The method for developing this paper uses a qualitative approach. Its research uses a case study on the site opentender.net provided by ICW in collaboration with LKPP. Data collection are done by: documents study, literature survey and observation of the media reports that are relevant to transparency issues in public information. Based on the results of a study on transparency in opentender.net site can be concluded that the site is less in presenting the detailed information about HPS and contract value to the public. The lack of information makes the information is difficult to figure out whether the contract value that has been approved completely free from corruption. Although there is a difference between the HPS with the contract value, it does not guarantee that the tender process is clean one hundred percent. The assumption is that between the government and certain companies may make the deal under the table to decide the contract value which is lower than HPS. However, in fact there may be a other companies who are able to offer goods and services at lower prices supported with better quality.

Keywords: Transparency, opentender.net, corruption, goods and services provision

Introduction

Goods and services provision is a necessary program for any institution, whether it is state-owned or private-owned. This program aims to obtain goods and services with accountable cost and appropriate quantity and quality, and the goods and services are provided in the exact time. In governmental institutions, the provision of goods and services are a form of implementation of the state budget (Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Negara/APBN) and regional budget (Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah/APBD). In the end, the goods and services provision is a program in the governmental institutions that affects the process national development.

In every goods and services provision, the government is supposed to be responsible of what they perform. It happens as every governmental program are manifestations of the detailed points of the state budget. In the structure of the state budget, the biggest state income comes from the tax from the people. According to 2015 state budget, the state income from the tax is IDR 1,201.7 trillion from the total state income of IDR 1,793.6 trillion or about 67 percent of the overall state income (<http://www.kemenkeu.go.id/wide/apbn2015>, accessed on 18/09/2015 at 15.07). Therefore, it is an

obligation for the government to provide transparent information regarding the budget that is spent to provide goods and services.

Transparency refers to unfettered access by the public to timely and reliable information on decisions and performance in the public sector (Armstrong, 2005). Transparency is a key requirement of a modern public procurement system. It gives to the public information concerning, and access to the law, regulation, policies and practice of procurement by government agencies. Lack of transparency in procurement activities can be the source of unwholesome activities such as corruption, scandal and abuse of public resources (Shu, H. W., Othman R., Omar H., N., Abdul R., R., & Husna, H., N. 2011).

Transparency in public procurement is about information. The access to key procurement information by civil society, the media and other stakeholders, and the ways in which these can use the information, directly affects accountability (UNDP, 2010). Transparency is considered as one of the most effective deterrents to corruption and a pre-condition for ensuring public officials' accountability (OECD, 2007).

Clear and comprehensive bidding documents, and contracts, are crucial to transparency in the procurement process. A transparent procurement process requires legislative and administrative measures such as transparent proceedings, protection against corruption, fair prequalification procedures and transparent selection of the winning (ADB/ OECD, 2006) bidder. Publication of annual procurement plans of procuring entities is also an important transparency measure, as well as dissemination of information concerning lists and registries of suppliers, and procedures to apply for registration. Other transparency relevant measures include: open bidding procedures; prompt disclosure of the results of bids, i.e., prompt notification to successful as well as unsuccessful bidders; publication of annual procurement plan; bid challenges system; engaging the private sector in the procurement process; keeping a complete and an adequate records of procurement activities.

According to Krina (2003) indicators of transparency are as below:

1. Providing clear information about responsibility.
2. Develop a complaints mechanism if there are rules that have been violated or bribery
3. The convenient access to information
4. Improving the flow of information through collaboration with the press and non-governmental organization.

However, in its practices, the provision of goods and services is seen as a way to corrupt. The committee of the goods and services provision often use this moment to achieve personal advantages and profits. An example of this act is by marking up the budget for goods and services provision. According to Program Director of Indonesian Procurement Watch, Hayie Muhammad, 70 percent of corruption case is caused by the goods and service provision projects (<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/13/06/05/mnwbsz-70-persen-kasus-korupsi-di-indonesia-dari-barang-dan-jasa>, accessed on 18/09/2015 at 14.42). It is caused by the lack of proper supervision from the government themselves. Thus, what have been expected by the government never result in the appropriate fact.

This problem is very crucial and need to be controlled soon. The goods and services provision has to be changed and supervised by independent parties, for example, the Indonesian Corruption Watch/ICW or Lembaga Kebijakan Pengadaan Barang dan Jasa Pemerintah (LKPP). An effort that can be done by these independent parties is by creating the website opentender.net, with this website, it is hoped that the goods and services provision can be more transparent and create a better accountability for the government.

Discussion

What is opentender.net?

Opentender.net is a website on the electronic-based supervision of the implementation of goods and services provision (e-procurement) that is founded and organized by the Indonesian Corruption Watch/ICW in collaboration with Lembaga Kebijakan Pengadaan Barang dan Jasa/LKPP and Ikatan Ahli Pengadaan Indonesia/IAPI by the agreement in a MoU in 2013. Opentender.net is organized by the ICW using data on electronic auctions that is gathered from LKPP. Then, the ICW process the data to picture the corruption probabilities and visualize the result in the form of table according to the potential fraud analysis/PFA method.

Up to this time, e-procurement is considered as an alternative solution for conventional goods and services provision that could not fulfill the demand for efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, and business competition. With e-procurement, the demanded criteria such as effectiveness, efficiency, transparency, accountability, time and budget saving, and corruption prevention are fulfilled. However, the usage of e-procurement is still in need of supervision, and it is the objective of the creation of opentender.net: to supervise the goods and services provision through e-procurement. With opentender.net, it is hoped that the participation of the society to supervise goods and services provision increases and reform goods and services provision to be online. In the end, the probability to corrupt among the governmental institutions would decrease.

The motto of opentender.net is "Open tender, preventing corruption." From that motto, the writers are able to understand that this website is created to give open information for the public about the electronic auctions that are held by the government. Thus, the public is able to know what the government is doing with the money that is gotten from the people. In brief, opentender.net is a web-based tool to supervise the implementation of e-procurement that can be used by the public through a civilian organization or an inspectorate to supervise goods and services provision.

Criteria that are used by opentender.net to supervise e-procurement

The civilian organization (Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil/OMS) and the inspectorate who want to supervise using opentender.net will be given investigation techniques that will be useful to know how to investigate a goods and services provision project that is suspected to be corrupt. In the investigation technique, some criteria will be given to consider whether an auction by the government is corrupt or not.

Some criteria that are given for the investigation technique includes (Indonesian Corruption Watch, DARURAT PENGADAAN BARANG DAN JASA, Slide 21, 2013):

1. The sum of the contract is too high

A high contract sum is potential to attract the companies to submit to a particular project. As if the contract sum is too high, the businessmen tend to think that the project might result in huge profit. From this perception, the participants tend to do anything to win the auction, including law violation.

To measure the sum of a project, one is able to use the scale system, for example, above IDR 5 billion. Therefore, it is necessary to supervise the huge projects as it is very risky to become a way to corrupt.

2. There are only a few participants

The electronic auction system aims to vanish the territorial barrier. It means that the electronic goods and services provision is meant to be participated by everyone in any region in Indonesia. If there are only a number of companies and participants, being monopolized by a company and each tender belongs to the same company, then the auction is suspicious that it has been manipulated or using the turn-shift strategy.

3. Repetitive winning

If a company wins projects repetitively in every offer, then the supervisors should have suspicion on the achievement of the company or because there is a family relation or shared political views between the businessmen on the companies.

4. The contract for construction project belongs to the fourth quarter-year

The cycle of state and regional budget is managed in one fiscal year starting from 1st of January to 31st of December. If any construction project belongs to the fourth quarter-year (i.e. starting from October to December), then it is suspected that the project might be corrupt. The presence of the cycle aims to plan, spend, and be responsible for the budget in the proper way that the budget absorption and its implementation can be performed as best as it could be. Therefore, if any construction project belongs to the fourth quarter-year, the possibility is that the project is being manipulated or the work for the project would not be appropriate as the budgeting cycle ends by December and it would be difficult to work on a construction project in only one quarter-year.

5. A little amount of saving on the contract sum of IDR 100 billion

There are several components that should be known in the implementation of the goods and services provision whether conventionally or electronically. The first one is budget allocation, which is the amount of the budget that is possessed by the government for the contract. The second thing is the estimated amount of cost before the government has any contract with the company. The third one is the budget based on the contact that is fixed through the agreement between the government and auction participant.

The amount of contract sum has to be lower than the budget allocation and the estimated cost because the contract sum with the lowest and most proportional offer would win the tender or the auction. Thus, the bigger the contract sum, the bigger the saving and budget efficiency that is acquired.

Potential Fraud Analysis as a method to supervise

The data that is gathered by the LKPP then processed with the potential fraud analysis method. The data are measured with the five criteria mentioned before. One method to measure the data is by using the decision matrix. This method might be able to help to decide which project is corrupt. With this method, one would be able to make a decision on which project should be prioritized to be investigated further to measure the accountability. Below the guidelines to use this method to perform the supervision process in the implementation of e-procurement is presented (<http://opentender.net/content/database>, accessed on 18/09/2015 at 15.45):

➤ Contract Sum

Criteria	Sum in IDR	Assumed Score
High Contract Sum	> 200 million = 1 201 – 500 milliomm = 2 501 million – 1 billion = 3 1,01 billion – 5 billion = 4 > 5 billion = 5	5

The score 5 indicates that the probability for corruption is very high. It can be concluded from the table above that the bigger the contract sum of a project, the higher the risk of corruption in the project.

➤ The number of participants that offer an offer

Criteria	Amount	Assumed score
The number of tender participant that offer an offer	< 3 = 5	5
	3 = 4	
	4 = 3	
	5 = 2	
	> 5 = 1	

It can be concluded from the table above that the fewer the participants of an auction, the bigger the score is, thus, the higher the risk of corruption in that particular tender.

➤ Contract : Estimated Amount of Cost (Saving)(S)

Criteria	Score	Assumed score
Contract : Estimated Amount of Cost (Saving)(S)	> 95,01% = 5	5
	90,01% – 95% = 4	
	85,01% - 90% = 3	
	80,01% – 85% = 2	
	< 80% = 1	

It can be concluded from the table that the lower the saving in a project auction, the lesser the score is. Therefore, the higher the saving in a project, the higher the risk of corruption in that project.

➤ Time spent on construction working (Q)

Criteria	Score	Assumed score
Time spent in construction working	Q1 = 0	5
	Q2 = 0	
	Q3 = 0	
	Q4 = 1	

From the table above, it can be concluded that if the construction working is spent during the fourth quarter-year, then the risk of corruption is bigger. It is observable as the score for the working during the first three quarter-years is 0, while for the last quarter-year the score is 1.

➤ Repetitive Winner

Criteria	Score	Assumed Score
Repetitive Winner	W = 2x = 1	5
	W = 3x = 2	
	W = 4x = 3	
	W = 5x = 4	

It can be observed that if a company wins the tender five times in a row in an auction on goods and services provision, then the score is 4. It is observable that the higher the score, the higher the corruption potential on that project.

Then, the results of the measurement of the five criteria are summed up and one would measure the final sum by the scale of 1-20, in which the score 1 indicates the low probability of corruption while the score 20 shows the high probability of corruption.

In fact, opentender.net is proven quite effective in identifying misbehavior in goods and services provision. It is caused by the usage of the scale 1-20 that ease the user of the website to decide the tendency of corruption in a goods and services provision projects. Opentender.net could also become an instrument to minimalize and prevent violence on goods and service provision by the civilian organization or by the inspectorate. In the end, opentender.net could be used to help identify the suspicion regarding corruption in goods and services provision.

The Weakness of opentender.net

From the explanation above, it can be said that opentender.net has a lot of advantages for its user. However, on the other side, opentender.net also has some weakness. One of it is that the detailed information about the budget planning, the estimated amount of cost that is created by the government, and approved contract are not available to show. It would be difficult for the information seeker to know exactly in which section there would be price differences in the estimated amount of cost and in the contract. Besides, the market cost is not available as well. It would make the information seeker having difficulties in comparing the prices between the estimated amount of cost, contract cost, and market cost.

Opentender.net only states the overall available cost, estimated amount of cost, and the contract cost. Yet, in order to reveal whether there is any corruption or not, further and deeper investigation has to be performed on the detailed estimated amount of cost and contract cost. Further investigations on related documents of the agreement between the government and the company also need to be performed. If the available information is only concerning the contract sum, then the accountability score would be low. The accountability would depend only on the final sum of an approved contract and does not include the detailed budgeting that might have been marked up.

Conclusion

Based on the results of a study on transparency in opentender.net site can be concluded that the site is less in presenting the detailed information about HPS and contract value to the public. The lack of information makes the information is difficult to figure out whether the contract value that has been approved completely free from corruption. Although there is a difference between the HPS with the contract value, it does not guarantee that the tender process is clean one hundred percent. The assumption is that between the government and certain companies may make the deal under the table to decide the contract value which is lower than HPS. However, in fact there may be a other companies who are able to offer goods and services at lower prices supported with better quality.

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ANTI CORRUPTION OF SEXUAL BRIBERY IN MALAYSIA: A LEGAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Sex corruption or sexual bribery is not exposed because it is too rare or reported and most of us thought it did not happen. But actually it is a common form of corruption. Action taken individually by requesting bribes in the form of sex deemed common problem that occurs behind public opinion because the report made is low since it only involves two parties between the briber and the bribee. Sexual exploitation is not only related to men demanding favors for sex, but even among women who use sex as a tool to get a promotion, bonus or any job benefits at work. Both forms of extortion and sexual bribery should be taken seriously. Women or any victim need to be willing to come forward to report such cases. At present, many of them refused to do so for fear of being gossip and stigma. At the same time they think it could cause them to be fired or transferred elsewhere. This research paper sought to explore the manner in which Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) having the difficulty to prove sex corruption than in the case of extortion money and this is a daunting task faced by the MACC. The elements of the objective and subjective measures of sex extortion and bribery should be taken into account in determining whether the act of obtaining and accepting sexual favor is similar to the acts of corruption in the law. This study also supports the finding that the government should enact legislation to criminalize sexual harassment in the workplace, as well as extortion and sexual bribery.

Keywords: anti-corruption, discrimination, law, Malaysia, sexual bribery

Introduction

Nancy Hendry who is a senior Advisor of International Association of Women Judges (IAWJ) stated sex extortion or sexual bribery takes places when a bribe is offered and accepted in the form of sex rather than money and it has become a “global phenomenon” in many countries including Malaysia. Sexual bribery refers to solicitation, receiving, offering, giving or any attempt of such acts pertaining sex-linked behaviour by promise of reward meanwhile sexual coercion refers to coercion of sex-linked behaviour by threat of punishment. However both sexual bribe and sexual extortion can be considered as other form of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is not only directed to women or even limited to behaviour between members of the opposite sex (unit for Research & Gender Studies, 1998). Female employees are however, far more exposed to harassment than their male colleagues (Fitzgerald, 1993; landrine & Klonoff, 1997; Wayne, 2000; Jackson & Newman, 2004).

Although sex extortion and sexual bribe victims comprised of both men and women, most of them were women and girls. Indeed “this global phenomenon” was causing serious harm, robbing women of their dignity and opportunity and undermining confidence in public institutions. However, women are susceptible to sexual harassment at work mainly as a result of horizontal segregation, which refers to the clustering of working women in a small number of job categories that are traditionally associated with women such as nurses, teachers and secretaries (unit for Research &

Gender Studies, 1998). Vertical stratification means that women tend to be employed in low ranking positions and are dependent upon the approval and goodwill of males for hiring, retention and advancement (unit for Research and Gender Studies, 1998). Likewise, Neil (2006) reflects that women sometimes commit harassment against men, and same-sex harassment also occurs.

Sex extortion and sexual bribe occurs when people in positions of power such as government officials, judges, educators, law enforcement personnel, border guards, employers or others extort sexual favours, instead of money, in return for something that's within their power to grant or withhold. When people think of corruption, they usually link it to material or money changing hands although the crime scope is much more wider and not purely limited to those forms. Perhaps not many people think or realize that seeking sexual favours as a reward also falls within the ambit of corruption. One of the biggest contributors to impunity for sex extortion is the fact that people often do not see it as corruption because most anti-corruption efforts focus on financial wrongdoing and not sexual favours.

According to Law Professor Gao Mingxuan from China's Renmin University, he stated that sexual bribery by trading sex for favorites is in essence an ethical problem which does not have a legal implication. He also argued that conventional crimes of taking goods and money bribes could be measured, however, sex could not. Besides, collecting evidence will prove to be difficult because the sentiment to codify "sexual bribery" runs against traditional Chinese belief that sex is a "relationship between men and women". While Jin Weidong, another law professor from the Nanjing University deemed "sexual bribery" sometimes is more powerful and damaging than money and goods bribery. Some elements were found out using women or "expensive prostitutes" to bribe government officials in order to lure favours from public servants. That is why sexual favours are not considered corruption in China and the Chinese Penal Code does not punish "trading power for sex" and "trading power for power" on the excuse that it does not involve a tangible monetary profit.

By looking at Malaysian perspective, as Malaysia is a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), it is the country's commitment to ensure the welfare of women is maintained in accordance with international standards. In the employment sector including public and private sector, sexual harassment is not a new issue. According to statistics released by the Royal Malaysian Police (PDRM), a total of 7,628 cases of sexual harassment were reported throughout 2010 until March 2014. However, the offence of sex corruption occurred silently and rarely be given attention. In the employment sector, individuals who request bribes in the form of sex is deemed common problem that occurs behind public opinion. Even so, the public thinks that these things do not arise as the reports made were minimal as it only involves two parties, ie between the briber and bribee, or *vice versa*.

In fact, Han Chee Rull who is a deputy commissioner for Legal Research Division Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission's (MACC) stated that only 2 cases involving sexual bribe has been received since 2009. Only 1 case of sexual bribery was reported on 2014 involving a Kedah Regional Development Authority (KEDA) administrative officer where the accused charged for seeking sexual gratification from a single mother as inducement to help in approving a home application under the Hardcore Poor Housing Scheme (PPRT) in the state. Meanwhile there is none sexual bribe case was reported on 2015 (Until 10th November) although the arrest report for 2015 showed otherwise. See Table 1 below.

Table 1

Arrest Statistic for 2015

<i>Sector</i>	Government Servant	Civil	Total
January	26	25	51
February	45	39	84
March	70	51	121
April	64	47	111
May	27	49	76
June	31	69	100
July	15	21	36
August	23	36	59
September	30	20	50
Total			688

* Source from Malaysian Anti Corruption Commission Website; www.sprm.gov.my

Understanding Sexual Bribery

Sexual bribery in an employment setting is generally defined as a “form of quid pro quo harassment” in which a sexual relationship with an employer or superior is made an explicit or implied condition for obtaining or retaining employment or its benefits.” Another kind of sexual bribery, which exists in other place setting and situation where sex is used in lieu of money in order to pressure or lobby a person in position of power or any person who is having the authority to conform to a certain agenda. For example, a prostitute offering sex to a law enforcement officer in order to ensure that solicitation charges against the prostitute are dismissed could constitute sexual bribery.

Sexual Bribery and Sexual Extortion in the Workplace

A common example of sexual bribery in the workplace can involve solicitation of sexual activity or sexually related behaviour, which is accompanied by a promise of some sort of reward or other incentive, such as a promotion or a raise. Bribes of this nature can be explicit and obvious or subtle and covert. A sexual bribe can be implied through commentary on a forwarded email, for example phrases such as, “You scratch my back, and I’ll scratch yours”, “I want you”, I’ll give you a raise if you go out with me...” or “I’ll demote you if you don’t have sex with me” can be considered inappropriate depending upon the circumstances.

One of the most obvious forms of sexual bribery in the workplace is most likely attempted coercion into sexual activity under the threat of punishment. Examples of this type of coercion include the threat of negative performance evaluations, withholding of or unlawful passing over for promotions or raises and threat of termination.

Quid Pro Quo Harassment is Impermissible in the Workplace

This type of sexual harassment occurs when submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual. Quid pro quo is Latin term meaning "something for something" or "this for that." When an employee is asked, either directly or indirectly, to submit to a sexual advance in exchange for some benefit at work (such as a promotion or a pay advance), quid pro quo harassment has occurred. Only supervisors or managers can engage in this type of harassment since it requires the authority to grant a job favor in return for the unwelcome advance or request. Quid Pro Quo sexual harassment includes the removal or negative impact on "job benefits, such as employment, promotion, salary increases, shift or work assignments, performance expectations and other conditions of employment" (Quid, 2007). Quid pro quo classification can also be found is a victim rejects "a sexual advance or request for sexual favors results in a tangible employment detriment, a loss of a job benefit of the kind described above" (Quid, 2007). Bravo and Cassedy (1992) states that Quid Pro Quo cases are the most clear-cut. Quid Pro Quo harassment operates as a form of on-the-job blackmail (Renzetti, Edleson & Bergen, 2001). However, determining a link between the unwelcome, improper sexual conduct and the employer's action is imperative to proving quid pro quo sexual harassment.

Problem Statement

The existing laws on bribery and corruption have long been considered unduly complicated and confusing as a result of their piecemeal development to deal with specific issues or problems that, at the relevant time, were deemed necessary to resolve by the introduction of new legislation. The first point to note is that "bribery" itself is really only a common law offence. Common law offences are offences that exist as a result of legal developments arising from case law. There is no statute creating or describing the offence. Instead, judgments over the years have created and then developed the relevant offence as part of the evolution of the law. Common law offences can be altered or abolished by statute.

Like in Malaysia, there is no specific meaning and law provision under MACC Act 2009 to define sexual bribe *per se*. However Malaysian law recognized sexual bribe case based on case law and court judgments only. Section 3 of MACC Act 2009 only defines "gratification" as follows:-

- (a) money, donation, gift, loan, fee, reward, valuable security, property or interest in property being property of any description whether movable or immovable, financial benefit, or any other similar advantage;
- (b) any office, dignity, employment, contract of employment or services, and agreement to give employment or render services in any capacity;
- (c) any payment, release, discharge or liquidation of any loan, obligation or other liability, whether in whole or in part;
- (d) any valuable consideration of any kind, any discount, commission, rebate, bonus, deduction or percentage;
- (e) any forbearance to demand any money or money's worth or valuable thing;
- (f) any other service or favour of any description, including protection from any penalty or disability incurred or apprehended or from any action or proceedings of a disciplinary, civil or criminal nature, whether or not already instituted, and including the exercise or the forbearance from the exercise of any right or any official power or duty; and
- (g) any offer, undertaking or promise, whether conditional or unconditional, of any gratification within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs (a) to (f)

If we refer to criminal law such as Penal Code, for instances of abuse of authority for sexual pleasure by any person can be prosecuted as an offence of criminal assault or criminal force to outrage the modesty or to dishonour a person or using any word or gesture intended to insult the modesty of a person. Sex extortion may also be prosecuted as rape under section 376 Penal Code and “offences of rape by a person in authority or trust is provided under Section 375(f) of the Penal Code. The element of the offence is fulfilled if the offender seeks sexual favours to induce him to perform certain acts or desired conduct. It’s not necessary that the intended result is resulted. Therefore sexual bribe or sexual extortion offences in term of “to get something for something” is not fully covered by MACC Act 2009 but rather will be prosecuted under Penal Code.

On the other hand, sex extortion or sexual bribe, however, was more difficult to prove than extortion of money and this was the daunting task facing the MACC. The objective and subjective elements of an act of sex extortion need to be taken into account to determine whether an act of obtaining and receiving sexual favour amounts to a corrupt act in law. When a guy demands sexual favour even just by saying ‘I want you’ to someone, only the victim understands what he really means. But how does one prove that the accused has committed sex extortion or sexual bribe? It’s easier to prove money bribery but it’s really tough to prove sex extortion as the victim usually don’t have the hard evidence. When sex is involved, prosecution is harder because evidence is elusive, the law is unclear and victims often shy away from coming forward for fear of being shamed. As a result, corruption prosecutions for sex extortion and sexual bribe remain relatively few because there are rarely witnesses and evidence, short of video or audio recordings, which are difficult to get in meetings that are often private.

However, what the MACC normally did was “set up traps”, with the objective of gathering and recording evidence before its officers swoop on the accused. Such traps include getting the victim to fix an appointment with the accused to meet him privately, of course under the watchful eyes of anti-graft officials. When the accused says anything that amounts to sex extortion or sexual bribe, the accused will be arrested. Therefore it is difficult *to prove sexual* offenses because of how the law is constructed and ultimately other overwhelming evidence is needed to secure the conviction in sexual bribe cases.

The problem also comes out when the victims wanted to sue the employer when the supervisors use their power positions to offer subordinates privileges or doing removal or making negative impact on job benefits in various forms in exchange for sexual favours. Can the employer be fully liable, as the employment law in Malaysia also did not fully cover the issue of employer liability.

Literature Review

It was found that there was no research done by local authors about the sex corruption in Malaysia. However, there are still many studies done on sexual harassment issues, which also includes the issue of sex corruption in the workplace and the study have been focused in general on the meaning of "quid pro quo", the difference between these terms and other conditions and the category of sexual harassment (Sabitha M, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007). Similarly, if we refer to the study of sexual harassment which highlighted by (Ashgar et al,2014) on "Sexual Harassment in Malaysian Educational Insititutions: Causes And Solutions. However, other reference may be possible to be looked at several studies produced by foreign scholars which detailing the legal issues pertaining to the liability of employers for supervisors who were soliciting sex from female employees at workplace such as Heather (2006) and Curtis (2014). In addition, a study by Allan (1998) is very helpful in terms of getting the proposals on improvement of the policy to prevent the "quid pro quo" harassment and see how it can be adapted to the system in Malaysia. Therefore, the study of sex corruption in depth is very important to see the effectiveness of the law existing in Malaysia in handling the case in future.

Research Methodology

The study of this paper is qualitative nature that led to the problem of legal issues involving sexual corruption in the workplace and other setting in Malaysia. The study also generated based on the literature in the research done by other scholar and also in relation to the legal issues that arise when cases of sexual corruption happened. Therefore, this study did not reach the stage of obtaining any quantitative data or fieldwork.

Finding And Arguments

From the study, there is no solid or specific law can be used as one comprehensive law to combat sexual bribery. My finding is that the government should enact a law to criminalise sexual harassment at the workplace, as well as sexual bribery. One of the main obstacles to understanding the true prevalence of sexual bribery and to combating the problem is the low incidence of reporting because no concrete law provided to protect the victims. It is well known that even in countries in which sexual harassment is a legally recognized problem, most victims do not speak out. Research indicates that there are three main reasons why women do not report sexual harassment. Women often believe that no one will do anything about the problem. If women are harassed in an organization and the leadership of the organization does not speak out against that harassment, does not institute procedures for reporting harassment, or does not act quickly on reports of harassment, most victims will be discouraged from acting. At the same time, women are afraid they will be blamed. "Blaming the victim" has historically been a strategy in countering rape charges. Women are told they "invited" the rape or harassment by their dress or demeanour. Because women see this happen to others they have good reason to believe it will also happen to them.

Besides, the majority of incidents, particularly egregious incidents, occur between a supervisor and his subordinate. One study of Fortune 500 companies found that almost two thirds of sexual harassment complaints were brought against a woman's immediate supervisor or another person with greater power. Other studies have shown that half of all sexual harassers are the direct supervisors of their target, and that supervisors are more likely to engage in and get away with more severe forms of harassment. The reason is plain: power is central to a supervisor's harassment of a subordinate. As a result, a victim of sexual harassment including sexual bribery is more likely to submit to and less likely to complain when the harasser is a supervisor. Not only do supervisors have, by definition, greater authority and power than do their subordinates, but they also control the norms of the workplace. In addition to determining assignments, evaluating performance and recommending promotions, they influence the "climate" of work: what behaviours are acceptable, what standards exist and how communication occurs. Individuals in higher status positions believe and are believed to have the right to make demands of those in lower status roles. Some managers view that harassing behaviour as an extension of that right. They expect lower status individuals to comply.

Because of the workplace hierarchy, the sexually harassed woman is unlikely to complain. Often, she is economically and emotionally dependent on her aggressor. Moreover, the crime is humiliating, so the victim is motivated to keep it secret. Fearful of losing her job and economic security, she keeps quiet. She also may fear retraumatization by the legal system if she seeks recourse from higher authorities. Not surprisingly then, studies have shown repeatedly that very few individuals report their experiences or lodge an official complaint. Indeed, a review of ten studies revealed that only ten to fifteen percent of women either responded assertively to or reported the harassment. More than fifty percent of victims simply do and say nothing.

In Malaysia, there are some laws that are generally associated with sexual corruption offences in the workplace. Among the relevant legislation is the Employment Act, Industrial Relations Act and the Occupational Safety Act, Penal Code and the Anti-Corruption Commission Act. But the

results of a survey conducted by legal practitioners and other researchers also found that the existing law is not conclusive and comprehensive to curb sex corruption .

The climax of the problem presented in this study is about the legal approach on the issue of liability of employers for the actions of its agents or supervisors who committed offences of sex corruption to subordinate workers, women and constructive termination. By looking at the legal and court case in the United States, sex corruption in the workplace will be prosecuted under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and it was enacted on the basis of employment because of sex discrimination. The problem arise is that the court did not agree on the principle of liability (common law) in term of consistency in decision-making to determine the liability of employers' liability and the extent to which victims can claim the sex bribe remedies in the event of employment constructive termination. This is because there is no legal provision that specifically mentioning about sexual corruption that can be used by the victim to make such claim. Therefore, this situation has opened opportunities to the Court for wide interpretation which can be varied according to the existing provisions.

Conclusion

Finally, I feel that we cannot generalize about the prevention of sexual bribery in Malaysia by only depending on the current law. However, the existence of anti-corruption legislation should be a mechanism and becoming specific legislation to deal with cases of sex corruption compared to other laws which are more focused on the elements of the offence of sexual harassment, the concept of employment relationship between employers and workers and also remedies that can be claimed by victims of sexual harassment. So far, there are no ripples of change in the legal system in Malaysia to extend the scope for sexual bribery and enacted in an Act specifically so that the rights of workers and the public, especially women, can be defended against any gender discrimination. Therefore, there should be a recommendation of a special law in view of the confusion in the use of standard liability. This action is desirable that an explanation and understanding can be communicated to the parties to hear and adjudicate a case of sex corruption in order to use the right law. If action is not possible though, at least we should take the initiative to improve the legislation or any wrokplace rules that available to be more comprehensive to be used. We should not ignore the facts that supervisors can use their power positions to offer subordinates privileges in various forms in exchange for sexual favours. This can be curbed by ensuring a safe and healthy work environment, by encouraging effective complaint channels beyond the supervisor (for example, appointing sexual harassment advisors), by facilitating training for sexual harassment advisors and by ensuring that supervisors do not have sole decision-making powers over promotional and salary decisions.

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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT: SHIFTING CORRUPTION INTO THE COMMUNITY?

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with democratic governance and local development. It is focused on how democratic governance, referred to in this paper as “governance begins in communities, villages and towns”, is translated within a community driven development program or project. From an empirical data of the early implementation of PNPM-Urban in Surabaya, it is found that above all the ideal characteristics of democratic governance (i.e. that all actors, ‘ordinary citizens’, and bureaucrats alike, are to participate), it may lead to a serious problem of corruption. That is, shifting the corruption from bureaucracy to community. In this, genuine partnership between government actor and community, also between central and local government is a must.

Keywords: Democratic, Governance, Community-Driven Development, Partnership, Surabaya

Democratic Governance, the Trajectory of Public Sector Reform, and Development

Efforts for reforming public sector and bureaucracy directed towards democratic governance has for several decades been called for, in order to shift public sector, and especially bureaucracy to become more accountable, transparent, and democratic or more especially citizen/community focused. In Indonesia, the reform was marked by the move towards decentralisation that sought to achieve the sharing of power and resources and restructure the relationship between central and local governments (Utomo2011). This shift towards decentralisation (and reform in general), indeed, has been aimed ultimately to make public services and development closer to, and more especially benefit the people.

Within this reform, however, there are structural and cultural imperatives of bureaucracy that tend to prevent bureaucracy from becoming more citizen/community focused. This inherent structure and culture of bureaucracy is grounded in the problems relating to the nature of bureaucracy, including adherence to a set of rigid rules and regulations, strict hierarchy, seemingly unnecessary procedures, extensive paperwork and formalisation. In short, the entrenched nature (or the structure and culture) of bureaucracy is a problem for public sector and bureaucratic reform initiatives in Indonesia.

Moreover, although public sector and bureaucratic reform has been a buzzword in Indonesia since 2001 (the start of the decentralization era), the seemingly insurmountable problems and challenges have yet to be addressed, and the place of ‘community engagement’ appears to have a very low priority. That is, whether the reform has followed the criteria of accountability, democracy, and overall better performance, does not in any deep sense speak to the issue of either greater benefits accruing to the community or more direct and collaborative relations between the bureaucracy and the community. Put simply, the question that emerges is: how can public sector and bureaucratic reform, which is focused on democratic governance, be of benefit to the community? Or, is bureaucratic reform that involves essentially making bureaucracy more citizen focused and engaged with the community merely a buzzword for the community?

The key concern of this paper therefore is on how the idea of public sector reform, in which democratic governance is the most common reform trajectory, is translated within a community driven development. This is based on a case study research of the early implementation of PNPM-Urban in Surabaya. It is argued in this paper that above all the ideal character of democratic governance, that all actors, 'ordinary citizens', and bureaucrats alike, are to participate, it may lead to a serious problem of corruption. That is, shifting the corruption from bureaucracy to community, and likewise from the central to the local, and even grass-roots development. In this, genuine partnership between government actor and community, also between central and local government is highly recommended.

Democratic Governance and Community Driven Development.

Democratic Governance

Democracy is when "authority lies in the hands of the people" (Pramusinto 2006:4). Meanwhile, for Peters, within democracy, "the public should have greater influence over the policies being adopted in its name" (2004:4). Broader to the concept of democracy, taken from one of the most central concepts of liberal democracy; Sørensen explains the meaning of 'democracy' as "the people" is "the self-regulating sovereign" (2002:695).

In relation to governance, as emphasised in the UNDP monograph on decentralised governance, a growing consensus among the international community in the last few decades (especially in 1990s) is that effective and good governance is vital for human development. Following this consensus, there is an increasing recognition that "governance begins in communities, villages and towns, and local governance provides the basis for the concept and the structure of good governance" (Nharinet Team 2005:np). This support for decentralisation in development – emerged in the late 1980s, in the wake of 'democratisation wave' – involves support for democracy in the governance at local and national level of government.

Democratic governance in this context is based on the above discussion of democracy and democratisation in development. That is, Sørensen's (2002) definition of democracy, and the UNDP's idea that 'governance begins in communities, village and towns'. In this, I argue that benefits for public sector and bureaucratic reform should also accrue to the community. That is, through democratic governance which means making bureaucracy less organisational, bureaucratic centred and more citizen, and community centred, as well as moving bureaucracy away from an internal process and institutional focus toward a more inclusive citizen/community. Specific to the case study context of PNPM-Urban Surabaya (discussed further below, reform directed towards democratic governance involves shifting bureaucracy from being the traditional main actor (implementer) of development to being the facilitating actor of development that acts as a partner of community and other stakeholders.

More particular to the grass-root development context, democratic governance means 'bringing as many citizens and communities as possible into the development arena, and assuring that other actors and stakeholders in development, especially community and bureaucracy are able to appropriately place themselves in to the new context of inclusive, community driven development. Bringing as many citizens and communities as possible here refers to the idea of giving citizens (and communities) a meaningful participatory role in local development decisions that affect them (Blair 2000).

Community Driven Development

Community Driven Development (CDD) is the most recent variant of Community Based Development (CBD), which is an umbrella term for projects or programs that actively include beneficiaries in their design and management. Often used interchangeably with CBD, CDD is CBD

with more direct community control over key project decisions and the development process in general. This includes the management or use of development resources in particular, i.e. the development funds. In a broader sense, CDD emphasises the need for community groups to control their own development by allowing them to make decisions over development resources (Mansuri and Rao 2004, Fang 2006, Dasgupta and Beard 2007).

In its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Sourcebook, the World Bank treats poor people as ‘assets and partners’ in the CDD process (Dongier et al. 2002:303). This means that rather than viewing communities as merely the target of poverty interventions, CDD views poor communities as ‘assets and partners’ in development. In other words, CDD views its target groups as the subjects instead of the object of development. The principles of CDD programs are local empowerment, participatory governance, demand-responsiveness, administrative autonomy, greater downward accountability and enhanced local capacity; with an emphasis on working in partnership between community and local governments

As Dongier et al. (2002) explain, CDD is great for goods and services such as water irrigation systems, and the construction and maintenance of local roads, which are small in scale, not complex, and require local cooperation. CDD is effective for enhancing sustainability, improving efficiency and allows poverty reduction efforts to be taken to scale (Dongier et al. 2002: 307).

PNPM-Urban as one of CDD Measure

The National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM)-Urban is one of the pillars of the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) that represents the first nationwide poverty reduction program in Indonesia (the other pillar is The National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM)-Rural). It was launched by President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono in August 2006, started to be implemented in 2007 and run through this end 2015.

With an overall objective to reduce poverty and to improve local-level governance and service delivery in urban areas in Indonesia, PNPM-Urban seeks to involve local communities and governments to engage in participatory planning and decision-making processes to allocate resources for self-defined development needs and priorities. Known previously as the Urban Poverty Project (UPP or in Indonesia *Program Pengentasan Kemiskinan Perkotaan* (P2KP), PNPM-Urban in principal involves community participation and empowerment, competition for funds, and transparent decision-making. The project activity cycles involve dissemination of information, socialisation (introduction of the project), community planning, preparation of proposal, verification of feasibility, decisions for funding, implementation, and follow-up subprojects.

Commitment to bottom-up development led the project to identify *kelurahan* (the lowest and closest tier of government urban village hereafter the term ‘*kelurahan*’ is used), as the subject of PNPM-Urban intervention. Once a *kelurahan* has been selected for participation, and the community received PNPM-Urban, the community is invited to set up a voluntary and democratically structured community organisation known as a BKM or *Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat* (community organisation), which administer projects and be socially and financially responsible for the sustainability of the project. Within this structure, the community was then expected to form ad hoc community groups built around various proposed projects. These groups are known as KSMs or *Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat* (Community Groups).

The project transfers fixed-amount block grants to targeted *kelurahans* with amounts varying according to the *kelurahan* populations with a range of Rp. 150million - Rp. 350million (this amount is relatively huge for the Indonesian context). Once a BKM is set up, KSMs are required to submit proposals (development plans), prepared through 4-6 month long participatory processes. The grants can be used for an “open menu”, such as for infrastructural, social, and economic activities, which the community believes to be a development priority. In this, clearly PNPM-Urban is one of Community Driven Development measures

Research Methods

This paper is based on a case study research of the early implementation of PNPM-Urban in Surabaya. This includes analysis of the implementation of PNPM-Urban in Surabaya from around 2007 to around 2010. A variety of qualitative research methods combining semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis were employed to provide triangulation of data. Interviews and observations were conducted for a period of 3 months from February to April 2009. Informants were chosen by purposive and snowball sampling that concluded with 40 informants taken from bureaucracies (*Camat* and *lurah* and their staff), communities (from BKMs and KSMs), and consultants/facilitators in the program (from The Office of City Coordinator of Surabaya (Koordinator Kota (Korkot) Surabaya. Data analysis involved transcription and reduction, followed by presentation, interpretation, verification and lastly conclusion.

Democratic Governance in the Early Implementation of PNPM in Surabaya: Shifting Corruption to the Community?

As previously mentioned PNPM-Urban was previously known as the Urban Poverty Project (the UPP) or *Program Pengentasan Kemiskinan Perkotaan*(P2KP). The program emphasises empowerment of the community through the development of local institutions rooted in the community (BKMs and KSMs). This is aimed to ensure that the target community has direct control over key program decisions, including the use of financial resources. In other words, as a CDD program, PNPM-Urban has emphasised the needs for community to control its own development. In this light, the community is seen as the key implementer or medium of the development program at the grassroots level. In this, instead of becoming the object of development, the community is seen as the subject of development that govern and manage development. This is the representation of democratic governance in the grass-roots level, in which governance starts in the community, that is in *kelurahan* or urban village.

Carrying bottom-up and democratic principles, at the end, the program is aimed to place KSMs as the key vehicles for increasing social capital and broader developing capacity, thus enabling community stakeholders to become agents of change. In the reality however, this is more of an ideal and elusive, and often ignored in the program implementation. More often, it is the strong BKMs, not strong KSMs that eventually dominate the overall community that in turn led to the problem of domination and corruption. This will be explored further later.

As this research finds, following the characteristic of CDD, also development experiences in previous government under Suharto in which corrupt practices by government officials were rampant, the UPP was initially designed to bypass bureaucracy/local government. This has further resulted in minimal involvements and control from the City Government of Surabaya in the early implementation of PNPM-Urban in the City. Extremely, there was even a case where bureaucrats left PNPM-Urban.

An interview with a city coordinator assistant below uncover the reasons for the lack of involvement of bureaucracy in the implementation of the program, also the consequence for corrupt behavior in development, as follows :

Let me explain why bureaucracy 'leaves' PNPM-Urban. Back in 1999, the onset of *reformasi* era in which democracy became a euphoria, there was a wide disbelief towards government institutions and officials among the International Financial Institutions This is related with the well-known label of corrupt within the Indonesian governments and bureaucracies, especially under Suharto era. Accordingly, donor agencies, including the World Bank channelled its development aid directly to communities or else to non-government organisation. The UPP is one of the examples in which the development resources and aid went directly to the community through the involvement of facilitator and consultant in the project.

Clearly, besides empowering community, shifting development management and resources, and especially channeling development funds directly to community is an effort (in the context of PNPM-Urban made by donor agency) to minimize and even eradicating corrupt behavior by government officials in development.

Further findings about corruption in PNPM-Urban, however, are interesting. Adding further, the above informant explained that when PNPM-Urban was later implemented without bureaucratic or local government control (or as explained, bypassed bureaucracy) the problems in the program became worse. One of the problems is in relation with many corruption cases and misuse of program funds by the community. As a bureaucrat informant also asked: “who is more corrupt? ...it is the community, and sometimes the ‘naughty consultant/ facilitator.’”

As this research also finds, in the early stages of the implementation of PNPM-Urban, BKMs could not work in synergy with urban village governments and other existing local institutions in the *kelurahan*. They had become exclusive institutions whose members and leaders felt independent from the local (*kecamatan* and *kelurahan* urban village) governments, and thus refused to be monitored by the government. The BKMs refused to be monitored by the local governments because the grants they received had come from the central government and not the local government. One of the problems arose from such inclusivity is the incidence of corruption in the forms of misuse of PNPM-Urban funds.

The misuse of funds, indeed, was a chronic problem in the implementation of PNPM-Urban between 2000 and 2009 when it was the Urban Poverty Project until the early PNPM-Urban). As the data also reveal, the City Government had a bad experience with the BKMs, and PNPM-Urban. Several Surabaya government officials, including the Head of Bappeko, were called by the police as witnesses to several cases involving misuse of PNPM-Urban grants by BKM members. Some examples of misuse of funds documented by the City Coordinator of Surabaya can be seen in the table below.

Table 1: List of Some Cases of Misuse of Funds of Funds

No.	Kelurahan (Urban Village)	Kecamatan (Sub-district)	Facilitator Team	Findings	Source of Funds	Actor Involved	Amount (inRp.)	Solution			
								Initiative for Solution	Returned (inRp.)	Reminder	Status
1	KlakahRejo	Benowo	97	Grant for social project (PAUD or pre-school) was not realised	PNPM Grant 2007	BKM member	Rp 8,400,000	Identification of all program activities and confirmation	Rp -	Rp 8,400,000	Processed
2	GunungAnyar	Gunung Anyar	100	PNPM grant was cut off Rp.500.000,- per RW (for making proposal and report)	PNPM Grant 2007	Coordinator of BKM	Rp 2,000,000	Identification of all program activities	Rp -	Rp 2,000,000	Processed
3	PradahKalikendal	Dukuh Pakis	101	Misuse of repayment by KSM	UPP Grant 2000	Former member of UPK	Rp 122,000,000	Prosecuted	Rp -	Rp 122,000,000	Processed

4	Margorejo	Wonocolo	102	Misuse of grant disbursed in KSM	UPP Grant 2000	Member of BKM	Rp 126,000,000	Returned	Rp 126,000,000	Rp -	Finish
5	JemurWonosari	Wonocolo	102	Repayment by KSM used privately by UPK member	UPP Grant 2000	Member of BKM	Rp 50,000,000	Prosecuted	Rp 50,000,000	Rp -	Finish
6	Sawahana	Sawahana	104	Grant for social project was used personally	PNPM Grant 2007	Member of KSM	Rp 38,000,000	Returned the funds by instalment	Rp 15,000,000	Rp 23,000,000	Processed
7	Ujung	Semampir	107	Grant for social project was borrowed by other project, so cannot be realised	PNPM Grant 2007	UPK member	Rp 6,800,000	Negotiation	Rp -	Rp 6,800,000	Processed
8	Bubutan	Bubutan	110	The amount of grant disbursed for an infrastructure project	PNPM Grant 2007	Former senior facilitator	Rp 7,000,000	Find the address of the senior facilitator	Rp -	Rp 7,000,000	Processed

				was not the same as outlined in the project detail							
9	Semolowaru	Sukolilo	112	Misuse of micro-credit funds	UPP Grant 2000	BKM member	Rp 26,000,000	Review of Financial Position	Rp 26,000,000	Rp -	Finish
10	NgindenJangkungan	Sukolilo	112	Misuse of micro-credit funds	UPP Grant 2001	BKM member	Rp 158,000,000	Identification of evidence	Rp 71,327,550	Rp 86,672,450	Processed
TOTAL							544,200,000		288,327,550	255,872,450	

From the table, it is obvious that the misuse of funds has threatened the implementation of PNPM-Urban between 2000 and 2007 (when it was the Urban Poverty Project), and this was again the case in 2008-2010. If the cases were taken to court, most defendants had been sentenced to jail. Otherwise, the cases were solved internally (*diselesaikan secara kekeluargaan*, that is, within the KSMs, BKMs), or the urban villages (when a case was reported to the head of urban village). In these internal solutions, the guilty party was most often required to repay the money they had used, as shown in the above table.

With PNPM-Urban the central government aims to reduce 'bureaucratic complications' associated with decentralisation by focusing on the lowest possible tier of local government (urban village and sub-district) (Yulaswati and Sumadi 2011:293). It also aims to reduce prevalent corruption on the part of the bureaucracy. My findings that certain community members involved in PNPM-Urban also abused their power and misused program funds can therefore be vexing, as it indicates that no single actor can be trusted. Given this, greater involvement and collaboration among different actors is necessary, as this will enable more control among the actors. Besides, such corruption by community has also reveal the other side of democratic governance, that is shifting corruption to the community.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed how democratic governance, the common trajectory of global public sector reform strategies is translated into the grass-root development. It presents another side of democratic governance, that is in relation with the raise of corruption in local development and/or in the community. As findings from the case study of early implementation of PNPM-Urban in Surabaya has revealed, democratic governance may lead to a contentious space for reconsidering the value attached to local development and especially corruption. That is, above the ideal characteristics of democratic governance (i.e. that all actors, 'ordinary citizens', and bureaucrats alike, are to participate), it may lead to a serious problem of corruption, i.e. shifting the corruption from bureaucracy to community. In this genuine partnership between government actor (bureaucracy) and community is undoubtedly a must. That is, a genuine partnership in which the involved parties can collaborate in an equal and balanced power with no party dominating over another.

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THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE KERINCHI AND RAWA COMMUNITIES IN KUALA LUMPUR DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract

The Kerinchi and Rawa communities had been present in Malaya long before its independence. The bilateral relationship between several Sumatran Sultanate and their counterparts in Malaya had existed as early as the Malacca Sultanate. In accordance to that, this paperwork will discuss the history of the presence of the Kerinchi and Rawa communities in Kuala Lumpur and the roles they played in the economic aspects during the mid- 19th century. The British Colonial Policy at that time encouraged and welcomed the Kerinchis and Rawas to Malaya to assist in the economic growth especially in Kuala Lumpur. Therefore, the focus of the roles of the Kerinchi and Rawa communities is in the economic aspects that could be traced since the opening of Kuala Lumpur. Those roles were more conspicuous during the British Colonial era. Among the significant roles were in the agriculture, livestock trading and subsistence economy practiced by them.

Keywords: Kuala Lumpur, Kerinchi community, Rawa community, economy, livestock trading

Introduction

Malaysia and Indonesia are affiliated since the time of Malacca Sultanate. However, in the beginning the bonds were made out of political allegiance.ⁱ The Malacca Government conquered Riau-Lingga coastⁱⁱ while Pahang was conquered by the Majapahit Government.ⁱⁱⁱ The bilateral relationship between both countries is strengthened with the passing of time and each country cooperates for each other. Moreover, the geographical landscape between Malaysia and Indonesia are separated by Straits of Malacca. Therefore, the migration of Malay community from Indonesia is nothing new. The Indonesian Malays are determined to find a new place like Tanah Melayu so they could migrate. Since James L. Peacock stated "... *Indonesians have migrated northward to found kingdoms and states in Malaya...*",^{iv} it is not extraordinary that the presence of Malay of Kerinchi and Rawa heritage in Tanah Melayu even before independence. The economic potential and spirit of togetherness in Malay community are successfully integrated by a leader called Dato Dagang who represented every Indonesian tribe in Kuala Lumpur. This kind of relationship brings closer the Malay community who lives overseas.

The Migration of Kerinchi and Rawa Communities to Kuala Lumpur

Raja Abdullah bin Raja Jaafar who was District Chief of Klang founded Kuala Lumpur and developed the tin mining excavation there.^v The economic potential of Kuala Lumpur in the 19th century encouraged the migration of Minangkabau, Kerinchi, Mandailing, Aceh and Jambi Malays from Sumatera to Kuala Lumpur.^{vi} There was ups and downs that influenced the migration of Kerinchi and Rawa Malays to Kuala Lumpur. The Malay residency which consists of Kerinchi and Rawa tribes has existed along the riverside of Kuala Lumpur.^{vii} Meanwhile, the Bugis, Javanese, Rawa, Mandailing

Minangkabau, Batu Bara and Kampar Malays were led by Dato Dagang who was the representative of all Malay communities in Kuala Lumpur.^{viii}

There were many advantages and disadvantages in the migration of Malay community from Indonesia to Kuala Lumpur in the 19th century. One of the advantages for the migration was the significance of Malaysia and Indonesia as neighbouring countries. Besides, the similarities in religion, culture and language made it easier for assimilation. According to Ahmad Nizar Yaakub on the migration of Malay community from Indonesia to Kuala Lumpur, he stated “...*basic similarities in culture, language and religion have made the inter-migration and assimilation process relatively simple...*”^{ix}

In addition, another advantage for the migration was the aftermath of the British meddling in Selangor. The British encouraged the migration of Indonesian especially in the late 19th century. Ahmad Nizar Yaakub mentioned “ “...*In terms of pull factors, the British actually encouraged the migration of Indonesians to the British colonies in the late 19th century...*”^x The land discovered by the traders and merchants were promoted by British so that it could turn into a new village. Also, the British supported lands occupation by facilitating lands possession in Selangor.^{xi} The British provided incentive like tax payment alleviation to encourage land occupation.^{xii} Besides conquering new location, the British needed the migrants to work in agricultural sector.^{xiii}

However, one of the disadvantages for the Indonesians to migrate to Malaya was because of the economic pressure from the Dutch colony. The Dutch implemented commercial estate to enhance the economy. The locals were enforced in coffee and tobacco plantation to export for Europe market. The Dutch's urge to exploit the economy caused misfortune for the locals as they were deserted and they protested.^{xiv} The foundation implemented by the Dutch affected the Indonesians and discouraged them to settle in Malaya.^{xv} The location of Singapore and West Malaysia which is close to Indonesia becomes their choice to migrate and change their destiny abroad.^{xvi} The pressure to survive decided the people in Sumatera Island to settle in a new location.^{xvii}

Furthermore, during that time the economic opportunity was huge and improving in Malaya thus attracting the Indonesians to migrate there. Also, the strategic location of Kuala Lumpur appealed to the migrants as to not miss the opportunity to settle there. Several job opportunities became the contributing factor for the migrants to settle in Kuala Lumpur. Many job openings were demanding miners in the tin mining excavation and agriculture sector.^{xviii} Yap Ah Loy who was the third capitan in Kuala Lumpur encouraged the migration too. The Malay community nurtured the paddy cultivation in Kuala Lumpur area to provide sustenance for the miners in the city.^{xix} Consequently, job prospect was one of the attractions for the migrants to migrate to Kuala Lumpur as it is one of the ways to facilitate their economic status and lifestyle.

Additionally, the Malays were fond of travelling and trading. The process of migration was easy for them because of their interest towards travel and trade as part of their culture.^{xx} Simultaneously, going on expeditions and trading sales increased their share of profit as well as gaining new experience. In this context, the culture of travelling was common for the Malays and became their drive to migrate to Kuala Lumpur especially among the Kerinchi and Rawa Malays. However, this culture also prevented them from migration. Nevertheless, there were many appealing dimension from politic, economic and social aspect that supported the migration.

Economic Industry of Kerinchi Community in Kuala Lumpur

There were many economic industries of Kerinchi community in Kuala Lumpur and one of them was their involvement in animal farming division. The increasing growth of Kuala Lumpur citizen induced the sales in meat market. Since there was not a lot of meat market available during that time, the Kerinchi migrants thought that they could increase the potential of animal farming in Kuala Lumpur. As a consequence, they decided to participate in animal farming as the demand was high and the lush profit that would come out of it.

The first step that the Kerinchi people took was to buy buffalos from Pahang. Abdullah Hukum who was the representative of Kerinchi people shared his budget with his two friends to begin animal farming in Kuala Lumpur. Since they only had \$600, they had to divide \$200 per person and went to Pahang to buy some buffalos. As a result, they bought 8 buffalos in Kampung Liri Bentong, Pahang to sell in Kuala Lumpur. They bought one buffalo each at \$20 and sold it to the customer at \$40.^{xxi} It showed that the sales from farm animal such as buffalo multiplied their income and they resolved to expand their business in this sector.

Next, they continued their business in Kuala Lumpur since farm animal sales were profitable and they could get the farm animal from Pahang at a low cost. The Kerinchi people decided to restock the buffalos at Lubok Terua in Pahang for the second time. The price was much cheaper in Lubok Terua than in Liri Bentong. The cost of a buffalo was only \$15.^{xxii} Since they got their stocks at a much cheaper price than before, their profit increased. However, the cost to deliver one buffalo was two ringgits and the procedure was done by people in Pahang.^{xxiii} Nevertheless, the animal farming business was returning huge profits for the Kerinchi people and made them travelled to Benta, Pulau Rusa and Tanjung Medang, Pekan in Pahang to purchase more livestock. They successfully secured 45 buffalos and 30 cows to sell in Kuala Lumpur market. The cost for of one buffalo was \$16 while an albino buffalo was \$14 each.^{xxiv}

Furthermore, the Kerinchi people were not only involved in farm animal commercial; they also contributed in agriculture for personal support. They have been contributing in agriculture sector in Kuala Lumpur since the 19th century. Sutan Puasa hired the Kerinchi people to build irrigation in Kuala Lumpur. This irrigation was important to water the paddy field in Kuala Lumpur.^{xxv} The agricultural industry progressed in Kuala Lumpur since Raja Laut sent an approval letter to Haji Abdullah Hukum to open new lands in Pudu. The Kerinchi people worked the land by cultivating vegetables, sugar cane, banana, betel leaf and paddy for self employment.^{xxvi}

Agricultural activities were performed by the Kerinchi Malay community who settled in Bangsar. They carried out coffee and black pepper plantation.^{xxvii} In 1894, the price of coffee skyrocketed in the market, so the Kerinchi people started to grow coffee. They focused on cultivating crops for coffee as the commodity price increased in the market. The retail price of coffee reached 40 ringgits per sack which brought profit for the citizen involved in the cultivation.^{xxviii} Meanwhile, the Kerinchi Malays also produced tobacco crops in Kuala Lumpur before engaging other kind of plantation.^{xxix}

Additionally, the Kerinchi Malays played a role in progressing the tin mining in Kuala Lumpur. A few Kerinchi people from Sumatera worked in this sector in the rural area. Some of them settled in Kuala Lumpur, Cheras and Bangsar and launched new township there.^{xxx} This was recorded when Haji Abdullah Hukum execute tin mining by using the “melampun” method in Setapak.^{xxxi} However, the Kerinchi people were not actively involved in tin mining in Kuala Lumpur.

Economic Activities and Role of Rawa Community in Kuala Lumpur

The migration of Rawa community to Tanah Melayu began earlier than the Kerinchi which was 300 years ago. Most of the Rawa people originated from West Sumatera. Their interest in travelling made them migrated to Kepulauan Melayu. The Rawa community did not only become the citizens of Tanah Melayu, they also contributed in economic activities such as business.^{xxxii} In the 1850s, Java Street and Market Street were not only the main attraction for Mandailing Malay merchants, Rawa community in Kuala Lumpur was attracted to it too.^{xxxiii} Haji Abdullah Hukum was a merchant who witnessed that many Mandailing Malay and Rawa merchants at Java Street and Market Street. During that time, he was lodging for a while at Haji Abdul Ghani's house at Java Street.^{xxxiv}

The Rawa community deemed that Tanah Melayu would be the best destination for them to build up a new place for the people.^{xxxv} The majority of Rawa Malay community contributed in textile business in Kuala Lumpur at that time. First, they became textile merchants at the shop houses in

Kuala Lumpur which were made up of bamboo walls. The Rawa people were opportunistic and grabbed all the chances they got to improve the economy. After a while, they saw the potential in cuisine business, so they began to sell it in Kuala Lumpur.^{xxxvi} They clearly utilized the business opportunity available and as a result, they assisted in improving the economy in Kuala Lumpur.

The Rawa community was also part of tin mining in Kuala Lumpur. Consequently, tin mining was growing especially in Ampang. Tin mining was a source of revenue for the British.^{xxxvii} Therefore, many places were launched for tin mining like Pudu, Sungai Besi and Petaling.^{xxxviii} Job opportunities in tin mining sector in Kuala Lumpur attracted the Rawa community to work for it in Kuala Lumpur. J. M. Gullick mentioned "...There was also smaller but steady flow of Sumatran immigrants – Mandailing, Rawa and Batu Bahara men – who established new trading posts and mines along the rivers of interior..."^{xxxix}

In 1850s, tin mining demanded labour enforcement in Kuala Lumpur.^{xl} Job vacancies were dominated with incoming Chinese labours as well as Malays from Sumatera.^{xli} This was recorded when Gullick mentioned the presence of Malay community from Sumatera with Mandailing, Rawa, Batu Bahara and Bugis heritage worked in Kuala Lumpur for tin mining "...The men of the inland mining villages were probably Sumatran immigrants, Mandiling, Rawa and Batu Bahara men rather than Bugis..."^{xlii}

The richness of tin mining in Kuala Lumpur attracted the British colonial attention as well as the Rawa. This has been clarified in Gullick's statement "...The mines around Kuala Lumpur were producing five times as much as tin as the whole of Selangor had exported a generation before..."^{xliii} As a consequence, the majority of workers involved in mining were Rawa, Mandailing and Minangkabau people. Gullick said "...The two largest Malay groups in the area were Rawa – Mandailing – and Minangkabau, though only the former engaged in mining..."^{xliiv} Likewise, the Malay community also incorporated the lampan method for mining as Gullick specified "...Malay miners used the lampan method which in its simplest form was just "panning" for tin in streams..."^{xliiv} Nonetheless, this method did not bring a lot of tin as a result.^{xliiv}

Conclusion

The prosperity in Kuala Lumpur was not only famous for being the centre of tin mining but also the hub for other business such as the meat market, textile, cuisine and agriculture. Those involved in upgrading the Kuala Lumpur economy in the 19th century were not just consist of the existing Malays but also the Kerinchi, Rawa and Chinese who have been there. The presence of Kerinchi and Rawa Malays are significant in enhancing the economy in Kuala Lumpur. They favour business, tin mining, agricultural activities and self-employment. As an impact, the economic activities in Kuala Lumpur now offer a variety of business.

ⁱ James L. Peacock (1973). *Indonesia: An Anthropological Perspective*. United States of America: Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc. pp. 5.

ⁱⁱ Ahmad Nizar Yaakub (2013). *Dances with Garuda Malaysia-Indonesia Bilateral Relations*. Sarawak: UNIMAS Publisher. pp. 108.

ⁱⁱⁱ Lotfi Ismail (1982). *Sejarah Malaysia 1400-1963*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors. pp. 10.

^{iv} James L. Peacock (1973). *Indonesia: An Anthropological Perspective*. pp. 5.

^v Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, (1995). Dalam Lipatan Sejarah 1857-1974. In Hairi Abdullah (Ed.), *Titian Warna: Sejarah Pembangunan dan Perubahan Citra Kuala Lumpur*. Kuala Lumpur: Ultimate Print Sdn. Bhd. pp. 27.

^{vi} Azizi Muda (1983). *Penghijrahan Penduduk Indonesia ke Semenanjung Malaysia Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah*, Vol. 12, Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia; Kuala Lumpur. pp. 171.

^{vii} Khazin Mohd Tamrin, 'Penghijrahan Penduduk dari Indonesia ke Selangor, Khususnya Orang-Orang Jawa', pp. 213.

^{viii} Suleiman, Lokman Mohd. Zen (1999) *Sejarah Kampung Bahru: Di Sini Awal Segalanya Bermula*, pp. 21.

^{ix} Ahmad Nizar Yaakub (2013). *Dances with Garuda Malaysia-Indonesia Bilateral Relations*. pp. 108.

- ^x Ibid., pp. 109.
- ^{xi} Khazin Mohd Tamrin, 'Penghijrahan Penduduk dari Indonesia ke Selangor, Khususnya Orang-Orang Jawa, pp. 214.
- ^{xii} Azizi Muda (1983). Penghijrahan Penduduk Indonesia ke Semenanjung Malaysia, pp. 170.
- ^{xiii} Ahmad Nizar Yaakub (2013). *Dances with Garuda Malaysia-Indonesia Bilateral Relations*. pp. 109.
- ^{xiv} Ibid.
- ^{xv} Mashitah Mohamed Tahir, (1999). *Berjajak: Ritual Terpenting Dalam Lingkaran Hidup Masyarakat Rawa*. Kuala Lumpur: Latihan Ilmiah, Universiti Malaya. pp. 19
- ^{xvi} Azizi Muda (1983). Penghijrahan Penduduk Indonesia ke Semenanjung Malaysia. pp. 173.
- ^{xvii} Azizi Muda (1983). Penghijrahan Penduduk Indonesia ke Semenanjung Malaysia. pp. 170.
- ^{xviii} A Ghapa Harun (1995). Pembangunan Ekonomi Sebelum DEB. In Hairi Abdullah (Ed.), *Titian Warna: Sejarah Pembangunan dan Perubahan Citra Kuala Lumpur*. Kuala Lumpur: Ultimate Print Sdn. Bhd. pp. 27.
- ^{xix} Khazin Mohd Tamrin, (1992). Penghijrahan Penduduk dari Indonesia ke Selangor, Khususnya Orang-Orang Jawa. In Adnan Nawang dan Mohd. Fadzil Othman (Ed.), *Selangor Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunannya*. Kuala Lumpur: United Selangor Press Sdn. Bhd. pp. 212.
- ^{xx} Ibid.
- ^{xxi} Adnan Nawang (1997). *Kuala Lumpur Dari Perspektif Haji Abdullah Hukum*. Selangor: Angkatan Edaran Ent. Sdn. Bhd. pp. 35.
- ^{xxii} Ibid.
- ^{xxiii} Ibid., pp. 36.
- ^{xxiv} Ibid., pp. 42.
- ^{xxv} Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- ^{xxvi} Yusman Ayob (1993). *Salasilah Nama Tempat Negeri Selangor Darul Ehsan*. Selangor: Prisma Sdn. Bhd. pp. 50.
- ^{xxvii} Ibid., pp. 49.
- ^{xxviii} Suleiman, Lokman Mohd. Zen (1999). *Sejarah Kampung Bahru: Di Sini Awal Segalanya Bermula*. pp. 46.
- ^{xxix} Ibid., pp. 53.
- ^{xxx} Khazin Mohd Tamrin, (1992). Penghijrahan Penduduk dari Indonesia ke Selangor, Khususnya Orang-Orang Jawa. In Adnan Nawang dan Mohd. Fadzil Othman (Ed.), *Selangor Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunannya*. Kuala Lumpur: United Selangor Press Sdn. Bhd. pp. 214.
- ^{xxxi} Adnan Nawang (1997). *Kuala Lumpur Dari Perspektif Haji Abdullah Hukum*. pp. 6-7.
- ^{xxxii} Mashitah Mohamed Tahir, *Berjajak: Ritual Terpenting Dalam Lingkaran Hidup Masyarakat Rawa*. pp. 16.
- ^{xxxiii} Khazin Mohd Tamrin, 'Penghijrahan Penduduk dari Indonesia ke Selangor, Khususnya Orang-Orang Jawa, pp. 214-215.
- ^{xxxiv} Ibid.
- ^{xxxv} Mashitah Mohamed Tahir, *Berjajak: Ritual Terpenting Dalam Lingkaran Hidup Masyarakat Rawa*. pp. 20.
- ^{xxxvi} Adnan Nawang, 'Persepsi Sepintas Lalu Haji Abdullah Hukum Mengenai Beberapa Aspek Sejarah', pp. 162.
- ^{xxxvii} Khoo Kay Kim, (1992). *Riwayat Kerajaan Negeri Selangor Darul Ehsan*. In Adnan Nawang dan Mohd. Fadzil Othman (Ed.), *Selangor Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunannya*. Kuala Lumpur: United Selangor Press Sdn. Bhd. pp. 41.
- ^{xxxviii} A Ghapa Harun, 'Pembangunan Ekonomi Sebelum DEB', pp. 27.
- ^{xxxix} J. M. Gullick (1960). *A History of Selangor 1742-1957*. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press Ltd. pp. 56.
- ^{xl} Adnan Nawang, 'Persepsi Sepintas Lalu Haji Abdullah Hukum Mengenai Beberapa Aspek Sejarah', pp. 159.
- ^{xli} Mohd Jais @ Jais Sarfan, (1989). Bandar Temasya dan Jugra. In Khoo Kay Kim (Ed.), *Selangor Darul Ehsan Satu Persepsi Sejarah*. Selangor: Muzium Negeri Selangor Darul Ehsan. pp. 13.
- ^{xlii} J. M. Gullick (1960) *A History of Selangor 1742-1957*, pp. 26.
- ^{xliiii} Ibid., pp. 56.
- ^{xliiv} J. M. Gullick, (1990). The Growth of Kuala Lumpur and of the Malay Community in Selangor Before 1880. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society*. Selangor: Pelanduk Publications. pp. 15.
- ^{xliv} Ibid., pp. 27.
- ^{xlvi} Adnan Nawang, 'Persepsi Sepintas Lalu Haji Abdullah Hukum Mengenai Beberapa Aspek Sejarah', pp. 159.

PATHWAY OF DEVELOPMENT: SOCIAL CONFLICT CONTEXT AND KEY ACTORS IN WEST PAPUA

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Abstract

This paper focus on Social Conflict and pathway to development in Papua. The social conflict describes about the phenomenon of dispute for natural resources, economical race and political power, and also friction among ethnic groups and different religion, also between immigrant and indigenous people. Papua land identical as rich of natural resources and since decades draw an sufficient attention which will high potentially prosper either local elite and outsider. The seizing of its rich natural resource was the main reason as root of dispute and triggering conflict, both vertically between the state (central government/ local government and the people and horizontally, among groups of tribe/ people). In order to create successful development there are many things that government and people must to do together in Papua as UNDP has recognized nine measurements of human security which are an impression of both the various causes of human insecurity and the human development agenda. This paper also describes the role of each actor of change in Papua, such as grassroots and civil-society organizations, local governments, women, the military and the central government as well the international agencies and the impact of their intervention strategies. These actors play a crucial role in social conflict in Papua that make this paper recommended to be studied.

Keywords : Papua social conflict, development, economic, politic.

Pathway to Development: Papua

Papua was an island in Pacific Ocean, yet being separated into two major country, west part belong to Indonesia, and East into Papua New Guinea. The aim of this article is to re-capturing social conflict in West Papua, the one of complex conflict zone accumulating from elite vested interest, religion, human right, autonomy and domestic and international engagement. West Papua in social conflict context seems to be argued as consequence of democracy. UNDP has recognized nine measurements of human security which are an impression of both the various causes of human insecurity and the human development agenda: ¹ 1) economic security, 2) financial security, 3) food security, 4) health security, 5) environmental security, 6) personal security, 7) gender security, 8) community security and 9) political security. Theoretically, Democracy base is according to two main principles :² principle of individual autonomy and equality. Individual autonomy and equality, described in social context, that explained as a voice of economic prosperity, higher political right : feature of democracy. Therefore, being an interesting case study of democratization, even democracy and its implication, ranging from political and socio-economic configuration, imbued with religion and tribal variable. When aspiration of local people imbued with articulation of interest both central government and local elite of Papua. And the role of religious and prominent tribe figure who have an influence toward people. Democracy perspective is considered here as critic tools to describe the complex contour of social conflict in Papua.

Papua land identical as rich of natural resources and since decades draw an sufficient attention which will high potentially prosper either local elite and outsider. The seizing of its rich natural resource was

¹ Yulia Sugandi. 2008. "Conflict Analysis and Policy Recommendation on Papua". Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Jakarta. Hal. 15

² *Democracy*. Kompasito.

the main reason as root of dispute and triggering conflict, both vertically between the state (central government/local government and the people and horizontally, among groups of tribe/people).³ Engulfed with the interest of businessman and foreign capital. Form an asymmetric conflict potential and widening scale of configuration and political contour, uneasy to determine and retain its social pattern, the exact evidence was the Freeport McMoran gold and copper mine, the largest business enterprise with approximately gross revenue reach 1,7 billions US\$ per year⁴. Excessive on the extraction of natural resources not only in mining, but also huge amount of illegal logging and fishing, following with devastation of environment. Even the development settled by regulation also take attention to secure the local dignity, but exactly development still left destruction impact towards local dignity and culture. Welfare issue was prominent public opinion beside horizontal and vertical escalation. Central government in Jakarta was aware that economical area of welfare, human right, democracy, was kind of problem which mixing into one situation in Papua.

Disparities between regions, still many numbers of remote area, was common understanding of central and local government which considered as key of development. Money allocated for “Otonomi Khusus” or Otsus in Papua amounts 4.53 quintillion rupiahs and projected to be able to reducing the disparities, boost the development in infrastructure, and human resource, and improve public services mainly in education and health. One of success indicator in policy of Otsus is the percentages of disparities inside society is reducing drastically, and development could deliver huge impact to indigenous people.⁵ Development in West Papua is unbalanced. Two thirds of the country, mainly in the highlands, is still underdeveloped, while the coastal areas, particularly in the north, are quite well developed due to the earlier contact with the outside world compared to the rest of West Papua. This development standard is often used as a main criterion to develop stereotypes. Many groups feel that their original social and political structures are "superior" to others and so if one of them becomes more "developed" than the rest, it feels power should be in its hands. Domination of one ethnic group over others, or of non Papuans over Papuans, with discriminatory practices at many levels, has already fuelled serious resentments

Social Conflict and Local Elite

Recent conflict in Papua often dispute for natural resources, economical race and political power, and also friction among ethnic groups and different religion, also between immigrant and indigenous people. But, the most prominent study and news publication mainly expose only at “Jakarta” policy and military operation and the social conflict as friction. What going on public sphere is about surface, what it looks like, but not what truly happen inside. As developing region, West Papua yet still under pattern of long stage of development. Many phase involve many actor and local configuration. And left the implication as social complexity. When special autonomy policy established, a massive current aspiration and hope was rose. Under the imagination of more prosperous society being. But rather the hope realized, the on going expectation about the real prosperous society and region of West Papua become difficult. Friction between local elite, disarray among them along with effort like manipulate local people vote, and compete to press Jakarta in order to gain financial and policy support for their own. Tension among local groups which spread and make a form like alliance of tribe, very determinative in form of political pattern of local elite.⁶

In the vacuum condition of middle classes society in West Papua. Immigrant which majority came from Java Island, being an emergence of new potential society in the middle of social class in Papua society. Indirectly, Javanese viewed as outsiders, which came from higher welfare standard than themselves, or they also viewed as mandatory of central government policy by expanding the rule

³ Sugandi, 2008. Hal 11

⁴ Sugandi, 2008. Hal.11.

⁵ Sugandi, 2008. Hal. 15.

⁶ Jaap Timmer. 2014. *Politik Lokal di Indonesia : Desentralisasi Salah Kaprah dan Politik Elit di Papua*. KITLV Jakarta. Hal. 610

territory. Also central government ruled majority by Javanese. A multiple identity embed among the Javanese immigrant. Fortunately, major of them was muslim. Social conflict in the grass root cannot be ignored as only one view. The clash caused of economical resource, came from this story. Papuan as local people, feel threatened by immigrant that given a land by the legitimacy of central government (Program Transmigrasi), and local community groups competition that already emerge since a long time, in other mean, an latent conflict. The presence of Freeport McMoran in Papua viewed as the result of Jakarta compromise with foreign interest.⁷

A limited capacity of private investment in human development and quality improvement is being main obstacle and being a reason how far the financial allocation from Jakarta was not fully effective to carry out Papua from poverty and backwardness. Not enough to fulfilling the requirement in order to bring equalization towards other developed island, like Sumatera and Java. In case of accompanying the intention from Jakarta and other source of donor, there are local elite who held the power and much capacity to reach the furthest and isolated point of local people. That can be found in regional and local government of Papua and religious institution. Christian and Muslim leader in Papua aware that religion was the source of important inspiration of people. And so the presence of religious institution recognized as the largest and well organized civil society, which ought to be able as bridge and mediator between government and society.⁸ Interdependence that built and well maintained by local people that support the dialogue with central government. And has already set up to involve and engage in democratic national and local election. Also the effort by local elite to convince Jakarta on the importance of recognizing⁹ complaints from Papuan. Or just seek for financial benefit or vested interest from these engagement.

Key Actors in Papuan Social Conflict

a. OPM and Presidium Dewan Papua¹⁰

The OPM (Free Papua Movement) is the only organization which has operated in West Papua since 1965 with a clear national political agenda: self-determination and an independent West Papua. Its strategy includes both military and peaceful approaches, and it has both political and military wings as important campaign tools. Membership is varied, but most Papuans are associated with the OPM in one way or another. The Papua Council Presidium is the executive body appointed at the Second National Congress 2000 in Jayapura. The credibility and legitimacy of the body of OPM is still doubtful. Because Indonesia government view OPM as separatist movement. The presence of Presidium Dewan Papua capture a legitimacy and recognition both of local groups and Indonesia government, the legitimacy was strong accord to fact that Presidium Dewan Papua is representation from more that 200 groups in Papua. The OPM accuses the Presidium as agent of Indonesia. Other side, Presidium see the OPM as cramped form of movement. According to the presence of adat communities in Papua, there area one organization beside PDF, that is Dewan Adat Papua, which built by members of adat community from across Papua.

b. Highlanders and "Coastals"¹¹

Divisions arise not only on the basis of geographical location but also social and physical differences. Those who live over 1000 m above sea level are regarded as highlanders. Two thirds of the Papuan population are highlanders and living in a most inaccessible landscape. Their development has lagged. This affects their social status seriously. Despite this, in the last 40 years, highlanders have shown a political will to catch up with the other Papuans. On the other hand, coastals have been contacting the

⁷ Timmer, 2014. Hal. 602

⁸ Timmer, 2014. Hal.603

⁹ Timmer, 2014. Hal.604

¹⁰ John Ondawane and Peter King. "West Papua : Reconciliation as a Way of Promoting Peace Dialogue".

Position Paper No.03, May.2002 The West Papua Project. Sydney, 2002. Pp. 17

¹¹ Ondawane and King, 2002. Pp.24

outside world for approximately 500 years. They fear that the advancement of highlanders may see them take over power in a new West Papua.

c. Rural and Urban Dwellers

The majority of Papuans are living in the rural areas. Traditional culture remains strong and the traditional keeping of livestock continues, but many traditional customs are vanishing, overshadowed by new, imported cultures. Unlike urban dwellers, who depend on wage income and trade, rural people depend on cultivation, hunting and fishing. Urban dwellers have power, money and communication networks. Conflict is often started when urban dwellers seek control over traditional land and resources, most often without permission. The urban dwellers use state law to over-ride the traditional landowner¹².

d. Men and Women

West Papuan men, as in many other traditional Third World societies still demand control over women. Most West Papuan traditional societies are patrilineal. Women have been seen as objects to be exploited. This traditional view of women is still strong among both rural and urban dwellers. Domestic violence is very common also, given high levels of alcohol consumption among men with traditional values. Women are regarded as second-class citizens and "baby factories"; they are also seen as objects that can be sold or bought. Under this view, men often attempt to keep women far away from power centres. In traditional society, this behaviour is hard to break down¹³.

e. Landowners and Resource Companies

Landowners are people affected by mining, oil and gas exploitation, logging, dam projects, road making, tourism, public building and fisheries in their traditional lands and waters. Social values are also affected by unwanted intruders. Over 100 companies, both domestic and foreign registered, operate in West Papua. Indonesian law provides certain privileges, tax haven status for example, to over-ride traditional rights. In the absence of any form of negotiation process, the companies exploit the resources without paying any form of compensation to traditional landowners. The case of the Freeport mine and the Amungme and Kamoro people is a classical example. This is a source of conflict at micro level¹⁴.

f. Papuans and non-Papuans

Non-Papuans here may refer to immigrants and their descendants, to foreign workers or to missionaries, all of whom have affected Papuan's lives. According to the last population census in 2001, the total population of West Papua is 2.1 million, of which the Papuan proportion is unknown, but commonly estimated at about 60 per cent¹⁵. The relationship between Indonesian immigrants and Papuan indigenous people has always been unhealthy, overshadowed by strong sentiments entertained against each other. In line with government policy, West Papuans are regarded by many immigrants as a lazy, primitive and underdeveloped people who should be "civilised". Social mockery is used to undermine the Papuans, in order to continue Indonesian control over them and, in particular, to exploit their land and its resources. The infiltration of new culture and traditions has also brought devastating effects for the Papuans in many fields--a contributing factor in the increase of intolerance and interethnic strife.

The way that non-Papuans are preferably utilized in specific positions leaves Papuans with a inferior feeling, it makes imbalance employment chance and further widening the gaps between Papuans and non Papua. Such disparities is giving contribution to local violence and ignite frustration among Papuans. In the southern papua of Papua, non-Papuan pioneers were capable and have sufficient competency to manage and produce in palm plantation, and indirectly outnumbers the local people. This gave rise to further frustrations because the customary land owners felt their land rights were not

¹² Ondawane and King, 2002. Pp.25

¹³ Ondawane and King, 2002. Pp.26

¹⁴ Ondawane and King, 2002. Pp.26

¹⁵ Ondawane and King, 2002. Pp.27

being respected, and conflicts ensued amongst the clans over land boundaries and the sharing of compensation.¹⁶

g. Civil Society Organizations

Beside religious organization, civil society measured by the media, educational and NGO institution. The religious organizations seemed to be active in involvement by making recommendations and influence the decisionmaker and towards the middle of people to campaign and reaching for positive piece in Papua. In vulnerable area of conflict like Papua, the role of mass media is an urgency in context to ensure the certain information and condition. Recently, Presiden Joko Widodo declare policy of open access to journalist. To giving more space to journalist and throw away the restriction years before.¹⁷ So that the necessary space from international view to be able in ensure the truth about change and development process can be found. This is also giving impact to support the media in their role of contributing to positive peace in Papua¹⁸. Harmonization and compromise to working together between NGO's in Papua in various field, like human right, education, health, culture, gender, people, economy, etc. Are one of solid pillar for the building of optimal and effective work and network based on common goal.

Conclusion

Social Conflict in Papua becomes a root of problem of development especially in Papua. And the social conflict phenomenon considered as obstacle of development itself, as on the early passage. The various interest and actor that rest and take a role was the situation that conduct either by local people or the policy of government. Imbued by vested interest of local elite and other third party. The important finding from this analysis that, there are the key actors also that play and determine the role as decision maker and have decisive influence to determine the situation in Papua. However, the dispute for natural resources, economical race and political power are the important clue to reasoning why there are many interest from every person or group to take the role in Papua and make the Papua such an "arena" for their own intention and interest. Therefore, conflict in Papua cannot merely comprehend or understood in simply way, yet the phenomenon of social conflict that occur until today in Papua was the implication of many configuration and the dynamic between the actors and interest.

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¹⁶ Sugandi, 2008. Hal.16

¹⁷ TEMPO. *Akses Papua dibuka, Dewan Pers : Hapuskan Clearing House*. TEMPO Selasa 12 Mei 2015.[online] tersedia pada <http://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2015/05/12/078665735/akses-papua-dibuka-dewan-pers-bubarkan-clearing-house> [diakses 20 September 2015].

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DYNAMICAL INTERACTION OF CHINESE-JAVANESE ETHNIC AND REPOSITION DISCOURSE IN DEMOCRATIC ERA: CASE STUDY ON SOLO, INDONESIA

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Abstract

The studies about profile of chinese ethnic in Indonesia possessing strategic issue to comprehend the actual existence of this ethnic in Indonesia's multiethnic society. The fundamental problem of chinese ethnic in national integration lies on its positional identity which remains ambiguous and controversial. However, the transition era into fully democratic regime since Soeharto's downfall in 1998 has led the repositioning effort towards chinese ethnic to relevant and urgent issue today. Therefore, this paper is an answer to design the reposition model towards chinese ethnic with multiculturalism approach in Solo city. Chinese ethnic reposition idea is considered as alternative solution to harmonize and synergize relationship between chinese ethnic and other native ethnics in Indonesia. The study conducted with collaborative approaches; history, antropology, and law. The research method conducted through literature review, observation, and analysis method; qualitative and quantitative.

Keywords: chinese ethnic, reposition, Solo, multiculturalism

Introduction

Chinese ethnic has been long time popularly known as diaspor ethnic. They tend to conduct adventure activities as well as exploring world for commerce purpose, seeking for treasure and even trying to find new places to live in.

Nusantara has been one of the most diaspor destinations for chinese. In the very beginning of AD there had been intensive interaction between chinese and local native in Nusantara for commerce purpose. Nusantara's natural resources possessing large amount of camphor which was mostly needed-commodity for chinese ritual or religion purpose. Additionally, the fertiled soil in Nusantara as well as the local native which was hospitable had been attracting most chinese decided to stay in rather than condition in their homeland which possessing infertile soil, full of conflicts, and even disasters at that time.¹⁹

However, the great clash among chinese, local, and colonial dutch happened in 1740 in Batavia and had spread over central java and east java regions. As the consequences, mostly chinese became homeless as well as massive and ruthless captures over chinese provocateurs by colonial dutch and its ally in order to be sent to Ceylon as forced-labor. On the other hand, this tragedy had triggered solidarity among the chinese in central java to fight against the colonial dutch and ally. This fact also believed as the reason of removal Kartasura Kingdom's base into Surakarta (Solo) as it had mutual interest with dutch colonial beforehand.²⁰

Solo is a city in central java province which considered as central of javanese culture. Javanese ethnic dominating the population in this city and chinese ethnic has formed the population as

¹⁹ Hahariyono Paulus 2006, p. 5.

²⁰ Hembing Wijayakusuma 2005, p.153.

the minority one. However, Chinese has taken an important role in Solo's economic sector as well as its history. The interaction between Javanese and Chinese had been long time built since VOC era. There had been ups and downs regarding interaction between these two ethnics. After the downfall of Soekarno's regime and the very beginning of Soeharto's regime, the friction between Javanese and Chinese occasionally happened in low even to high level, until the friction came to its peak happening as massive chaos which targeted Chinese ethnic on 13-14 May 1998 in Jakarta and Solo. It had been popularly known as May 98 Tragedy and had been remembered as human tragedy; the dark age of Indonesia's contemporary history. On the other hand, Javanese ethnic historically believed that the downfall of Kartasura Kingdom on June 30th 1744 was because of Cakraningrat Army's rebellion in collaborating with Chinese rebels.

As it mentions on the title above, there are three main problems we would like to discuss in this paper;

1. How is the socio-culture's background of Chinese community in Solo
2. What's the Chinese response towards Indonesia's law proceeding regarding their existences in Indonesia, specifically in Solo
3. How to create alternative solution for Chinese ethnic in order to be well accepted in local community in Solo

Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to reassert the importance of Chinese ethnic reposition for national integration process, especially to harmonically put them in proper relations with other native ethnics, especially Javanese ethnic in Solo. Hence, to reach this purpose, there are three main issues we have to formulate first:

1. To know the profile of Chinese' socio-culture (philosophy, norm, ethic, moral value, and symbol) in Solo
2. To figure out Chinese' response and feedback towards Indonesia's law proceeding and social relations among various ethnics
3. To deliver recommendation and suggestions as way to optimize harmonic relations between Chinese ethnic and Javanese ethnic in Solo

Literature Review

In period of post-Soeharto's regime, Indonesia was starting to run multiculturalism policy. Hence, Chinese ethnic was no more pushed for total assimilation with local. The purpose of this strategy was to picture the post-Soeharto's regime had put concern to minority and recognizing existence of Chinese ethnic as inseparable part of Indonesia's culture. Nevertheless, Chinese society in Indonesia was not a minority which was homogen. In regard to religion, mostly Chinese were Buddhist and Confucius, and least of them were Muslim, and Christian.

Even though the recognition of Chinese culture in Indonesia had been officially made, social discrimination in administrative, security, and even constitution issue remained exist. Yet, the government remained incapable to figure out what really happened and find who were responsible for May 98 tragedy, which mostly targeted Chinese as well as finishing the case to enforce the law. On the other side, the raise of China mainland as new superpower in Asia recently had raised anxiety to Indonesia that this would effect to domination tendency of Chinese people in Indonesia to play role as proxy to "colonialize" some sectors; culture, economic, politic, and this possibly assumed as one factor of government's hesitation to clear Chinese issue (Suryadinata 2010).

The policy made by some countries in Southeast Asia was not always showing consistency. However, in certain periods, some countries in ASEAN such as Indonesia, Thailand, and Philippines decided to take assimilation policy to address Chinese ethnic issue, but others ASEAN decided to take accommodation or pluralism policy.

Philippines, under Ferdinand Marcos's governance applied a policy which liberalizing constitution on philippines nationality in 1975. This policy enabled chinese to easily obtain nationality as philippine. The policy worked as defining chinese ethnic according to its culture, not race. As example, *mestizo-chinese* considered as real philippine as well as those who had been acculturised. Thailand also applied strong-assimilation policy towards chinese ethnic. The government implimented *Ius soli* principle on civic policy, which meant every chinese who were borned in Thailand, they automatically were Thai. As consequence, they were emphasized to use Thai's name and going to Thai's school. In addition, the culture of identity as Thai had made Thailand people had tendency to terminologically define Thai nation in cultural aspect. Hence, this enabled chinese to easily obtain nationality as Thai. Malaysia's policy was applied differently from mentioned countries above. Kuala Lumpur applied accomodation policy. This because of chinese demographically formed 26% of Malaysia's population. However, malay ethnic still demographically dominating the population as well as Brunei. On the other way around, Brunei applied different policy from Malaysia regarding chinese issue. It wasn't easy for chinese to obtain Brunese nationality. They had to meet some challenging requirements, such as passing malay language test, had stayed at least for 20 years or more, and had been able to deal with local tradition and its lifestyle as well. However, since 1992 the situation had changed. The government created way to optimally accomodate chinese integration through education aspect. All chinese schools were suggested to use 2 different languages; malay and english as language in class activity and chinese language was used in curriculum as school subject. In Indonesia, the policy towards chinese ethnic was applied step by step in certain period. In 1949-1959 (liberal-democracy period), regime applied pluralism policy. Then, in 1959-1966 (guided-democracy period), regime applied integration and assimilation policy in stages. However, the strict assimilation policy was totally applied since the raise of New-Order regime in 1967. The worst, the regime managed to eliminate chinese values in all life aspects. As example, regime banned the chinese new year's commemoration, chinese language learning, and *barongsai* tradition. Besides, they also didn't officialy recognized confucius as official religion in Indonesia. As a matter of fact, the purpose of actions made through this policy was to eliminate chinese domination to the core as way to make it fully absorbed into local values (total assimilated) and chinese ethnic possibly well accepted in local community as they willing to leave out their true identity. However, such policy was not in line with principle of human rights and leaving discriminatory reaction towards chinese ethnic (Suryadinata 2002).

Therefore, multiculturalism approach seems appropriate to apply towards multiethnic country, such as Indonesia. It means, the central government as well as region play strategic role as a bridge to accomodate the development of varying cultures in Indonesia's society and to prepare media which functions as inter culture communication. In addition, the policy-makers have responsibility to develop cultural politic and serving conducive facilities through moral culture in order to be inclusive, developed, and well-integrated (Abdul Baqir 2000).

Research Method

Qualitative approach and multiculturalism approach was used to find descriptive explanation from expanded explanations. To support and distinguish factual conditions on field, this mostly required qualitative data. In addition, juridical approach was used to test effectivity of law product in Indonesia (the old one and the new one) and also to finally identify a conducive and appropriate law product to be designed as effective model to apply and easily understood by society. To find and collect the sources, we also conduct interview method towards historical subjects. These historical subjects played role as informant who were directly engaged in the happenings nor they were live-witnesses regarding the research topic we conduct. These informants including the chinese, javanese, and some bureucrats in related government institution who were engaged in integration process of chinese ethnic with javanese ethnic in Solo. The research was consisting of two phases; basic research which still need assesment and designing model from obtained sources. As the result, the output of

research would come up as a model which need to apply, test, monitor and evaluate sustainably in order to know its strengths, weaknesses and figure out effectivity of the model.

Accomplished Result

Profile of Chinese' Sosio-Culture in Solo

Traditionally, chinese in Solo are identified as exclusive, arrogant, selfish, and materialistic ones. On the other hand, they are occasionally seen as humble, diligent, tough and possessing good-calculation, but easily spend money for joy and this last character was unacceptable by javanese. However, relationship between chinese and javanese in one side shows a harmonic interaction, but sometimes shows the other way around when it comes to the issues regarding politic, economy, and socio-culture. As one example, in this reformation era, the gate is widely open for chinese cultures to be expanded and widely exposed in Solo which is dominated by javanese cultures and however becoming a threats to javanese itself. Additionally, this has raised anxiety that the javanese culture will end up in cross-road and it has triggered social jealousy over javanese itself as way to anticipate a domination of cultural threat.

Response and Feedback of Chinese Ethnic towards Indonesia's Law Proceeding

As minority in Solo, the hardest challenge to chinese ethnic is to remove the label that cause discriminatory reactions towards them, especially the issue related with policy and regulation. In regard to administrative issue, SBKRI (Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia) or official document that states someone is Indonesian (particularly for foreign descendant; indian,chinese, arabs, etc.) was a problem one. SBKRI is used as requirement to them as they take care of passport, national ID card, criminal records and other administrative necessity. However, this has become one of main issues related with administrative discrimination towards chinese in Surakarta. The longtime-taking process and its complicated procedure of bureucracy had put them in distress.

Historically, in period of Soekarno's regime there was a policy of doubled-nationality identity (dwi-kewarganegaraan) which was applied towards chinese. It meant, the chinese belonged to China and Indonesia as well. However, since 1949-1951 situation had changed. The regime unpredictably left choice to chinese to choose one of two options of national identity; Indonesia or China, and this fact had been the historical background of SBKRI issue. As time went by, SBKRI policy was withdrawn by Presidential Decree No. 56 in year of 1996, but the factual condition that the decree wasn't optimally applied in lower level of government institution. Then in 1998, the policy was reasserted by Presidential Instruction No. 4 in year of 1999 as Abdurrahman Wahid came up as Indonesia's president. In addition, this new policy was also supported by official instruction released by Surakarta's mayor, Slamet Suryono in SK. No. 471/006/02/2004 dated July 19th, 2004 on the use of national identity evidence.

The Review of Existed Model

Issues related with chinese has been appealing varying responses of reconciliation. The release of constitution (UU No. 5/1969), which stated that confucius had obtained official acknowledgement from government, but with term and condition. This happened because of confucius was not a religion, but a faith (chinese philosophy) and didn't teach about God and afterlife, according to Official Letter of Minister of Coordinator and Social Welfare No. 764/MENKO/KESRA/X/1983 dated October 15th, 1983 to Minister of Internal Affair and Official Letter of Minister of Religion No. IV/608/1980 dated September 22nd, 1980 to Minister of Justice, after research conducted by Research and Development Department of Religion (litbang Departemen Agama) and State Intelligence and Coordinating Agency (BAKIN) (Ditsospol Prop Jateng, 199/2000:33-34).

In period of Indonesia's new era, the reformation momentum had contributed significantly since the released of Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 4 in year of 1999 as Abdurrahman Wahid came up as president. In addition, the implimentation of Autonomous Region's constitution had brought chinese' aspiration close to be heard through advocacy to Surakarta (Solo) mayor, Slamet Suryono. As the impact, he finally released a decree, SK Nomor. 471/006/02/2004 dated July, 19th 2004 on the use of national identity evidence, which allowed them not to attach SBKRI anymore as they take care of administrative issue.

Additionally, based on our contemporer study on field, the model of acculturation has been applied in some aspects. There were inter-ethnic marriage between javanese and chinese, neighborhood unification, and the usage of javanese language by chinese. In regard to culture aspect, javanese and chinese celebrated their difference through *Grebeg Sudiopraja*, an annual tradition which was held seven days before Imlek day (chinese new year) as well as to welcome Suro (javanese new year).

Typically, this tradition was born in one district in Solo, named Sudiro district. Rally of people bringing on piles of *Kue Keranjang*, (typical food of chinese to celebrate Imlek) accompanied by *Barongsai* (chinese traditional dance) and *Adat Keraton* (rally of javanese wearing traditional clothes and accessories) starting from Sudiro district and finished in *Pasar Gede* (Surakarta's landmark). The purpose of this tradition was to attract attention and displaying a harmony, also as way to deliver social message to entire Surakarta society that the values of respectful and appreciation upon difference had been successfully built in Sudiro district. The tradition also functioned as trigger to expand the discourse of acculturation of these two ethnics through universal language and associative interaction.

The Design of Acculturation Model for Chinese Ethnic in Solo

A leader has strategic role in creating people's perspective towards issue. This has been a typical character of Indonesia's paternalistic society, especially in Solo. When a leader in related region addressing positive label towards chinese ethnic issue, then this would automatically change perspective of people in lower level as to follow the leader one.

This factual situation happened during Abdurrahman Wahid's period. Under his governance, the situation at that time was conducive to develop multiculturalism approach because of strong tolerance, inclusivity, and high-concerned manner he showed towards minorities. Additionally, the conducive situation was also supported by the law product made by government in that era, such as Ketetapan MPR No. V/MPR/2000 (People Assembly's Decree) and Keppres no. 6 Tahun 2000 (Presidential Decree) which addressed the chinese ethnic issue through reconciliation method as way to maintain unity and national integration. One of the main idea of the constitutions, stated;

"To enhance the social harmony among religion, race, ethnic, and other communities through dialogue and cooperation in line with principles of equality, egalaty, tolerance, and respecting each other. The government intervention in socio-culture should be reduced and allowing the potential and initiative of society to improve".

As way to form civil society in Solo and Indonesia, it's worth highlighting that the plurality thought should be taken precedence. Additionally, to optimize national integration each individual, group, and ethnic should know and understand their appropriate position through sociological process. Therefore, every individual or group has to learn in order to understand their social-limit, rights, and social duty. Because, for this matter every individual or group are in common and equal. The difference among them is hoped to be instrument to complete each lackness. As result, it will form a synergy to reach mutual goals as civil society.

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CIVIC EDUCATION AS A CHANNEL TO INTRODUCE DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND MANAGING SOCIAL CONFLICTS

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Abstract

After decades of neglect, civic education is back on the agenda of political science in Indonesia. Despite huge increases in the formal educational attainment of the Indonesian population during the past 17 years after the reformation in 1998, levels of political knowledge have barely budged. Today's college graduates know no more about politics than did high school graduates in 1998. Recent research indicates that levels of political knowledge affect the acceptance of democratic principles, attitudes toward specific issues, and political participation. There is evidence that political participation is in part a positional good and is shaped by relative as well as absolute levels of educational attainment. Contrary to findings from 17 years ago, recent research suggests that civic education can significantly raise political knowledge. In some countries like Iraq, Sudan, and many developing democratic countries, service learning a combination of community-based civic experience and systematic classroom reflection on that experience is a promising innovation, but program evaluation have yielded mixed results. Long standing fears that civic education will not shape democratic citizens are not supported by the evidence. This article aims in promoting to maximize the implementation of civic education to young people with various social identities in Indonesia and be the channel to develop democratization by engaging them deeper to the political process.

Keywords: Civic Educations, Political Knowledge, Democratic Practices, Social Conflicts.

Introduction

Citizenship in many ways is the bridge to turn a society away from violent conflict and towards a creation of a productive political relationships, through which disagreements can be negotiated nonviolently. Citizenship also one of the best way to raise the political awareness from many segments of society, especially the young generations. According to the study by Daniel H. Levine and Linda S. Bishai (2010) the citizenship is very important for peace building, in purpose to tie to the idea of developing the state as an object of primary loyalty. They add that citizens of a state are motivated to seek the common good of society and possibly be willing to make sacrifices for other citizens (Levine and Bishai, 2010).

Thus, the citizenship is one of the important thing should be flourished among the society in Indonesia. Because by the awareness as one part of Indonesian nationality, citizenship can promote democratization by introducing democratic practices. Furthermore, by spreading the idea of citizenship (as an Indonesian) especially to the young generations, latent social conflicts which can emerge in society can be reduce or manage well. As many of us already familiar with the national slogan "*BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA*" meaning that Indonesia consists of many various social identity which living as one nation in one country, Indonesia. Citizenship necessarily involves positive rights,

providing opportunities for individuals to take part in their community's decisions, such as through a participatory political system or transparent government.

Definition of Civic Education

The term of Civic Education may differ from one another researchers. From the study of Bratton, Alderfer, Bowser, and Tamba (1999); Sabatini, Finkel, and Bevis (1998), they worked their study of Citizenship from the definition of Civic education as development of citizenship or civic competence through conveying the unique meaning, obligation, and virtue of citizenship in a particular society or the acquisition of values, dispositions, and skills appropriate to that society" (International Encyclopedia of Education, 2nd ed., Vol. 7). Some researchers have determine whether civic education leads to the increase of well-known political attitudes, dispositions, and values. The assumption that guides these assessments is that individuals in democratic societies should have relatively high levels of "civic competence" including knowledge about the political system and its leaders, civic skills, and perceptions of political influence or efficacy (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Delli Carpini, & Keeter, 1996; Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995 in Sabatini, Finkel and Bevis (1998)).

In their study, Sabatini, Finkel and Bevis (2010) add that individuals should also endorse values such as political tolerance, support for political liberty, and interpersonal trust, all of which have been hypothesized to sustain democratic governance (Gibson, Duch, & Tedin, 1992; Putnam, 1993, 1995; Almond & Verba, 1963). In addition, democratic individuals should be relatively participatory, voting in national and local elections and otherwise making their demands known to political elites through appropriate (i.e. nonviolent and legally sanctioned) channels. With some interesting cross national and programmatic variations, the studies have found that civic education can have significant, though not overwhelmingly large, effects on most democratic orientations, and on voting and other forms of political participation (Sabatini, Finkel, & Bevis, 2000).

Before continuing to elaborate more about the term of Civic Education, it is also important to understand the difference between Human Rights, and Civic Rights. Because these two terms have a close correlation to the implementation of Civic Education itself. Both human and civics rights maintain that certain individual activities must not be limited. Human rights education is concerned with the basic dignity of human beings and draws on universalism and international conventions, while civic education focuses on participation in a public sphere particular to the state and the citizens concerned (Levine and Bishai, 2010). Civic responsibilities include being informed about major issues and the political system itself to facilitate participation in communal politics. Levine and Bishai add (2010) that the core value of both individual human rights and group rights is the intrinsic and universal value of the human being. Civic rights start from a different point: They are designed to empower citizens in the public sphere and are therefore particular to the polity at hand. The core value of civic rights is the value of citizen's participation in political life.

In the past decade of authoritarian and military regime era in Indonesia, Civic education's nation-building aspect had a darker side. The Government built a sense of national identity that was consolidated as a support for an oppressive regime. In their study Levine and Bishai (2010) mentioned that it can also foster exclusion to some extent, even in the most benign cases. In a national context of Indonesia, a certain amount of national or even ethno national pride may be benign, but nation-building procedures can foment militarism against other nations or define one ethnic or cultural group as the real nationals, licensing discrimination or violence against another group. Thus, civic education always have two side of coins. It is very meaningful to a country with plurality of ethnic groups to foster the civic skills through the Civic Education.

Civic Education and Introduction to Democratic Practices

Scholars today are more likely to agree that well-designed institutions are not enough, that a well-ordered polity requires citizens with the appropriate knowledge, skills, and traits of character (Galston, 1991). He added, democracies require democratic citizens, whose specific knowledge, competences, and character would not be as well suited to non-democratic politics. According to Galston, study in 1991 about civic education and its relations to democratic society, it may seem implausible that civic knowledge is central to democratic citizenship. He questioned about the reasons of civic knowledge matter to young people be able to identify their senators or name the branches of government.

Surprisingly, recent research suggests important links between basic civic information and civic attributes we have reason to care about (Galston, 1991). The major findings may be summarized as follows: 1. Civic knowledge helps citizens understand their interests as individuals and as members of groups. The more knowledge we have, the better we can understand the impact of public policies on our interests, and the more effectively we can promote our interests in the political process. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) offer a wealth of evidence that political knowledge fosters citizens "enlightened self-interest" the ability to connect personal or group interests with specific public issues and to connect those issues with candidates who are more likely to share their views and promote their interests. Political knowledge, then, is a key determinant of instrumental rationality (Zaller, 1992). 2. Civic knowledge increases the consistency of views across issues and across time. Utilizing panel surveys from ANES, based on Delli Carpini and Keeter study at 1996 find a strong linear relation between political knowledge and the stability of political attitudes. They also find that more knowledgeable voters display much higher levels of ideological consistency (as measured along a uni-dimensional liberal-conservative axis) between issues than do the less well informed (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). 3. Unless citizens possess a basic level of civic knowledge especially concerning political institutions and processes it is difficult for them to understand political events or to integrate new information in to an existing framework (Deli Carpini and Keeter, 1996)

Fostering civic skills may also threaten those with power, for two reasons based on study by Levine and Bishai (2010). First, to the extent that powerful groups use societal divisions to foster their own power, as is the case in many ethnicized conflicts, civic education that encourages mutual respect and equal regard for all citizens may tend to undermine this. Second, civic skills are important for citizens precisely because they facilitate civic action, making citizens better able to organize and more willing to work for social goods. This means that civic education, if successful, tends to strengthen citizens to create new groups that can exercise political power, and these will likely oppose existing loci of power, often but not always more narrowly focused more details on the specifics of the elections and proper electoral processes.

In order to make it more effective to understand about political and democratic processes, which later on will reduce the possibilities of social conflict, civic education needed to be taught from the earliest stage of life. As Margaret Stimmann Branson (1998) mentioned, civic knowledge is about the habits of the mind, as well as "habits of the heart" and not inherited. Branson also quoted Alexis de Toqueville (1969) in her paper that each new generation is a new people that must acquire the knowledge, the skills, and the traits of private and public character of a constitutional democracy, and that those must be fostered and nurtured by word and study and by the power of example. This urgency shows that civic education should be a prime concern for the younger generation. By making a good example of what a good politics and a good democracy practices are, the younger generation will be exposed to a good habit of the mind as well as the heart and therefore will be able to be more social and tolerable.

Civic Education Techniques and the Managing of Social Conflict

Seeing the importance of civic education, civic education itself needed support from all segment of society to set a good example. Educators, policymakers, and members of civil society as

well as the widest range of institutions and governments need to work together to create a good example. Many methods are developed to teach civic education consisting of many political elements. There are the classical classroom techniques, the participatory techniques, the service learning techniques, the electoral violence prevention (EVP) workshops, and so on. Many techniques are developed in accordance with the need of the society. Freire (1970) in Kester (2009) pointed out the importance of autonomous concept of classroom education that represents social outcomes relevant to democratic political systems. Autonomous learning relates to individual and national autonomy and democratic classrooms participation models active citizenship in a democracy.

From the study based on the case on Iraq and Sudan done by Bishai and Levine between 2006 until 2010 resulted some model on civic education which was best implemented at both of those raising democratic country. Bishai and Levine (2010) found that classical classroom model on civic education still can be used by many democratic country with special treatment on the students. The classical classroom techniques allow the educator to engage students to a model of civic virtue and commitment to civic participation at the appropriate ways. The educator also be able to input more balanced level system of authority and citizen input to boost the participatory political system. Both of these model at the classroom techniques also potential and proved effective at both countries to educate students more about political process, democratization and peacebuilding at their society (Levine and Bishai, 2010)

Beside the classical classroom technique, from the case of Iraq and Sudan, Bishai and Levine also conducted the Service Learning technique which allowed students to get connected directly within the communities. This techniques brings students opportunities to experience the political process among the communities. As well as the classical technique program, this program also brings specific ambience to the young community to engage more on citizenship and the common good of the society. The breaking down of the Social barriers were also the result of this techniques, because those community were in their daily lives (Levine and Bishai, 2010)

Another case studies done by Sabatini, Finkel and Bevis (2010) suggest the electoral violence prevention (EVP) workshops, to be run in as many parts of the country as possible. The program featured three interwoven components that drew on key elements of a civics-oriented approach: case studies of four other elections on the African continent, including positive and negative lessons about dealing with violence and the roles of various stakeholders in this process; conflict management skills, such as negotiation and problem- solving, that allowed learners to deal with conflict locally; and the citizenship components that provided a long-view perspective on democracy and political participation. All three elements were presented using highly interactive techniques that model civic virtues of respect, fairness, and acceptance of diversity. At the final stage in the EVP programs before the election itself was to select and train two groups of community trainers, one from the north and one from the south, who would then return and offer further training in their local communities (Sabatini, Finkel, and Bevis, 2010). This techniques also be able to be a model for Civic Education which can be implemented to Indonesian Young Generation. Remembering that the variations of ethnical groups and social identities in Indonesia are so plural.

As a multicultural country, Indonesia also developed a specific civic education formulae emphasizing in the multicultural education of Indonesian people to reduce social conflict. Indonesia's rich multicultural heritages are sometimes the cause of many social conflicts. This past decade, Indonesia has been plagued by numerous social conflict, such as religious conflicts in Centre Sulawesi and Maluku, racial conflicts in West Kalimantan, as well as minor religious issues in Java (Adhani, 2014). The continuation of social conflicts disrupts the democratic processes in the country. Social conflicts in Indonesia are interpreted as the lack of social tolerance among Indonesian and that these are seen as the lack of effective civic education for Indonesian. The most appropriate civic education for Indonesia emphasizes in the multicultural aspects (Baidi, 2014; Adhini, 2014). Multicultural aspect of civic education, often mentioned as multicultural education, is education about cultural diversity (Andersen 1994 in Adhani 2014) and also a perspective that acknowledged the reality of social, political and economic diversity of a human being from different race and culture. This deep understanding of cultural differences, if embedded in the mind and the heart of the youth, will then lead to a better and more tolerable citizenship's skill.

Conclusion

Civic education is mainly regarded as an education of citizenship by conveying the unique meaning, obligation, and virtue of citizenship in a particular society or the acquisition of values, dispositions, and skills appropriate to that society. Civic education leads to the increase of well-known political attitudes, dispositions, and values that leads to the deeper understanding of what a good democratic practices are. A deeper understanding of democratic practices and a well-known political attitudes can be used as an alternative to manage social conflict, as can be seen in the case of civic education taught in Indonesia. Civic education is best taught from the earlier stage of life through a set of good example from various element of society. Civic education can be taught through several techniques as can be seen from the case of civic education in Iraq, Sudan and the African continent.

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THE JANUS FACE OF CHINESE FOREIGN AIDS

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Abstract

In 2002, Chinese Communist Party adopted the policy of “go out”. The policy effectively gave an official blessing to SOEs and emerging private companies to follow the imperatives of China’s economic expansion and develop ties abroad to develop new markets and ensure reliable access to the factor inputs they needed to meet the growing demands of their Chinese clients. China’s “going out” policies are not only on FDIs but also on aids. Since then, China is labeled as an “emerging donor”. The rise of China’s foreign aid is seen as a Janus face. In one hand, the rise of China’s foreign aid is an internationally controversial issue. China is under criticism from mainstream scholars and the international aid community. On the other hand, China’s active engagement, known as south-south cooperation, in the developing world as providing new opportunities. Article tries to analyze why China’s aid and investment are under criticism and why they give new opportunities and hopes among Southern countries.

Keywords: China, foreign aid, investments, southern countries

Introduction

In 2002, Chinese Communist Party adopted the policy of “go out”. The policy gave an official blessing to Chinese SOEs (State Owned Enterprises) and emerging private companies to develop ties abroad to develop new markets and ensure reliable access to the factor inputs they needed to meet the growing demands of their Chinese clients. China’s “going out” policies are not only on FDIs (Foreign Direct Investments) but also on aids. Since then, China is labeled as an “emerging donor”. The rise of China’s foreign aid is an internationally controversial issue. China is under criticism. On the other hand, China’s active engagement, known as south-south cooperation, in the developing world provides new opportunities.

China’s foreign aid policy, referring to the longstanding “Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence” (Information Office of the State Council 2011) has advocated the principle of “non interference” and “imposing no political conditions”. Zhou Enlai’s declaration contained the core philosophies that were adopted earlier in the Bandung Conference of 1955 – political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality. These principles paved the way for the ‘no conditionality’. Nonetheless, China’s aid during that time were ideology-driven as part of Cold War strategy.

In 1995, China’s started program of medium to long-term low interest loans to developing countries. It focused on commercial interest and national development. China prefers to prioritize economic infrastructure construction and the linkage among aid, direct investments, and trade (export from aid recipients). It is because aid-supported infrastructure networks can attract direct investment from abroad, which is good for development of aid recipients. Not until 2000 that China started to expand its foreign aid. Since then, there were rapid increase in China’s foreign aid volume and sectors. Sectors on agriculture, infrastructure, education, healthcare, human resources and clean energy were strengthened.

China's rapidly increasing momentum in the international aid community is mainly attributed to two elements: its size and high growth rate, and its aid philosophy and aid modality distinctly different from the mainstream. These two aspects can provide challenges and opportunities for the developing countries as well as to the established donors.

The Differences between Chinese Aid and Western Aid

The three distinct features of China's aid policy are: the principle of non-interference, the promotion of self-reliance as goal of aid, and high priority to infrastructure construction. These aid elements highlight the fact that the Chinese way of thinking is fundamentally different from the "international development regime" -- the norm in the international aid community -- which is composed of "policy conditionality to control the process that translates aid input into desired outcomes", reduction of poverty as a goal, and focus on social sectors such as education and health (Saidi and Wolf 2011).

China's foreign aid policy, referring to the longstanding "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence" has advocated the principle of "non interference" and "imposing no political conditions". China emphasizes "self reliance" as an objective of aid. It rooted in the philosophy of *zili geng sheng* that was launched by the Communist Party of China in the pre-1949 era and further enhanced by the country's experience as an aid recipient. The Soviet Union canceled its aid to China in 1960 due to ideology disputes. As a result, China's leaders became acutely aware of the risks of relying on external assistance and reconfirmed the principle of self-reliance. China also acknowledged that modern infrastructure was crucial for nurturing competitive industries and export promotion. Guided by its experiences, China focused its aid on infrastructure construction so as to assist export-oriented industrialization and to ultimately realize self-reliance.

On the other hand, the traditional donors have different development focus, framework, and priority sectors with China's foreign aid. The traditional donors focus on social and institutional underpinnings of development, social capital, and poverty reduction. Meanwhile, Chinese aid focus on physical capital and growth in income. Chinese aid also different on the framework it used. It is comfortable with south-south cooperation and mainly state-centered as its aid framework. It calls itself a development partner instead of a donor. Aid has become an essential component of Beijing's Third World policy (Lin 1996). The traditional aid, on the other hand, uses north-south cooperation and participatory as their aid framework. Last, Chinese aid put priority on hard infrastructure sector; while the traditional donors put on social infrastructure. In the post Cold War period, the traditional donors have provided aid for a wide variety of reasons, including strategic, commercial, developmental, moral, and other considerations. The World Bank introduced its policy based lending in the 1980s to induce debt-stricken countries to adopt structural adjustment policies. Following the shift in development orientation in the 1990s, political conditions attached to foreign aid have increasingly reflected the principles and values of western democracy -- human rights promotion, good governance, and democratization (Economides and Wilson 2002). China understands the importance of the close link between the public sector (in charge of aid) and the private sector (in charge of direct investment and trade). Policy makers in China also recognize that the trinity of aid, investment, and trade could simultaneously be advantageous to both recipient and donor (Zhou 2010). Private sectors of the donor country also benefit from the expansion of aid-related business opportunities. China's leaders have promoted the win-win principle of mutual benefit onwards. China's present aid approach is a mixture of local policy thinking, learning from abroad, and high adaptation capacity.

The way Chinese aid administered is also different. It allows commercial interests to dominate. SOEs, especially foreign contract engineering companies (FCECs), have increasingly become influential in shaping China's foreign aid policy. SOE's involvement in aid programs was driven primarily by self-interest in profit -- particularly in their search for new business opportunities overseas, such as resource extraction, investment expansion, and market access. Jakobson (2009) cites that the Chinese government supports SOEs by providing preferential tax treatment, low interest bank loans, and foreign exchange access. SOEs also help potential recipient countries to prepare aid

requests, conduct preliminary project assessments, and implement contracted projects. They are instrumental in maintaining the commercial orientation of Chinese aid by reporting their experiences and enquiries and by providing policy suggestions to aid officials. SOEs have also been the cause of backlash in China's global activities by routinely evading environmental and labor regulations likely to interfere with profitability (Sounders 2006). Other private Chinese firms have also benefited from China's aid, particularly in sending Chinese personnel to recipient countries. According to the MOFCOM website, there were 963 such companies, as of February 2013, that were qualified to send Chinese workers, engineers, consultant, and expert abroad. The traditional donors aid administered by the governments of recipient countries. But, in the 1990s a participatory modality of aid implementation emerged, featuring civil society groups as intermediaries of international development. NGOs portray an image of altruism and flexibility (Johnson 2002). However, NGOs have lack of financial autonomy, which often results in a gap in accountability, particularly in their ability to promote projects that reflect the needs and preferences of their intended beneficiaries (Johnson 2002).

The determinants of western aid allocation are certainly diverse. For some western donors that formerly held colonies in Africa, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere, cultural affinity (including language) a colonial ties are major determinants in foreign aid allocation. Colonial ties are not a determining factor in Chinese aid. China's struggle for international recognition, its affinity with Third World countries, and Cold War bipolarity were strong motivations in its initial aid activities in Africa. Overall, the purposes are: (1) gaining new friends while maintaining old ones; (2) enhancing international reputation; (3) serving pragmatically the goals of national development.

Some Misunderstandings

China's aid is a valuable asset for the international society, and for developing countries in particular, because of its rapidly expanding volume – which contrasts to the epidemic aid fatigue of the traditional donors – and its potentiality as an alternative for promoting poverty reduction and economic development.

The impact of China's foreign aid is highly visible in Africa, where the traditional donors have had an overwhelming influence. Chinese and African governments established the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), a cabinet minister level meeting in 2000. At the FOCAC, China pledged to double its development cooperation to Africa in three years stages, in 2006, 2009, and 2012. The fact China is going to assume a leading role in the area of non-military international contribution has significant implications for international society.

There are some misunderstandings regarding China's aid. It has been said that China is pouring massive amounts of money into Africa. Recently, China's expanding aid has been directed at countries abundant with crude oil resources such as Sudan, Nigeria and Angola. Thus, there is a deeply rooted criticism that the aid is motivated by China's economic interest in securing resources. China is even offering a helping hand to some of the continent's dictators, undemocratic political structures, and rogue states in order to secure enough natural resources to maintain its high economic growth rates. And as China advocates a policy of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations, this has given rise to the claim that it fosters malfeasance and corruption. Its involvement in Africa is supposedly also leading to a decline in local industries through the transfer of Chinese workers to implement diverse international cooperation projects that can inflict great damage on a recipient country's environment. China's limited transparency with respect to foreign aid supports such ambiguity.

It needs to be recognized that increased trade with, and investment accompany aid and financing from China to the developing countries. Consequently, China's assistance must be evaluated also from a more positive perspective for embodying elements that encourage industrialization in developing countries, unlike the aid of the West. For instance is Chinese aid in Africa, which follows with firms and SOEs as trade partners. Chinese firms implement four induction methods in Africa. First, China

offers development projects and assistances in order to know African market including what products that local needs and wants. China also invests and provides assistance in the areas where western aid agency has neglected (Brookes 2007). Second, China builds some processing factories and makes Africa as their processing base. Third, China develops resource seeking companies, strategic asset seeking companies and infrastructure investments. It comprises a mixture of firms, involving small and medium Chinese firms.¹ They also help Chinese institutions expansion like business associations, community groups, and embassy and consular activities (Gu, nd). Fourth, once factories and industry parks established, China places Chinese labors in Africa (Michel, 2008).

In addition, it has to be understood that China's foreign aid is unique in philosophy in that it encompasses the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of beneficiary countries, equality and mutual benefit, and self reliance. China's foreign aid meets the developmental needs of developing countries in terms of faster and more cost effective implementation.

Most of African regimes welcome Chinese FDI inflows because; first, Chinese FDI inflows have not been embedded with much conditional ties like western investment. Developed countries and international donor agencies have linked their funds, debts, aids and assistance with conditional ties like good governance, human rights protection and market liberalization. China promotes that engagement with western powers and donor institutions are '...overly moralizing, conditional and overly bureaucratic' (Brookes 2007). Chinese investment comes as an interesting alternative for them. Chinese investment is more suitable with them more generally as they both come from the same type of authoritarian background. Based on Economist Intelligence Unit data in 2010, 22 of 53 countries in Africa are authoritarian (The Economist, 22 July 2010). For instance is in Sudan. Chinese FDI in Sudan is more on the objective of prospective investors in which focus on oil and industries that support it.² They attract in Sudan despite its political instability. It should be understand that the stability that matters for foreign investors is not the stability of regimes such as authoritarian or democratic, but the stability of investment policies (Salisu 2004). Second, Chinese FDI's inflows are suitable with African elites, as African government feel isolated by global markets, threatened by local challengers or disliked by the major powers (Lewis 2007). Western's integration of aid, trade and investment made African products hard accessing western market. OECD tied products from low-income countries with some human rights violation like exploitation (Kaplinsky and Morris, nd). For instance, the US bans Sudanese products due to human rights violation by its regime. Third, Chinese FDI's inflows sustain authoritarian regime by preserving personal rule system. Enclave production economy in Sierra Leone, Liberia, DRC and Nigeria is an example. Enclave production economy shares little profit and almost nothing to the community, but gives personal rule system wealth and international support from 'rent' money and taxes (Leonard and Straus, nd). Fourth, China is working on projects that neglected by western donors and firms. Still, Chinese build prestige projects like the construction of new ministry building in Uganda and Djibouti; stadium in Djibouti, Mali and the Central African Republic; houses of parliament in Mozambique and Gabon; development assistance in the Central African Republic and Liberia; loan to Angolan; technical assistance such as hydro irrigation in small scale agricultural production (Alden, 2005).

Of course there are some protests on Chinese aid and investment. In Senegal, in 2004, Senegalese and Lebanese shopkeepers organized protests against Chinese shops which price was under their shops. Anti-Chinese sentiment is also occurring in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Lesotho (Trofimov, 2007). China-Africa balance of trade in some countries is not equal. For instance, China is Sudan's number one import partner with 18.2 share while Sudan's export in China exclude oil is 6.9 share. Most of Sudan's export to China is oil; overall, 90 percent of African export in China is natural resources and most of Chinese FDI are in energy sector (Lewis, 2007). Sudan's non-oil export to China are concentrated in primary products like sesame seed, cotton and chromium. Furthermore,

¹Small and medium Chinese firms are created by Chinese citizens who had previously been employed in large scale of SOE activity in Africa then had stayed and started their business (Kaplinsky and Morris, nd).

²FDI in Africa can be differentiated into three: those who relate to the objective of prospective investors, those who relate to policy framework of host country and those who relate to economic and business environment in the host country (Salisu, 2004).

China's MFN tariff on Sudan's products is higher than other countries. China imposes 27 percent tariff on cotton, 50 percent on sugar, 20-25 percent on meat and 25 percent on watermelon. For comparison, European Union impose 1-3 percent MFN tariffs on Sudan's products, Uganda imposes zero MFN tariffs for 80 percent of Sudan's products, Egypt imposes 0-5 percent on tariffs and Ethiopia gives duty free treatment to all Sudan's products. Chinese FDIs also create unemployment in the host countries. Some contract requires 70 percent labors from China (Brookes, 2007). In Zambia, in 2005, miners protested against Chinese as 50 people killed at Chambishi copper mine. Protesters accused China not put enough safety regulations and used many Chinese labors (Michel, 2008; Brookes, 2007). Some contract requires 70 percent labours from China (Brookes, 2007). In 1996, the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) bought 40 percent of Heghig and Unity oil company's share, a company that run oil revenue in Sudan. China built pipelines and other infrastructures. However, China used their Chinese labors (Sutter, 2008).

However, we have to understand that the high levels of absolute poverty in most African countries and low growth rates of the region are obstacles to African development. FDI in Africa, in general, has not significant impact on employment, skill formation and growth as it has in East Asia. There are exception such as in Botswana and Mauritius where have benefited from FDI in terms of export growth, employment creation and wage earnings of labors. Uganda, Mauritius, Mozambique and Ghana are success-attracting FDI because of their macroeconomic and political stability, trade reform and institution that favorable to FDI (Salisu, 2007). In sum, FDI contribution to domestic development should be initiated from local government.

Statement that Chinese firms' expansion destruct local economy is not always true. First, more than half of Chinese firms reach breaks event point and bankruptcy. Chinese firms face political and economical instability such as currency depreciation, poor society and conflict. Second, Chinese firms are prefer use local workers rather than Chinese workers. For instance, a Chinese firm that operates in South Africa, the Shanghai Audio and Video Electronics Co. Ltd., uses 90 per cent local workers (UNDP, 2007). Chinese use their labors because African countries' policies on investment make local workers are difficult to absorb. Expensive local workers and low standard workers are two examples. Third, Chinese firms' investments are mainly in the form of equity joint ventures with local firms. Chinese firms such as Sinopec, CITIC, China civil, Sinosteel, CNPC, China nonferrous and Jinchuan Group share more than 50 percent with local partners. For instance, China Civil shares 60 percent of its real estate project with Lekki Free in Nigeria, Jinchuan Group shares 51 percent of its metal project with Wesizwe Platinu in South Africa. Fourth, China brings technical assistance that helps competitive advantage on Africa. FDI inflows contribute to improve labor skills and efficiency after foreign investors initially employ expatriate skill labor, technical and management personnel. However, industries like garment are not instrument for technology spillover while mining like in Sudan is capital-intensive operations, which not absorb many labors (Salisu, 2007). Fifth, African countries can adopt Chinese economic reform. Africa has its regional strategy. It closes to European and American markets. However, instability in neighboring countries and poor regional infrastructure challenge FDI inflows. Africa also has bunch natural resources. However, weak governance discipline like corruption does not give maximum contribution to African people. Moreover, capital-intensive mining and the high economic rents give less contribution to employment. Mining employs less than 10 per cent of the workforce and its wage bill is only 6 per cent of total mining input. Mining activities in general rarely have a significant impact on other parts of economy (UNDP, 2007). Prudent management of mineral revenues in the past makes country interesting for non-mining FDI. Botswana could be an example. Many African countries like Mozambique and Tanzania have long coastal lines. China opens to foreign market gradually, beginning with special economic zones and coastal provinces, followed by the inland regions along the Yangtze River. Mozambique and Tanzania can adopt the similar one. Sixth, Chinese government can also finance investment missions and other promotion activities (UNDP, 2007). South Africa set up investment consultation companies in China to increase Chinese firms' investments, so does in South Africa by Chinese government.

Moyo (2010) explains that we have to understand China's aid characteristics first before judging that it harms the recipient countries. First, China's aid involves enterprises participation. China's government executes supportive policies at regional and national levels; it encourages and guides

enterprises to invest in recipient countries. Chinese enterprises develop investment activities in recipient countries or regions mainly to safeguard national needs and guarantee the recipients' benefits are much higher than the donor. During the course of foreign aid projects mining and establishment, the participation of enterprises is not high. Second are aid projects. China's foreign aid projects are largely oriented towards the needs of the recipient country. On the one hand, they pay attention to the aid and support of massive infrastructural constructions for the recipients to improve their self-investment environment and promote their trade development. The purpose of China's foreign aid projects is to promote a virtuous circle for the recipients by helping to realize mutual development, break the restrictions of hard and soft bottlenecks during the course of development, and paying attention to human resource support, such as IT and intelligence. Third is aid approach. Pays attention to mutual benefits and win-win without compliance conditions. China's aid approach has changed from unilateral free aid to bilateral, multi-discipline, and multi level cooperation through a combination of investment, trade and tourism. China's own model toward development is focused on massive infrastructure development and industrialization. This aid model is not against economic interest and seeks self-interest on the basis of promoting development of the recipients. More importantly, the aid model respects the autonomy and development requirements of the recipients. When coming up with an aid plan, it provides support as long as possible so that the donor can realize the mutual benefit of a win-win development side by side what is based on equality. Last, experience base. China has wide development experience which makes China's foreign aid completely different from the traditional western donors. As a developing country, China provides lasting experience of innovation support by aiding the poor at home and the success of China's developmental progress. As a recipient country, China has accumulated exchange of experiences with donor countries and has learned how to make good use of foreign aid experience and development outlook by helping other developing countries. These rich practical experiences guarantee the vitality of China's foreign aid model.

Conclusion

Chinese aid and investments have Janus face. In one hand, it is an answer for poor countries with weak government which western donors are not interested. In the other hand, it is accused as the "new" imperialism to least developed countries as many Chinese SOEs, firms, goods and services flood the recipient countries. China's rapidly increasing momentum in the international aid community is mainly attributed to two elements: its size and high growth rate, and its aid philosophy and aid modality distinctly different from the mainstream.

The three distinct features of China's aid policy are: the principle of non-interference, the promotion of self-reliance as goal of aid, and high priority to infrastructure construction. These aid elements highlight the fact that the Chinese way of thinking is fundamentally different from the "international development regime" -- the norm in the international aid community -- which is composed of "policy conditionality to control the process that translates aid input into desired outcomes", reduction of poverty as a goal, and focus on social sectors such as education and health

It makes China and the traditional donors different at some points. They differ on development focus, framework, priority sectors, the way aid administrated, and aid allocation. Therefore, there are some misunderstandings regarding China's aid. There is also a deeply rooted criticism that the aid is motivated by China's economic interest in securing resources. It needs to be recognized that increased trade with, and investment accompany aid and financing from China to the developing countries. In addition, it has to be understood that China's foreign aid is unique in philosophy in that it encompasses the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of beneficiary countries, equality and mutual benefit, and self reliance.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF ETHICS FOR ACHIEVING DEMOCRACY ON THE REGION LEVEL (AN OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN TABANAN, BALI IN THE ERA OF REFORMS)

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Abstract

Democratization efforts undertaken by Indonesia began to appear during the fall of the New Order in 1998. However, enforcement of the idea of democracy has still not been accomplished due to a long transitional period, even until now. As with any transition, conflicts have arisen from that. The fall of the political forces of the New Order and the emergence of the new regimes, have not only lead to political and social conflicts at the national level, but also in local areas. In Bali, people have a different understanding of democratization, giving rise to conflict. At the political level, the conflicts took place at the time before legislative elections, in which one political party tried to retain its power and strength by suppressing other parties. In the social context, democratization was implemented by destroying or even by protesting without ethics at the time of the group meetings. These incidents occurred in 2003 and 2013, in the area of Tabanan Regency. This means that it happened only five years and fifteen years after the fall of the New Order. A qualitative approach i.e. field research was used to analyze the incidents. The applied research method is deemed to be more advantageous because it directly understands the matter up to the grassroots level. The findings showed that in order to get the most out of the implementation of democracy, it remains necessary to adhere to ethics, a commitment to develop democracy. This has not yet occurred at the lower levels so that the exercise of democracy cannot achieved, giving rise to conflicts.

Keywords: Conflicts, Democratization, Ethics

Introduction

Democracy has become the choice for Indonesia to rule the country. In fact, as a system of government, it is not a new model in Indonesia. In the days of the Old Order, the Indonesian politics emphasized the two principles of democracy, namely the liberal and the guided ones. The New Order era, the government under President Soeharto put forward the so-called Democracy Pancasila (Kuntowoyo, 1996: 27). It was a policy which was sociologically aimed to legitimize his administration, to show to the people that this model best suited the character of the nation. President Sukarno declared guided democracy because in his view politics at that time was still not able to run perfectly when liberal democracy was applied and where political conflicts frequently occurred, whereas Suharto considered that Pancasila as the proper or legitimate representation of the people of Indonesia. The democracy of Pancasila was trying to maintain such representation in order to achieve national stability which was very useful to support the development of the country.

The fall of the New Order regime resulted in extensive growth of opportunities for democracy, which refer to the notion of democracy in general. This is not just the government of, by and for the people, but democracy is realized through the freedom of opinion and broader disclosure. In the social context, such model of democracy is actually the hope for the people of Indonesia because freedom of speech sociologically had long been suppressed in the New Order era. Ideas, improvement efforts, as well as public criticism had never been accommodated well previously, thus

it created a sense of curiosity, a restrained desire to criticize the government. The fall of the New Order regime in 1998 allowed people to express critical ideas and opinions.

However, democratization that conceptually positive by nature, evidently did not make a positive contribution to the socio-political context at the grassroots level. Democratization instead created a negative impression with the emergence of many conflicts, both political and social conflicts at the grassroots level. These conflicts were much influenced by the inability to demonstrate proper ethics to the public. Besides, democratization was interpreted as a means to acquire greater autonomy; some had even raised the discourse of a federal state (Syafiie, Azhari, 2012: 129).

In Bali, democratization actually raised a variety of problems that appeared to be anti-democratic. At the political level, democratization led to conflicts between the political parties, where the previously dominant party (Golkar) was subjected to a rampage by other parties. In contrast, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) gained momentum for retaliation to the pressures it had suffered in the past. In the Tabanan Regency, the PDIP even seemed not to be rivaled by other parties, so that it eventually resulted in conflicts with other parties, even though those parties have the same root, namely the Sukarnoists. At the grassroots level, social conflicts also emerged because of politics. In the Village of Greseh, Marga, there are social conflicts between the community structures due to political matters, and triggered by unethical attitudes of the community members. Here, democracy is ironically applied in a feudalistic manner, such practices occurred in the New Order era.

Understanding the Principles of Democracy

Democracy is a statehood principle, not essentially derived from Indonesia. This principle originated in Greece and emphasizes the concept of a people's government, i.e from the people, by the people and for the people. To realize this, it needs significant social conditions. Among others, the geographical proximity between the people and their government (with the leaders), requires emotional maturity, ethics, and understanding of the rules of law. The geographical proximity between the populations with their government geographically was only possible in ancient Greece. Aristotle based his main investigations on the city state, and the position of its citizens (von Schmid, Wiratno, et al., 1980: 26). But nowadays, this closeness can be established through various means of information. However, the emotional and ethical maturity can only be achieved in a matured community. This can be done by those who have enough education, have been involved in a lot of discussions, have sufficient social contacts and can act as role models. The maturity of law can also be accomplished by such a community. In this way, democracy will contribute to providing a better direction in government. In this context, in order to realize good governance, the people have to be involved in the participation and the formulation as well as the implementation of policies for themselves.

Democracy in developing countries faces many challenges. This also applies to countries with a multi-cultural population because each ethnic group has its own social life. The practiced tradition both in solving the conflicts and ruling the country also exercises its own influence on the existing practice of democracy. This is why the advancement of democracy in developing countries is still in the process of development; it has also been found that after several conflicts, a specific form/model of democracy developed in line with the demands of the country. The political transition seems to affect the still immature process of democratization in Indonesia; this is reflected in unfair competition as well as in power conflicts.(Nurhasim, 2005: 17). However, during the first decade of the reform, the political transition in Indonesia is still perceived and also colors the socio-political conflicts that occur.

The Phenomenon of Conflicts that Occurred in the Tabanan Region (the Case of Tabanan, Bali)

Conflicts between Political Parties

In the cases that occurred in Tabanan, democratization became the chance for one political party to dominate other parties. It occurred just before the legislative elections in 2003. However, much earlier, around 1999, during the Presidential election, Bali also experienced serious conflicts in the political field. The defeat of Megawati Soekarnoputri by Gus Dur in the Presidential election held by the People's Assembly was responded by violence in Bali. The supporters of Megawati were outraged and reacted by burning government offices in Tabanan Regency, destroying roads and cutting down trees at the roadside. The Denpasar-Gilimanuk road that connects Bali with Java was filled with fallen trees that caused the road to become impassable. This was one of the conflicts in the aftermath of democratization.

The political conflicts that occurred in 2003 showed the dominant efforts of one party towards other political forces in Tabanan. Conflicts that occurred before the general elections had resulted in dozens of cases, ranging from the destruction of homes, the dissolution of the party meeting, up to the blocking of the convoys of political parties. This phenomenon horrified the people of Tabanan before the legislative elections. It was recorded that the conflicts were with the most dominant political party in the district, i.e. the PDI-P; for example the conflicts between the PDI-P with the Golkar Party. The PDIP with the PNI Marhaenisme, and the PDI-P with the PNBK. These conflicts occurred throughout the territory of Tabanan.

The Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) conflicts in 2003 with the Golkar Party were carried out with the greatest intensity. Indeed, nationally, Golkar has changed its paradigm, such as removing or changing the structure of the board of supervisors and becoming an open party (Efendi, et al., 2012: 150). However, the conflicts with the Golkar Party in Bali were getting worse. They culminated in the ambush of the Golkar convoy by supporters of the Democratic Party of Struggle as well as in the beating up of Golkar Party leaders and the destruction of homes in West Selemadeg; in various places in Tabanan cars of Golkar Party supporters were destroyed. The Democratic Party of Struggle conflict with PNI Marhaenisme ended up in the dissolution of the board meeting as well as the destruction of the party's name board. Acts of vandalism carried out by the Democratic Party of Struggle against the PNBK were such as attacking cars and the symbol of the place of worship as well as the breaking-up of their board meetings.

Conflicts with the Golkar Party, which took place five years after the reform in Indonesia, occupied the most prominent place.

Social Conflicts

Banjar Greseh, a region located in the remote village of Tabanan, is located approximately 20 kilometers from the capital of regency, or about 35 kilometers from the city of Denpasar. A Banjar is defined as a community of people who occupy a territory, which is structurally below the village. In Java, 'banjar' is identical to 'neighborhood'. A collection of Banjars forms a village. The people of Banjar Greseh mostly work as farmers or builders and are hardworking people. At noon, the Banjar is virtually deserted as most people go to work. Judging from the appearance of the houses, it indicates the social status of the people.

However the conflict occurred in the area in 2013, caused by an act of the majority of members of the people who destroyed the house belonging to a member of *banjar*, namely I Made Gunung. The house was destroyed because I Made Gunung was regarded not agree with the *Paruman* (meeting at *Banjar*), his action was considered to be unethical due to leaving the meeting without permission. In the view of the people, the attitude shown by I Made Gunung was too often causing aggravation. In addition, his another unpleasant action was when he locked the fence of the local temple that made other members of the people on Banjar Greseh angry, and they then damaged his house (Suka Arjawa, 2013).

One act of violence occurred in that area in 2013 when the house of a member of the Banjar was destroyed by other locals.

This destruction clearly violated the rule of law, and was reported to the authorities. Although I Made Gunung locked the temple, he had strong legal evidence, in the form of a land certificate confirming the ownership of the temple. The end, as it turned out later, the people of Banjar Greseh apologized to I Made Gunung and welcomed him back into the banjar.

The investigation showed that politics had entered the Banjar Greseh region. At the time of the nomination of the governor of Bali, funds had been provided by one of the candidates to develop the banjar. In the opinion of I Made Gunung, the candidate who had provided the funds was to be elected, as had been agreed. However, the other candidate was favored. This made I Made Gunung leave the meeting or *Paruman*. Leaving the banjar's meeting without permission was met with scorn by the other members and resulted in an outbreak of public violence which apparently had accumulated long before the incident.

Analysis: Democratization versus the Traditional Social Pattern

In the context of the culture of Bali, especially people who embrace the Hindu religion, the conflicts in rural areas are related to public awareness; it ranges from mild to severe levels. Conflicts are often triggered by the absence of a member of banjar on ritual occasions, mutual cooperation or works in religious ceremonies. Those who are not present at these occasions will receive insinuations, a slight warning in the community. Furthermore, they will incur a fine of goods or money, if they are not present at the meeting. This is an intermediate-level of awareness. However, people are impervious to such warnings, the last action will be in the form of punishment called *kesepekang*. *Kesepekang* means to be excommunicated from social life in the neighborhood (Windia, Sudantra, 2006: 145). The *kesepekang* could be: he or she is not greeted, not given the right to pray at the community temples, not even allowed to use the local cemetery. These ways indirectly want to eliminate the existence of the persons concerned because they are not faithful to the banjar. These sanctions do violate a sense of humanity. But if the people exposed to this kind of sanctions have realized their mistakes, they will be welcomed back again as members of the banjar (Sirtha, 2008, 33). The sanctions are seen as an awakening. These ways to punish people like this are now beginning to be abandoned.

Another way to create a conflict is to disrupt the social position of the person concerned if he/she is deemed not to behave in accordance with the interests of the community. In a cremation ceremony, for example, the cremation tower or *bade* used for transporting a corpse to the cemetery is shaken and destroyed by some members of the banjar. In this way, it does not only disrupt the social position of the owner of the ceremony, but also to also insinuate the behavior of the deceased when he or she was still alive. This will disrupt the social structure, or even to make it decline in eyes of the public.

Thus, social and political conflicts that occurred in the Tabanan Regency were actually a clash between erroneous understandings of democracy concerning the solution of social problems in Bali. Democratization is essentially an effort to give more people more opportunities to openly express their opinions. However, the goal of democratization is to deliver positive results in the governance. It means that the government should not be monopolized by one group or by single political force just as it was in the New Order era. Disclosure allows for a balance of opinions and that is why equilibrated results were reached in the community. The collision that occurred was the result (of a clash) of a wrong understanding of democracy.

Democracy as a form of freedom of speech should be practiced by the courage to speak. There are two things that must be seen in this context. The first is the courage to act. Democracy is essentially the courage to act and to express opinions. In the social conflicts that occurred in Banjar Greseh, where I Made Gunung protested against the attitude of the banjar in discussing the election of

the governor; it was considered wrong to support a candidate who had not given any funds to the banjar. Therefore it should be protested. At this point the protest by I Made Gunung had two benefits, namely that politics should have consistency and fringe benefits because of the aid given by the previous candidate. That then banjar was trying to manipulate the vote which is not a consistent attitude. Concerning the community, this certainly is not a good attitude. However, democracy also has its ethics and procedures to deliver it. I Made Gunung's conduct, walking out at the banjar's meeting, is not a good ethical attitude. Democracy at grassroots level turned out to require ethics and manners. This then led to the conflicts especially with the social culture of Bali which is still practiced in various places. Admittedly, the culture of violence was practiced in many places in Bali in the past. Destruction of homes committed by unscrupulous members of *banjar* was a result of the collision of interests. The destruction was a form of *kesepekan*, namely exclusion of I Made Gunung from his own home.

However, in the context of democracy, this understanding actually can raise awareness; especially when the elements involved in the government can perform well and are also able to put them to good use. Utilization of legal institutions, for example, will raise awareness about the significance of democracy, namely seeking all the potential to raise awareness within the community. I Made Gunung, though he was regarded as marginal in behavior, took advantage of this moment to the fullest to raise awareness in all. He reported the destruction of his home to the police and threatened to bring the incident to justice. The courage to speak is a manifestation of the argument towards the public (Hardiman, 2009: 124), which can be called a public space. This space can be used in the media or by making a report to the authorities which is then covered by the media. In the above case the law took action. Police arrested several persons of the *banjar*. However, because such action was believed to undermine the *banjar*, the final agreement was to reconcile the *banjar* with I Made Gunung.

Democratization essentially requires ethics and rules. This does not only apply to the top layer, but also, and especially, to the bottom layers of society. The absence of a good understanding of ethics is actually going to provoke a conflict. Aristotle also pointed out that ethics is part of the livelihood of the country. It is also said that the virtuous prefers honor (von Schmid, 1980: 27). This is what allows democracy to work well. In the case of the people of Bali, the culture of conflict in the community still applies the conception of zero-sum conflict, i.e. the conflicts rule out each other. To raise awareness of this, the law must act.

The phenomenon of political conflicts between political parties in Tabanan Regency in 2003, occurred before the legislative elections and was the result of the same phenomenon. Conflicts occurred because there was no good understanding of democracy and no proper ethical examples were given by the politicians. Conflicts were more aiming to gain political advantages. It was apparent from the domination of the PDI-P. This is consistent with one of the goals of the conflict, namely to gain the advantages of politics, territory, and economy (Won Jeong, 2008, 24). These conflicts also appear as an attempt to maintain its resources (Setiadi, Elly, M., Kolip, Usman, 2013: 65). Nevertheless, in Tabanan the party was strong. However, in the context of Tabanan at that time, democracy was understood as openness of action and expression. The freedom of action was even interpreted incorrectly, which showed that the practice of democracy was not working properly. What emerged was a hegemonic and totalitarian attitude. When the PDI-P supporters blocked the convoy of the Golkar party, the destruction of the symbol, and houses of other parties, did not demonstrate democracy, nor an attitude of openness. Democratization in Indonesia is meant to be the awareness to provide a competitive space against the power of other parties; it is necessary for good ethics to deliver it. This was not shared by the politicians in those years, so that conflicts frequently occurred. Law is finally able to provide stability, so that ethics in terms of democracy is necessary in order to make this ideology run well. Many of the supporters who came from the PDI-P were then arrested, and thus conflicts between the political parties were reduced.

Conclusion

Thus, ethics is needed to provide a positive space for the growth of democracy on the regional level. Ethics is required by the politicians in daily life as well as (being involved) in politics, as for instance during an election campaign. With this ethics, the true meaning of democracy will soon be understood. Democratization is an effort to provide wider competitive opportunities for competitors.

In Bali, democracy without ethics actually may be in conflict with the culture of conflicts that exist in society. *Kesepekang* culture, which attempts to isolate members of the community from their neighborhood, may get into the political sphere. If this happens, then the conflict situation can be a zero-sum conflict. Those who do not have ethics will be suppressed in politics; its form may be destruction of houses.

The way to achieve these ethics is through law enforcement. These institutions must be strong so that democracy can work well, and bring awareness to the community to be able to run a better democracy as well.

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INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF KYOTO PROTOCOL

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Abstract

Climate change is one of the global environmental problems that encounter by all the states in recent years. Japan experienced in dealing with the environmental destruction in 1960s of its industrial revolution becomes the advantage for Japan in international environmental cooperation. Later, Japan known as the prominent actor in the global environmental cooperation tries to make all the states cooperate to solve the climate change. This research aim is to understand the Japan policy in institutionalizing the international environmental regime, Kyoto Protocol. The writer use the approach of cognitive international regime theory to understand how Japan policy in institutionalizing the Kyoto Protocol. The writer use methods of library research which data are secondary source. All the data are taken from books, journals, articles on the internet, and other relevant data to the research. Japan policy is by using the development of environmental technologies and knowledge they have to make the ideas, norms, values, rules, and mechanisms within Kyoto Protocol accepted by all the states in order to solve the global environmental problems.

Keywords : Climate Change, International Regime, Japan, Kyoto Protocol.

Introduction

Climate change is a global responsibility. The development of human and the increasing number of people demanding the needs of resources to be produced and processed so that; the needs of people all around the world could be met. Unfortunately, what people did by processing and producing goods give an impact to the environment. Industrial complex creates many air pollution as well as land and water pollution. Those activities endangered the sustainability of the environment also our future generation. The international cooperation made to solve these problems, one of them is Kyoto Protocol, the international environmental regime. Japan as one of the active and prominent actor of this regime has historical background of the environmental problems including energy and pollution. It needs a cooperation of all nations to join this regime in order to achieve the target of this protocol which is reducing greenhouse gases, which are the source of global warming and climate change. How did Japan policy in institutionalizing Kyoto Protocol?

To explain the policy made by Japan towards the institutionalization of Kyoto Protocol, the writer will use several concepts and model.

a. Institutionalization concept

In this research the writer will use the term institutionalization to explain about the Japan's policy towards the institutionalization of Kyoto Protocol. According to [businessdictionary.com](http://www.businessdictionary.com), institutionalization is process which translates an organization's code of conduct, mission, policies, vision, and strategic plans into action guidelines. It aims at integrating fundamental values and objectives into organization's culture structure.³ Institutionalization s in this context means to make

³ Institutionalization Concept. Retrieved September 12, 2014. Taken from <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/institutionalization.html>

other countries to be involved and uphold the Kyoto Protocol treaties, or in other words is to increase the number of country who ratified the treaties. In this thesis, the writer will try to elaborate this concept to explain Japan involvement in the Kyoto Protocol and how the Japanese decide something in order to increase the number of countries involve and responsible in the treaties.

Japan Environmental Foreign Policy

Japanese environmental foreign policy is emerged as the past experience in industrialization era where there was environmental degradation happened in Japan that leads to the spread of diseases such as *Minamata*, *itai-itai*, and *Yokkaichi Asthma*.⁴ Japan has the ability, knowledge, and technology in dealing with the environmental issue. Japan foreign policy in environmental issues evolves rapidly after its involvement in Kyoto Protocol.⁵

Japan environmental foreign policy not only around the Kyoto Protocol but also in regional level or bilateral such as China-Japan cooperation in dealing with environmental issue.⁶ Here, the focus will be Japan foreign policy on its involvement in Kyoto Protocol. Within the negotiation of Kyoto Protocol, Japan tried to maintain its position regarding the mechanisms offered to the protocol such as carbon sinks and any other mechanisms.

It is previously that Japan environmental policy becomes more reactive since its involvement in international discussion on environmental problems especially when Japan joined the intensive discussion within the international environmental regime, Kyoto Protocol. The involvement of Japan in the regime cannot be separated from its action as rational actor in international political arena. The rational actor means that the actor's action because of a cost-benefit measure of such action. The benefit for Japan by involving in the regime is Japan can maintain its position as the superpower country by showing its leadership in the environmental issue. Another benefit for Japan is not only position in international arena, but also economical factor. As the efficient country in term of energy and the clean industrial development, Japan see that they can make the carbon as new commodities. By joining or cooperate in environmental cooperation, globally, regionally even in bilateral situation, Japan not only care about how climate change happened or how polluted a country is but also they care about themselves, such as bilateral relation between China and Japan as mentioned previously. Japan affected by pollutant from the mainland of China, it is affected Japanese, and by having relation to cope the problems with China, Japan could have healthy environment as well as better image between its relation with China regarding with what happened in the past.

Climate Change and Kyoto Protocol

The climate change is phenomenon when the global average temperature is rising, not only the world getting warmer but also it effected to the change of rainfalls, the unpredictable and extreme weather also one of the consequences of the rise of global temperature.⁷ Not only the temperature, but also the extreme weather such as sudden hard rain in the dry season indicating the climate change.

By the increasing of temperature it shows that there is the increasing of sea level. The sea level is the impact of ice melting in North and South Pole. This increasing will drown many small islands and

⁴ Kenneth E. Wilkening, "Acid Rain Science and Politics in Japan: A History of Knowledge and Action Towards Sustainability," 2004, Cambridge MIT Press p.127

⁵ Yasuko Kameyama, "Climate Change as Japanese foreign policy," 2003

⁶ Ryokichi Hirono, "Japan's Environmental Cooperation with China during the Last Two Decades," 2007, Asia-Pacific Review 14.2, pp.1-2

⁷ Climate Guide. Retrieved October, 5 2014. Taken from <http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/climate-guide/climate-change>

even the archipelago states such as Japan for its location nears the North Pole. The small rise of temperature can create many natural disasters from severe flood, drought in some area, and even the extinction of animals and plants. The environmental dramatic changes caused by the climate change will affect the human life; there is no doubt about it. It will deal with the severe extreme weather such as storm that will create numerous victims.

The cause of climate change is the emission of carbon dioxide trapped in our atmosphere. Carbon dioxide is one of the gases that include in GHG besides methane and nitrous oxide. The high number of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere trapped the heat from the sun that creates the earth is getting warmer. And the GHG produce by the industry waste is the number one producer; the waste from animal and human also creates GHG but not as much as the industry waste especially industrial complex in the developed states. According to NASA data, it reach 400 million carbon dioxide in the atmosphere compare to 1950 level which around 300, the average of global carbon dioxide level on the atmosphere never above the line of 300 million.⁸

Kyoto Protocol is the international environmental regime that manages the emission of GHG in the atmosphere as the result of industrialization happened in many developed countries; it was the extended from the UNFCCC meeting that committed parties reducing the GHG emission.⁹ Kyoto Protocol was adopted when the third COP held in 1997 located in Kyoto, Japan. As stated at the Text of Kyoto Protocol (see Appendix 3), the protocol runs under the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities”, it believes that the developed countries are principally responsible for the high number of emission, due to the more than 100 years of industrial activity since the industrial revolution.

The Kyoto Protocol decided on several points; 1) reduction of green house gasses emission target for the member countries, 2) trading program on the emission, 3) future meeting between parties to discuss the penalties for the countries who violate the target stated in the protocol. In the protocol also included the group for countries member called as Annex I and Non-Annex I countries. Annex I countries consist of developed countries which responsible to reduce its GHG emission as targeted by the protocol which is 5 % under their 1990 levels by 2008 to 2012. While the Non-Annex I countries consist of developing countries.¹⁰

The Kyoto Protocol created several mechanisms to overcome this issue. There is a mechanism of funding called the Adaptation Fund which gives financial support for developing countries to implement the adaptation of protocol and project.¹¹ Kyoto Protocol also stated in its Article 12 about the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) that allows country that has emission-reduction or limitation to implement emission-reduction project in other developing countries. Another mechanism for the emission-reduction or limitation is through the mechanism of International Emission Trading (IET) that allows country that has the emission unit to spare it with countries which emission is over the target, it creates a new commodity called GHG emissions.

Kyoto Protocol is legally binding by countries that ratified it. The signatory countries should reduce their GHG emission based on the target each country assigned within the period given. Kyoto Protocol enters into force in February 16, 2005 and there are 83 countries sign the treaty from 192 total parties. The rules for implementation of protocol adopted from COP 7 in Morocco which refer as “Marrakesh Accord”. The first commitment of Kyoto Protocol started in 2008 and ended in 2012.¹²

⁸ NASA. Retrieved October 5, 2014. Taken from <http://climate.nasa.gov/evidence/>

⁹ Kyoto Protocol. Retrieved October 27, 2014. Taken from UNFCCC: http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php

¹⁰ Text of Kyoto Protocol. Retrieved October 17, 2014. Taken from <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.pdf>

¹¹ Adaptation Fund. Retrieved October 5, 2014. Taken from http://unfccc.int/cooperation_and_support/financial_mechanism/adaptation_fund/items/3659.php

¹² Kyoto Protocol. Retrieved October 5, 2014. Taken from http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php

Japan Institutionalization of Kyoto Protocol

Institutionalization of Kyoto Protocol means how Kyoto Protocol could be accepted as international environmental regime which dealing with the climate changes. Japan as one of the prominent actor in the international environmental regime, Kyoto Protocol tries to institutionalize, in this context is to make the rules, norms, and values in Kyoto Protocol could be adapted to the national policy of each members of the treaty, not only to make the values institutionalize but also how to attract another countries to signed the pledge and contribute in the effort to tackling the climate change issue. That initiative by Japan is not separated from the idea that Japan is a rational actor in international political arena.

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, Japan act as leading actor in the Kyoto Protocol not only because Japan experienced in pollution but also technology and knowledge it has. Japan uses its advantages in the environmental sciences to attract and create circumstances where the global climate change is the product of the developed countries industrialization. Japanese scientist which experienced in dealing with the pollution has special advantages in dealing the environment problems, in this case is climate change. Japan uses these advantages to bring together all the developed countries to be involved in the Kyoto Protocol. By the mechanism of clean development and trading of emission, many countries decided to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, the data and how the mechanism works showing that those mechanisms can be implemented in the countries which included and signed the protocol.

Through Japan's effort in implementing the Kyoto Protocol mechanism in order to reach the target of emission reduction in their own territory, the number of countries (especially developing country) which ratified the protocol increase. From 2002, the number of country increased than before, around 47 countries ratified the Kyoto Protocol before 2002, and around 100 countries ratified the Kyoto Protocol.¹³ The increasing number of country, which ratified the Kyoto Protocol, shows that there is institutionalization of Kyoto Protocol, in other words the norms, regulations of this regime is accepted and adapted by the signatories' country, even though there are developed countries that still do not ratify the protocol yet, such as the United States. Kyoto Protocol has role not only cutting the emission but also encourage and drive the technological innovation on the research of green development.

From the science and research initiative or done by Japan through institute, non-governmental organization, and research cooperation between countries, actually, Japan indirectly tried to show the international community that climate change is exist and it will endangered our live. If the international community recognized the idea of climate change and how to adapt or overcome with it, country sooner or later will join and ratify the Kyoto Protocol because the pressure from domestic environmental NGO or INGO since Kyoto Protocol is the only international environmental regime which provides assistance and mechanism in term on dealing with the climate change globally. There is a statement from Shinzo Abe, Japan Prime Minister, on the Invitation Speech to Cool Earth 50; he said that the keys to Japan success were their understanding technologies, social mechanisms and traditions harmonious with the environment and the solid will of Japanese people. Moreover he said that they will demonstrate "Japan Model" in the world how the tradition and technologies could create harmony between society and environment.¹⁴ It can be concluded from the statement above that Japan do want to be a leading actor in the environmental issue.

Conclusion

¹³ Status of Ratification. (n.d.). Retrieved October 31, 2014, from UNFCCC: http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/status_of_ratification/items/2613.php

¹⁴ Celine Pajon, "Japan's Ambivalent Diplomacy on Climate Change," May 2010, Health and Environment Reports No. 5, The Institut Francais des relations internationals (Ifri)

Japan is one of the leading developed countries. With the economic growth and industrialization happened in Japan it is creating a new issue, which is environmental degradation from the industrial complex. Pollution history in Japan industrial era was really devastating for the Japanese but later on it becomes lesson to learn for Japan. The establishment of Kyoto Protocol as the international environmental regime - which is a product of a long discussion and meetings of UNFCCC Conference of the Parties - is to prevent the damage and disaster that caused by the climate change. Climate change is the phenomena when the average global temperatures is rising and the rise of temperature is because the concentration of GHG, consist of carbon dioxide as the result of industrialization of developed countries, in the atmosphere is so high. So, the goals of Kyoto Protocol which established in 1997 is to reduce the number of emission into the safe target so that it will not affecting the human activities. Kyoto Protocol should be implemented by the all the countries or in other words it needs contribution from all of the country since the climate change is not only the problem encounter by several countries but it is affecting all of us.

Japan is seen as the significant actor in the protocol. It is not only because the protocol named after the city but also the active role of Japan in the Kyoto Protocol. Japan use science to institutionalize the Kyoto Protocol, as the cognitive international regime theory that stated the regime central variable is knowledge and the behavior of the actor within the regime is role-model. In international environmental regime such as Kyoto Protocol the use of environmental science is for making the same values and norms believed by the members and through science perspective and judgment the mechanism and rules of Kyoto Protocol could be made. Since Japan shows that their technologies in green development and also in tackling the pollution are work out. The other countries see that Japan as the leading actor of Kyoto Protocol. This creates advantages for Japan since they want to strengthen their position as superpower country by lead the environmental regime.

Indirectly Japan institutionalize the Kyoto Protocol through the establishment of research institute or research cooperation in regional level regarding the issue of climate change in order to make the international community recognize the issue and become more aware. Later on the country sooner or later ratify the protocol as the pressure to overcome and dealing with climate change will increase from the people or domestic and international environmental NGO. Kyoto Protocol is the first international environmental regime which gives assistance and clear mechanism for country to deal and adapt with the climate change.

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Abstract

Conservative scholars argue for the positive effect of democracy on national security policy related to the War on Terror. Their claims particularly applied to understand terrorism incidents in the post-authoritarian states, including Indonesia. This article, however, contends that to some extent democracy gives rise to the larger space for terrorist activities to take place because of the ineffective security governance. It attempts to explore a transnational perspective of the relationship between democracy and the issue of terrorism rather than to grasp the established position, generated by the failed state theory, focusing on domestic explanations behind terrorism. In the context of Indonesia, the proposed argument is developed into two interrelated parts. Firstly, the expansion of free market democracy has been counterproductive to the on-going effort to advance effective security governance. Secondly, as the consequence of the ineffective security governance, the state's move is restricted to demonstrate appropriate measures in response against transnational factors leading to the re-emergence of new terrorist networks. This article concludes by noting prospective areas for future theoretical and empirical studies about the interplay between democracy and security in Indonesia.

Keywords: Indonesia, free market market democracy, transnational terrorism, regional cooperation, security governance

Introduction

Conservative scholars point out that undemocratic regime is positively related to terrorism (Wilson and Piazza 2013, 941-955). The view is considered relevant to comprehend the rise of terrorist violent campaign in the politically and economically closed societies in the region such as the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia where home grown militant groups were encountered to have ideological and operational connections with the Al Qaeda's global extremist networks (Aksoy et al, 2012, 810-826; Hellmich 2011). Indonesianists like Rizal Sukma (2003, 241-255) blames on the practice of 'bad governance' under Suharto's New Order as the root cause of alarming security predicament which has ensued during the early years of the transition to democracy. Others believe that ferocious actions perpetrated by local militants were the consequence of Suharto's repressive regime (see for example Fealy 2005). Therefore, the consolidation towards democratic governance – called *Reformasi* - brought about a hope for the more stable and secure condition across the country. However, the success in making Indonesia a democratic state may not be germane to the national capacity for combating terrorism. In fact, during the *Reformasi* era terror and violence continue to occur and even pose serious challenges to the legitimacy of the democratic polity (Jones and Solahudin 2014, 139-140).

This article problematizes the relationship between democracy and terrorism in an Indonesian context. The main argument is that democracy renders larger avenues through which terrorist nexus can expand its radical ideas and actions. However, the objective of the article is not to elaborate on the domestic explanations suggested by the proponents of failed states theory (see for example Plummer 2012, 416-449). It tries to draw upon a transnational perspective which allows for analysis of the implication of the current mood of political economy to the

implementation of the governmental security agents' response to fight against terrorism. This approach is construed furthermore into two interrelated arguments. Firstly, the integration between Indonesian political system and the capitalist economic mode breeds a free market democracy which in turn sets out the circumstances responsible for the ineffectiveness of the state's function to advance security governance of terrorism. Secondly, the ineffective security governance affects the capability of the governmental structures to employ any appropriate measures to anticipate and prevent the influence of transnational factors leading to the surge of new terrorist organizations. The following sections discuss these causal mechanisms concisely.

Ineffective Security Governance under the Thriving Free Market Democracy

Since 1998 democracy has expanded political freedom in Indonesia. It can be witnessed in the ways that the ruling regime holds free and fair elections and protects civil liberties. Parallel to the widening of democracy, the *Reformasi* orders sustains political will to adopt, and subsequently promote, economic freedom characterized by free market oriented policies on important sectors, such as business, trade, labour, investment, monetary, and property rights (Rosser 2013). Although economic liberalization was not something entirely new for Indonesia, yet its advancement over the past two decades has been so massive. Thus, this is not exaggerated to mention that the democratic governance serves as a *laissez faire* ruler.

Notwithstanding the debate over the merit free market democracy makes to social and economic progress, it pervades a milieu of insecurity, specifically on the issue of terrorism. It is observable that the core problem of democracy and terrorism is the weakening and failure of the government to devise measures to cope with potential threats.

Firstly, open political system is vulnerable to the exertion of radical influences, because there is no ideological filter which can be imposed on individuals and parties running for power (Barton 2002, 37-39). It is almost impossible for security agencies to confine societal force movement to expose unconventional agendas conceiving aggressive means.

Secondly, the responsiveness capacity of the state's agents, including antiterrorism units, is not determined by the will of the publics who want to be secure from violent attacks, but it is submitted to the political calculation of the politicians. In this context, the gap emerges between the people's and elite's perceptions about the necessity to mobilize resources in response to illegal actions. As a result, within a liberal democracy, Richards (2012, 761-779) notes that professional intelligence, policing and law enforcement are compounded by the dilemma of partisan interests.

Thirdly, prioritization of macroeconomic growth which underpins infrastructure development policies is not accompanied by an increase in the provision of public security. Terrorists are free to use public transportation, communication, and information technologies to broaden the scope of their propaganda. Thus, for the robust infrastructure construction the general publics are at the higher risk of facing the effects of the worse security policies.

Finally, the government has only limited space to execute security policies through structural and operational weaknesses. The state is suffering from political delegitimization following its inability to detect and avert new militant groups from propelling terror. This situation engenders the advenrageous circuit of politics, legitimacy and terrorism violence, which in the long run will adversely corrupt the state's credibility over other social issues (Couto 2010, 61-80).

The Problems of Transnational Governance of Terrorism

Ineffectiveness to govern insecurity is exacerbated by incapacity to take protective methods to counter transnational sources of terrorism. This is because the approach, tool and institution expected to be useful to meet the recent transnational challenges are also increasingly unenforceable. Based on close observations of the trans-boundary nature of terrorist organizations operating in Indonesia, it is noteworthy assuming that the government has to engage in the framework of transnational governance of insecurity issues. The state will remain to be the main security provider since the history of security governance over the past century or so has demonstrated very little success non-state responder can achieve in handling major security problems of terrorism (Aydinli 2010, Chapter 1). Nonetheless, this is not to say that given the state is the primary security actor, the roles of individuals and societal groups should be overlooked. The government will be required to collaborate with nongovernmental forces to comprehensively manage the dynamics of transnational insecurity. It cannot merely rely on the traditional instruments of diplomacy and war waging against the terrorists (Coafee and Wood 2006, 503-517).

In theoretical level, the liberal institutionalism approach to terrorism is one which is the most suitable model of action for the political democracy Indonesia is currently experiencing. The liberals recommends that democracies foster their international multilateral cooperation to combat terrorism (Wilkinson 2011). For this reason, the realist approach, such as the use of military force to eliminate terror, is deemed irrelevant, because it potentially incites more social and political tensions which in the long run will fertilize the soil of terror (Lum et al., 2006, 489-516). However, the securitization of terrorism derives more costly impact to the system if the authorized coercive means is too much restricted by the agenda of democratic consolidation.

The alternative is perhaps to combine the liberal and realist strategies in the form of institutionalization of multilateral security governance. This initiative aims to synergize policies enabling the fusion of the element of democratic governance and lawful coercive instruments. For an international level strategy to respond to illegal violent actions the concern about transnationalizing counterterrorism arises in relation to the division between different motives of the major powers. Thus, the goal of governing insecurity with the more interconnected resources dominates practical debate on the importance of the critical paradigm proposed in the post-Westphalian thinking and policy students (see for example Newman 2009, 421-442).

In the case of Indonesia, the mismatch between the state's security capacities and practical problems in the transnational context is continuously unsettled. The first point to highlight is about the difficulty to nurture inter-sub-state antiterrorism cooperation. Counterterrorism needs durable coordination and building up of networks with the neighbouring countries' sub-state government – particularly agencies that are responsible for controlling cross border movements. Central to the project is the reinvigoration of regulation governing illegal and legal migration. The regional governments overcome the impact of transborder issues through which limiting the ground for radical causes to grow from volatile areas (Martin and Martin 2003, 329). Until now, such a form of trans-governmental mechanism has been pursued primarily in respect to other security challenges, such as environment, human rights, finance, and legal matters, while many are still doubt about ASEAN's real contributions to the global war on terror (Emmers 2007). At the ASEAN forum the regional governments firmly announces its international commitment to augment regional antiterrorism activity (Yong 2005). They seemed to be willing to heighten ASEAN's security profile to an extent that collective flexible engagement should be salient to the serious threat of terrorism.

In Jakarta, however, this is not easy for the central government's authorities to fulfil the requirement of the trans-governmental integrative scheme since their relationship with the sub-state governments, as predicted, is getting loose and disorganized (Alm et al. 2001, 88-95). The higher authorities cannot smoothly mobilize external resources to work with local security

governance for various political, economic and constitutional reasons. Therefore, from this point of transnational-national-local perspective may reveal about the unlikely situation whereby the state is being trapped in the dilemma between the global war on terror and local governance empowerment. The greater autonomy the local receives under democracy, the more difficult for the central authority to employ a ‘guided’ national security policy. The rationale behind such uneasiness is one which is rooted in the longstanding belief in the relationship between politics and economy; democracy and security; that is politics and security are the function of economic development, and democracy serves as its vehicle.

Moreover, the question remains to be in what respect that the autonomous inter-sub-state entities link – which is out of the central government’s affairs – still falls under the objective directions of the existing transnational security governance in general. When the global security challenges are transforming international policy to meet with new insecurity, the most urgent issue is lying at transnational level (Aydinli 2010). This observation focuses on the recurrent threat of terrorist organizations. Indonesia and other regional states are facing a similar security environment. Yet, in regard to domestic consequence of the transnational actions taken, the former might have to confront the big risk to spur strained local and national political atmosphere. Free and powerful political economic actors will not accept any design of change into the more transnationalized format of security governance over terrorism. Consequently, the government has no other choice but uses traditional international means which is dependent on other state governments’ goodwill.

One alternative is to promote multitrack diplomacy, engaging the roles of the state as the leading sector in diplomatic forum and related private actors such as NGOs and business to support the diplomatic efforts. The idea has been successfully applied to resolve regional conflict especially in the cases of internal conflict (Fisher 2006, 65-86). Given the fact that Southeast Asian militants are usually linked to a particular domestic rebellion and secessionist group, the conventional state-led-conflict resolution may be viable if accompanied by social actor approach. Still the issue about applying multitrack diplomacy to respond to transnational terrorism comes from the level of security structure cohesiveness; how diplomacy can work hand-in-glove with counterterrorism force. Since Indonesia’s international diplomacy is too much co-opted by the liberal purposes its has given less trust to the role of force, whereas counterterrorism in the country will remain to utilize forceful means.

More practically, the problem with Indonesia’s transnational counterterrorism approach appears in the security governance lacks operational capabilities to overcome the globalized component of local militancy. Innovations of transportation and communication enable transnational militant groups to disseminate their doctrine and news about their deeds throughout the country in relatively little time. Advances in information technology, the internet and satellite phone, permit terrorists to plan, coordinate and launch attacks from multiple places at the same time (Zimmermann 2011, 5152). To deal with this challenge the national security structures are increasingly able to reduce dependence on international assistance for technical support. The concern is that they have to compromise with non-security related interests constructed in the public discourse and political arena.

A Note for Further Research

This article concludes that in the case of Indonesia free market democracy is evident to be positively linked to insecurity, specifically on the issue of terrorism. Further inquiry is necessary to complete the understanding about the causal relationship between economy, political democracy and the incidence of terrorism. Despite free market democracy is prone to terrorism; there is no direct connection between the two phenomena. Several visible connecting variables need to be closely checked in order to indicate the manner in which liberalization of political and economic life brings about disadvantageous effects to security governance.

Terrorism is a multidimensional violent action, involving either personal or organizational motive, strategy, and target. Behind the subject there are explainable and unexplainable factors making terrorism possible to occur. What are obvious in the context of Indonesia are the social and cultural openness, political tolerance, and economic infrastructure. Such factors could be accelerated by the behaviour of the security bureaucracy as the subsystem of the wider government's bureaucracy.

Therefore, the main focus of research within a transnationalist view is on the identification, assessment and formulation of what are the implications of the interaction between international and domestic developments to the ways in which insecurity issues, from sporadic to network-based terror attacks, are defined and responded in the security governance framework. Then, how the advancement of security sector reform succeeds the process of transnational governance of security threats. Having said this, the investigation into the saliency of an expanded transnational governmental agenda to fortify counterterrorism is commendable for academic enterprise.

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DISPLACEMENT OF PERSONS BY MEANS OF DEVELOPMENT INDUCED ACTIVITIES

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Abstract

One of the social cost of development is displacement. This development-induced displacement or forced eviction is forcing communities and individuals out of their homes or homelands, for the purpose of economic development. This development-induced displacement is a social problem affecting both village communities and well-developed urban areas. This is due mainly planners are looking for macro-scale gain and did not consider the consequences for communities or groups of people. Development-induced displacement often effects those people who are already disadvantages and their lacking of security of tenure and also occupied people. Development projects that displaced people inadvertently give rise to several economic, social, and environmental problems, people are relocated to the environment where their productive skills may be less applicable, kin groups are dispersed. Displacement leads to deterioration in health care. Socio-economic and environmental impact assessment must be carried out prior any development project. State must take necessary measures to minimise displacement and mitigate adverse effects. As a general rule development-induced displacement should be avoided where possible, carried out only in exceptional circumstances and in the public interest. State should be central in the sense that state that do guarantee civil and political rights, should also be responsible to guarantee economic and social rights.

Keywords: Displacement, Development, Induced Activities, Human Rights.

Introduction

The right to development is a right for the communities as well as individuals and is addressed in the Vienna Declaration of 1986¹⁵. Development seeks to promote the full realization of all human rights so as to improve the potentialities of majority of humans. However, the right to development can be in competition with human rights and environment standards.¹⁶

¹⁵ Declaration on the right to Development, General Assembly Resolution 41/128 of 4 December 1986

¹⁶ Asif H. Qureshi And Andrew R. Ziegler, *International Economic Law*, Second Edition, Thomson, Sweet R. Maxwell

Background: Development Pain's And Development-Induced Displacement

Every year urban development, road construction, ports, dams, highways and petrochemicals plants and other such as industrial projects displace about 10 million people globally (Cerna 2000). What is called a 'development project' which can range from small scale to mega infrastructure whether a well-planned or rushed into, whether it is public or private is limitless? From a policy perspective, economic development can be defined as efforts that seek to improve the economic well-being and quality of life for a community by creating jobs and supporting growing incomes. Ironically development has the effect of displacing people and resettlement. Development has been associated with construction of airports, highways, rail-road projects, urbanization, road construction etc. One of the cost of development is displacement of people. This displacement occurred via forcing activities on individual and communities out of their homelands or house in the name of economic development known also as 'development-induced displacement'. This kind of displacement is a social problem affecting multiple level of human social anxieties.

Is Development A Welfare?

The people who are almost often affected by development-induced displacement are those who are already at disadvantage, they lack security of tenure and also those occupied people. Displacement takes away people's livelihood, their lands, their belonging in a community. Human being have a deep desire to put down roots to settle in and not to be moved around. Albeit, there are resettlement programmes, however they have caused misery and improvisation inadvertently because services in those areas are first to be immobilized, before they could move to a resettlement designations. This contributes to sickness and frustration and a host of other problems.

The most fundamental goal of economic development is to advance the welfare and well-being of the people. Economic development is not synonymous with poverty reduction, high levels of economic incomes do not necessarily mean lower poverty. In fact it has been associated with the increase in poverty. This results in the increase in economic growth and causes inequality due to disproportionate gains by the rich and the minimum gains by the weaker groups. The government may have been able to adopt pro-growth policies yet are not able to achieve human development goals. This happen when insufficient effort is put into achieving human development or goals. Those who are responsible for policy development should reflect fundamental questions. What is the purpose of development, who benefit it and by what means should it be implemented? Policy has three layers of modes. First, what is the aim of the policy; secondly, how it is implemented and finally it must benefit the masses. If it does not benefit the masses then the policy is a failure.

Contemporary view has taken the modern conceptions of development emphasizing the importance of economic development as increasing the well-being of all members of society. However, unfortunately economic development is not to undertake to improve the lives of the people but it is the contrary. It serves the interest of the government, private business or favoured social elites. At the end of the day economic development become a cause of progressive enslavement and marginalization of an increasing number of people. It leads to human rights violations, accompanied by several forms of social exclusion and loss of dignity. Typically those who are already poor were most vulnerable to becoming more impoverished by resettlement and relocation despite at improving their lives. This can be amplified in the Borneo Pulp Paper (BPP) project in Sarawak, Malaysia.

The BPP project was initiated between the Sarawak government and Singapore-based Asia Pulp Paper (APP). The project is situated within a 600,000 hectares of log of diversity of forests in Bintulu Division. The key to the conflict arose because approximately 28 percent of the concession area belong to native longhouse communities under Native Customary Rights (NCR)(Ideal 1999). This claim involves over 20,000 people, largely ethnic Iban. Under resettlement programme initiated by the company the longhouse inhabitants were required to sign 'unconditional' resettlement package.

They were given two weeks after receiving their compensation package to evacuate their homes. The Land Survey Department entered and surveyed land belonging to the longhouse residents and the company cleared their land and induced the development activities before agreement attain about the compensation.

This violates fundamental liberties as enshrined in Federal Constitution. The fundamental liberties in the Federal Constitution include the right to life and personal liberty; freedom from slavery and forced labour; protection against retrospective laws; equality before the law; the right of freedom of movement; freedom of speech; assembly and association; freedom of religion; and the right to property¹⁷. These communities live in longhouses and live off cash crops or the produce of the jungle but development has introduced other forms of employment in logging, oil and gas and palm oil industries. This economic development has left behind the native communities. Indeed, development in the form of logging, construction and new dams often threatens their land and their ways of traditional life. Those who argue development-induced displacement can be addressed by voluntariness pay little attention to the difficult-to-see process through which consent is manufactured within the context of equal power and the structuring of choices.¹⁸ The BPP resettlement plan is modelled after the misconceived Bakun dam resettlement. Bakun resettlement is a complete loss of traditional livelihood, an increase in poverty and diminish food security. The culturally life of the inhabitants along the river longhouse died in the blizzard of development and resettlement.

In the realm of development, certain participants have been able to profit from a particular project as in example landowners who sell their lands at a price that have arisen in anticipation of a proposed large scale project such as road-construction or infrastructure plants. But this situation tend to consolidate existing power inequalities enriching those who are accessible to property and resources. The vast majority of individuals and communities affected by development-induced displacement are those land-poor and otherwise marginalized people who often have no property right to exploit. In this case those who were displaced almost never obtained benefit from the projects. Companies which have benefited were not willing to mitigate consideration of the externalities like pollution caused by their own project.

Victim or Partners

Despite the emphasis on favouring the underprivileged in majority number of cases national interest is the primary beneficiary of development process. The beneficiary transgress or violate the interest of the economically weaker groups or individuals. In the decision what treatment should be carried out, usually the most powerful interest prevailed. Courts and government have continued to justify acquisition of land 'for the public good'- Bakun Dam Case (2011). In this appeal case the Federal Court dismissed an appeal by six Native Customary Land (NCL) owners against the Sarawak State government in relation to the loss of their land as a result of the Bakun dam project. Similarly, in Borneo Pulp Paper (BPP) case, the court also dismissed an appeal by longhouse residents in Tata, Bintulu, Sarawak, who sued the Sarawak government and Borneo Pulp and Paper Sdn Bhd (BPP) for taking over village land for a pulp mill.

The icon of 'economic development' may be regarded as public purpose, but the boundary between 'public' and 'private takings' is sometimes 'blur' in which the case government's pursuit of public purpose will benefit individual private parties via transfer of land belonging to a citizen to a corporation. BPP is case in point.

The current pattern of economic development which is constantly evoked to justify development-induced displacement of people is incompatible with creating equity and social security. These

¹⁷ Articles 5 to 13 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia

¹⁸ Keith Barney, *Re-encountering resistance: Plantation activism and smallholder production in Thailand and Sarawak, Malaysia Asia Pacific Viewpoint*. Vol. 45 Nov 3, December 2004 ISSN 1360 – 7456 pp 325 – 339

patterns have been equated with national progress where national interest and ‘public interest’ have been used interchangeably. It is crystal clear those displaced by development initiative have usually not benefited from them. On the contrary they are more often impoverished as they lose economic, social and cultural resources while benefit goes to others. Typically national government have justified those projects by evoking goals for national growth and developments¹⁹. For example China’s policy prior 1980 was based on assumption that the economic development of the state was more important than individual well-being (Meikle and Walker 1998).

What is certain about development is uncertainty and unanticipated problems become apparent, for example the case of the people of Chemawawin, relocated to Easter villa, Manitoba (Canada) in conjunction with Grand Rapids dam were facing multiple predicaments, economic suffering, loss of resources, social stress and disintegration (Walder 1988). Despite attempts to improving their lives, it was becoming clear that the poor were most vulnerable to become more impoverished. Development has wide interpretation, it cannot be measured in the number of schools, hospitals built or GNP growth or rate of inflation. It includes such as democracy, cultural and respect of human rights. It goes beyond purely materialistic considerations. This has been affirmed by the unpublished document of UN Commission of Human Rights (1988)²⁰: All persons in all countries are entitled to the realization of their economic, social and cultural right which are indispensable to their dignity and free development of their personality. Rights to dignity is one of the key concept in all human rights instruments starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948²¹.

In economic terms, financial gains are seen only as driving force behind economic activity, but never a means of realizing human rights (Rotberg 1981)²².

Social Genocide?

The foreseeable consequences of pursuing economic development with sole aim of macro-gain, induced-displacement is increased rate of poverty, inequality, illness and homeliness, hunger and unemployment. Such policy connotes ‘social genocide’ in a broader sense generally. Human rights principles emphasize on maintaining economic, social and cultural conditions beside civil and political rights, structures necessary for preservation and reproduction of human life²³. Social rights is a continuing conceptions which develops over time to embrace the needs of the people, rights that were not acknowledge before are now becoming essential.²⁴ Health has economic, social as well as cultural aspects. It is economic and social in character to the extent that it safeguard the individual does not suffer social and economic injustices with respect to the individual’s health.

As a general rule, development-induced displacement should be avoided where possible and carried out only in public interest. State should be central in the sense that state that do guarantee civil and political rights should also be responsible to guarantee economic and social rights of the people. Development policy when implemented should consider fundamental elements- it should be ethically accepted, socially sustainable and finally minimally damaging the environment²⁵.

Views (Writer’s)

¹⁹ Dolores King, *Toward Local Development and Mitigating Impoverishment to Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement – Final Report for ESCOR R 7644 and the Research Programme on Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement* organized By Refugee, Studies Centre University of Oxford July 2001

²⁰ UN High Commission for Human Rights unpublished text, *Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1998/33* 17 April 1998 Geneva

²¹ LUN Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948

²² Roberg (1981) describing the World Bank wrote: “We are not a social agency committed to making transfer to solve the problem of Misery or Poverty”

²³ Camilo Perez – Bustillo, *Poverty as a violation of Human Rights*

²⁴ Wiktor Osiatyuski, *Need – Based Approach to social and Economic Rights, in Edited Economic Rights, Conceptual, Measurement and Policy Issue* by Shareen Hertal and Lause Minklev, Cambridge 2007

²⁵ Bogumil Terminski, *Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement*, Scholar

The government should not treat all people as if they were the same without considering individual differences and become unreasonable. The poor and most needy people are often discriminated against because they lack sufficient knowledge about laws and development. Economic development is not synonymous with the efforts to increase economic growth. For this reason social rights should be incorporated in the Constitution. In such cases, the courts can intervene by using constitutional provisions. The courts can also make judgement rendering government policy unconstitutional on ground it did not response to the needs of the most vulnerable people in the society. Law and legal philosophy should have been at the heart of the development process dealing with matters especially dealing with economic development. It act as constraint. In the absent of constraints, those in positions of power will seek to institute policies that serve their interest. Without constraint, those in power will act in a predatory manner. Constraints will limit their action. Good institutional constraint will limit the predatory nature of irresponsible leaders.

Conclusion

Unquestionably the weaker people suffered in the name of “economic development”. The precarious levels of their social, economic, cultural life have to endure with grave violations of their rights. There is a feeling of frustration when people are deprived of their land, taken by outsiders who do not share their traditions and aspirations and find themselves living in poverty despite the natural riches of their region. The economic development-induced displacement of Bakun dam and the BPP case is a contemporary way of displacement and can be likened to a classic displacement of Indian history of America Wild West.

Yet despite the many international institutions and local instruments, there are jurisdictional and substantive legal barrier that impede their rights. All individuals have dreams in the sense of aspiration they wish to achieve. Dream may have transcend the individual microcosm of the person, attaining communal significance when they are shared by the majority of the given members of a given community. These dreams are people’s dream. This can be amplified in the words of Black Elk, Sioux Oglala, 1930 in a book “Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee” by D. Brown²⁶.

“At Wounded Knee, with all killed women and children, something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people’s dream died there. It was a beautiful dream.....”

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²⁶ D. Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of America West* (New York 1970)

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ASEAN AS THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: HOW ASEAN GROWS DEMOCRACY VALUES IN REGIONAL STAGE

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Abstract

The end of the Cold War had become a momentum of a democracy expansion. Not only in the Western region, countries of the Eastern region also begun to implement democratic values. In this era, democracy values are expected to be applied beyond state. This concept has been promoted by the cosmopolitan who believes that democracy can be implemented in a global governance. They believe that each policies taken in an integration of countries will have a direct impact on society. In Southeast Asia, ASEAN can be regarded as the global governance. ASEAN embraces 10 countries of Southeast Asia and manages a lot of political, economic and socio-cultural issues. ASEAN also enhances the interaction between its people and develops the idea of an ASEAN Community. ASEAN's basis on the norms have been agreed in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC). TAC is also widely known as the ASEAN Ways. This paper describes how norms of ASEAN can go hand-in-hand with the concept of democracy promoted by the cosmopolitan and ensure the stability at the regional level through the ASEAN Ways.

Keywords: Cosmopolitan, Democracy, Global Governance, ASEAN, the ASEAN Ways

The third wave of democracy at the end of the Cold War had become the beginning of the spread of democracy concept. This expansion couldn't be separated from the influence of globalization which led the speed of information spreading. This fact also affected the development of democracy concept. The emergence of the cosmopolitan made democracy was not only applied at the state level. Ideas of cosmopolitanism led to the concept of cosmopolitan democracy.

As a prior to deepen the discussion of cosmopolitan democracy, it needs to be addressed regarding the meaning of cosmopolitanism. Ideas of cosmopolitan are originated from the Greek society which was then discussed by some figures such as Immanuel Kant, Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida. Literally, cosmopolitan means 'the world citizens'. Cosmopolitanism expanded after the World War II, especially since the Holocaust incident by the German Nazi. Cosmopolitanism can be defined as a global politics that: firstly, projects a sociality of common political engagement among all human beings across the globe; and secondly, suggests that this sociality should be either ethically or organizationally privileged over other forms of sociality (James 2014, x). Cosmopolitanism aims to establish a positive behavior towards diversity, a desire to construct broad allegiances and equal and peaceful global communities of citizens who should be able to communicate across cultural and social boundaries forming a Universalist solidarity (Ribeiro, 2006, 19). According to the definition and purpose of cosmopolitanism, there are some key points that we can take from the idea of cosmopolitanism: humanity, equality, peace and prosperity at the global level.

On the other hand, the concept of cosmopolitanism seems utopian. It caused by the different way of thinking about humanity and equality between communities. The penetration of cosmopolitanism which is not accompanied by an understanding of culture raises the potential to trigger social friction between individuals. Therefore, the cosmopolitan addresses this issue by referring to the cosmopolitan agenda. One of the agenda is the emergence of global governance which does not aim to eliminate the country's sovereignty. Global governance is an attempt to provide equality for all entities to participate in activities at the global level. In this case, the meaning of "governance" is to denote the

regulation of interdependent relations in the absence of an overarching political authority, such as in the international system (Rossenau 1999).

Dingwerth and Patterberg (2006) stated that the global governance was initiated to establish a system of order on all levels of human activity—from the family to the international organization—in which, the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational emerging repercussions. The emergence of transnational repercussions caused global governance must be run by a global civic ethic. This ethic aims to guide action within the global neighborhood, and leadership infused with that ethic is vital to the quality of global governance. One of the ethics is by institutionalizing global governance to ensure that the agreements formed are completely executed. In other words, the global governance agenda of cosmopolitanism aims to develop a public policy globally (Stone 2008, 19). Global governance does not mean that every country should participate in it. An international organization in which sided some countries can also be classified as global governance if there is a set in all levels of human activity and has transnational repercussions.

In fact, the entities which included in the global governance are not just the governments. Civil society also has the capacity to participate and influence the global governance. According to Karns and Mingst (2004) actors involved in the global governance includes business people and humanitarian issues or other low politics and NGOs, who are members of a global civil society as well. The participation of many parties in global governance practices resulted a lot of criticisms. Global governance does not mean that there is an entity that is superior to state sovereignty. Its existence was only to regulate the relationships between entities. In this regard, global governance must cover many issues that arise in these multi-level relationships. Thus, global governance arena looks chaotic. Meanwhile, there are serious problems at the global level. In one side, there is an increasing requirement of global governance in many issues, while it is actually lacking of an authority with the power or jurisdiction to take action in practice (who.int 2015). Unfortunately, if global governance is not able to fulfill its function, it will create a possibility of global civil society movement. One example is the Battle of Seattle in 1999. This incident was undoubtedly not the objective of cosmopolitanism which expects humanity, equality and peace at the global level.

To avoid similar problems, cosmopolitanism cannot be separated from the idea for balancing the role of each entity in the global governance. David Held (1995) in his book gave a rise to the concept of cosmopolitan democracy, "An emergent international civil society and international forms of collective protest and political mobilization suggest the possibility of creating and sustaining a cosmopolitan democracy". The concept is similar to the concept of democracy when it first appeared the Greek society, which emphasizes non-violence, popular control and political equality. Cosmopolitan democracy could be an alternative in facing global issues as the concept is in line with the ideas of cosmopolitanism. In this regard, the Global public opinion and NGOs, on the other hand, are actually choosing the 'democratic' side of global issues ... to fulfill a structural role in the world's politics (Beetz, 2010, 148).

By looking at those concepts, cosmopolitan democracy can be settled. Daniele Archibugi (2008, 2) stated, "Explore the chances of increasing legitimacy of world's politics by introducing the germs of democracy and subjecting world's politics to the citizens' scrutiny." Giving an example, Archibugi took European Union (EU) as the role model. This formal institution succeeds to develop cosmopolitan democracy among European people. The European Union, though its efficacy and legitimacy are in the balance, provides both moral and practical arguments as an example for transnational political institutions and law. The European Union pushed its people to absorb the meaning of democracy through its principles. In addition, people feel that they can trust EU to regulate social interaction, political and economic among members. This is the source of legitimacy for the EU, so that this institution can perform its function as a regional level of global governance in Europe.

ASEAN as the Global Governance

ASEAN is a regional organization that was formed in the Southeast Asian region and has 10 member blocs. Officially, ASEAN was established on the 8th of August, 1967 by five countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. Acharya (2001, 47) revealed that the five countries did not only have fundamental differences regarding ethnicity, size, identity and socio-cultural conditions, but also the lack of multilateral cooperation in advance. Virtually, there is no political homogeneous background among countries of Southeast Asia, it will be difficult if the ASEAN regionalism is based on homogeneity. So, creation on the basis of ASEAN regionalism is needed to construct the interaction between members.

Construction undertaken by member countries of ASEAN is based on the values adopted by ASEAN and not only based on what values held but also where these values come from. In general, values and norms that are applied in a regional organization comes from two sources, both based on global conditions that are running and are also based on domestic inter-state conditions. Domestic conditioned ASEAN countries have a high rate of diversity, but the egalitarian spirit that grows in the region cannot be overlooked as a unifying factor in the Southeast Asia region, namely the ASEAN umbrella. We should keep in mind that the most of countries in Southeast Asia struggle to be free from the clutches of the colonialism. In addition, in the 1970s countries of Southeast Asia also faced the threat of communism that looked at the problem in Vietnam (Ba 2009, 81). Feeling of wanting to be free from the foreign interferences, to avoid open conflict with each other and to use the way of peace to resolve the conflicts, encouraged the formation of Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in 1976 that became known as the ASEAN Ways. ASEAN Ways can be regarded as a foundation for ASEAN to carry out its regional dynamics up to this era.

Understanding the relationship between ASEAN and global governance cannot be separated from the dynamics that has occurred in ASEAN since 1967. As disclosed by Charles Tilly, "significant political phenomenon requires lives in history and historically grounded analyzes for its explanation" (2006, 433 in Stubbs 2008, 453). Explanation of the Tilly asserts that we cannot leave history to see phenomena that is occurring now. In ASEAN, dynamics that occurred earlier formed the thought which is used as the basis of regional organizations. Thoughts or ideas that flourished in ASEAN proven-based history and local values are then applied to the regional level. For an example, it is the use of Malaysian culture in decision-making or policy through consultation and consensus (Acharya, 2001, 63-70). In addition, as mentioned above, historical factors will provide considerable influences to countries in Southeast Asia linked to their behavior with other countries. Both of these factors formed the ASEAN regionalism since it was formed in 1967. Thus, how the two concepts deal with the concept of global governance itself?

As described above, global governance is not a concept that presenting the form of government above the state, but a concept that is used to regulate the activities of individual and transnational. ASEAN stands by the aims to protect the Southeast Asian region from external threats and maintain the cooperation among its members based on regional values. As we know, this regional organization was established when international conditions were in the middle of constellation between two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Instead, ASEAN was not interested to be involved in particular party. So, an idea was needs to make ASEAN member countries agree on the same perspective about issue or phenomenon that occur. Global governance emphasizes on how an entity able to "supervise" the state entities, NGOs and even individuals to get involved in policy-making activities and its implementation.

Aside from the initial forming, ASEAN has tried to form an entity capable to provide an umbrella for its member countries, through the pillars of the ASEAN Community. This community, especially the ASEAN Political and Security pillar seeks to continue promoting the establishment of global governance. This is evidenced in the blueprint of ASEAN Political and Security Community A.1.4 points which reveals that the ASEAN Political and Security Community will promote the values of good governance which will be done in several ways. One way is by conducting seminars or workshops in order to share experiences in the case of the implementation of good governance

concept (ASEAN Secretariat 2009, 4). It explained that ASEAN's perspective at the concept of good governance is a concept that can be run in the Southeast Asian region in the future. Indeed, ASEAN has tried to build a good governance system to the activities. It also proved a best way of conflict resolution efforts that might avoid the occurrences of violence and promote peaceful means.

ASEAN Ways and Cosmopolitan Democracy Concept

TAC consists of four main points: (1) the use of peaceful means in resolving the problem (2) regional autonomy (3) non-interference in other countries or non-intervention (4) rejected the establishment of military alliance and emphasizes bilateral cooperation (Cipto 2007, 73). The concepts brought by ASEAN are based on socio-cultural conditions that are owned by member countries of ASEAN. With this background, ASEAN Ways became "portrait" that is quite accurate in describing the character of ASEAN as a regional organization or when bringing ASEAN to the global concept of governance. As disclosed above, the global governance itself will go hand in hand with the concept of democracy, especially cosmopolitan democracy. Then, is ASEAN on the right track when talking about the concept of democracy?

The concept of democracy can be seen from the three main points, the first is the absence of violence in every public decision-making, both promote popular control and the third is the existence of political equality among the public, especially civil society (Bobbio and Beetham n.d. in Rosenberg n.d.). Then, when they see the points presented in the TAC, ASEAN's foundation of its regional organization is based on the interests of all countries. What about the point of democracy? As known, that ASEAN member countries do not have the same political background and the requirements to become a member of ASEAN do not require a provision of obligation to follow any particular political system. It is of course different from the European Union that has a requirement for running a democratic system for countries wishing to join the European Union. The condition produces a lot of questions related to the political conditions of the ASEAN countries, especially seeing a lot of turmoil in the past or ongoing.

Liberal democracy and concepts of institutionalization can be said as a concept that is not compatible to the conditions of Southeast Asia (Jones 2008, 745). Political culture and the foundation held by ASEAN indirectly presents obstacles to the pervasiveness of democratic values in society as a whole. Examples can be taken from one point TAC concerning non-interference in other countries and does not intervene, it can be reflected in several government ever run in Southeast Asia call it with all sorts coup Thailand and Indonesia by the New Order regime. In the history of both countries, particularly Indonesia, it is said that the democratic system is a political system that is operating but the reality leads to the opposite condition. ASEAN responses certainly zero because of its perspective at the non-intervention value.

Comparing ASEAN concept Ways or TAC with the concept of cosmopolitan democracy, actually it can be said that both of them are complementary. It can be seen from the core concept of cosmopolitan democracy expressed by Archibugi (2008), about how a local norms or values can be applied internationally and globally. Seeing these thoughts, it can be described that the presence of local values or norms can be incorporated into a higher level in an international relations and can facilitate the implementation of cosmopolitan democracy. Democratic values and norms, as already stated above, sometimes can only go national in scope. ASEAN since its inception sought to emphasize the use of peaceful conflict resolution, in line with the democratic concept of Bobbio and Beetham (nd, in Rosenberg nd): non-violence in the way public choices are made to be mutually supportive. In addition to the concept of TAC, ASEAN is also working to promote civil society, as emphasized by the thought of the cosmopolitan, through the establishment of the Solidarity for Asian People's Advocacies (SAPA) which was first formed in the ASEAN Civil Society Conference (ACSC) in 2005 (Nesadurai 2009 , 111). Although it appears that sometimes the concept of democracy and points of TAC anyone capable of complementary and mutually contrary, ASEAN was able to prove that ASEAN is in a stable condition during almost 40 years. But it doesn't remove the

possibility that the concept of cosmopolitan democracy that goes along with global governance can be one alternative for ASEAN to step forward and to fix some shortcomings.

Conclusion

ASEAN existence for more than four decades proves that this regional organization can carry out its function to organize regional activities. In the era of increasingly massive growth of democratic values nowadays, ASEAN is also able to turn that value. ASEAN through the ASEAN Ways TAC indirectly apply the concept of cosmopolitan democracy. First, ASEAN in every policy seeks to embrace all the will of its member states by consensus. This situation indicates the existence of freedom in conducting foreign policy by each member. Second, ASEAN tries not to interfere in the domestic affairs of member states. This shows that ASEAN is not superior to its members, as well as respect for the sovereign rights of its members. The third is the use of peaceful means and the rejection of military pacts in the region of Southeast Asia. This shows that ASEAN is in line with the cosmopolitan agenda ahead of the peace at the regional level. The ASEAN Ways became regional values that can make ASEAN stated as a global governance, not the government

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HARMONIZATION OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ORIENTED POLICIES THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PARK IN JATINANGOR OF EDUCATION STRATEGIC AREA

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Abstract

This study attempted to solve the gap between the needs of people from the business world with the academic community through product research and engineering universities in order to create a product that people need local and a global scale. Models are offered to address these gaps is to develop the Park of Science and Technology (Science and Technology Park) which is based on harmonious interaction between universities, government and the business world in the context of this research took place in the region Jatinangor. Stages of research that has been done the initial mapping phase, especially regarding harmonization of conditions of development policy and spatial planning further analyzed using the research approach is multi-methodology. Results of research on the stage of mapping indicates that the development of science and technology park in the area of Education Strategic Jatinangor own frame of reference policy is quite harmonious both at the level of the central government, provincial government and Sumedang District Government as a regional recipient of direct impact to the policies imposed by the University of Padjadjaran as the largest university in the region. This finding is also corroborated by the models are detailed and comprehensive arrangement of each document the planning and arrangement of space at every level of government. Thus the harmonious interaction of the policy is expected to trigger the growth of the spirit of global governance-oriented development in the future.

Keywords : University, Government, Bussiness, Citizens,Global Governance

Introduction

West Java Province has the potential and comparative advantages of the region compared with other regions, in the ownership of natural resources and human resources. West Java which has an area of 35.22 kilometres square. Based on Spatial Planning of West Java province is divided into several areas of development consisting of Bodebekpunjur development areas, development areas purwasuka, Ciayumajakuning development areas, development areas Priatim-Pangandaran, the area of Sukabumi development, special development area Bandung Basin area. Based on the zoning of the development, each region has the potential development of different seed industry among tourism, plantation, agriculture, creative industries, trade, services, mining through the development of strategic areas of education Jatinangor that the focus of the research was conducted.

Phenomenon in which West Java province also has a huge potential in the field of education, particularly higher education, both public and private, it indicates the fact that institutions of higher education that there has been widely known to have a good reputation at national and international levels. As the implementation of the Tri Dharma University, each university should implement the research results can be utilized to meet the needs of industry and society. But research products produced by the College has not been used optimally, both by industry and by the public due to a variety of things. So there is no link and match between the universities that have science and research

products from the development of knowledge in the industry that requires the development of its products.

The presence of various universities in the strategic areas of education Jatinangor is rightly become a major force as capital development through research products are constantly evolving to the needs of people in West Java province and even it is possible to advance the region's economy if the product research universities also provide contribution to the development of industrial products spread across the region. Government and local authorities should be able to maximize the presence of universities to jointly in accordance with their competence, tackling the problem of poverty assisted with industrial potential in the regions.

Associated with the phenomenon is still not terbinanya synergy between research universities and the region's potential in West Java, the initial thoughts of this study seeks to explore the particulars of where the potential for development policy that is integrated or harmonious that have been planned by various levels of government related to regional development strategic Jatinangor education in order to improve the welfare of the community, as well as compliance that can be realized by building a Science and Technology Park. Science and Technology Park is a container that can improve people's ability to innovate and the competitiveness of business by exploiting research results owned Universities. Science and Technology Park to try to actualize the results of research in higher education that can be applied in the practice of business in society.

Science and Technology Park is apt to be held in West Java. This is related to the vision of West Java province listed in RPJMD West Java province that is "West Java Forward and Prosperity for All". The meaning of the word developed, one of which is a productive society that is competitive and independent and innovative. Thus, to realize the vision of a developed society that reflects the society of competitive and innovative can be implemented through the Science and Technology Park.

Research Methods

The study is in the plan is done in a time interval for 4 years. Currently, the implementation of research activities still take place in stages and will be followed by a mapping step further research activity. In accordance with the purpose of the study is multi stage, ranging from mapping, formulation of a model, test the model and to the development of the model, the design of this study is multi methodology, meaning that for each phase of the study will use different methods, but has a connection that is sequential , At the stage of mapping (mapping) on regulatory aspects, institutional, competitiveness and business (business) seed, management, and spatial aspects (land), the assessment method used is mixed-methodology (qualitative and quantitative). At this stage, an analysis of the gaps between products owned by Unpad to their needs in the empirical world so as to be a model of governance that is oriented to the future global governance.

In accordance with the objectives of the study described previously, data collection will be done by combining several techniques at once in order to capture comprehensive information / holistik. Some techniques of extracting data to be used simultaneously to explore various types of data and information needed, namely: (1) Study the documentation, by reviewing secondary data about regulatory aspects, institutional, competitiveness and business (business) seed, procedures, and aspects of spatial (land), (2) Structured interviews, to obtain the key issues or critical issues about the regulatory aspects, institutional, competitiveness and business (business) seed, procedures, and aspects of spatial (land), existing as well as hope for the future. The source of information is the key informants, it is expected that the Head of Department in order to obtain information holistik and integrative. (3) Informa

in pemelitan chosen based on considerations of competence and experience in the legal aspects, institutional, business administration, governance, and the cooperation of international organizations from various institutions in pemerintahanan, companies, universities, and community. The series of data collection techniques and such information is going to generate data to be processed in such a

way that it contributes to the process of data analysis was done by using qualitative data analysis, which describe any findings in full and in-depth about the condition of the interaction of policies in harmony both in the physical plane and arrangement of space that is expected to trigger the growth of the spirit of global governance-oriented development in the future.

The Harmonization of Policies for Developing Science and Technology Park in Jatinangor

Jatinangor region is an area of strategic priority of National and West Java province while the legal framework of a regional spatial planning policies nationwide have been outlined by Act No. 26 of 2007. The regulation is then derived to various rules of operation that one of them is the Regulation of the Minister of Public Works No. 6 Year 2007 on Spatial Planning and Building Environment and spatial arrangement governed by Government Regulation No. 26 Year 2008 on the National Spatial Plan.

Results of a study of policy documents that have been collected suggests that Jatinangor an important portion of the National Events Centre (PKN) that serves the urban area to serve the activities up to the scale of international, national, or several provinces. In the structure of the national spatial plan as stated in the PP 26 Year 2008 on RTRWN, PKN Urban Area Bandung Raya is one of PKN in West Java Province with the development direction that the revitalization of the cities that have been functioning. In order to PKN embodiment Urban Area Bandung Raya (PKN Metropolitan Bandung Raya), the West Java provincial government through the West Java Provincial Regulation No. 22 Year 2010 on Spatial West Java province (West Java Provincial Regulation No.22 of 2010) establishes Regional Development (WP KK) Bandung Basin region with a focus on the development of Sumedang district, directed as a street vendor, equipped with supporting facilities and infrastructure, as well as higher education centers Jatinangor region, agribusiness, and industrial non-polluting.

Subsequent analysis look more in depth about the character of the policy in effect at the local level and the province of West Java Sumedang Regency. Based Sumedang Regency Regulation No. 2 In 2012 and Regulation 22 of West Java province in 2010, then directed Sumedang district as street vendors (Local Activity Center is an urban area that functions to serve the district-scale activities and some districts), equipped with supporting infrastructure and higher education centers in the region Jatinangor, agribusiness and non-polluting industries include 5 districts namely Jatinangor districts, District Tanjungsari, District Cimanggung, District Sukasari, and District Pamulihan. As for some of the infrastructure development plan in the area of Regional Area Development Mainstay Bandung Basin, particularly in Sumedang) is as follows:

- a. Development of road infrastructure (capacity building and strategic road conditions).
- b. Development of transport infrastructure (railway line reactivation Urban Rancaekek-Jatinangor-Tanjungsari and improvement of traffic infrastructure and road transport).
- c. The development of water resources infrastructure (flood control infrastructure development and improvement of irrigation network conditions).
- d. The development of energy infrastructure (development of energy from landfill waste, the development of the utilization of renewable energy in the form of energy small-scale hydro, senergi solar, wind energy and bio-energy, network development pipeline regional gas and city gas, coal utilization for the industry, the development of energy independent village in WP KK Bandung basin).
- e. Development of communal infrastructure (development of urban settlements which include the development of vertical housing in Jatinangor Sumedang District, the development of regional higher education Jatinangor in Sumedang, the development of a ready to get up and ready to build Sumedang District, the increase in waste management and operation of Regional Landfill Legok Jackfruit, improvement of water services net, increased wastewater treatment,

arrangement of slums, urban drainage network structuring, development of integrated sports area, the construction of Hospital Type C at PKL).

f. Rancaekek industrial estate development located in Sumedang and Bandung.

Based on this it can be seen that when viewed from the perspective of spatial arrangement, sub Jatinangor entered as part of the PKN Bandung Raya Urban Area and Urban KSN Bandung Basin and KSP Jatinangor Education.

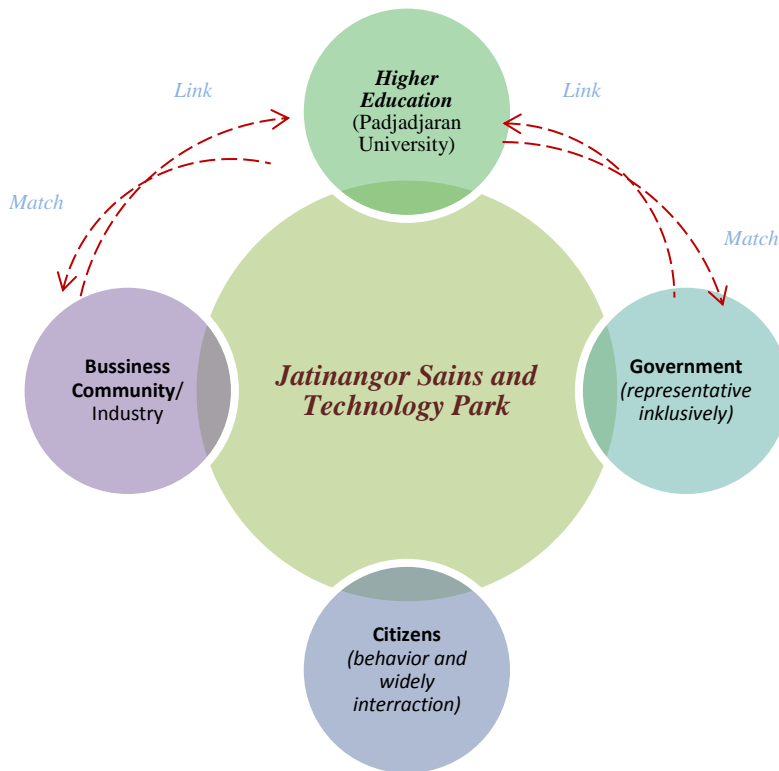
This policy is set out in the West Java Provincial Regulation 22 of 2010 on Spatial West Java Province, Sumedang Regency Regulation No. 2 Year 2012 on Spatial Sumedang District. Education KSP KSP Jatinangor set as the strategic value of the handling of social and cultural standpoint. Following enactment of RTR KSP KSP is the establishment of a regional law, but is still in the legislative process. In the document the academic preparation of RTR KSP Education Jatinangor (Department of Settlement and Housing of West Java Province, 2013), Jatinangor area is an area of education that cater for the interests of the development of science and technology based on the location of the development of the area of higher education, through the revitalization of the area, the arrangement of the surrounding environment, improvement Accessibility to the area to support an increase in function of the area as an area of education, the development of vertical development, preservation of cultural heritage, improving the image of the region, where the preservation and development of custom or culture, the priority of improving the social and cultural assets that must be protected and preserved, shelters keanekaragam culture. Operationally, this policy is also in line with Perbub Sumedang No. 12 Year 2013 on Education KSP RTBL Jatinangor an initiative and policy at the district level.

Subsequent analysis with regard to the conditions and policy environment that is currently imposed on the college level, in the context of this study is limited only to the University of Padjadjaran as the largest colleges in the Education Strategic Area Jatinangor. Higher education face of changing environmental circumstances of life that can not easily be predicted and controlled. The essence of the changes include: change of outlook of life of local communities to global society, from social cohesion to democratic participation, from government to governance, from the state-oriented to society-oriented as well as from economic growth to human development.

Responding to changes in the situation, the direction of the development of higher education to position the university as a place of learning and as a knowledge resource. In addition, higher education plays a role in responding to changing demands of the labor market, higher education as a center of culture and learning open to all, as well as higher education to a vehicle for international cooperation.

It can simply be seen terminology attachment to the university (ubuntu) with a variety of other components such as the government, the business community and society for the realization of a harmonious and global policies minded can be explained by the Figure 1.

Jatinangor development as a Science and Technology Park is one of the main important activity carried Padjadjaran University to respond to the dynamics and challenges faced by the foregoing. Not only limited to the vision and mission at the level of institutions, these efforts have also been teratribusi up to the level of the faculty and study program as well as the vision and mission of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Padjadjaran namely Being Higher Education Institutions That Have Commitment to Excellence Division of Social and Political Science Recognized Internationally operationally yng 2020 has also been determined to be mission Develop research and community service in order to sustain the education and advancement of science and technology for the academic community, government, industry, and society.



Figur 1. The scheme of Harmonious globally oriented policy in the development of science and technology park Jatinangor.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Phase mapping indicates that the development of science and technology park in the area of Education Strategic Jatinangor own frame of reference policy is quite harmonious both at the level of the central government, provincial government and Sumedang District Government as a regional recipient of direct impact to the policies imposed by the University of Padjadjaran as the largest university in the region. This finding is also corroborated by the models are detailed and comprehensive arrangement of each document the planning and arrangement of space at every level of government. Thus the harmonious interaction of the policy is expected to trigger the growth of the spirit of global governance-oriented development in the future.

As the alignment of the policy of mutual support between the scope of government both at the central, provincial and district, Padjadjaran University as one of the leading universities in Indonesia and located at the Education Strategic Jatinagor should be able to use this momentum into an operational plan of development of science and technology park with still looking to increase the region's competitiveness globally. STP development program could also use land that is also quite available in the neighborhood university or even land owned UNPAD located outside the university environment as in other strategic regions in Jatinangor

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DISCOURSE STRUCTURE DEFAMATION: STUDY FORENSIC LINGUISTICS

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to take your lessons discourse structure defamation based study of forensic linguistics. In East Java there are plenty of defamation committed through electronic (short message service, face book, whatsapp, blackberry messenger, email, tweeter, instagram, and others) and nonelektronik (verbal / written). It led to the study of language by linguists play an important role in order to help the police in solving the case of defamation. The method used is descriptive qualitative. Text defamation in this study has the structure of discourse that involves aspects of macro structures (thematic), superstructure (schematic), and microstructure (semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetorical). In the text there are defamation of the findings of macro-structural aspects, namely the emergence of a dispute between individuals. The findings are preliminary superstructure framework text, content, and cover. Findings microstructure namely (a) the meaning of which is to be emphasized is degrading opponents said, (b) opinions / text submitted in the form of declarative sentences, using the second-person pronoun, there is coherence mention of the word "koen iku " 'you are' repeated three times, (c) the choice of words / language style that is hyperbole and peyorasi, and (d) the emphasis is done with a grumpy expression pejorative and cursing.

Keywords: discourse structure, defamation, forensic linguistics.

Introduction

Background

In Indonesia defamation cases have appeared in the news in the electronic media (short message service, face book, whatsapp, blackberry messenger, email, tweeter, instagram, etc.) And nonelektronik (verbal / written). There are many facts networking media users in Indonesia so that the defamation case too many. Based on data from twitter users by site semiocast.com, Indonesia ranks fifth behind the United States, Brazil, Japan, and the UK, with an estimated 19.5 million (semiocast.com). Furthermore, the data released salingsilang.com and aworldoftweets.com (in www.bin.go.id) as of July 20, 2012, the Indonesia produces 1.3 million tweets (tweet) per day and the third place after the US and Brazil with percentage of approximately 11.07%. On the other networking media, namely Facebook, based on the data release www.checkfacebook.com as of July 20, 2012, a total of 44,074,560 million people use facebook. This puts Indonesia at fourth in the world in the use of facebook after the United States, Brazil, and India. (<http://www.bin.go.id/awas/detil/127/4/20/07/2012/hati-hati-memanfaatkan-media-sosial>).

Based on the news, according to the head of Sub Directorate IV cyber crime criminal detectives specialized area of Metro Jaya Police, Assistant Commissioner Audie Latuheru, saying that defamation is the second largest cases (30%) after fraud with internet media. Overall, cyber crime cases in Indonesia reaches a total of about 520 cases in 2011 and 600 cases in 2012 (<http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2013/04/15/22095149/kasus.penipuan.dominasi.kejahatan.quotcyberquot>). Based on these facts, in 2012 there were 180 cases of defamation of 600 cases.

In East Java, there are plenty of defamation through electronic and nonelektronik. It can be seen in the amount of data recap in East Java regional police. Defamation case report nonelektronik in

East Java in 2011 up to April 2015 amounted to 611 (specific criminal detectives Police Directorate East Java, 2015). Meanwhile, reports electronically defamation case in East Java in 2011 up to April 2015 amounted to 80 (Directorate of specific criminal detectives East Java Police, 2015).

Indonesian society is a multicultural society that values / culture east, should communicate compulsory use of polite language and avoid the charge of defamation. Through this research, is expected to provide insight and understanding of how to build the structure of discourse in communication in order to avoid defamation. In addition it is expected that the study of language (discourse structure) by linguists can help the police in solving the case of defamation.

Objectives

Reviewing the structure of the discourse of defamation based on the study of forensic linguistics.

Problems

How is the structure of discourse defamation forensic linguistics studies?

Benefits

Theoretically beneficial results of this research to develop the study of linguistics in particular applied linguistics (forensic linguistics), namely the use of linguistics in the realm of law. Based on the study of discourse structure defamation, expected results could enrich the theory of discourse analysis (discourse analysis).

In practical results of this study can contribute to law enforcement officials, media editor, lecturer, teacher, language practitioners, and the public about the use of language relating to defamation.

a) For the law enforcement agencies (police, lawyers, prosecutors, judges) expected to be able to understand the purpose, content, meaning, implications for defamation in the interests of law enforcement so that legal norms function significantly as a code of conduct in public life and state ,

b) To editors of media (print/electronic) have a reference in the editing process so that the news aired / published does not pose a defamation lawsuit from the parties concerned.

c) To lecturers can develop further research related to the study of forensic linguistics in addition to supporting material on the study of politeness.

d) To support teachers have teaching materials in teaching / education Indonesian-mannered and in preparing Indonesian education curriculum materials bertujuan politeness so that students know the defamation and able to speak politely Indonesia so as not to get stuck the case law of defamation.

e) To Hall Language in Indonesia can be used as a reference in understanding, analyzing the theories, methods, and approaches are appropriate in explaining defamation.

f) the general public can use the language properly and protected from defamation. This is quite important because in view of the many lawsuits for defamation orally and in writing (which terluas in social networks using smart phones (blackberry messenger, short message service) and internet (facebook, twitter, youtube, linkedin, instagram, blogs, online media , Internet sites, email, google, etc.) are charged defamation. Thus the relationship between individuals in society is maintained harmony

Framework Theory

Forensic Linguistics

Forensic Linguistics is the scientific study of language as applied to the purpose and context of the forensic (McMenamin, 2002: Chapter IV). This is a new area for the study of linguistics and a new area to be developed rapidly into a modern applied linguistics (McMenamin, 2002: Chapter IV). McMenamin (2002: 2.2.2), adding that the study of forensic linguistics is one of many disciplines that developed in applied linguistics, which refers to the scientific study of language to solve problems forensics.

Based on the opinion of McMenamin can conclude that forensic linguistics is the scientific study of language in the context of the law aimed at solving legal problems. This study emphasizes the linguists in analyzing language data in the field of law, the fundamental studies concerning defamation.

Defamation

Based on the Black Law Dictionary, libel is defined as an intentional false communication, either published or spoken aimed injure / defile / injure the reputation or good name of another person (in Shuy, 2010: 10). Other experts are Tiersma (1987: 304), adding that defamation is a variety of language rules that prohibit say a few types of speech, or rather allows them only in very specific circumstances. This regulation involves the relationship between an individual and for society, because of accusations publicly error is linguistic action that lowers the status of an individual who has violated the norms of society.

Articles that regulate defamation in Indonesia is regulated in the Law on Electronic Transaction Information No. 11 of 2008 Article 27 (3) and the Book of Law Criminal Law Article 310, which is described as follows.

a) in the Information Act Electronic Transaction No. 11 of 2008 Article 27 (3).

Each person intentionally and without right to distribute and / or transmit and / or make accessible Electronic Information and / or Electronic Documents which have a charge of insult and / or defamation.

b) Book of Law Criminal Law Article 310.

(1) Whoever intentionally attacking the honor or reputation of a person intentionally to attack the honor or reputation of someone to accuse something, the obvious intent to give common knowledge, threatened due to contamination with a maximum imprisonment of nine months or a maximum fine of four thousand five hundred rupiah.

(2) If it is done with writings or portraits disseminated, publicly performed or taped, then threatened for libel by a maximum imprisonment of one year and four months or a maximum fine of four thousand five hundred rupiah.

(3) There is a slander or libel, if the act was clearly done in the public interest or because forced to defend themselves.

Under Article both articles, the criteria for the crime of defamation must include four of evidence, namely a) The existence of intent; b) Without the right (without permission); c) Aiming to attack the reputation or honor; d) To be known by the public.

Structure of Discourse

One can not enter the mind of the speaker, or parts thereof, but the topics they introduce and recycling are clues / evidence is very nice, it dianalogkan like a pottery and fragments were found

by archaeologists (Shuy, 2010: 39). Shuy statement indicates that it is a linguist archeologists, pottery is a whole discourse, and fragments of text that is part of the discourse dai. This is a series that can not be separated in a discourse analysis.

Van Dijk observed that a text consists of three levels, each of which share mutual support (Dijk 1997b: 33; Eriyanto, 2001: 226). First, the structure of the macro, the global meaning of a text that can be observed by looking at the topic. Secondly, the superstructure, which is how the parts are arranged in a news text as a whole. Third, microstructure, namely the meaning of discourse which can be observed from a small part of a text that includes the words, sentences, propositions, clause, paraphrasing, and images. Van Dijk opinion that if described as follows (Dijk, in Eriyanto, 2001: 227).

Dijk also make elements of analysis of a text / discourse which can be observed in the following table.

Table 2.3 Elements of Discourse Analysis Text

Discourse structure	It observed	Element
Macro structure (the theme of a text)	Thematic (what is said)	Topic
Superstructures (frameworks such as introductory text, content and cover)	Schematic (What would be prepared and assembled)	Scheme
Micro structure Local meaning of the text is based on the choice of words , sentences , and style used	Semantics (meaning to be emphasized in the text of the news)	Background, detail, intentions, presuppositions, nominalizations
Micro structure	Syntax (What would be submitted)	The form of the sentence, the pronoun, coherence
Micro structure	Stylistic (choice of words used)	Lexicon
Micro structure	Rhetorical (How and in what way the emphasis is done)	Graphics , Metaphor , Expressio

Source: Dijk (in Eriyanto, 2001: 227)

Referring to the explanation Dijk, the text is basically generated through awareness, knowledge, prejudices, or certain knowledge of an event. To unload hidden meaning, it takes the analysis of cognition and social context. This cognitive approach is based on the assumption that the text has no meaning, but the meaning of it given by the users of the language. More precisely the process of mental awareness of the users of the language (Eriyanto, 2001: 260).

Methods

This study used descriptive qualitative approach. Source of research data from police agencies, while the data in the form of text (words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pictures,

illustrations, and typography) libel in the report document investigation report made by police officers.

Discussion

The following is an analysis of data in East Java defamation committed by individuals in oral form.

On Sunday January 18, 2015 around 10:00 am, the victim Si A together with her husband, Si X, came to the house where the victim A. Si Si Si A convey to the duration of the contract and that the home or home lease term on January 20 2015 has been exhausted.

(That The B hire or rent housing on the Person A from the date of January 20, 2011 to January 20, 2014 and extended until January 20, 2015).

By the time the victim met with Si Si A B such words as follows.

“Si B, kontrakan *sampean* mau habis tanggal 20 Januari 2015.”

(‘The B, rent you want to run out dated January 20, 2015.’)

Furthermore answered by Si B.

"Lhoh, ending the month of February 2015."

Furthermore answered Si A.

“Dulu waktu saya menyerahkan kunci rumah kepada *sampean* kan pada tanggal 20 Januari 2011, makanya saya hitung sampai tanggal 20 Januari 2015”

(‘Back when I was handed the keys to your house right on January 20, 2011, so I count up January 20, 2015.’)

Furthermore, Si and Si angry at A by issuing the following words.

“*Koen gak iso mangan, ngemis-ngemis nduk omahku. Koen iku sok alim, jilbaban. Koen iku balon, balon, balon.*”

(‘You can not eat, begging in my house. You were acting pious, veiled. You're a whore, slut, whore.’)

The words (balloons, balloons, balloons), repeatedly uttered by Si Si B and addressed to A.

Source: Research Data defamation in the investigation report Police, June 2015.

The structure of the discourse on the text defamation above were analyzed using Dijk approach, based on the elements of analysis of a text / discourse which can be observed in the following table (Dijk, in Eriyanto, 2001:227).

Table 3.16 Discourse Structure Analysis Text Defamation on Individuals

Discourse structure	It observed	Element
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<p>Macro structure (the theme of a text)</p>	<p>Thematic (what is said)</p>	<p>A dispute Si and Si B of the lease period house which has been depleted . By the time the victim counts the Si Si A B :</p> <p>" Si B , rent you want to run out dated January 20 , 2015. "</p> <p>Furthermore answered by Si B :</p> <p>"Well , the end of February 2015."</p> <p>Furthermore answered Si A :</p> <p>"Back when I was handed the keys to your house right on January 20 , 2011, so I count to date of January 20, 2015 "</p>
<p>Superstructures (frameworks such as introductory text, content and cover)</p>	<p>Schematic (What would be prepared and assembled)</p>	<p>Preliminary:</p> <p>A man tried to speak well to the B to let you know that the house lease period has expired .</p> <p>contents:</p> <p>Person B deny and after the denial be broken by Person A , Person B Person A change scolded by issuing improper speech.</p> <p><i>"Koen gak iso mangan, ngemis-ngemis nduk omahku. Koen iku sok alim, jilbaban. Koen iku balon, balon, balon."</i></p> <p>(‘You can not eat, begging in my house. You were acting pious, veiled. You’re a whore, slut, whore.’)</p> <p>cover :</p> <p>Person A does not respond anymore greeting Si B.</p>
<p>Micro structure Local meaning of the text is based on the choice of words , sentences , and style used</p>	<p>Semantics (meaning to be emphasized in the text of the news)</p>	<p>Background:</p> <p>On Sunday January 18, 2015 around 10:00 am, the victim Si A together with her husband, Si X, came to the house of Si AA (leased to Si B).</p> <p>Details:</p> <p>The A together with her husband, the X, came to the house of the A (leased to the B). The house is being rented the B time is the property of Si A.</p> <p>Purpose:</p> <p>Person A tells that the period of the contract/lease houses the B depleted.</p> <p>Presupposition:</p> <p>Person B deny the utterance A,</p> <p>"Lhoh, ending the month of February 2015."</p> <p>But denial Si and Si A undisputed by saying:</p>

		<p>"Back when I was handed the keys to your house right on January 20, 2011, so I count up dated January 20, 2015 "</p> <p>Then Si Si A B scolding with harsh words following.</p> <p>"You can not eat, beg at my home (1). You were pretending pious, veiled (2). You're a whore, slut, whore (3). "</p> <p>(1) The word "can not eat" as if the question (Person A) can not meet the primary needs in life so that shows memrihatinkan conditions. The word "beg at my house" shows as if Person A does not have a job / income so that he could do was beg.</p> <p>(2) The word "pretend pious, veiled" shows that as if Person A veiled only acted alone to cover the ugliness.</p> <p>(3) the word "you were a whore" show greeting Si B to Person A that Person A is the same treatment with prostitutes, that is, those who morally ugly and not appreciated by the public for violating the norms of society.</p> <p>Nominalizations: not found</p>
<p>Micro structure</p>	<p>Syntax (What would be submitted)</p>	<p>Tenses :</p> <p>On the defamation of the text there are three words that show shape declarative sentences . Namely Si B tells Person A that Person A can not eat , beg at home Si B , then Person A was acting pious with veiling , and Person A that is a whore .</p> <p>Pronouns:</p> <p>The second person pronoun is "<i>koen</i>" which means 'you' , which refers to Si A.</p> <p>coherence :</p> <p>The mention of the word "<i>koen iku</i>" 'you are' repeated three times.</p>
<p>Micro structure</p>	<p>Stylistic (choice of words used)</p>	<p>lexicon</p> <p>Hyperbole : "You can not eat , begging at my house."</p> <p>As if Person A is in a state memrihatinkan because they can not eat and beg at home Si B.</p> <p>Peyorasi : "<i>Koen iku balon, balon, balon.</i>"</p> <p>“You are a balloon, balloon, balloon” (‘You are a whore, whore , whore.’)</p> <p>The word " balloon " decreased meaning as " balloon " that the true meaning of children's toys made of rubber developed by blown or gas filled (KBBI , 2005: 97),</p>

		here has decreased meaning of meaning " whore" , people who work sell themselves (Sholihatin , 2010: 95). Balloon in culture eastern Java community has a negative meaning that whore.
Micro structure	Rhetorical (How and in what way the emphasis is done)	expression : Expression indicated Si Si B to A is an expression of rage that is done with degrading and cursing . degrading : (1) "You can not eat , begging at my house." (2) "You were acting pious, veiled." cursing : (3) "You're a whore, whore, whore."

Source: primary data research.

Thus, judging from the structure of discourse that involves aspects of macrostructure (thematic), superstructure (schematic), and microstructure (semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetorical), it seems clear that sayings Si and the Si A category of defamation.

Conclusion

Text defamation above has a structure of discourse that involves aspects of macro structures (thematic), superstructure (schematic), and microstructure (semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetorical). In the text there are defamation of the findings of macro-structural aspects, namely the emergence of disputes between individuals (disputes Si Si A and B on the future of the rent). The findings of the superstructure in the form of the framework text are preliminary (Si A tried to speak well to Si B to let you know that the period of the rent had expired), content (Si B denied and after the denial be broken by Person A, Si and replace scolding Person A with issuing derogatory remarks and cursing), and cover (Person A does not respond anymore greeting Si B then it goes). Findings microstructure namely (a) the meaning of which I want to emphasize that is degrading opponent said, "can not eat" as if Person A can not meet the primary needs so that shows the miserable condition, "begging at my house" as if Person A does not have employment/income so that he could do is beg. "pretended pious, veiled" shows that as if Person A veiled only acted alone to cover the ugliness. "You were a whore" show greeting Si B to Person A that treatment Person A is the same with prostitutes, that is, those who morally ugly and violated the norms of society.), (b) opinions/text submitted in the form of declarative sentences (Si B tells Person A that Person A can not eat, beg at home Si B, then Person A was acting pious with veiling, and Person A that is a whore.), using the pronoun instead of (the second is "*koen*" which means 'you', which refers to Si A.), there is coherence (mention of the word " *koen* iku "(you are) is repeated three times.), (c) the choice of words/language style that is hyperbole (You can not eat, begging at my house.) and peyorasi (balloon), (d) the emphasis is done with a grumpy expression pejorative and cursing.

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E-GOVERNMENT AND E-PROCUREMENT: CONSTRUCTION ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY OF BUREAUCRACY

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Preliminary

In this era, has a wide variety of innovations in the management system of the government to strengthen the meaning of decentralization. Making of renewal in the governance towards good governance has strived and constructed to be able to reach all institution managers both at central and local levels regarding all activity undertaken, ranging from system planning, organizing, implementation and supervision.

One critical point within the framework of the reform is related to the management of government goods and services. Managing goods / services of the government is considered very strategic and crucial in the creation of good governance. Managing strategic value of goods and services, will have an impact on the creation because the efficiency and effectiveness, while linked to crucial figures will construct corruption, collusion and nepotism as well as the creation of accountability. If management of goods and services done well and properly, so much the state budget can be saved. In recent years, many auction process goods / services that government can generate a price 20 percent below the estimated price alone (HPS), so that the allocation of goods and capital expenditure of the central government in 2014 can save around Rp 30 trillion from Rp. 150 trillion. Looking at the fact, the reforms in the management of government goods and services that begins with the release of Presidential Decree Number 80 of 2003, in fact it is visible and measurable in terms of the creation of good governance.

In an effort to strengthen the management of the arrangement of the meaning of government goods and services, the Presidential Decree Number 80 of 2003 to 2009 has undergone a renewal up to four times. Besides that, viewed from the institutional, through Presidential Decree Number 106 of 2007 has established Public Procurement Agency (LKPP), where the role and function of LKPP can complement and reinforce the formation of personnel and professional competence in the procurement process and can assist the procurement easier and fast. To support the standardization of the competence of personnel procurement of goods and services, up to now more than 1,800 training has been done in the field of procurement of the goods / services by 65 Department / Agency, 33 provinces, 220 district / city governments and 42 universities. In other words, that the government has trained about 250 thousand people to understand the procurement of goods / services (Bappenas, 2012)

Along with the era of globalization and technology, the process of government procurement of goods and services geared to take advantage of technological advances in order to improve the service better. Existing ICT development, seems to provide a strategic solution for the use of E-Governance and E-Procurement as one of the tools for the management of governance and managing the procurement of goods / services of the government more efficient, effective, convenient, fast and transparent.

The phenomenon of the government procurement of goods and services is a lot found a variety of problems, both in the form of corruption or other administrative fraud so that the procurement of government goods / services is often rated as one of the most melancholy major source of corruption. Other phenomena, the issue of procurement of goods / services according to the findings of Bappenas (2013), is closely related to: a) procurement markets were not open (fragmented,

only small businesses that have access to the procurement market, gathering tender to the dominance of businesses or groups businesses in the market and thuggery); b) the lack of management capacity procurement by government agencies of the aspects of the organization as well as the number and competence of personnel; and c) bad governance that is not transparent and is not accountable, abuse of authority for specific interests to corruption).

Along with this phenomenon, the interesting question to be answered is possible that E-Government and E-Procurement can help create accountability and transparency? How to implement strategic that should be applied to E-Procurement that can ensure accountability and transparency?

Public Administration and E-Government

Public administration is an academic field as well as a professional practice. In another sense, public administration trying to refine the shape and change the world. This involves the interaction between academics and practitioners, and between government and society. While private management base line is profit, which is an important concern of public management is community satisfaction. To realize this goal, public administration has developed a set of values and beliefs that different from the private sector. Value orientation of government administration is effective, social property rights, democratic participation, social representation, responsibility, public accountability, fairness and justice, in addition to a shared belief in the efficiency.

Over the last decade, a new terminology – governance – be – famous dictionary public sector. Like many academic terminology, Governance have saved a lot of meaning. Hyden and Bratton (1992) defines the word as a "management awareness of one structure regime (government) for a view of the increase in the legitimacy of the wider community". Rosenau (1995) speak of it as "system rules at all levels of human activity from the family to the international organization in achieving its objectives through exercise control have experienced the effects of carom between nations." Pierre (2011) cling to "think about the governance is think about how to control the economy and society and how to achieve a common goal". Meanwhile, according Pottucek (2004), there are three levels of governance at the local, national, supranational and global dimension. Modern governance can be classified as "level-governance entrust administration", "co-ordination with the government of a structured interaction with the market and civil society" and "self-governance-autonomous network of actors".

Entering this century, globalization and technology have influenced various activities in the community, ranging from non-profit organizations, political organizations, public and private. The impact of technology becomes very important in government institutions, as it is known by the E-Government, which the government seeks to make better service to the community more easily, quickly, cheaply and efficiently. Effect of E-Government has become viral in government institutions, so that almost all forms of government, both in developed countries and in developing countries strive to develop services in the form of E-Government. According to the OECD (2003), E-Government is the use of information technology and communications, using the Internet, as a tool to achieve better government, while according to the UNDP (2003), E-Government is an application of information and communication technology implemented by government. Government promises that the effectiveness and efficiency in government and community relations. Similar thing also expressed by the World Bank (2002), in which the E-Government is the use of information and communication technology to create efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, and accountability in government.

The fundamental definition is clear that E-Government is a technological tool that could be used to help in expediting the service to the public. This is also reinforced by Stiedel (2003) in which the E-Government is defined as the provision of information to the public, goods and services with the technology. Along with this view, also expressed by Jain (2004), where E-Government can be defined as the use of information and communication technologies to alter or improve the function of government.

Based on the definition of construction, it is clear as expressed Yu-che and James Perry (2003) that E-Government is a front line of the government's plan to support as well as providing information and improved services to the public, businesses, government worker, Other government units, and third sector organizations. It is more specifically disclosed by Steidel (2003), which challenge the State and local government is to promote the services available and public awareness will be the E-Government.

This effort is more impressed to allow to maintain a strategy of government representatives rather than the fulfillment of the government's efforts to fulfill needs outside (Chen and Perry: 2003). E-Government is not only provide public services but also establish the relationship between government and society. E-Government is using Internet-based technologies to conduct business and transactions undertaken by the government. At the ministry level, the E-Government services promising 24 hours and a full week as well as ease of access. Besides the E-Government also serves as a tool of democracy conducted online by providing reports and government information sometimes it is difficult to obtain and can also hold a debate online.

In order for E-Government designed can be realized optimally, it requires one of the generic models of ad Information Communication Technology (ICT). That models can be used as a guide in designing the E-Government in accordance with the local situation and the activities of government. According to Arie Halachmi (2005), there are several models, which are: 1) The Broadcasting Model. This model is based on the broadcasting or broadcast useful government information published in a public area with using ICT and appropriate media. The strength of this model is that it is based on the fact so it can feed that information to the community and provide an opinion. This model maximize rights and obligations of the government. So far, the use of ICT opens alternative options to the public to access information that is considered the most valid from multiple sources. 2) The Critical Flow Model. This model is based on the provision of information in the form of criticism dpaat issued by the media or the opposition parties on an issue. The strength of this model is that ICT can shorten the distance and time so that the information can be accessed quickly and free society. 3) Comparative Analysis Model, this model usually used in developing countries. This model can be used to empower people with matching good governance and bad and then analyze the different aspects that make the government the worse and its impact on society. The strength of this model is that the capacity of digital networks is not limited to storing / complement the wide range of information and improve and distribute information instantaneously throughout the population. 4) The E-Advocacy / Mobilization and Lobbying Model. Government is a digital model that is often used normally for help global civil society that impact on decision-making processes globally. This model is based on a plan that has been set, the information flow directly to build a virtual force formed by combining a variety of formats are the same values and the community form a network of circuitry provides support to real group. The strength of this model is that there are many virtual community with a variety of ideas and pooling resources to form networks. This model is able to mobilize and improve the quality of human resources as well as providing information on local, institutional, and bureaucratic. 5) The Interactive-Service Model. A digital model of Government which provides opportunities for individual citizens to participate directly in the process of government. Basically ICT has the potential to bring each individual into a digital network and can interact (in both directions) and to receive information. The potential of ICT in this model is very large that it can bring good because of the objectivity and transparency in the decision-making process.

Judging from the judgment of management, the implementation of E-Government in public organizations will improve the management of government. According to Cook (2002), that the main benefits of the E-Government for public management, which are to improve efficiency, improved internal communications, providing better service to the customer, and meet the demands and expectations of citizens. However, the implementation of E-Government in the management of public according to the West (2000), bringing the positive and negative influences. Positive side the use of E-governemnt is to improve service delivery, reduce fees and make government more efficient. Meanwhile, the negative side of the E-Government as written Moon (2002) that the implementation of E-Government is not as effective as the much talked about. Many of the city administration remained at the level of the beginning of the E-Government and does not significantly contribute to cost savings

and increased revenues. Of the many studies that have been done related circuitry implementation of E-governemnt can be known that there are four main challenges faced, namely: (1) lack of expertise, including technology and marketing expertise. (2) Lack of my sources of finance, including costs associated with the provision of duplicate services (services off-line and on-line). (3) Lack of political support, including inconsistency political support / commitment to the task of election cycle. (4) Differences in culture, including the supervision of top emphasized in public organizations.

In addition to management, many studies conducted that show attention to the development of the E-Government policy. Recent studies aimed at three main concerns: namely accountability, justice, and freedom. First, accountability in customer service has become a component of the policy of public management changes lately. E-Government will show the need for accountability and assessment through improving access to government programs and services, improved communications to government officials, and increase the citizens participation in political decision-making process. Second, gaps in reception computer and internet access. This becomes a serious problem if some members of society are not ready to accept the services provided by a relatively E-Government. In addition, differences in the use and acceptance satisfaction and interpersonal differences. To overcome this, it takes government interference with the provision of additional funds for the development of the information technology sector, create local technology access and distribution centers, as well as provide learning market of loss if not using information technology. Thirdly, the problem of freedom and security. This relates to the freedom of the Internet in general and in the government, has become an important issue because it deals with the existence of personal data.

E-Procurement in construction Accountability and Transparency

E-Procurement is explanation terminology regarding the use of ICT in the process of procurement of goods and services so that the process of procurement of goods and services more quickly and easily. The real substance is hidden from existing e-procurement is transparency and accountability. Through E-Procurement, corruption action, collusion and nepotism can be prevented because did transparent bidding process. Transparency in the context of the procurement process followed by the principles of fairness and non-discrimination so as to allow gained competitive freight rates and free of corruption.

E-Procurement can be seen as a tool that helps procurement managers, and also tool that will encourage national expenditure efficiency and improve the competitiveness of national enterprises through the creation of the procurement market that is open and fair competition. If so, in implementation, E-Procurement in the context distinguished in the private sector (corporations) and the public sector. In the private sector, the National Council has decided only aka tone of the electronic procurement system, ie the capital markets including Surabaya Stock Exchange and the Stock Exchange Jakarta market need for a policy to encourage e-procurement. While in the public sector, there are components that need to be played by each institution, but also there are components that need to be performed jointly by all stakeholders or only played by LKPP.

Under Presidential Decree No. 5 of 2004, the process of procurement of goods / services of the government should be implemented in a manner consistent with the provisions of Presidential Decree Number 80 of 2003, and began using E-Procurement. The use of E-Procurement will essentially:

- 1). Increase transparency and openness in the process of procurement of goods / services of the Government. Anyone can see that the procurement process is done, so that people can participate oversee the procurement process conducted enumerated by an agency.

E-Procurement will be a tool and mechanism for oversight by the public at good / services procurement process so as to minimize the chances of deviations that usually indicate the occurrence of corruption and collusion between the parties involved in the procurement process. People can know

the company that won the auction on a bid price and its agencies, including knowing the number and companies that participate in the auction.

2). Increase healthy competition among businesses to get a contract with the Government. Barriers for businesses can be minimized so that all businesses are really the businesses will get equal access to bid. With E-Procurement, groups of businesses reduced chances to perform gathering auction.

3). Improve the effectiveness and efficiency in managing the procurement of goods / services of the Government. During this time, half complained about the complexity of the procurement manager procurement process of having to deal with business who are not professional actors. Rebuttal and complaints become exhausting daily menu. Often the auction process has not been completed, but the complaint for corruption has been up to the police. Refutation often out of context rebuttal. E-procurement would be a little bit much help partially the process of interaction with member of auction. Between the announcement and the bid opening will be performed by the system. After winning bidder acquired based on evaluation committee, the system will announce the auction results.

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WHY ADOPT E-VOTING? PRELIMINARY STUDY ON VILLAGE LEADER ELECTIONS IN MUSI RAWAS, SOUTH SUMATERA

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Abstract

This article elaborates the practice of e-voting adoption in village leader elections held in Musi Rawas Regency, South Sumatera, from 2013 until early 2015. This paper tries to answer the main question: why does the government of Musi Rawas adopt e-voting in the village leader elections? More specifically, what are the motives on the policy of adoption of e-voting in village leader elections in Musi Rawas? The article is written based on the field research held in between 2015. The research uses the qualitative approach. The main method of data collection are depth interview and observation. This article finds out that the motive of the adoption of e-voting in the village leader election is to make the elections more efficient in time and money and make the voters easier to vote. This paper also questioned the political motive of the Musi Rawas' Mayor, Ridwan Mukti, in adopting e-voting. The motive is to get positive image because he wants to chase for Bengkulu Governor's office in 2015.

Keywords: E-voting, Musi Rawas, Village Leader Elections, Policy Adoption

Introduction

E-voting is the mechanism to vote that has been used more widely in many countries in the world (Esteve, Goldsmith, Turner 2012, 2). E-voting has been implemented in many countries, including countries in South America and Asia (Goldsmith and Ruthrauff 2013, 31). Two countries in Asia that have implemented e-voting in the national election are the Philippines and India (Phillips and Soudriette 2013, 160; Achieng and Ruhode 2013, 1).

Beside Philippines, Indonesia, the neighbor country of the Philippines, also has implemented e-voting, but not in national level (Darmawan, Nurhandjati, and Kartini, 2014a: 58). One of the reasons why e-voting has not been implemented at a national level in a country is because it has not been legally binding (Benoit 2015, 313). Nonetheless, there was a pilot project of e-voting in very small numbers in Bantaeng's Mayor Election in 2013. Also, e-voting has been applied in the village leader elections in four municipalities in Indonesia: Jembrana, Boyolali, Musi Rawas, and Empat Lawang.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to find out why e-voting has been implemented at the village level, especially in Musi Rawas Regency, South Sumatera. It is questioned because it is doubted whether e-voting in those three areas has passed the minimum requirement standards. According to Remmet (2004, 17), there are three standards that must be prepared before implementing e-voting: legal standards, operational standards, and core technical requirements.

In another publication it is stated that there are some ways to conclude that e-voting is ready to be implemented or not. According to NDI, in the context of decision making on e-voting, the most important aspect is not which institution is making decision authority, but it is about the method of decision making reached. The involvement of stakeholders and interests in dialogue about the adoption of e-voting is an important aspect and can make the decision stable from the challenge from

electoral stakeholders (NDI, 2011).

In Musi Rawas, according to the Mayor in a national dialogue 2014 in Jakarta, e-voting was adopted because of many problems related to the manual elections before. The problems were higher-cost in manual election, the un-efficient of election counting, and the decrease of political participation (Mukti 2014). By looking at that argument above, we can say that what the head of local government stated above look likes want to achieve legitimacy by delivering public goods and services with e-voting method (Kersting, *et.al*, 2009).

Instead of the positive goal of adopting e-voting from the Mayor of Musi Rawas, the main point is that the decision-making process of the adoption of e-voting is not passed the three main phases: assessing the problem with current voting or counting process and the feasibility of addressing that problem with the technology, conducting one or more pilots of the technology, and making decision regarding the adoption of the technology. It is much caused because of the will of the Mayor of Musi Rawas rather than the needs and the willingness of the stakeholders in Musi Rawas.

The main question of this paper is: why does the government of Musi Rawas adopt e-voting in the village leader elections? More specifically, what are the motives on the policy of adoption of e-voting in village leader elections in Musi Rawas?

The case of e-voting in Musi Rawas is chosen because e-voting in Musi Rawas is the first case happened in the Sumatera Island. After adopted in Musi Rawas, another area in Sumatera, Empat Lawang Regency, follow what Musi Rawas has been done. Another reason is because e-voting in Musi Rawas was implemented in huge number: approximately 102 villages. That number is higher than the other areas, such as Jembrana and Boyolali which implemented e-voting in about under 100 villages.

There is no doubt that there are at least some differences between nations and village scope of election in terms of adoption of e-voting method: the amount of the voters, the complexity of the voters and counting process, and technical and political risks. But, because of the existing condition that e-voting has not yet adopted in a national election, the research held on e-voting in village leader elections is becoming important.

The goal of this paper is to elaborate the reasons why e-voting adopted in Musi Rawas' village leader's elections by the mayor. This problem is significant because this paper may contribute to the scarce research about e-voting in Indonesia. In practical level, it is surely significant for the development election and voting in Indonesia and provides recommendations for all liable authorities such as the government, the electoral commission, and legislative body as well as political parties.

Literature Review

The research about e-voting in Indonesia had ever been held by the author with the colleagues from University of Indonesia. That research is about the description of e-voting implementation in Jembrana and the possibility of adopting e-voting in local election (Pilkada). Another research of e-voting was held by Radityo Sumarno. His research focus was about the implementation of e-voting in order to embody good governance principles in Boyolali village leader election in 2013. That research is definitely different with this research in terms of the case, the research methodology, and the research focus. Because of that reason, therefore, this research could be categorized as relatively new in the study about e-voting in Indonesia.

Generally, the study of implementing e-voting in an election has been raised in recent decades because of its benefits. The changing method from manual to electronic voting in the electoral system is believed as rational decision because its advantages (Benoist, Anrig, and Jacquet-Chiffelle 2007, 29). Norris (2004) has ever stated that the use of technology like e-voting can be potential to strengthen the public sphere. Another argument stated that the use of e-voting can make an election cheaper, quicker, and more efficient (Oostveen dan Besselaar 2004, 73).

However, the factor of context in every country why they chose to adopt e-voting is important to be considered (Kersting and Haldersheim 2004, 276). Considering that context with the other aspects is important in order to make the design of e-voting system guarantee the general, free, equal, and secret characteristic of elections (Mitrou, Gritzalis, Katsikas 2002, 1). Also, by considering those aspects plus the organizational context of the implementation that can influence the success and failure of e-voting implementation can reduce the possibility of failure in making decision of e-voting adoption (Van Den Besselaar, *et.al.* 2003, 179). Steve Schwarzer and Cornelia Wallner (2009, 1) in their paper stated that successful implementation of e-voting arrogate to: (1) *a bottom-up principle*, (2) *powerful early-stage adapters*, and (3) *trust in technologies*. Blanc (2007, 11) considered some issues before deciding to adopt e-voting method: public and political support; appropriate technologies; operations and logistics, and consideration or alternatives.

What are the standards of implementing e-voting as a policy? There are 12 standards used by NDI to make sure that e-voting is really can be used: transparency, public confidence, usability, system certification, system testing, system security, auditability and recount, verifiability, mandatory audit of the results, secrecy of the ballot, accountability in vendor relations, and incremental implementation (ndi.org). In this research, those 12 standards will be examined and become the tool to be examined in three area cases. This step is important before I can really conclude that all mayors passed the standard of e-voting in the elections before they decided to adopt e-voting.

Moving to the motivation for implementing e-voting, what are the motivation and goals of using e-voting method in an election? The most usual motivation and goals of adopting e-voting are three reasons: increase the confidence on the voting system, increase the speed of the vote count, give the voter possibility to easily vote (Mirau, Ovejero, and Pomares 2012, 218).

Methodology

The approach that is used in this research is qualitative approach. This research applies case study analysis. It is because this research wants to find out the result in just one case. This research held in Musi Rawas Regency (South Sumatera Province). The reason why choosing these area is because until earlier 2015 it is only Musi Rawas in Sumatera Island that have implemented e-voting in the real (not pilot project) election in Indonesia, though it has been just in the village leader's election.

Therefore, in investigating the motivation of e-voting adoption in Musi Rawas, I have interviewed the mayor and the other informants who have different sights about the implementation of e-voting in Musi Rawas. Also, this research will try to scrutinize the way of the authorities provides legal framework, prepares its technicalities, and then implement e-voting in the village leader elections.

Those processes need detailed information that can be obtained by conducting research to get primary and secondary data. Primary data has been gathered by conducting interviews with the representatives from the local government (the lawmakers, especially the mayor who involved in the discussion of the legal framework for e-voting in Musi Rawas). It is also important to get more views from participants in the elections, which are individual candidates. Secondary data are all of the documents about the local law of adoption of e-voting and the other documents related.

Besides interview, I also did the observation in the implementation of e-voting in three villages in Musi Rawas: Wonokerto village, Pelawe village, and BTS Ulu. Those three villages represent three characteristics. Wonokerto village is located not far from Lubuklinggau, the capital of Musi Rawas. Beside that, it represent the village that most of its citizens are farmers. Pelawe village is located quite far from Lubuklinggau. It also represent the characteristics of the citizens that works in the field. BTS Ulu represent the village that is very far from Lubuklinggau. BTS Ulu coincidentally represents the village that the election consist of only one candidate.

Results and Discussion

Musi Rawas is one of the areas (regency or city) in South Sumatera Province. The width of the area of Musi Rawas is about 12. 358, 65 km². The number of residents in Musi Rawas is about 594.716 person in 2011. The number of districts in Musi Rawas are 21 and the number of villages are 277 areas.

The adoption of e-voting in Musi Rawas started in the last of 2013. The first village that held e-voting in Musi Rawas is Tabarena Village, Selangit District. The village leader election was held in December 5th, 2013 (bppt.go.id).

The place for vote casting with e-voting model is generally same with the place with the manual one (see Figure 1). The differences are on the three parts: the machine that used by the voters to be allowed to vote, the computer screen for casting the vote, and the paper trail as the evidence that the voters has voted.



Fig. 1. The staff of Village Election guards the audit box and voting box in Pelawe Village

The model of e-voting does not need the ballot paper to cast the vote. The picture of the candidates is on the computer screen inside the voting box (see Figure 2).



Fig. 2. Computer Screen with Candidate's Photographs in Wonokerto Village

To cast the vote, the voters just need to touch the picture of the candidate that they want to vote in the computer screen. After that, the voters confirm their votes. The process continues into the machine that print the paper trail. The last step is the voters put their paper trail into the audit box (see Figure 3).

After the voting time finished, the process of counting is quite fast. The staff of e-voting with the candidates and their witnesses come to every computer in every voting box to count the votes. It just takes about 1 until 2 minutes per voting box. Then the total result of vote counting displayed into the screen that can be seen by every people in the voting place (see Figure 4).

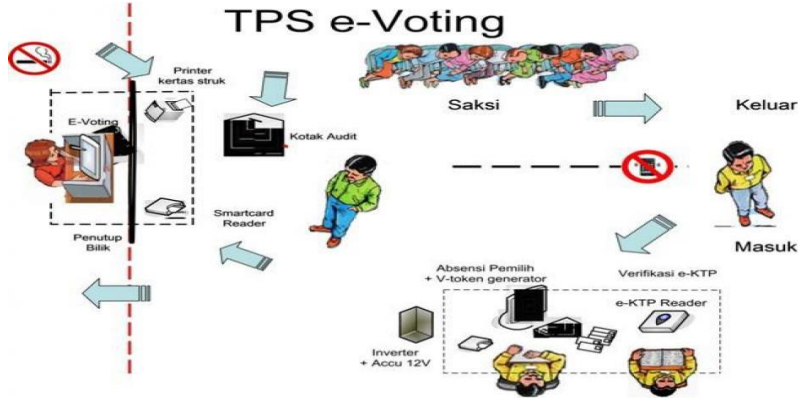


Fig. 3. Scheme in the E-voting Place

The photograph shows a digital display with the following text and table:

HASIL REKAPITULASI SUARA PEMILIHAN KEPALA DESA SUKA MAKMUR
KECAMATAN BTS ULU KABUPATEN MUSI RAWAS
PERIODE 2015 - 2021

NO	NAMA CALON KEPALA DESA	HASIL PEMUNGUTAN					JUMLAH
		BILIK 1	BILIK 2	BILIK 3	BILIK 4	BILIK 5	
1	WANCIK	398	372	326	302	275	1673
2	KOTAK KOSONG	9	13	9	2	5	38
-	SUARA KOSONG	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL SUARA		407	386	335	304	280	1712

10. 3. 2015 1:25

Fig. 4. The Recap of Results of E-voting in BTS Ulu Village, Musi Rawas

There are two policies that relates with the adoption of e-voting in Musi Rawas. The policies are Local Law Number 4/2013 and Mayor Law Number 33/2013.

In case of Musi Rawas (like Boyolali and Jembrana), the system of e-voting used the system from Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Teknologi (BPPT) or Institution of Research and Technological Development. The government of Musi Rawas has a deal with BPPT to use and deploy the system in about 102 village leader elections in between 2013-2015. The government of Musi Rawas provides 10 machines that is used in every week elections. To prevent the areas which can't afford the electricity well, the government provide portable ACCU that can works in about 12 hours.

According to former Head of Body of Village Society and Government Empowerment of Musi Rawas, Rudi Irawan Ishak, e-voting was chose in order to reduce the violations in the manual election. The implementation of manual election has many weaknesses. The first weakness is the number of damage ballot papers. Because of that factor, there were suspicions from the loser candidate(s) related with the independency of the election committees. The second weakness is the time for counting the result. Using manual model, it needs about two until four hours for counting the results, depend on the number of the ballots. Besides that, the government believes that the people of

Musi Rawas mostly has achieved quite middle or even high level of education (interview with *KOMPAS TV* in youtube). Still in Ishak's opinion, the people who live in villages prove that although they do not use the technology frequently, they are able to use e-voting without big obstacles. It proves that the people themselves have been common with technology. (Palembang.tribunnews.com, February, 5th, 2014). The e-voting also does not connect with any connection, so that it is secure from any possible hacks (Koran-jakarta.com)

The Head of Institution of Research and Technology Development, Marzan Iskandar, argues that the benefits of using e-voting are: 1) does not need to print the ballot papers; 2) easy to be used; 3) accommodate the people with special needs; and 4) cheaper in price and faster in time. It supports the democratic process that needs the principles of direct, general, free, and secret (bppt.go.id, December 6th, 2013).

According to Ridwan Mukti, the Mayor of Musi Rawas:

“At the first time, we think that it is hard to introduce the technology. Nevertheless, the concern can be solved. There are also the workshop and socialization. The introduction of the method of e-voting is including the workshop for the committees. Also, we study from Jembrana and Boyolali. .. We want also to maximize the data in the electronic identity card. But, I agree that we need to train the human resources frequently. Besides that, the socialization must be massive and run well in order to minimize the bias (interview with *KOMPAS TV*).”

Mukti also stated that the people of Musi Rawas told him that the electronic method is easier and more convenient than the conventional one (Koran Sindo, November 20th, 2014). Besides that, Mukti said that:

“They said that e-voting is easier than using ATM machines. There is no useless and broken papers. The budget is cheaper, cost about 12 million rupiah per village. The level of participation is high, more than 90 percent. Also, the candidates prefer e-voting because the process handled by machine, not human.” (rakyatmerdekaonline, November 19th, 2014).

According to one of the candidates in one of the village leader election in 2015, the method of electronic is better than the manual method. The e-voting is faster in time, easier, and more practice.

Besides the positive arguments above related with the benefits of e-voting methods in village leader elections, I still find the problems related with e-voting. In practice, still there are cases where the voters are not easy and familiar with electronic machine. They looked afraid of getting wrong while voted in the voting box. Because of that, sometimes the staff come near to the voters and it potentially make the cast of the voter seen by the staff.

Another issue that is interesting to be discussed is “the unseen motivation” of the mayor. I argue that there is a possibility that the mayor want to implement e-voting because of political motivation in the years after the implementation. Mukti wants to run for the Bengkulu Governor Office in 2015. By implementing e-voting, he wants to get positive image from the Bengkulu' voters.

Conclusion

The government of Musi Rawas has implemented e-voting in their 102 village leader elections between 2013 and 2015. The motives of the adoption of e-voting is because of the problems with manual elections. Besides that, e-voting is easier to be used, faster in time, and cheaper in price. Nevertheless, there is still a question whether the mayor implemented e-voting because of his political interest in chasing for the Bengkulu Governor office in 2015 or not.

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PREPARATION IN ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY: EMPOWERING THE LOCAL ECONOMY WITH THE INTERNET GOVERNANCE

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Abstract

Asean Economic Community (AEC) era will inevitably we face at the end of 2015. Preparations in AEC, is not only done by the employment policies issued by the government, but also by improving the quality of human resources to be ready to compete in the works or create new jobs for the others. Governance support competitive economic climate in the AEC, should take advantage of the development of information and communication technology, the Internet. This technology is not only used in the administration, services, or procurement of government goods and services involving also the role of the private sector – internet governance – but more importantly should be used in strengthening the local economy. With the open information, transparency that can be accessed throughout society, and accountable, public can take advantage of internet governance that has been running for the benefit of local economic development (even local culture). This article uses the methods of literary study, by collecting information, case studies, and theoretical elaboration. The final results in this article will describe how internet governance can strengthen the local economic sector.

Keywords: internet governance, empowerment, local economic, human resources

Introduction

The development of information and communication technology (ICT) in this decade have a significant impact on an individual's behavior either consciously or unconsciously. The thing can be felt is that when for example we can not escape from the devices that connect us to the Internet wherever we are, for example, smartphones, and other gadgets devices wh has been used in our everyday activities. The impact of the disclosure of information and global networks are also felt in the bureaucratic and administrative changes, many of which already use information and communication technologies that are used for public service activities and procurement of goods and services.

Changes that occur in the realm of governance itself, be more transparent and accountable in accordance with the demands of the public. Disclosure of information flows that occur either in the body of the government, also had implications for Indonesia's foreign relations. That is the government, private sector, and civil society are able to affect - or are affected - one another. Not only from within the country, but also the values, issues, and perhaps the principles emerging internationally. Such as e-government are a little "force" the government to apply in public spending on goods and services (e-procurement). Additionally governance of the Internet could also be used to strengthen the local economy, namely by opening the flow of goods and services that can be offered by all parties (or all citizens), and can be accessed by anyone provide an opportunity for all people to be able to benefit from it.

Conceptual Framework

Governance

The concept of governance itself not new. It is as old as human civilization, like the peoples lead by the king or queen which have power to protect and fulfill their needs. Governance means, the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented) (UNESCAP). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance.

According to Frederickson and Smith (2003), Governance refers to the lateral and inter-institutional relations in administration in the context of the decline of sovereignty, the decreasing importance of jurisdictional borders and a general institutional fragmentation. Frederickson and Smith assert further that, with more emphasis on governance, “the administrative state is now less bureaucratic, less hierarchical and less reliant on central authority to mandate action. Accountability for conducting the public’s business is increasingly about performance rather than discharging a specific policy goal with the confines of the law”.

Since governance is the process of decisionmaking and the process by which decisions are implemented, an analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement the decision. In this situation – how decision is made and take by government – that is including how interaction between political actors and interest groups contained in policy taken by government

Government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors involved in governance vary depending on the level of government that is under discussion. In rural areas, for example, other actors may include influential land lords, associations of peasant farmers, cooperatives, NGOs, research institutes, religious leaders, cultural leaders, finance institutions, political parties, the military or others interest group. The situation in urban areas is much more complex. The interconnections between actors involved in urban governance. At the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multi-national corporations, and maybe we can call it impact of the globalization. May play a role in decisionmaking or in influencing the decision-making process. All actors other than government and the military are grouped together as part of the civil society.

Internet Governance

We have definitions about internet governance as “internet governance is the development and application by governments, the private sector, and civil society, in their respective roles, of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures and programmes, that shape the evolution and utilization of the Internet.” (WGIG, *Report of the Working Group on Internet Governance* (Chateau de Bossey, June 2005) in Lee A. Bygrave and John Bing, 2009). Others like M. Mueller, J. Mathiason, L.W. McKnight (2004) have defined the phrase as collective action by governments and/or private sector operators of TCP/IP networks, to establish rules and procedures to enforce public policies and resolve disputes that involve multiple jurisdictions (in Lee A. Bygrave and John Bing, 2009).

World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) provides a definition of “*internet governance*” as “*Development and application of principles, norms, rules, procedures for decision-making, and programs that shape the evolution and use of the Internet jointly, by the government, private sector and civil society in their respective roles*”.

Telecommunications and internet base business people will see internet governance through the lens of technical infrastructure development. Academics computers and programming languages, giving attention to the development of standards and different applications. Human rights activists and

civil society organizations (CSO) view of internet governance from the perspective of freedom of expression, privacy and human rights. Legal practitioners concentrate on jurisdiction and dispute resolution. Government focus on issues that are closely related to the process and the protection of national interests. Meanwhile dotcom businesses will see internet governance from the standpoint of security of online transactions. If compiled in a list, various professional viewpoint conflicting regarding internet governance will certainly continue to grow.

Under both of the internet governance definitions, it embraces issues concerned not just with the infrastructure (such as PC, notebook, modem, internet networking tools or service, etc.) for transmitting data in government sector but also the information content of the transmitted data (for examples the newest data of poverty, literacy, level of education, labours, the economic potential of the regions, etc.).

Internet governance have four themes, openness, security, access, and diversity. And it has sub-themes like : a. openness and free flow of information and knowledge through the internet; b. security systems and data against various disorders on the internet; c. linguistic diversity and local culture on the internet; d. access to affordable and guaranteed the ease and availability; e. management, control and development efforts critical Internet resources.

Empowerment

Empowerment is a term a lot lately heard. This is connected with the public dissatisfaction against the model of development that is both top-down and centralized, as has been practiced in the New Order era. With this approach, then that benefit only a small group in the development of society, it is expected from the small groups will appear trickle down effect. However, until the collapse of the New Order regime, apparently trickle down effect it has never happened, even emerging economies is considerable disparity between the elite group of people with common people. In addition, the centralized development policy, the economic wheels tend to move only in the center, while the actual area has abundant natural resources, remain poor.

Based on UNICEF, they give definition of empowerment is of intrinsic value; it also has instrumental value. Empowerment is relevant at the individual and collective level, and can be economic, social, or political. The term can be used to characterize relations within households or between poor people and other actors at the global level. There are important gender differences in the causes, forms, and consequences of empowerment or disempowerment. Hence, there are obviously many possible definitions of empowerment, including rights-based definitions. Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.

Based on Rappaport (1981) empowerment is a construct that's links individual strengths and competencies, natural helping systems, and proactive behaviors to social policy and social change (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995: 569). Empowerment oriented interventions enhance wellness while they also aim to ameliorate problems, provide opportunities for participants to develop knowledge and skills, and engages professionals as collaborators instead of authoritative experts. Perkins summarize that researcher, scientist, or also public policy makers who's interested in empowerment to recognize and analyze the dialectics of empowerment, to become more familiar and comfortable with the roles and processes and collaborations with policy makers as well as community organizations, and to disseminate more practical, qualitative as well as quantitative, and culturally specific empirical information with an emphasis on the outcomes of empowered behaviors and substantive gains.

Nikijuluw (2002), explained that empowerment is a process for the powerless, has strength, ability and power to master something. As a process, then empowerment is not inexhaustible. While there are people, then empowerment is till being done. It could be people already have the power or is helpless in a particular thing but then realized that there are other aspects that are inherent with the people who need to be empowered.

As a process, it is also about the quality of empowerment. Empowerment activities, initially only reach a certain level of quality. But the next step to achieve the quality of life or socioeconomic status better. People usually are not satisfied with the economic status has been achieved, therefore empowerment needs to be implemented. According to Haque (1996: 517), a rural development expert from Bangladesh, is the process of empowering people to build them. Furthermore Haque argues that community development is a collective action that have an impact on individual welfare, so that means building is to empower individuals in the community. Empowering means that the overall personality of a person related to the physical and spiritual well-being, improved.

Research Method

This research use literature study as a methods to describe about the topics that is internet governance, empowering peoples and local economic with internet governance to face AEC 2015. Literature study was data collection techniques to the study conducted a review of the books, literatures, records, and reports that had to do with the problem being solved (Nazir, 1998: 112). Library of conducting research studies by studying and reading the literature that has to do with the problems that the object study.

Once a researcher has established research topic, the next step is to conduct research relating to: theory related to the research topic. In search of theory, researchers will gather as much information from related literature. Sources can be obtained from the literature from books, journals, magazines, research result (thesis and dissertation), and other sources of suitable (internet, newspaper, etc). the overall effort, said to be an attempt to study the research literature (Ariawantara, 2013: B-80).

The term is used in a variety of literary study term by experts, including that known are: literature review, theoretical studies, and theoretical improved overview. The use of these terms, basically refers to the common effort that must be passed to the obtain theories relevant to the research topic. When we have obtained the relevant literature, then immediately to regularly arranged for use in research. Therefore the study of literature includes such common process: identifying systematic theory, the discovery of literature, and analysis of documents containing information related to the research topic. Literature study has several functions, including: 1). Provides a theoretical framework for the study conception or planned; 2). Provides information about past research related to the research to be conducted; 3). Gives confidence to the researchers, because through literature review all constructions related research has been available; 4). Provide information about the methods, population and sample, instruments, and data analysis used in the previous research conducted; 5). Provide findings, conclusions related to the research findings and our conclusions.

Study of literature from the source is divided into two parts: the conceptual literature and research literature. Conceptual literature covers concepts or theories that exist on the books and articles written by experts in their delivery is determined by the ideas or experience of such experts. Conversely literature includes reports of research studies that have been published either in scientific journals and magazines. Based on the above, there are several strategies in conveying literary study: 1). Literature review reveal that actually closely related to the study variables; 2). Literature review reveal the order of the start of exposure to the independent variable and dependent variable or variables that reveal scope of general and broad to the specific variable. Of course extensively and seem to greet each other between the exposure variable and not a collection of quotes that do not become an overarching mindset. Be disclosed matters relating to the demographic characteristics of the sample and, if it is needed.

Discussion and Analysis

Governmental organization based in the information technology becomes very important in the twenty-first century, in the era of the third millennium. Information technology is a technology used to process the data, including processing, obtain, compile, store, manipulate data in various ways to produce quality information, which is information that is relevant, accurate and timely. The strength of a government organization will depend on the information or knowledge they have, the information will be adhesive elements that exist within an organization.

Correspondingly, the role and function of government in order to socialize and fast information is absolutely necessary. One of the steps taken is to create a portal website. With the website, information, communications and transactions between people and government made via the internet. So there are some benefits resulting for example, communication in the administrative system took place in a matter of hours, not days or weeks. That is, the government services in the community to be very fast, services and information can be provided 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Information can be sought from the office, home, mobile even anywhere without having to attend in person. This function is called as a function of provision of information services G2C (Government to Citizen). Another function is G2B (Government to Business) and G2G (Government to Government).

Preparation in Asean Economic Community

Indonesia is a country with the largest population in Southeast Asia, particularly when compared with the ASEAN member countries. Currently estimated population of Indonesia is approximately 250 million people, the number of people as the population of Indonesia reached 40% of the total population of countries which are members of the ASEAN. Population growth in Indonesia has always increased from year to year. Since 1986-2007 the number of Indonesian labor force continued to increase from 67.5 million to 108.1 million or an increase on average between 2.3 percent per year. With a very large number, the number that nearly half of the total population in ASEAN, Indonesia has the potential to dominate the labor market AEC ASEAN in 2015. But to master the labor market so many things that must be prepared to improve the quality of the local labor force to compete with foreign labor. advantage of this demographic bonus must be balanced with efforts to improve the human resource potential of Indonesia in terms of academic ability, soft skills, and characteristics of individual morality, ethics and local culture (Indonesian culture).

The first to be prepared in AEC is policy legislation that will protect the rights of our labor, when viewed from the system of the laws in the field of employment Act No. 13 of 2003 on employment is a regulation subject that contains the settings thoroughly and comprehensively in the field of employment in Indonesia when entering AEC. With the labor contract system and outsourcing was thought to have weakened the position of workers because there is no certainty of wages and benefits for workers, which it will make workers more miserable and disadvantaged. To deal with the government AEC are expected to be responsive to this case, the government should not fear the interests of capital owners, who then applies arbitrarily towards workers. Labor laws should be revised as soon as possible in order to protect the rights of workers, however, because Indonesian workers is a major component of its influence in the political, social and especially in the field of economy.

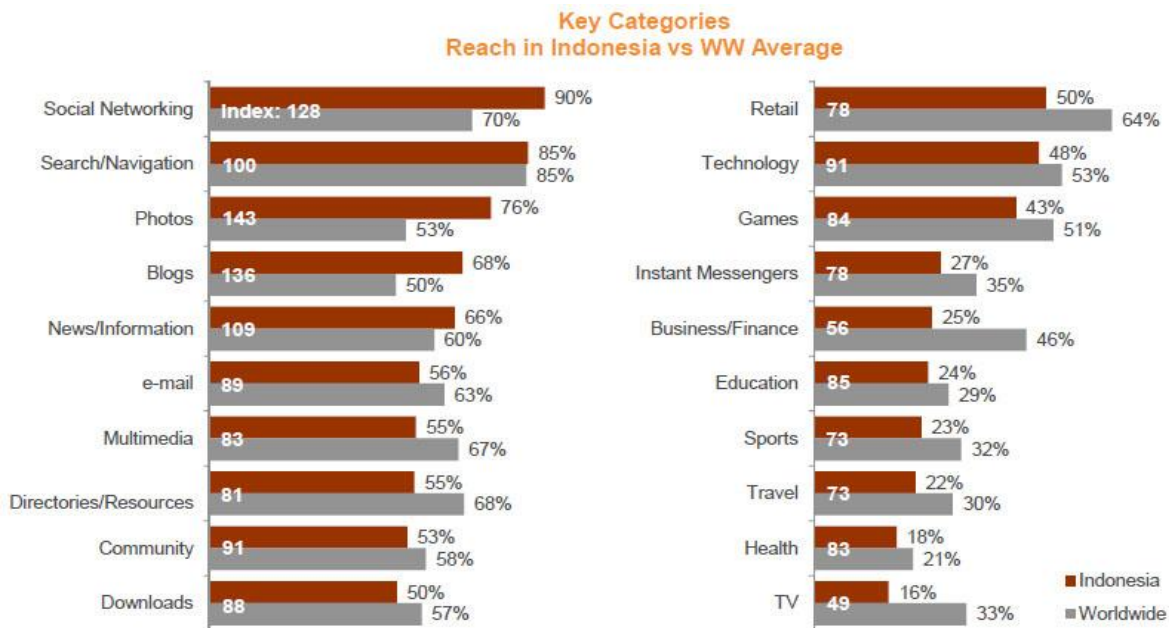
Secondly, it is human resources, the human resources quality is vital in the face of AEC. When the gates opened AEC in 2015. HR competition or rivalry between countries is a necessity that will only be a matter of time. When the Indonesian workers were ready with it the global competition it will be a competition that is very scary and threatening the workers of Indonesia, Indonesian workers could expect to be less competitive than the other ASEAN workers. The low quality of workers can be seen from the level of their education, which is currently very concern. According to data from the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics, Total workforce Indonesia in February 2014 reached 125.3 million people, mostly dominated by the number of primary school graduates down

with the number 55.31 million, 21.06 million junior high school graduates, 18.91 million high school, vocational high school 10.91 million, Diploma I / II / III 3.13 million, and the university is only 8.85%. Thus improving the quality of human resources is the duty of all parties, this can be done with equitable quality of education in each region, open the widest access for people who want to pursue formal and informal education, and provide convenience in education funding.

Preparing human resources to be able to compete in the AEC 2015 not only in terms of hard skills, but also there must be soft skills need to be improved. Soft skills must be owned by the Indonesian people must be in accordance with the development, but still have to uphold the value and norms that exist in society and Pancasila as a way of life. At Abat 21st, mastery of technology, particularly with the development of the Internet should be controlled and utilized to face of free competition. With the internet governance that has four themes, namely: openness, security, access, and diversity, it is expected all Indonesian people can synergize hard skills and soft skills with internet governance.

In the action plan by the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) targets in 2015 are: 1). connect villages with ICTs and wake Community Access Point; 2). connect universities, colleges, schools (elementary / junior high / high school) with ICT; 3). connect the scientific centers and research with ICT; 4). connect public libraries, cultural centers, museums, post offices, office archives with ICTs; 5). to connect health centers and hospitals with ICTs WSIS Action Plan; 6). connect all central government offices / area and build a website and email address; 7). adoption of curriculum elementary / junior high / high school as needed to build the internet community; 8). Make sure all of the world's population can access to TV and radio services; 9). encourage the development of local content and develop technical facilities for the use of all world languages on the Internet; 10). Make sure more than half the world's population has access to a range of ICT capability.

The targets of the tenth, when we look at the fact that in Indonesia, the accessibility of new ICTs can be accessed by either the large cities only. This is due to lack of facilities and infrastructure that support the connectivity of the Internet itself - or if there is an internet connection in certain areas is very slow. Internet usage in the Indonesian society is still largely limited to social media. This can be seen in the graph below.



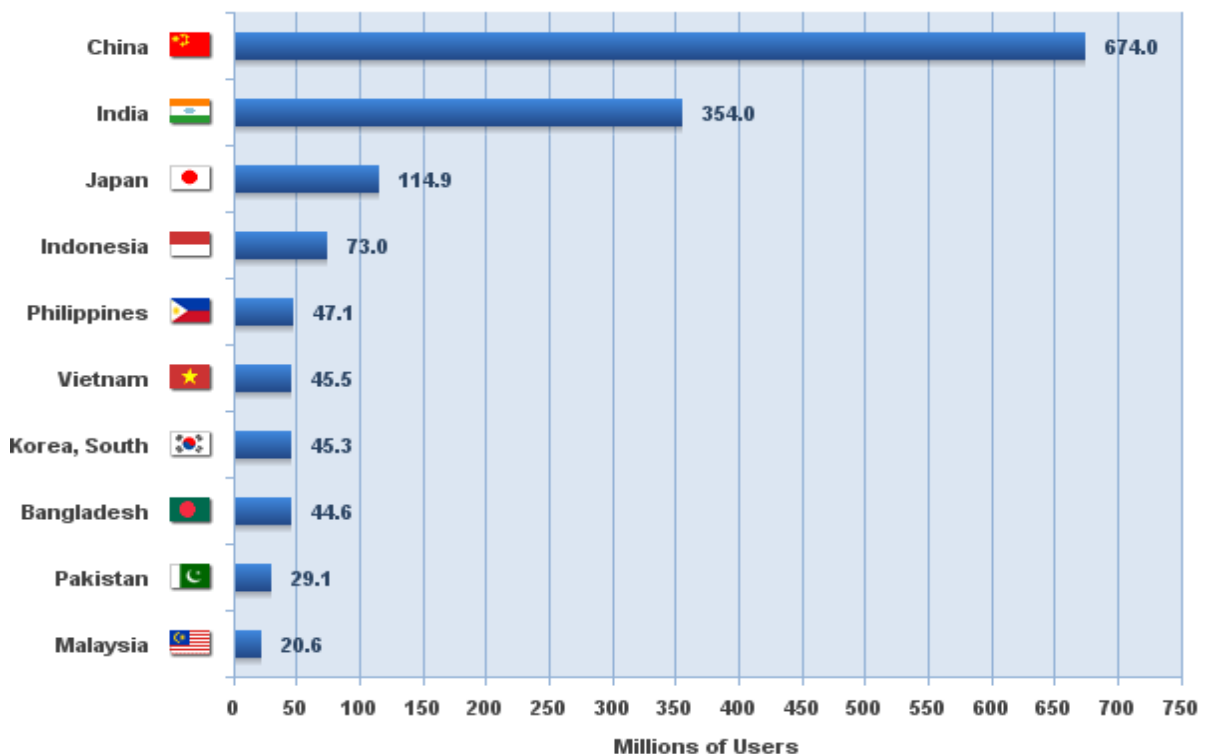
Source : processed from comScore 2010

Fig.1. The Use on Internet in Indonesia vs Worldwide

In the graph above it is known that as much as 90% of Indonesian people use the Internet to access social networking (facebook, tweeter, etc.), as compared to the world community in general only 70% are using the Internet for social networking. Whereas if we talk about the AEC in 2015, the activities of the Internet should be exploited for the benefit of the business, it is marketing and transaction of goods and services online, the development of products and services, as well as use of the Internet to improve knowledge and information in all fields. In the above table also reveals that only 25% of Indonesian society uses the Internet in a sector of the business / finance financing, while the use of the Internet as a medium for business / financial financing within the global community is as much as 46%.

Indonesia had an opportunity to compete in the economy through the AEC in 2015, supported by internet governance led by the government and relevant stakeholders. This is shown in the graph on the Internet Top Asian Countries on June 30, 2015, in which the graph shows that of the 10 top-ranked nations, Indonesian internet users are in the fourth position (73 million people use the internet). While most people who use the internet are high in China (674 million internet users), while the lowest was Malaysia (20.6 million internet users). It's just that there needs to be an emphasis in the use of the internet in Indonesia should be more oriented towards productive activities, particularly in the face of the AEC in 2015. Preparation in the face of AEC 2015 by utilizing the internet governance approach is needed two stages, first, empowering peoples with the internet governance, and secondly, empowering local economic with the internet governance.

Asia Top Internet Countries June 30, 2015



Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm
3,270,490,584 Internet users in the World estimated for June 30, 2015
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Fig.2. Tenth Asia Top Internet Countries

Empowering Peoples with the Internet Governance

To empowering the public via the Internet governance is not easy. It needs the support of all parties, both government itself, internet service providers, infrastructure, stakeholders who have an interest and willingness of citizens to take advantage of information and communication technology in meeting their needs (both the need for services provided by the government and demand for goods and services). Community needs for transparency of information on the Internet, freedom of expression is responsible, as well as innovation and intellectual property rights on the Internet should be an important concern internet governance in Indonesia.

The first milestone of community involvement with Internet Governance in Indonesia began on December 12nd, 2012 since the number of civil society to announce the formation of a joint secretariat called Indonesian CSOs Network For Internet Governance (ID-CONFIG). ID-CONFIG an inter-media society organizations that have concern on internet governance issues within the scope of freedom of expression online and human rights. So far, more human rights related to life offline, but today there are several forms of threats Internet freedom, including blocking and filter which arbitrarily frequent in Indonesia, the criminalization of the Internet as Prita case, and the problem of intellectual property on the internet thing. ID-CONFIG can be a medium between community organizations and will provide important information to the public. In the long term, ID-CONFIG will continue to make efforts to facilitate the dialogue process that is transparent and accountable between stakeholders as a way of realizing internet governance in Indonesia better.

One example of internet governance in local government, namely the BLC (Broadband Learning Center) was initiated by the Surabaya City Government. Surabaya City Government as the second largest metropolitan city in Indonesia after Jakarta, strongly supports the use of ICT in government services, public administration, government procurement of goods and services with e-procurement, and expand access to use and utilization of the internet on society of Surabaya. BLC which can be used free of charge and have the support concept for the utilization of information and communication media via a computer connected to the Internet channel. BLC is an IT learning facilities that can be enjoyed by people of Surabaya for free as an effort to accelerate towards the Surabaya Multimedia City. BLC has several services "free" training in ICT include: online business, access licensing online, office applications, graphic design, information technology and communications.

Empowering Local Economic with the Internet Governance

UMKM (Usaha Mikro, Kecil, dan Menengah or Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises/SMEs) is a business sector that has proven able to survive the exposure to the current economic crisis that has occurred. This is because in this business sector is a labor-intensive business sector, and mostly run by families or close relatives. Thus increasing confidence between each of the parties involved therein and minimize conflict. Based on Data Development Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and Large Enterprises Year 2012-2013 issued by the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, SMEs in Indonesia have growth of 2.41% (2012-2013), ie an increase of the amount of 56,534,592 SMEs in 2012 to some 57,895,721 in 2013 (increased number of 1,391,129 SMEs). Workers absorbed in SMEs also increased as much as 6.03% as many as 6,486,573 people in 2013. It is described as follows growth of employment in the SME sector in the year 2012 as many as 107 657 509 people and in 2013 as many as 114 114. 082 people.

Problems still faced by SMEs is low productivity (Susilo, 2005). This is related to: (i) low quality of human resources of micro, and (ii) lack of entrepreneurial competencies micro enterprises. In addition, SMEs face also factors that are still a constraint in improving the competitiveness and performance of SMEs. The factors referred to are: (Susilo, 2007): (i) lack of access to capital, (ii) lack of access to markets, and (iii) limited access to information on resources and technology.

In order to the AEC 2015, there is a great opportunity for SMEs to seize the market potential and investment opportunities must be utilized properly. To take advantage of these opportunities, the greatest challenge for SMEs is how to face the AEC was able to determine the right strategy to win

the competition. At the time of AEC 2015 is applied, it is estimated there will be changes in the behavior of the market with the characteristics: 1). The characteristics of dynamic markets, global competition, and organizational forms that tend to form a network (network); 2). The level of industrial production is a flexible organization with the growth driven by innovation / knowledge; supported by digital technology; sources of competition on innovation, quality, time and cost; prioritizing research and development; and develop alliances and collaboration with other businesses.

The government's role would be especially important to take them in order to compete with other businesses in utilizing the AEC in 2015. Some of the efforts that need to be done by the government to strengthen the competitiveness of SMEs facing global market are: 1). Improving the quality and standards of products; 2). Improve access to finance; 3). Improving the quality of human resources and the entrepreneurial spirit of SMEs; 4). Strengthening and improving access to and transfer of technology for SMEs for the development of innovative SMEs; 5). Facilitate SMEs related to access to information and promotion abroad;

To carry out the five things that must be done by the government in improving the competitiveness of local products produced by SMEs, then one of the most important things is the need for an internet good governance and encourage the strengthening of the local economy. The question arises in our minds "why Internet governance is needed to push (improve competitiveness) local economy?". It is understandable that one of the keys to the success of SMEs is opening up access to information both regarding marketing, product quality improvements, and innovative products that can be absorbed and utilized both by actor SMEs. Examples such as those proposed by Kurniawan (2008) (in Muafi, Kusmantini, Gusaptono, 2010; 171) in a case study OVOP Program (One Village One Product) in the Kabupaten Klaten, Kecamatan Bayat, Desa have superior products batik. The key to success will OVOP program are: 1). Public awareness about the OVOP; 2). Mapping to search the potential that exists in each area; 3). Efforts try long-lasting and sustainable; 4). Searches highest added value of products; 5). Promotion and market development, and distribution aggressive, and; 6). Always develop specific skills in the communities.

Information and communication technology was proven to improve trading success, because for example, if the SMEs use the Internet to do the marketing of products, and to obtain further information regarding product quality improvements and innovations developed so that products can be accepted by the public, the SMEs can have market share wide by minimizing the cost of the promotion and stores to display products. Likewise Zhu (2002) suggested that, success of business and e-commerce or Internet-based can provide empirical evidence on the growth of the national economy.

Conclusion

Internet governance is needed in line with the increasingly rapid development of ICT. Without the use of internet governance of the internet community can not be controlled and directed to increase the capacity to face global competition. With the AEC 2015, encouraging increased accessibility and use of the Internet for the benefit of the business sector, service, education, health, and meeting the needs of society at large. In the face of AEC 2015, the thing to do is to increase the capacity of communities to internet governance. Society must understand and be able to use the Internet for their interests. National and local governments should be able to make policy - and provide the budget - which encourage the use of ICT and the Internet in society at large. Government and stakeholders should be able to connect between public facilities, schools, hospitals, buildings and government offices with the Internet network connection in order to facilitate the transformation of information, public services, and the opportunity for the public to be trying to use the Internet in competition at the 2015 AEC.

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