

CENTRAL EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY STUDIES

4 • 2019

Special Issue

Security: An Indonesian Perspective

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Central European Journal of International and Security Studies C/o Metropolitan University Prague Dubečská 900/10, 100 31, Prague, Czech Republic Tel.: +420 724 587 171, Fax: +420 274 817 190, *info@cejiss.org*

CEJISS is published by Metropolitan University Prague Press Printed in the EU

ISSN: 1802-548x e-ISSN: 1805-482x

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The Role of Security Sector and Democracy in Promoting Sustainable Development: Global Challenges and Solutions

Mohammad H. Al-khresheh

The world is on the brink of collapse. Plagued with complex and multi-dimensional problems that threaten its sustainability, it is the task of everyone in the society to save it from this decline which has evidenced itself in many ways including the rising insecurity. Security is important in ensuring sustainable development as citizens can only innovate when they are safe. One of the ways to ensure this is through the practice of real democracy. Thus, the road of democracy is the path to peace and development in the society.

Global insecurity is more prevalent today than ever with many countries in the midst of internal conflicts, and acts of violence such as terrorism becoming more brazen than anyone could have foreseen. If the United States, for instance, despite being the most powerful nation on earth faces complex security concerns within its territory that were never envisaged, how the situation will bear a resemblance to other countries over the world This varies from random unexplained shootings to more organized threat to social and economic systems. These threats represent a form of "fat-tailed risk," where the probability of grave consequences is higher than normal but the chances of them happening remains unpredictable. Each type of threat shares the common characteristic that some elements are non-negotiable because they contain requirements that society must address to avoid or suffer irreparable consequences.

To make matters worse, 21st-century security threats are not limited to military threats but now include non-military such as terrorism, gun violence, and natural disasters. The interrelation between security challenges across the world is a complex one and evidence has shown that as intergroup and interpersonal conflict decreases, there is a corresponding rise in less understood and less known threats including threats to the natural, economic and social systems that developed over time.

Guest's Analysis

With the complex nature of global problems, there is a need for a comprehensive understanding of these multidimensional issues so as to develop idea-based solutions to the problems which will be executed by the government and other policymakers. Such solutions must adopt a multi-faceted approach so that key players in the society can integrate different strategies into different sectors to ensure multiple returns on societal investments and initiatives, thereby meeting the requirements for sustainable developments.

One of the ways of combating insecurity and realizing sustainable development on a global level is the practice of democracy. The ideas and reality of sustained development and democracy are interwoven as they both encourage the participation of the people in decision-making regarding the societal plans and goals. Democracy as a political system developed rapidly and was accepted in many countries even though the practice differed due to differences in ideology. In determining whether a country is practicing democracy, indicators to be considered include General Elections, Political parties as platform for people, freedom of speech so people can express their opinions, involvement of the people directly or indirectly in decision-making, etc. When such can be found in a country, then it can be said that such country is practicing a true democracy which will engender sustainable development.

Democracy encourages unity among the people as it respects both the majority and minority views. When such exist, there is usually no need for any section of the society to resort to violence in order to make its point. Like sustainable development, the keyword is participation in which everyone has a stake in the decision-making and all the policies implemented. That way, no one will want to destroy what he has contributed immensely to build.

When real democracy is adopted in global decision-making and every country regardless of size or wealth is allowed to voice their opin-

ions, it will be easier to tackle the external threats facing society. This will be done with the development of a value system that upholds social justice and human rights, global institutions, and breeding of national and international cooperation. Through these institutions, long-term strategies will be developed to deal with these threats by investing in policies with multiple benefits since it is difficult to identify the actual causes of these threats. Investment in policies with multiple benefits is likely the most productive means of creating secure societies that encourage sustainable development.

In conclusion, the combination of democracy, security, and peace will only lead to one end – sustainable development. Better security will drastically reduce violence and death rates, this mean there will be enough labour force and mind power to create, innovate, and push the economy forward. With equal access to justice guaranteed by the rule of law, all forms of administrative ills which hinder economic and social growth such as bribery and corruption will be reduced significantly and the fundamental rights of the people will be protected. National institutions in charge of security especially in developing countries which serve a hotbed for terrorists will be improved so they can coordinate security within their jurisdiction and create policies and guidelines that will promote sustainable development.

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Military and Security

Dynamics and Indonesian Perspective

Militarising the Natuna Islands for Indonesia's Gunboat Diplomacy

Arfin Sudirman, Jeniar Mooy, M. Fauzan Malufti, Rizki Ananda Ramadhan

This paper examines the significance of Indonesia's plan to militarize outer islands as a leverage for Indonesia's gunboat diplomacy and deterrence effect in the South China Sea conflict. The South China Sea dispute involving China, several ASEAN member countries and the United States (US) has been highlighted to be the most intense maritime conflict in the last five years. In 2015, the Indonesian Defence White Paper perceived that the conflict poses potential threat to Indonesia's outer islands, which are part of Indonesia's territorial sovereignty and integrity. Various diplomatic measures to prevent open war in the South China Sea have been proposed by Indonesia in various forums in the ASEAN. However, it does not mean Indonesia relies only on the soft power aspect; rather, it is also preparing itself in the hard power aspect. Therefore, in an attempt to avoid the domino effect caused by the conflict, the Indonesian Ministry of Defence has proposed a grand strategy to build and strengthen its military base in Indonesia's outer islands. By using the Gunboat Diplomacy concept, deterrence and qualitative methods, this paper shows that instead of merely utilizing military forces as legitimate deterrence and defence purposes, militarizing Indonesia's outer island can also be regarded as a responsive gunboat diplomacy against the security uncertainty in the South China Sea conflict. A lesson can be learned from Indonesia's strategic notion to exploit geographical conditions for archipelagic defence purposes by altering continental-oriented strategy to aerial and naval warfare.



Arfin Sudirman, Jeniar Mooy, M. Fauzan Malufti, Rizki Ananda Ramadhan. Militarising the Natuna Islands for Indonesia's Gunboat Diplomacy. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 12–33.

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Keywords: Indonesia, outer island, gunboat diplomacy, deterrence, archipelagic defence.

The rise of China as indicated by its rapid economic and military development is one of the current issues faced by countries in Southeast Asia. Historically, China learned the lesson from the failure of Glasnosts and Perestroika by the Soviet Union in 1991. Notwithstanding the Tiananmen incident in 1989, China has begun to reform its economic policy under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. With the help of Chen Yun's economic philosophy, China began to develop their economic integration, business cycle and planned economy with market regulation (Fewsmith, 2001, pp. 44-45). The Yun's economic philosophy worked relatively well trough Deng's successor Jiang Zemin as by 2002 China's gross domestic product (GDP) was \$1,266.1 billion. The size of the country's economy, which is comparable to that of Canada (\$714 billion), makes China a significant economic power; despite the fact that it remains a low-income developing country because its large number of population (more than 1.2 billion) (Yahuda, 2005: 209-210).

Today, considered as the world's new super power both economically and militarily, China often takes aggressive steps to support its political manoeuvres in the region. One example of China's reckless action towards countries in the Southeast Asia was its claim over South China Sea. By 2016, China has occupied most of the islands in South China Sea, reclaimed 3,200 hectares areas and built military bases, hangars, and barracks and communications facilities in Spratly and Paracel islands (Lunn & Lang, 2016, p. 14).

China's claim on South China Sea using its nine dash line overlaps with claims declared by countries in Southeast Asia region, such as the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand and Taiwan. This claim indicates rejections towards China's unilateral claim. On January 2013, the Philippines brought the South China Sea dispute to the International Arbitration Court. At the same time, the Philippines was also involved in military cooperation by intensifying bilateral military exercises with the United States (US) in South China Sea area and earned US financial support to boost the US–Philippines security partnership (To, 2003, p. 25). China increased its military budget by \$215 billion in 2017. This indicates a 28.9% increase in China's military budget since 2014 (SIPRI, 2017).

China's claim on the South China Sea also overlaps with Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone in the seafront of Natuna's waters. Located

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on the northern part of Indonesia, Natuna has a very strategic position for world's maritime transportation and economics. It is located on the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and Air Lines of Communications (ALOC) that connect countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa and also countries in the Central Asia, East Asia, Pacific and America (Natuna's Local Government, 2016). Judging from the potential conflict escalation in South China Sea, Indonesia highlights its commitment to developing and building sufficient defence capability, weaponry, human resources, infrastructure and institutional facilities by including these items into the strategic plan of the Indonesian Ministry of Defence (Renstra) or Phase II of the defence force development program (2015-2019) and Renstra III (2020-2024). By 2014, Indonesia completed the construction of the Centre for Peace of Indonesia (IPSC) and 14 border protection posts, one of which is located in Natuna district. This district was projected to become the pilot project for Indonesia's plan to use its outer islands as the country's military aircraft carrier (Rappler, 2016).

Indonesia's strategic position along with its vast natural resources and geographical condition as a natural archipelago state makes it prone to potential threats from its surroundings, such as disruption of the country's maritime security and violation of Indonesia's borders by neighbouring countries. The growing potential of conflict escalation in the region, especially pertaining to the South China Sea dispute, the Indonesian government plan to build military base on its border area and develop Indonesia's outer islands as a line of defence. This paper attempts to analyse this particular defence strategy and uses Natuna and Rote islands as a case study by considering the escalation of tension and instability in the South China Sea. By using the qualitative method, the aims of this research are as follows. First, the study aims to identify the security complex in the Southeast Asia that Indonesia could likely to encounter in the future, especially in the northern part of Indonesia's border area. Second, the study seeks to assess the strategic value of utilizing Indonesia's outer island as part of gunboat diplomacy in the region, and finally, evaluate the use of Indonesia's outer island as Indonesia's line of defence for deterrence effect. These aforementioned goals enable this research to contribute significantly to the study of international relations, especially in terms of strategic studies, on the study on the utilization of a country's geographic feature to boost its defence system.

Previous studies have attempted to elaborate Indonesia's effort to protect its border areas. A study by Purwanto in 2016 under the title of Indonesia's Border Management Using the Perspective of Archipelagic State shows that within the past 10 years, Indonesia has been adopting a centralization paradigm which inevitably undermine the key role of its border areas as the front doors. The Indonesian government has not taken a holistic approach to maintain security in Indonesia's border areas because the country's defence policy focused mainly on Java area. Purwanto proposed that Indonesia consider a comprehensive defense and welfare approaches through the development of social and economic infrastructure in its outermost areas. Purwanto's research is in line with the aim of this research due to its focus on Indonesia's border management on the outer islands. However, instead of elaborate general issues on border management, this research will focus primarily on the utilization of of Indonesia's outer island as Indonesia's military aircraft carrier in Indonesia's defence strategy.

Militarising the Natuna Islands

Another previous research that provides a compatible reference for this research is a research by Michel W. Dunaway (1991) under the title of *Gunboat Diplomacy in a New World Order: Strategic Considerations for U.S. Naval Intervention in the Twenty–First Century.* In his paper, Dunaway analyse s the use of gunboat diplomacy in United State's involvement in the Middle East conflicts, such as in Lebanon, Libya, and the Gulf War. His research shows that in each of these cases, US incorporated some of the world's most capable naval weapons system to create credible threat towards the opponent. Naval demonstrations were used by US as a tool to achieve certain political goals without resorting to armed confrontations with the opponents. Dunaway's research supporting the idea of utilizing gunboat diplomacy as a country's naval strategy to secure its security, sovereignty, and national interest.

In his article titled "A Southeast Asian Perspective on Northeast Asian Security, Pablo-Baviera (2002) compared both similarities and differences of security environment features between Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. He stated that in order to help manage its security challenges, Southeast Asian Countries, including Indonesia, can benefit from learning how Northeast Asian countries manage similar issues especially territorial disputes and maritime jurisdiction issues. China aggressive activity in South China Sea (e.g. island reclamation and militarization) can be influenced (or analyse d by SEA Countries) by the situation in Taiwan Strait and Korean Peninsula. For example, if China

choose to use force on Taiwan it will certainly place in doubt China's diplomacy attempt in SCS and at the end will provoke SEA Countries to continue their military modernization and build-up in the region. SEA countries, whether they acted individually or collectively through ASEAN, have considerable experience in conflict avoidance, confidence-building, and preventive diplomacy. This can be used to boost peaceful international behaviour by assuring all parties for resolving SCS disputes peacefully through cooperative measures.

Furthermore, as stated by Harahap (2018), building an ideal defence capability for Indonesia must highlight the importance of contextual defence studies. This means there is a need in understanding the dimension within the borders that occur and in accordance with the conditions that exist in accordance with many things and lead to conditions that are in accordance with what is done in accordance with the existing aspects. Harahap (2018) also mentioned a specific condition of Indonesia with its archipelagic nature, that lead to important changes of conception of the existing boundaries and the need to find new approach that meet the context of Indonesia's strategy.

In short, these previous studies indicate that as an archipelagic country, Indonesia needs to improve its defense strategy from Java-centric continental-based approach to a more holistic approach that put its outer islands and sea as the focal points of Indonesia's territorial sovereignty protection. Learning from the naval strategy implemented by the US in the Middle East, demonstration of naval power on the border areas can be utilised as a diplomacy measure that generates deference effect on the opponent. As part of ASEAN, Indonesia hold the reputation of performing a leading role in the peaceful settlement of the South China Sea dispute. Indonesia always tried to put forward the practice of conflict avoidance, confidence-building, and preventive diplomacy during the negotiation with China to discuss the South China Sea development. However, the case of China's claim on Natuna water has proved that relying merely on the soft-diplomacy approach is not sufficient in protecting Indonesia's sovereignty on its outer islands and preventing future threats to its territory.

Theoretical framework

This article uses several concepts to explain the security complex in Southeast Asia region caused by the growing tension in the South China Sea Dispute, the strategic value of Indonesia's outer island as the

means of gunboat diplomacy and the following deterrence effect. The first concept is deterrence. The main idea this concept is to create military threats that able to prevent the opponent (deterree) from taking aggressive actions towards the deterrer. The act of preventing certain moves by the deterree usually conducted through the effort of discouraging them or enhancing threatening actions towards the deterree country. A deterrer will try to stop a deterree from doing any actions that are not in line with its interests (Buzan, 1991, pp. 163–167). One of the essential variables of deterrence is technology, which refers to the destructive capability of a country's weaponry system (Buzan, 1991, pp. 177-179). One of the types of deterrence strategy is called the non-provocative defence. This concept explains the development of military forces for defensive purposes rather than offensive. A state can significantly enhance its professional military capability by equipping the fleet with defensive weaponry that is efficient in defence but has no offensive capability (Buzan, 1991, pp. 276-283).

The second concept used in this research is gunboat diplomacy. This concept examines the use of naval force as a strategy to maintain security on the outer islands. According to James Cable, gunboat diplomacy is the use or threat of limited naval force other than as an act of war, to deter or secure an advantage or to avert loss, either in the furtherance of an international dispute or else against foreign nationals within the territory or the jurisdiction of their own state. The essential requirement for the practice of gunboat diplomacy is the use of warships to demonstrate threat and power of a state to support and sustain deterrence effect derives from military capability (Cable, 1994, pp. 8-13). As stated further by J. R. Berridge and Alan James (2003, p. 120), gunboat diplomacy can be defined as the use of naval power in support of what would now be called coercive diplomacy. It is sometimes perceived ideally as gunboat diplomacy whenever a state's vessel (both small and lightly armed), which has shallow draught and great manoeuvrability derived from their steam and propulsion, is employed to 'show the flag' or go into action beyond national borders. The essential requirement to implement gunboat diplomacy effectively is the use of restraint quick action, limited goals and the use of power at a low or simple level. The practice of gunboat diplomacy should avoid magnificent or abundant use of power because it can lead to opposition and counterattacks from the opponent (Mandel, 1986, pp. 65-66).

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The third concept used in this research is outer islands published by the Indonesian government. Outer islands refer to remote islands located strategically on the border side of a country and directly face other countries' territory without being obstructed by other islands. The management of the outer islands aims to maintain territorial integrity, national security, national and state defence, create regional stability, utilize natural resources for sustainable development and empower communities through the improvement of people's welfare. The outer islands are very prone to threats from other countries, especially if no proper effort from the government to protect and develop the area. Hence, it is very important for a country to manage its outer islands decently by paying serious attention to its strategic values and potentials (PP No. 6 Tahun 2010, p. 1).

Security complex in Southeast Asia and Indonesia's threat perception on state security

Since 1970s the South-East Asian nations has been constructing the regional security environment by calling for a 'Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality' (ZOPFAN). However, the sustainability of this security environment or construction vulnerable against the complexity of the external powers' relations (Thompson, 2015: 143). At the moment, security complex in Southeast Asia very much depends on the tension and territorial rights in the South China Sea. The uncertainty has deteriorated as the US military became involved in the region. According to the SIPRI report in 2017, military spending as a share of GDP in Asia rose by 4.6% in 2016, while at the same time China has increased its military expenditure by 5.4% to \$215 billion in 2016. In addition, military spending in Asia and Oceania amounted to \$450 billion in 2016, an increase of 4.6% on 2015 although due to Chinese economic slowdown, the regional spending increased by 64% between 2007 and 2016. Meanwhile, between 2015 and 2016 the trends of military expenditure grew up to 5.1% in Southeast Asia with total of \$41.9 billion in military spending (Nan Tian, et.al, 2017, pp. 1-5).

Prior to the issuance of South China Sea map that contained nine-dash line in 2009, in 1948 China created a map which contained eleven-dash line around South China Sea. In 1953, this map was revised through the removal of 2 dashes around Gulf of Tonkin. To support its claim over South China Sea, Chinese government declared some historical evidences, one of them is the book of Shi Jing poetry

from the period of 475-221BC which gave the name *Nan Hai* (means Southern Sea or South Sea) to the area around South China Sea. China also published its own law to support its claim, such as The Declaration on the Territorial Sea in 1958. This declaration stated that China's territorial sea included the territorial sea around the islands of the South China Sea (Spartly or *Nansha* islands, Paracel or *Xisha* islands, Zhongsha Island, and Pratas Island).

Militarising the Natuna Islands

Problem occurred in 1995 when China began to send its naval forces to the South China Sea water that supposed to be regarded as international water. The Nine Dash Line claim, or during the reign of the Kuomintang called as eleven-dotted line, was claimed by the Chinese government. This claim appeared in 1947. In 1949, Zhou Enlai, the Chinese Foreign Minister, changed the eleven dotted lines into the Nine Dash Line. Since then, China's unilateral claims over the South China Sea has responded negatively by several ASEAN member countries that also have similar claim over South China Sea based on the International Law of the Sea, the geography factor and historical facts (Yahuda, 2004: 17).

The Nine Dash Line claim by China then received a lot of opposition from many countries who claimed some islands in the South China Sea based on historical facts and the occupational use of the area. In order to contain the tensions over China's unilateral actions, since 2001 ASEAN has been trying to mediate the South China Sea dispute by upholding the principles of the ASEAN Charter. In the latest development, negotiation and mediation conducted by both the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting ASEAN (ASEAN Ministerial Meeting / AMM) and the 45th ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) 19th July 2010 to the discussion of the Declaration of Conduct (DOC) and Code of Conduct (CoC) on the status of the South China Sea at the ASEAN Summit 21 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia ended with a deadlock due to a conflict of interest between the member countries of ASEAN itself in resolving South China Sea disputes (Yahuda, 2004, pp. 16-17).

In response to China's aggressiveness, claimant states, such as the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia, increased their military and defense capability around the South China Sea. In 2014, Philippine government announced that the country would spend 885 million US dollars to buy new defense equipment, such as 3 guided-missile fast attack craft, two guided-missile stealth frigates, and two antisubmarine helicopters. This is to improve security around the group

of Spartly islands. Meanwhile, within the same year, governments of Malaysia and Vietnam also announced the 10 percent increase of their military budget to anticipate China's movements in the area around Spartly and Paracel islands. In October 2014, Malaysian Navy Chief, Admiral Aziz Jaafar, stated that Malaysia would buy 8 guidedmissile corvettes and 6 anti-submarine helicopters and improve missile systems on its naval vessels to improve safety in South China Sea (Rustandi, 2016, pp. 4-6).

Besides the claimant states movements to secure South China Sea, United States also involved in this dispute by fighting for the freedom of navigation and transportation in this disputed area. As a response to the occupation of Mischief Reef (part of the Spartly islands) by China in 1995, United States firmly declared that freedom of navigation should be guaranteed and reinforced regardless of the overlapping claims between countries. In 1998, the United States dispatched its combat ships to the area around the Spartly islands as a response to China's protests against US military aviation activities around South China Sea water. In October 2015, United States sent a guided missile destroyer to the area around Spartly islands to guarantee freedom of military flight around the South China Sea (Bouchat, 2014, pp. 74-76).

The Chinese nine dash line claim has been formally protested by claimant states. On January 22, 2013, Philippine filed a South China Sea dispute between its country and China to Permanent Court of Arbitrations (PCA). The outcome of the ruling issued on July 12, 2016 stated that China's claim to sovereignty and historical rights in the South China Sea, as well as reclamation and development measures on the islands of the South China Sea have no legal basis and are contrary to international maritime law (South China Sea Arbitration, 2016, p. 1-3). However, China had previously declared its stance to refuse to participate or accept any PCA decisions unilaterally initiated by Philippine. In a position paper submitted to the United Nations in 2014 over its refusal to the submission of the South China Sea case to the PCA, China declared that its sovereign and other relevant rights over the South China Sea have been established over a long period of history, rooted in international law, and consistently upheld by the Chinese government (Rustandi, 2016, p. 2).

The South China Sea covers an area of 3.5 million km2 stretching from the southern part of the People's Republic of China to the northern parts of Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and Indonesia, as well as extending from the e astern part of Vietnam to the western part of the Philippines. Astronomically, the four clusters of these islands are in positions of 3 $^{\circ}$ 57 'to 21 $^{\circ}$ north latitude and 109 $^{\circ}$ 30' to 117 $^{\circ}$ 50 'east longitude. In the South China Sea there are four groups of islands, namely Paracel, Pratas, Zhoangsha, and Spartly, as well as geographical elements such as coral islands and rocks (Gao & Jia, 2013, pp. 99-100).

In response to the security complex in Southeast Asia, Indonesia has placed the South China Sea dispute in its 2015 Defence White Paper and since 2014 has spent 0.8% of its GDP or \$7 billion for military expenditure. We can see that Indonesia's threat perception is in line with the tension over the South China Sea. Maintaining balance of power in the region is important because Natuna is one of Indonesia's outer islands located at the borderline of South China Sea.

Indonesia's response to the military trends in Southeast Asia can be understood in the context of structural realists as a function of power asymmetries. According to Rosseau (2007, pp. 746–747), the immediate military balance in the region indicates the ability of a state to influence another state of alliance because a "real" conflict over material resources exists. In this case, the geo–strategic value and abundant natural resources that lie beneath the South China Sea create power asymmetries in an attempt not to starting or become involve in an open conflict but maintain military status—quo in the region.

Indonesia realise s the situation and perceives the South China Sea as an arena between the US and China arms race. The US's interest in maintaining stability in the South China Sea can be understood from a geo-economic sense and a geo-strategic point of view. As argued by Fisher (2016), the South China Sea has abundant fishery supply. It has been estimated that 10% of the world's fishery supply lies in the South China Sea. Apart from the fishery potential, according to the United States Energy Information Agency, the South China Sea also contains large petroleum reserves that could reach II billion barrels and natural gas reserves of 190 trillion cubic feet. This figure is considered the largest amount of petroleum reserves and natural gas compared to any other waters in the world. Geographically, the strategic value of the South China Sea can be seen for its location that is flanked by two oceans, the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans. This advantageous position makes the South China Sea the main route of traffic for commercial ships and tankers going to countries in East Asia and Europe, Africa and the Middle East (Usman and Sukma, 1998: 26). According to the

Arfin Sudirman Jeniar Mooy M. Fauzan Malufti Rizki Ananda Ramadhan United States Department of Defence, by 2015, the total value of goods traded through the South China Sea had reached 5.3 trillion US dollars or about 30% of the total world trade value (Fisher, 2016). Therefore, we can see that the involvement of the US in the South China Sea is inevitable as a result of its great strategic, political and economic values.

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China, on the other hand, has already built an artificial island and militarized the South China Sea and has also started to form alliances with several ASEAN member countries, thereby increasing the level of uncertainty in the region. Indonesia in respect to ASEAN's centrality and free and active principle of foreign policy must inevitably be involved in the conflict through diplomatic means. At the same time however, developing Indonesia's outer islands for military purposes could be understood as Indonesia's preparation toward professional military posture and enhancing deterrence effect similar to other ASE-AN countries. Therefore, militarizing the outer islands can be regarded as Indonesia's strategic move to respond against the security complex in Southeast Asia.

Strategic values of Indonesia's outer islands as modalities for deterrence and gunboat diplomacy

In 2015, Indonesia's Ministry of Defence published the Indonesia Defence White Paper no. 23 of 2015. The paper is a comprehensive statement of Indonesian strategic and defence policy that should be disseminated to the public to create mutual trust and eliminate potential conflicts. The paper also concerns the security dynamics in the Asia Pacific region particularly on the South China Sea dispute. It explains that because the dispute takes place in areas with high geo-strategic and geo-economic values, the security dynamics are very influential for international transport and communication activities in the disputed area and thus deserves serious attention. It also explains that Indonesia, with its 92 outer islands, shall prioritise the management of small outer islands for the sake of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia (Ministry of Defence of Indonesia, 2015, pp. 6–8).

The paper also consists of Indonesia's strategic plans to develop frontier areas and its outer islands for military infrastructure and facilities, including remote monitoring and remote sensing devices (satellite-based aircraft/drones) as part of deterrence effect (Ministry of Defence Indonesia, 2016: 9–11). To enable the policy to materialise, Indonesia's defence planning must be based on President Joko Wido-

do's vision of Nawacita to prioritise maritime security as part of the World Maritime Axis. In principle, the Indonesian Armed Forces consists of four main components, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, as well as a reserve component that includes national resources and infrastructure as supporting elements (Indonesian Ministry of Defence 2015, pp. 101–106). The defence strategic planning policy in 2014–2019 also indicates the enhancement of border area through the concept of integrated security belt that includes managing outer islands such as Natuna, Rote, Merauke, Biak and Morotai for defence purposes (Ministry of Defence Indonesia, 2016, pp. 12–16).

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According to Bakrie (2007, pp. 13-14), Indonesia's internal defence strategic planning to build defence system is based on the concept of "unified approach" and "comprehensive strategy" that encompasses all archipelagic area in Indonesia. While externally, Indonesia's geo-strategic factor is aimed to strengthen deterrence effect through diplomacy, reconnaissance and early warning system. At the same time, Indonesia also has to cautiously aware on changes in international strategic environment mainly on the issue of technological and communication development that could influence the nature of threats and character of war. Lastly, Indonesia can finally build a sufficient military operation based on the strength of the required defence posture if those factors has been carefully calculated and put into defence budget. Although the Island of Natuna is located at the outskirt of the South China Sea but still the lack of early warning and defence system in the island creates a huge vulnerability for Indonesia's territorial sovereignty.

If we look closer at China's nine dash lines over the Paracel and Spratly Island, that have abundant natural resources and a strategic position on international shipping lanes, it is not impossible for the Chinese government to eventually claim Natuna's Economic Exclusive Zone waters as its territory. According to Prabowo (2013: 1–3) Indonesia has expressed objection against China's unilateral claim over the South China Sea in 2010 by filing a note verbal with the United Nations and affirmed that the nine-dash line attached to China's map in 2009 contradicts international maritime law. Therefore, the establishment of military facilities in Natuna is vital. It has currently has become Indonesia's pilot project as a line of defence both for deterrence and diplomatic objectives.

Natuna is the foremost region, located at the northernmost part of the NKRI region and has very strategic values for Indonesia's de-

terrence and diplomatic capital because it is located in international shipping lanes. In terms of the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea or UNCLOS, it is included in the SLOC and ALOC from Southeast Asia, South Asia, Arab and African regions to Central Asia, East Asia, Pacific and America or vice versa. The Natuna waters is considered a major chokepoint in the world's oil flows and oil transited between Middle East and the Pacific. It connects the Persian Gulf, Hormuz Strait to the Malaka Straits, the Natuna waters with South China Sea to the East Asian Countries and the Pacific. The daily oil flows in this area could reach 11 million barrel and 40 trillion meters cubic of natural gas (Kong, in Dewi, 2008, p. 54).

It is estimated that over 65,000 vessels pass through Natuna waters annually, which contributes to 30% of international trade and provides 80% of imported energy to user states such as Japan and China (Dewi, 2008: 55). The waters of Natuna are also very vital areas for some countries, especially Singapore, which relies on its energy supply and communication infrastructure from Natuna's oil reserve, natural gas pipelines and submarine fibre optic lines. As stated by Sitohang (2008, p. 46), Natuna's natural gas reserves are among the largest in the world with a total of 201 trillion cubic feet. Therefore, the need to stabilize and provide security in the Natuna waters depends on Indonesia's commitment and political will to strengthen its defence capabilities.

The strategic values for Indonesia's planning in securing the outer islands, particularly Natuna can also be found for economic advantages. According to Wardhani (2017), the security in Natuna had been used by the oil and gas industry in the region. An important reason for Indonesia to secure Natuna is to ensure clarity of navigation for ships that want to pass this area, clarity of natural resource exploitation area, and legal certainty in the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone region. In the previous map, Natuna is given to the Indonesian Territorial Sea area around Natuna waters with only 12 nautical miles from the base line of the Indonesian archipelago on islands that are part of Natuna Regency. In its latest map, Indonesia assigns the name Natuna North Sea to the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone in Natuna waters located 200 miles from the base of the Indonesian archipelago in Natuna.

Based on observation that we conducted on July 2018 in Natuna Island, most of the construction of new military bases in Natuna has been completed. New radar station in the north, several army bases around Ranai City, and dock facilities in the southern part of the island

are ready to be operated by TNI. While there is still ongoing construction in some other bases, all this progress indicates that the construction is in accordance with the strategic plan and the specified timeline in which all base construction should be completed in 2019. It may be noted that these new bases have not been occupied yet by its personnel, weapon system, equipment, or logistic.

There's a question about whether these strategic plan in Natuna calls for a regular rotation of forces that are positioned forward or permanently stationed forces in the island. While there is no major construction of personnel accommodation facility (barracks or houses) in navy and air force bases, new army bases in the island have major permanent housing and barracks for its soldier. These indicates that so far, army is the only branch that have plan to permanently stationed its force in Natuna while navy and air force will only deploy its troops proportionally.

Another thing that construction of these military bases is followed by the construction of supporting infrastructure in Natuna Island such as water supply, electricity, improved communication, hospital, and also new roads and bridges to support troops and heavy equipment mobilisation within the island. The construction of this supporting infrastructure came as a result of the evaluation from TNI major exercises on the island two years back. For example, during the Rapid Reaction Strike Force (Pasukan Pemukul Reaksi cepat or PPRC) exercise in 2017, some roads and bridges were damaged because they can't withstand military heavy equipment and vehicle, especially main battle tank. The remnants of last year exercise (helipad, weapons range, and observation tower) still can be seen and used.

It should be noted that there is also non-military infrastructure project currently taking place in Natuna. In Selat Lampa, navy base is located between civilian and fishery harbor which also have long docking and big storage facilities. In Ranai city, the installation of fiber optic telecommunication cable, oil pipeline and storage have been completed. In a warfighting scenario, these civilian infrastructures will play double role to be used by the military to help defending the island.

However, in terms of economic and social aspect, while most of the local communities support the strategic plan and new military bases construction, it seems that there is still threat perception discrepancy between the government/TNI and local communities. While the government saw future potential threat or conflict can come from South

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China Sea, based on several incidents and territorial disputes in the region, local communities didn't feel any threat from any country. This happened because those incident and dispute happened near EEZ border far away from Natuna Island itself. There is also not enough socialisation program conducted by government/TNI to explain the urgency of military base construction and the strategic values of Natuna Island to the local communities resulting in 'militarization fear' to some local communities. These communities worried that the militarization of Natuna island will make investors and tourists afraid to visit the island because of the impression of imminent war.

Local communities also argued that the government should prioritise navy and air force instead of the army, in the strategic plan to improve archipelagic defense in Natuna Island. This is because if war broke out, the first and most important battle will occur at the sea and air, not land, since for way the invaders and TNI Natuna can only be reached through these two dimensions.

Therefore, in our opinion, the need to secure Indonesia's outer island as part of Indonesia's gunboat diplomacy is also based on China's doctrine on the traditional fishing ground in the South China Sea which is also being claimed by four other ASEAN member countries. China's doctrine caused the rising number of illegal fishing conducted by Chinese anglers in the area. The arrest of Chinese anglers by the Indonesian Navy from 2014–2016 indicates a security gap in the Natuna waters. It also indicates Chinese anglers have legitimate action to carry out an illegal fishing in the waters when the Chinese government claims the waters unilaterally. Therefore, strengthening the military forces in Natuna is necessary to reduce the level of uncertainty in the region. Indonesia also expressed its political statement to uphold sovereignty in the northern sea of Natuna and does not accept any of China's unilateral claim over the Natuna's waters.

Indonesia's strategic value on the outer islands, particularly the plan to militarize Natuna and the name alteration of the Northern Natuna Sea also pose a strong message to the actors involved in the South China Sea conflict. It indicates Indonesia has a stake and presence in the conflict both in the sense of hard power and soft power. The militarization of outer island could indicate Indonesia's gunboat diplomacy comes in another form; small, outer islands build as static—military vessels to 'show the flag' or go into action beyond the national border for deterrence and defensive purposes.

It means Indonesia has significant potential geographical advantages that can be utilised for the sake of the country's sovereignty, diplomatic, defence and deterrence purposes. Although the opposition or counter-attack against the opponent may not be mobilised, the deterrence effect can be achieved at least in preventing open war between powerful states involved in the South China Sea conflict and persuade those states to return to the negotiation floor in The South China Sea's Declaration of Conduct that has been discussed since 2002.

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Deterrence strategy on Indonesia's gunboat diplomacy in the outer islands

In terms of its defence strategy, Indonesia is known to be a country that prioritises s the peaceful approach in maintaining its national security and dealing with different types of threat, either from the inside or outside the country. However, this approach sometimes leads to vulnerabilities in Indonesia's sovereignty, especially in terms of its territorial sovereignty in the border area around the outer islands. One of the recent threats towards Indonesia's sovereignty was China's claim on Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone around Natuna. In 2016, China claimed this area as part of China's traditional fishing ground based on its nine-dash line claim on South China Sea dispute (Lunn & Lang, 2016, p. 14).

As a response to China's claim, Indonesia's former Politic and Human Rights Minister, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, on March 2016 stated that Indonesia will upgrade its defence capability in the outer islands and take bolder actions towards any threats that can harm Indonesia's sovereignty. In June and October 2016, Indonesian president Joko Widodo, made two visits to Natuna (RI, 2016). After the visit, General Gatot Nurmantyo, the Head of Indonesian National Army, stated that Indonesia will start building an integrated military base on its outer islands to anticipate any threats to Indonesia's territorial integrity. In this case, Natuna will be one of the pilot projects. According to *Indonesia's Integrated Military Base Masterplan* 2016, six areas in Natuna will serve as Indonesia's military base, namely Ranai, Sepempang, Sungai Ulu Village, Lampa Strait, Tanjung Payung Village and Tanjung Datuk Village (Rappler, 2016).

Indonesia's plan to enhance defence capability on its outer island, especially on Natuna that directly borders with the South China Sea, was not only stated directly by the government but was also

mentioned in the Indonesian Minister of Defence Decree Number./ Kep/435/M/V/2016. In this official national regulation, improving the management and security in Indonesia's outer islands with Natuna as one of the priority areas was indicated as one of the main goals of Indonesia's defence policy in 2017. Indonesia's defence white paper also supports this goal by emphasizing the South China Sea dispute as one of the current issues that should be taken seriously by countries in the region in composing their defence policies (Ministry of Defence of Indonesia, 2015, pp. 6–8).

Indonesia's action to upgrade its defence capability on Natuna's island to respond the developments in the South China Sea dispute, especially China's recent aggressive moves in occupying the entire area, is in line with the logic of deterrence. In deterrence concept, an actor/state will prevent another state from taking action that would harm its existence by increasing the threat potential to that state. A deterrer will try to discourage the deterree from violating its national interest by improving its military power (Buzan, 1991, p.163-167). In this case, Indonesia's plan to build an integrated military base on Natuna could be seen as Indonesia's strategy to prevent China from violating its territorial integrity. Based on the Integrated Military Base Masterplan 2016, Indonesia plans to enhance its defence capability on Natuna by building an integrated mess and hospital and upgrading its military facilities by building hangars, squadrons, taxiway, helipad, drone facilities, radar and other facilities that will support the performance of Indonesia's air force, navy, and army (Safutra, 2016). This step is taken immediately after China took the aggressive step in South China Sea by directly claiming Natuna. According to Buzan, one of the essential variables of the deterrence strategy is technology. Technology pertains to the ability of a state to improve its military means to discourage the opponent from taking threatening actions, while geography talks pertains to the effects of geographical features on the implementation of a deterrence strategy.

Political goals distinguish two types of deterrence, namely, core deterrence and extended deterrence (Buzan, 1991, pp. 177–179). In terms of Indonesia's deterrence strategy on Natuna Island, which will be implemented by building integrated military base and improving Indonesia's military facilities in this border area, the technological aspect can be found in Indonesia's plan to build an aircraft hangar, UAV squadron, medium range missile satellite, runway extension, taxiway,

bunkers for five combat aircrafts on Ranai city; aircraft and helicopter hangars, drone facilities, runway extension, bunker for combat aircraft, beaching dock on Selat Lampa dock and surface radar, long race camera on Tanjung Payung district. For an outer island such as in Rote or Morotai, the defence capability will focus only on extending the aircraft runway, building a sophisticated radar and drone for early warning system in the Indonesian Air Force and Naval Base. All of these plans were included on Indonesia's Integrated Military Base Masterplan 2016 (Rappler, 2016).

Although Indonesia has prepared the master plan to build a military base on Natuna and enhance its defence capability to anticipate the threat to its sovereignty, this deterrence strategy still could be considered as a non-provocative action. This plan is non-provocative because all the plan establishes is that it is for defence purposes only (Buzan, 1991: 276–283). As stated by the former Indonesian Minister of Politics, Law, and Security, Luhut Binsar Pandiaitan, on March 23 after a meeting with Indonesian President Joko Widodo, Indonesia will upgrade its defence capability on Natuna while maintaining good bilateral relationship with China as Indonesia's partner, According to Luhut, Indonesia's plan to build the military base on Natuna was not intended for war purposes, and instead is projected to increase Indonesia's deterrence effect towards threat from outside and inside the countries. In short, Indonesia's plan to enhance its defence capability in Natuna to prevent the threat from China is not intended for offensive purposes. This plan is also supported by Indonesia's diplomatic approach to maintaining bilateral relationship with China (Dyah, 2016).

We also have to admit that Indonesia's gunboat diplomacy to sustain deterrence mainly in outer island is not sufficient because Indonesia's economic growth is still less than 7% annually and military expenditure is less than 1% of GDP share. As argued by Nugraha and Sudirman (2016), Indonesia has not been able to compete in the aspect of policy, military, and diplomacy capabilities in the regional and global scales because it has not optimise d its geographical modality as the center of the world's maritime domain particularly in economics, sea transportation, fishery and energy. The Global Maritime Fulcrum is a very strategic theme in the future of world maritime issues. Therefore, Indonesia needs to maximise its maritime security by international cooperation by providing high–profile archipelagic states for other countries and build the implementation of gunboat diplomacy for de-

Arfin Sudirman Jeniar Mooy M. Fauzan Malufti Rizki Ananda Ramadhan terrence effect sufficiently. Furthermore, the Indonesian government and its navy can coordinate to conduct several efforts, including international maritime peacekeeping force, technology modernization, military buildup, enhancing human resources and naval deployment.

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Conclusion

Based on the foregoing sections, a conclusion can be reached that instead of utilizing military forces as a legitimate deterrence and defence, militarizing Indonesia's outer island can still be considered a responsive gunboat diplomacy against the security uncertainty in the South China Sea conflict. A lesson can be learned from Indonesia's strategic notion to exploit geographical conditions for defence purposes by altering continental—oriented strategy to naval warfare. Indonesia has finally focused its strategy on the military approach to create technological deterrence and a non—Java centric defence strategy to face potential sovereignty breach in its border. This additional strategy is to complete its previous approach in diplomatic and tribunal strategies which are considered to have failed in maintaining Indonesia's territorial claims (for example the loss Sipadan and Ligitan islands to Malaysia in the International Court of Justice in 2002).

In an attempt to support or maximise the strategy, this paper offers some suggestions. First, Indonesia through Indonesian National Development Planning Agency or Bappenas and the Ministry of Defence should formulate a master plan on the military base that the country is going to build to ensure that will serve as a proper deterrence in line with Indonesia's national interest. Second, Indonesia must measure the vulnerability and existential threats to each outer island under the archipelagic defence framework to assess and determine armed forces to be stationed in Natuna Island. Third, Indonesia should increase its presence and other military operations other than war activity in the outer islands, especially in strengthening civil—military relations to maintain territorial integrity by building a collective identity. Finally, the Indonesian government should fulfil its public services in the outer islands to ensure that the people of the outer islands continue to feel that they are part of Indonesia.



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Political Perspective of Indonesian Civil-Military Relation in the Reform Era

Ratnia Solihah, Siti Witianti, Mustabsyirotul Ummah

Civil-military relations will always be interesting to discuss in the democracy system. It relates to power supremacy in a state. Indonesia Post-Reformation of 1998 finds a turning point for civil-military relations. In the five different leadership periods, discover the differences in the patterns of civil and military relations in Indonesian democracy. This paper focuses on the dynamics of civil-military relations in Indonesia for five periods of government (BJ. Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati, SBY dan Jokowi) within a political perspective seen from the military politics, military and political aspects of the Reformation era. This paper is examined using the literature study method. Indonesia's context shows that explaining and establishing civil-military relations in the transition is not easy. The New order inherited a sufficiently strong political structure in the government by giving the civilian sphere to be filled with the military. On the one hand, the military as part of an Indonesian community or a citizen's part is a state agency that relies on the decision of the political leader. But on the other hand, the military's autonomy of civilians will provide an opportunity to irresponsibly in the name of The Guardian of the State. Interpreting civil-military relations in Indonesia's Democartisation after the reform era becomes more complicated because of diverse understanding. Therefore, it needs to address various models of relationships that can accommodate the Indonesian political-cultural pattern.

Ratnia Solihah, Siti Witianti, Mustabsyirotul Ummah. Political Perspective of Indonesian Civil-Military Relation in the Reform Era. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 34–50.



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Keywords: military politics, military, politics, civil-military relation, reform.

The civil-military relations in many new states after World War II become an interesting issue to discuss. Those states have chosen democracy as their system while the militaries have a long history within to gain freedom. The militaries that struggled for independence have taken part in the political decision-making process (Poelinggomang, 2000).

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In Indonesia, independence became a starting point for military involvement in politics. The military made themselves as an institution trough a long war against the Invaders. Struggle for independence made them do not only physical activities in war but also the country's founding strategies. However, after the condition turned into normal and stable, the military gave the government to civilians. From the first year of independence, Indonesian military officers tended to politics as a revolutionary soldier. The tendency got stronger in the year along Dutch Aggression. They had to overcome the threats and handling the communist rebellion in Madiun that made critical political situation in 1948 (Muchtar S.P., 1999, p. 52).

Civil supremacy over the military, as a feature of the implementation of a good democracy, is proven repeatedly to experience various exams and barriers. Since the establishment of the Indonesian Government, the Indonesian military has had a huge role in determining the historical line of Indonesian struggle. Therefore, during the five years of the Indonesian Revolution (1945-1949) we can easily witness how to plug the military role. The role of army politics becomes important considering the most striking characteristics of the dualism of leadership, i.e. military and political (Said, 1991, p. 5).

Later in the new order period, the Association of ABRI in politics was seen while in practice the military was not only allowed to follow the political world but also "with other social-political forces" involved in state life, which is sourced on the legal aspects of empirical. The institutional or individual military is involved in various activities (Leni, 2013,p. 39-40):

- I. As the pillar of the new order, the TNI was in the DPR through the line of adoption though not the party but Susduk DPR/MPR RI which confirming the position
- 2. As stabilizers and Dynamizers, TNI's political presence is embodied through Golkar. In addition to ensuring the passage of

- the democratic system, the New Order politicians also strive to produce the dominant political force
- 3. TNI is not only present in legislative institutions but also executives. It can be seen from the TNI who sits on key positions in the government, both active and retired.

- 4. To support the welfare of the TNI family, President Suharto also gave many business opportunities
- 5. Besides the military duty and economy, TNI has function to modernize the military within the AMD (ABRI Masuk Desa) Program

In the new order era, the military controlled the power. The military confirmed confidently the truth of dual function which legally known as a doctrine. That doctrine explicitly refuses the point that the military needs to keep the distance from politics while declaring the military as a saviour of the state and guardian of the state ideology, Pancasila. In other words, the Dwi Function was developed into a number of basic assumptions as justifications for the role of military politics, which includes (a) Historical value, in this case the Indonesian military is perceived as an institution that has its history as a people's army that plays a major role in dealing with military resistance; (b) Securing the ideology of the state, in this case the military is responsible for securing the state ideology, Pancasila; (c) Form of the State, the Military formulates the view of the form of the state of Indonesia as a unitary state governed by the family system. Military and civilian are one family, who have the same rights and responsibilities. Departing from several basic assumptions, the military confidently implemented a dual function policy, which in practice brought the TNI to become an important part of the power system in Indonesia. The military emerged as Power Elite (Maliki, 2000).

The reforms in 1998, which led to the downfall of Suharto, became a turning point for ABRI's control of the civilian sphere. The abrogation of ABRI's dual function has become a touted discourse as one of the demands for reform. In 2004, the government issued Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the Military that revoked the ABRI Dual Function (Mietzner & Misol, 2013, p. 112). Therefore, the military loses its socio-political function. They can no longer concurrently become officials or control a business directly. The structure of the Armed Forces was also reorganised into two, namely the Police in charge of maintaining secu-

rity and the TNI which guarded the national defence. This separation directly prevented the military from interfering in civil matters.

Military reform in Indonesia has produced several cultural, structural, doctrinal, and organisational changes. These changes affected how civil-military relations in Indonesia during the reform period, especially from a political perspective. This is the focus of the discussion in this paper.

Indonesian Civil-Military Relation

Several researchers have carried out several studies on Civil-Military. Koesnadi Kardi (2014) in his study entitled "Democratisation of Civil-Military Relations in the Reformation Era in Indonesia" shows the importance of the study of civil-military relations. Because as happened in various parts of the world, the condition or state of civil-military relations in a country greatly influences the course of government. The characteristics of each country along with the history and factors behind it have shown the specifications of each country in developing and developing civil-military relations. However, all of these factors will ultimately lead to the final hope of achieving a harmonious relationship between military and civilian institutions (government) that have an impact on democratic civil-military relations.

Syamsul Ma'arif (2007) conducted another study titled, "Military in Society: Towards a Professional TNI in the Reformation Era". In his study, he explained that the reforms that had been carried out were only at an early stage, in the form of prerequisites to go to the professional army. According to him, in the meaning of civil supremacy, there must be recognition by all components of society towards democratic civil-military relations, including military recognition of civil authorities and public officials directly elected by the people through general elections. Democratic civil-military relations in Indonesia are reflected in the relationship between the Ministry of Defense, which represents civilian institutions and the TNI, which represents military institutions. The role of the TNI is only implementing political policy in the field of defence.

David Setawan et al. (2013) conducted another study with the title "Development of Military Relations with Civilians in Indonesia". The results of the study show that an urgent and urgent agenda for public discourse is the issue of defence policy, the country's defence and security system, defence doctrine, threat formulation, defence posture, and defence budget. Civilians, in this case, are civil authorities such as the government, democratically formed people's representative in-

stitutions, and institutions such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The reform government has produced several policies relating to defence and security, namely Law number 3 of 2003 concerning national defence and Law number 2 of 2003 concerning POLRI. Civilian authority carries out the formulation of the two policies in the field of defence and security, where the president and minister of defence as civil authorities are formed democratically. Then a defence white paper was formulated in 2003 with the title "Defending the Homeland Entering the 21st Century" and involving the nation's components, including NGOs and political and military experts from other institutions. The government and NGOs reflect the direct involvement of civil authorities in managing defence.

This paper specifically discusses Military Civil Relations in the Reformation Indonesia in a political perspective, explaining aspects of: Military Politics, Military and Politics during the Reformation Period, and Military Civil Relations in the Reformation Period, which can be comprehensively studied through relationships military civilians during BJ's administration Habibie, the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid, the reign of Megawati, the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), and the reign of Joko Widodo (Jokowi).

Research Method

This study used a qualitative research approach, because the problem of civil-military relations in politics was considered unclear, holistic, complex, dynamics. Besides, the researcher intends to understand deeply by finding patterns, concepts, and theories related to the problems of Civil-Military Relations in the Political context. Data collection in this study uses a literature study by collecting and reviewing various references that are in line with the issues raised in this study.

Result and Discussion

Military Politics

"Military politics" is not a subject or conception that is black and white and demarcated. There are various perspectives and there is no one concept that covers it all. But apart from the ideal conception of military politics, it can be observed that no military in the world is completely apolitical and has no influence at all in the realm of politics or state policy. Modern military officers will always tend to increase their influence in politics and/ or the policymaking process (Perlmutter and Bennett, 1980, p. 3).

In general, military politics can be interpreted as "intentional and substantial involvement in the process of making and allocating political, social and economic power and values." (Watson and Danopoulos, 1996, p. 4). Military politics is a non-military role, which is often seen as an anomaly — an improper oddity — and is therefore often called "military intervention". It is said to be an anomaly, because of the assumption that the military was created to fight against the country's external enemies, not to rule. Political activities and roles are more precisely seen within a spectrum of gradations - "to what extent" - which can be measured by a scale, for example, the way the military plays the political role or the prerogative rights that it "protects." (Barany, 2007, p. 10).

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At one point in the spectrum, there is a coup and full control of the government, while at the other end there is full military subordination under civil authority. Almost all militaries around the world are between these two extremes. In other words, we can interpret military politics narrowly and formally or broadly and informally. In a narrow sense, military politics can be interpreted as full control of the seat of government (usually through a coup), whereas broadly speaking, military politics can be seen as an "unofficial" influence of the army in the political process and state policymaking.

How we choose between these two big lenses will depend on the essence of civil-military relations in the country, namely the strategic interaction between political leaders and military leaders that have evolved throughout history. This civil-military interaction needs to be viewed in a minimum of three arenas (Stepan, 1988, p. 3-4), namely: First, the arena of civil society, where civil-military interaction plays a role in forming or "controlling" various social movements and social organisations. Second, the realm of political society, where military civil-military relations are a form of a struggle overbroad public and political force, including in political and legislative parties. Third, in the realm of government, where civil-military interaction is focused on continuing and full control of government tools to "manage" the other two arenas.

The role of the military in the formulation of national security policies as well as the degree of organisational autonomy (issues of budget, structure, rank) is sometimes a test of the extent to which civilians can control the military. Whereas in the economic field, the role of the military might include the areas of the defence industry, commercial

and commercial industries, the media, transportation, to regional development. These various roles usually coincide with social activities in the fields of health, education, and disaster management (Alagappa, 2001, p. 37). The broader this role, the greater the political power of the military. These non-military roles are also usually wrapped up in the discourse of "national development" or "national defence."

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The politicisation of an officer corps usually comes from: (1) Some political or ideological officers influence their peers and are usually driven by the infiltration of several civil elites, (2) the emergence of new state ideologies which are then "crammed" into the military, such as fascism or communism, or (3) dramatic events occur that politicize entire generations such as the war of independence (Perlmutter and Bennett, 1980, p. 16). But over time, the conception and role of military politics, whether narrowed or expanded, will depend on internal military factors and overall civil-military relations. Furthermore, the actions or behaviour of civil society, the performance of government in improving the welfare of the people, and the level of state threat, are also usually decisive. Likewise how military behaviour is interpreted by the wider community and how civil authorities oversee them (Feaver, 2003, p. 63).

In a democratic country, civil-military relations as a normative reference should have the following characteristics (Betz, 2004, pp. 13-14):

- a. The defence minister usually comes from civil society, and ideally knows in-depth about defence management and can "represent" the military in domestic politics. Furthermore, the ministry of defence is usually not dominated by active military officers. This not only influences the policymaking process but also relates to democratic oversight and control.
- b. The primary role of the military is usually to advise civilian authorities on defence matters and sometimes voice military organisational interests in government not create their policies. Therefore, there is usually a clear line of legitimate authority (especially in the context of operations and mobilisation of troops), especially in military relations with civilian authorities. Besides, to carry out this function, military institutions usually also need to be protected from political infiltration
- c. Legislative institutions usually have to be able to play an active role in checks and balances against the government and the military (especially in the context of defence policies and budgets).

In addition, the public must be able to criticize, care, and debate defence policy openly. Nevertheless, this usually depends on the level of public awareness of defence issues.

Military and Politics in the Reformation Era

Democracy will eliminate the role of military politics. But in reality, the process of democratic consolidation is always filled with political and economic uncertainties so that the military's "opportunity" for politics remains. Moreover, military reform efforts often do not touch the issue of the political role of the military. Almost all militaries everywhere will have a tendency to doubt, or question, the effectiveness of democracy as a system of government.

The precondition for a democratic country, according to Huntington, is the freedom of politics from military interventions. The demand for a democratic political process that is free from military intervention makes the position of the military must be properly translated. Another discussion from Huntington (1968), the military should not get a strong position as a "praetorian guard" or guard of the stability of the regime, because it is prone to misuse of its functions by personal actions. In other words, the military, which has a big role in politics, tends to be in harmony with political dictatorship and personalism. The military does not deal with politics, but politics cannot be separated from military affairs such as policies on national security. Therefore, the military is obliged to carry out state security tasks based on policies determined by politics (Huntington, 1981).

In Huntington's view (1981), civil control must do something related to the relative strength of the civilian to the military, which is a form of control, both subjective and objective civil (Kardi, 2014, p. 234). Subjective civil control is focused on maximising the power of civil or group control whereas objective civilian control focuses on maximising the professionalism of officers. This division has to do with the absence of a professional officer corps. So the most possible form of civil control is subjective civil control. The core of objective civilian control ensures that the military elite will be more effective with a record of reducing its influence in national decision-making (Setiawan et al, 2013, p.78).

Perlmutter (1998, p. 167) argues that the motivation of the army to intervene is political, even if it is driven by social conditions that are not institutionalise d. According to him, two conditions can provide an opportunity for the military to intervene. First, social conditions,

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a country where social conditions are weak then the interests of the group will be spread in a very high frequency. Moreover, if the state structure is weak then political institutions do not function effectively and thus social control is ineffective and results in the military having the opportunity to intervene. Second, political conditions. Military intervention arises from civil problems. In many cases, the military's return due to civilians asked for support when the political structure was fragmented in political factions and the constitutional apparatus did not work.

In the view of Eric A. Nodlinger (1990) related to civil-military relations, the political role played by the officer corps can be seen in three roles categories namely moderators, guardians, and rulers. The military has a moderator character when civil-military relations are very fluid. Civilians who have patrons or back-ups from the military hold politics and governance. Guardians refer to the military's role as body-guards and supervisors of the running of the government. The military is involved in politics only at a macro-strategic level. The category of rulers is a situation when the military controls all fields, especially politics, in this context it can lead to a military regime.

In countries with strong consolidated democracies, the military is subordinate to civilians. This view stems from the understanding that the military domination of civilians in politics is contradictory to the realm of democracy. Experience in Indonesia shows that civil-military relations marked by military dominance during the New Order proved to be a major obstacle to democracy. The military's rejection of this view will not only disrupt civil-military relations but will also raise the perception among civilians that the military is one part of the threat to democratic governance. The Democratisation agenda is closely related to efforts to reduce the military's role in social responsibility and politics, if not eliminating it, namely returning the TNI to its function (repositioning) by increasing the principles of professionalism.

Civil-Military Relations in the Reformation Era

After President Suharto's New Order collapsed and ABRI's "dual-function" ended, the civil-military relations have undergone many changes. The condition of civil-military relations in Indonesia after the New Order government was directed to create a balanced and controlled pattern of civil-military relations. Objective civilian control of military power was minimised, but not eliminated.

At this time, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia were placed as an instrument of national defence, and civil governments have the right to issue policies and handling the field of defence. However, to organize harmonious and democratic civil-military relations, the government must have a program or agenda that is arranged systematically and compatible with the existing problems.

Besides that, the participation can be built with improving their expertise, involvement, and an active role in civil discourse and policy formulation defence and security. The post-New Order government has produced several policies relating to the defence sector, i.e. Law No. 3 of 2003 concerning National Defense and Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI. The civilian authority carries out the formulation of the two policies in the defence sector. The President and Minister of Defense act as democratically formed civil authorities while the House of Representatives as a representative institution of the people representing the interests of the people.

Comprehensively, civil-military relations in the reform can be seen in some of the leadership eras of the government, such as:

A. Civil-Military Relations during the reign of B.J. Habibie

In the civil administration under President B.J. Habibie, the policies retrieved in managing civil-military relations are still relatively similar to President Soeharto's period. Military during the B.J. Habibie is none other than the military legacy of President Soeharto whose political role is only at the doctrinal level.

The TNI organisation is still entirely under the control of the TNI High Commander led by TNI General Wiranto, who fully supports Habibie's leadership by taking advantage of this great opportunity. On May 22, 1998, Habibie's first opportunity to increase his legitimacy is reducing the number of ABRI members in the MPR from 75 to 38 seats. Another policy has ended the practice of active military officers who occupying non-military positions.

Also, the military has completely cut off its relations with Golkar. The name change of ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) became TNI (Indonesian National Army) in April 1999. But the changes that had taken place in the central government had not yet been socialized at the regional level. The existence of territorial command in the region stands parallel to the civil administration with a strong influence.

Ratnia Solihah Siti Witianti Mustabsyirotul Ummah According to the Huntington's view of the concept of civilian control of the military, what Habibie's government has done is aimed at maximising military professionalism and showing the distribution of conducive political power between military and civilian groups to professional behaviour.

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B. Civil-Military Relations During the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid

During the reign of President Abdurrahman Wahid, who replaced Habibie after the 1999 elections, the process of military depoliticisation with a pattern of civil-military relations led to civil supremacy with its great intervention. Policy changes made by the government at this time can be seen as part of political reform by creating the terminology of civil supremacy. Some policies that have important implications for civil-military relations, particularly in the areas of defence, such as:

- I. Separation of the Ministry of Defense, which is divided into 2 sectors, the Defense and the Security sector. The Defense Sector deals with security issues related to the foreign military defence, which are managed by the Department of Defense. While the Security sector was placed under the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam). The security sector governed by this ministry focuses on complaints on domestic issues that lead to civil security. The responsibility itself is borne by civilians, such as POLRI and Satpol PP.
- 2. Post-the New Order era, for the first time in history, the president appointed a Minister of Defense who came from civil society and had no military background and was also not a retired military officer, namely Prof. Dr Juwono Sudarsono (1999-2000) and Prof. Mahmud MD (2000-2001).
- 3. The separation between TNI and POLRI. In the previous period, the TNI had four armed forces: the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police. Then the President separates them so the TNI becomes an independent organisation. At the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid, the issue of dismissal or appointment of military officials is relatively dependent under the control of the President, although the effect is not as great as President Suharto in the New Order era. In this case, President Abdurrahman Wahid claimed that it was an effort to uphold civil supremacy and also as an

effort to minimise the dominance of the role of military politics. However, President Wahid's intervention that was far from the internal problems of the TNI and the patronage he provides, reached its peak after President Wahid issued a Decree on July 23, 2001, where the TNI did not add the contents of the decree at all.

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According to Huntington's theory related to civil-military relations, the military under Abdurrahman Wahid could be classified as subjective civilian control, because Abdurrahman Wahid conditioned the president's power as the highest authority in controlling the military.

C. Civil-Military Relations During the reign of Megawati

Under the reign of Megawati, the president is being conservative by not meddling in military affairs. The new government is more concerned with the functional role of the military with issues related to security, separatism, and territorial integration. The most visible changes during this reign was the role played by the government in political issue, including the abolishment of ABRI Representative in the elected MPR/DPR. The positions of minister, governor and district head are no longer comes from the military; The discharges of the TNI/POLRI faction after six elections, and since 2004, the TNI and POLRI institutions have left the political stage in the MPR, DPR, and Provincial, Regency and City DPRD.

Judging from the military policy of the Megawati government, the emphasis on Huntington's theory leads to the subjective civilian control while civilians during this reign were more asking for support from the military for the reasons stated above. Megawati wanted to establish good cooperation between the civilian and the military at first, but the military was used as an opportunity to build their political strength following the history of the military itself.

D. Civil-Military Relations during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)

During SBY's administration, civil-military relations were more towards an ideal form, where civilians were in control of SBY's government. The civil supremacy carried out in maintaining the harmonious relationship between civilians and the military is highly adapted to SBY's main ideas as known as the reformist army by upholding the values of army professionalism. His steps in maintaining civil-military

relations with military professionalism cannot be separated from the placement of people who have the capability in civilian and military understanding. For example, Prof. Dr Juwono Sudarsono as Minister of Defense has a mandate from President Yudhoyono to do two things: to maintain the neutrality of the TNI and to systematically regulate the procurement of Alutista (defence equipment; the main tool of the weapons system) in the Department of Defense.

The success of the Yudhoyono reign in limiting the role of military politics towards civil-military relations following Huntington's concept related to an objective approach to civilian control. With SBY's record of accomplishment as a driving force for internal reform of the TNI, the President also avoided involving in TNI's internal problems. The military during President SBY was more characterised as a moderator, while SBY's background in the military made the military have clear boundaries in government.

E. Civil-Military Relations During the reign of Joko Widodo (Jokowi)

According to observers and former generals, not all TNI officers and soldiers accepted gracefully that the TNI only played a role in the field of national defence without carrying out a civilian role. The consequences can be seen in Jokowi's reign. When President Jokowi relied on the TNI support in the face of police pressure and political parties allied with former President Megawati, the TNI crawled into areas outside of defence. The TNI has signed several agreements with several ministries and state companies to, for example, provide security at airports, bus and train stations, and help farmers to improve yields. Some officials have called for military involvement in the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) to counter the efforts of the police and political allies to cripple corruption eradication institutions

Besides, President Jokowi also nominated and appointed an army general to become a TNI commander, which broke the reform convention to rotate the post between the navy, air force and army. This condition, as stated by Vedi Hadiz, was seen as a step to attract the army to his side, bearing in mind that the President faced so many difficulties from his friends and opponent, only the army who was able to frighten the police

According to Agus Widjojo, the involvement of the TNI in politics will increase the risk of thwarting the process of transition to democ-

racy in Indonesia. In his view, there were weaknesses on two sides: President Jokowi who lacked confidence without the presence of an army on his side, and the military whose many members were still "nostalgic with a large role" in the past. Although in the past the TNI had a despicable reputation, since Suharto resigned, the image of the TNI has improved. According to the Conflict Policy Analysis Institute in Jakarta, the TNI benefited from a comparison with the image of the police which deteriorated this year due to their attack on the KPK. This condition allows the TNI to portray itself as an honest party, with a civilian perspective and loyalty to the President.

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Since separating from the TNI after the reform, the police have grown to become strong institutions and at the most hated because their low salaries encourage corruption and a lack of professionalism exacerbates conflicts in society. According to Sidney Jones, this has become one of the drivers of the army moving towards the civilian domain. However, Jones is not convinced that the TNI intends to return to the centre of the political stage. According to him, the TNI only wants to playback its role in the field of internal security, for example, taking an anti-terrorism role of the police. Thus, the TNI can potentially get funds outside the national budget. According to Vedi Hadiz, the increasing role and authority of the army, especially in anti-corruption policies, will certainly be met with resistance from activist groups and politicians who benefit from the development of democracy in Indonesia.

Another phenomenon stated by Al Araf is that the threat to TNI reform increased after the Draft National Security Act entered into the 2015-2019 National Legislation Program. The Civil Society Coalition for Security Sector Reform considers that the draft law can expand the role of the TNI in the civilian sphere. Previously, the military's role was limited by the TNI Law, which was passed in 2004. Some other examples include the involvement of the army in the rice self-sufficiency project to bring order to demonstrations and strike workers. The involvement of the army in the 'New Rice Printing' program was carried out based on a cooperation agreement between the Minister of Agriculture Andi Amran Sulaiman and General (Ret.) Gatot Nurmantyo in January 2015.

While the involvement of the army to bring order to the demonstration/strike was based on a memorandum of understanding between the Police and the TNI in early 2018. Most recently, Jokowi's a desire

to overcome the problem of non-job officers in the internal TNI by creating 60 new posts. TNI Commander Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, one of which was distribute the officers to the ministry, later translated this plan. Hadi even suggested that this placement be regulated and included in the revision of the TNI Law. In addition to being involved in various civil affairs, the TNI in the Jokowi era was also used as a publicist. This was seen, for example, when Jokowi asked the military to be involved in socializing government duties and programs.

In connection with this condition, some groups consider reforms within the Indonesian National Army (TNI) to have suffered a setback, with their involvement in civic affairs increasingly. The emergence of TNI involvement in civil affairs is partly for two reasons. First, civilians have not been able to realise a professional military. This can be seen from the lack of military budget approved by Parliament. This limited budget causes a lack of Alutista, a lack of training, and the welfare of soldiers is still low, leading to a lack of professional military in Indonesia. Second, civil society leadership is still considered weak. The phenomenon that occurs in Indonesia has its characteristics because the history of the formation of the TNI is based on the struggle to expel invaders, not to enhance a career in the military field. Many things must be done by the TNI in the state administration—first in the military, politics, then the economy, for the welfare of the nation.

Conclusion

The issue of military politics is not an easy and black or white problem. The issue of military politics is the question of "how grey" the military is in politics. In the context of military politics, the military does not have to hold political office to still be able to play their political role. Especially if civilians are, still weak and cannot be considered successful in carrying out the mandate of the Constitution to prosper the people.

In the context of civil-military relations in a country, that has just experienced a democratic transition, interference or perhaps a failure in efforts to encourage military professionalism through defence policies can have fatal consequences for the sustainability of democracy. Professional identity within the military can develop only partially or stagnate, and if political stability deteriorates, the military can return to the realm of practical politics anytime.

The military as part of Indonesian society or a part of citizens is a tool of the state and therefore the position of the military must depend

on the decisions of political leaders. As a reflection of the people's sovereignty, the military autonomy of civilians will provide an opportunity for them to be irresponsible, let alone require them to obey civilian leadership. Meanwhile, if the military believes that the military must obey to civilian leaders, what happens is military politicisation (counter-subjective) which will disrupt its status as the guardian of the state.

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The indecisiveness and the absence of agreement between civil-military parties in interpreting the concept of civil-military relations will have implications for the model of civil-military relations, which will then lead to conflicts of interest between civilians and the military. The answers to questions that arise from civil-military relations generally lie in the model and description of these models where harmonisation in "proportional" equality agreed through civilian authorities is required. The military must be professional in its field and civil participation, participate in managing defence and jointly build a model of harmonious civil-military relations in Indonesia for the interests of Indonesia in the future and build a New Indonesia with a democratic format and the existence of recognition by the international community.



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The Role of Indonesian Airforce in Disaster Management for Assisting with Natural Disaster

Suwaji, Windy Dermawan, Rizki Ananda Ramadhan

Geographically, Indonesia has a high degree of possibility regarding natural disasters. As a state internal security keeper, the Indonesian Air Force should be in the front-line in dealing with natural disasters in line with the mandate of Law Number 34 of 2004, which is "protecting the whole nation and the whole of Indonesia's blood from threats and disruption to the integrity of the nation and state". The facts that occur in the field, the Indonesian Air Force still has some problems related to synergy with other institutions and agencies and the lack of defense equipment management. This study employs a descriptive analysis method with a specific data collection technique to validate the findings of this study. Thus, the findings of this study are the Indonesia Air Force need a disaster response SOP, need to enhance the capability and strength of defense equipment, need to establish a permanent unit for disaster management within the Air Force's organisational structure and establishing contingency budget allocations for the Air Force that are sufficient to carry out OMSP in order to support the TNI's main tasks. With these steps, a positive synergy will be realised in the operation in the disaster area between all stakeholder involved ultimately give a good impact to the national stability.

Suwaji, Windy Dermawan, Rizki Ananda Ramadhan. The Role of Indonesian Airforce in Disaster Management for Assisting with Natural Disaster. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 51–64.

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Keywords: air force, natural disaster, standard operational procedure, synergy, national stability.

CEJISS 4/2019

Indonesia is a country that contains three most active volcanoes of all countries in the world; they are the Eurasian Plate, Pacific Plate and Indo-Australian Plate (Indonesia Investments, 2018). This causes Indonesia to experience frequent earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions and other natural disasters. From this geological condition, the logical consequence is that Indonesia lies in the Pacific Ring of Fire, which is full of potential natural disasters. One of the newest natural disasters that happened in Indonesia is a massive earthquake that occurred on 28th September 2018 in the Central Sulawesi region with a magnitude of 7.7 SR (World Health Organisation Indonesia, 2018). This earthquake followed by tsunami and liquefaction and caused 2,113 people to die (Nugroho, 2018). The Palukoro fractures that stretches along the Donggala bay has shifted, resulting in an earthquake and tsunami that caused significant casualties and material losses. The destruction of infrastructures and the loss of transportation accesses due to this disaster affected the difficulties in the disaster management process. The Indonesian National Armed Forces as the front guard have to be present in every natural disaster as stated in the opening of the 1945 Constitution that is a national ideal to protect the entire nation of Indonesia and the Indonesian people. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) as a component of national defense, based on Law No. 3 of 2002, Law No. 34 of 2004, and the Tri Dharma Eka Karma TNI Doctrine of 2018 stated that the TNI has duties in Military War Operations (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). This duty also applies to the Air Force (TNI AU). In the OMSP, the Indonesian Air Force carries out natural disaster management operations through air support operations which include natural disaster relief, evacuation, and humanitarian assistance activities together with National Disaster Management Authority (BNPB), the National Search and Rescue Agency (Basarnas/BNPP), the Indonesian Red Cross Society (PMI), the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemensos), Air Force Headquarters (Mabesau), Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysical Agency (BMKG), The local government, and the involved air bases.

The implementation of providing support to the handling of natural disasters by the Indonesian Air Force faced many obstacles and

challenges. The main obstacle in the aspect of cooperation is the lack of synergy between the Air Force and the stakeholders involved (BNPB, BNPP, PMI, the Ministry of Social Affairs, BMKG and the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing of the Republic of Indonesia (Kementerian PUPR). This has resulted in overlapping authorities between involved ministries/ agencies which caused some technical problems about the executor in the operation area. This problem continues to occur even though it has been contained in the Task Force (Satgas). In additions, there are operational aspects constraints regarding the problem of Indonesian Air Force aircraft flight hours used for disaster management in the earthquake in Central Sulawesi last 2018. The results of the 2018 operation evaluation noted that the use of flight hours is far in excess of the planned flight hour allocation for disaster management operations, including the absence of special budget support in Indonesian Air Force to support disaster management activities. These aspects affected the lack of Air Force's role in handling disasters.

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The involvement of the Air Force in handling disasters is something that needs special attention. This is because the use of the strength and capabilities of the Air Force which determine the level of success of operational tasks, not only for the Air Force but also for the success of all other elements of the nation in tackling the disaster that occurred in Indonesia. The synergy between the Indonesian Air Force and other institutions/ agencies that has been running this far needs to be maintained or even to be improved. Therefore, it is necessary to establish policies, strategies and efforts that can optimise the involvement of the Indonesian Air Force through coordination, revision and dissemination of implementing regulations related to the support of the Indonesian Air Force in disaster management including a legal umbrella for integration (Laws and government regulations) that is capable to create synergy and interoperability of information systems for all stakeholders. In addition, we also need to make efforts to propose, procure, and modernize to improve the capabilities and strength of the Indonesian Air Force main defense system tools (Alutsista) in handling future possible disasters. The next effort is to study, submission, and validation of a permanent and structured organisation within the Air Force and establishing disaster contingency fund support for the Air Force so that it is hoped that it can create an optimisation of the Air Force's involvement in disaster management in order to carry out OMSP to support the TNI's main tasks.

This paper provides an overview of optimising the involvement of the Air Force in handling disasters in order to implement OMSP to support the main tasks of the TNI as a form of emergency preparedness and response by utilizing the potential and capability of the Air Force that has been tested in disaster management in this country.

CEJISS 4/2019

Theoritical Framework

H. H. Hap Arnold (1949) explains the theory of Air Power where in the World War II the most prominent in the greatness of air power lies in its high flexibility to be transferred from one task to another task easily and quickly (Huston, 2002). Similar to the implementation of humanitarian operations, Air Power in the form of aircraft is also the most prominent because the operation requires speed, responsiveness and flexibility in handling crises. The aircraft functions as air transportation, medical, as well as the task of searching and helping disaster victims must be able to fulfill their duties quick and easily.

The next approach is talking about the theory of Synergy by AF Stoner James (1986) that explained about the Realisation of synergy between the role of the Indonesian Air Force and the institutions/ agencies in handling natural disasters (Stoner & Charles, 1986). James argues that the relationship between two parties can produce a certain level of communication that depends on the elements of cooperation and trust between each party. Based on the pattern of work relationships that might occur, it will produce three levels of communication, namely: defensive, respectful, or synergistic (Covey, 1989). Defensive communication is formed due to the low level of cooperation and trust; respectful is formed with high cooperation and mutual trust where communication patterns are compromise and respect each other; synergistic is the highest nature of communication that is formed through high cooperation and mutual trust until both parties trust and sure enough to form synergy. In synergy, the cooperation is strong and able to have a greater output than just the sum of the outputs of each party (the whole greater than the sum of its parts) (Bertalanffy, 1968). This theory is relevant in strengthening cooperation in order to create cross-sectoral synergy between the Indonesian Air Force and all institutions/ ministries in handling natural disasters.

In natural disasters, it is also important to look at problems through the Human Security approach according to the United Nations (1994). Human Security states that human security is the center of gravity and is the main concern of state policy. The two main categories in Human Security: Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want. Threats that can interfere the sustainability and existency of Human Security are so many and varied that the UN categorizes them in seven categories, namely: Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Community security, Political security (Gomez & Gasper, 2013). Natural disasters are non-traditional threats that can one day appear suddenly and disrupt the existence of humanity due to their effects. If related to the seven threats mentioned above, natural disasters are an environmental security threat that results in loss of lives, environmental damage, loss of property, and many more.

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Last, discussing TNI synergy will also related to the approach of Civil and Military Relations theory by Huntington (1957). According to Huntington civil-military relations are demonstrated in two ways: Subjective civilian control and Objective civilian control. Subjective civilian control means civil-military relations carried out by minimising military power and enlarging civilian power. If applied too fast, this model can lead to disharmony in civil and military relations because military space is very limited. Instead, civilian power became very broad and became a force that controlled military policy and deployment. The second way, objective civilian control means: professionalism of both parties and mutual recognition of each other's roles; effective transfer of power from the military to political leaders who have the authority to make strategic decisions in the military field; recognition and approval from political leaders on the capabilities and authority of military professionals; as a result there has been a minimization of military intervention in politics and minimization of politics in the military. Objective civilian control is considered a healthier and ideal model of civil-military relations because it is done by enlarging military professionalism without losing its power. The state and politicians still give certain limited powers which are only related to the military field.

To deepen the discussion and see the problem more clearly, the researcher also added several reading sources that can be used to understand the overview of the study. First, "Menggapai Cita-Cita Masyarakat Tangguh Bencana Alam Di Indonesia" by Herryal Z. A and Hery H. (2013) (Anwar & Harjono, 2013). This work is the result of recording from a number of writings about natural disasters in the world

and especially in Indonesia, which is complemented by the experiences of writers and researchers within the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI). Herryal and Hery studied natural disasters related to disaster risk reduction. The discussion in this study is more focused on natural disasters that are very much threatening Indonesia's earth and harming both the community and government, including earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods, and landslides. The difference between this text and the writings of Herryal and Hery (2013) lies in the subject under discussion. This text examines the role of the Air Force while Herryal and Hery present their study in a general way.

"The Conception of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP) Indonesian Air Force Humanitarian Operation Mission to Overcome Natural Disasters in the Future" by Kabul Haryono (2010). This work states that the earthquake and tsunami on December 26, 2004 resulted in the paralysis of the civil administration in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) (Haryono, 2010). Kabul (2010) also explains that the conditions that occur in disaster management are the lack of coordination and unclear management of aid. In such a situation, the strength and capability of the Air Force is the mainstay in handling post-disaster. This study will different with Kabul's, as it gives different research methodology and problem solving techniques. Kabul (2016) solves problems by offering conceptions while this study solves problems by optimising existing conditions.

Irawan (2006) states that various natural disasters occurring in the territory of the NKRI have resulted in environmental, public facilities, fatalities and property damage and losses. The mitigation efforts due to natural disasters are the responsibility of the government and its people. The TNI as part of the government has the responsibility and role in handling countermeasures due to natural disasters and handling refugees in accordance with the tasks of the OMSP. This manuscript is in line with Dedy (2006) on natural disaster management, and is a continuation of studies focused on the role of the Indonesian Air Force in natural disaster management.

Last book by BNPB (2012) entitled "Tanggap Tangkas Tangguh Menghadapi Bencana" (BNPB, 2012), contains knowledge and information about disaster in order to realise the concept of disaster risk reduction and to minimise casualties from disasters that never come. With this book, it is hoped that the Indonesian people will always be ready and resilient in facing disasters. This text is in line with the

BNPB's article on disaster management but has some differences in the subject.

Research Method

This study employs a descriptive analysis method with data collection techniques through library research that is looking for references from book literature, data, regulations, legislations, manual books, journals, and information through other internet and printed media related to the subject matter with this study. Likewise, all the data obtained serves to validate the findings of this study.

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Discussion

During 2018, there were 2,572 disasters occurred and caused 4,814 people died or lost and 10,239,533 others were affected and displaced (BNPB, 2018). The disaster also damaged 320,165 houses around the center of the disaster (BNPB, 2018). The handling in emergency response is very important to evacuate disaster victims to safe areas, as well as provide clothing and food needs for the victims. Meanwhile, the current condition shows that the involvement of the Air Force in handling disasters is still limited in helping on the basis of humanity's call as fellow human-being. In handling with disasters in collaboration with other relevant units, there are no rules or legal law or Standard Operational Procedures (SOP) that govern them. In fact, the Air Force has enormous potential in carrying out air transportation support, both in evacuating disaster victims and sending aid to the affected areas. The Air Force also has personnel who are trained in helping with disaster relief. If the air support operation can be carried out properly and optimally, it will provide the improvement of potential support for the ongoing operation of the disaster management that is happening. To provide optimal support, the Indonesian Air Force needs to conduct intense coordination with other units involved with handling disasters, given the strength of the defense equipment owned by the Air Force is still limited. At present, there is still a lack of synergy between related agencies in disaster management, thus slowing down the disaster management process and ultimately influencing national stability.

Operationally, the Air Force together with disaster management stakeholders have carried out activities both in the pre-disaster, disaster response, and also post-disaster periods. However, the implementation was not optimal because the availability of defense equipment

owned by the Air Force was very limited. The Indonesian Air Force main defense system support in handling natural disasters in Palu is only operating 16 aircraft, consisting of 12 C-130 aircraft, 4 CN295 aircraft, 2 NAS 332, and 1 EC 275. The number of these aircraft is very limited compared to the needs in the disaster area which is used to bring refugees out of Palu and bring volunteers and soldiers to Palu. The condition of the number of flight sorties which greatly exceeds the allocation of flight hours planning for disaster management ultimately reduces the operation and training functions of the Indonesian Air Force that were previously planned, and excessive use of aircraft operations without thinking about compensation for maintenance can negatively impact flight and work safety.

During the disaster response, the realities that occur in the field are the lack of proper coordination and synergy implementation between all stakeholders. The coordination between related stakeholders are not fast enough in carrying out their duties, functions and authorities. The coordination mechanism and procedure process has not been organised because the application of the principles of coordination, integration and synchronization by the relevant units has not been optimal yet to make it effective and efficient. The Indonesian Air Force must have accountability in dealing with casualties and property as well as damage to infrastructure and regional infrastructure, controlling humanitarian assistance from the government, community members and abroad, carrying out assistance and service to the disaster affected communities, structuring the mobility of logistics distribution, health assistance and evacuation to implementing coordination unit (Satkorlak) and coordination unit (Satlak) by the land and air.

At the time of the response, the synergy between the Air Force and BNPB had not synergized as expected. The BNPB as the operational coordinator still uses commercial flights as a means of air transportation to transport logistics and personnel. The use of Indonesian Air Force aircraft only did right after the disaster occurs during the initial survey, mapping and assessment of natural disasters. However, the lack of coordination and communication shortly after the disaster made it hard to decide the transportation and evacuation routes and caused the process is hampered. In addition, the synergy between the Air Force and PMI has not been well encompassed. Cooperation system between the two parties has not been established yet. The use of Air Force to run the air transport without the basis of a cooperation agree-

ment resulted in a messy flight schedule of the Indonesian Air Force. Besides, regarding the synergy between the Indonesian Air Force and the Ministry of Social Affairs, it has been well established; although it needs to be improved considering that the Ministry of Social Affairs does not have the main tools in sending aids and logistics. At present there is no legal law between the Air Force and the Ministry of Social Affairs in handling disasters. The absence of a legal law of cooperation also occurs between the Air Force with the BMKG and the Air Force with the Ministry of Public Works and Public Relations which inhibits the optimisation of synergy between the parties involved.

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In addition to problems in synergy with other institutions due to the absence of a legal umbrella, the Indonesian Air Force also faces other problems in disaster management such as the lack of defense equipment in handling disasters; there is no organisation in the Air Force that specifically handles disasters, and incomplete software involving the Air Force in disaster management. The involvement of the Air Force in disaster management also give implications for the disruption of the implementation of the OMSP and the TNI's tasks, whereas if efforts to improve the implementation of the OMSP in disaster management are not optimally supported, the efforts to realise the main tasks of TNI will also be hampered.

One of the most important factors that must be considered as a reference in making decisions and determining policies is the development of a strategic environment that will affect the stability of a country's security. Indonesia must always pay close attention to the development of global, regional and national situations, especially the aspects that can affect the conditions of stability in the country so that all decisions and policies are implemented properly. As seen from the development of the national situation, the Indonesian Air Force as one of the main components of Indonesia's defense must be able and willing to be the driving force for change in a better direction to help create a stable national stability. Natural disasters that lately often happen in Indonesia demanded the readiness of the Indonesian Air Force to support disaster management in accordance with the main duties of the TNI in the OMSP.

The impact of the development of the strategic environment is to create various opportunities and challenges in the effort to increase the involvement of the Indonesian Air Force in handling natural disasters in order to implement OMSP. Opportunities, that can be utilised by

Indonesia, include: aspects of the global environment where the state needs to realise that the Air Force has a significant role in fulfilling logistics and disaster response. Therefore, the need for completeness of defense equipment must be a priority. Meanwhile, on the national aspect, Indonesia's strategic geographical location and increasing population growth as well as political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and defense dynamics open opportunities for the Indonesian Air Force to increase its role in the deployment of personnel and defense equipment owned. The need for the presence of the Air Force on all fronts in the national arena can provide opportunities to accelerate the fulfillment of needs and increase the readiness of the Indonesian Air Force defense equipment. In addition to opportunities, there are some obstacles. They include the potential for natural disasters of a global nature due to weather anomalies, global warming and careless and irresponsible human actions in exploiting natural resources that can threaten the lives of the global community, including Indonesian citizens. Another obstacle is the national condition which up until now is not yet stable due to social conflicts, political problems, economic problems, as well as the actions that lead to the disintegration of the nation, resulting in conditions of national stability being disrupted. This situation causes obstacles in the preparation of the Air Force defense equipment so that impacted to the lack of optimal role and tasks of the Air Force in implementing OMSP in natural disaster activities.

Supposedly, the involvement of the Air Force in disaster management has a decisive function, especially in the role of air transportation, medical assistance, and security around the airport as a center for logistics distribution by air. In accordance with the capabilities of the Air Force in terms of speed and carrying capacity, the Air Force has carried out the distribution of foods, medicines, clothes, and volunteer personnel and equipment to the affected areas. This has been carried out by the Air Force in natural disasters in Donggala & Palu. The disaster management in the emergency response is very helpful to reduce the suffering of victims from disasters. The handling in emergency response is very important to evacuate disaster victims to safe areas, as well as provide clothes and food needs for the victims. Therefore, it is hoped that there will be optimal synergy between involved stakeholders in handling disasters. The stakeholders in disaster area related to Air Force task are the BNPB, BNPP, PMI, BMKG, the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the Ministry of PUPR. With the great potential of the Air Force in carrying out air transport assistance to support the need for logistics and personnel mobilisation carried out by every related unit. It is necessary to establish an SOP so that a network of synergy between the Air Force and stakeholders involved in disaster management is formed.

If a SOP has clearly established, the Air Force will more easily cooperate with stakeholders to mobilize logistics and personnel so that the implementation of air support in the context of disaster management is optimal to maintain national stability. There are several indicators of success that can be used as a reference for comparing conditions before the SOP and the conditions expected from the optimisation of AU involvement after SOP, including: the availability of Indonesian Air Force defense equipment in supporting optimal disaster management according to the needs in the disaster area; the formation of an organisation in the Air Force that is ready in handling disasters; optimal contribution of the involvement of the Air Force in handling disasters by implementing OMSP; the availability of software involving the Indonesian Air Force in handling disasters in line with Government Regulation No. 21/2008 concerning the Implementation of Disaster Management, mentioned several agencies involved in disaster management including the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Public Works, the Indonesian National Police, the National SAR Agency and Indonesian National Army (TNI). The Air Force is one of the resources in handling disasters during an emergency response with control by the BNPB or BPBD. Based on the laws and regulations above, it is expected that optimal cooperation will be established with an MOU between the Indonesian Air Force and relevant ministries and institution in handling the impact of natural disasters. The optimal implementation of CSOs will ultimately contribute to the achievement of the TNI's main task, namely to protect the entire nation and the whole of Indonesia's blood spills from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state, in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 34 of 2004.

After times of consideration to several aspects that are used as a determinant in the implementation of the optimisation of the Air Force's involvement, a policy can be formulated as follows:

"The Realisation of the involvement of the Indonesian Air Force in optimal disaster management through efforts to issue regulations on the implementation of the Air Force's air Suwaji Windy Dermawan Rizki Ananda Ramadhan

support and harmonize the Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) for emergency response, increase the capability and strength of the Indonesian Air Force defense system, realise positive synergy by arranging operational cooperation/ MOU between the Air Force with all stakeholders, establishes a permanent unit for disaster management within the Air Force organisational structure and establishes a contingency budget allocation for the Air Force that is sufficient to carry out the OMSP in order to support the TNI's main tasks."

The policy needs to be implemented through a number of strategies taking to consider the opportunities and constraints faced in implementing CSOs in order to support the TNI's main tasks. The strategic options proposed by researchers including:

- a. The first strategy is to create positive synergy by issuing Implementing Regulations Regarding Air Force Air Support in Disaster Management, Arranging Operational Cooperation/ MOU between the Air Force and all stakeholders, and harmonising the Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) for Disaster Emergency Response. The Method that can be used including coordination, assessment, FGD, revision, determination and socializing.
- b. The second strategy is to improve the capabilities and strength of the Indonesian Air Force's defense equipment in handling disasters. The means used to realise this strategy are the Ministry of Defense and Mabesau with the method of assessment, submission, procurement and cooperation.
- c. The Third Strategy is to establish a permanent unit for disaster management in the Air Force's organisational structure and to determine a sufficient contingency budget allocation for the Air Force. The means used to realise this strategy are the Ministry of Defense and Mabesau with the assessment method, and the submission of organisational validation.

Conclusion

This study discusses the optimisation of the involvement of the Air Force in handling disasters in order to carry out OMSP in order to support the main tasks of the TNI. In the implementation of disaster management by the government, the Air Force has a vital role. This role requires the support of various stakeholders and all components of the nation. Issues that have arisen related to disaster management

so far have not been well synergize between ministries/ institutions and the Air Force, the limited defense equipment and the absence of permanent organisations within the Air Force that specifically handle disaster issues. To handle it, there are three strategies to overcome the problem of the involvement of the Indonesian Air Force in disaster management. The first one is by creating positive synergy in issuing implementing regulations related to the Air Force's air support in disaster management. The secone one is arranging operational cooperation/ MOUs between the Air Force and all stakeholders. The third one is harmonising Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) disaster response, increasing the capability and strength of the Indonesian Air Force's defense equipment in handling disasters, and finally realise the establishment of a permanent unit for disaster management within the Air Force's organisational structure and determine the contingency budget allocation for the Air Force that is adequate.

The Role of Indonesian Airforce in Disaster Management



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TNI Intelligence's Role on Preventing Global Terrorism Threat in Indonesia

Munip Suharmono, Akim, Arfin Sudirman

Strategic moves of counterterrorism in Indonesia are seen as moderately comprehensive. The evidence is the involvement of all stakeholder to prevent terrorism, intelligence is one of many elements of counterterrorism that is exposed by public, they believe that intelligence is failed and careless in terrorism act in Indonesia. We choose the TNI intelligence as an object analysis of this study above all other intelligence units that are signed to prevent global terrorism act. The involvement of TNI intelligence to fight terrorism in Indonesia has a long history, before reformation in 1988, ABRI/TNI stands in the frontline against terrorism act. Accordingly, this article contains the explanation of intelligence's role in preventing terrorism in Indonesia under TNI headquarter command. The findings show four points that must be considered in TNI intelligence process, which are: intelligence execution, intelligence personal, coordination among intelligence institution, and special material equipments.

Keyword: terrorism, TNI intelligence, counterterrorism.

Terrorism act in the world still becomes a serious threat for global security and peace, not even a single state, including Indonesia, can guarantee its people to be free from the extremist group assault who join the terrorist international network. According to Hoffman (2006:40-41), terrorism is a political act which the motive and the target is un-

Munip Suharmono, Akim, Arfin Sudirman. TNI Intelligence's Role on Preventing Global Terrorism Threat in Indonesia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 65–78.

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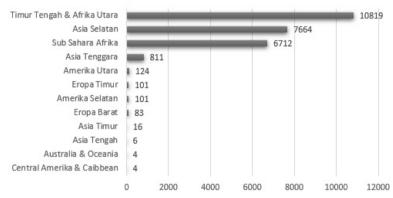
avoidable, a violence or challenge is planned to harm the targets psychologically. The effect is massive, and it is executed conspicuously by an organisation that is well structured and connected to another same group. The group are motivated and inspired by the former and existing group with similar ideology and leader.

CEJISS 4/2019

Currently, terrorism has a wide and global network, its existence is extremely threatening peace and either national or international security. Global Terrorism Database in 2018 showed that the highest number of terrorism act is in Middle East and South Africa.

Figure 1. Death caused by terrorism

DEATH NUMBERS DUE TO TERRORISM



Source: Global Terrorism Database 2018

The data displays the number of deaths caused by terrorism, and it is extremely high. The domination of global terrorism is still represented by ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Suriah). ISIS is terrorist organisation with most aggression, data from Global Terrorism Index (2016, p. 50) explained that ISIS is the most destructive terrorist group in 2015, the data recorded the percentage of fatalities caused by the ISIS terror is increasing, the total of the victims are 6.141.

The threat of terrorist network in regional area is nothing but murderous. The establishment of terrorism network in regional level is the expansion offal Qeda network, these groupshave a common goal, they tend to establish Khilafah state, according to Gunaratna (2002, pp.1-2) the terrorist group that is supported by Al Qaeda and located in South East Asia became the group that bombard Philipines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Those terrorist groups are *Moro Islamic*

Leberation Front (MILF) and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in Philipines, Jundullah Troops in Indonesia, Malaysian Mujahidin Association (KMM) in Malysia, Jamaah Salafiya in Thailand, Arakan Rohingnya Nationalist Organisation (ARNO) and Rohingnya Soidarity Organisation (RSO) in Myanmar and Bangladesh and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Australia.

Terrorist organisation in Indonesia has a strong root of the movement; it was started by the group named *Daulah Islam/Negara Islam Indonesia* (DI/NII) that was led by Imam Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo. Graph 1.4 shows that subordinate organisations of DI/NII have done plenteous terror in Indonesia, the group that commit the most attack is Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI) group.

Since ASEAN countries experienced plenty of terrorism acts, the members of ASEAN tried several efforts to oppose terrorism. Thailand government established Supreme Command of the Royal Thai Armed Forces that operates in counterterrorism. Malaysia developed the policy of Internal Security Act (ISA), Penal Code and *Rejimen Gerak Khas* that was trained under British 22nd SAS. Myanmar's government also improved counterterrorism policy named strategic anti-money laundering and countering the financing of terrorism (AML/CFT) deficiencies in 2011. Philipines deploy *National Plan to Address Terrorism and its Consequences* in 2002, Autonomous Region of Moslem Mindanao (ARMM), Operation Freedom Eagle in 2002 (Yanyan et al., 2012).

Indonesia has its own history regarding terrorism, terrorism acts have happened in various regions in Indonesia since 2000 to 2018. The worst terrorism act in Indonesia is conceivably Bali Bomb 1 and 2, the incident took abundance victims and inflict Bali's circumstances physically and non-physically. The numbers of terrorism acts in Indonesia have fluctuated in the last two decades. Indonesia must stay aware since the maneuver of terrorism is unpredictable and clandestine.

Strategic move to prevent terrorism in Indonesia is considered comprehensive. The indication is the involvement of all stakeholders to execute it. Intelligence is part of counterterrorism that is exposed by the public. Some politician and academic figures criticized Indonesian intelligence, they believed that the intelligence is careless and failed to prevent several terrorism cases in Indonesia, now, they are questioning the roles of Indonesian intelligence to fight global terrorism threats, the debates are the basis of this article.

We choose the TNI intelligence as an object analysis of this study above all other intelligence units that are signed to prevent global terMunip Suharmono Akim Arfin Sudirman

rorism act. The involvement of TNI intelligence to fight terrorism in Indonesia has a long history, before reformation on 1988, ABRI/TNI stands in the frontline against terrorism act. Accordingly, this article contains the explanation of intelligence's role in preventing terrorism in Indonesia under TNI headquarter command. Additionally, the constitution of Indonesia number 34 year 2004 about TNI stated that TNI has an authority to crack down terrorism acts. The procedure of the prosecution is administered in articles 5, 6, 7 and 18. Article 7 explains about TNI's main duty, procedure of conduct and the requirement to execute the task.

To maintain sovereignty of the state, keeping territorial and saving the nation, TNI does military operation. The form of the operation consists of Military Operation for War (OMP) and Non-war Military Operation (OMSP). Terrorism falls to the category of OMSP. Both operations cannot be done automatically, they need state's political decision and certain policy as mentioned in the constitution articles 5, 7 and 3. Article 5 states that TNI's operation can only be executed on Legislative's (DPR) authorization for both OMP and OMSP. So does the counter measure of terrorism. Article 6 states that basically TNI has a function of preventing and prosecuting all the military and non-military threat from both internal and external. TNI's another function is as a restorer when the country is not stabilized.

Literture Review

Intelligence Theory

We conducted study on previous article that is relevant with this topic, the article can be a theoretical background and the enrichment of the literature. Those previous articles are; the development of terrorism network (Ali, 2016), counterterrorism (Yanyan, et al. 2012; Mengko, 2017), intelligence aspects and laws (Budi, 2015; Mahyudin, 2016; Jaya 2016). Based on these previous studies, the article on terrorism based on strategic intelligence aspect (TNI intelligence) is still limited.

Intelligence, according to Kent (Mahyudin, 2016, p. 28) is "The knowledge which our highly placed civilian and military men must have to safeguard the national warfare". Meanwhile, Admiral William F. Raborn defined intelligence as information which has been carefully evaluated as to its accuracy and significance". Furthermore, Ransom (Mahyudin, 2016.p, 28) explains that the difference between "intelligence" and "information" is the evaluation process on accuracy and as-

sessing its significance on national security. On the other hand, Saronto et al. (2008.p, 31) defined that intelligence is not only the activity of finding data and information, but also the activity of predict the future event. Intelligence is a process that must be conducted by any organisation to earn maximise the result. Without intelligence process, we will face overflowing information, yet everything looks important and useful.

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Moreover, Bakti (2005, p. 2) stated that intelligence is crucial to prevent violence or terror with politics or religion motives. Intelligence is also prerequisite to defense national security from the domestic terrorist who wants to conduct coup to the government, furthermore, intelligence is also needed to stop the groups that insist to change political system through bloodshed.

Conforming to Anriani (2018, p. 3), intelligence as a term comes from British word "intelligent" which equivalent to intellect. It shows that as a definition, intelligence as information, knowledge, process, activity, product and organisation must contain the element of intelligent. Moreover, Anriani (2018:3) stated that intelligence as a process is a procedural sequence that form intelligence cycle. The cycle starts from the decision maker who are questioning something or seeking advice. The situation produces an intelligence requirement, which is essential elements of intelligence, the requirement is proceeded to intelligence body, and that is how the cycle starts. As stated by Hank Prunkhun in his book: Handbook of Scientific Methods of Inquiry for Intelligence Analysis. He explaind that there are seven steps of developing intelligence process, these process is also called cycle of intelligence, it consists of: (1) direction setting, (2) information collection, (3) data collection, (4) data processing and manipulation, (5) data analysis, (6) report writing dan (7) dissemination to decision maker (Anriani, 2018, p. 30).

State intelligence in the framework of democratic work is necessary to anticipate the threat to national security. Intelligence's aim according to the scheme is (I) preventing strategic impromptu, and (2) early vigilance (foreknowledge) for decision maker in security department (Andi Widjajanto, 2008, p. 7).

Defense Intelligence

Conforming to Prasetyono (2005, pp. 87-88), typically, defense intelligence and military is classified into two categories: (1) strategic intelligence and (2) tactical-operational intelligence. Moreover, Prasetyono

explained that strategic intelligence is used by the policy maker and national leaders to fulfill the purpose of national security. While tactical intelligence has a function of collecting information and analysis. Since the information is necessary for the commander to succeed in the field. Tactical intelligence includes knowing opponent's movement, weaponry and all other operational aspects. In addition, Prasetyono divided defense intelligence into four big categories (2005, pp. 89-91).

First, defense intelligence gives earlu warning. The essence of intelligence, especially defense intelligence is giving warning in advance based on information analysis. The analysis includes the development of strategic environment such as terrorist assault potential, rebellion conflict potential, territorial violation, external threats etc. Second, defense intelligence gives judgment to current issues, future strategic tendency, regional and global level, technology improvement and other countries' ability. Third, defense intelligence helps the operation to minimise victims and prepare the demand for the success of military operation. Fourth, defense intelligence supports defense development program by analysing military ability in the countries around, infrastructure ability, and military technology.

National Security

Etymologically, security has its roots from Latin "secures" which means free of danger, free of fear (Yanyan et al., 2012). Furthermore, Yamin and Matengkar (2016, p. 6) explained that security is broadly defined as the ability to survive from existential threat. Buzan (Mukhtar, 2011, p. 127) divided security sectors into five: military, politics, environment, economic and social. Military approach means only one of the five sectors in national security. Additionally, Bornd and Flupi (Mukhtar, 2011, p. 130) have three conception of security sector reform in democratic country which are:

First, security sector reform (SSR) is a tool to guarantee domestic and international stability. Instability in security and politics especially appear in countries with democratic transition and predominantly in developing countries. Second, security sector reform will push political-economic situation. In third world countries, domestic conflict repeatedly appears caused by the foreign investment infiltration. Prior to the context, reformation is suggesting the development of good governance. Third, increase Democartisation and develop a harmony relationship between civil and military and the existence of

civil supremacy. According to security sector reform, effectivity of the reformation depends on Democartisation in military system. Security sector reform demands an active participation from various reformist sides (parliament, military and civilian) to be successful.

Mukhtar (2011, p. 133) argued that national security system has four ideal functions for government: 1) State's defense which means the government's roles to face external threat that endanger the national sovereignty, safety, and honor of NKRI; 2) State's safety which means the government's roles to overcome the internal threat; 3) Public security which means the government's role to preserve, save, secure the society through law supremacy, protection, and servicing society; 4) Individual security which means government's role to uphold basic rights of all Indonesian civilian.

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Methods

The article aims to describe and explain TNI Intelligence's roles in preventing global terrorism act; this article used qualitative approach since the article question is unclear, holistic, complex, dynamic and content so it is impossible to use quantitative approach. The object of the study in this article is Intelligence's role in facing terrorism threat. The article used qualitative descriptive method, according to Sukmadinata (2009, p. 60), qualitative article is a article that describe and analyse phenomena, event, social activity, attitude, beliefs, perception, and intellectual. Some descriptions have a purpose to find principles and the explanation to find conclusion.

In this article, the data is gained from several resources with some certain techniques; 1) observation; it means that we inspect the matters directly on the article location with detail and comprehensive. Prior to the context, we discover the roles of intelligence in preventing terrorism act to preserve the sovereignty in Indonesia. 2) Documentation which means that we collect materials that is relevant to the topic, we also collecting literature analysis in a form of documents, books, regulation and journal regarding intelligence, global terrorism and national security;. 3) Interview, which means that we interact directly with all the resources to gain an accurate and important data during the article. We used two type of interview. The first one is formal interview and the second is informal. We did an informal interview with KASUBDIS PAMSUD and BAIS TNI for early study. The purpose is to start and build an intimacy before formal interview. The process of in-

formal interview is done without a strict schedule, we tried to find a spare time of both sides.

Discussion

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CEJISS Function and Roles of TNI Intelligences

We found a document regarding function and roles of TNI intelligences. The roles of TNI intelligences is to support the security leader on deciding policy and decision making by giving an image, advice and suggestion on strategic environment development, they also have a role to predict the possibility of threat caused by either internal or external factors. Finally, they have to counter the movement of opponent's intelligence. Meanwhile, the function of TNI intelligence is to investigate, security and guarding: First, Investigation function. Organising all efforts, works, activities and planned actions including collection, cultivation, interpretation, analysis of material and component. All the efforts must be strategical, tactical, and technical to produce an intelligence product. Second is security function where organising all efforts, works, activities and planned actions are done to prevent and counter opponent's intelligence's activities. Additionally, the cleaning to internal TNI bodies comes out. Third, guarding function where organising all efforts, works, activities and planned actions are done to create preferable situation and condition.

The implementation of TNI intelligence is divided into three categories, which are: first, strategic intelligence. The intelligence that is needed as a consideration to decide policy and decision making in both national and international planning. Those intelligence data are the highest intelligence product based on the intelligence taskforce report under TNI command. It includes the entire comprehensive spectrum about strategic environment development and threat prediction from both internal and external attack. Second is operational intelligence. The intelligence that is needed to plan and execute the military campaign and joint operation. Third is tactical intelligence. The intelligence that is needed to plan and execute war operation on operational taskforce level.

The training of TNI intelligence is conducted frequently and well planned. The purpose is to support main duty of TNI so the activity will be successful. Consequently, the process of the training should refer to intelligence function that includes investigation, security and guarding.

Table 1. Conduct of Intelligence Categories

No	Categories	Description	
I	Strategic intelligence	Planning and developing policy and national strategies Monitoring national and international situation development Developing military planning Helping and deciding operation strategy Execution, assistance for TNI commander and BAIS TNI	
2	Operational intelligence	Monitoring events and incidents in a certain area for the sake of joined operation Supporting military campaign planning Execution, assistance for PANGKOTAMAOPS TNI	
3	Tactical intelligence	Supporting planning and operation management Providing information about Cumemu Creating Kir Intelligence to Dansat Ops Execution, Intelligence staff of Dansat Ops	

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Sources TNI HQ documents, 2019

Strategic Intelligence Operation

Strategic Intelligence Operation includes investigation, security and guarding to gain information on nine strategic intelligence components that are: geography, history, politics, economy, social, culture, science, transportation and communication, biography and military force. Next, all the data is processed to intelligence product to capture a rough draft of ability, fragility, and the possibility to act in addition to the intention of opponents which are strategically valuable, espionage, sabotage and terror. First, Investigation operation is conducted to support all sequences of military operation in war or non-war military operation. The task is to gain the resource and material about strategic intelligence components. Second, security operation is conducted to support all operational sequences both for OMP and OMSP that includes strategic aspect. The task is to find, warn, prevent and destroy all efforts and espionage, sabotage and terror activities. Third, guarding operation is conducted to support OMP and OMSP especially on conditioning that includes strategic aspect. The task is to create a preferable condition in the operational area.

TNI Intelligence operation in war military operation (OMP) has a purpose of:

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- a. Establishing the condition to eliminate enemy's intention on invading Indonesia. Prior to the context the strategic intelligence operation will be conducted.
- b. Earn information about the enemy, headquarters location, shortest route possible, landing area, weather and other details characteristic.
- c. Earn information on the possibilities of logistic support and enemy's strength.
- d. Earn information in order to plan and execute war operation and territorial operation.
- e. Establishing condition that harmful to enemy in the occupation area. The process to weaken enemy's potential and abilities so they are obstructed or stopped. They are expected to pause their attack or stop it forever.
- f. Destroying enemy's intelligence network so they are not able to gain any information aor secret regarding the troops.
- g. Securing and guarantee the safety of the troops and the society so we can plan and reorganizing the fight.

TNI Intelligence operation in non-war military operation (OMSP) has a purpose of:

- a. Establishing the condition to prevent the appearance of security threat and preserve stability in all fields.
- b. Overcoming internal security threat that already happened, through enemy's intelligence networks disclosure and capturing the critical figures so they are localized and stop their spreading.
- c. Supporting the efforts to restore security, rescuing the society from enemy's influence. They are also supporting to uphold governance's dignity.
- d. Restoring spirit of national unity and sovereignty to keep the wholeness of the state.

Intelligence operation management based on level and division First, Army Intelligence operation. This intelligence operation is conducted to support regional commander. The operation is targeting the threat that endangers the security of the area where the intelligence activities cannot cover. The purpose of intelligence operation in this context is similar to any other intelligence operations. It starts from planning, briefing, execution, control command and debriefing. Second is Navy intelligence operation. This intelligence operation is conducted either group or independent in the sequence of operation and tactical. The pressure point is in coordination and compactness of the troop/ the elements to collecting intelligence information of Navy includes KRI on the water, Submarine, Amphibian espionage, toad force, Navy airplanes and intelligence agent on the field. Third, is Airforce Intelligence operation. The planning of air force intelligence operation is similar to intelligence operation in other grounds. All the planning is conducted in compactness and well coordinated. They are also demanded to pay attention to the details. The results of this intelligence operation are utilised to support airforce strategic operation and tactical. Besides, the information gathered by the airforce is also valuable for the army and navy operation especially in special regions.

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TNI Intelligence Execution

TNI intelligence have played a role in preventing terrorism by sharing the information with the stakeholders, including intelligence officer such as BPT, BIN, Police, Customs, Immigration and Judiciary. Following the terrorist acts in Indonesia, TNI intelligence should directly involved in handling terrorism, since they have a duty on strategic intelligence. The roles are stated in military law number 34-year 2004 7th article verse (2) b number 3 about TNI's main duty in Non-War Military Operation (OMSP) where TNI have an obligation to fight bak terrorism. The constitution is a strong basis for TNI intelligence especially BAIS TNI to optimise intelligence operation.

TNI Intelligence's role in overcoming terrorism threat is implemented by creating several task force, such as (1) Wijaya task force who conduct investigation all over Indonesia, (2) Poso task force or Angin Mamiri task force who raise power, (3) POA task force who investigate espionage and scrutinize expatriate who are suspected spreading radicalism, or terrorism ideology in Indonesia and (4) Hanoman task force who specialized in repressing terrorism.

The execution of terrorist countermeasure by TNI intelligence is not optimal yet, it is caused by the existing regulation is not strong enough. According to constitution no. 15 year 2003 about extermination of terrorism act, TNI must delegate the duty to the Police as a

single investigator to counter terrorism. The lack of regulation caused TNI can only collecting information and not allowed to execute the terrorist directly. Moreover, TNI can only execute terrorism that can threaten the sovereignty of the state, while terrorism with lesser effect will be police authority.

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Recalling the nature of terrorism, which is hard to identify, it is hard to prevent it if we only depend on law enforcement since terrorism is an extraordinary crime. The countermeasure of terrorism will not succeed with repressive act. A preventive and rehabilitative act are more effective where the approach is integrative and comprising various elements.

TNI Intelligence Personnel

BAIS TNI is a central executor in TNI headquarter who is in charge to conduct strategic intelligence operation and build up power to support main duty of TNI, one of them is fighting terrorism. High quality personnel must support BAIS TNI. Generally, TNI intelligence personnel have trained rigorously to qualify as intelligence. However, the training is still in basic level. The training is more into investigation function that leads to producing intelligence product. Event though BAIS personnel have been deployed in the field to conduct intelligence operation, not all personnel have experienced in counter measuring terrorism, either it is a duty from BIN, BNPT, BAIS, TNI AD or any other joined force. Mostly, TNI intelligence personnel had experience in monitoring duty and information collection regarding ideology, politics, economy, social, and defense. Nevertheless, the development of training in TNI intelligence is progressing to advance program and individual improvement.

The improvement of TNI intelligence personnel is expected to provide a preventive act to overcome the development of terrorism in Indonesia. Not only in quality but also the quantity of the personnel needs to be increased. The increasement will help all anti-terror organisation in TNi, especially BAIS will have a considerable amount of personnel. The increasement in numbers can be attained by recruiting intelligence from all TNI force (AD, AL, AU) or any other military training institution and rank such as Perwira, Bintara, and Tamtama.

The quality of terrorism act is executed by an experienced individual in tactical and technical for terror act, consequently, the power of intelligence personnel especially BAIS must raise equally with the terrorist.

Coordination among Intelligence Institution

Coordination and cooperation among intelligence institution in terrorism operation is well-formed. BAIS and other institution such as BNPT, BIN, Customs and judiciary is in a good term. However, the cooperation between these stakeholders is not effective. The problem is the communication between the organisation. The analysis of the information must be conducted together and full of attention, meanwhile the regional communication forum is temporary, and they can only meet once in a month. What happened is only limited sharing session without joint analysis process so they cannot produce a comprehensive analysis on particular issue. Moreover, each organisation has sectoral ego in maintaining the information, so the intelligence is not in perfect synchronization. If those information are synergized, it will be advantageous for the success of intelligence. The counter measuring of terrorism will be optimal. All the institution has detailed and specific information, if they can combine all of them, the president as a decision maker will be profitable.

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Adjustment and Modernization of Special Equipment

The success of intelligence is not only determined by the individual qualities but also the intelligence equipment. The effect of special equipment is the performance of the intelligence, it optimises their process on executing the duty. As the technology improves, currently, the new advanced and modern equipment are created. The purpose is to counter terrorist's equipment that already advanced in technology and information. The facilities of TNI intelligence are already suitable to support the task, but it still needs to be improved. All the intelligence equipment must be modernised regarding a new method of terrorist in using social media and other tools related information and technology.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the article is implementation of counter measuring terrorism by TNI intelligence is not optimal yet, the cause is the lack of regulation as the constitution no. 15 year 2003 about extermination of terrorism act, stated that TNI must delegate the duty to the Police as a single investigator to counter terrorism. The quality of the personnel is good, yet the ability must be improved specifically in term of countering terrorism, since not all personnel had experience in fighting terrorism. Coordination and cooperation among intelligence institution

is well formed, yet it needs improvement in synergy between information from each organisation. The problem is the ego in the intelligence organisations. The facilities of TNI intelligence is sufficient to support the task but it still needs to be developed.

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The Role of the Indonesian Air Force in Safeguarding the Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia in East Nusa Tenggara (Ntt)

Jose Fernando Lopes Ximenes, Wawan Budi Darmawan, Akim

The state border is a geographical area which become an arena for power struggle between countries, where some countries struggling to expand the boundaries among them. As a state security and defence keeper, the Indonesian Air Force should be in the front-line while safeguarding the border area of the Republic of Indonesia, especially in the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) from transnational threats, especially human trafficking, radicalism and terrorism, border disputes, and smuggling problems. This study argued that in relation to the border guard strategy by the Air Force, the change in the status of the El Tari Lanud from type C to type B is an effort to improve its ability to carry out its duties. In the field of defense, the role of the Air Force becomes dominant, as they should have the ability to secure the sovereignty of the country in the air along with other components. This study employs a descriptive analysis method with a specific data collection technique to validate the findings. Thus, the findings of this study showed that we need a new Indonesian air strategy (grand aero-strategy) that expected to be able to establish joint operations for all elements of Air Force defence operation. This strategy is needed to secure Indonesia's air sovereignty and accommodate all national air potentials at the op-

Jose Fernando Lopes Ximenes, Wawan Budi Darmawan, Akim. The Role of the Indonesian Air Force in Safeguarding the Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia in East Nusa Tenggara (Ntt). *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 79–90.



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erational level. With a well-prepared strategy, the problems in the NTT border area will decrease positively.

Keywords: Lanud El Tari, NTT, state border, sovereignty.

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The state border is a geographical area which from the beginning was a territory for power struggle between countries, that can be marked by the struggle to expand the boundaries between those countries. As part of the history and existence of a country, the history of border areas cannot be separated from the history of birth and the end of various countries (Riwanto, 2002). The country's border region is the main investment of a country's sovereign territory. This border area has an important role in determining the boundaries of sovereignty areas, the use of natural resources, as well as the security and integrity of the region. Border issues have complex dimensions. There are a number of crucial factors involved in it such as state jurisdiction and sovereignty, politics, social economy, and defense and security.

The development of the global and regional environment that occurred in the region of Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific, and the long and open border lines of the Indonesian territory become a threat to its national security. The vulnerability of the border areas become a focus of attention to the Indonesian government today due to significant problems: border disputes and changes in territorial boundaries that occur at certain coordinate points; be the entrance and transit point for criminals/ terrorists, as well as the occurrence of acts of trans national crime. A wide and open border area, weak law enforcement, political uncertainty and domestic economic crisis are the main factors in the weaknesses of the security system in Indonesia's sea border area.

The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) as the national power of the country should be ready to face threats in the form of military forces both from within and outside the country in dealing with this threat with Military Operations (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). OMP is used to deal with another country, while OMSP is a military operation carried out not in the context of war with another country, but for other tasks such as combating armed insurgency, separatist movements, task of overcoming transnational crime, task of humanitarian assistance and task of peace (Perpang TNI 72, 2002). To monitor the Indonesian border region from all the threats that come, we need a national defense system that can involve by all

potential and national forces. The Air Force is the main part of the TNI which is a major component of national defense and is ready to be used to carry out defense tasks, especially on borders between neighboring countries.

The economic, political and security balance of the Asia-Pacific region has changed after the revival of the China economy. As a superpower, the United States is worried and realise the need to increase its role in the Pacific as a response for thi situation. The United States military strength increased by 60% by 2020 (Farras, 2018). On the other hand, the political feud between North and South Korea, the problem of Japan's border with Korea, and China's claims also influenced the shift in the security situation around Asia. Even more, with Australia's interest in the Timor gap it will open opportunities for better relations with the Democratic Republic of East Timor (RDTL). This kind of regional situation, spurred ASEAN countries to increase the impressive preparedness for an arms race.

In Indonesia, East Nusa Tenggara is one of the border areas that deserves attention. This area is directly bordered by two countries: Australia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste (RDTL), where RDTL still holding potential problems, including the Occussie region dispute and several border points. NTT has a wide area of territory consisting of 1,192 small islands (PPID NTT, 2012). The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) III A and the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) III B cleave the sea area, such conditions will be a potential for vulnerability. The ethnic diversity, culture and religion as well as economic limitations, making NTT as a territory tends to be volatile in the field of defense and security. To deal with this situation, a strong component of national defense is needed. But at this time, the existence of TNI as the main component of defense, has not been balanced when compared to the large of the area for which it is responsible. Especially with the Indonesian Air Force, in the province of NTT there is only the Indonesian Air Force Base El Tari and Company Rifle C Battalion 466 Paskhas and Radar 226 / Buraen unit.

In the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), in relation to the border guard strategy by the TNI, the change in the status of the El Tari Lanud from type C to type B is an effort to improve the Lanud's ability to carry out its duties. In the field of defense, the role of the Air Force becomes dominant as they has the ability to secure the sovereignty of the country in the air along with other components. However, at present, the

Jose Fernando Lopes Ximenes Wawan Budi Darmawan Akim *CEJISS* 4/2019 air power deployed in the Province of NTT is still very limited. The Air Force Base El Tari as an air operations unit is constrained by human resources, defense equipments, and infrastructures. It takes serious priority and efforts to improve these factors. The integration of all parties to help with the limitations of the Indonesian Air Force Base El Tari will be able to deliver it to carry out the task of supporting border defense in the territory of the NTT Province properly. Based on the explanation above, the researcher is interested in formulating the problem with the question "What is the Role of the Air Force in the Safeguarding of the Border Region of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia in the Province of East Nusa Tenggara?

Theoritical Framework

In traditional approach, security is often interpreted in the context of physical (military) threats originating from outside. Pradwita in 2005 stated the definition of security as follows:

"A nation is in a safe condition as long as that nation cannot be forced to sacrifice values that it deems important (vital) ..., and if it can avoid war or, if forced to do so, it can come out victorious."

In simple terms, defense means the efforts made to create conditions or stable conditions. National defense means all efforts to maintain national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of all nations from threats and disruption to the integrity of the nation and state. In Indonesia, national defense is managed by the Indonesian National Army under the Ministry of Defense and is referred to as a defense force.

The essence of Indonesia's national resilience is the tenacity and the toughness of the nation which contains the ability to develop national power, to be able to guarantee the survival of the country in achieving national goals. National defense of a nation consists of human resources, natural resources and geography, as well as dynamic aspects which include ideology, politics, economics, social culture, defense and security. These aspects interact with each other and form an integrated system called Astagatra.

"A country can not be prosperous without security and on the other hand security can not be achieved without prosperity. Thus, it can be defined that national resilience is a dynamic condition of a nation that includes all aspects of life in order

to remain victorious, in the midst of order and change that is always there" (Usman, 2003).

The national defense system of Indonesia is known as the universal people's defense and security system (Sishankamrata), where its universality implies the involvement of all people and all national resources, national facilities and infrastructures, as well as the entire national territory as a whole and comprehensive defense unit (Departemen Pertahanan, 2010).

Indonesian Air Force and Safeguarding the Border Area

Indonesia's defense function is carried out with the Universal Defense System in order to realise and maintain the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia with all its contents as a defense unit. This conception of national defense has two functions: Military Defense and Non-Military Defense (Departemen Pertahanan RI, 2008).

The next approach is Air Defense. The national airspace of a country is entirely closed to foreign aircraft, both civilian and military. Because of its nature, then in the national airspace there is no known right of peaceful crossing of foreign parties such as in the territorial sea of a country. Only with a state permit under the advance, through either multilateral or bilateral agreements, can national air space be passed by foreign aircraft. Such a closed nature can be understood, considering that air space as a medium of movement that is very vulnerable in terms of underneath state security and defense. As we know, attacks by the air have many advantages and conveniences, such as being fast, wide range, impromptu, and infiltration that can be carried out optimally. This is what drives every country to adopt strict and rigid national airspace maintenance standards (Heilenday, 1988, p.10-16). In the framework of the implementation of state sovereignty over the airspace of the Republic of Indonesia, it has been determined that the government exercises the authority and responsibility of airspace regulation for the benefit of aviation, national economy, national defense and security, socio-culture, and the air environment.

Mr. Soekarno, the former President of Indonesia once said that to control the air means to control the national power in the air as a decisive factor in modern warfare, and if our army wants to stand on equal footing with the international army, we must have the best army. The development of advanced aerospace technology is so rapid that it makes national borders meaningless and vulnerable to external threats. The emergence of several types of modern defense equipment in the form of aircraft proves the truth of General Giulio Douhet's theory:

"To have command of the air means to be able to cut an enemy's army and navy off from their bases of operation and nullify their chances of winning the war".

CEJISS 4/2019 Douhet argued that air power is revolutionary because it operated in the third dimension. The role of the aircraft then becomes dominant for the reason that the aircraft can fly over the surface of the troops and send them for secondary interests. Likewise, the vastness of the sky makes defense almost impossible, so the essence of air power is attack, the only defense is to carry out good attacks. The air force that can carry out orders from the air by carrying out bombardment of enemy forces, means a victor.

The importance of the existence of air power by aircraft makes the violation of national airspace by the parties concerned is not something that can be considered light. Indonesia's sovereignty in air space must be upheld. Because at present there are many violations of state sovereignty over Indonesian air space. All move in parallel along with global developments so that it becomes a challenge that the TNI must continue to anticipate, especially the Air Force.

Starting from the idea that the NTT Province's position is very strategic, bordered with two neighbouring countries (Australia and Timor Leste), both land and sea boundaries, it has the potential to become an arena of conflict for Indonesia due to several violations carried out by neighbouring countries. Indonesia needs a defense and security system that are strong, one of which is the Air Force carrying out the task of upholding the law and maintaining the sovereignty of the country in the air. This view can be used as a basis by the Air Force to see the air defense area as a unified whole in projecting the development of the air defense system. One of them is the ability of the El Tari Lanud to air defense quality in the province of NTT. El Tari Lanud as an air operations base, representing the presence of the Air Force in the NTT region has a heavy duty and responsibility faced with the vast territory and potential vulnerabilities that may arise.

Research Method

This study employs a descriptive analytical method with a qualitative approach with data collection techniques through library research that is looking for references from book literature, data, regulations, legislations, manual books, journals, and information through other internet and printed media related to the subject matter with this study.

Likewise, all the data obtained serves to validate the findings of this study.

Discussion

The development of global and regional environments that occur in Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific region recently, also the long and open borderlines of Indonesia's territory have the potential to pose as a threat. This condition causes the political, economic and security conditions at the global and regional levels to be factors that influence the situation in Indonesia. In the field of defense, the role of the Air Force becomes dominant as it has the ability to secure the sovereignty of the country in the air along with other components. The Indonesian Air Force, as the enforcer of the country's sovereignty in the air, is obliged to carry out security in the border area in order to prevent various intervention actions from certain parties who try to change the national boundaries that are the main part of the Republic of Indonesia sovereignty. In the border region of Indonesia and Timor Leste, Lanud El Tari Kupang has a full role in carrying out air force duties in the form of national security and defence in the airspace.

The execution of the tasks does not always run well. Regarding airspace violations, the Air Force's strategic planner at the 2019 Indonesian Air Force leadership meeting said that the plan to allocate Alutsista in the form of airplanes in Lanud El Tari had become a concept in the construction of a power display. If faced with fulfilling the Minimum Exential Force (MEF) program towards 2024, Indonesia needs to accelerate in the process of placing air squadrons in NTT. According to data from the Radar 226/Buraen unit, the potential for airspace violations in NTT and its borders are still quite significant (Adji, Sugeng & Sardjono, 2019, p. 13). In addition, the presence of the Indonesian Air Force aircraft to become an air bridge is urgently needed, especially in military operations other than war (OMSP) in assisting the National Police and local government. OMSP can come from various types of threats and reasons, including: armed separatist movements, armed uprisings, acts of terrorism, border conflicts, issues of national vital objects that are strategic, the task of world peace in accordance with foreign policy, in order to secure the President and Vice President along with their families, empowering defense territories and supporting forces early according to the system in the framework of universal defense, assisting the tasks of government in the regions, supporting the

Jose Fernando Lopes Ximenes Wawan Budi Darmawan Akim CEJISS 4/2019 National Police of the Republic of Indonesia in the framework of security and public order as stipulated in the law, helping to secure state level guests heads of state and representatives of foreign governments who are in Indonesia, helping to cope with the effects of natural disasters, refugees, and providing humanitarian assistance, assisting with search and rescue, assisting the government in securing ship and flight against piracy. barriers to piracy and smuggling ((Undang-Undang TNI No 34 Tahun 2004).

At the Indonesia-Timor Leste border, the biggest security threat comes from the many cases of terrorism. This border is often one of the entrance points to the threat of radicalism and terrorism, especially in Belu District (TTU), which borders in land with Timor Leste and borders in sea with Australia (World Bank, 2011). In addition to the threat of terrorism, human trafficking is also a major threat to the Indonesia-Timor Leste border in Kupang. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has published that in the period March 2005 to December 2014 the number of human trafficking in Kupang reached 6,652 people, of which 82% were women and 12% were men (Deny, 2015). It was also quoted from the foreign workers Syndicate (SPLNI) that NTT Province is currently categorised as one of the top provinces in terms of crime and the threat of Human Trafficking, which is mostly directed, to the nearest countries such as Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan. Crimes and threats of human trafficking have become an actual issue in NTT in the past few years, NTT occupies the top rank and was asked as the area of origin for victims of human trafficking (Daniel, Mulyana & Wibhawa, 2017) Efforts to eradicate trafficking in people in NTT remain in the spotlight such as the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, which gave a signal that the problems of migrant workers in NTT had reached a chronic condition, so that the handling steps became a joint urgency. In general, the number of migrant workers from NTT is not the highest in Indonesia, but the number of human trafficking cases from NTT is the highest according to the Criminal Investigation Police data in Indonesia. Since February 2014, the case of human trafficking has become a 'hotspot' in protest by the civil society movement in NTT (International Organisation for Migration, 2017, p. 111).

In addition to the above threats, there are also threats from regional and international cooperation. For example, regional cooperation between the United States and Australia in building military bases in

Darwin, North Australia and planning to place 2,500 marines and their combat equipment there that it could be a threat to Indonesia's defense. Although the United States reasoned that this development was carried out with the aim of providing the fastest assistance in the event of a natural disaster or other threat to the countries around the location, we could instinctively understand that this cooperation could be a threat in the form of spies and so on Indonesia. In addition, cooperation between Timor Leste and China also poses a threat to Indonesia's defense and security. China has recently become the largest foreign investor in Timor Leste. This will certainly become a threat to the sovereignty of the Indonesian State.

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Another thing that could be a threat to Indonesia defense and security is the bilateral approach between the government of Timor Leste and the government of Australian related to the maritime boundaries of the two countries, so that the national integrity of the two countries can be distinguished from the management of natural resources contained there. Australia as a more developed country compared to is its neighbor countries both politically, economically and militarily, insisted in negotiations by setting maritime boundaries marked by the Australian government and did not want to discuss maritime boundaries according to the international law. Timor Leste as a sovereigned state has the right to its sovereign territory so that all problems can be resolved in the International Court of Justice. Timor Leste's desire is an international recognition of its sovereignty over land, sea and air and can utilize its natural resources for political and economic development. The difference in opinion between Australia and Timor Leste regarding the Timor gap and the existence of a dominant Australian interest in the Timor Gap will certainly have an impact on the interests of the Indonesian State at the border.

In the air defense and security problem, to address the various problems above, we need a new Indonesian air strategy (grand aero-strategy) that accommodates these interests. This strategy is expected to be able to establish joint operations for all elements of TNI's air defense. This strategy is needed to secure Indonesia's air sovereignty and accommodate all national air potentials at the operational level. The birth of a global air strategy is very important while faced with Indonesia's geo-strategy as an archipelagic country with vast territorial sovereignty. The military becomes a political tool of force for the interests of diplomacy and the interests of elevating the bargaining position of

resolving bilateral and international problems in defence and security area of the Republic of Indonesia.

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Several problems occur in the NTT province borders. One of them are problems of political upheaval / instability. The Republic of Indonesia is called as the Archipelagic State, which means an island nation located between two continents namely Asia and Australia and two Oceans namely the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean causing its position to be important and strongly influenced by the development of strategic environment. From this geographical condition, many benefits that can be obtained by Indonesia besides that much vulnerability that also potentially arise and endanger the integrity of the nation and state. As we know, Indonesia directly borders with ten neighbouring countries in the sea and land area, that countries are Malaysia, Timor Leste, Papua New Guinea, India, Thailand, Singapore, Philippines, Australia and Palau. This wide and open border area and weak law enforcement, as well as domestic political uncertainty, are become the main factors in the weakness of the security system in Indonesia's border regions.

There are many non-traditional security threats that span widely in the border areas of Indonesia. They are interrelated and sometimes overlapping areas such as threats to environmental security, food security, economic security, energy security, human security, maritime security and so on are considered to have a serious impact on various levels, be it security for individuals, national security, regional security, international or even global security. The developments of international actors and security issues subsequently make contemporary global security interactions more complex and varied. Some efforts to change the status of the Lanud El Tari should be accompanied by an increase number and quality in human resources, facilities and infrastructures as well as an increase in defense equipment.

The issue of upgrading the Lanud El Tari status has emerged since this past decade. In 2022, it is targeted to have a squadron of fighter planes in El Tari Lanud. This process not suddenly happen as it has carried out the development process since 2016. In January 2019, the Commander of Operations Command III has submitted a request letter for review of the validation of the Lanud El Tari status exchange from type B to type A. Increasing this status means equating the standard of Lanud El Tari with to the type A air force airport which in addition is equipped with a combat squadron, also a squadron reconnaissance,

upgrading tools and facilities, and the addition of personnel to 800 to 1000 personnel. This process will generally be achieved in one to two years depending on costs and other various factors (Nong, 2019). With a strategic position on the border that serves as the main air defense portal to dispel threats from the east and south, as well as the last portal for threats from north and west, the Lanud El Tari strengthening should be accelerated. Unfortunately, the Indonesian Air Force found difficulties with the budget because it required a sizable budget to complete defense equipment and infrastructure development while the portion of Indonesia's defense budget from the state budget was still very limited (Redaksi Timor, 2017).

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Conclusion

In national security and defense issue, the military sector will always be an instrument of political power in the interests of diplomacy and in the interests of bargaining positions improvement to resolve the bilateral and international problems of the Republic of Indonesia. This is the main reason why Indonesia must complete a new air strategy (grand aero-strategy) that accommodates all interests and can establish joint operations for all elements of TNI's air defense. When this strategy is wholy complete, it will provide a significant development solution to the problems faced by the Air Force in the Southeast Asian border region. In the Central part of Indonesia, Lanud El Tari Kupang has become the leading air defense portal from threats from Australia and Timor Leste. This causes the Lanud El Tari to require special attention, especially the strengthening of status and facilities through upgrading type from type B to type A. With an appropriate aero-strategy that is consistent with the needs of the El Tari Lanud, every year significant targets and efforts will be established to reduce the number of threats to the border area in Indonesia. It is hoped that this interdimensional strategy will be implemented well by each element so that the timeline can be measured accurately.



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Local Content Curriculum Implementation in the Framework of Nationalism and National Security

Novie Indrawati Sagita, Nandang Alamsah Deliarnoor, Dian Afifah

Since regional autonomy was implemented in Indonesia, local government has the authority to diversify education by establishing local content curriculum. The the implementation of local content curriculum was not carried out optimally, both in West Java Province and Riau Islands. Local content curriculum is only limited to local language lessons but it does not have an impact on language preservation as well as the cultivation of regional cultural values. The purpose of implementing local content curriculum is for students could be more familiar and engage to their environment so they are not alienated from the socio-cultural context in which they live. Some problems were found related to the implementation of local content curriculum, are the absence of regional regulations that provide legality for the implementation of local content curriculum, limited number of teachers who are competent in the fields of culture and local languages, and limited teaching materials and references in learning culture and local languages. This research recommends that local governments should immediately to formulate the appropriate regulations of the implementation of local content curriculum. The solution of the limitations of teachers and teaching materials, the culturalist could engaged to teach local language and introduce the values of local wisdom, as well as the need for a national movement to realise a nation of character based on the values of local wisdom.

Novie Indrawati Sagita, Nandang Alamsah Deliarnoor, Dian Afifah. Local Content Curriculum Implementation in the Framework of Nationalism and National Security. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 91–103.



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Keywords: local content curriculum, local government, autonomy, values of local wisdom.

CEJISS 4/2019 Amendments to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 32 states that Indonesia's government promotes national culture in the midst of world civilisation by guaranteeing the freedom of the people in maintaining and developing their cultural values. Government also respects and maintains local languages as national cultural assets. According to the constitution, we can tell that preservation and development of regional culture is very important in nature so that people are not isolated from their own regional culture, especially among the young generation. The maintenance and development of cultural values to the young generation is very relevant if carried out through education.

Bascom as quoted by Danandjaja (1997, p. 19) states that regional culture has a role as pedagogical device. The education of cultural values is also an effort to create moral human resources, cultured, recognise his identity so that it can encourage the improvement of the nation's competitiveness. Preservation and culture development in Education is the right of citizens and the government has responsibility for its implementation. Related to the implementation of education, the government shares the responsibility of providing educational services together with the local government

The implementation of primary and junior secondary education is the responsibility of the district / city government, the implementation of senior secondary education is the responsibility of the provincial government, and the implementation of higher education is the responsibility of the ministry of research, technology and higher education. Based on the division of affairs in this education sector as well, the government through Law No. 23 of 2014 mandates that in the implementation of educational services, local governments can develop local content curriculum including fostering regional languages and literature local governments can develop local content curriculum including fostering regional languages and literature.

Regional languages and literature are cultural products, which contains knowledge and social values that society believes in, so that it can shape the character of the community that is rooted in local wisdom. Kartawinata in Sirait (2018, p. 477) explain that local values and wisdom cannot be interpreted merely as knowledge related to culture,

but also contained within the values that describe the identity of individuals, groups, or communities based on their respective geographical factors. Sirtha (2003) as quoted by Sartini (2004), explain that the forms of local wisdom that exist in society can be in the form of values, norms, beliefs, and special rules. Local wisdom has various functions for the community including: a) local wisdom that can be used as a conservation rule to protect nature conservation and prohibitions related to things that can damage the ecosystem, b) local wisdom contains the values of character education that can be functioned in terms of HR development, c) Local wisdom also has the potential to develop knowledge and technology as cultural products.

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According to Wasliman as quoted by Nasir (2013, p. 3) an educational program that presents local content thus the substance, media, and delivery strategy need to be related to the natural environment, social environment, and cultural environment and regional needs. Nasir (2013, p. 4) argues that the subject of local content must contain characteristics of local culture, skills, noble values of local culture and raise social and environmental problems which in the end are able to equip students with basic skills for their life skill.

Local content curriculum in education was very important, so that students are more familiar with and close to their environment and are not alienated from the socio-cultural context in which they live. For this reason, the government has sought to integrate formal education with the socio-cultural environment. Through the implementation of local content curriculum, especially in regional autonomy era, local governments are required to realise curriculum diversification that is tailored to the needs and potentials of the region as well as the socio-cultural values that prevailing in society.

In terms of local content curriculum implementation, then the narrow regional (ethnocentric) perspective as far as possible is avoided. The society should accept and respect the existence of other ethnic groups that showing Indonesian pluralism. The young generation who know and are proud of their social and cultural values will cling to their identity and character, and accept diversity among the people of Indonesia, which in turn will become the strength of the nation, which ultimately contributes to the Realisation of national defense and security.

National defense and security are essentially the results of a total effort that integrates all political, economic, socio-cultural and military

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potential and power for the national interest. Indonesian society is the main subject and object, in guarding the fortress of national security. Consequently, the community needs to be equipped and strengthened with national values based on cultural values so they can carry out their role in protecting the fortress of national security. An understanding of social culture is needed in order to form a mentality of struggle in order to face the dynamics of the threat of security factors both from the domestic and international environment. As stated by Burhan D. Magenda (in Mukhtar, 2011, p. 127-128)¹¹ in guarding the stronghold of national security, the state needs to consider the importance of "software", especially national ideology, the political, economic and socio-cultural systems.

The dynamics of such security problems change the concept of national security from state center security to people centered security. Consequently, the conception of security becomes comprehensive and security management requires collaboration between actors and institutions. n this context, national security is interpreted as a basic need to protect and safeguard the national interests by using political, military and economic power to deal with threats both from within and outside the country. This perspective supports the argument that national security in a democratic country generally includes state security, public security dan human security (Mukhtar, 2011, p. 130). National security contains more understanding of a state security as an entity, that is state security and the security of living in a country. In the traditional approach, security is simply interpreted as the security of a country that can be threatened by the military power of another country and must be defended through its country's military power (Mutimer, 1999, p. 77). In this approach, the state is both the subject and object of efforts to pursue security interests. According to traditional perspectives, the state is the core in efforts to maintain the national security (Prasetyono, 2006, p. 267-269). Thus, they argue that national security is still in the perspective of the functioning of the State. Hence, Defense is considered as an element of national security. Conversely, there are also groups who argue, that understanding of national security refers to functional conceptions. They assume that "defense" as an effort and "security" as an out come (Propatria Institute, 2010, p. 4-5). Management of local content curriculum and efforts to

I http://ejournal.uki.ac.id/index.php/sp/article/download/643/506, accessed on August, 17th, 2019.

cultural values preservation have not been integrated with the concept of national security.

The implementation of local content curriculum, until now still faced with some fundamental issues regard to determining how to carried aout the curriculum formulation that truli able to make a real contribution for students and benefit to the surrounding community, including to maintain cultural values for the socio-cultural existence and identity of the local community. This research was conducted in the provinces of West Java and Riau Islands. The purpose of conducting research in the two regions is to find out how the implementation of local content curriculum based on regional culture in order to improve nationalism and national security in the mainland (West Java) and the archipelago (Riau Islands).

Local Content Curriculum Implementation

Research Method

The research method used is qualitative and explanatory. The data used in this study consisted of two types, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from interviews with a number of informants and observations. While secondary data were obtained from literature review and government archives. Data validity and reliability in this study were carried out by triangulation, where each information was confirmed to several different informants. Data processing and analysis are used through several step, began from categorization, selection, reduction, interpretation, and drawing conclusions.

Research Results and Discussion

Law No. 23 of 2014 mandates local governments to provide basic services on education. In the context of regional autonomy, local governments are required to organize education, and are given the authority to determine local content curriculum, including fostering regional languages and literature. According to Nasir (2013, p. 3-4), local content subjects must contain local cultural characteristics, skills, noble values of the local culture and raising social and natural environment issues, social environment, and cultural environment and regional needs. Determination of local content curriculum in education is considered very important, so students learn more and commit themselves to their environment, and are not alienated from the socio-cultural context in which they live. The implementation of local content curricu-

lum in the socio-cultural context, students are instilled to have a love of regional languages, regional literature, along with social values that contain the values of character education so that it is very beneficial for the development of character and mentality.

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Unfortunately, the management of local content curriculum related to language preservation and cultural values in the field of education has not been carried out optimally both in the Province of West Java and the Riau Islands. Although the Province of West Java has set a package of regional regulations on regional culture namely (1) Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2003 concerning the Maintenance of Language, Literature and Regional Literacy; (2) Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2003 concerning the Maintenance of regional arts; and (3) Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2003 concerning the Management of Archeology, History, Traditional Values, and Museums, but its implementation in the field of education still faces problems. The Provincial Government of West Java stipulates three regional languages that become local content curriculum, namely Sundanese language (priangan area), Javanese-Cirebon language (Cirebon area), and Betawi Malay Language (Depok and Bekasi areas). The lesson of regional language lesson in West Java is in fact not well implemented. Although the implementation of Sundanese language lessons is much better than the two other regional languages in West Java, however, the substance of Sundanese language focuses more on the learning of regional languages and ignores the importance of preserving literature and cultural values of Sundanese. The Betawi Malay Language lessons and Javanese Cirebon also experienced the same problem where the schools did not actually teach their native language but instead taught Sundanese. The problem in the implementation of local content curriculum education in West Java is because in general schools experience a lack of teaching materials and instructors of native language speakers. In fact, in some schools in West Java, local language lessons utilize teachers who teach other subjects so that the teaching of regional languages, literature and culture is not optimal (Dewi, 2019). As a result, students are not only alienated from literature and cultural values, but also their regional languages. The condition of limited teaching materials and reference books of this regional language also occurs in Sundanese language lessons, which incidentally is seen as the regional language with the highest number of native speakers compared to the two other languages (Cirebon-Javanese and Betawi Malay).

Similar to Sundanese, Malay in the Riau Islands region has the most speakers because the indigenous people of this region are of Malay ethnicity. Even the migrants in this region easily adapt to using Malay as a daily communication language. In addition to Malay, in the Riau Islands region also has the value of the famous local wisdom, Gurindam 12. Gurindam 12 is a didactic poem containing moral messages that can be applied in social life. Through the local content curriculum, the contents of Gurindam 12 can actually be introduced to students so they can practice these moral values in their daily lives. The moral values contained in Gurindam 12 cover all aspects, political, social, educational, as well as morality and other noble character taken from the messages contained in the Qur'an and Haditsh.

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Unfortunately, neither Malay nor Gurindam 12 has been included in the local content curriculum. In fact, at this time in the Riau Islands, there are no local content special subjects in regional languages and cultures, so the teacher is not provided. According to information from the local authorities, the Riau Islands Province Education Office and local culturalist have initiated the Draft Governor Regulation on local content material in education, namely Malay Language, Gurindam 12, and Maritime. However, since the regulation draft was proposed around 3-4 years ago, the governor's regulation draft has not been ratified yet. In the Riau Islands, there are no specific lessons about Malay and the introduction of Gurindam 12 as the values of local wisdom. Gurindam 12 was initially only studied in Indonesian language. The Riau Islands Provincial Government actually wants students understood Gurindam 12, so that Gurindam 12 becomes a spirit or instill values in all subjects. But then, this did not continue because the teacher felt that Gurindam 12 material in each subject had no legality, unless the governor has ratified the governor's regulation of local content curriculum.

Although Gurindam 12 is not included in the local content curriculum material, but the values contained therein are familiar to the public. Almost in all school spaces in the Riau Islands region, attached posters containing the writings of Gurindam 12. Gurindam 12 Festival organised by the local government Culture Office followed by students with great enthusiasm. Communities in all regions both provinces and districts/cities in Riau Islands are very familiar with Gurindam 12 as local knowledge Unlike in West Java, at the Provincial level the introduction of local knowledge in the local content curriculum has not

been applied intensively. Only a few students in West Java understand the value of their local wisdom. The following table shows the problem of applying local content curriculum, specifically the preservation of culture, language, and literature in West Java Province, and Riau Islands Province.

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The absorption of local wisdom values in the education curriculum can actually be a source of educational innovation based on the culture of the local community. This can be done by empowering the community through adaptation of local knowledge. Students as the next generation of the nation is not enough just to be introduced to local

Table I. Problems in applying local content curriculum in West Java Province and Riau Islands Province

Region	Local Content Curriculum	Problems
West Java- Priangan	Sundanesse language	The content of the lesson is only focused on regional languages, not on literature and cultural values.
West Java- Bekasi, Depok	Betawi Malay	There are no teachers who teach Betawi Malay language, literature and culture. Local language lessons still use Sundanese language teachers. The teaching materials of Betawi Malay language and culture not available.
Cirebon	Cirebon- Javanesse Language	There are no teachers who teach Cirebon-Javanesse language, literature and culture. Local language lessons still use Sundanese language teachers. The teaching materials of Cirebon-Javanesse language and culture not available.
Riau Islands	Malay Language and Gurindam 12	There is no local regulation governing local content curriculum. regional languages, literature, and local wisdom have not become material of local content curriculum.

Source: Research Primary Data, 2019a

knowledge, but also the role of teachers, parents and the community are needed to be a model of the application of the values contained in local knowledge. Therefore, the introduction of language, culture, and the value of local wisdom are very useful if used as one type of learning local content in formal education. This is expected to be able to provide a sense of love for the young generation of the language, culture, and values of their local wisdom. The problem with implementing local content curricula in general in regions is that they do not have competent teachers, if there are any; the numbers are still very limited. On the other hand, the regional government does not have the authority to recruit regional language teachers, because the recruitment of teachers is the authority of the central government.

Local Content Curriculum Implementation

The young generation and Indonesian people in general have long been fascinated by foreign cultures, subsequently they did not care about the preservation of their local culture. The introduction of culture, literature, and the value of local wisdom to students aims to make young generation more familiar and love their own culture. However, this does not mean that the country isolates foreign cultural penetration. However, knowing foreign cultures is still needed as a comparison for the development of diverse Indonesian cultures. As said by van Peursen (1985, p. 196), that humans will not be able to understand the meaning of world life without the experience of knowing the outside world. Local content curriculum lessons that teach language, culture, and values of local wisdom can be part of character education that is rooted in community traditions. However, character education using local wisdom also needs to adjust to the dynamics of the changing times. According to Manuaba (1999, p. 57-58) the introduction of regional culture in the local content curriculum in educational institutions can help this nation reposition the diversity of regional cultures proportionally in the context of foreign cultures, and support national development efforts. Regional culture is the nation's treasure that should be considered and handled seriously, especially in entering regional autonomy and the era of globalisation. Regional culture should be a basic value for the formation of national identity and the process of national regeneration.

Character education based on local cultural values can simultaneously be a shield for the community in carrying out renewal / modernization, information and new knowledge coming from outside (Koesoema, 2012, p. 101). Learning local content curriculum that raises culture, language, and values of local wisdom, can foster a sense of

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love and pride for the young generation of the nation's own culture, so that it can ward off the negative impact of foreign cultural penetration. According to Suryani (2010, p. 116) the values contained in local wisdom have high moral values and meanings as well as reflecting the wisdom of the local community. Therefore, synergizing the values of local wisdom in learning will add to the world of education in Indonesia, Students can also show their identity as part of a society that has a character in accordance with the character of their culture.

During this time, the education curriculum in Indonesia (especially during the New Order) causing alienation of young people from their socio-cultural context. The politics of the New Order education embraced the perspective of homogenization (uniformity) which was reflected in the centralised approach to managing education in its various aspects. The centralization of education has an impact on reducing the cultural diversity of the Indonesian people. As a result, even though the community succeeded in completing their formal education, they were alienated from the culture of their own, so they were not able to make a real contribution to the social life. Government awareness of the importance of learning cultural and regional languages, only occurred in the late 1980s, the government implemented a local content curriculum that sought to bridge formal education with a socio-cultural environment.

Since regional autonomy began to be implemented, local governments have been given authority to diversify education by establishing local content curriculum. This authority is in fact not fully utilised by local governments. Local governments prioritise the pursuit of public service, development and economic growth targets. so that the development of culture, language, and regional literature itself tends to be ignored. Cultural preservation and regional literature received very little attention from the local government because its maintenance was considered to require a large cost The Office of Tourism and Culture focuses more on the development of tourism objects that can contribute to increasing regional income, so there is very little substance in socializing and preserving tourism based on cultural values.

Likewise, with the national government, which is too focused on economic growth and national development matters. Preservation of cultural customs is only ceremonial, without strong efforts to instill cultural values as forming the nation's characterin fact, regional culture in the context of the formation of national identity, needs to

be repositioned and seriously considered for its existence and role in Indonesian society. Preservation of local culture and language should be used as national security software that is embedded in the world of education. Management of local content curriculum that integrates cultural concepts, nationalism, and national security, still not reached, so that a change in mindset is needed, that national security is not only the responsibility of the government with the approach of military power and the reliability of state equipment, but mutual cooperation with its people. Thus, the national security system is not solely determined by external dynamics and threats, and the influence of globalisation or other ideological currents. Agreement on the ideology of the nation and the mindset of the nation will encourage the birth of transformation of new thoughts and ideas that answer the need for a new conception of the national security system. However, in terms of the application of local content curriculum, it does not mean that the community become ethnocentric. The application of the local content curriculum needs to teach that as Indonesian people, they must accept and respect the existence of other ethnic groups that demonstrate Indonesian pluralism. Young generation who know and are proud of their social and cultural values will cling to their identity and character, and accept diversity among Indonesians, eventually becoming a nation's strength, which ultimately contributes to the Realisation of national defense and security.

Novie Indrawati Sagita Nandang Alamsah Deliarnoor Dian Afifah

Conclusion

The regional government both the West Java Provincial Government and the Riau Islands Province have not yet maximised their authority in organizing educational diversification through local curriculum management. in West Java, although the regional government has issued a package of regional regulations on the preservation of local culture and languages, the implementation of the local content curriculum faces the problem of limited competent teachers and sources of learning references. In addition, in West Java the local content curriculum is only limited to local language lessons (Sundanese) without being accompanied by efforts to internalize the values of local wisdom. Whereas in Riau Islands, Malay is considered still very commonly used by the community as everyday language and Gurindam 12 that contains local wisdom values is still considered very familiar in the community, so the

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government considers regulations related to regional language and cultural lessons to be the content of the local curriculum not yet so urgent to be ratified. local governments should be aware however that regional languages and cultural values can unwittingly be eroded by the globalisation and penetration of foerign cultures. Teacher limitations and references to local culture and languages can actually be overcome by involving local cultureist to become part-time teachers. the Culturalists can also be involved in the formulation of teaching materials to become a comprehensive reference source for students so that they are more familiar with the local language and their own culture.

However, socio-cultural understanding is needed to form a mentality of struggle in the face of the dynamics of the threat of security factors from both the domestic and international environment. The preservation and development of social culture is "software" that plays a role in maintaining the fortress of national security. As a paradigm shift in the conception of national security, which no longer focuses on a militaristic approach, but realise s more comprehensive and people-centered security. Therefore, the maintenance and development of regional culture contained in the local content curriculum should be integrated in the conception of national security.



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Local Content Curriculum Implementation

Addressing Indonesia's Cyber Security through Public-Private Partnership (PPP)

Pradipta Nindyan Saputra, Arfin Sudirman, Obsatar Sinaga, Wahyu Wardhana, Nurul Hayana

Nowadays, a number of countries are developing alternative approaches to handling their cybersecurity, including Indonesia. Badan Siber dan Sandi Nasional (State Cyber and Cryptography Agency (BSSN)) as an institution appointed by the Indonesian government to be the national cybersecurity coordinator has the responsibility to securing the national critical information infrastructure (IIKN). The IIKN responsible for governmental and private infrastructures including the energy, transportation, finance and banking, information and communication technology, defense and strategic industries, and health sectors. This study tries to investigate how the complex nature of cyberspace, as well as the complexity of public-private relations in securing cyberspace, might be solved through a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) approach. By using qualitative methods based on the main data sources of interviews and supported by books, journals, articles, and internet sources, this study tries to find out whether the PPP on Cybersecurity can be used as an alternative approach in building Indonesia's cybersecurity architecture. It also examines the challenges that arise in the implementation of PPP, especially related to formal agreements and frameworks and informal cooperation between the government and the private sector related to cybersecurity, given the sensitivity of the issue of cybersecurity in Indonesia.



Pradipta Nindyan Saputra, Arfin Sudirman, Obsatar Sinaga, Wahyu Wardhana, Nurul Hayana. Addressing Indonesia's Cyber Security through Public-Private Partnership (PPP). *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 104–120.

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Keywords: public-private partnership, cyber security, Indonesia.

Based on the Kapersky Lab report cited by CNN Indonesia and Liputan6, there were more than 50 million cyber threats that attacked Indonesia during 2018. The threat number increasing around 240 percent compared to 2017 (CNN Indonesia, 2019; Liputan6, 2019). According to Kapersky Lab, most of the detected threats came from private users (77.12 percent), while the rest (22.88 percent) of it came from business users. This fact also puts Indonesia as one of a country with the 20th most cyberattacks in the world (CNN Indonesia, 2019; Liputan6, 2019).

This source also explained that the escalation of cyberattacks between 2017 and 2018 came from various potential factors, ranging from the threat of mobile, trojan banking, adware, riskware, and malware (CNN Indonesia, 2019; Liputan6, 2019). Almost in line with this Kapersky Lab report, the BSSN (State Cyber and Cryptography Agency) also reported that from 2018 to May 2019, Indonesia had experienced around 232,447,974 attempts at cyberattacks with 122,435,215 types of malware attacks and 16,939 types of website incidents, including Trojan-activity with an indication of 1.9 million attacks (Badan Siber dan Sandi Negara, 2019b). BSSN reminding that this was a very worrying cause of the attacks that might be initiated by state actors targeting national critical information systems and infrastructures (Badan Siber dan Sandi Negara, 2019b).

In this era where almost all critical infrastructures in all countries have been digitalised, the potential of vulnerability from connected networks increased significantly. In many cases, cyber threats are aimed at the national critical infrastructures to disrupt the economic, political, defense and security sectors of a country (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2014: 1; Sutrisno, 2016: 55). Though most of the threats to cyberspace still dominated by non-state actors (hackers, terrorists, and transnational organised crime), it does not rule out the possibility of being organised by one country to invade other countries. Therefore, many countries then pay great attention to the potential impacts arising from cyber threats (Putra et al., 2018; Tréguer, 2015).

The vulnerability in cyberspace and connected networks was addressed by several countries by establishing an advanced cybersecurity mechanisms. Some countries have special agencies to handle cyber problems in the defense and security of their countries (Soewardi, 2013:

Pradipta Nindyan Saputra Arfin Sudirman Obsatar Sinaga Wahyu Wardhana Nurul Hayana *CEJISS* 4/2019 33-34). The establishment of any cyber agencies by countries and organisational entities is quite reasonable, considering that several times ahead, the security threats will not only come through conventional ways but also in the form of cyber threats in cyberspace. Some scholars have predicted that the cyber domain will be one of the main focuses that significantly influencing a country's security strategy (Rubens, 2010; Wells, 2016).

The Indonesian government also pays attention to this potential threat. Therefore in 2017, through the Presidential Regulation Number 53 of 2017 (Peraturan Presiden No. 53 tahun 2017) which was later revised by the Presidential Regulation Number 133 of 2017 (Peraturan Presiden No. 133 tahun 2017), the government established Badan Siber dan Sandi Negara (BSSN) (State Cyber and Cryptography Agency). This agency is responsible for the detection and identification, monitoring and control, protection, and prevention and recovery of the National Critical Information Infrastructure (IIKN) (Tumpal, 2019). Apart from being one of the implementations of the national cybersecurity strategy, the establishment of the BSSN is also in line with the mandate of the UN General Assembly Resolution 70/237 of 2015 concerning the creation of a secure cyber ecosystem to protect national and international critical information infrastructure (UN General Assembly, 2015).

Although the Indonesian government has initiated a national cyber-security strategy and has run short and long-term programs, in its implementation there are still various challenges and obstacles. One of the challenges and obstacles in implementing a national strategy for cybersecurity is the limited resources owned by the government in developing an independent cybersecurity system while on the other hand there is no comprehensive collaboration between the government and the private sectors. Cyber security is an ecosystem where the legal aspects, organisation, implementation, and cooperation must proceed in harmony to obtain effective results.

This is certainly important because as mandated by the Constitution, the responsibility for maintaining state security is a shared responsibility of all elements of society, not just the responsibility of the government. Based on the mandate of the Constitution and reflecting the implementation of national cybersecurity strategies in other countries, one solution to reduce the gap between the government's ability to create a cybersecurity architecture independently is by involving the

private sectors through so-called Public-Private mechanisms Partnership (PPP) (Carr, 2016). Through this approach, how to deal with cyber-security issues are not only the responsibility of the government but also distributed to the private sectors. In some countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, PPP is one alternative that has been taken to overcome the problem of cybersecurity. Both of these countries developed a comprehensive understanding of how policy-makers (the government) and the private sectors conceptualize their respective roles in managing national cybersecurity, specifically related to roles, responsibilities and authority (Carr, 2016).

Indonesia's Cyber Security

This paper tries to find out whether the PPP on Cybersecurity approach can be used as an alternative in building Indonesia's cybersecurity architecture as well as examining the challenges that arise in the implementation of PPP, especially in relation to agreements and formal frameworks also the informal cooperation between government and the private sectors related to cybersecurity, given the sensitivity of the issue of cybersecurity in Indonesia.

Literature Review

The emergence of the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) was initially related to the privatisation of government infrastructure and as a means of attracting private resources for government construction and infrastructure projects (Grimsey & Lewis, 2004). PPP then spreads to the management and provision of public government services based on the infrastructures, such as schools, hospitals, transportation, and even prison (Schneider, 1999). Over the past two decades, these developments have led to extensive international debate about the advantages and disadvantages of PPP (Bovaird, 2004), especially in relation to differing opinions about the extent to which economic efficiency must remain the main standard for assessing the benefits of PPP, or whether there are other values such as fairness, equality, or anything that can be increased or at least maintained in the context of PPP (Hodge & Greve, 2007; Revnaers, 2013)

The next debates revolve about public and private sectors' accountability, including relating to the transparency of their collective agreements outside the formal administrative structure (Forrer, et al, 2010). Although there are many efforts to standardize PPP by international organisations (Commission of the European Communities, 2004; United Nations, 2008), in the end, it must be recognised that differ-

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ent political, economic, cultural traditions or social values will affect each countries judgment to PPP (Hurk, et al, 2015). The General PPPs are usually based on explicit or formal agreements, which assigned private sector actors the responsibility to provide public services, new construction projects, and maintaining existing infrastructure. The general PPP also stipulates appropriate division of responsibilities, profit-sharing arrangements, and risk sharing to align the interests of rational actors who tend to be selfish (Sarmento & Renneboog, 2016).

However, general or standard PPP contracts cannot address other potential problems, especially in high-risk projects or those related to long-term partnerships, thus requiring flexibility, learning, and adaptability over time (Hurk & Verhoest, 2016). Some literature shows that trust-based relationships and the use of government and private capacity synergy beyond cost considerations become the most central feature in PPP (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011). Although often factors of cost and efficiency considerations are the main drivers of PPP formation, risk transfer mechanisms from the government to the private sector are common in many countries. The main benefit of involving the private sector in PPP is related to the fact that the government cannot always and must expend its resources. That then a substantial risk transfer to the private sector will subsequently be partly converted in the form of profits for the private sector (Bossong & Wagner, 2016).

In the context of cybersecurity, the majority of current discussions about security in cyberspace are largely concerned with the need for certain limitations of government action in dealing with decentralised cyberspace and owned or operated by the private sector, both individuals and corporations (Eriksson & Giacomello, 2009). Not surprisingly, questions related to governmental authority and the authority in the cyberspace then emerged to the surface, especially in the context of cybersecurity. A more decentralised cyberspace is under enormous pressure since it then raises structural vulnerability because all actors in cyberspace tend to have broad access in cyberspace (Mueller, et al, 2013). More perpetrators of crime in cyberspace increasingly exploit this vulnerability. This then becomes a kind of call for multidimensional and coordinated governance approaches to improve security in cyberspace (Solms & Niekerk, 2013).

To create good cybersecurity architecture, government and private actors need to be involved with each other (Tropina, 2015). This is reflected in a growing number of policy initiatives and government

declarations that underline the PPP mechanism to enhance or provide cybersecurity. Such partnerships are also an important factor for translating broad or ambiguous cybersecurity conceptions (Min, Chai, & Han, 2015). Furthermore, it seems impossible or realistic to unravel the level of functional interdependence between the government and the private sector in the context of the geographical expansion of security governance networks, especially in the cyber field. On the contrary, what needs to be clarified is how to improve understanding and conceptualization of various forms and types of PPPs in the field of cybersecurity because, for some people, the ideal type of PPP is to focus on providing operational infrastructure, service delivery or policy implementation in a broad sense. Though not only limited to that, PPP will also provide benefits from formal agreements that distribute benefits or benefits, and of course a clear risk distribution (Bossong & Wagner, 2016, p. 2).

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Concerning to cybersecurity, the cyber sector does show different characteristics, which can explain the confusion for some people about the possible meaning of PPP in cyberspace. In particular, cybersecurity is at various levels, ranging from infrastructure issues to content management in cyberspace, including the provision of software and others. This is what distinguishes PPP in public infrastructure from PPP in cybersecurity (Bossong & Wagner, 2016).

Perhaps the case of implementing PPP in the European Union and the United States can be considered as an example of a representative, relatively transparent and significant implementation of PPP in cybersecurity (Bossong & Wagner, 2016, p. 2). The EU is noted to have two institutions or centers that can participate in administrative or operational aspects of cybersecurity, namely the European Network Information Security Agency / ENISA (European Network Information Security Agency) and the EC3 Cybercrime Center (EC3 cybercrime center) at EUROPOL. The two institutions have different functions. ENISA builds partnerships to improve the technical reliability and resilience of cyberspace or critical information infrastructure that is in private hands. In contrast, EC3 is looking for more operational exchanges with cybersecurity companies to tackle complex cyber threats and crime, such as botnets, in a more proactive way. Besides, EC3 and its host agency EUROPOL are also trying to expand voluntary mechanisms to control internet content with the private sector, which has recently led to the so-called Internet Referral Unit. The two EU cybersecurity institutions can be considered as variants of the broader PPP pattern for cybersecurity (Bossong & Wagner, 2016, p. 3).

CEJISS 4/2019 Almost in line with the European Union, the United States also implements PPP in national cybersecurity, specifically to enhance the protection of its national critical information infrastructure. Based on Executive Order 13636, it was determined that the Ministry of Homeland Security, Justice, National Information and Defense voluntarily share information about cyber threats to the private sector. Then, the US Department of Homeland Security plays the role of coordinator in forming consultative groups on cybersecurity, especially in the critical information infrastructure sector with all stakeholders. Finally, under the leadership of the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), a Basic Framework was established to reduce the risk of cyber threats to the critical information infrastructure developed (Min et al., 2015).

What often arises when approaching security issues including cybersecurity through PPP is the classic debate about whether PPP relates to binding regulations and regarding the distribution of obligations versus consideration of economic problems (Héritier, 2001). Even though far beyond that, PPP in the context of security also deals with corporate social responsibility, the openness of coordination methods, also includes speed, flexibility, reach, and support of all parties involved (Graz & Nolke, 2007; Harcourt, 2013). This is because the cyber realm continues to present special challenges in terms of technical complexity, rapid changes, diverse actors and also transnational interdependence so policymaking in a conventional way will tend to experience obstacles if it is not equipped with an alternative mechanism. PPP then emerged as an alternative mechanism for the management of cybersecurity which in some literature grew dynamically as a "cyber co-regulation" between the government and the private sector (Marsden, 2011; Tropina & Cormac, 2015) and also often associated as a multi-governance mechanism stakeholders (Bendiek, 2012; Carr, 2015; Chenou, 2014). Therefore, it cannot only limit the term PPP to a general level but must be understood in the light of the complex characteristics of cybersecurity in order to understand forms of partnerships between government and private in the context of cybersecurity.

Method

At the international level, many countries base their national cyber-security architecture on a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) approach.

Some examples include the United States (US), Britain, Canada, Finland, Estonia, and Australia (Carr, 2016, p. 45). In a number of studies, this approach has proven successful as a national security cornerstone of these countries. When many countries already have their strong cybersecurity architecture, in fact, there are still many countries that do not yet have a strong cybersecurity architecture, one of which is Indonesia, Indonesia is an important case because they only in 2017 ago had a special cyber body known as State Cyber and Cryptography *Agency* (BSSN). During the next two years, there has not been a strong legal corridor underpinning BSSN in building national cybersecurity architecture, so there is still an impression that the role of BSSN has not been maximised and tends to run in place. This is evidenced by the still perched Indonesia as twenty major countries with the highest number of cyberattacks in the world (CNN Indonesia, 2019; Liputan, 2019). Based on this, this article focuses exclusively on Indonesia's cybersecurity strategy, including the potential of PPP, which was later developed as an alternative approach in building national cybersecurity architecture.

Indonesia's Cyber Security

A number of informal interviews with representatives from the government and private sectors were conducted over 8 months. Representatives from the Indonesian government sector, who are responsible for national cybersecurity, were asked to comment on how much potential power the government has to manage cybersecurity independently. Then what problems they have observed and identified when the government tried to address the cybersecurity sector independently, including later they were asked to comment on how PPP can be applied on sensitive issues such as cybersecurity, and how effective PPP is in terms of cybersecurity when it is then applied, particularly in the protection of the National Critical Information Infrastructure (IIKN).

Therefore, interviews were also conducted with representatives from the private sector in Indonesia specifically how their perspectives on the distribution of cybersecurity management risks in the PPP corridor, including how they were addressing public-private relations on sensitive issues such as this. Since the sources from the private sector are reluctant to be identified, they are anonymized. The reluctance of key actors to speak openly about this issue is based on the absence of an adequate legal corridor that oversees PPP and then becomes one of the obstacles in researching this issue. Inadequate legal corridors also cause difficulties in seeing details of both formal and informal coop-

eration between the government and private sectors because they are reluctant to open fully.

Discussion

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CEJISS Indonesia Cybersecurity Concern

Cyber threats carry increasingly serious risks to the economy and international security, including Indonesia. This risk has a major impact on the government and private sectors. This makes cybersecurity architecture to safeguard cyber domains increasingly important as the increasing use of cyberspace in Indonesia (Heinl, 2013). Safeguarding this cyber domain certainly requires an increase in the role of the Indonesian government through comprehensive policies (Deibert & Rohozinski, 2010). However, to date, Indonesia's efforts to adopt a comprehensive cyber domain security strategy are rather slow and fragmented. The Government's efforts to protect cyber domains are important so that people can continue to benefit from cyber domains, ranging from information, e-commerce benefits, and other benefits. At the same time to protect the Indonesian people from crime in cyberspace.

At present every individual, group of individuals or transnational actors and even a country can commit crimes in cyberspace (Nye, 2014). Many criminal acts in the cyber domain that have occurred in Indonesia, including the theft of data of customers of PT Bank Mandiri Tbk in 2000 committed by persons from abroad (Purwanto, 2013). To overcome this problem, Bank Mandiri brought security experts from Eastern Europe so that this problem can be quickly resolved. In 2018, hacking of the savings balance of 87 customers of the BRI of Ngadiluwih Bank in Kediri Regency was allegedly committed by foreign syndicates (Kurniawan, 2018). In addition to hacking on bank customers, many hacking of personal data also occurs on social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and twitters. In the previous year, on May 2017, WannaCry malware attacked several hospitals in Jakarta. The attacker tricked the victim to open a rogue malware attachment. Victims are asked for payment to restore their access and data. This hack is believed to have been developed by the US National Security Agency. This attack has infected thousands of computers in nearly 100 countries (Harsono, 2019).

The threat is even more evident even more so with the cancellation of the Draft Law on Security and Cyber Resilience (RUU KKS) (Sari, 2019) which leaves its problems for the cybersecurity ecosystem in In-

donesia. Until the end of 2019, Indonesia did not yet have a cyber-legal basis of law. Quoted from Kompas, Hinsa Siburian, the Head of BSSN, said that the Cyber Security and Resilience Act is very urgent for Indonesia. Therefore, strong rules are needed to protect the community from cyberattacks that can come at any time. Hinsa added the suspicion of hacking in the event of a massive power outage on 4 August 2019 showed that the Law on Security and Cyber Resilience was urgently needed by the state to face attacks on IIKN that affected the lives of many people (Hakim, 2019).

The absence of rules at the level of the law also makes it unclear who is the leading sector to lead and overcome cyberattacks on IIKN because until now there has been no special authority given to BSSN to overcome attacks on IIKN including the deterrence mechanism and also its resolution. BSSN still only relies on Presidential Regulation No. 53 of 2017 and revised by Presidential Regulation No. 133 of 2017 concerning the establishment of BSSN. The points in the two Presidential Regulations are then operationalized by BSSN in the BSSN Regulation and the BSSN Strategic Plan for 2018-2019. One of the weaknesses of regulations that are not in the form of laws is that they are only relatively binding within, without being able to bind other parties who actually must be actively involved based on a strong legal law.

The involvement of other parties in cybersecurity in Indonesia is increasingly needed because the Government has limited ability to protect the activities of the community in cyberspace. Other entities, such as individual groups and the private sector, have similar problems. In addition to the limited ability to deal with threats in the cyberspace there is also some confusion about what must be secured in the context of cybersecurity, because there are so many private and public networks and computers that need to be secured by the government as a security provider. If the Indonesian government needs to secure all cyberinfrastructure, networks, and computers, this effort will be very difficult and require enormous and time-consuming national resources (Wardhana, 2019). This means that the Indonesian government is still an important actor in cybersecurity, but government efforts alone will face difficulties in securing cyberspace when working alone. Whereas on the other hand, the private sector has a number of capabilities in managing the cyber domain because the private sector operates the information network; provides internet services; provides information technology products and other related services. Finally, cooperation Pradipta Nindyan Saputra Arfin Sudirman Obsatar Sinaga Wahyu Wardhana Nurul Hayana between the state / public-private sector to secure cyberspace is needed, both through domestic and international efforts (Wardhana, 2019).

The process of establishing a cooperation framework in cybersecurity can not be denied requiring time to consider different perceptions about the specific nature of threats and the different interests of each actor in the cyber domain. Therefore, referring to the Comprehensive Study on Cybercrime published by the United Nations Office on Drugs And Crime in 2013, the handling of crime in cyberspace in Indonesia needs to prioritise aspects of crime prevention in cyberspace. Prevention of crime in cyberspace (cybercrime prevention) includes six aspects, namely: criminalization, law enforcement, procedures regarding electronic evidence, state jurisdiction in matters of cybercrime, international cooperation in matters of cybercrime, and the responsibility of service providers in cyberspace (United Nations, 2013).

This collaboration brings together government stakeholders, international institutions, and private actors (Metodieva, 2018). Governments as users and the private sector as service providers must increase information sharing and approval mechanisms in dealing with cyber threats, based on building trust and mutual trust (Raduege, 2013). Indonesia can learn from the European Union, which has imposed strict requirements on online search engine providers. Meanwhile, the US government regulates several private sectors in the cyber business. The government shares limited intelligence to certain private sectors, such as the health and financial sectors to prevent cybercrime (Wardhana, 2019: 107). In short, in dealing with Indonesia's cybersecurity issues, collaboration and partnerships with other actors, especially the private sector are needed.

Public-Private Partnership

The message to involve all parties including the private sector in building national cybersecurity architecture has basically been implied in Presidential Regulation No. 53 of 2017 which was later revised by Presidential Regulation No. 133 of 2017. Article 2 states "BSSN has the task of carrying out cybersecurity effectively and efficiently by utilizing, developing and consolidating all elements related to cybersecurity". Then it is spelled out in article 3 letter "h" related to "the implementation of national, regional and international cooperation in cybersecurity matters" (Peraturan Presiden No. 53 tahun 2017, 2017; Peraturan Presiden No. 133 tahun 2017, 2017).

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What is implied in the two Presidential Regulations is then to try to be implemented by BSSN through the 2018-2019 Strategic Plan for the State Cyber and Cryptography Agency (BSSN Strategic Plan). On page six of the Strategic Plan, it is stated that one of the functions of the formation of BSSN is to strengthen cooperation and coordination between Ministries / Non-Ministry Government Agencies and private parties in securing cyber. In particular, it was also mentioned that cooperation, collaboration, and roles between the government and the private sector can occur in the context of securing the National Critical Information Infrastructure (IIKN) and the realm of electronic commerce (Rencana Strategis Badan Siber dan Sandi Negara Tahun 2018-2019, 2019, p. 6).

Indonesia's Cyber Security

BSSN then elaborated again the involvement of the private sector in building national cybersecurity architecture in the "seven stages of the themes and challenges of transformation". According to BSSN, to achieve strong national cybersecurity, BSSN must go through seven stages of themes and challenges of transformation. In the fourth stage of the theme, Acceptance and Operational, it is stated that BSSN must be able to create awareness of the need for cybersecurity in Indonesia, including the establishment of synergized and coordinated cybersecurity protocols for all Ministries / Non-Ministry Government Institutions as well as private parties (Rencana Strategis Badan Siber dan Sandi Negara Tahun 2018-2019, 2019, p. 7). This is very important to be implemented to the fullest to ensure that national cybersecurity operations can run smoothly.

That is, referring to Presidential Regulation No. 53 and 133 of 2017 and the 2018-2019 BSSN Strategic Plan, the possibility of implementing PPP in Indonesia's national cybersecurity is not only limited to the theoretical domain, but also at the level of practice in building a national cybersecurity architecture, particularly in the context of securing the National Critical Information Infrastructure (IIKN). This was later reinforced by information obtained from BSSN officials that currently, BSSN refers to the basic framework of the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) in reducing the risk of cyber threats to the National Critical Information Infrastructure. That is, PPP canbe part of the national cybersecurity strategy.

However, the practice of implementing PPP in cybersecurity in the field faces many challenges, one of which is the awareness and acceptance of the Ministry / Institution and the private sector to the BSSN

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is still relatively low so that no maximum synergy between the public and private sectors is achieved. The aspect of private sector acceptance of the public sector represented by BSSN is one of the key aspects in optimising the application of PPP in building national cybersecurity architecture. In many cases, the unclear distribution factor of cybersecurity management is often one of the reasons the private sector is reluctant to cooperate and collaborate with the government in dealing with cyber threats. As mentioned in the previous section, theoretically, some literature shows that trust-based relationships beyond cost considerations should be a central feature in PPP (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011). But of course, it can only be implemented when there are strong and binding laws. Because without clear regulations, the private sector is naturally often reluctant to accept the responsibility and distribution of risks in managing national cybersecurity.

Theoretically, the classic debate about rules that remember versus economic considerations when approaching security issues through PPP is a common occurrence (Héritier, 2001). Even though far beyond general PPP, PPP in the context of security also concerns corporate social responsibility, the openness of coordination methods, also includes speed, flexibility, outreach, and support of all parties involved (Graz & Nolke, 2007; Harcourt, 2013). This is because the cyber realm continues to present special challenges in terms of technical complexity, rapid changes, diverse actors and also transnational interdependence so that policymaking in a conventional way will tend to experience obstacles if it is not equipped with an alternative mechanism such as PPP

The task of the government is to ensure that the implementation of PPP in the cybersecurity ecosystem is guaranteed and protected by strong regulations. This will stimulate the private sector to be more active in the national cybersecurity ecosystem. It cannot be denied that the resources that are often larger and more capable of being owned by the private sector than the government are an added factor for the management of national cybersecurity because the involvement of the private sector will ease the burden of the government in managing cybersecurity. In more detail, BSSN has identified a number of factors that are the basis of why the involvement of the private sector through PPP is very important in building a national cyber architecture. First, the professionalism of private-sector digital management; second, the capability of private companies in cybersecurity; and third, private sec-

tor investment in cybersecurity to ensure the smooth running of its activities.

Conclusion

The Indonesian government needs to increase its cybersecurity awareness in the face of cyber threats. In addition to awareness of Indonesian cybersecurity, Indonesia also needs to develop policies and strategies in the cyber domain. This policy can be based on international best practices and international mechanisms. This security strategy also requires collaboration with the private sector, which is an internet service provider, and at the same time has large resources to take an active role in building the national cybersecurity architecture. Cooperation in cybersecurity mechanisms includes guidelines on sharing information with the private sector. When efforts to establish a cybersecurity law in Indonesia are stuck, international cooperation can be an alternative for the Indonesian government to improve cybersecurity architecture. Furthermore, at the international level, Indonesia needs to be more proactive in international cooperation and enhance cybersecurity cooperation.

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The Implementation of Counter Narrative Strategy to Stop the Development of Radicalism among Youth

A Study on Peace Generation Indonesia

Yusup Rahman Hakim, Arry Bainus, Arfin Sudirman

The phenomenon of radicalism is still an interesting issue for both national and international politic scholars. Considering the improvement of technology and globalisation, the radical groups are adjusting their movement, they abandon traditional methods and go for more modern ones. The radicalisation process, through online media and radical narration, is highly effective to influence and recruit the youth. This paper aims to analyse the method to fight against the narration with the unit of Peace Generation Indonesia. The method used in this paper is a qualitative descriptive method since the study aims to describe and analyse the Peace Generation strategy in tackling radicalism among Indonesian youth. The theory used in analysing the problems of this study is the Counter Narrative theory by Zeiger (2016). This theory states that to formulate an effective counter narrative strategy must cover nine steps. The results of this study indicate that Peace Generation Indonesia has succeeded to execute counter-narrative strategy effectively.

Yusup Rahman Hakim, Arry Bainus, Arfin Sudirman. The Implementation of Counter Narrative Strategy to Stop the Development of Radicalism among Youth: A Study on Peace Generation Indonesia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 121–139.



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Keywords: strategy, counter narrative, radicalism, peace generation, *Indonesia*.

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"All our experience of tackling terrorism tells us that the hardware is useless without the software". The quote is stated on the cover of the book titled 'Bringing it Home' (2006) by Briggs and friends. The phrase claims that dealing with terrorism requires both soft power and hard power approaches. The problem of terrorism is a complex problem; therefore, a multi-approach to the problem is crucial. Due to the improvement of technology, terrorist group movements have metamorphosed; it is shifting to more modern methods rather than a traditional one. The terrorist groups are adapting in terms of effort and influence to recruit as many youth as they can. Many scholars have researched about new patterns and acts of terrorism, some research reveal that terrorist groups have used the internet as a new medium to carry their act, some studies (Weimann, 2006, p. 6) showed that terrorists use internet media to spread propaganda, raise funds and launder money, recruit and train members, communicate and conspire, and launch attacks when governments try to fight and arrest them orthodoxly.

In addition, global scholars have done a lot of research on the relationship between radicalism and terrorism, as well as how terrorists use online media to conduct activities and recruiting youth (Azca, 2013; Qodir, 2013; Khelmy & Pribadi, 2013; Baedowi, 2013; Qodir, 2016; Anis, 2018; Al-Rawi, 2016; Ramakrisna, 2016; Schlegel, 2008; Veiluleux & Lepage, 2014). According to Bakti (2016, p. 160), the recruitment of the youth is executed secretly. The fact shows that most of the perpetrators, suicide bomber and other forms of terrorism in Indonesia are still young. The result of a collaboration survey between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, INSEP, and Detachment 88 in 2012 revealed that 47.3% of terrorists are young people with ages of 21-30 years old (Bakti, 2016, p. 160). Furthermore, Wahid Foundation (2016) surveyed on the potential of radicalism in Indonesia, and the result showed that 7.7% of respondents were willing to take radical action when the opportunity arose, and 0.4% had taken radical action. If it is projected to be around 150 million Muslims in Indonesia, there are about 11 million (7.7%) and 600 thousand (0.4%) people.

The data above indicates that terrorist groups target youth to join them, the term radicalism is indeed different from terrorism, as stated by Maarif in (Fanani, 2013, p. 5) that:

Radicalism is more related to the model of attitudes and ways of expressing one's religiosity, while terrorism clearly includes criminal acts for political purposes. Radicalism is more related to internal religious problems, whereas terrorism is a global phenomenon that requires global action. However, radicalism can sometimes turn to terrorism, though not mandatory (*Islam and the Challenge of Managing Globalisation*, 2002).

The attempts to radicalise youth are effective for terrorists to perpetuate their regeneration and ideals, due to Indonesian proverb which says that *one death grows a thousand*. When a terrorist is caught, either he is alive or dead, it does not mean that their movements will recede and disappear. The fact is the otherwise, terrorism will re-emerge and give birth to new terrorists, and even the number can increase. Moreover, the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia released data on the handling of radicalism-terrorism content from January 2017 to April 2019, the data showed that there were 13,151 radical contents spread across online media platforms; 494 sites, File Sharing 502, Telegram 614, Google / Yourube 678, Twitter

1,411, and Facebook / Instagram 9,452.

As a response to the problem, Indonesian government through the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) made strategic steps to overcome the issue, they divided the steps in three sequences; national preparedness, counter radicalisation and deradicalisation strategies. As a derivative of the national strategy, the BNPT created a counter-narrative program to anticipate the threat of radicalism targeting young people. However, the counter narrative program did not work very well, the participation and involvement of non-government element is necessary. Reppie (2016) studied the counter narrative model with analysis on the community's vulnerability against the threat of radicalism in Indonesia, the results of the study revealed that Indonesia is at a high level of vulnerability. Furthermore, Idris (Reppie, 2016, pp. 123-124) said that the counter narrative strategy in Indonesia is still tenuous. The narration created today through the media is powerless, the cause is lack of involvement of academics and religious leaders to write or participate in compiling counter-narratives understanding. The power to overcome a misguided understanding of jihad is too fragile. On the other hand, Anis (2018) stated that a counter narrative strategy must be designed with a more creative and younger approach so the youth will pay attention.

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Therefore, this paper will review how counter-narrative strategies in tackling the development of radicalism among youth. The unit of analysis of this research is the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) called Peace Generation Indonesia, Peace Generation or more known as Peacegen which is a non-profit organisation that engages in the field of peace education with a focus on developing methods and learning media in creative and innovative ways. Peacegen, which has been established for almost 12 years, has remained consistent in fighting radicalism. Peacegen has also received a number of appreciations and awards both from within and overseas. From the background description above, this scientific paper is entitled Counter Narrative Strategy in Tackling the Development of Radicalism in Youth (Studies in Indonesian Peace Generation).

Theoretical Review

In writing this scientific paper, the authors used previous studies as a reference to explore relevant concepts and theories about radicalism and counter narratives so that they can be useful for analysing the problems that will be discussed in this paper.

Radicalism and Terrorism

Radicalism and terrorism are two different terms, yet they are highly related. The authors try to collect the concepts of radicalism and terrorism theoretically from several literatures. According to Taher, (Azca, 2013, p. 24) the term "radical" isderived from the Latin, radix which means, "root". Therefore, "thinking radically," means thinking with deep understanding. Furthermore, Simon Tormey (Azca, 2013) argues that:

"Radicalism is a concept that is contextual and positional, its presence is the antithesis of the orthodox or mainstream, whether social, secular, scientific, or religious, radicalism does not contain a set of ideas and arguments, but rather contains positions and arguments of ideology that questions or sues something (or everything) that is considered established, accepted, or becomes a public view. (p. 25)"

While the definition of terrorism, according to Smelser and Mitchell (2001), is "the systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion" (p. 14). Simply put, terrorism is an act of terror carried out systematically and it is inseparable with violence. The link between

radicalism and terrorism is in the process of transformation of forms, radicalism is considered to be a stage to terrorism.

Radicalism Stages

The process of radicalisation of a person is indeed complex, according to Bowman and Grieve (Hussain, 2014, p. 6), almost all academic literature, empirical studies, social scientists, policy makers, even intelligence and security agencies all believe that the radicalisation process is a complicated, long and dynamic process with the ultimate goal of producing cruel terrorists.

Counter
Narrative
Strategy to Stop
Radicalism

The process and stages of radicalisation is divided to four by Silber and Bhat (2007, p. 6), they are (I) Pre-Radicalisation (pre-radicalisation phase), (2) Self-Identification (self-identification phase), (3) Indoctrination (Indoctrination), and (4) Jihadisation (Jihadist phase). Similar to Silber and Bhat, Hussain (2014: 6) tried to simplify this radicalisation process into four stages without violence, namely; (I) The Bait, (2) Pre-Radicalisation, (3) Semi-Radicalisation and (4) The Trap or Radicalisation.

Counter Narrative Strategy

Schmid (cited in Reppie, 2016, p. 38) argues that counter narrative is an attempt to oppose extremist messages and extremist violence, both directly and indirectly through various online and offline streams. In the same article, Casebeer and Rusell in (Reppie (2016, p. 39) explain that the most effective way to fight terrorism is to develop better stories to replace the narratives of terrorist groups.

To get an idea of how effective counter narrative strategies, the authors try to study and examine the counter narrative concepts that have been studied by several previous researchers. there are plenty of guidebooks and concepts to design effective counter narrative strategies, including the Aristotelian model reviewed by Caseeber (2005), an effective communication planning model by Cangara (2017) and an effective counter narrative by Zeiger (2016).

First, Caseeber (2005) in his research used the Aristotelian model to evaluate counter narrative strategies in counteracting narratives of extremism. The Aristotelian model is a classical theory of the philosopher Aristotle with a rhetorical triangle theory namely Etos, Logos, Phatos. This theory is a basic theory and is widely used in communication science.

Second, counter narrative strategy contains elements of the communication process, so the approach of this research analysis is actually closer to the communication discipline, as for the communication elements in the counter narrative strategy framework consists of sources, messages, channels, recipient, effects, feedback, and the environment or situation (Cangara, 2017, p. 36).

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Third, in the process of exploring literature, the authors used a counter-narrative guide to extremism entitled *Undermining Violent Extremist Narratives in South East Asia*. The book of 'How to Guide' (2016) by Sara Zeiger contains more details and operations on how to design counter-strategy narrative. Zeiger tries to outline nine stages in designing an effective counter narrative strategy, that is; (1) Assessing the relevant push and pull factors, (2) Identifying the target audience, (3) Identifying the explicit or implicit violent extremist narrative being countered, (4) Set clear goal and objective of the counter-narrative, (5) Determine an effective messenger, (6) Identify the medium (S) Where the message will be disseminated, (7) Develop the content and logic to the message, (8) Develop a strategy for dissemination, (9) Evaluate and assess the impact of the counter-narrative and revise approach according to maintain effective delivery.

To understand the stages of the Zeiger counter narrative strategy (2016), the authors try to summarise it in the form of a flowchart. The following is a picture of the counter narrative stages:

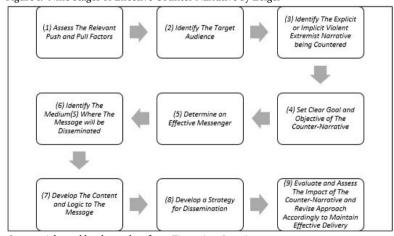


Figure 1. Nine Stages of Effective Counter Narrative by Zeiger

Source: Adopted by the author from Zieger (2016, p. 3)

Research Method

This study aims to see how the counter narrative strategy carried out by Peace Generation (to describe and explain); therefore, a qualitative approach was utilised. Since the problem is unclear, holistic, complex, dynamic and meaningful, it is impossible for the data in such situations to be captured by qualitatively. This research was conducted through a study and observation on the Peace Generation in counter-narrative attempt. Thus, the right approach in this research is a qualitative one, because according to Sukmadinata (2009, p. 60) qualitative research (Qualitative Research) is a study aimed at describing and analysing phenomena, events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, the thinking of individuals individually or in groups. Furthermore, McMillan and Schumacher (Sukmadinata, 2009, p. 96) revealed that qualitative studies in general have two objectives, which are describing and exploring.

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Sources of data in the study are the main informants as primary data sources such as the founder of Peacegen. Primary data can be obtained from the source directly, analysed and recorded directly, as well as interviews, observations, and documentation. While secondary data can be obtained from existing data, which includes literature, important documents relating to the research topic. Researchers use purposive sampling technique in determining the resource which means that the data collection techniques are based on the objectives. The researchers determine the informants in advance. The informants in this study are those who are strongly relevant with the topic.

Discussion

The development of radicalism in Indonesia

Based on literature and the data that have been obtained, radicalism group movement in Indonesia is a reincarnation of the DI / TII. This is justified by historians terrorism experts such as Sydney Jones (2011), Solahudin (2011) and Azra (2015). The dissolution of DI / TII in 1962 did not shorten their movements, after 10 years, the DI / TII movement reborn with a different name which is the Jihad Command, then it changes the name to Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), Jamaah Anshoru Syariah (JAS) and Jamaah Ansharu Daulah (JAD). These groups still have the same goal which is establishing Daulah Islamiyah. In its journey, radical groups in Indonesia are interconnected with radical groups both in regional areas and global areas, so that their strength and networks expand.

CEJISS 4/2019 Radicalism groups recruit youths with the aim of making them premanent members and even executors in every action. Based on the data obtained by the authors (BNPT, 2015 & 2018), (Peace Media Center, 2017), and (Republika, 8 August 2016), terrorists who have been arrested or who have been exposed are 17 to 30 years old in average. In addition, based on data obtained from the results of the LAKIP survey (2011), INSEP (2012) and BIN (2017) found that the possibility of youth influenced by radicalism in Indonesia was considerably high.

The development of technology and the rapid flow of information and globalisation help terrorists adapt in developing their networks and group movements. If they used to recruit someone directly through meeting face to face (offline radicalisation), they now do the process of radicalisation by utilising social media (online radicalisation). Data shows that many cases of young people have been successfully radicalised through online networks (BNPT, 2018). The topic of radicalisation methods through this online network has also been studied by several academics such as Syahrul (2011), Weimann (2006), Anis (2018) and Schlegel (2018). Their results reveal that in the digital age, radicalism-terrorism grows and develops by leaving the old style, now they are moving with a new style of making digital media an arena of battle, such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Instagram, Telegram, WeChat, Flickr and WhatsApp.

Peace Generation Indonesia's Counter Narrative Strategy

According to Zeiger's (2016) theory, the counter narrative analysis will be divided into nine stages.

Assessing the Push and Pull Factors of Terrorist Recruitment
Based on Zeiger's theory (2016), the first step in planning an effective
counter narrative strategy is to assess the push and pull factors, these
two factors are the cause of the success of the radicalisation process.
This identification process is intended to ensure planning and implementation of the counter narrative program is on point. The findings
showed that Peacegen has fulfilled this first step of the strategic step,
the pull and push factors can be identified in the 12 NDP that Peacegen has formulated. The 12 NDP is the answer to all roots of conflict,
including radicalism. The 12 NDP covers a learning method called conflict tree, it identifies each problem of students, and the problems lead
to one of the point in 12 NDP. For example, Islamophobia is the second

value of 12 NDP in category of prejudice where students are taught to understand prejudice, then they have to distinguish facts and prejudices, and realise its danger.

Identifying the Target Audience

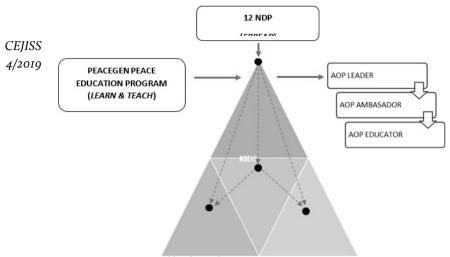
The second stage in Zeiger's (2016) counter narrative strategy is to identify the target audience or reader. This step contributes in determining the purpose of the message and evaluating whether the message was successful to deliver. In addition, this step has a vital role in promoting and reinforcing messages to reach the most likely and vulnerable individuals on radicalism narration. Based on the findings, the target audience of Peacegen is the common people (general population); most of them are children, then adolescents, and adults. Target projection and target audience can be seen in the image below. Furthermore, the researchers' observations (observations, September 2019) showed that the participants of the Peace Camp program (one of the Peace Academy programs) were followed by various groups including; teaching profession, activist, community, lecturer, influencer, and others. The Peace Camp program aims to form AOPs, which are then given a mission to spread 12 NDP in their respective regions and environments. Not only that, Peacegen invited Syrian returnists to study 12 NDP. It was intended that messages could be conveyed better if delivered by people who had experienced or had been exposed to radicalism. Each target audience is touched with the same narrative, namely 12 NDP by using different methods and if this is faced with the division or classification of the target audience by Zeiger (2016) then the identification of the target audience Peacegen already meets the criteria for this second step, namely (I) General population (General), (2) Key influencers, (3) Sympathisers to violent, (4) Extremist ideas justifiers of violent extremism and (5) Perpetrators of violent extremism (Actors).

Identifying the Opposing Narrative

Peacegen does not identify the typology of radicalism narratives; however, Peacegen tries to present an alternative narration to undermine the content of radicalism narration. In contrast, the counter narratives in general that produce rebuttal content or answers the radical arguments. The contents are considered heavy for young people to read. Peacegen's narration is different. The content is deeper and the purpose of the content is to build awareness and internalise a process of

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Figure 2. NDP Target Audience Projection Image



Source: Images processed by the author

12 NDP that have been formulated. The main target of the Peacegen narrative is children since they are easier to influence than the adults. This step is taken as part from early prevention efforts.

Zeiger's theory (2018) on the classification of radical narratives are: (1) Religious narratives or ideological narratives (the concept of Jihad and differences between Muslims and Non-Muslims), (2) Political narratives (government legitimacy, State concepts and Khilafah), (3) Social-heroic narratives (Glorification of acts of violence, complaints, social pressure) and (4) Economic narratives (economic marginalization), the classification of these radical narratives has generally been answered by Peacegen through the 12 NDP narratives. The following classification of radical narratives composed by Zeiger when faced with 12 Peacegen NDP:

Table 1. Peacegen Narration Counter Identification Table

Radicalism Narrative Classification According to Zeiger (2016):	Peacge Alternatif Naratives (12 NDP):
Religious / Ideological Narratives	· ·
Political Narrative	Gades 2, 3 and 4
Social-Heroic Narrative	Gades 7
Economic Narrative	Gades 6

Source: Processed by the author

Setting Global Counter Narration

The next step in creating an effective counter narrative strategy is to define the goals. According to Zeiger, there are four kinds of counter narrative objectives, which are; (1) Separation, i.e. changes in behaviour whereby individual's involvement in extremism activities decreases and / or stops (changes in behaviour, ie violence and incitement). (2) Diversion, which is to prevent individuals who are at risk of becoming violent extremists (change their minds). (3) Damaging the Attraction, this aims to reduce the appeal of extremist narratives. (4) Reducing Impact, i.e. isolating threats to limit narrative effects to individuals.

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Based on the data obtained by researchers, Peacegen already has four kinds of counter-narrative objectives. This can be seen from the following Peacegen program objectives:

Table 2. Analysis of the Objectives of the Peacegen Program

No	Program Name	Purpose			
		Disengagement	Diversion	Limiting Im- pact	Undermining Appeal
I	Creator Muda Academy	√	√	√	√
2	Frosh Project ID	√	√	√	√
3	Sekolah Cerdas			√	√
4	Boardgame for Peace	√	√	√	√
5	PeaceTival & Rock The Peace		√	√	√
6	Training dan Workshop	√	7	√	√
7	FIP (Finding The Inner Peace)	√	√	√	√
8	PGKids		√	√	√
9	Peacesantren		7	√	√
IO	Master Peace	√	√	√	√
II	Breaking Down The Wall		√	√	√
12	Walk the Peace		√	√	√
13	Kick for Peace		√	√	√
14	Plant the Peace		√	√	√
15	Talk the Peace	√	√	√	√

Source: processed by the author

Determining Effective Messenger

Peacegen's steps in embracing peace have three pillars, which are Learn, Teach and Spread. Agent of Peace is an excellent program based on these three steps, Agent of Peace (AOP) has a role to teach and spread the value of peace in their schools and communities. The AOPs are the frontline of Peacegen in sowing the seeds of peace in Indonesia. AOP is a term for people who have participated in 12 NDP training. Everyone can become an AOP, to do so, one should accomplish three missions: learn, teach and spread the value of peace in the community.

Peacegen formed Agent of Peace (AOP), spread throughout Indonesia with the mission of deploying 12 NDPs, through a work unit called Peace Academy Peacegen, and conducted training as well as workshops to select the AOPs. Based on the observations of researchers (observations, September 2019), Peace Academy held a program called Peace Camp, the program was attended by participants from various circles (heterogeneous), various age range, profession, community, religion, and including Syrian returnists. In addition, Peacegen has also cooperated with local and central government in implementing 12 NDP to the community.

Conforming with Zeiger's (2016) message-conveying classification that consist of (1) Family, (2) Community Actors and Religious Leaders, (3) Former brutal extremists (formers), (4) Victims and survivors and (5) Government, Peacegen has fulfilled the messenger deciding stage.

Developing Content and Message Logic

The next step is to develop the content and logic of the counter narrative message. According to Zeiger (2106) the development of counter narrative content (or alternative narratives) must consider structures and logic that is similar to extremist narratives, furthermore, the best approach is to use simple and clear messages. However, there is also room for innovation in developing counter-narratives approaches, especially by creating alternative and positive narratives, on local culture

Conforming to counter narrative strategy undertaken by Peacegen, Peacegen has carried out the sixth stage. Peacegen produces alternative narratives to counter radicalism among youth, Peacegen comes in a different way through a popular culture approach. Additionally, the narratives produced by Peacegen are light and easy to understand, for example, the story of Syrian returnists who return to Indonesia is made into comic stir that are interesting for youth.

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Identifying the Media Where the Message Will Be Distributed In accordance with Peacegen's counter narrative strategy "Learn-Teach-Spread", Peacegen uses the platform to disseminate counter narrative content as a part of spreading the message. Some of those platforms are:

Table 3. Peacegen's Media Table / Platform

Counter Narrative Strategy to Stop Radicalism

No	Media/Platform	Status	Performance
	Name		
I	Facebook	Available	Active
2	Twiiter	Available	Passive
3	Instagram	Available	Active
4	Youtube	Available	Active
5	Snapchat	None	-
6	Periscope	None	-
7	Whatsapp	Available	Active
8	WeChat	None	-
9	Television	None	-
IO	Film	None	-
II	Cinema	None	-
12	Print Media	Available	Active
13	Newspapaer	Available	Passive
14	Books	Available	Active
15	Pamphlets	Available	Active
16	Billboards	None	-
17	Comics	Available	Active
18	Face to Face or in person messages	Available	Active
19	Online Websites or Discussion Forum	Available	Passive
20	Radio Broeadcasts	None	
21	SMS Celluler-Based Communications	Available	Active
22	Live Event	Available	Active
23	Community Events	Available	Active
24	Panel Discussions	Available	Active
25	Forum	Available	Active
26	Conference	None	-

Source: Processed by the author

Based on the data above, Peacegen has almost used all popular platforms both online and offline. However, the usage of online media is not a goal of counter narratives; it is just a tool instead. Peacegen works in the offline world, online media is a funnel to seek people's attention since the movement requires plenty of people

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Developing Publication Strategy

The next step in the counter narrative campaign is to develop strategies or ways to disseminate counter narrative content. Conforming Peacegen's counter narrative movement, the eighth step has been fulfilled by Peacegen. The indicators in developing the strategy are as follows:

Table 4. Peacegen's Publication Strategy Table

a.	Counter narrative campaign time schedule	√
b.	The urgency of counter narratives is made for the target audience	√
c.	Different counter narrative times will be released	√
d.	The ability of counter narrative can enter into many media	√
e.	Campaigns on social media already use keywords, hashtags and / or taglines from interesting messages	√
f.	The target audience supports the key elements of the message created.	√
g.	The audience / target interacts with the narration created.	7
h.	The audience / target interacts with the messenger	√
i.	Call to action and the audience learn more about the recommended action.	√
j.	There are contact numbers, emails, or methods available.	√

Source: processed by the author

In addition, in the publication stage, Peacegen builds a relationship and partnerships with other organisations. This strategy was adopted so that the peace messages could spread more massive, there are 49 organisations that had partnered with Peacegen consisting of CSOs, state and private education institutions and the Government.

Evaluating the Impact of Counter-narrative Programs

The final step is to evaluate the extent of the counter-narrative impact in overcoming radicalism, according to Zeiger's theory (2016), at

least the counter-narrative evaluation includes the following 4 components; (I) Social media statistics; followers, likes, tweets and retweets, quotes, interactions, clicks and more. (2) Frequency of links shared on social media, (3) Number of contacts (email, telephone, etc.), (4) qualitative assessment of the content based on interactions or comments on several media.

Peacegen always evaluates the success of the programs. Peacegen evaluates at least three elements; (I) Quantity (2) Quality and (3) Continuity or sustainability of the program. In terms of quantity, Peacegen always measures and sees how many people have been involved in the program since delivering the message of peace requires a large number of people. It can be seen in the achievement table in the image below. The data shows that Peacegen's AOPs spreads in 29 Provinces, 107 Cities and Regencies, with a total of 19,650 AOPs throughout Indonesia of the 100,000 AOP target. In terms of quality, Peacegen is monitoring the quality of the narrative products or propaganda. This can be seen from the results of the pretest. Most participants disagree that "extreme violence, terrorism and radicalism were deliberately created by the state and the issue was deliberately exaggerated" the number

Peacegen monitors AOPs that are spread throughout Indonesia by seeing how much intensity and sustainability of the programs. Peacegen ensures that the movement will continue routinely and consistently, Peacegen always calculates the quantity, the quality and how long the program will run. The evaluation results must show the reach of the Peacegen program as well as the result of the evaluation must be able to show how good the reach of Peacegen. Peacegen assures that the program can change other people that are the purpose of Peacegen mission itself. Massive evaluation is conducted once in 6 months, Peacegen also checks whether the members still remembered and followed up the learning. Based on this information, Peacegen has fulfilled the contra-narrative evaluation stage formulated by Zeiger. However, Zeiger evaluation is more to the quantity of the responses, interactions or audience feedback from the communication information media used, while Peacegen evaluates based the data on offline activities.

increased 30.6% in five cities.

To make it easier to understand the overall strategy, a flowchart was drawn below which illustrates how the counter strategy of Peace Generation Indonesia works:

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Figure 3. Strategy Counter Narrative Peace Generation Indonesia

PEACEGEN CRITICALTHINGKING STRATEGI SOCIOPRENEUR CREATIVE LEARNING Kota/Kabupaten ada AoF Program: Produk: Peace) FIP (Finding The Inner Workshop Seminar Pendidikan & Camp Master Peace /Peace Peacesantren **PGKids** Online Content Creator Offline dan Boardgame for Peace Buku Modul Guru 12 NDP Buku Modul Siswa 12 NDP JUMIJAH 29 107 19,650 31.jt 40.jt Modul yang Terjual Sekolah dan Kampus dgame for Peace DESKRIPSI 42 jt 23 49 4,530 Peace: AoP Leader AoP Educator AoP Ambassador &Blog Website Twitter Facebook Instagram Yuotube Education Stakeholder Target: NGOs Organizations Community Activists Teachers General Population Institutions Corporate entities or Businesses PG Kids Eat for Peace Creator Muda Sekolah Cerdas Kick for Peace Plant the Peace the Walls Rock the Peace Breaking Down Sekolah Cerdas Frosh Project ID Academy Peacetival Peace Camp

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Source: Image processed by the author

Conclusion

The conclusions of this study are as follows. First, the root of radical group movement in Indonesia is a fraction of the old group named DI / TII. They experienced ups and down which then split or intertwined

with other radical groups both regional and global levels. Radical groups' patterns and movements are changing now and the traditional methods turn to modern ones, the cause which made radical groups have adapted to technology and information development, such as creating radical narratives and propaganda through online games.

Second, Peace Generation Indonesia as a Civil Society Organisation (CSO) successfully created and developed effective counter narratives to overcome the narratives of youth radicalism. Additionally, Peacegen applied a sociopreneur system so that organisations can develop and sustain independently. The implementation of the Peacegen program was driven by youth. Peacegen's counter narrative has a distinctive characteristic, which is using a popular culture approach. Mmoreover, Peacegen consistently run a peace campaign through media, creative and innovative learning methods.

Finally and with reference to Zeiger's theory, it could be revealed that Peacegen has fulfilled nine stages in performing counter-narrative strategies. However and based on this analytical review, Peacegen's narratives fall into alternative category since the content is light and responds indirectly to the arguments made by radical groups.

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Conflict in South Sudan

Human Security Issues and Challenges for Conflict Resolution

Windy Dermawan, Akim, Febriani Amalina Shalihah

This research aims to find out the urgency and challenges of making conflict resolutions in South Sudan related to their impact on human security issues. The research method used is a qualitative research method with technical data collection in the form of literature studies using several previously journals with similar topic. For the approach, the theories and concepts used are human security and conflict resolution management. As a result, the impact of this conflict on aspects of human security has been threat to a lost generation in South Sudan, hence why the conflict resolution is very necessary. By reflecting on conflict resolution that had been made previously, two challenges that must be considered in making conflict resolution in the future are the commitment of both parties to the peace agreement and the absence of national identity in South Sudan. Therefore, efforts that can be made are using consistent international pressure to maintain commitment and increase the role of national institutions to bridge the absence of national identity in all conflicting ethnic groups.

Keywords: South Sudan, intra-state conflict, human security, conflict resolution, national identity.

From the early 1990s to the end of 1999 there were 118 armed conflicts throughout the world, with 80 states and two para-state regions involved, and resulted in the deaths of around six million people. (Smith,



Windy Dermawan, Akim, Febriani Amalina Shalihah. Conflict in South Sudan: Human Security Issues and Challenges for Conflict Resolution. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 140–155.

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2014). Before World War II, the main form of organised violence in international relations was inter-state conflict. During the Cold War and the following period, the main forms of conflict in international relations turned into intra-state violence and inter-community conflict (Hampson et al. 2007).

One area where there are still many wars is the African region. This is partly due to the condition of countries in the African region which, after independence, have not been politically stable and underdeveloped in economic terms. Beside, the ethnic identity that is still very strong in the community creates tension between the ethnic groups. By 2020, almost half the countries in Africa and 20% of the population are affected by conflict. Also, according to British Government (2001), there are eleven major conflicts have resulted in more than a thousand deaths. This make the level of conflict is greater than in any other region in the world. One of these conflicts is the conflict in South Sudan.

South Sudan itself is the newest country in the world which is located in the middle of Africa and borders with six countries. This country is one of the regions that are rich in oil, but also full of civil war. Dessalegn (2017) in his article The Cause and Consequence of Conflict in South Sudan said that the conflict in South Sudan began with tensions between ethnic Dinka (the oldest ethnic group in Sudan) and Ethnic Nuer (the second oldest ethnic in Sudan). Starting from inter-ethnic tensions, in December 2013, violence between the government (that supported by ethnic Dinka) and the opportition (that supported by ethnic Nuer) began to occur. So, we can say that even this conflict looks like a conflict between the government and opposition, but basically the main parties of the conflict are ethnic Dinka and Nuer. The war in the newborn country in 2011 then caused thousands of casualties and other problems such as poverty, hunger and increasing numbers of refugees (Dessalegn, 2017). Peace efforts and conflict resolution in the conflict in South Sudan have been carried out by the international community, both by countries and organisations such as the United Nations. However, until now the resolution that has been made has not succeeded significantly to end the dispute. The country's conditions that were not stable yet are one of the main reasons that made peace agreement in the civil war in South Sudan very vulnerable to collapse. But, the increasing of human insecurity in South Sudan has made international pressure to immediately stop the conflict even greater.

Windy Dermawan Akim Febriani Amalina Shalihah *CEJISS* 4/2019 In this paper, we refer to several similar articles previously written about the impact as examined by Kircher, 2013; Dessalegn, 2017; and Wild et al., 2019. Those articles used the human rights approach, while we use the human security approach in analysing the impact of conflict. Our reason to choose this concept is because there are many negative impacts that caused by this conflict, such as poverty, economic condition, and others that are basically the issues of human security. The relation between conflict and human security itself were discussed in many literatures, some of them are in the Routledge Handbook of Human Security, 2014; Human Security: A Framework for Assessment In Conflict and Transition, 2001; and Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building, 2004.

Last but not least, we also refers to an article that discusses the challenges in the effort to resolve the conflict in South Sudan, such as written by Nyadera, 2018; Mutasa, 2017; Blanchard, 2016; and the Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, 2006. These articles mention that the challenge of the South Sudan conflict lies in the condition of unstable ethnicity and unstable government so that recommendations are given to overcome this. Therefore, in this paper we want to find out the urgency in the effort to resolve the conflict in South Sudan related to its impact on human security and, from so many challenges faced, we also want to find out what are the biggest challenges to be concern in making conflict resolution on the future.

Literature Review

According to the theories, conflict is consists of three components, that are action, incompatibility (difference of interests), and actors (parties). By combining all three, conflict can be defined as a social situation in which at least two actors (parties) try to get one of the same resources at the same time (Wallensteen, 2002). One form of conflict is armed conflict. Armed conflict defined as open and armed clashes between two or more parties carried out centrally, with continuity between clashes, in disputes about power over the government and territory (Dan Smith, 2004). Besides, the development of the times also led to a paradigm shift so that actors in the conflict were no longer just countries, but also non-state actors. Therefore, in addition to what is called inter-state conflict or interstate conflict, there are also so-called intra-state conflicts which include civil war. At least since 1945, which is after the cold war, internal conflicts such as civil war have occurred

more frequently than international conflicts between countries. Dan Smith (2004) in his article *Trend and Causes of Armed Conflict* assumes that this internal conflict is not only caused by ethnic factors (as is generally considered to be the main factor) but also has relevance to political and economic conditions. The need to understand this condition is due to civil war also having a close relationship with the distribution of power in its society (Peter Wallersteen 2002).

Conflict in South Sudan

Douma (2003) describes four factors that influence the occurrence of conflict in his writing *Conflict Resolution and the End of the Cold War*. First, the trigger factor, which is the events that trigger the occurrence of conflict even though it is not the main causal factor. Second, pivotal factors, that is the root causes of conflict so that these factors must be resolved to stop the conflict. Third, mobilising factors, that is the actors in a conflict that influence the direction of conflict. Finally, the fourth is aggravating factors, that is factors that can influence pivotal factors and mobilising factors.

The South Sudan conflict as mentioned earlier is a conflict between ethnic groups (which means "non-state actors") in South Sudan. Therefore, the use of the concepts of armed conflict and intra-state conflict will be very relevant to explain this conflict. In addition, we feel that there are various factors that cause the South Sudan conflict, therefore, the explanation proposed by Dan Smith (2004) and Douma (2003) regarding the causes of conflict is also considered to be very relevant for analysing the causes of conflict in South Sudan.

Conflict itself is closely related to the concept of security, where conflict can occur as a form of resistance from threats to security or conflict itself which is a threat to security. Once again the development of the era again played a role in the shift of the concept of security which was originally traditional (only focusing on the military and the state) into non-traditional (focusing on humans). This then creates a new paradigm called human security. The term human security itself first appeared in the book entitled Human Security (1966) written by William E. Blatz. After that, this concept continued to develop until it was finally known globally when it was raised in the Human Development Report in 1994 published by UNDP. This report criticized the concept of security which only focused on external threats to regional security as the main national interest in foreign policy, but forgot to pay attention to common people who affected (King and Murray, 2005). Human security according to the report includes two things that is freedom

from fear and freedom from want. Freedom from want, in this case, means that humans can fulfill their needs, while freedom from fear means that humans are free from threats to themselves.

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UNDP report also mentioned several aspects included in the concept of human security, which is politics, food, individuals, environment, health, community, and economy. Economic security includes freedom from poverty. Food security includes access to food. Then, health security, for example, is access to health care or protection from disease threats. Environmental security, for example, is protected from the dangers of environmental pollution, such as pollution or global warming. Personal security, for example, is security from war or physically threatening things. Community security, for example, is the security of traditional culture and ethnic groups physically and can sustain their lives. Finally, political security includes freedom in civil and political rights, including freedom from political oppression.

As we mention before on literature review, there so many literatures that discuss about the relation between conflict and human security. This relation caused by the fact that conflict is one of the factors that create human insecurity. Therefore, conflict resolution is very important because, in addition to resolving conflicts, the resolution also stops the impact of the conflict itself on human security. Wallensteen (2002) defines conflict resolution as a situation in which the conflicting parties do an agreement that resolves discrepancies between them, accepts each other and stopping violence between one another. He also mentioned that there are seven ways to make conflict resolution. There are shifting priorities, dividing contested interests, horse trading, ruling together, leaving control to a minority or third force, bringing issues to a conflict resolution mechanism, and the last is postponing issue. To determine what ways to use, the things that must be considered are the root of the problem and the conditions and situations of the conflict itself.

Methods

The method used in this article is a descriptive qualitative research method with data collection techniques in the form of literature studies. The data validation technique used is data triangulation from various reference sources such as books, journals, and related websites. This method was chosen because in this paper, the researcher will explain the phenomenon of conflict in South Sudan, what its impact is

on human security issues, and what challenges need to be considered in making conflict resolution, so an in-depth explanation is needed by referring to various sources.

Discussion

Conflict Factors in South Sudan

South Sudan is a fractional region of North Sudan. The split of this region is part of a conflict resolution that never ends between South Sudan and North Sudan. The resolution was a Comperhensive Peace Agreement made in 2005, in which South Sudan at that time requested to secede from North Sudan (Nyadera, 2005). The independence declaration carried out by South Sudan on 9 July 2011 was a statement of the success of the referendum. This officially made South Sudan be a country, even though it was not yet fully stable due to unresolved ethnic problems. This is evidenced by only one month after that, in August 2011, the UN stated that at least 600 were killed due to ethnic disputes. This incident resulted in 200,000 people displaced from South Sudan to the Sudanese border country.

In analysing the causes of this conflict, we use four factors mentioned by Douma (2003), that is trigger factors, povital factors, mobilising factors, and aggravating factors. The trigger factor occurred in December 2013, with problems in the South Sudan government, which is between the President and Vice President of South Sudan. At that time. President Salva Kiir Maryadit accused Deputy President Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon and several politicians of planning to overthrow his government. The fact that President Kiir was someone with the Dinka ethnicity and Vice President Machar was someone with Nuer ethnicity made individual conflicts of interest expand into inter-ethnic conflicts. That made the social structure beneath them split and social relations deteriorated. Kiir and Machar who in this conflict were the mobilising factors have succeeded in mobilising ethnic groups to create ethnic polarisation in South Sudan. Then, fighting broke out on December 16, 2013 (Koos and Thea, 2014) which in a short time became increasingly severe and caused thousands of fatalities.

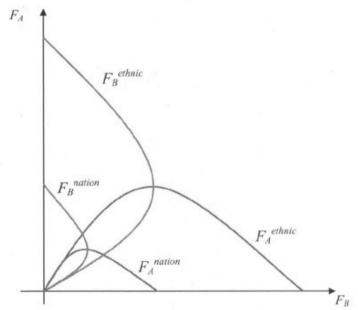
In January 2014, a ceasefire was signed, but it was also violated several times over the next few weeks. These frequent violations are aggravating factors of the conflict because every party who violates will make the other party do revenge. Further discussion in February failed to end violence and eventually increased the number of refugees to

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one million in April. Circumstances that have not improved have led to further peace talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in August, but still fails. Then, from November to December Kenya and Japan sent peacekeepers to protect the people in South Sudan, but the uncontrolled situation made this effort so difficult. Finally, in December the UN Commission of Human Rights declared ethnic cleansing in several places in South Sudan, which did not recognise by President Kiir.

Based on the sequence of events in the conflict in South Sudan since 2013 Nyadera (2018) in his article states that ethnicity is an important variable in the politics of South Sudan. The large number of people in the dominant ethnic groups is an important instrument to be able to get power. The composition of the conflicting parties in South Sudan also related with ethnic mobilisation based on historical competition. One of the finding that state in his article is strong ethnic loyalty combined with a political system that allows winners to dominate government positions causes political fighting to increase to the level of violence.

Figure 1. Conflict under National and Ethnic Identification



Source: Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict, Shayo and Sabanis (2013)

The findings from Nyadera (2018) were proven by Shayo and Sabanis (2013) in their research which explained the relationship between strong ethnic loyalty and the level of conflict in a country. He uses the example of two groups that identify themselves as part of a certain ethnicity or part of the country. The result, as the figure suggests, the intensity of fighting in equilibrium is highest when both groups identify ethnically, lowest when both identify with the nation, and intermediate when members of one group identify with the nation and members of the other group identify ethnically. In addition, Shayo and Sabanis also explained that the state condition factor also had a very big influence in this matter. Countries that are poor, unstable in politics (for example due to a lot of corruption), tend to make the intensity of conflict even greater.

Conflict in South Sudan

Related with those explanations, we agree with the Nyadera (2018) assumption that ethnicity is an important variable, but we tend to feel that the povital factor causing the conflict is basically a political system and chaotic struggle of power in South Sudan. In accordance with the proverb "there is no smoke if there is no fire", then if nothing is contested as a trigger, there will be no conflict. In this case, something that is contested is power, the oil resources and weapons are an extension of this power. In simple terms, the president is the main authority in a country, meaning that he will automatically control resources, the military, the economy, and so on. Then, ethnic differences that are still very thick and loyal (as mentioned by Nyadera), tense, and want to dominate each other, are conditions that can be utilised by the two protagonists in this conflict, Kiir and Machar, to achieve their interests, which is nothing but the power. So, in other words, 'ethnicity' in this case is actually a mobilised weapon that used by both party to win in this conflict.

Impact of the South Sudan Conflict on Human Security Issues
The ongoing conflict in South Sudan cannot be denied has a very big impact on the issue of human security. The following are the effects of the civil war in South Sudan on the seven aspects of human security based on the UNDP report, which is economics, food, health, environment, individuals, communities, and politics.

Economics

Based on the UNDP report (2017), the civil war in South Sudan resulted in macroeconomic conditions deteriorating significantly. Oil produc-

tion, which accounts for more than 90% of revenue in South Sudan, collapsed resulting in a drastic drop in government revenues. In addition, the South Sudan Pound has also depreciated due to the decline in global crude oil. This then creates inflationary pressure, which based on World Bank data, annual inflation increased by 661.3% from July 2015 to July 2016 and 730% from August 2015 to August 2016.

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Food

The UNDP report (2017) also states that as of September 2017, more than 6 million people (more than half the population in South Sudan) are reported to have food insecurity, with 1.7 million at level 4 IPC (emergency) and around 50,000 people at IPC levels 5 (starvation). Although the development of conditions of hunger in certain areas has been prevented by the presence of humanitarian assistance, the level and severity of food insecurity have continued to increase by 20-50% between 2012 and 2016. This is caused by the loss of more than 50% of harvests in areas affected by violence since 2013. In fact, this productivity fulfills most of the country's food needs and 85% of the population makes the agricultural sector a livelihood.

Health

Still based on the same report, that is the UNDP (2017) report, during this conflict, food insecurity, damaged and inaccessible health services, water, and sanitation resulted in significant malnutrition and disease. Humanitarian health services are needed by more than 5 million people estimated to be due to an outbreak of malaria (with 500 deaths in 2 million cases reported in 2016) and cholera (with 163 deaths from 5,000 cases reported since early 2017). Beside, the prevalence of Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) in all regions of South Sudan is estimated at 15% or above the emergency threshold.

Environment

According to a report from the UN Environment (2018), South Sudan is ranked fifth in the world, which is very vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Climate change will exacerbate the development challenges that have originated from political instability, poverty, and sustainable food insecurity. This should be the government's attention to be resolved, but unstable political conditions, conflict, and violence make this neglected and worsen the condition. One example is that

in the absence of conflict food insecurity itself has occurred in South Sudan. With conflicts that have damaged agricultural land, this food insecurity has become increasingly severe and will lead to malnutrition and disease for people in South Sudan.

Individuals

According to reports from the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (2015), on their escape to secure themselves civilians were often being the direct targets of attacks, including when they fled together with deserters. Civilians were also forced to flee several times when troops get into areas where they sought safety. Besides, rape and sexual violence also occur in South Sudan. According to UNMISS and humanitarian sources, in two months in 2015, 28 civilians were kidnapped and 35 women were raped by the SPLA (Sudan People Liberation Army) soldiers near the location of the Protection of Civilians (PoC).

Communities

The United Nation Mission in South Sudan (2015) also mentions that civilians also face various threats of ethnic and inter-communal violence, as well as crime and gender-based violence. In Juba on May 10, 2015, fighting between the refugees on the PoC-1 site and the PoC-3 site resulted in the loss of life and injuries. Other than that, in December 2013, in Juba, ethnic-based killings were carried out by military forces against civilians. This was replicated in the states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile which continued with similar attacks from the other side.

Politics

The situation and condition of a highly unstable political system will have a major influence on the stability of South Sudan itself. The condition of the inter-ethnic struggle of power in unhealthy politics like this will be a real threat to the entire community of South Sudan, moreover, ethnicity is in the position of an "opponent" from the government.

Based on the analysis of the impact on the seven aspects of human security that have been explained previously, we can see that both freedom from fear and freedom from want are not obtained or owned by the people in South Sudan. This shows that if this conflict does not resolve immediately, then the impact will continue or even worsen and potentially lead to a lost generation in South Sudan. This also ex-

Windy Dermawan Akim Febriani Amalina Shalihah *CEJISS* 4/2019 pressed by the UN official, "Seventy percent of children in South Sudan do not attend school, and the loss of generations in such a new country will complicate development after the conflict ends." The same was expressed by Henrietta H. Fore as UNICEF executive director, "Seventy percent of children in South Sudan do not go to school, and this is the highest in the world. There is too much violence there." He said, "If we do not give help ... we will lose this generation and that is very tragic for South Sudan because a country will not be able to build itself without the young generation" (VOA, 2018). Those statements mean if we not stop this conflict immediately, the consequences is really huge.

The Challenges of Conflict Resolution in South Sudan

The first effort towards peace was pioneered by the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) in 2004 which received support from Britain, Norway and the United States (Nyadera, 2018). The last deadline for reaching a peace agreement in the South Sudan conflict that set by the committee is March 5, 2015, but the target is not realised. Besides, ongoing killings made many regional and international actors increasingly urge this conflict to end immediately. For that purpose, a new draft to end the conflict was made in June 2015. The Security Council also threatened to give further sanctions if on August 17, 2015, the parties involved did not sign the agreement. (Foreign Policy, 2015). The problem of this agreement is the slow of implementation. This can be seen from the failure to achieve the target of establishing the National Unity Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) in January 2016.

In late July 2016, threats to the peace process re-emerged with an attack by government forces suspected of targeting a UN-protected civilian camp (Nyadera 2018). Insident that worsened this situation resulted in fighting returning across the country in the following weeks. The UN Human Rights Commission later published a report on March 11, 2016, which stated incidents of war crimes involving sexual violence (The Guardian 2016). This situation also marks the final collapse of the TGNU.

Nyadera (2018) in his article also quoted De Vries and Schomerus (2017) who explained that the lack of political goodwill both from the government and the opposition was the cause of the collapse of Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) in 2015. Although the agreement was signed by the two conflicting parties, but their greater interest in the power they wish to obtain compared to implementing the agreement again makes the agreement not realised (De Vries and Schomerus 2017). Therefore, De Vries and Schomerus emphasised that the division of positions in government would not be a permanent solution if we did not use a more comprehensive approach to peace in South Sudan.

Conflict in South

Several attempts have been made to bring leaders back to the negotiating table since the collapse of the 2015 peace agreement to stop the ongoing civil war. At first this effort seemed futile, but in early May 2018 peace talks were held again in Addis Ababa, although it ended without an official agreement. This is caused by the rejection of both parties on the division of government positions, government systems, and security arrangements proposed by the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). On June 25, 2018, President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar then met in Khartoum after continuing to get pressure from the international community. Both parties at this meeting then signed a new peace agreement that contains distribution of the government's position and a ceasefire. However, the ceasefire only lasted a few hours until it was violated in the north with both parties throwing accusations against each other as provocateur to the violation.

After many failed attempts, the peace agreement on September 12, 2018 in Addis Ababa was the culmination of the last attempt to end the conflict in South Sudan. In other words, this agreement became the 12th agreement signed by President Kiir and Rich Machar since this conflict began. Unlike the previous agreements, the agreement this time involved President Bashir from Sudan and Museveni from Uganda, who were new actors in peace efforts in South Sudan. These conflict resolution efforts seem quite good with the steps that are quite clear in its implementation. This resolution also addresses the commitment to make a functional republic and the refugee management, which have become a problem during this conflict (Gedamu, 2019). It seems that the two parties have a strong commitment in this agreement until the warring parties violated the ceasefire agreement with the latest case occurred on September 24, 2018, when opposition and government forces clashed in Koch Regency in the north of the country.

Through the above explanation, we can see that the resolution used so far is by dividing the two contested interests. We believe this method is indeed the right way because what is contested is power in government. But the majority of the factors causing the failure of each *CEJISS* 4/2019

conflict resolution made the lack of strong commitment from both the Kiir and Machar parties. This can be seen from the lack of trust and ownership of the agreement. Besides, there is very little discussion about accountability at the national level so that the two conflicting parties accuse each other of committing human rights violations (Mutasa and Virk, 2017). Therefore, we conclude that the main key to the success of conflict resolution in South Sudan is actually one of the main obstacles and challenges. In addition, we also agree with a report from The Center for Conflict Resolution (2017) which states that an unsolved national identity crisis in South Sudan because failure to organize differences that exist constructively is also another major challenge in creating conflict resolution. The absence of national identity and tolerance for differences will certainly make it very easy for parties to be triggered to conflict.

Therefore, in making conflict resolution there are several very important things to consider, one of which is the condition of tension between ethnic groups. For this, we agree with recommendations given by Mutasa and Virk (2017), which requires greater awareness of the pluralistic heritage of South Sudan with its ethnic and cultural diversity. For this reason, more effective coordination bodies are needed, such as the South Sudan NGO Forum and the Church Council of South Sudan. The purpose is to avoid conflict and competition and to be able to have greater influence at the national level. This is because neutral institutions based on shared interests will bring their identity as an institution of society and not a particular ethnicity.

The next thing to note is the guarantee that both parties will commit to the agreement that has been made. We believe that the international community plays an important role in this matter. We underlined several attempts to make a resolution where international pressure is a factor that has succeeded in forcing both parties to return to the negotiating table. Therefore, there is a need for mediators who not only mediate but also can guard the implementation of this conflict later. Also, international pressure must also always be given during this implementation and strict sanctions are needed for those who violate the agreement.

The contents of the agreement itself certainly need to pay attention to the interest of each party as well as the theory of conflict resolution management itself. We tend to stick to the distribution of power in inter-ethnic government or resolution by dividing the two contested things. One of these can be done by implementing a democratic

system. However, once again this can only be done if each party both decreases their selfishness and is willing to commit to this conflict resolution agreement.

Last but not least, we also agreed with Mutasa and Virk (2017) who recommended that after the situation in South Sudan is stable, peace-building efforts must also be made, especially in improving economic conditions, including in the agricultural sector. Thus community resilience and food security will increase, and the vulnerability of South Sudanese people to conflict can be reduced. Of course, this is very important because, in addition to resolving conflicts that have an impact, we also have to overcome the impact itself. However, the impact is very miserable to the community so it must be resolved.

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Conclusion

The impact of this conflict on the seven aspects of human security shows that the people of South Sudan do not get either freedom from fear or freedom from want. If this continues, the biggest consequence is a lost generation in South Sudan. If this happens, then the condition of South Sudan which is still much needed to be built when this conflict ends will not have adequate human resources. Even with a large amount of international assistance, the younger generation in South Sudan remains the main key. Therefore, conflict resolution must be made immediately to end this conflict.

It was found that the failure in the conflict resolution that had been made so far was divided into two factors, that is both parties had no commitment in the agreement and the absence of a national identity of the people of South Sudan. Therefore, understanding ethnic conditions in South Sudan is necessary to do, one of which can be done by national institutions. Then, escorting and giving international pressure on both parties to maintain their commitment to this agreement is also very necessary because the commitment of each party is the main key in the Realisation of conflict resolution.



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Conflict in Northern Mali

Human Security Issues and Its Alternative of Resolution

Akim, Windy Dermawan, Attar Rakha Al Yazsa, Mohamad Fadel Ramadhan

This research aims to identify threats to human security in Mali because of the ongoing conflict in the country. From the identification carried out, researchers also sought to offer alternative conflict resolution as a form of problem-solving in Mali. As guidelines of data collection and analysis, this research uses the concepts of human security and conflict resolution. The method used to collect and analyse data is qualitative methods. The conflict that occurred in Mali shows that the conflict has the potential to be a threat to human security, both in economic, political, social and cultural aspects. Conflicts caused by crises and some racist sentiments from the actors involved tend to cause social jealousy. This research found that conflict is closely related to the disruption of human security components such as politics, economy, personal, and food caused by war. This research also found that power sharing is one of alternative conflict resolution in resolving a conflict in Mali by paying attention to the basis for the return of each party from cooperation in joint decisions and protecting the autonomy of the conflicting groups. In addition, the power sharing that contains democratic values is able to make this form of conflict resolution gain broad support from the parties involved in the conflict. The relevance is that the power sharing is a conflict resolution that takes into account of human security.



Akim, Windy Dermawan, Attar Rakha Al Yazsa, Mohamad Fadel Ramadhan. Conflict in Northern Mali: Human Security Issues and Its Alternative of Resolution. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 156–168.

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Keywords: conflict, Mali, power sharing, human security, Tuareg.

North Mali conflict is a continuing conflict because it is caused by crises such as the economic crisis and the political crisis that hit the country. Although at some time the conflict had reached an agreement to reconcile, this conflict arose again due to crises that caused dissatisfaction with its people. Mali, historically is a prosperous kingdom because it has the main income, namely gold. Mali is also geographically divided into two, namely North Mali and South Mali because it is separated by the Niger River. South Mali is an area that has many sources of gold mines, while the North is not like that. Disaffection of the Malian people began when France colonised Mali in the late 19th century (Caspian Reports, 2013). France tends to focus on the construction of its camps in the southern region of Mali because of the abundant gold mining resources there although they do not want to build camps in the north because of their very few natural resources. Even when they tried to form border lines for Mali, however, these efforts always encountered problems, so the gap between the South and the North of Mali grewbigger.

This intra-state conflict has begun since the 1960s, not long after Mali won its independence which was started by ethnic minorities in North Mali namely the Tuareg Tribe. This conflict began to be great when it entered the 1990s. At that time, the Tuareg tribe along with Arab nomads formed a rebellion movement called the Azawad People's Movement (Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad / MPA) which aimed to declare war on the Malian government to liberate northern Mali (Caspian Reports, 2013)This conflict reached an agreement between the two sides in 1995, but this conflict arose again in 2007 due to dissatisfaction by former Tuareg fighters integrated by the Malian government into the military but the rebellion came to a dead end (Caspian Reports, 2013).

The failure did not reduce the enthusiasm of the Tuareg tribe to liberate North Mali, in 2012, the Tuareg Tribe again held a rebellion with a new name, the National Movement for Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) (Morgan, 2012). The rebellion was stronger than the previous rebellion because the Tuareg tribe worked with radical groups such as Al Qaeda and Ansar. Plus, the Tuareg tribe gets heavy weapons from Libya that are more powerful than the weapons owned by the Mali government (Dyxon & Labous, 2014).

Akim Windy Dermawan Attar Rakha Al Yazsa Mohamad Fadel Ramadhan *CEJISS* 4/2019 The MNLA and Ansar rebellion was successful after the appointment of President Amadou Toure and declared the independence of North Mali and named it Azawad. But internal conflicts arose between MNLA and the Ansar group. The vision of the two groups is very different in managing a country so that the MNLA declares war on Ansar groups that work with other Islamic groups in Africa (Bate & Diarra, 2012).

Seeing these conditions, the Mali government sought to take over North Mali, and in the end they collaborated with France to regain North Mali from these groups (the UN adopts resolution on northern Mali, 2012). In knowing 2013, the Tuareg Tribe finally entered into a peace agreement with the government. But soon the agreement was withdrawn by the Tuareg tribe because they felt the government was not committed to the agreement. In 2015, there was another truce between the MNLA and the government, but the terrorism movement still occurred.

Chauzal and van Damme (2015) find that the root causes of problems in Mali and how the conflict is very contrary to human security values (Chauzal & van Demme, 2015). Then, in a study conducted by Haysom (2014) and Arrief (2012), they reveal how conflicts in Northern Mali can be resolved with a Human Security approach, while Bocoum (2012) explains how conflicts in Mali are very harming to one component of human security, namely food security. The researchers mentioned above examine how conflicts can be resolved through human security approach, but only limited by human security. Lankhorst (2013) also shows that what is happening in North Mali and explains his opinion that conflict in North Mali can be resolved through reconciliation by promoting the principle of justice. Then, Lellou (2018) explains how the peace agreement in Mali through reconciliation failed. Based on the results of the research that has been done, the researcher decided to make a research on the approach of human security in the conflict in Mali as a whole and provide alternative conflict resolution through the power-sharing theory.

This research aims to explain why there is ongoing internal conflict in North Mali, conflict resolution that has been carried out and how the human security perspective sees conflict in North Mali. This research also describes the possibility of conflict resolution based on the views of researchers in relation to the concepts used.

Method

This study uses qualitative methods using secondary data collection techniques. In international relations, qualitative research widely used to understand phenomena or events that occur in the international realm. This method is widely used because the phenomena that occur have broad links with international politics. Jack S. Levy (2003) divides into four types of case analysis in qualitative research methods with the aim of facilitating researchers in validating case variables and theories. The fist one is *Altheorical*, which is a type of form of data analysis research that focuses on a particular field in order to understand a historical phenomenon as a whole. This type is descriptive and inductive. The second is *interpretive*. This type aims to explain a case structurally based on a theoretical framework and focus on specific aspects. This type does not develop broad theoretical generalizations (Levy, 2003). The third is *hypothesis generating*. This type is usually used to develop hypotheses that can be addressed using other methods and case analysis can be used for the process of constructing new theories. The last is *deviant*. This type focuses on empirical anomalies that exist in a generalization of a theory and can used to improve the theory (Levy, 2003). In this study, researchers used the interpretive analysis type. In collecting data, researchers use Internet-based research techniques. Researchers collect data by searching for news articles, journal articles, reports, and videos that have been uploaded on the internet. To test the validity of the data, researchers collect data available on the Internet, and then match the contents of the data to test the authenticity of the data.

Conflict in Northern Mali

Conceptual Framework

Human security is a paradigm that explains that security means that a human being is free from all threats and gets their rights without interference (Hidayat, 2017). The components of human security itself are food security, economy security, personal security and political security. The four components are in the world spotlight on Mali because of the conflict that occurred there. War can cause concern for the people of a country, especially the civilian population feels threatened because weapons that could be able to hit their homes, even during the war, groups also made civilians hostage and torture them. These things affect the Personal Security. In addition, war can also affect economic growth because the government must focus their

budget on arming their military against the enemy. Then, war can also destroy a country's economic resources or income. If the country's economic growth declines, the people's economic capacity will also decline, so that it can be said that war can also affect economic security (Stone, 2009).

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The food security and the peoples' economic ability to buy food were affected due to the hampered economic security. In addition, because the war on food distribution can be hampered, even more so if an area that produces food is controlled by the enemy. Fourth, war can cause the rights of citizens to be disrupted. For example, when wars and enemies take control of civilian areas, the enemy might issue policies that hinder the freedom of citizens' rights to live, such as torturing them, raping women, and forbidding them to use items they have, such as cellphones, television and radio. This proves that conflict can cause political human security to be disrupted.

Power sharing is a form of conflict resolution that aims to reduce the risk of civil conflict by ensuring that the parties fighting have a role in the government of a country, so that the parties to the conflict do not commit damage or violence that can harm the country (Wolff, 2012). While the division of power can reduce the incentives for those who lose elections to violate their commitment to democracy, we argue that this depends on the nature of the relevant groups, as well as on the political institutions chosen. The extent to which power-sharing agreements can promote civil peace depends in part on the relative military capacity of the warring parties (Gates & Storm, 2007). The ideal environment for the division of power to create peace is when the conflicting parties are evenly balanced and the cost of war is relatively high. Conversely, when the group is less balanced and the cost of war is low, the division of power means a disproportionate distribution of power and a positive push for those who destroy. In such conditions, the division of power can increase rather than reduce the risk of civil conflict. Power-sharing arrangements to maintain peace are divided into two ways: (1) by providing a "foundation" for each party's return from cooperation in joint decisions, and (2) through provisions that protect group autonomy in sensitive policy areas (Gates & Storm, 2007). Division of power thus helps reduce the threat of conflict by providing all parties with potential conflicts in any case cooperating peacefully and a series of guarantees of mutual security and protection of basic interests.

Both of these tend to reduce the possibility that any group will feel a significant threat to their interests. This may be true especially for small groups or resource-poor. Power-sharing arrangements are specifically designed to reduce uncertainty found in democratic societies by limiting the ability of larger social groups or election winners to use state power for sectional purposes (Gates & Storm, 2007). Therefore, the power sharing governance solution promises to minimise the risk of recurrence of conflict, so it is not surprising that conflict resolution through power sharing has received widespread support among analysts and the peace movement (Sisk, 1996).

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Discussion and Analysis

The Sahel is now being met by an increasingly sophisticated weaponry situation. The United Nations says that this condition endangers all generations in the Sahel because of its already high level. The violence that took place in Mali was followed by requests for funding, but the UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinators warned that this instability would risk expanding the territory to other West African countries.

The increase in their needs can be said to be very significant. Even within about 12 months, there were around 330,000 people who left their homes. Most of them are victims. Mbaranga Gasar Zimbabwe, as UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator in Mali cites "Many of those who have experienced violence are already facing a hardship; for them, it's double devastation." (Humanitarian Aid, 2019).

Violence has become commonplace in Mali and one of the causes of violence in the Sahel against the background of the sentiment of marginalization and the lifting of voting rights. Violence perpetrated by extremist groups in these years is arguably more often than in 2012 at the start of Mali's security crisis. This violence was motivated by the power of extremists who controlled the North and Central Islands. Their presence also disrupts social services aimed at affected communities such as education needs, water supply and food, shelter, and health. As in the field of education, for example, the United Nations cites that there are more than 1,800 schools closed and in the health sector, there are around 80 health centers that are closed as well. Other concerns also arise because of the vacancies in these fields, it is feared that extremists can make a move in the form of filling services and state governance that will have a major influence on the people. Spry

CEJISS 4/2019 and responsive movements are a much needed option. Assistance in the form of sustainable assistance and economic and social development is also vital to its existence. The United Nations says that there are around 5.1 million people in Burkina Faso, Mali, and the Tahoua and Tillaberi regions in western Nigeria who need humanitarian assistance but funding is down by only around 19% of the initial demand of \$ 600 million (Sahel crisis reachingalien levels, warn top UN humanitarian officials, 2019).

The increasingly sophisticated weaponry situation inspired by radical groups namely ISIS, they threaten to disrupt the stability of traditional methods with community-based conflict resolution. The United Nations is now in front and developing its operations. Armaments in the Sahel are very similar to the weapons in the Syrian conflict and this indicates communication between the makers of these weapons in the forum of extremist groups. The tension in the community that will emerge is the result of extremist groups' efforts and the tension is something that cannot be paid, so all elements of society must be supported because if not, then the community will become a fertile resource for bad people.

Human Security Approach as an Alternative Approach to Preventing Violence in Mali

Human Security is an approach that can be taken to overcome community security conflicts that occur in Mali. This approach is considered relevant because of the communication that goes from top to bottom about how to overcome a problem such as the use of violence and crime by using discussion to find a way out. Interventions have an important role in solving a crisis problem. It must also be supported by holding a platform for multi-level dialogue in order to be able to resolve and resolve the source of the problem, supported by the community, and also must have support from stakeholders. The International Community also has an important role to play in supporting the Malian people with assistance in the form of investing to support Mali's support coalitions by being directly involved in civil society and also assisting in completing the process of building the Mali state apparatus. Using a human security approach as prevention and resistance to the teachings of violent extremism is also being carried out, such as increasing human security in Mali by inviting them to be more sensitive to the structural causes of conflict. Rising again are several levels, for example regional institutions and the international community in order to be more deeply involved with civil society for the good and development of security policies in Mali.

December 2013 was the beginning of a movement with the aim of being able to contribute to human security and also efforts to build a sustainable peace in Mali. This movement was carried out directly by the Human Security Collective (HSC), the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), and the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) (Human Security Collective, 2014). The aim of embracing civil society will be easier to be able to build their views to be more critical about the issue of human security and sustainable development.

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HSC with the help of Norwegian Church Aid and also ICCO has given birth and started a four-year program that is up to 2020 to give them work time to get answers and also find a way out of the root causes of conflict and violence in Mali from the perspective of Human Security. This Mali conflict occurs due to various backgrounds, various issues that trigger anger, and also external factors. Behind all these factors, there are very basic things, namely the existence of a weak governance and also the bad relationship between the community and the country. There are three results from this program. The first is to improve leadership governance and accountability at the community level (Human Security Collective, 2014). Second is to strengthen the capacity of the community to be able to manage conflicts on socio-political, religious, justice and other issues at a reasonable and logical level. The last is to develop a national civil society network. This is important because of the existence of actors from the community who will definitely be involved in regulating and emphasizing the existence of Mali society based on the interests of security and development actors that are important at the national, regional and international levels (Human Security Collective, 2014). WANEP until now still holds regular dialogues with civil society to discuss how to identify and also develop strategies for human security priorities. WANEP is a regional network tasked with building peace and given the right to lead so that the network has a high position. With the international advocacy component, the Human Security Collective and GPPAC ensure that this will connect them to a global scale policy process that will affect countries in the West African region. This will be followed by international involvement in Mali related to each other with the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and other important forums. (Human Security Collective, 2014).

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The UN Trust Fund for Human Security has a project to consolidate peace and stability in Mali. The organisation provides several ways, namely by providing several economic opportunities that are sustainable for the community, then by increasing access that will be used by the community to reach social service facilities, namely in the form of clean water for consumption, health, education, and others. The last is to build community resilience to future crises by using ways to promote peace and integrate human security approaches in Mali (United Nations, 2015). Threats to state peace and stability are seldom single, so using a human security approach; this project is innovative to help transition in Mali from emergency assistance to sustainable development. The first thing that can be done is to provide the community at the center of analysis and participatory communities. The next thing is to proactively consider the causes of a conflict so that in the future, conflict can be avoided. Training for young people is equally important because with them, the future of a generation will be able to participate in community development and conflict management.

The current situation in Mali is very contrary to what is stated in Human Rights. In 2018 the conditions of violence became even more serious, where there were a number of members from armed extremist groups who committed atrocities and eventually claimed lives and triggered a humanitarian crisis. In 2013, in order to end a political-military crisis, an attempt was made for the peace process. Disarmament and the restoration of state authority were carried out in order to achieve these ideals. In Central Mali, many explosives were assembled and put on highways, killing many lives. According to data, in 2018 there were around 300 civilians killed because of the incident caused by this extremist group.

What we certainly know is where the efforts of the authorities to take firm action against those who violated Human Rights in the actions they launched. Although law enforcement institutions are still weak, the military has opened wide to open cases of investigations into alleged extrajudicial killings by their forces.

Power Sharing as an Alternative of Conflict Resolution for North Mali

Power-Sharing is a theory that is often associated with *Consociational theory* where the outline of this theory is that segmental leaders must share power if they want political stability (McGarry, 2008). This the-

ory also believes in the Statemanship, a figure believed to be due to his expertise to take care of a country as well as in governing and sovereignty. This theory also says that segmental leaders can invite followers to compromise and be on the right track.

Power-sharing is also often used as a way out when parties are divided because of differences in race, ethnicity, ethnicity or profound religion and they find a position where they cannot find a solution to a conflict. The use of Power Sharing in Mali if it can be applied, there must still be clear follow-up to ensure more prolonged peace. In addition, there must be Power-sharing that can be received from the parties involved. The agreement in question is in the form of division of power and also the distribution of wealth that needs to be carefully detailed. What needs to be done to implement Power-sharing is that the armed movement must be demobilised and reintegrated into the community and the justice process must be carried out. In the author's view, the conflict that occurred in Mali can be resolved by setting up Power Sharing. One of the factors why the Tuareg tribe did the rebellion was because of their jealousy that the Mali government alienated them.

Power sharing can stop this conflict on the grounds that both parties have balanced power, and both have incurred a very high cost of war. Then, with the power sharing, both parties can jointly manage the government. However, it should be underlined that both parties must understand what has been agreed upon in the agreement. The conflict between the Tuareg tribe and the Mali government has actually reached an agreement several times to make peace. However, because one of the parties, namely the Malian government and black Malian, did not respect the agreement, the Tuareg tribe and Islamists were conisdered as outdated tribes. Many people from the black Malian (mainly military soldiers) killed people from the Tuareg tribe and Islamists and raped women from the Tuareg tribe (Lewis, 2013). This shows that in order to reach a peace agreement, all forms of racism must be eliminated in whatever conflict resolution is carried out. To overcome this problem, in the resolution process it is necessary to use third parties such as the UN as the mediator so that the conflict resolution negotiation process can run in a safe atmosphere, because third parties can help facilitate good communication between the two conflicting parties and help them find a way out (Lellou, 2018). Third parties are also able to suppress racism by parties by including agreeAkim Windy Dermawan Attar Rakha Al Yazsa Mohamad Fadel Ramadhan ments that prohibit acts of racism so that the results of the agreement can proceed properly.

Conclusion

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Using a human security approach as prevention and resistance to the teachings of violent extremism is also being carried out, such as increasing human security in Mali by inviting them to be more sensitive to the structural causes of conflict. The current situation in Mali is very contrary to what is stated in Human Rights. In 2018 the conditions of violence became even more serious, where there were a number of members from armed extremist groups who committed atrocities and eventually claimed lives and triggered a humanitarian crisis. What we certainly know is where the efforts of the authorities to take firm action against those who violated Human Rights in the actions they launched. Although law enforcement institutions are still weak, the military has opened wide to open cases of investigations into alleged extrajudicial killings by their forces.

Power-Sharing is a theory that is often associated with *Consociation theory* where the outline of this theory is the need for segmental leaders to share power if they want political stability. Power sharing can stop this conflict on the grounds that both parties have balanced power, and both have incurred a very high cost of war. Then, with the power sharing, both parties can jointly manage the government.

Both of these approaches can be used as conflict resolution in Mali. Completion Power sharing also brings human security values and is also widely used in inter-ethnic conflicts that seek to gain power and justice. However, this approach will be successful if a third party can persuade the two parties in confrontation to reconcile and pay attention to the values of human security. Also, the two confronting parties can comply with agreed treaty so that peace can continue on an ongoing basis.



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Process and Resolution of the Papua Problem

Dialogue Based on Cultural Approach

Hendra Manurung, Arry Bainus

The emergence of a conflict is absence of mutual relations between two or more parties who have or feel they have incompatible goals. Conflict is emergence of never-ending perspectives about differences in interests where the aspirations of conflicting parties cannot be achieved simultaneously through peaceful harmonious consensus. The Papua problem requires a comprehensive and integrated solution by stakeholders who concerned with the future of economic empowerment and political awareness of local communities for boosting equitable prosperity for the people of Papua. Indonesia national leader, President Joko Widodo together with other stakeholders, should prioritise cultural approach and dialogue in solving Papua problem. Papuans youth who are living in Papua and other part of Indonesia still needs Papua's Indonesia brotherhood continuously due to what happens in Manokwari and Jayapura riots on August 19, 2019 after persecution and racialism in Malang, East Java, has led to uncontrolled mass demonstration.

Keywords: Indonesia, Papua, Joko Widodo, dialogue, cultural approach.

Papua is Indonesia's largest province located in the central part of Papua Island or the easternmost part of Indonesia's Papua region. The

Hendra Manurung, Arry Bainus. Process and Resolution of the Papua Problem: Dialogue Based on Cultural Approach. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 169–190.

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eastern hemisphere is a country of Papua New Guinea. The province of Papua was formerly called Irian Jaya which covered the entire western part of Papua.

CEJISS 4/2019 On August 19, 2019, riots broke out in the restive Papua region, where a separatist movement has simmered since the 1969s. President Joko Widodo since his presidential inauguration on October 20, 2019 has sought to improve outcomes for the region, Indonesia's long-standing racism against Papuans risks undermining his national infrastructure plans.

Since presidential inauguration in October 2014, Indonesia President Joko Widodo has good willingness to reduce tensions in the restive region with steps such as building the Trans Papua highway to empower people economic activity and boost social welfare.

Due to the insecurity in Papua and escalation of the Papua problem is rooted in the implementation of special autonomy that is not optimally given, especially in the fields of public health, education, economy empowerment. The strong domination of national authorities resulted in discrimination and marginalization of the indigenous people of Papua (Bobby Anderson, 2015, p.16). The Papuan people who are still traumatic due to the repressive actions of the security forces during President Soeharto's government (1966-1998) marked a big problem that emerged in 'Bumi Cenderawasih'. Another root of the conflict is the differences in understanding about the integration of Papua into the territory of Republic of Indonesia through the Act of Free Choice on August 2, 1969 (New Internationalist, 5 November 1999).

Indonesia withdraws from the UN on January 7, 1965 in protest at the appointment of Malaysia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. This is part of Sukarno's on-going confrontation with Britain and Malaysia (John Saltford, 2003, p.22). The United States National Security adviser Henry Kissinger briefs President Nixon on his visit to Indonesia and likely conversations with Indonesian President Suharto (Henry Kissinger, 10 June and 18 July 1969). Kissinger argues that there is no U.S. interest in getting involved in the issue of West Irian and that it is certain its people will choose integration with Indonesia. In Nixon's talking points, Kissinger urges that the President refrain from raising the issue except to note U.S. sympathy with Indonesia's concerns.

This growing support for Indonesia coincided with the arrival of President Kennedy in the White House in 1961. Unlike his predecessor

Eisenhower, Kennedy was not opposed to possible US involvement to find a settlement. Nonetheless, there were still influential opponents in Washington to any shift of policy on the territory. In March 1961, the CIA sent a memorandum to the President's staff (John Saltford, 2003, p.38)

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"To appease Sukarno on the West Irian and other questions, and to compete with the Bloc in economic and military aid in the vain hope of gaining time – would, we believe, finally destroy the resolve of conservative elements to oppose Sukarno's policies and to act as a brake on the leftward and downward course of Indonesia" (Memo from Bissell, Deputy Director of Plans CIA, to Bundy, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 27 March 1961. In Edward Keefer (ed.), US Foreign Relations 1961–63, Vol. XXIII Southeast Asia (Department of State Printing Office, 1994), p.328.).

The U.S was the first to ignore the West Papuans. In 1962, the U.S brokered a deal whereby the Dutch would leave the territory and transfer sovereignty to the United Nations until a local vote could be held for independence or integration with Indonesia (New Internationalist, 5 November 1999). The West Papuans were not involved in these discussions and instead of the UN, Indonesia quietly took over administration of the province and repression began.

There have been three main political movements seeking independence for West Papua, i.e.: the Federal Republic of West Papua, the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation and the National Parliament of West Papua (Amy Chew, South China Morning Post, 21 August 2019). The groups, thus, since 2014 have united to form a single umbrella organisation called the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP).

Papuans have long faced discrimination in Indonesia. It could be a major factor which has driven some young people to join rebel causes. The coming of Papua new generation to Indonesia political system, for many years, has not been considered by many studies on Papua developmental studies. It becomes worst situation created by central government misinterpretation and wrong handling on Papua.

It is very little has been written based-on literature findings on local indigenous rights in Southeast Asia region. Researchers attempt to address issues concerning Papua conflict, indigenous rights in the region, and proposing continuous cultural approach and constructive.

der obligations derived from the general human rights instruments to which they are signatories. Instruments containing provisions relevant to indigenous peoples include the International Covenant on Civil and CEJISS Political Rights (ICCPR, March 23, 1976), the International Covenant on 4/2019 Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, December 16, 1966) and the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Racial Discrimination Convention, March 7, 1966).

Southeast Asian states are still required to protect indigenous rights un-

Southeast Asian states are also obliged albeit only politically, to abide by the standards set in the main UN minority instrument, the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (Declaration on Minorities, 1993). Currently, it is widely accepted that indigenous peoples can use the protection provided by minority instruments without harming their claims as indigenous peoples, minority provisions have been used repeatedly by the UN Human Rights Committee or UN HRC to protect indigenous rights (UN Human Rights Committee, 1997).

Figure 1. Indonesia and Papua



Source: Crying Freedom (2016), https://www.cryingfreedom.net/cryingfreedom-webbrowser.html

This research topic proposed by researchers is meaningful who attempt to describe analytically due to what happened recently in Manokwari and Jayapura on August 19, 2019 initiated by Papuan peoples. The article demonstrates that this inadequacy is inconsistent with international standards on the prohibition of discrimination, protection of minority cultures and more specifically on indigenous rights, as are recognised in international instruments, interpreted by international organisations, and transferred into national practices.

The New York Agreement is an agreement signed on 15 August 1962 by J. H. Van Roijen and C. Schurman (the Kingdom of Netherlands) and Figure 2. Free West Papua Mural



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Source: ABC News, April 26, 2019, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-01-29/free-west-papua-mural-1/10608238

Subandrio (Republic of Indonesia) in the U.N Headquarter, New York, regarding the administration of the territory of West New Guinea (the United Nations Treaty Series, 1962). On Article I Ratification of Agreement and Resolution of The General Assembly of The United Nations, Article II Transfer of Administration, and Article XII stated clearly:

Article I

"After the present Agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands has been signed and ratified by both Contracting Parties, Indonesia and the Nether lands will jointly sponsor a draft resolution in the United Nations under the terms of which the General Assembly of the United Nations takes note of the present Agreement, acknowledges the role conferred upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations therein, and authorizes him to carry out the tasks entrusted to him therein".

Article II

"After the adoption of the resolution referred to in article I, the Netherlands will transfer administration of the territory to a United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) established by and under the jurisdiction of the Secretary-General upon the arrival of the United Nations Administrator appointed in accordance with article IV. The UNTEA will in turn transfer the administration to Indonesia in accordance with article XII".

CEJISS Second Phase 4/2019 Article XII

"The United Nations Administrator will have discretion to transfer all or part of the administration to Indonesia at any time after the first phase of the UNTEA administration. The UNTEA's authority will cease at the moment of transfer of full administrative control to Indonesia".

The United Nations Temporary Executive Authority who administered West New Guinea I October 1962 to I May 1963 transferred administration of West New Guinea (WNG) to Indonesia. Papua joined Republic Indonesia on May Ist 1963 after UNTEA transferred administration to President Soekarno (John Saltford, 2003,p. 22). On May 4, 1963, Indonesian Ist President Sukarno arrives in West Irian (WNG) for a visit, thus Appointed Papuan politician Eliezer Bonay as Governor. All existing Papuan political parties and unofficial political activity are banned (John Saltford, 2003, p. 22). On September 30, 1966, during an official visit to the UN Headquarter in New York, U.S to arrange Indonesia's re-entry to the organisation, Foreign Minister Adam Malik announces that Jakarta will permit a Papuan act of self-determination (John Saltford, 2003, p.22).

On January 29, 2019, West Papuans claim they have been victims of decades of human rights abuses by the Indonesian government (ABC NEWS, January 29, 2019). By the end of August 2019, Papua returns in the international spotlight.

Situated at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, West Papua occupies the western half of the island of New Guinea. The eastern half is the independent state of Papua New Guinea, hereinafter, 'PNG'. West Papua land is currently comprised of two provinces, Papua and West Papua. The Indonesian government since 1963 has forcibly occupied Tanah Papua, as it is known in Indonesian. While the territory:

'May only be a swim and walk away from Australia, [...] it may as well be the dark side of the moon. [It] is [largely] a secret story, hidden from the world by the vagaries of geopolitics and a policy that keeps foreign journalists, human rights workers, and even diplomats out' (Jason MacLeod, 2015).

Papua's diverse population:

'With more than 200 distinct indigenous ethnic groups and a large population of migrants from elsewhere in Indonesia, struggles with some of the lowest development an indicator in the country' (Cillian Nolan & Sidney Jones, 19 May 2015, p.17-18).

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Moreover, the ongoing dispute over who should rightly control the land and resources of West Papua is 'the Pacific's longest-running political conflict' (Jason MacLeod, 205, p.27). Since 1969, for fifty years Papua conflict of fire never goes out and potentially can become threatening time-alarm for Jakarta. It triggered by persecution and racism treatment toward Papuan students in Malang, East Java on 15 to 16 August 2019.

After the 4th governance of President Republic Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, approach used of Papua is much more concern with technical problem, which is, regional infrastructure and local infrastructure. However, post-Manokwari and Jayapura riots, it is time for government to utilize cultural approach and dialogue that give attention on Papua people dignity. Even though still there is psycho-politics problem within Papua contextual problem related-to suffered collective memories for thirty-two years of 2nd governance of President Soeharto.

Currently, presence perspective information gap between Indonesia governments with Papua people mostly on Papua integration history to Indonesia. Government stated that the Papua problem is already final while Papua peoples still concern with integration process. It needs facilitating channel to bridge the widening between them. Indonesia government should reduce suspicious behaviour and acts toward separatist-groups.

Papua Issue

The embattled Indonesian Papua Province has had a decades-long independence struggle, with its identity torn between several conflicting stakeholders. Based on ABC News, Indonesia's acquisition of West Papua has been the cause of controversy for more than 60 years (ABC NEWS August 30, 2019). In 2003, the Indonesian Government into West Papua and Papua split the province of West Papua.

Internationally, they are still referred to collectively as their historic name of West Papua, but the people from the region refer to them-

selves as Papuans. West Papua shares its borders and cultural ethnicity with Papua New Guinea, but while PNG was colonised by the British, prior to German and Australian administration, West Papua was colonised by the Dutch, setting it on a different course.

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Intervention is usually defined as dictatorial interference by a state in the internal affairs of another state or in the relations between other states. Most text writers regard intervention as illegal in principle because it violates the independence of states which it is the purpose of International Law to protect (G.G. Wilson, 1939, p. 64). Despite these injustices, Papuans supported by civil society organisations at a national and international level that have been working for lasting peace. Yet the efforts of the peace movement and the continued injustices suffered by indigenous Papuans go largely unreported in the western media (Neles Tebay, 2005, p.4).

Figure 3. West Papua Map (July 3, 2019)



Source: ABC NEWS, Jarrod Fankhauser, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-01-30/west-papua-map-1/10756138

Article 2 (4) of the Charter of the United Nations ("the UN Charter") expressly prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of states, and Article 2 (3) requires that all interstate disputes are settled by "peaceful means". The Charter was signed at the San Francisco Conference on 26 June 1945 (The Charter of the United Nations, 1945). However, states have usually put

forward justifications for their interventions and it is clear that interference by one state in the territory or activities of another may be legal in some circumstances.

Based on recent reports suggest that indigenous peoples in South-East Asia face serious problems, some of which endanger their very survival in a rapidly changing environment (Suhas Chakma, 'Behind the Bamboo Curtain: Racism in Asia' in Suhas Chakma and Marianne Jensen (eds), Racism against Indigenous Peoples (2001), pp. 176, 180; Christian Erni (ed), '...Vines That Won't Blind...' Indigenous Peoples in Asia (1996), pp. 34–35; Minority Rights Group International (ed), Forests and Indigenous Peoples of Asia (1999); Diana Vinding et al (ed), The Indigenous World 2002–2003 (2003), pp. 8.). Therefore, despite the gravity of the indigenous peoples' situation, indigenous rights in South-East Asia have attracted relatively little interest from the international legal community. Voices from Australia, New Zealand, and North America have been more prominent within the transnational indigenous movement. Although their perspectives have given voice to needs that are similar to those of indigenous peoples in other regions, by virtue of their prominence they have also muffled the voices of their South-East Asian counterparts.

However, these voices do not pierce the global consciousness with the same force where few Asian groups have had the means to maintain active involvement in the international arena and to put their claims on the international agenda. At the same time, Southeast Asian states consistently abstain from participating in the international human rights arenas and monitoring bodies that address indigenous rights issues. For instance, United Nations treaty-based bodies have repeatedly reprimanded Southeast Asian states for not submitting the required monitoring reports (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination-CERD, 1997).

Likewise, these states have not been vocal in UN debates on indigenous rights (Indigenous Peoples Center for Documentation, Research and Information-DOCIP, May/June 2002). For example, at the 2001 UN Working Group on the Draft Declaration on Indigenous Peoples held in Geneva, Switzerland, none of South-East Asian state took the floor to express their opinion on the draft declaration, although Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam attended.

This reluctance to become more directly involved leads to the limited availability of credible information regarding indigenous peoples'

Process and Resolution of the Papua Problem rights, and more importantly, a lack of serious discussion with the states government about the situation of indigenous groups in their territories.

CEJISS 4/2019 Along 2019, Papua becomes never ending field of armed-conflict. In early December 2018, post shooting of sixteen construction workers done by armed separatist criminal groups or *Kelompok Kriminal Separatis Bersenjata*, *KKSB* (KOMPAS, September 6, 2019) has made a joint military operation involve Indonesian national army (TNI) and Indonesia Police (POLRI). They did sweeping and chasing armed separatist criminal groups led-by Egianus Kogoya in Nduga regional district.

Police officers in Papua still use the Civil Emergency Law No. 12 of 1951 to take legal action against a number of alleged violations, from possession of sharp weapons to possession of ammunition and explosives. According to "Papuans Behind Bars" records, the Act was used for detention in 32 political cases (Hendra Manurung in Imparsial.org, March 9, 2017). To this day, the indigenous people of Papua continue to carry knives, especially if they are involved in political activities, which would surely be threatened by the Law. The toughest sentence imposed on the law is the death penalty. Currently, the issue of capital punishment has received special attention, as the death penalty moratorium is still a discourse. This law has expired and must be abolished. The police must be able to use the appropriate articles of the Criminal Code or Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (Sydney Morning Herald, March 9, 2015).

At the international level, based on the Agenda for Peace initiated by former the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros-Boutros Ghali in 1992 (Boutros-Ghali, B., 1992), peace building is defined as one of the four stages of diplomacy, including preventive diplomacy, namely the government's actions to reduce conflicts and prevent the spread of conflict, agreements, peace (peacemaking) as actions to reconcile the two parties to the conflict, peacekeeping maintaining as the assignment of UN peacekeeping forces in the field, and post-peace peace building conflict as the construction of a new environment. Within this framework, peace building is understood as an advanced stage that takes place after the conflict can be overcome.

The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention said that the Indonesian Emergency Law was the oldest Emergency Law, which was compiled when Indonesia was still fighting for its independence in 1945 (Imparsial, org, March 9, 2017). Similarly, when riots broke out in

West Kalimantan (2000-2002) and the struggle for independence for East Timor (1999), the same law was implemented in Papua.

As a country that has been resolute in upholding its constitutional mandate and commitments to the global norms on human rights, Indonesia underscores the importance of the Human Rights Council's mechanism on Universal Periodic Review (UPR). Taking action on the UPR recommendations is crucial to support the efforts to realise the full enjoyment of human rights for all in Indonesia (UN General Assembly, 2017).

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At the end of August 2019, a petition signed by more than 1.8 million people calling for an independence referendum in Indonesia's West Papua province was delivered to United Nations Human Rights Chief, Michelle Bachelet ABC NEWS August 30, 2019).

Benny Wenda as a chairman of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua, ULMWP (ABC NEWS August 30, 2019), suspected was behind the Papuan riots. The separatist figure who once hacked the Abepura Penitentiary prison in 2002 was no longer an Indonesian citizen (detikNEWS, September 6, 2019). Benny Wenda is a born in Baliem, Papua from the Lani tribe. But now his work involved concerned the separation of Papua from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is becoming more and more severe.

Benny's involvement in riots in Papua has been suspected and explained by Indonesia National Chief-Police, General Tito Karnavian. Benny deliberately and intentionally masterminded the riots in Papua in the hope that the issue could be raised at the forum of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and the UN General Assembly on 23 and 24 September 2019.

Meanwhile, Indonesian police have named human rights lawyer and well-known West Papua advocate Veronica Koman as a suspect in the spreading of fake news, accusing her of provoking widespread unrest in Indonesia's easternmost provinces (The Guardian.com, September 5, 2019). Moreover, since unrest has flared across West Papua, divided into the two Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua, in some cases erupting in violent and fatal clashes, Koman has proved a critical source of information, regularly updating her Twitter account with photos and videos that have provided a rare insight into the realities on the ground. It comes at a time when internet access has been cut for more than two weeks in the remote area, which is restricted to foreign journalists.

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Michelle Bachelet in Geneva, the U.N High Commissioner for Human Rights, who until now has been blocked from the visiting West Papua, said on Wednesday that she was concerned about escalating violence. "There should be no place for such violence in a democratic and diverse Indonesia, and I encourage the authorities to engage in dialogue with the people of Papua and West Papua on their aspirations and concerns, as well as to restore internet services and refrain from any excessive use of force," she said, "Blanket internet shutdowns are likely to contravene freedom of expression and limiting communications may exacerbate tensions" (The Guardian.com, September 5, 2019).

However, due to the effect of armed-conflict and presence of hundreds military soldiers is wave of refugees in some districts, such Jayawijaya, Mimika, Asmat, Lanny Jaya, and Yakuhimo. Total amount of refugees as reported by local government of Nduga district is 45,532 persons (Hipolitus Y.R Wangge in KOMPAS 6 September 2019). In Wamena, hundreds of them founded death in refugees' evacuation location. It is kind of fact to understand on how this armed-conflict so complex and complicated involved state and non-state actors.

It led to Papuan unhappiness, upset, and anger that emerged in form of anarchy demonstration up to the end of August 2019. They burnt down government offices, private stores, and tires as emotional angry reaction for what's happening in Malang. Meanwhile the central and local government still working very hard to implement law-enforcement, and especially in arresting those suspected criminal person who has triggered persecution and racialism behavior on Papuan students before.

After the 1998 national reformation, the human rights situation in Papua still has not shown significant improvement (Hendra Manurung in Imparsial.org, March 9, 2017). Papua is located on the border of the Asia and Pacific region, consists of two provinces, Papua and West Papua. This region still continues to be plagued by cases of human rights violations and prolonged humanitarian conflict. The living conditions of indigenous Papuans are also very different compared to the living conditions of migrants who come from other regions in Indonesia. May 2014, the number of arrests of protesters increased to hundreds of people, where there were 470 arrests in just one month. In addition, the number of threats, intimidation

and actions hampering the work of local journalists nearly doubled, compared to 2013. Demonstrations also declined as a result of policies and repressive policies by law enforcement officials against the Papuan social movement.

It might begin with Papuan leaders and people request to Indonesia elite leaders for apology and law-enforcement, and become a demand for referendum instead of only having Papua special autonomy. At least there are four complex problem identified in Papua which must be solved by central government, provincial government, local government, and all Papuan stakeholders (Papua Road Map, LIPI, 2009), such I) Papua status and political history due to Papua integration into Indonesia; 2) national development failure (in public education, public health, and people economy); 3) state's violence (discrimination and marginalization of Papuan peoples in their home-mother land); and 4) intentional human rights violations.

After ten years of Papua Road Map published (2009-2019), those four major problems still exists in Papua. It could lead to any open and direct potential conflict horizontally. This fire of conflict could explode suddenly like a time-bomb explosion. Unfortunately, On August 19, 2019, this bomb just blown up, and it creates anarchistic actions to the end of August 2019 (Aisah P. Budiatri in KOMPAS, September 6, 2019).

The phenomenon of malnutrition and measles does not need to occur because since the Papua Special Autonomy policy most of the authority has been transferred to the regions accompanied by large budget allocations, including Special Autonomy funds. In the context of health policy, for example, the minister of health can no longer regulate health policies in the regions due to national health policies including the availability of local public health facilities or *Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (PUSKESMAS)*.

Papua is a rich natural-resources land, but so far it seems to still have a number of phenomena of poverty and food suffering. The wealth of the earth, ecosystems, and enormous geo-economic and geo-political values for the interests of Indonesia as a whole make Papua a prosperous land for its people. However, it seems that Papua is only viewed from a material-economic perspective for the central government. See for example the phenomenon of rice surplus in Merauke Regency. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, after so long importing rice, Indonesia was finally able to export rice in 2017 (Koran SINDO, February 1, 2018) .

Process and Resolution of the Papua Problem

Human Rights Problem

There are at least eleven cases of alleged human rights violations in Papua that took place during the reform era, where three of them were recommended and categorised as heavy human rights violations, including the cases of Wasior, 2001, Wamena, 2003, and Paniai, 2014 (Aisah P. Budiatri in KOMPAS, September 6, 2019). Additionally, to be able to resolve armed conflicts in Papua, the state-government must actively present with a humanitarian approach, not with a violent and authoritarian acts.

This is particularly important if the country wants to eradicate the miserable passion of memory of the people of Papua due to military operations launched by the central government in the past.

The development approach with the implementation of special autonomy in 2001, which was expected to be a solution to the conflict, was apparently not effective either, because it was implemented partially and inconsistently. The Special Autonomy Law for Papua Province Number 21 of 2001 compiled by academics and local political elites in Papua complex problem not only about economic development alone but much more comprehensive than that. It includes written articles on the protection and respect for human rights, efforts to clarify the history of Papua, recognition of the cultural symbols of the local people of Papua, affirmative actions, and various efforts to develop Papua. Regrettably, the results are far from the fire where there are many policies in the Special Autonomy Law that are not implemented properly and precisely.

The overlapping law enforcement and/or the absence of regulations governing technical implementation and clear rules those are the source of the problem, as many articles in the Special Autonomy Law have failed in implementation, and cannot be implemented.

For example, the Indonesian government stated that the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation which was expected to be able to carry out historical clarification and formulate a conflict reconciliation step could in fact not be formed as a result of Law Number 27 of 2004 concerning the KKR was canceled by the Constitutional Court in December 2006 (Aisah P. Budiatri in KOMPAS, September 6, 2019).

In the middle of Nduga armed-conflict and the presence of ten thousands internal displaced person refugees (IDP's) happened the killing of Indonesia police officer, 2nd Brigadier Heidar in another region of central mountains.

CEJISS 4/2019 Around 800 internal displaced person refugees (IDP's) and three local people reported death due to sweeping done by military soldiers in Gome District, Puncak Region (Jubi, September 2, 2019). Some districts such Puncak, Puncak Jaya, Lanny Jaya, Mimika, Nduga, and Paniai is 'red spots' where founded armed-groups of Free Papua organisation (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, OPM), who are still active doing separatist guerilla operations in the remote mountains and forests.

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Since January to August 2019, at least there are ten military soldiers and police officer being shooting victim of KKSB (Hipolitus Y.R Wangge in KOMPAS 6 September 2019). While, some victimized-death civilians founded in Nduga during December 2018 to July 2019, and a boy in Asmat being shot by Indonesia military soldiers in May 2019.

The framework of special autonomy policy implemented since 2002, in fact, does not bring any significant effect on Papua political and security condition. It is due to the presence of special autonomy policy only based on unilateral political concession, not by political negotiation (Chauval, 2002; McGibbon, 2004) comprehensively involve central government and all component of Papuan society, mostly those who always express political expression, either done by guerilla separatist armed-groups or non-armed groups.

The main interpretation of special autonomy policy only limit to amount of given money by central government distributed to local provincial Papua and West Papua government used for people welfare economy boosting.

The right of special autonomy does not give substantive authority at all and any cost dealt-with Papua local indigenous protection, and founded failed evaluation in solving those other local problems such political-military-security operations and poverty reduction.

Joko Widodo & Papua: Dialogue Based On Cultural Approach In the context of Papua problem, President Joko Widodo together with his administration, 'Kabinet Indonesia Maju', should be emphasised that cultural approach and dialogue mechanism can be useful in reproducing Indonesian-ness in Papua. It is undeniable that the face of "Indonesia" in Papua is currently down. The failure of the special autonomy and Securitisation of the Papua conflict has resulted in Indonesia being better known by the people of Papua through the corruption of special autonomy funds and apparatus violence.

During decades of living in conflict situations, people's memories in Papua have been dominated by a negative image of Indonesia. This is very dangerous, bearing in mind that this perception has moved beyond the boundaries of intergenerational indigenous Papuans. As a consequence, the handling of conflicts in Papua is no longer limited to the placement of security forces.

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Strategically, the use of a security approach is permissible, but there must be a clear mechanism and indicators of the deployment of national security forces in Papua, thus, that all people in Indonesia can measure the extent to which the repressive approach is able to mitigate spreading violence. This means that the repressive-approach must be temporary aimed at preparing a condition that is more accommodating and prioritizing to conflict resolution mechanisms such as dialogue and persuasive cultural approach.

This conceptual framework is missing from the government's security approach policy in Papua so far. Therefore, from this moment on, all policies that have been implemented by the Government in Papua must be thoroughly re-evaluated. This evaluation is needed so that we can reproduce the negative face of Indonesia to be positive for the indigenous people of Papua and also for other Indonesian people.

Henceforth, Indonesia must be known as a brother, a place where indigenous Papuans can pour out their complaints about all the problems they face so far and have a dialogue based on cultural approach to find constructive solutions for the future of peace and living harmony in Papua. In addition, in a democratic country, it is natural that any differences that arise must be resolved through a conflict resolution mechanism that eliminates the element of arising violence.

It is an irony when Indonesia has been praised by various figures and countries as the largest democratic country in Southeast Asia when the problem of Papua is overcome in ways that are not dignified. If viewed from the perspective of democracy, the issue of Papua is an important test for the process of democratic consolidation in Indonesia. Indonesia should be proud that in terms of conflict resolution, all people have a positive historical record regarding conflict resolution in Aceh initiated before by Indonesia Former Vice President, Jusuf Kalla.

Papua conflict resolution can be a major asset and national policy breakthrough for President Joko Widodo, Vice President Ma'ruf Amin with all concerned stakeholders to overcome the problem of conflict in Papua.

Good-Corporate Governance

Indonesians government should be honest that the problems in Papua are one of big problems of the Indonesian people that need to be resolved. The shadow of the failure of Papuan development will continue to haunt and save time bombs when various multiple Papuan problems are addressed inappropriately.

Process and Resolution of the Papua Problem

Since the Special Autonomy of Papua came into force, the budget allocated by the central government has increased. In terms of authority, Papua also has broad autonomy to organize self-government based on independence. However, the problem of Papua is not the lack of budget or limited authority, but the problem of governance in maximising the special autonomy budget for the welfare of the people. There is a lot of money in Papua, but its use is not effective so it is not surprising that malnutrition and measles occur.

On the other hand, oversight of the special autonomy budget has not yet been effective. Obstacles to the audit of the Special Autonomy Fund still exist, so that the Special Autonomy Fund has not yet provided a significant development impact. Since the Special Autonomy of Papua came into force, there have been changes, but these changes have not occurred significantly, even though the budget that is being disbursed for the development of Papua is getting bigger from year to year.

Based on researchers point-of-view, the current development of Papua needs a new perspective that there needs to be better governance so that the Papua Special Autonomy policy runs more effectively, efficiently, and has a broad impact on the welfare of the people of Papua. In terms of good governance, the Government of Papua needs to apply the basic principles of good governance, namely transparency, participation, accountability, and law enforcement and anti-corruption as the main elements.

First is transparency that implements openness to convey development policies and programs. The oversight will occur from the wider community. Transparency will encourage broad public participation. The transparency component includes comprehensive information, timeliness in information services, and the availability of information to the public.

Second is participation or inclusiveness. It is the process of involving stakeholders as widely as possible in the development of Papua's development policy. In formulating appropriate policies, the govern-

CEJISS 4/2019 ment must involve the wider community, including Papuan ADAT or customary law instruments so that the policies formulated are right on target and in accordance with the needs and challenges of local community. Diverse input from various parties in the policy making process can help the central government in Jakarta to consider various issues, perspectives and alternative solutions in encouraging more effective local development of Papua.

Third, accountability, namely the mechanism of accountability between policy makers and the stakeholders served. The existence of an accountability mechanism provides the opportunity for stakeholders to ask for clarification and accountability if there are things that are not in accordance with the consensus in the implementation of governance. In accountability, there needs to be access to justice so that the people of Papua can feel the benefits of Special Autonomy.

Fourth is all about law-enforcement and anti-corruption. This is one of the main problems in the implementation of OTSUS in Papua. Law enforcement in Papua is still weak due to many factors, including the absence of legal awareness in the community, a law-abiding culture that is still weak at the level of the government apparatus, and under-optimal supervision.

Conclusion

At last, it realise that the various failures in the development of Papua since the enactment of Papua's Special Autonomy have not stemmed from the attitude of the central government that pays little attention to Papua, but stems from the lack of readiness of the Papuan government in implementing the Special Autonomy policy. What does it mean to increase money to develop Papua, when finally the money is not used effectively and maximally to develop the land of Papua.

In order to solve Papua conflict, Indonesia stakeholders should be ready to know and to reduce suspicious feelings and underestimate Papuans. It can be done through Papuans involving proactive participation in sustainable strategic nation-state process, such building national character through Pancasila as state ideology, UUD 1945 (national constitution), and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity).

Last but not least, there will be no supporting justification for foreign states to intervene or interfere into Indonesia Papua's domestic affairs which prohibited by article 2 (4) and article 2 (3) Charter of the United Nations.

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Environmental Security and Plastic Waste Pollution

Windy Dermawan, Akim, Christian Vieri, Pangersaning Gusti Bayu Alam

This research aims to analyse the pollution of plastic waste that poses a threat to environmental security and alternative conflict resolution that can be carried out by various actors. Researchers also tried to address the response of international actors, both countries and international organisations to the pollution of plastic waste. The concept used in this research is environmental security as a non-traditional security concept that develops both as a concept and issue in International Relations and the concept of conflict resolution as a theoretical effort to provide alternatives for solving problems for pollution arising from plastic waste. Researchers interpret and analyse data using a qualitative research perspective. Plastic is the most widely used material in human life. However, along with its development, the use of plastic is considered too excessive. Plastics are much in demand by the public as well as manufacturers because the price is cheaper, easily formed and durable. However, increasing plastic production every year is considered a long-term threat to humans and can cause global conflicts. Responding to the issue of environmental security threats, international organisations such as the United Nations have declared war on plastic waste that damages the environment. Based on the results of data analysis, researchers found that the problem of plastic waste has entered the problem of environmental security threats globally so that solutions are needed involving a variety of actors, both state and organisational actors.

Windy Dermawan, Akim, Christian Vieri, Pangersaning Gusti Bayu Alam. Environmental Security and Plastic Waste Pollution. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 191–207.

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Keywords: environmental security, conflict resolution, country, international organisation, plastic waste.

CEJISS 4/2019 In the past few decades, plastic is the most widely used material in human life. Plastics themselves are a synthetic polymer that has light-weight and long-lasting characteristics. This characteristic makes the demand for plastics very high from countries in the world. This has led to rapid growth in plastic production globally. Recorded since 1950 until now, annual global production of plastic has increased from 5 million tons to around 300 million tons. At first, there are few individual or industry that use plastic. But, nowadays almost all the industry use plastic as complementer for their products. (Hammer, Kraak and Parsons 2012)

The application of plastic material itself is divided into two, namely: 1) long-term use; and 2) short-term usage. Long-term use of plastic applications is used for the manufacturing of electronic goods, transportation, and construction. Meanwhile, short-term use of plastic applications is used for packaging goods, and is usually only one-time use, or commonly referred to as single-use plastic. About 60 percent of plastic production globally is used for packaging that is only disposable. This of course makes a lot of plastic waste that is created every day. In fact, the time needed by plastic waste to decompose is not short-lived, both in the soil and in the ocean. In addition, the content of toxins contained in plastic can threaten environmental stability (Hammer, Kraak and Parsons 2012).

Regarding plastic waste pollution, a journal article entitled "Plastic Waste Input from Land into the Ocean", published in 2015 (Jambeck, et al. 2015), has raised the urgency of the large amount of plastic waste that has reached the ocean. This article focuses more on the research on plastic waste that does not undergo management first, this is referred to as plastic-waste leakage in the journal article. The journal article also mentions the results of his research on 20 countries as the world's largest producer of plastic with poor management of plastic waste. As many as 16 of the 20 countries are developing countries, where economic and industrial growth in the country is quite high, but infrastructure in waste management is still inadequate (Jambeck, et al. 2015).

Referring to these matters, the author realise s that the problem of plastic waste can cause potential conflicts both intranational and international. The most obvious conflict occurs between countries that

have good plastic waste management and countries that have poor management of plastic waste. This is because plastic waste produced by each country will merge with each other in the ocean, considering that the oceans are connected to each other.

The topics about plastic waste pollution have been discussed in various previous journals. In several international news and reports such as National Geographic (Parker 2018) and World Wide Fund (WWF 2018), many have been reported the dangers and threats regarding the problem of plastic waste that is currently happening. On the other hands, researchers begins to discuss this issue on their journal, such as 'The Challenges of Measuring Plastic Pollution' (Boucher and Billard 2019), 'Plastic pollution of world's seas and oceans as a contemporary challenge in ocean governance' (Haward 2018), and "Plastic Waste Input from Land into the Ocean", published in 2015 (Jambeck, et al. 2015), they categorised plastic waste pollution is a new challenge in future global security. Several previous journals discussed about plastic waste in several regions of the world, one of example is in the journal 'Marine Plastic Pollution in Asia' (Garcia and Fang 2019) which focuses on discussing the problem of plastic waste in Asia. Moreover, some several journals begin to find the most suitable solution according this issue, that are 'Solutions and Integrated Strategies for the Plastic Pollution' (Prata, et al. 2019), 'Governance Solutions to the Tragedy of Commons Plastic' (Vince and Hardesty 2018), and 'Solutions for Global Marine Litter Pollution' (Lohr, Savelli and Beunen 2017), which mainly focuses only on governance solutions according this problem.

It does not rule out the possibility that the impact of pollution of plastic waste produced by countries that have poor management of plastic waste will also be felt by other countries. The interconnection of the oceans within this planet makes threats from plastic waste a global threat. Through this article, the author intends to convey the importance of national policies from each country towards the management of plastic waste. Even so, the threat to plastic waste pollution cannot be overcome only through the national policies of each country, but also requires global cooperation between countries to mutually commit to reducing the production of plastic waste.

Research Method

In this research, the author uses qualitative methods, because researchers want to explore a phenomenon regarding the threat of environ-

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mental security from the emergence of plastic waste pollution. From this issue, researchers try to understand the potential for conflicts arising from environmental security and find alternative solutions to a possible conflict. Within this paper, the author discusses the potential threat of conflict that can be caused by plastic waste pollution. This is caused by an imbalance between the use of plastic and good plastic waste management in several parts of the world. Hence, the author tries to offer seven approaches on conflict resolution theory as a solution to the problem of plastic waste pollution. The author uses 'shift its priority' and 'compromises' among countries in the world as a solution for this problem.

Collection of data was done through documentation studies from various source of literalture, both news, journals, books, magazines, and other sources relevant to the issues. Analysis of data is carried out after data collection, starts from data reduction to select data relevant to research, display data through narration and images, and draw conclusions. As a validity of this journal, researchers triangulate data from various sources to obtain valid data.

Theoritical Framework

The first concept used is the concept of environmental security that comes from the concept of global security. Around the 20th century, a new concept emerged in security, namely environmental security. Environmental security is still paying attention to human and state conditions such as the concept of national security, but focuses more on the discussion of human conflict with the environment (Thappa 2015). Environmental security sees that environment can be categorised as source of the problem for itself or can be solution (catalyst) for the problem. Environment is used as a barrier in human life. One of the international communities or organisations that are given the mandate to help maintain environmental security is Global Environment Facility (GEF) which serves to maintain the stability of the existing environment (Facility 2012).

Environment and humans are considered to be inter-connected. Environmental problems are generally caused by actions taken by humans, while on the other hand one of the threats felt by humans is caused by damage to the environment itself. Humans in this concept can be categorised as victims of environmental damage or causes of environmental damage (inter-actions) (Facility 2012). Environmental

security makes the ecosystem the main object to be protected. Where many experts consider that the ecosystem in the environment should not be disturbed so as not to cause environmental damage. Environmental security seeks to maintain the environment in order to continue. Ecosystems must avoid human actions that damage the existence of the ecosystem. Environmental security also pays attention to both human anthropology and natural natural conditions (Brauch 2005). A prosperous life is considered a necessity for countries to have.

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Environmental security experts try to categorize the causes of environmental problems into six things called environmental stress, namely: (1) Air - Climate change, (2) Land, (3) Water, (4) Human Population, (5) Population System, and (6) Regional Systems. Each point has a different impact on each other. However, environmental security focuses on the social and economic impacts felt by humans or the state of the problem. Where socially, these problems can cause illness or death caused by a damaged environment, there are economically able to hinder the economic growth of the region due to the damage to the environment. At a certain point, the state has an obligation to overcome these environmental threats. The state is considered to have to issue decisions based on the country's national political process (interaction between state, society and economy). The response issued by the government itself must be in line with the main goal of the concept of environmental security, namely to create a prosperous condition for its people (Brauch 2005).

The second concept used is the concept of conflict and conflict resolution which is used as an analysis material for this article. The conflict caused by the problem of pollution of plastic waste itself is only in the form of a potential threat of conflict that is of a long-term nature and the impact it has caused cannot be felt significantly. This makes the lack of attention given by countries in the world. In theory of conflict resolution, there are seven ways of resolution offered by the theory. Looking at the seven conflict resolution paths in the theory, the path or step that is felt most appropriate to overcome the threat of plastic garbage pollution conflict is that each country begins to shift its priorities. Countries must begin to care about the environment and make the environment one of the priorities to be discussed and applied in their national interests. The priority of the country which is basically in the economic aspect, should be done while taking into account

the impact on environmental stability. In addition, one other step offered in overcoming the threat of conflict is plastic waste pollution, a compromise or middle ground. Where the state continues to produce plastic in bulk which is accompanied by a better plastic waste treatment system. (Jambeck, et al. 2015)

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Discussion

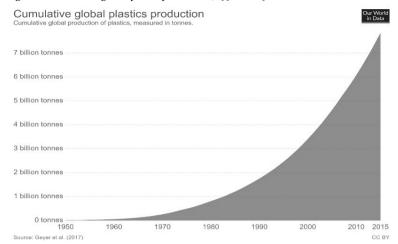
Plastic Usage Today

Plastics are now a material that is widely used by the global community and is considered valuable because it has many uses and is easy to produce. Plastics have flexible properties that are easily formed into many items and can last a long time making plastic very useful for human life every day. However, humans become addicted to the use of plastic which has a negative impact on the environment. Plastic production is very excessive because of the high demand of the community. Based on the data, one million plastic drinking bottles are traded every minute, while 500 trillion disposable plastic bags are used by the public every year. Nearly 50% of the total production of plastic is designed for use only once and this is what damages the environment (Roland Geyer 2015).

Plastics have actually developed since the days of the ancient kingdom, but their use is still limited. During World War II, the demand for plastic was increasing because copper, aluminum and iron were very expensive for military needs. Plastic is considered a substitute material for some equipment because the price is more affordable. The use of plastic then increases rapidly at that time until the plastic is then used as manufacturing material.

Even after World War II, plastics were still needed by entrepreneurs to maintain their business. The price of cheap plastic and its disposable nature make the demand of the community increases every year. The peak was in 1979 plastic production in the United States exceeded the production of steel and other mining materials. We can conclude indirectly that the era of the plastic industry began during World War II (Roland Geyer 2015).

Figure 1. Cumulative global plastic production, 1950 - 2015



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Plastics are produced from the conversion of natural materials or synthetic materials from oil, natural gas and coal. Once converted, plastic can then be easily formed according to the needs of the consumer. The plastic itself was only marketed globally in the 1950s. It can be seen from the table above about global plastic production that there is an annual increase in the global cumulative amount of plastic production. The increase in global production of plastic between 1950 and 2015 alone shows that every year there is an increase of 9% every year. From 1950 to 1970 the production of plastic was still produced in small quantities so that the waste can still be processed properly (Roland Geyer 2015).

From 1970 to 1980, the use of plastic was still below the figure of I billion tons. This amount can still be controlled. Over time there has been an increase due to the discovery of new types of plastic that are cheaper and stronger. In 1990, the amount of plastic production increased 3x over the past 20 years. This started to become a problem because plastic material is difficult to decompose (Jambeck, et al. 2015).

Then, in the period 2000 to 2010 there was a drastic increase where initially plastic production in 2000 was only 3 billion tons to 7 billion tons in 10 years. Plastics are being used more frequently by the community so that producers make large-scale production. Although plastic production has declined by 15 million tons in 2008 due to the global economic crisis, plastic production has increased again in 2009 after the economic recovery. In 2015 alone, cumulative plastic production

touched 7.8 billion tons (Roland Geyer 2015). This is tantamount to that one person in the world produces more than one ton of plastic.

CEJISS 4/2019 Currently, the consumption of plastic per capita itself continues to increase to 150 to 250 kg/year. The biggest increase itself occurred in Western Europe and North America. If growth continues, plastic consumption is predicted to increase to 300 kg per capita by 2020. There is a rapid growth potential of developing countries in Asia, such as in Southeast Asia (Nations 2015). Asian countries whose population continues to grow each year are alleged to be the reason for the use of plastic in Asian countries will also increase. In addition, the emergence of new European countries whose economies are increasing is also predicted to increase the plastic consumption of these countries (Roland Geyer 2015).

The results of the study noted that more than 8.3 billion tons of plastic was produced and a total of 60% of the plastic waste ended up in land or the natural environment. In addition, 99% of plastic production has a mixture of chemicals that cannot be renewed so it is dangerous if used too often (Kiener 2010). If the trend of plastic consumption continues, then in 2050 it is estimated that the plastic industry will spend more than 20% of the world's oil reserves. The main problem in increasing plastic production is processing that is not commensurate with the plastic produced. In addition, another problem is the use of single-use plastics that are increasingly global. Disposable plastic tends to be more difficult to process and if it has been used it has almost no function. Plastics themselves are closely related to human life after the emergence of the plastic industry which produced various types of plastic.

Connection between Using Plastics and Environmental Safety
Plastic waste pollution originating from every country in the world
causes various impacts that have threatened global environmental stability. The long-term impact of plastic waste pollution can be water,
air, or soil pollution. This is due to the toxic content contained in the
plastic structure, so that it can reduce or even kill the environmental
fertility it contaminates. Meanwhile, the short-term impact of plastic
waste pollution is in the form of clogged rivers, due to improper disposal of plastic waste.

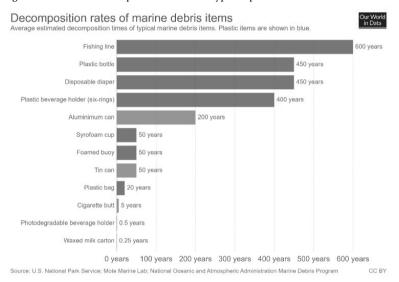
The biggest production of plastic waste comes from the use of plastic used by individuals, where plastic is usually used for packaging

items that are only disposable. Most of the waste production from the use of disposable plastics does not experience waste management first. Recorded there are about 12 million metric tons of plastic added to the oceans every year (Ritchie and Roser 2018). It is estimated that by 2050, there will be more plastic waste than fish that occupy the ocean

The use of disposable plastic creates an imbalance between the time the process of using plastic and the processing time required by the plastic to do the decomposition. It takes at least 20 to 600 years for a plastic to completely decompose, depending on the type of plastic (Table 2). Pollution of plastic waste scattered on the beach and the ocean will then disrupt the stability of the environment, especially the oceans (Ritchie and Roser 2018).

Environmental Security and Plastic Waste Pollution





A study conducted in an opinion journal shows that plastic waste pollution can have an impact on biodiversity, ecosystems, food security, and even human health. Small particles of the plastic polymer structure, which are often referred to as microplastic, will seep into the aquatic ecosystem and be carried into the ocean. This will cause microplastic content in various seafoods and kitchen salt consumed by humans. Not only that, plastic waste scattered in the ocean can also trap various marine animals, such as sea turtles and seahorses, and pose a fatal threat to the survival of these animals (Borelle, et al. 2017).

CEJISS 4/2019 It is noted that in India, an estimated 20 cows die per day due to swallowing plastic, so that the digestive system is blocked. This is similar to what happens to whales, dolphins, and turtles in the ocean, where they cannot distinguish between plastic and food. As for Africa, plastic waste pollution clogs the flow of water and increases the population of malaria mosquitoes, so that malaria outbreaks in Africa experience a significant increase (Kiener, 2010).

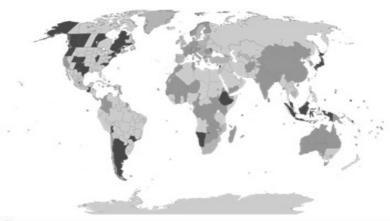
As for the challenges, namely that plastic waste pollution is not limited by national boundaries. This is because pollution of plastic waste can move through the flow of water, namely the oceans that are connected to each other, air, and sedimentation of the soil. Therefore, the threat of plastic waste pollution must be eradicated through global actions, which can be started from the national policy of each country in advance on the use of plastic and plastic waste management.

Country Actor Response

The global threat regarding plastic waste pollution has caused different responses from each country in the world. Even so, it was noted that in 2019, many countries had begun to include environmental issues in their national interests. One of them is about the steps to reduce the use of plastic. There are some of the most popular methods for reducing plastic waste pollution, namely by prohibiting its use or providing additional costs for every use of plastic. This method is more commonly known as ban and charges (Table 3). According to research conducted in economic journals, the additional costs incurred for each use of plastic bags can reduce the use of plastic bags by 40% from normal usage. This shows that the method of charges or additional costs is an effective method to reduce the use of plastic waste, especially the use of plastic waste that is only disposable (Homonoff, 2018).

As for the reality, there were still many countries that are the largest producers of plastic in the world with poor management of plastic waste. The five countries that occupy that order, namely: 1) China; 2) Indonesia; 3) Philippines; 4) Vietnam; and 5) Sri Lanka (Kibria 2017). This is due to the large number of people in the country, lack of plastic waste management technology, lack of policies regarding the use of plastic. The tire and charges method itself is usually only applied tocertain parts of the country. This makes the two methods considered still not able to reduce the use of plastic in total. Even so, there

Figure 3. Reducing the use of plastic through the ban and charges method by countries in the world



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Countries that use the ban method

Countries that use the charges method

Countries that use the voluntary cost agreement method

Countries that use part of the ban method & part of charges methods

are several countries that have placed environmental issues as one of the main priorities in their national interests. These national interests then turn into policies that can also be applied to other countries. One example of a country that prioritises environmental issues, especially the problem of plastic waste pollution, in its national policy, is namely Canada. Canada realise s that plastic waste pollution which mostly pollutes the ocean is a global threat. The plastic waste pollution cannot be limited by the national boundaries of a country, because the oceans are interconnected with one another. Seeing this, Canada, Kenya and Japan form a policy called 'Blue Economy'. This policy is made to preserve the waters. Where economic activities carried out by a country must continue to pay attention to the environment, namely the waters and the ocean. The 'Blue Economy' policy which is then promoted by Canada to other countries, invites countries in the world to manage plastic waste pollution. This can be done through ways to improve the technology of plastic pollution waste management and reduce the use of plastic (United Nations Development Programs 2018).

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Different national interests from each country on environmental issues, especially plastic waste pollution, can pose a potential threat of conflict. For some countries, environmental issues have not become a top priority that must be in their national interests. This is of course because many of the countries prioritise the economic sector compared to the environmental sector. The economic sector is considered to be more profitable to then increase national development of a country. This often happens in developing countries. Meanwhile, for developed countries whose economies are already stable, environmental issues are a top priority for them. This is because they are aware of the global threat to plastic waste pollution. To overcome the potential threat of conflict between countries that have not prioritised environmental issues with countries that have prioritised environmental issues into their national interests, the authors offer several conflict resolution that can be used.

First, the conflict resolution that the authors offer is to 'shift the priorities' of each party. Where, each party must understand each other what is the national need of their country. Proposed reccomendations to reduce the loss of microplastics to the environment during production, consumption, and disposal (i.e., mismanagement), organised by their priority, include: 1) short-term measures; 2) mid-term measures; and 3) long-term measures. Short-term measure is through regulation of production and consumption of plastic usage, which is bans or taxes. On middle-term measure, countries should prioritizing recycling followed by feedstock and waste-to-energy that allows recovery of valuable chemical and energy; landfills should only be used in waste produced in the previous processes. Furthermore, countries should using renewable energy during collection of waste and recycling to reduce the environmental impacts of recycled plastics for long-term measures.

Secondly, the conflict resolution that the authors offer is to find a middle ground or compromise with the threat of plastic waste pollution. This can be done through cooperation in the field of plastic waste management technology. With the actions taken through a joint alliance, it is expected to reduce the potential threat of conflict against plastic waste pollution. The countries that have a good waste management technology, like Germany and Austria, should cooperate with those countries that do not have a good waste management technology. Each country must be aware that the threat of plastic waste pollu-

tion has become a global threat that requires a collective cooperation of all countries.

International Organisational Response

The threat of plastic pollution which is getting worse every year also gets responses from several international organisations. Plastic waste pollution not only damages the environment but plastic can also injure and kill living things. Action is needed globally to combat this plastic problem. Some countries have implemented policies to regulate the amount of plastic production. However, plastic not only affects the country but the world is globally affected. Action is needed from international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) to reduce the danger of plastic.

Environmental Security and Plastic Waste Pollution

One of the efforts made by the United Nations is to create an international organisation that coordinates activities related to nature. In addition, the organisation is used as a forum for state aspirations and regulations that regulate the environment. The organisation is the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) which was founded in 1972. The main objective of the establishment of UNEP was to promote collective cooperative relations between countries regarding environmental concerns through programs prepared by UNEP. Every country, especially UN member states must take part in resolving the environmental crisis caused by plastic production. With the existence of global cooperation, plastic problems can be handled well.

UNEP annually conducts global monitoring and research on the environment both globally and regionally. The results of the research were then made into regulations and recommended to governments. UNEP is a facilitator to increase environmental awareness and enhance sustainable development that is safe for the global environment. The applied environmental security must be sustainable, so that it is not only safeguarding the security of the community, but still paying attention to the continuity of the successor's future.

One of the global solutions made by the United Nations is to create a sustainable program called the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The program was run for 15 years with the aim of encouraging developing countries to have the same capabilities as developed countries. The program collaborates with other international organisations, one of which is UNEP. Where at point 13 on SDG's is about the climate action. Many countries have begun to fight plastic problems after the

involvement of countries in international organisations. Indonesia is a good exmaple of these countries at the marine convention where 70% of the plastic waste produced by the state was reduced. The State itself currently does not have anything sort of a strong law, which regulates the problem of own plastic production.

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In addition to the United Nations and UNEP, there are also non-governmental international organisations, namely World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), which also has an interest in overcoming plastic environmental problems. The organisation moves to address environmental and animal problems. The environmental crisis caused by plastic is considered to be damaging to the environment because of the material from plastic that is difficult to decompose. Also based on the data, more than 60% of plastic waste ends on land and sea (Nature, 2015). In general, plastic waste is disposed of in rivers and oceans without being processed first. The garbage tends to contain chemicals from the factory. This can endanger the survival of living creatures that accidentally consume the plastic waste.

Based on data from WWF, 8 million plastic wastes are discharged into the sea by European countries and 7 million plastic wastes are in the form of plastic bottles. Another fact, one in two sea turtles has eaten plastic and more than 90% of marine fish have plastic in their bodies (Nature, 2015). WWF then created a campaign on the dangers of plastic waste for animals, especially marine animals. In addition to WWF, there are also Greenpeace international organisations engaged in the environment. This organisation often protests about regulations carried out by plastic producers that damage the environment. International organisations such as WWF and Greenpeace are trying to encourage each country to fight the plastic crisis that is damaging the environment. Every country must participate in order to resolve this environmental problem.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of the use of plastic has now occurred globally in almost all parts of the world. Plastics that are cheaper make the material the main choice of the community. However, plastic production which is increasing every year indirectly affects the amount of waste produced. Plastics that have difficult properties to decompose and contain chemicals make the waste produced is considered a long-term threat to the environment or other living things. This is considered to

disturb the economy of the community. While plastic waste that ends up in the sea is more difficult to decipher and usually can injure living things in the sea. The environmental threat generated by the problem of plastic waste pollution itself cannot be felt at this time. Plastic waste pollution is still in the potential threat stage, because both the community and the state consider that the environment can still improve itself without human intervention. Though plastic waste pollution is a long-term threat that works like a time bomb, the effects of this problem can only be felt after several years. The problem of plastic itself was that it has the potential to disrupt the stability of the environment of a region. The large amount of plastic waste can damage the ecosystem in the environment.

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However, the problem of plastic waste pollution is considered not a problem of individual countries but a global threat that requires collective cooperation of all countries. This paper offers resolution conflict for plastic waste pollution through 'shifts its priority' and 'compromises' countries in the world as a solution for this problem. The state must begin to shift their priorities to be more concerned about the environment as one of the important points to maintain. The country is currently considered to be less concerned about plastic production so that it tends to be a lot of countries, especially developing countries that produce excessive plastics but plastic waste cannot be processed properly.

Furthermore, the author sees the need for global governance that can regulate these sovereign countries. International organisations such as the United Nations (UN) are considered as enforcers who can bridge countries to cooperate and collaborate to overcome these environmental problems. The UN in 1972 established the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) as a forum for aspirations to increase environmental awareness of member countries. In addition to UNEP, there is also the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) which has developed a long-term plan for the Sustainable Development Program (SDG) to address existing problems in the world. One of the points of the plan is to address environmental issues, where the program encourages developing countries to be more concerned about environmental issues. Not only does the UN care about the environment, some non-governmental organisations such as the World Wide Fund for Nature continue to campaign on the problem of plastic waste pollution which damages the environment and kills living things, especially in the waters. Many fish and sea turtles die from plastic waste that disrupts the ecosystem in these living areas. In addition, there are Greenpeace organisations that are engaged in the environment. This organisation often holds protests to fight for the environment. Many private companies and factories are considered to be producing too much plastic, which is damaging the environment.

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In order to provide a change, collective cooperation is needed as a solution to solve this problem of plastic waste pollution. The first solution is to increase environmental awareness, especially regarding the amount of plastic production. Neither countries nor international organisations, and even individuals can also give contribution according this problem. Individuals can also overcome this problem by doing simple things on their daily lifes, like brings own tumblr instead buy a plastic-bottled water or use a paper bag instead of a plastic bag in the supermarket. Since individual is the actor that directly related on plastic usage and production, individual should be more aware of the danger of plastic waste. As the concentration of plastic in the oceans stabilize, clean-up activities can remove plastic in the environment, send them to waste management, and help ecosystems to recover from plastic pollution. Therefore, all of the actors must be able to work together overcome this problem, because global problems require global action as well.



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Environmental Security and Plastic Waste Pollution

Indonesia's Role towards Myanmar in Assisting to Resolve the Humanitarian Crisis in Rohingya (2014-2018)

Chandra Purnama, Windy Dermawan, Ghiyats Akmaluddin

This research aims to analyse the forms of role carried out by Indonesia during the Joko Widodo administration in assisting to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingva. To analyse this, researchers firstly explore the elements that formed the role of Indonesia by tracing the national role conception of Indonesia (ego's role conception) and role recommendations of Indonesia (alter's prescription), both of which formed Indonesia's position in international relations. This position determines the performance of Indonesia's role in the form of decisions or actions through its foreign policy towards Myanmar in assisting to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya. This research uses qualitative methods by collecting data through interviews with a number of relevant informants and studies of documentation. The analysis is guided by national role conception of K.J. Holsti. This research found that Indonesia's role in assisting to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya was identified as a Regional Leader in ASEAN by making the Rohingya issue a joint humanitarian concern in various forms of meetings in ASEAN; the role of Indonesia's Faithful Ally's towards Myanmar by offering help as a mediator in opening dialogue for other actors to support conflict resolution in the Rohingya; the role of Indonesia as a Mediator-Integrator who intensively communicates with Myanmar and opens communication with various international



Chandra Purnama, Windy Dermawan, Ghiyats Akmaluddin. Indonesia's Role towards Myanmar in Assisting to Resolve the Humanitarian Crisis in Rohingya (2014-2018). *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 208–222.

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actors both countries and international organisations; Indonesia plays the role of Active Independent that acts in accordance with its national interests without pressure from external parties.

Keywords: national role conception, Myanmar, Rohingya, humanitarian crisis.

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The development of the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya began when the Ne Win military regime came to power in Burma in 1962. The Myanmar government refused the granting of citizenship status to ethnic Rohingva because it did not include 135 national races that officially recognised by the state. The government considered that the Rohingva were Bengalis ethnic who smuggled or immigrated illegally to Myanmar from Bangladesh (Kipgen, 2019). The rejection of recognition by the Thein Sein regime of the Rohingya as part of Myanmar was reflected in Sein's statement that: "Rohingvas are not our people and we have no duty to protect them". This statement shows how the government does not recognise the Rohingya as its citizens; the government also did not have the interest and did not even want to do protection to Rohingya. Thein Sein wanted the Rohingyas to be in the management of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or accommodated by the third country (Directorate of ASE-AN Political and Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015)

Myanmar's citizenship law in 1982 has closed the opportunity for Rohingyas as Myanmar citizens, where the Rohingyas were not included in the category of citizens, associate citizens and naturalized citizens (see Burmese Citizenship Law). In the 2015, general election was considered as a free and fair election by the international community where not a single Muslim candidate was nominated by a political party on the grounds that political parties did not want to be seen as organisations that support Muslim rights at the time of anti-Muslim sentiments in the whole developing country (Albert & Chatzky, 2018) .

Furthermore, the Government of Myanmar has done structural discrimination against Rohingyas through several restrictions, including marriage, child restrictions, employment, education, religion and freedom of movement. These restrictions further add to the crisis for the Rohingya ethnic group, and their area of residence, Rakhine State, as part of most disadvantaged countries with poor infrastructure and limited resources (Albert & Chatzky, 2018). The variety of vi-

olence experienced by Rohingya ethnic individually and in groups has forced them to seek protection in the form of asylum or as refugees to neighboring countries. The unclear citizenship status, which is in the legal perspective, status of Rohingya ethnic, becomes stateless (Aziz, 2010).

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Thousands of Rohingyas left Myanmar by water and a number of them headed for Bangladesh and Thailand by sea which then passed the land route to Malaysia (Zarni & Cowley, 2014). Rohingnya ethnic also responded to the attitudes and actions of the Myanmar government, which had been repressive and abusive towards human rights. Thousands of Rohingya youth joined the organisation of *The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army* (ARSA) to defend against the forces of the Rohingya and Myanmar's military (Kipgen, 2019).

Indonesia is one of Myanmar's neighbors. United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) in 2015, recorded there were about 702 Rohingva Ethnic refugees who came to Indonesia. The Policy taken by Indonesia was trying to treat the Rohingya refugees by holding them in Immigration Detention Center (Rudenim) such as Rudenim Belawan, Tanjung Pinang, and Manado. Even some of the Rohingva refugees who were outside Rudenim, they facilitated by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in some cities like Bogor, Jakarta, Makassar, and Medan (Directorate of ASEAN Political and Security, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). To deal with the Rohingya refugee problem, Indonesia has conducted various communications and meetings that have been held by Indonesia, including with the State Counselor of Myanmar, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; Chair of the Rakhine Advisory Commission, Kofi Annan; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of Bangladesh; and various stakeholders in Jakarta, Yangon and Dhaka. Not only that, Indonesia made a direct visit to the Kutupalong refugee camp in Cox Baza, on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border (Directorate of Public Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). The Indonesian government was trying to help Rohingya refugees in 2017 by sending aid in the form of medicines and foods for victims of the conflict in Rakhine State, Myanmar, which is now displaced on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border. The Indonesian government also provided humanitarian assistance in the form of delivery of supplementary food for toddlers and pregnant women, fast food packages, tents, blankets, water tanks, and sarong (Public Relations Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017).

Some researchers such as Rabby (2016), Rahman (2010), Ullah (2016), Waluyo (2013), Wekke, Hasbi, Mawardin, Lidigi & Saleh (2017), Yusuf (2018) placed a study of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar in terms of religious identity and nationalism and discussion that is separate from the context of its regional dynamics. Meanwhile, several others such as Heiduk (2016) and Smith (2016) put a study on the role of Indonesia in ASEAN. This study places Indonesia in the position of bilateral and regional relations in relation to its role in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Myanmar which certainly cannot be ignored how Indonesia-Myanmar bilateral relations and Indonesia's position in ASEAN in the context of resolving the Rohingya humanitarian crisis at the regional level. This phenomenon is interesting to study, especially Indonesia's positive response to Democartisation in Myanmar, which has pushed Myanmar to make democratic transition into awareness at the ASEAN regional level. This research seeks to analyse Indonesia's national role in Myanmar in helping to resolve humanitarian problems in the Rohingya during the Joko Widodo administration (2014-2018)

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Conceptual Framework

National Role Conception in the study of International Relations was first put forth by Holsti KJ (1970). This concept arose based on the development of the mention by International Relations reviewers of a state's behavior. Holsti pointed out the tendency of the reviewers at that time, to call a country with the identity of a state's behavior in international interactions (Holsti K., 1970). The concept of a national role encapsulates what "we want and what we do as a result of who we are as we think, want, and should be," where "we" represent the nation and the state as social collectivity " (Hermanns H., 2013). The conception of a national role is a shared understanding of the views and domestically on the role and the proper purpose of a country as a social collectivity in the international arena. The conception of a national role is a product of history, memory and socialisation.

As a shared meaning, the conception of a national role is a historical creation because it is not always permanent or lasting all the time. National conceptions of roles emerge, develop, and become dominant over a period. The conception of national roles may change or recede into history during other periods of time (Krotz, 2001). In addition, Krotz (2001) suggested that the perception of national roles influenced

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interests and policies in three dimensions, they prescribe, proscribe, and encourage preferences regarding the process and style of policy and decision-making. The conception of a national role has a prescriptive impact in terms of motivating the will, goals, and actions. Placing them beyond realistic considerations, the conception of national roles made intuitive interests and policy choices.

The role and formation of the conception of national roles were influenced by several factors, namely domestic and international factors. When creating the conception of national roles, foreign policy makers were motivated by socioeconomic capabilities, national values, traditional roles, public opinion, political needs, cultural values, norms, and the country's identity that has been built. They translated these influences into conceptions of national roles that reflected broader domestic social discourse (Hermanns, 2013).

There are four concepts that can help analyse foreign policy, namely The National Role Conceptions, Role Prescription, Role Performances, and Position. National role conceptions is personality or ideas and thoughts of the state, while the role Prescriptions are the hope of the action or the role of the international system, while the role performances is the behavior of the state in international politics and position, it is a national status/position of a state (Holsti KJ, 1995).

The translations of these four concepts are the performance of the national role performance as the general foreign policy behavior of the government which includes patterns of attitudes, decisions, responses, functions and commitment to other countries. These patterns can be called as national roles. National role conceptions are also related to role prescriptions that come from the external environment. Sources of role recommendations include the structure of the international system; system-wide values; general legal principles that appear to command universal support (for example the doctrine of equality of state sovereignty); the rules, traditions and expectations of the state expressed in the charter of international and regional organisations; 'world opinion'; multilateral and bilateral agreements; and commitment and an implicit and less formal understanding. In short, roles that are applied in an international context provide a framework for describing the performance of national roles and conceptions of roles and for investigating the sources of conceptions of roles. (Holsti, 1970). In the development of the conception of national roles, until finally Holsti formulated 17 categories of national role conceptions, which were compiled, based on the level of passivity or activity in foreign policy as reflected by the conception of roles (Holsti KJ, 1995).

Research Method

This research uses qualitative methods to explore understanding of the conception of Indonesia's national role in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Myanmar. This research is conducted in the span of 2014 to 2018 or the first period in the era of President loko Widodo's administration. Data was collected by interviewing a number of informants, including the Director of Human Rights of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian Representative for the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, the Deputy for Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Political, Legal and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and the leaders of the ASEAN InterParliamentary Myanmar Caucus (AIPMCC) in Indonesia. Data collection was also carried out through the study of documentation of a number of relevant literatures. Data analysis is carried out in a flowing manner starting from sorting data according to research needs, then forming the basis of arguments related to the research problem, and then conclusions or verification is taken. Data triangulation technique was done by checking between interview data and documentation study data to avoid researcher bias and threats to research validity.

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Discussion and Analysis

Conception of Indonesia's National Role of Myanmar

Indonesia's Role performance in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Indonesia invited ASEAN to help resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya by emphasizing in various speeches and meetings at the ASEAN level. In its implementation, Indonesia has always invited and discussed with other ASEAN countries in the form of ASEAN level and other bilateral dialogues with various ASEAN countries and in various other opportunities to lead ASEAN in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya.

Indonesia succeeded in entering the agenda of the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya in various agendas in ASEAN. One of them in the ASEAN order regarding the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya was mentioned on August 2, 2018 at the "The 51st ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting (AMM)" in Singapore. The entry of the Rohingya discus-

sion was the result of Indonesian efforts. Unfortunately, Indonesia has not succeeded in including the Rohingya agenda in a more substantive way, even though it has been held twice as a session agenda.

CEJISS 4/2019 National role conception is an analysis of foreign policy in seeing the reasons or goals of a state in taking foreign policy. Indonesia was the first to invite Myanmar into ASEAN. In this case, Indonesia did not want Myanmar to be detested because Indonesia had relations with Myanmar since the beginning of President Soekarno. Various collaborations have been established until now. Myanmar was given the opportunity to find solutions from itself. This is a democracy, not an authoritarian state.

Role prescriptions are the concept of foreign policy analysis in delivering recommendations from a country in responding to and providing resolution of a conflict. In analysing the recommendations for the national role, Indonesia understands the problems faced by Myanmar, Indonesia has the capacity to help, Indonesia has the same experience as Myanmar in dealing with radicalism, and we have passed that period, until now we are considered to have a base sceptic capabilities in the face of radicalism, terrorism. Indonesian conflict resolution did not take direct authority to take action on the ground in resolving the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya. However, Indonesia has always emphasised that Myanmar can solve its domestic problems, by increasing its capacity of Myanmar itself, by asking and conducting dialogue with Myanmar on what things are needed by Myanmar to resolve the humanitarian crisis problem in the Rohingya that Indonesia can help according to the assessment of Myanmar itself.

Indonesia continued to engage in dialogue so that Myanmar can bring awareness to Myanmar itself in order to bring forth prolonged solutions. So, Indonesia always provides a comprehensive solution from various fields, whether it is political, economic, social, or cultural. So when Myanmar provides a solution, it will be according to what its needs are and brings up a long-term solution.

Position is an analytical concept of foreign policy in view of a state in the *leading* a problem in the international system. In analysing Indonesia's position in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Indonesia has become an actor who directs the humanitarian crisis case at the ASEAN level and at the global level. Indonesia has successfully lifted ASEAN in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. Indonesia is considered as the leader of ASEAN in guarding

the Rohingya case. Indonesia continued to direct ASEAN to take part and be involved in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya until the emergence of AHACenter as evidence that ASEAN is allowed to enter in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya directed by Indonesia.

Indonesia has succeeded in positioning itself as a country that has successfully herded the Rohingya issue so that Indonesia becomes the key information to find out the Rohingya case for international organisations or other parties. When the ICRC, UNHCR, IOM often asked to meet with the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs to discuss the treatment in Myanmar. The International Organisation arrived in a short and sudden time, and then had a dialogue with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, to ask the Indonesian Foreign Minister about how to handle the Rohingya case. He even participated in several meetings with these organisations, at that time the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed his opinion on handling the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya and stressed that the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs had also talked to Aung San Suu Kyi directly and periodically.

Based on an analysis of Indonesia's role conception, role prescription, and position both bilaterally and regionally, Indonesia has determined its role performance in the form of decisions or actions from its foreign policy towards Myanmar in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. This decision or action forms four Indonesian national roles, including regional leader, active independent, mediator integrator, and faithful ally. The four national roles of Indonesia in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Myanmar are discussed below.

Indonesia become a Regional Leader in ASEAN

Indonesia's regional leadership in ASEAN is demonstrated through its efforts to encourage Democartisation in Myanmar through the ASEAN forum, where one of its elements is helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya through peaceful and non-coercive means. In fact, the agenda of promoting democracy and upholding human rights is not only an issue for Myanmar, but also an agenda for regional stability and regional cooperation. To realise this, Indonesia became an architecture of regional political and security cooperation, known as the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC) in 2007. Indonesia was also the initiator of the ASEAN Intergovenmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in 2009. These two institutions became the ve-

Indonesia's Humanitarian Assistance to Myanmar in Rohingya hicle for solving problems in ASEAN, one of which is the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya.

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In the beginning, none of the ASEAN countries wanted the Rohingva humanitarian crisis to be discussed at the regional level because it involved the principle of noninerference that was held in high regard in ASEAN. However, this principle gained a shift in meaning where eventually Malaysia joined the entry of the agenda of humanitarian issues in the Rohingya without intervening in the country, while there were still other ASEAN countries that did not support internal issues discussed in the ASEAN regional forum. Indonesia successfully put the issue of Rohingya twice in the plenary meeting of AICHR. Entering the agenda on the humanitarian crisis Rohingya, have occurred twice in the year 2018. Informally, Indonesia successfully incorporates this agenda as much as three times, through the retreat. Reatreat is a concept in negotiations for the moment of contemplation, which is attended by 10 representatives of ASEAN countries, where one person represents one country, not attended by the ASEAN secretary representative. In the retreat, there were 10 representatives so they spoke from heart to heart. It is already scheduled once a year to discuss the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya. And all of that is part of Indonesia's contribution (Wisnu, 2019).

Indonesia succeeded in leading ASEAN in resolving the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. Starting from the initial lack of chatter about the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, to successfully raise and become a leader in overseeing the Rohingya issue at the ASEAN level. All efforts were mobilised by Indonesia in the ASEAN level to direct ASEAN to be sensitive and continue to discuss with the countries within it to discuss the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. ASEAN views the need for ASEAN member countries to discuss openly related issues of democracy and human rights in Myanmar, which were previously considered taboo to be discussed in formal and informal forums.

Based on the above explanation, the researchers saw that Indonesia has a conception of national role of regional leader in ASEAN in assisting the humanitarian crisis Rohingya to include ASEAN in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, raise the issue of the Rohingya in ASEAN meeting, and suggest AHACenter for its solution. Indonesia became the first face of ASEAN in resolving the humanitarian crisis Rohingya. With all of Indonesia's efforts at the ASEAN level and its various dialogues, Indonesia as the ASEAN Regional Leader succeeded

in herding the Rohingya humanitarian case so that ASEAN would take part in the resolution. Therefore, Indonesia has increasingly solidified its position as the regional leader in Southeast Asia in helping the Rohingya humanitarian crisis.

Indonesia as Faithful Ally for Myanmar

Correspondingly, Indonesia continues to engage in dialogue in order to raise awareness Myanmar for Myanmar itself so that it will bring a solution that is prolonged. Hence, Indonesia always provides a comprehensive solution from various fields, whether it is political, economic, social, or cultural. As a result, when Myanmar provides a solution that emerges, it is according to what its needs are and brings up a long-term solution.

Indonesia has always prioritised Myanmar to be able to solve its domestic problems, by increasing its capacity of Myanmar itself, by asking Myanmar about what things are needed by Myanmar to resolve the problem that Indonesia can help in accordance with the assessment of Myanmar itself. In line with that, Indonesia opened a dialogue to exchange ideas so that what Myanmar thinks, and what the international community thinks, can go hand in hand between what Indonesia thinks and what Myanmar thinks. The most important thing is when Myanmar's understanding begins to realise about this, the solutions that will be taken by Myanmar are the solutions to prevent the current crisis from happening again in the future.

According to researcher, the first step of Indonesia can be *Faith ful Ally* for Myanmar in assisting the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya with the help of other regular and policies that made Indonesia feel close to Myanmar. So that Indonesia could support and help directing Myanmar's foreign policy. Various Indonesian solutions start from short-term solutions for the example, providing humanitarian assistance, such as blankets, food and medicine. Then for a medium-term solution, Indonesia also noticed that there is development issues that need attention. Indonesia sees a need to encourage support for humanitarian assistance in Indonesia that is also *sustainable* so that it encourages social economic development, education, so hospitals and schools emerged. For long-term, Indonesia encourages to solve problems so that the problems will not recur in the future based on the government of Myanmar itself. In the view of researcher, Indonesia gave advices as a friend of Myanmar who has done good solu-

Chandra Purnama Windy Dermawan Ghiyats Akmaluddin tions long-term, medium and short to help Myanmar solve this problem by Myanmar itself. So that Myanmar does not feel alone in facing this Rohingya problem. Even though Myanmar was attacked from various sides, Indonesia continued to support not by attacking Myanmar.

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Based on the explanation above, the researcher found that Indonesia has a conception of the faithful national role for Myanmar. Researcher believes that Indonesia has become faithful ally for Myanmar by sending aid to be a door in opening dialogue and a form of respect for Indonesia in supporting the resolution of the Rohingya conflict in Myanmar's own way. Indonesia managed to appreciate and support all Myanmar's policies with aid and dialogues that conducted.

Indonesia is the *Mediator-Integrator* between Myanmar and other Actors

Role as Mediator-Integrator indicated by brining a difference to a government, so that raises the notion that he is able or responsible to fulfill specific tasks in reconciling conflicts between other countries. The position of the state in the Mediator-Integrator as a neutral state gives a special responsibility to establish useful communication with various other groups (Holsti, 1970).

Indonesia's role as a Mediator-Integrator is manifested through its role as a partner and liaison between regional extras and international organisations with Myanmar to build constructive policies for the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. This role has brought constructive results for Myanmar where Myanmar has opened itself to the inclusion of assistance from other countries or actors to help resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya, even more broadly than that is providing support for Democartisation in the country. Previously, Myanmar as a country that wanted to resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis without the inclusion of external assistance on the grounds of the principle of non-intervention. However, Indonesia often invites Myanmar to be able to involve ASEAN in this case. From these results, Myanmar was willing to involve other actors such as the AHA Center, Red Cross/ICRC, and the OIC. Researcher sees that Indonesia has played a national role as a Mediator-Integrator in helping the Rohingya humanitarian crisis while maintaining Myanmar's sovereignty principle. Indonesia and ASEAN does not exert pressure on the Government of Myanmar as other international actors (US and EU) but Indonesia plays a role as mediator-Integrator in the resolution of the humanitarian crisis Rohingya to keep communicating with the government of Myanmar so that the country can overcome the problem.

Indonesia Active Independent in Resolving Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis

Indonesia actively participates in programs and activities in sustainability in helping Rohingya humanitarian crisis do work together and communicate with ASEAN and other international organisations. Indonesia's role is in accordance with the conception of the national role of active independent. According to Holsti (1970), active independent refers to the active efforts of the state to build relations with as many countries as possible and Emphasise diplomatic and commercial relations with various countries in the world.

Independent Active is shown by Indonesia to open a dialogue with the various international actors and establish diplomatic relations term in helping humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. Indonesia seeks to communicate the views of various countries and international organisations so that Myanmar is not depressed about the external response that they receive. Indonesia took a foreign policy without influenced by other actors even actually managed to establish communication to the various parties around the world in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya.

In line with the above statement, Indonesia succeeded as *Active Independent* very clearly, when the ICRC, UNHCR, and IOM often asked Indonesia to open discussions with Myanmar regarding the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohongya. Dialogue between external actors and the Government of Indonesia in informing the latest developments regarding the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya has created a positive image for Indonesia's humanitarian diplomacy in Myanmar where external parties see Indonesia's credibility in resolving humanitarian issues in the region.

Researcher finds that Indonesia plays its role as Active Independent by demonstrating Indonesia's seriousness in participating to help resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. Indonesia moves in accordance with its national interests without pressure from other parties. This is the implementation of a foreign policy cornerstone of Indonesia's free and active, and the manifestation of the Indonesian national objective stated in the Constitution Act of 1945 which Indonesia participates in contributing to promote world peace.

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Conclusion

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With Holsti's conception of the National role as a conceptual framework analysing Indonesia's role in assisting the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, it can be concluded that Indonesia became a Regional Leader in ASEAN. This can be obtanied from making humanitarian issues in Rohingya an agenda in various forms of ASE-AN meetings to successfully form an agenda-setting in humanitarian cases in the Rohingva for ASEAN to participate in the resolution of humanity in Myanmar. Indonesia became Faithful Ally for Myanmar by becoming a gate for the entry of humanitarian assistance and opening dialogue with other actors. This makes Indonesia become a Mediator-Integrator by continuing to establish communication with the Myanmar government with various international actors. Indonesia is an Active Independent becuase it moves in accordance with its national interests without being influenced by other parties. This shows the seriousness of Indonesia, both from the government and the community in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. Based on the results of this research, it is recommended that Indonesian foreign policy formulators actively fight for human values that have become Indonesia's commitments in accordance with what is stated in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia's role in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingva needs to be strengthened in parallel by the paradiplomation of subnational government actors and the public diplomacy of non-state actors that can run optimally in the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. For other researchers who are concerned about similar topics, they can then use the perspective of Indonesia's foreign policy through various approaches in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya by taking ASEAN settings, or the role of subnational government or nonstate actors in addition to the role of the Indonesian government as a state actor, can also study them in the context of new public diplomacy or more actual paradiplomation today, where the involvement of non-state actors or subnational government in diplomacy plays an important role in the study of International Relations.



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KEEP CALM

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The Euro-Gulf Information Centre (EGIC) is an initiative that aims to build social political, strategic, cultural and economic bridges between the people of Europe and the Arabian Gulf.

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Southeast Asia Region

Comparative Studies in Thailand and Indonesia

Akim, Neneng Konety, Chandra Purnama, Firda Rosyana Rachmawati Amantjik

Halal now becomes the new emerging trend in the global world. It can be reflected by the Securitisation act of halal issues that has been done by many countries, both the majority-muslim and also the minority-muslim countries. This article discusses about Securitisation of halal issues in Southeast Asia region with the focus in Indonesia and Thailand. The research method used is comparative qualitative with primary and secondary data collection from interviews and also some sources of books, journals, as well as official government and halal certification agencies' websites. The purpose of this study is to find out the similarities and differences in halal Securitisation process in Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country and Thailand as Muslim-minority country in Southeast Asia. The results obtained is that halal Securitisation process in both country is successful because it fulfills all aspects of Securitisation, that is referent object, securitising actor, and functional actor who interact with each other in making speech act so that a policy arises to overcome the issue that believed to be a threat. It is generally found that there are similarities in terms of halal Securitisation in both countries. The difference itself is that Indonesia has a larger number of referent objects, Securitisation of actors, and functional actors than Thailand, so that halal Securitisation process



Akim, Neneng Konety, Chandra Purnama, Firda Rosyana Rachmawati Amantjik. Securitisation of Halal Issue in Southeast Asia Region: Comparative Studies in Thailand and Indonesia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 224–241.

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in Indonesia becomes faster. In addition, there are two halal Securitisation processes in Indonesia with imported products as a new threat threaten domestic producers (referent object).

Keywords: securitisation, halal, Indonesia, Thailand.

The expanding focus in Security Studies from high politics to soft politics was marked by the establishment of global security concept in the 1990s after the Cold War (Hough, 2008). Since the shifting of security issues, states has now begun to pay attention to soft politics issues including social, environment, and economic issues (Buzan, 1991). One of the economic issue is food security. Using the perspective of religiousity or belief, a recent new trend emerged in the issue of food security, namely Halal issue, which is sensitive and crucial for the world's Muslim community. Such issue has become one of the most important contemporary global issues, reflected by the establishment of many halal sertification institutions both in muslim-majority and muslim-minority countries.

According to World Population Review (2019), Southeast Asia has three countries where the majority of the population is muslim, namely Indonesia (87%), Malaysia (60%), and Brunei Darussalam (66%), while muslim-minority countries include Vietnam (0,1%), Thailand (12%), Singapura (14%), Filipina (5,6%), Kamboja (1,8%), Myanmar (4,3%), Laos (0,01%), Timor-Leste (1%), and Papua Nugini (0,05%). Because of trade and social factors in this region, halal issue receives much attention from many countries. This article aims to explain the similarities and differences in Securitisation of halal issues in the Southeast Asian region focusing on Indonesia and Thailand using the theory of Securitisation .

The reason of choosing these countries is that Indonesia is a country with the largest muslim population in the world, so it is not surprising that halal issue is fully discussed and being securitized, given the large number of its referent objects. Meanwhile, despite being a muslim-minority country, Thailand has succeeded in production and export of halal foods to Middle East (Jenatabadi & Jasimah, 2017).

Halal issue itself has become attention among researchers all around the world. Various studies related to halal have been produced from each of the researchers' focus. Khan & Haleem (2016) explains the concept of halal and its components and the prospects of halal certificaAkim
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tion institutions throughout the world. Nurrachmi (2015) explains the existence of Halal food industry in developed and developing countries. This research helps researchers understand the opportunities of halal industry in Muslim-minority countries, espescially Thailand, that has a significant increase in the development of halal industry. The last article written by Akim, et al (2019), explained the shifting of halal certification system in Indonesia. In this paper, we want to used the concept of Securitisation to analyse about the halal issue through halal certification system. For that puspose, we also refer to some literature that write about the implementation of Securitisation theory for non traditional security issues, such as The Securitisation of Food Security in Colombia 1970-2010 written by Nussio and Pernet, and The Securitisation of the International Economic and Financial Crisis written by Dahlèn. Those articles show that Securitisation concept can be used in non traditional security issue. So that, we think this concept also can be used to analyse about halal issue because halal is actually part of food security, especially for moslem community.

The previous studies about halal certification written by Akim, et al, helping us to understand that there has been a change in the Securitisation of halal issues in Indonesia which has led to the shifting. The difference between this article and previous is the focus of researchers on the process of Securitisation in two selected countries in Southeast Asia, i.e. Indonesia as a muslim-majority country and Thailand as a muslim minority using the Securitisation theory.

Theoretical Review

Halal dan Halal Certification

In Arabic, Halal (حالات) means: permitted, acceptable, or permitted. This concept is not only related to food, but covers all aspects of Muslim life. In Islam there are two important sources of Shari'a for Muslims, namely the Quran and the Hadith. This halal issue is also one of the rules in Islam stated in the source ((Khan & Haleem, 2016). The Malaysian Standards Department (2018) also defines in MS1500: 2009 that what is meant by Halal are legal and permissible things in Islam based on Sharia law and fatwa, whereas violations are called non-halal or haram.

Halal is a term that is obligatory for a Muslim in every aspect of his life, including safety, animal welfare, social justice, and a sustainable environment. Toyyiban, a value that coexists with Halal, has a clean and healthy meaning that symbolizes the cleanliness, safety, and quality of food consumed by Muslims (Baharuddin, Kassim, Nordin, & Buyong, 2015). However, according to the Chairman of the Indonesian Halal Lifestyle Center (IHLC), Sapta Nirwandar (2019), Halal is not exclusively aimed at Muslims only, but for all human beings according to QS. Al-Baqarah: 172-173. In other words, halal is an inclusive issue for everyone even "Halal is a right for every Muslim, but it is indeed a priviledge for everyone".

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Southeast Asia Region

To guarantee halalism itself, a halal certification is needed. Khan & Haleem (2016) explained that halal certification is the process of certifying products or services that comply Shariah law. In order to provide guarantees to Muslim consumers about halal quality, the certification system is considered important. Noordin, et al (2009), quoted that the basic principles of certification are Halal and Thoyyibban taken from the Quran, Surat Al-Baqarah verse 168. Therefore, halal certification is issued based on basic principles and procedures that the product must be good, safe, and worth consuming.

Halal certification is needed to ensure that the product is not contaminated with its halal characteristics from upstream to downstream. Mohd Yusoff in Marzuki, et al (2011) defines it as the process of food examination in the process of preparation to transportation and management, in which in each process does not tolerate things that are *haram* (prohibited). Although it only defines the limits of food, in fact this is not limited only to substances contained in food, but also on how it is made and can also apply to other industrial sectors.

Securitisation Concept

Buzan (1998) explains that to know what makes something can be called international security, we must look at aspects that play a role in international security, namely referent objects, the securitising actors, and functional actors. A referent object in international security is something that is threatened by the existence of a threat (existential threat) and has the right to survive. To overcome this threat, whatever is deemed necessary in the concept of Securitisation can be used.

Securitisation itself can be interpreted as an issue that represents the existence of threats, requires emergency action, and justifies actions outside the normal limits of political procedures. This action is taken when the Securitisation actor has stated that an issue is a "presence threat" for the referent object. The statement is theoretically part of the speech act. Spech act itself is a statement/action/commitment in the interaction between the three aspects that play a role in international security. However, the actor's statement can only be referred to as Securitisation when the audience also believes that the issue is a real threat and threatens the referent object.

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Then, the last part of Securitisation is functional actors. Without becoming a referent object or actor who asks for security on behalf of the referent object, these supporting actors are those whose activities have a significant impact on Securitisation . For example industries that endanger the community, NGOs who are concerned about the issue, and the mass media that disseminates the issue.

Based on aspects of Securitisation as explained above, Buzan concluded that in general, the success of Securitisation had three components, namely the existential threat, emergency actions, and their impact on inter-unit relations. If all three components are achieved, Securitisation can be said to be successful. The existential threat is how Securitisation actors succeed in convincing the audience that an issue is a threat. Emergency actions in this case are actions in the form of policies taken to overcome these threats. While the impact on interunits is how the policy then influences the relationship of the aspects involved, namely referent object, Securitisation actor, and functional actor. The same thing was also conveyed by Balzacq (2005). He said that Securitisation was called successful when the Securitisation agent and audience reached the same perception. It really depends on the ability of Securitisation actors to convince the audience by looking at the characteristics and interests of the audience itself.

Success in convincing the audience is an internal factor in the success of Securitisation, while the external factor is the ability of Securitisation actors to maintain their position so that the policy can be realised. One of them can be in the form of giving authority to someone to build an institution so that the procedures taken can be carried out properly (Buzzan, 1998).

Securitisation of Halal Issue

Relating this Buzan's Securitisation theory with the halal issue, we can understand this by firstly looking at the shifting of security issues explained by Buzan (1991). At recent in the global security, there are not only hard politics issues that the states are involved with, but also the soft politics issues, including the social, environment, and economic

issues. As one of the economic issue, halal becomes the new emerging issue that needs to be securitized based on the Buzan's Securitisation theory. It is because there is an urgency for the Muslim population in the world that are needing the safetiness and the assurance of halal values in their lives, for example the halal food. Halal food becomes the needs for the Muslim population and all the people recently–not only Muslim that can relate to halal issue today. In the context of that, there is an urgency in the food security. Buzan in 1998's Securitisation theory does not limit the issue for the hard politics issues only, instead he emphasised in 1991 that there are shifting in global security issues. Because of that, we can relate the halal issues with Buzan's Securitisation theory.

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Methods

The method used in this article is a comparative qualitative method by collecting primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from interviews conducted both directly and indirectly with several informants spread across Indonesia and Thailand as well as information from the official website of the government and halal certification bodies. Meanwhile, secondary data obtained from several reference sources such as journals, articles, and books that are relevant with the research topic. This article is validated using triangulation techniques, which include triangulation of data sources and triangulation of methods.

Discussion

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Thailand

Although it is a Muslim minority country, the issue of halal is also a concern in Thailand, reflected in the efforts to develop a halal certification system in the country. Researchers see the development of the halal certification system can be analyse d with the concept of Securitisation using five aspects in the process of Securitisation , i.e. existential threat, referent object, Securitisation actor, and functional actor.

Existential Threat

Thailand is a country with various tribes, ethnicities and religions. Nonetheless, Thailand has the principle of equal rights set out in the Thai Law Section 5 and 37. Both states that Thai people, regardless of their origin, gender or religion, will enjoy the same protection under

the constitution, including in carrying out religious principles as long as it is not contrary to the law (The Central Islamic Council of Thailand, 2016).

CEJISS 4/2019 Unfortunately, being a minority in a predominantly Buddhist country like Thailand is a challenge for Muslims to live their lives according to Islamic principles. One example is related to the halal principle. Conditions in which many products in Thailand that are based on sharia are included in non-halal products, pose a threat to the Muslim population in Thailand. Therefore, based on Buzzan (1991) theory, this non-halal product is called an *existential threat* and action is needed to overcome it.

Referent Object

Muslim population is the largest minority population in Thailand, which is as much as \pm 7.5 million Muslims or around 12% of the 62.5 million total population in Thailand (Royal Thai Embassy, Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, n.d.). This Muslim population have the vulnerability to live according to Islamic principles with the existence of an *existential threat*, which is many non-halal products in Thailand. So that, based on the theory of Buzan (1991), this Muslim population can be called as a *referent object*.

Securitisation Actor

Based on the history of halal certification in Thailand itself, Jenatabadi (2017) explains that the development of halal certification in Thailand is divided into four stages. The first stage occurred before 1949, when the halal status of products and services for Muslim consumers was only assessed according to the opinion of experts halal without any process to prove its halal. Then, the second stage begin in the development of the industry in 1949 to 1997 with efforts to improve halal certification in Thailand when the Shiekhul Islam office issued halal certificates for the first time. This was done to meet the needs of the Muslim population in Thailand. In 1971, the Thai Islamic Center Committee introduced the Halal Food Standard which, after being refined and upgraded to meet Islamic Law and international standards, finally became official standards and was adopted throughout Thailand (Jenatabadi & Jasimah, 2017).

In 1997, the third phase began with the involvement of the government. With a fairly large Muslim population, both the government and parliament in Thailand have a large interest in matters relating to Is-

lam. These matters include protection for Thai Muslim population to be able to maintain their identity and live according to Islamic principles, traditions, and lifestyles. Therefore, the government then enacted the Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540. The Thai Government as an entity that has the authority to make policies, based on the Securitisation theory presented by Buzzan, in this case acts as a Securitisation actor.

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Southeast Asia Region

Speech Act

Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540 is a speech act in the form of actions taken by the Thai government as a Securitisation actor. The enactment of this Law has made halal issues which had only been discussed in the Muslim community become a national issue. Speech act in accordance with the theory is done to convince the audience, namely the Thai population both Muslim and non-Muslim, that this is a threat to the Muslim population so that it is necessary to make a policy so that the Muslim population in Thailand can feel safe. In other words, this fulfills internal factors in the successful of Securitisation act.

Meanwhile, the external factor of the successful of Securitisation act can be seen from the subsequent actions in the form of policies to form institutions to deal with the issue of halal certification in Thailand. These institutions are the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand (CICOT) and the Halal Standard Institute to issue the halal certification in Thailand. Under the Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540, His Majesty the King has the authority to appoint Sheikhul-Islam as the president of CICOT which also the leader of Islamic affairs in Thailand. This name was legally handed over by the Prime Minister to His Majesty the King based on the approval of all provincial Islamic Committees in Thailand. (The Central Islamic Council of Thailand, 2016). Then, in 2002, the Thai Islamic Central Committee succeeded in gaining the trust of the Thai government to establish a halal food center in southern Thailand, the halal-HACCP system, and the Halal Science Center, Chulalongkorn University in 2003.

Functional Actor

The final factor that complements the aspect of Securitisation is the functional actor. Based on the analysis of researchers, the actors who

act as functional actors in this case are producers of products in Thailand. Producers in Thailand are actors who produce both halal and non-halal products so that their role will influence the dynamics of halal Securitisation . This is because if the products they produce are not distinguished by halal certification it will create a threat to the Muslim population and vice versa if using halal certification will help the halal Securitisation process in Thailand.

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These aspects of Securitisation fulfill the three components of the successful act of Securitisation , that is non halal products as an existential threat, emergency actions in the form of speech acts by enacting Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540 (M.D. 1997) and the establishment of three institutions to deal with the issue of halal certification, as well as the influence on inter-unit relations, that is the government, halal certification body, and producers in Thailand. This halal Securitisation has finally succeeded in meeting the needs of the Muslim population in Thailand for halal product. By the fourth stage of halal certification in 2017 to now, halal logo is the second brand for halal products and services (Jenatabadi & Jasimah, 2017).

Existential Threat Non-Halal **Products** Become the threat to Referent Object Muslim-Minority Population Securitization Actor Perceived by Thailand Government Functional Actor Take action Speech Act Producers in Act on the Administration of Islamic Organization Thailand B.E. 2540 Influencing dynamics in the process of securitization The Successful Act CICOT, Halal Science of Securitization Center, Halal Standard Institute of Thailand

Figure 1. Halal Securitisation Process in Thailand

Source: Researchers, 2019

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Indonesia

As a country with the largest number of Muslims in the world, Indonesia is currently one of the major global halal markets due to high demand for halal products (Nirwandar, 2019). Therefore, the guarantee of halal products is also increasingly considered important although initially it was still considered as common issue by community. However, since 1988, the issue of halal has risen to the surface due to the threat that destabilize the community. Starting from this threat, there was pressure from many parties for the need of Securitisation in halal issues. The aspects in the halal Securitisation process in Indonesia will be explained below.

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Existential Threat

Halal issue at first attracted attention when DNA of pig is found in several food products that are widely circulated in Indonesia. This was discovered by a researcher named Tri Sutrisno from Brawijaya University in 1988. The existence of this finding remained worries in the community. Even, a report by the Legal Study Team on the Role of Society in Providing Halal Product Information (2011) found a decline of the total amount of public consumption in processed food products that might lead to economic shocks in Indonesia at that time. Non-halal products circulating in Indonesia became an *existential threat* for Muslim in choosing what to consume. Uniquely, there are two different forms of Securitisation in Indonesia based on the awareness about the emergence of a new *existential threat*, that is imported products that threaten domestic ones.

Referent Object

The case in 1988 posed a threat to the Muslim community in Indonesia (*referent object*) which was threatened by the existential threat namely non-halal products. As the largest Muslim-majority country in the world, this issue was fast spreading and creating urgency in securitising halal issues.

The existence of free market in Indonesia is the beginning of a new form of halal Securitisation. Due to Indonesia as a destination for foreign producers to export their products, the competition is now threatening domestic producers so that the *referent object* changes from initially Muslim communities to domestic producers. This relates to their economy being threatened when imported products flood the local

market. Therefore, the new form of Securitisation of halal issues is carried out as a protection by the government to the domestic producers.

Securitisation Actor

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To alleviate the situation, the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) was given the task by the government for the 1988 case. On January 6, 1989, an institution was established with the task of examining and issuing halal certification, named the Assessment Institute for Foods, Drugs and Cosmetics, the Indonesian Council of Ulama (LPPOM MUI). The Indonesian government acts as a securitising actor in this issue.

The second form of Securitisation was also carried out by the government in response to the entry of free market in Indonesia. The shifting of responsibility in issuing halal certification allows the government to protect domestic producers so that they can compete with foreign producers. Therefore, the Indonesian government became the *securitising actor* marked by the formation of Law No. 33 of 2014 and represented by the presence of BPJPH under the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2017. The law makes LPPOM MUI a BPJPH partner in charge of facilitating discussion between Muslim Ulama, zu'ama, and scholars in determining halal fatwas for halal certification to be issued by the government (Akim et al, 2019). However, in its implementation the authority for halal certification is now still held by LPPOM MUI until BPJPH is ready to operate in October 2019, by the establishment of the Halal Inspection Agency (LPH) (Permana, 2019).

Speech Act

When the issue of halal attracted community, the government formed a small team to conduct a research about the urgency of establishing a rule for food and beverage producers to guarantee halal for Muslim communities in Indonesia. The Minister of Religious Affairs at the time, Munawir Sjadzali, explained that the provision would provide guarantees to consumers and when violations were committed by producers, the government could act according to its authority (Yusuf et al, 2008).

The establishment of LPPOM MUI is a *speech act* taken by the Indonesian government in carrying out halal Securitisation. Since its establishment, LPPOM MUI has the authority to regulate Halal Product Assurance strengthened by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the MUI and the Ministry of Religious Affairs and

the Ministry of Health in 1996. The MUI Fatwa Commission is also involved as a party of the ulamas who decided on the halal status of a product by adjusting it to the prevailing sharia law (LPPOM MUI, n.d.).

LPPOM MUI is fully responsible for the implementation of halal certification until the enactment of Law Number 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Assurance. After the Act was ratified, LPPOM MUI is no longer a halal certification body because it has been replaced by the Halal Product Assurance Agency (BPJPH) owned by the government. The law regulates that all products that enter, circulate and trade within the territory of Indonesia must have halal certification. Therefore, the government takes direct responsibility for ensuring this. Akim, et al (2019) call this a shifting in the halal certification system from being community centric to state centric. BPJPH Formation and Law No. 33 of 2014 is a *speech act* in the second form of halal Securitisation in Indonesia.

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Southeast Asia Reaion

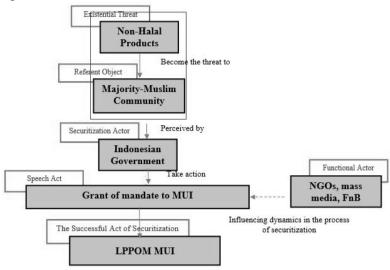
Functional Actor

Ali (2016) mentioned that the atmosphere in Indonesia during the case in 1988 was getting worse when the Asosiasi Cendikiawan Muslim Al-Falah (Al-Falah Muslim Scholars Association) made a study discussing this case. As a result, there was widespread pressure among Muslim communities, especially in East Java, which then spread to other areas. News about this case had also been raised by mass media, causing news to spread quickly and resulting in a decrease in the sales of food and beverage products by 80% (Prabowo & Rahman, 2016).

In this case, the Al-Falah Muslim Scholars Association became a *functional actor* which caused the increase of public awareness of the *existential threats* i.e. non-halal product. In addition, the mass media and food and beverages producers, also play a role as *functional actors*. Producers, especially in domestic, experienced significant losses due to public insecurity about this case. Finally, the establishment of LP-POM MUI was quite successful in mitigating the situation at the time even though halal certification was still voluntary or not required for all products in Indonesia.

Whereas in the second form of Securitisation, Indonesia Halal Watch (IHW) acts as *functional actor*. IHW mentioned that the Halal Product Assurance Law could be a protection or non-tariff barrier to select or stem the overflow of imported products and can also be an instrument in strengthening the value of rupiah against dollar (LPPOM MUI, 2018).

Figure 2. Securitisation Process I in Indonesia

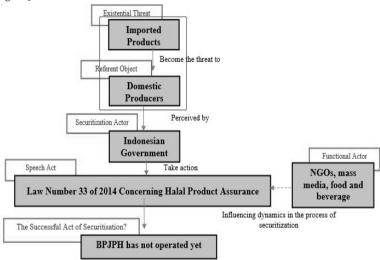


Source: Researcher, 2019

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Figure 3. Securitisation Process II in Indonesia



Source: Researcher, 2019

IHW is actively urges the government to protect halal products in Indonesia. In addition to IHW, other NGOs, mass media, and foreign business players also become functional actors in influencing government policy. The five components in Securitisation theory have been fulfilled in the

first halal Securitisation in Indonesia. The existential threat (non-halal product) that threatened referent objects, namely Muslim community was perceived by government as securitising actor with a speech act in the form of mandate that leads to the establishment of LPPOM MUI. Government policies are influenced by functional actors including the Al-Falah Muslim Scholars Association, mass media, and food and beverage producers. It can be said that the first halal Securitisation process in Indonesia was successfully carried out, signed by the decreased tension of the 1988 case.

However, in the second Securitisation researchers found that it has not been perfectly successful. This is because BPJPH is not yet operational as an institution that guarantees halal certification. Implementation of Law No. 33 of 2014 is still unclear regarding the impact on the existential threat that threatens the community. For industry players themselves, there is still some uncertainty in applying for halal certification due to unclear rules. This can be the new object for subsequent researchers to be able to examine this new halal Securitisation process in Indonesia.

Comparison of Securitisation of Halal Issues in Indonesia and Thailand

There are similarities and differences that occur in the halal Securitisation process in Indonesia and Thailand. The most significant difference can be seen from the Muslim population in the two countries. Islam is a minority religion in Thailand, while in Indonesia it occupies the majority position even in the world. In addition to differences in Muslim population, Indonesia also has two different forms of Securitisation due to the shifting of halal certification system from society centric to state centric.

The difference in the number of Muslims causes a difference in urgency for both countries. This can be seen from the existential threat and the referent object. When non-halal (contaminated) products circulated in Indonesia in 1988, this case was very quickly rising to the surface due to pressure from many parties who influenced the government as a securitising actor. So that the Securitisation process in Indonesia is very fast because it has a wide impact on the large of Muslim population in Indonesia. It only takes one year for LPPOM MUI to be formed as a result of speech act from the government (securitising actor) responding to the issue of pig's DNA in 1988. Whereas the sec-

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ond form of halal Securitisation in Indonesia includes imported products as existential threat, domestic producers as referent objects, the government as securitising actors who form government institutions (BPJPH), and functional actors such as Indonesia Halal Watch, mass media, and foreign producers.

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Unlike Indonesia, existential threat in Thailand has emerged since the beginning of the minority Muslim community lived there. With Islam as a minority religion, halal issues were not yet considered important enough, so that it took a very long time for the Thai government (*securitising actor*) to begin halal Securitisation in 1997 with the establishment of CICOT based on the Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisation B.E. 2540 (M.D.1997) to provide a guarantee of halal products to Muslim minorities in Thailand.

In both countries, the speech act was in the form of the establishment of halal certification institutions, namely LPPOM MUI, BPJPH, and CICOT. However, the difference is that the formation of the Indonesian LPPOM MUI is carried out by the MUI based on the mandate of the government, BPJPH is a government agency under the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, and CICOT is an institution formed by the Thai government, where the president and some of his members were appointed directly by the King. Functional actors in Indonesia, namely the Association of Muslim Scholars, mass media, and food producers in the first form of Securitisation and Indonesia Halal Watch in the second Securitisation . Unfortunately, functional actors who play a role in Thailand are only the producers.

Conclusion

From this article, we can conclude that halal issues have been successfully securitised both in Thailand and in Indonesia, with the fulfillment of all aspects of Securitisation. In general, researchers found that there were similarities in aspects of halal Securitisation in the two countries. The difference itself lies in the fact that Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country so that the Securitisation process was faster because the number of referent objects is greater and Securitisation of actors and functional actors is greater than Thailand. Another difference is that researchers have also found that there are two Securitisation processes in Indonesia, where the threat and referent object of this halal issue shifted from being originally only a Muslim population to become a producer of domestic products.

Table 1. Differences in Securitisation of Halal Issues in Indonesia and Thailand

No	Aspect	Thailand	Indonesia (I)	Indonesia (II)
I.	Time	1949-1997	1988-1989	Has not been found
2.	Existential threat	Non-halal products	Non-halal products	Imported products
3.	Referent object	Muslim mi- nority	Muslim ma- jority	Muslim majority and domestic producers.
4.	Securitising actor	Government	Government	Government
5.	Speech act	Act on the Administra- tion of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540 (M.D. 1997) => The estab- lishment of CICOT	Grant of mandate to MUI => The establishment of LPPOM MUI	The establishment of BPJPH
6.	Functional actor	Producers	Asosiasi Cend- ikiawan Mus- lim Al-Falah, mass media, producers	Indonesia Halal Watch, mass media, foreign pro- ducers

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Source: Researchers, 2019



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Is Malaysia Begged to Differ from the Global 'Vista' Democracy?

Noor Sulastry Yurni Ahmad

In the Malaysia's 2018 General Election, the supremacy of Barisan Nasional (National Front), started to deteriorate when the two-third usual majority suddenly successfully is being denied. However, the transformations in Malaysian's socio-political culture have created some evolutions and repercussions in line with the current development. The scenario has been observed through some different phases that prolonged from traditional Malay Sultanate of Malacca to an open practice in the recent political trend. Malaysia (formerly known as Malava) had gone through various political development until the existence of ethnicity-based-orientation as well as the domination of the ruling party for a long period of time via total political-hegemony practice. Apparently, hegemony is said to be more appealing when the civil society's institution are literally consented by their submissive action towards the ruling class, thus this kind of vertical top-down form of governing is voluntarily abide by them. The transition leads to the new practice of counter-hegemony-post hegemony which goes against the current practice. Furthermore, the reflections of democratic practices through the power sharing between Pakatan Harapan (namely composed of Bersatu, Amanah, DAP and PKR) and National Front party were strongly significant in the Malaysia's democracy. However, the discussions of sense of loyalty, transparency, good governance, civil rights, power of the media and other elements still be questioned by the people. This paper analyses the 'natural obedience' in the politi-



Noor Sulastry Yurni Ahmad. Is Malaysia Begged to Differ from the Global 'Vista' Democracy?. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 242–258.

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cal system whereby Islam as an official religion plays dominant role in Malaysian context. This resulted to the challenges put forward by the opposition created new phenomenal political paradigm shift among the people. The political survival among the political parties in Malaysia displayed interesting landscape on the society.

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Keywords: natural obedience, democracy, political survival, hegemony, sustainability.

Malaysia has managed to practice the arrangement democracy effectively until the year 1969. Nidzam (2006, p. 69) stated that the parliament was suspended for more a year after the said event but was again practiced in the year 1970 until date. Before the 13th May 1969 event, the development of politics in Malaysia was performing well. Nevertheless, this does not reflect that there are no conflicts and events, which involve force. Throughout the six weeks of the 1969 Election campaign, it has lead to various racial issues that almost caused the emotional state of the Malays and Non Malays to explode. Even though the campaign went on well without any untoward events, the feelings of tension became obvious as the Election Day on the 10th May 1969 approaches (Comber 1983, p. 63).

In the said election campaign, the leaders do not seem to have a new formula to fight and receive a strong contest from the opposition parties like PAS, DAP, Gerakan and PPP (Comber 1983, p. 63). To the Alliance Party, they were very confident of winning. Thus, they have permitted the ongoing campaign to the maximum under the Constitution (Mahathir 1999, p. 6). In terms of the Perikatan election manifesto, Comber (1983, p. 63) stated that it is more of a government report. The Manifesto summarizes the success of Perikatan in power after winning, focusing on the 'economic development', 'defence and safety', 'international affairs', and 'racial integrity' (Comber 1983, pp. 63-64). This harmony does not cause anxiety on the National Front as the governing party but in fact has made it a lot stronger.

Therefore, the question that states the democracy system in practical has thus far been unable to be fully executed has arisen. Contrary to the said guarantee, many scholars define the type of leadership practiced in Malaysia as immature, no freedom, "half cook", limited, authoritative and full of control. Whether we realise it or not, the definition of democracy in Malaysia proves that the governing system in

Malaysia is in fact a form of hegemony. It is obvious that the elements of hegemony like being too extreme towards a leader, loyal and faithful, obeying to orders given, complying with the leader's wishes, opposing all activities to topple the government and so on existed but in fact is hidden in the Malaysian democracy system.

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The emphasis on democracy based on its practiced in Malaysia intend for the peace and political stability to be practiced (Lijphart 1997, p. 152). This strategy has been applied to preserve the public's loyalty towards their leader who has become a 'protector' in their daily lives. This hidden practiced of hegemony causes the public to give their undying support to their leader even though they were fully controlled.

This phenomenon has led a scholar like Syed Husin Ali (1996, p. 95) to be of opinion that this has become a norm to the monarch or local leaders asking for the public's undying support. For example, in the traditional leadership system the concept of 'loyalty' is link to 'betrayal'. This means that the king cannot be opposed because it will be regarded as treacherous. As a result, this has led to an inferior psychology among the subjects until they become devoted and 'servant-spirited'. The neofeudalistic people of today have a feeling of fear, humble and 'servant-spirited' towards their king or leader and this feeling has led to them having the same feelings towards their new leaders. With this power the leaders are able to expand their wings to the economic sectors and leaving a very narrow road which then lead to the struggle among the people. Obviously, the political power has given them the opportunity to expand themselves in the economic sectors and the control on economy has strengthened their political position. All government machinery and other government tools are also used to strengthen and protect their interest. The socialist political process plays a role in ensuring that this practice and perception is ongoing for the next coming generation when youngsters are trained to be loyal and be afraid of their leaders.

According to Nidzam (2006, pp. 256-257), the public's acceptance and loyalty towards their leaders, the leader's power and involvement in economy has been conferred by lots of titles to recognise their contributions. This showed that the elements of feudalism still exist in democracy. These elements among others have a picture of the subjects or people still being loyal to their more powerful leader. The voices of these leaders must be complied with and not opposed. They are also lavish with titles such as Tun, Tan Sri, Datuk and Datuk Seri. How-

ever, it is undeniable that the democracy was practiced together with the citizen's traditional ways as culture and a strong believe in religion which has become an important essence.

The type and practiced of the Malays political culture in this globalisation era has been managed to be constructed. Not only it was constructed but it goes right to the foundation of the spirit of the Malays who are too absorb with their culture and having a strong believe in religion, therefore it needed reconstruction. Without us realizing it, the leaders have managed to gain full control until they are in their comfort zone and managed to reconstruct the people to accept their dominant position without much questioning. Obviously, the political hegemony is visible in the Malay political culture especially when it is a result of unification in the Malays traditional structure. Therefore, the public became weaker politically including the NGOs, the opposition parties, media and judiciary whose words and fights on modern democracy are left unattended.

With that, all government machinery and tools including the Acts, Enactments, police departments, military, the prosecutors, courts and so forth are used to strengthen and preserve the higher positioned interests. The socialists' political process plays a role in ensuring this as an ongoing process. Besides that, the government to control the political situation in Malaysia and punish executive offenders (Mauzy, 1995, p. 117) uses the introductions of several Acts like the Incitement Act, Official Secrets Acts, Internal Security Act (ISA), Print Press and Publication Act, University and Colleges Act (AUKU).

The democracy practiced is not an open democracy but only limited; it has an element of authoritarian and so forth. Even if a writer or a journalist writes or reports on certain issues of government secrets like (a scandal, deviation and elements of nepotism), they will be arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act 1972. This shows that the position of the elite political government is not at stake and their influence became stronger. The fanatical hegemony towards a leader is not relevant anymore in Malaysian current democracy and should be replaced with the hegemony culture of being 'afraid' of a leader. This phenomenon picture the culture of being 'afraid' is not only to threaten the public of the punishment against them by a leader but the feeling of 'afraid' to lose their interests if the orders are opposed.

However, in 9th May 2018, Malaysian politics was changed irrevocably with the election of its opposition for the first time in 60 years of

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independence. Interestingly, the change of government or the running political party happened in peace and no war, bloodshed involved. Malaysians are so blessed with this peace change. Accountability, openness and democratic progress appear to be finally within reach as claimed.

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Feudalistic Democracy in Malaysia

The elements of feudalism still exist till to date because the monarchs is pictures as a protector of people and are very powerful and have 'daulats'. For example, in the traditional Malay politics the phrases or words that picture a king as a powerful symbol and have a connection with God were also used like "a king is a reflection of God on earth". This phrase is a reminder to the people that the king is of higher position and possesses special relationship spiritually. These words have placed the people to be more afraid towards their king. The level of loyalty of local people at that time can be regarded as a blind acceptance, which only accepts whatever orders from their leaders. They need to instill full loyalty, respect and faithfulness towards the leadership of their king and seldom they become disloyal.

Therefore, Syed Hussein Al Attas (1972, p. 109) agrees with the said assertion and regarded the state and federal state have spend lots of money in giving titles like '*Tun*' and '*Dato*' to the experienced political leaders and bureaucrats who act as an honest protector in this monarchical constitutional system. The amount of honors given has increased since the independence of Malaysia for 51 years.

Position, status and awards have replaced the traditional practice during the Melaka Sultanate in the era of feudal Malay politics. This situation pictures UMNO leadership as a 'hero' and 'savior' in the Malay community. Contrary to heroes like Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat, Tun Perak, Tun Biajid and many more who were discussed in earlier chapters but in this neo feudal era, UMNO can influence the governing country's decision. Mahathir (2007) felt that there is no difference between the people's loyalty during the feudal time and the people's loyalty towards their current leaders.

According to him, the level of loyalty given towards their leaders or government is a reward to their loyal services towards them in response to their protection. This is a main factor towards undying loyalty that has been formed a long time ago in this neo feudal era. Mahathir's thoughts have been very interesting when he denies that loyalty given by the people is not a form of political hegemony. If the

people love and is loyal to their king, leaders, 'penghulu', principal and the 'wakil rakyat' children, it is not a big issue. They are loyal because they know and trust their leader. If they did not feel oppressed, pressured, abused, it means that they are comfortable with their doings.

Therefore, the system of governance in Malaysia has been formed through a social bargaining process that proves the leaders have inherited the ability of the earlier patriots forming a 'daulat' country intelligently since then. The concept of nationalism is seen as a tool of firm hegemony in governing Malaysia inoculated by the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the country. The shifting of paradigm has not been excluded from the scope of discussion about the interest of Malay culture which thinks highly of their king or leaders since then.

The State has not given at all any free space free participation. The competition is so narrow, and the government to put pressure always used the state and this gives them extra power. Besides that, the government party has taken the opportunity to draft and amend Acts to protect the government from any threatening challenges. For example, the ISA can detain anyone without trial and was officially introduced in Article 149 of the Malaysian Constitution. This Act is also used to prevent opposition leaders or any other organisation from challenging the status quo (Jesudason 1995, p. 338).

Their position became more consolidated and harder to challenge that makes it easier for them to gain more interests in the economic sector. Further, in the current democratic governing system, there are laws to control and protect the higher class's position. However, most political Malay leaders are of the view that the enforcement of laws has permitted the taking over of individuals land for the purpose of development and this should be restricted and be more transparent to guarantee the people's rights in their comfort zone.

The uniqueness of Malaysian political culture is the royal institution or the royal government as privilege of the Malaysian nation. The constitution of Malaysia provides for the reign of the monarchy as one of the elements of the eternal constitution of the country. The hierarchy of power and the role of the royal institution in the landscape of national government in the days before the arrival of the British colonialists to this day have undergone a process of power transition and a drastically changing role. However, the features of this tradition remain to acknowledge and uphold the dignity of the nation's most memorable institution and its contribution to the formation of Malaysia today.

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The Constitution of the Federation of Malaya 1957 established the Yang di-Pertuan Agong based on the recommendations in the Reid Commission that included provisions on the "General Assembly on the constitution of the Federation to be elected from the Royal Highness." "The Yang di-Pertuan Agong is said to be a symbol of national unity. On July 30 witnessed the historic event of His Majesty's Majesty XVI Al-Sultan Abdullah Ri'ayatuddin Al-Mustafa Billah Shah Ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Haji Ahmad Shah Al-Musta'in Billah and His Royal Highness Tunku Azizah Alexandria's Aminah is celebrated despite its simplicity and is witnessed by people all over the country. Sultan of Pahang Al-Sultan Abdullah Ri'ayatuddin Al-Mustafa Billah Shah Ibni Sultan Haji Ahmad Shah Al Musta'in Billah Shah has been elected as the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong for a period of five years effective Jan 31, 2019. YDPA replaced Sultan Muhammad V who resigned as the 15th Yang di-Pertuan Agong effective January 6, after holding the position since December 13, 2016. The royal institution in Malaysia is a symbol of the unity and prosperity, stability and grandeur of the nation. The prosperity and splendor of a country lies not only in the achievements but in the glory of Malaysia as the honor given to the royal institution reflects Malaysia's rich customs, culture and identity as a sovereign and respected foreign country.

Gateway to Current Malaysian Democracy

Urban poverty is an important issue as a study conducted by the Malaysian Institute of Economic Research (MIER) shows that more than two-thirds of Malaysians now live in urban areas. The definition of urban poverty is still debated by looking at various contexts based on various factors and current trends. Poverty is often referred to as a phenomenon of inadequacy, inadequacy or instability of household income leading to inadequate or incomplete consumption, the risk of failure to obtain facilities and goods especially basic necessities, low quality housing that is prone to health problems, crime and natural disasters, discrimination and limited access to the formal labour market, especially to women and certain ethnic groups.

There is no doubt that rapid development is concentrated in uncharted urban areas to stand in line with other developed countries. Malaysia is no exception to setting a high benchmark to ensure that Malaysia achieves high-income countries with a strong and stable economy set by YAB PM's new target by 2025. The 11th Malaysia Plan

(IIMP) covering the period between 2016 by 2020 will set the country's path towards greater national status and greater inclusion. This effort will be achieved by presenting six strategic milestones covering a range of development issues including equity, inclusiveness, environmental sustainability, human capital development and infrastructure. Sustainability is the significant criteria that reflected the success of Malaysian economy.

Whatever approach and strategy to take and take has a positive and negative impact on the country as well as the people living in Malaysia. As such, the 11th Plan also places emphasis on increasing labour market outcomes and targeting increasing employment income, female labour force participation and skilled employment, as well as enhancing the quality of education and skills matching to industry needs to address any possibility of engaging Malaysians as a whole.

High cost of living, urban poverty and overpriced housing are increasingly affecting low- and middle-income groups or categorised as B40 and M40. The Malaysian government has always given serious attention to helping address the problems faced by the group. Even for the poor, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (KPKT) has taken the initiative to establish an Urban Poverty Eradication Program (PPKB) aimed at helping Malaysians in urban poor and low-income groups improve their quality of life while reducing the burden of family dependence. The PPKB target group comprises B40 households, comprising households earning less than RM3, 860 a month and these include poor and *miskin tegar*.

Scientifically and academically, Satterthwaite's study (2001: 146) states that urban poverty exists when there is insufficient income, poor asset ownership, inadequate and comfortable housing, incomplete public infrastructure, inadequate provision of basic services, lack or lack of safety net, lack of protection for the poor and the poor have no channels of speech for the purpose of seeking help from various parties.

However, there are numerous reports, news and articles that refer to the city's poverty from the perspective of the individual's economic status and household income in urban areas and more. The writing is aimed at highlighting the low income group of RM2500 with a comprehensive package of options such as owning a car, renting a house while waiting for the opportunity to buy a home, using the latest mobile phones, shopping comfortably, having a credit card, vacation-

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ing at both domestic and abroad that can be listed as a lifestyle of the people of this developed age, especially in the urban areas. Classical lifestyles and their own status cannot be altered or forced to change if certain individuals are constantly blocking such a lifestyle from being excluded from the urban poor. Can they be placed in the same category as the urban poor if they have such a lifestyle? If they are not facing any problems in terms of debt and the hardships of living due to such living conditions, they are very wise in managing personal finances. However, if this is the case then it is a social disease that needs to be addressed.

Anyway, whatever you may wish to call it, the May 2018 general election or GE14 was both good and bad. Good for whom and bad for whom? Well, that all depends on who you are. Some see GE14 as the day the New Malaysia was born. Some see GE14 as finally a dream come true. Some see GE14 as the day Malaysia was freed from bondage. Some see GE14 as a tragedy. Nevertheless, what cannot be denied is GE14 was the day Islam finally won. For 68 years since 1951, the Malays have been divided regarding the position of Islam. Some say Malaysia is an Islamic country. Some say Malaysia is a secular country. Some say Islam is the official religion of the country. Some say Islam is the religion of the Federation but not the official religion of the country per se. Some say Sharia law takes precedence while some say common law does instead.

Hegemony of Media and Islam

The introduction of several Acts to stop the freedom of mass media from the government's aspects is to stabilize the country's peaceful environment. According to the Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984, Section 7(1) stated that the Ministry of Home Affairs has the authority to grant, deny and withdraw any publication permit as they wish. (Rosidah 1997, p. 99). As far as the public is concerned, every Malaysian citizen has the rights of freedom to obtain knowledge and the freedom to obtain various opinions and views. However, the Malaysian government lately has strictly controlled the media activities and strict in granting media license. Reason being is to block or evade groups and free organisations from publishing and broadcasting issues that portray bad images on the government. Whether direct or indirectly there are individuals with interest to preserve their status quo by using the media as their hegemony agent.

The government has played a dominant role in ensuring that sensitive issues or political issues and filter any information before it is made known to the public. These filtering by the media responsible of reporting such events and the media are subjected to several rules, regulations, and Acts, which barred the media from reporting the truth. The media operates as a source of information and not to persuade the public to act as such when any information is reported.

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In the event the public obtained such favourable and positive news or information, their thoughts and movement will make them more optimistic. It is true that information reported by the media to public is not parallel with the context and actual meanings to be made known. According to Shaukat (2004:2), "The capsules of information we get are often detached from their contexts and meanings and are essentially packaged for easy consumption. For instance, before we are told about the real causes of a riot, another riot plague plane crash war is upon us." The media control is an easy and smart route which is benefited by the government as a hegemony agent to provide information that eventually will influence the public's thinking.

When the media is strictly controlled, it deters the public from their rights of freedom as stated in the Malaysian Constitution. The media is prone to broadcast and promote the elite political and economic agenda while the society's autonomic interest, poverty, needing help and group outcast's rights to justification will be ceaseless. In reality, the mass media role has to be parallel with the theory of social responsibility that gives freedom to the press, for example, an individual's freedom of speech and both basic freedoms are seen as a moral right, which cannot be disrupted by the country (Abdul Latiff 1988).

With that, the main media will play an important role in controlling the public's mind, will not support any reports from alternative parties, and will always label them as a defector, destroyer of a country's future, traitor, a pompous etc. This sentiment further strengthens the status quo of the government for managing to gain support and trust from the public. It is undeniable that the role of schools and universities are used to further strengthen the hegemonies politics of the government among students and educators. The information about the governance system can be provided without a flaw in accordance with the ready-made system and executed all orders given by the government efficiently.

Therefore, the Malaysian media has suggested several motions to the government to reach transparency in media democracies; the gov*CEJISS* 4/2019

ernment should abolish all controlling laws. In addition, whichever political parties cannot monopolize the media and any interconnected commercial interest. As the media has become more corporative with stricter control by the parties who has political and economic interest, the media should not take sides with any individuals, political parties, groups and others to guarantee full freedom to the media.

The mass media are regarded as an instrument that can strengthen the loyalty of local societies and enhance the development of political parties. Realizing that the mass media be it the press i.e. newspapers and magazines and electronic media like television, radio, other visual aids that is able to give wider coverage right up to the countryside, it is definitely undeniable. The mass media is often an instrument used by certain parties to create racial tensions among our multi racial society. According to the research by Syed Arabi (1994), he stated that the mass media can influence strongly people's attitudes especially during election process.

Besides that, the print media has been manipulated by the political and economic elites to exclaim the solidarity of society, to smear or purposely discussing sensitive issues that risen the public's anger. As an example, Dr Mahathir has given warnings to a Chinese daily (*Nanyang Siang Pau*) because of the issues played out about *Sekolah Wawasan*. The said issue is regarded as a sensitive issue and probably will create tension among the multi racial society. Before that, in 1987 during the *Tall Grass Operation (Operasi Lalang)*, the government has acted against the daily *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, *The Star* and *Watan* for spreading racial issues. The government is of the opinion that these dailies have been spreading news, which might cause tension among people, and this information should not be reported to the public.

Magazines learned irresponsible group of people in creating racial tension, religious tension, education, economy, politics and much more has also exploited books and novels. This sort of interests can affect the harmony of society. The efforts of print media should not be look down because the words are able to change and construct the minds of the society. For television programs, they are prone towards presenting government issues to instill public's loyalty towards the government. Most television channels present government agendas like the national development, education, society social culture and inserting elements of government's "loyal services". These issues or agenda are controlled and complied nicely to ensure that the govern-

ment always receives support from the public. The message in the special presentation is clear in fostering and highlighting the Malays fights through UMNO and thus succeeding in governing Malaysia.

Various slogans and symbols are used to portray the Malaysian people's unity towards the government. The element of hegemony is dominant thus far. It seems that the electronic media will only side certain parties and those who supported the government or the governing party. As this while, the rights of freedom of the people and opposition parties are pushed aside and their struggle and fights not shown in the electronic media like television because everything is controlled and blocked prompting them to use alternative channels which is seen to be more effective and fast through the use of internet. Even the mass media be it the print media or electronic media is able to disintegrate the races in Malaysia if it is not taken seriously by the government because the Malaysian people is still not able to leave their ethnicity whether they realise it or not. That was what happened previously before *Pakatan Harapan* came into power.

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While many Western observers continue to argue that Islam is incompatible with democracy - Malaysia beg to differ. Malaysia is leading the charge for democratic politics in their immediate region, and perhaps the world. Democracy is determined by many different elements: culture, wealth, equalities, education, and some will say, religion. Religion as a determinant of democratic development has been extensively studied and many arguments have been presented supporting the claim that religion hinders democracy, while others are less convinced. Since Samuel P. Huntington published his book, *Clash of Civilisation*, there has been an increased focus on the relationship between Islam and democracy. Huntington argued that the world order in the 20th century has shifted into a clash between the West and the East, specifically between the West and Islam.

He argues that this clash is highlighted by Muslim resistance to democratic development and modernity, which he attributes to the nature of the religion of Islam. Although Huntington is supported by many in this claim, he failed in providing a concrete, practical explanation for the lack of democracy in Muslim countries. This essay will first analyse the arguments Huntington makes about Islam and democracy, second, it will discuss debates that oppose his claims, third, it will present empirical data to test his claims, and lastly, the essay will provide alternative explanations for the lack of democracy in the Muslim world.

In any discussion concerning democracy it is essential to define the term and set a standard for what constitutes a democratic system. Scholars have not been subtle about their debate over the requirements of democracy, but nevertheless they have found some common ground in the institution of elections. Citizen participation through elections is one of the most important indicators for a democratic system, but it is not enough because even authoritarian regimes may hold elections and feign democracy.

Therefore, for this discussion, two important questions must be answered about democracy: First, what constitutes a democratic system? And second, is the concept of democracy dichotomous or graded? In other words, are political systems either democratic or non-democratic, or are they either *more* democratic or *less* democratic? The idea of the coexistence of democracy and Islam has raised controversy among writers and theorists: on the one hand, many present significant empirical evidences to prove that in Muslim countries, democracy is either weak or non-existent and they use religion to explain this phenomenon. Others suggest that religion cannot be used to explain democratic development, and hence, they attribute the lack of democracy in Muslim countries not to Islam, but to other factors.

Both writers (Huntington and Fukuyama) believed that Islam is the reason Muslim countries are lacking modernity and democracy, and thus, it is important to test their claims by looking at authentic Islamic doctrine and whether it truly is incompatible with democracy, and second, by analysing empirical data to uncover Muslim attitudes towards democracy. o be drawn into an argument about any necessary incompatibility, or for that matter compatibility, between Islam and democracy is to accept precisely the false premise that there is one true, traditionally established 'Islamic' answer to the question, and that this timeless 'Islam' rules social and political practice. There is no such answer and no such 'Islami.'

Many writers, excluding Huntington and Fukuyama, understand that Islam cannot be referred to as one form. True, the ideal, authentic religion has its own political doctrine, but the Islam that is practiced by Muslims around the world may not necessarily adhere to this authenticity. We have found that Islam is compatible with democracy and Muslims attitudes are not only positive towards it, but by and large, Muslims prefer a democratic political system over other systems. And although Huntington and Fukuyama failed in their assumption that

Islam hinders democratic development, they correctly pointed out the lack of democracy in the Muslim world. If Islam is not the cause of this democratic deficiency, then what is?

What accounts for Muslim countries' rejection of democracy? And what factors play a significant role in shaping the political traditions of Muslim countries? Scholars have offered many potential explanations to these questions, three of which are negative feelings towards the West, economic development, and authoritarian leadership. Because most Muslim countries' historical experiences have been greatly impacted by the West, Muslims have developed negative feelings towards it. Western imperialism, war, exploitation, and political interference in the Middle East led to an entrenched feeling of distrust, fear, and insecurity. Because democracy is generally thought of as a product of the West, the countries of the Middle East have been reluctant to accept a Western democracy.

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One leading factor to the lack of democracy in the Muslim world is the presence of very powerful and hostile authoritarian regimes. In such cases, although the citizens yearn for democracy, the existing regime rejects democracy to protect its power and interests. Therefore, some will argue that the focus of democratic study should not be on cultural preconditions, but rather on key social and political actors. This is important for the Muslim world including Malaysia which is haunted by authoritarian regimes and dictatorships. "People in Islamic societies tend to have a propensity towards democracy but what makes it less possible for them to achieve democratic political governance is the nature of the over stated, overblown and over stretched state structure and the heavy-handed authoritarian regimes (in most cases) in power at present."

Conclusion

Even though the politics of Malays has gone through a long evolution process since then, the discussion on hegemony will not stop as it is. The sentiments of loyalty, devotion, faithful and others have formed a stronger bond in ensuring that the leadership of Malays is not challenge by any parties. The discussion on hegemony has shown that it is not suitable and relevant anymore to be practiced. However, the hegemony practiced has its own pro and contra towards society development and smoothen the administration of a country. The most important aspects chosen by the government will determine whether

the hegemony practiced is a burden or not. The Malay traditional government has placed an importance in the Malay traditional monarchy as it involves with the absorbance of Islam in the system itself. Now, on the contrary, the approach used by the Malaysian government has put an importance on the people's unity that may guarantee the well-being of the country. This seems to connect closely to the religion of Islam because Islam encourages the Muslims to be united not only between Muslims but also with non-Muslims. This exceptional hegemony approach in the Malay administration does not only look like Gramsci political hegemony theory, but also unique and special.

The rights of freedom that is always a polemic and politicised by certain parties in Malaysia are the rights of the press. The parties concerned have thrown various accuses that Malaysia does not practice the rights of press freedom. They accused that Malaysia does not adhere to the principal freedom, which are stated in the Declarations of Human Rights. They also publicized in intensity the freedom of the press ranking in Malaysia, which was given out by various international bodies to support the accusation that Malaysia is not press-friendly, and using it for their own safety. Ironically, the majority group of accusers is not of journalism background. They were also not professional in discussing the issues.

A different story, however, is playing out in the Malay part of archipelagic Southeast Asia. Having campaigned on the issue, Malaysia's new government has cancelled several projects it deemed threatening to state sovereignty, while the Indonesian opposition has vowed to review China's Belt and Road project if elected in the 2019 presidential elections. Malaysia is careful to maintain good relations with the West and India, as well as their trading partners in the Middle East. Much of the world may be having its doubts about democracy. Even in the Asia Pacific's veteran democracy Australia, a recent poll showed that a third of the population favoured an authoritarian or "strongman" type leader. But in the Muslim Malay world, it looks like democracy is here to stay. It is said that the Pakatan Harapan's good days are now gone. But what is even more important is that all those factors that helped Pakatan Harapan win 5.5 million votes no longer exist. In just one year all those 'contributing factors' are gone. Nothing of what Pakatan Harapan said will happen if they won the general election happened. And if the general election was held again today, the result is going to be entirely different from May last year.

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Is Malaysia
Begged to Differ
from the Global
'Vista' Democracy?

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Indonesia Military Power under the Increasing Threat of Conflict in the South China Sea

Muhammad Budiana, Muhammad Fedryansyah, Yusa Djuyandi, Ramadhan Pancasilawan

In the international maritime system, the South China Sea (SCS) region holds economic, political, and strategic values. However, it is also the source of longstanding disputes among the countries within the region. For Indonesia, potential conflicts in the SCS might arise not only from China's assertive territorial claims over the sea but also from fellow ASEAN countries. With the SCS waters contiguous to Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), protecting Indonesian national interests in the region become very crucial. However, it is not uncommon for Indonesian patrol vessels to face intimidation by other countries' vessels as they are protecting the national borders. In seeking to alleviate the conflict in the SCS, the Indonesian government mainly resorts to soft power and diplomacy. However, it is also viewed important for Indonesia to increase its hard power resources. In facing the growing threat of conflict in the SCS, Indonesian defense is deemed far from ready. Compared to China's military power, by considering total number of personnel and naval assets as indicators, Indonesia military power is far behind China. Indonesian patrol vessels often face military intervention from China's. It is believed that utilizing military power to its full potential would bring positive impact for Indonesia in handling the South China Sea conflicts.

Muhammad Budiana, Muhammad Fedryansyah, Yusa Djuyandi, Ramadhan Pancasilawan. Indonesia Military Power under the Increasing Threat of Conflict in the South China Sea. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 259–274.

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Introduction

CEJISS 4/2019

The South China Sea (SCS) is one of the most critical economic, political, strategic, and even military regions in the world. The waters are directly bordered by Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam. All of them have competing claims of territorial sovereignty in the region. Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam. All of the claimant countries of the SCS provide different historical and judicial supports for their claims. The SCS is also rich in geographical potentials and natural resources. More than half of the total fishing vessels of the world pass through the waters, which serve as the commercial gateway of international shipping lines, especially the cross-sea trade routes connecting Europe, America, and Asia trade routes. The rapid economic growth throughout Asia has also contributed to the significance of the region in the world's geopolitics. As the region is becoming increasingly appealing, the potential for conflict is also growing.

The potential conflict among the countries in the region was heightened when the Chinese government asserted territorial claims, followed by the increasing military activities surrounding the region. Regilme (2018) revealed that many countries around the SCS, particularly in Southeast Asia, denied China's claim over the SCS and demanded that China stop its military activities in the region. China's assertive territorial claims and increasing military activity in the SCS are driven by a growing threat posed by the US military presence in Southeast Asia, also bolstered by the rapid growth of its economy Regilme (2018). In addition to increased efforts to reclaim land in SCS, China also keeps building infrastructure on the disputed islands. The country is also known to deploy its military in the region, strictly complying with the non-binding SCS Code of Conduct (COC) rather than joining a binding COC.

The Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, are expected to play a significant role in seeking to promote a resolution in the disputed region. With some part of the SCS within Indonesia's EEZ, China's assertive claim over the most part the South China Sea is deemed detrimental to Indonesia (Sinaga & Robertua, 2018). The South China Sea has a strategic position and vital to Indonesian political and economic sovereignty. Being Indonesia's outermost islands, Natuna waters lie in

the country's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and is contiguous with some parts of the SCS claimed by China. Based on this maritime jurisdiction, Indonesian authorities seized some Chinese fishing trawlers trespassing its EEZ (Weatherbee, 2016). One incident led to another. In March 2016, China's Coast Guard rammed one of the country's fishing boats, prying it free from the Indonesian authorities' patrol vessel (Weatherbee, 2016). A similar incident took place in June 2016. The Indonesian naval corvette (KRI Imam Bonjol 383), when trying to drive out a fishing vessel trespassing the North Natuna ZEE, was intimidated by a China's patrol vessel (Gumilang, 2016).

The South China Sea region is bordered by many sovereign countries. A tension between Indonesia and China is only one case of border incident among many others. In February 2019, a Vietnamese government ship was also intimidated by an Indonesian naval vessel when it was about to capture a Vietnam's fishing vessel violating the sea boundary in Natuna (Tariden, 2019). China's territorial claim over the most part of the South China Sea has created friction and provocation, exacerbating the situation and heightening the tension among ASEAN countries within the region. In addressing the situation, it is crucial for the Indonesian government to wield soft power through diplomatic channels while also improving military power in order to prevent border incident with its neighboring countries. It is also important for Indonesian government to reflect on China's policy on the South China Sea which, according to Beukel (2010), since 2006 has maintained balance of soft power and hard power in exercising its power and influence in the region.

It is important for a country to wield both its soft and hard powers in managing potential border disputes since it is closely related to maintaining sovereignty. Even though diplomatic protest is the preferred course of action to avoid open conflict, with countries' patrol vessels continually violating and provoking, it brings up a question of vital importance, how effective is diplomacy in dealing with this problem? Do the intrusions by other countries' vessels stem from the inability of Indonesian patrol vessels to impose significant threat? In order to address the question, an analysis should be carried out on Indonesian defense strength in the midst of a growing threat of conflict in the South China Sea region.

To position this research within the general picture of current scholarly discussion on the issue, other related research papers are also Muhammad Budiana Muhammad Fedryansyah Yusa Djuyandi Ramadhan Pancasilawan

discussed in this paper. Based on some previous publications, it was revealed that diplomatic efforts are the preferred means undertaken by the Indonesian government in dealing with the SCS disputes, such as diplomatic channels. In addressing the conflict in the SCS, Indonesia is maintaining a non-hostile stance towards any neighboring country, including China. However, it is not unlikely that Indonesia may at any time take more aggressive measures(Aplianta, 2015; Connelly, 2016; Sinaga & Robertua, 2018) While Malaysia has taken the same course of action as Indonesia in dealing with the situation, that is by diplomatic bilateral negotiations, the Philippines has taken more confrontational approaches to China's actions in the South China Sea (Kreuzer, 21016). In other words, from a few studies, there have been no studies that analyze how the Indonesian defense forces in the Middle Threats South China Sea conflict.

Theoretical Framework

Defense

Every country has the right to protect itself and defend itself from any potential threat to its sovereignty. Without sovereignty, a country will have difficulty in determining its future. Maintaining national sovereignty could mean strengthening defense forces. According to Dönges & Hofmann (2018), defense is defined as "the act of shielding against an existential threat with military means." National defense is inextricably linked to the theory of deterrence, which suggests that a country's armed force should be at the ready to deter coercive actions from any adversaries. The idea of deterrence is intimately bound with military power in that a country devises a national defense strategy showcasing the military power in order to dissuade an adversary from taking an intrusive action (Buzan, 1987).

Similarly, Ate (2008) also stated that the main function of national defense is to protect national sovereignty and territorial integrity from external threats in the form of military aggression initiated by other countries. Based on the aforementioned idea of defense, it can be understood that superior military power contributes substantially to national defense. Therefore, superior military power by virtue of the number of personnel and the availability of modern weaponry would pose a significant threat to other countries. Conversely, a country without superior military power and strategy might find it difficult to deter any potential military threats from other countries.

Military warfare capability, as described by Tellis, Bially, Layne, & McPherson (2000), provides output in the form of national power. In order to realize it, the military must be able to utilize its national resources and turn them into special warfare capabilities. Military power, thus, depends on the state budget allocation to military expenditure, the total number of military personnel, military doctrine adhered to, effective training, military education, and organizational governance. In general, the framework that can be used to test military capability as a dimension of national power output can be assessed from the military capability to identify national resources received from the government (Strategic Resources); matters related to how the variables supporting these resources are then converted to effective capabilities (Conversion Capability); and finally, the ability of combat forces to understand the spectrum of war competencies that can reach to a greater or lesser degree (Combat Proficiency) (Tellis et al., 2000).

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In terms of strategic resources, military power is analyzed with respect to *Defense Budgets; Manpower; Military Infrastructure; Combat research, development, test, and evaluation (RDT&E) Institutions; Defense Industrial Base; Warfighting Inventory and Support.* In terms of *Conversion Capability*, factors concerning threats and strategy, Structure of *Civil-Military Relations, Foreign Military-to-Military Relations, Doctrine, Training, and Organization, Capacity for Innovation* become the indicators. Similarly, in terms of *Combat Proficiency*, there are a number of indicators that should be taken into account, such as military capabilities in irregular operations, such as ambush, hit-and-run, and snipping operations; coordinated infantry and artillery operations; coordinated deep attack; join warfare; adaptive warfare; Knowledge-based warfare; Multimission water control, limited sea control, and deep strike (Tellis et al., 2000).

Conflict

Etymologically, the word conflict is derived from Latin, *con* meaning together and *fligere* which means impact or collision. In general, conflict contains a series of contradictions and disagreements between individuals, from class conflict, opposition to international warfare (Setiadi & Kolip, 2011).

Fisher dan Kartikasari (2001) revealed that conflict can be defined as a social situation in which two or more groups have different goals or values. Furthermore, conflict is a type of interaction marked by a

clash or collision between conflicting interests, ideas, policies, programs, and personal or other fundamental issues (Plano, Riggs, & Robin, 1994). Clash of conflicted groups can be described as differences in opinion, rivalry, and disagreement between individuals, individual group, with individuals or groups of individuals, groups and the government (Surbakti, 2010).

There are many situations or conditions from which conflicts may arise, and there is no single explanation of why conflicts occur, as noted by Rahim (2001), the following common elements in conflict:

- I. Conflict includes opposing interest between individuals or groups in a zero-sum situation;
- 2. Such opposed interest must be recognized for conflict to exist;
- 3. Conflict involves beliefs, by each side, that the other will thwart (or has already thwart) its interest;
- 4. Conflict is a process; it develops out of an existing relationship between individuals or groups and reflects their past interactions and the context in which these took place; and.
- 5. Imply actions by one or both sides that do, in fact, produce thwarting of others goals.

Based on the explanation above, it is safe to say that conflict is a process that reflects an interaction between individuals and groups with different interests that thwart each other in achieving their respective goals. In the context of relationship between countries, conflict may arise at any time. Conflict may arise from various reasons, such as different opinions, hostile attitudes, and certain types of diplomatic or military actions, such as territorial expansion, security measures, control of valuable resources, market access, prestige, unification with neighboring ethnic groups, world revolution, and overthrowing of a hostile government.

Method

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method, the use of this method is based on the reason that researchers want to try to look deeper into the strength of the Indonesian military in dealing with potential threats in the South China Sea. This study analyzes data sourced from secondary data, such as comparisons of military forces whose data are obtained from Global Fire Power and from other studies that discuss Indonesian defense forces and potential threats in the South China Sea. While the primary data in this study were obtained

from observations of reports concerning the occurrence of collisions between Indonesian patrol vessels and patrol vessels of other countries, especially China, on the border of the South China Sea. Once the data is obtained, the next step is to validate the data using triangulation techniques. This step is carried out so that this research is able to provide a precise or accurate analysis.

Discussion

With the increasing potential for conflict in the South China Sea, Indonesia is encouraged to take a more active role in promoting a resolution in the disputed region. The South China Sea is the site of several complex territorial disputes, including territorial disputes and maritime boundary dispute, which remain unresolved. Indonesia is maintaining a cautious stance in dealing with the South China Sea disputes (Wiranto, 2016: 8).

However, Indonesia cannot afford to be unguarded in dealing with the problem in the South China Sea. National defense is intended to assert Indonesia's territorial sovereignty in the South China Sea border. Especially from external threats such as in that intersect with China's claim.

At this point China makes the largest claim in the South China Sea, frequently causing tension among other claimant states. The tension between China and Vietnam in the South China Sea was heightened in 1974 when a military incident involving hostile fire took place, arising out of Spartly Island and Paracel Island disputes. In addition, the forced eviction of non-Chinese fishing vessels entering the waters added to the tension (Lunn, 2016).

China's policies on the disputed region are deemed detrimental to other countries around. Even China's policy in the South China Sea region has caused the United States to get involved as an outside force. China's increasingly aggressive behavior in the South China Sea has driven the US to protect its "national interest" in the region. China's rapid economic growth has led the country to take aggressive measures to achieve its ambitions, including by strengthening its military power. The South China Sea is a vital defense base for China in maintaining regional/national political stability.

As stated by Dönges & Hofmann (2018), that a country's actions by military means to protect the country's existence against any threats. Thus, national defense is inextricably linked to the theory of deter-

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rence, meaning that a country's armed force should be at the ready to deter coercive actions from any adversaries. The idea of deterrence goes hand in hand with military power in that a state devises a military strategy to deter any adversaries intending to take aggressive actions (Buzan, 1987). Indonesian national defense is based on its military power by virtue of its total number of military personnel available and strength. In addition, Indonesian military power is also measured based on the total number of weapons available and weapon technology.

Indonesian military power can be examined by taking into account the dimensions of Strategic Resources and Combat Proficiency. According to the release issued by the Global Firepower, Indonesia military power in 2019 is ranked 16th of 137 countries with the index number of 0.2804. This is far behind when compared to China, which is ranked 3rd with the index number of 0,0673. Judging from the numbers, it is safe to say that Indonesian military power is far behind compared to other countries with potential conflicts in the South China Sea region. Following is the elaboration of Indonesia's defense forces compared to China, which is a major force in the potential for conflict in the South China Sea region, according to the aspects measured by Global Firepower.

a. Defense budget

In terms of a defense budget, we can see the comparison of Indonesian and China military powers. According to Global Firepower's report in 2019, Indonesian defense budget reached 6,9 billion US dollars. Meanwhile, China allocated 224 billion US dollars to its defense. This comparison suggests China's greater commitment compared to Indonesia's.

The budget allocated by the Indonesian government to its military spending is not sufficient. Based on GFP's data, Indonesia allocated 6,9 US\$ billion to its defense, which is equivalent to Rp 98 trillion at the exchange rate of Rp 14 thousand/US dollar. The budget size ranked Indonesia as the country with second-largest defense budget after Singapore, with the budget size of US\$ 9,7 billion (Rp 135 trillion).

The budget size does not reflect that Indonesia's military strength is no better than countries that have the potential for conflict in the South China Sea. Based on GFP's data, Indonesia's military power is ranked 15th of 157 countries and 1st among ASE-AN countries.

b. Manpower

Head-to-head comparison of Indonesia and China military powers is presented in the following table, using indicators issued by Global Firepower.

Table 1. Comparison of Indonesia and China Military Personnel Strength

,			
Indicators	Indonesia	China	
Total population	262,787,403	1,384,688,986	
Available manpower	130,868,127 (49,8%)	752,855,402 (54,4%)	
Fit-for-service	108,620,545 (41,3%)	621,105,706 (44,9%)	
Reaching military age	4,450,339 (1,7%)	19,614,518 (1,4%)	
annually			
Total military	estimated* 800,000	estimated* 2,693,000	
personnel	(0.3%)	(0.2%)	
Active personnel	400.000 (0,2%)	2,183,000 (0,2%)	
Reserve personnel	400.000 (0,2%)	510.000 (0,0%)	

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Adapted from Global Firepower (2019)

Based on the table, it can be seen the comparison between the strength of Indonesian military personnel with China's. In terms of a total number of military personnel, the estimated number issued by the Global Firepower suggest that Indonesian military personnel is 800,000. Meanwhile, the number of Chinese military personnel is 2,692,000. In other words, China's total number of military personnel is three times larger than Indonesia's.

However, the potential for Indonesian military personnel is higher compared to the number of China's population who have the opportunity to become military personnel. With a large number of the total population, China is ranked as one of the countries with the largest number of military personnel. Therefore, in the context of potential conflicts in the South China Sea region, China seems to have great strength so that there are efforts that claim and increase its military power in the South China Sea Region. This dominance was driven by the emergence of Chinese military insecurity from American military dominance in the Southeast Asian region, bolstered by the rise of China's economy Regilme (2018). In addition to increased efforts to reclaim land in SCS, China also keeps building infrastructure on disputed islands. The country is also known to deploy its military in the region.

3. Logistic

Regarding the completeness of military infrastructure, the data presented by Global Firepower describes several indicators. The data is the basis for comparing the military forces of Indonesia and China. The following table shows a comparison between the two countries.

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Table 2. Strength Comparison of Indonesian and Chinese Military Infrastructure

Indicators	Indonesia	China	
Labor force	126,100,000	806,700,000	
Merchant marine strength	8.782	4.287	
Major ports/hubs/terminals	14	16	
Roadway coverage	437,759 km	3,860,800 km	
Railway coverage	5.042 km	86.000 km	
Usable airport	673	507	

Adapted from Global Firepower (2019)

Though Indonesian military power is still behind China, Indonesia still has the best military force among ASEAN countries. Even the role of Indonesia in dealing with conflicts in the South China Sea region continues to be carried out by increasing its military power and diplomatic approach.

4. Naval strength

Considering the potential conflicts that occur in the South China Sea region are included in the category of maritime territory, the military power between Indonesia and China can be focused on the naval power owned by each country. The following details the comparative power of the Indonesian and Chinese navies based on data reported by Global Firepower.

Based on the table, it can be seen that the assets owned by the Indonesian navy are still far behind compared to China. The most striking comparison is in terms of the availability of submarines. Despite being the largest archipelagic country in the world, Indonesia owns only 5 submarines available. The number is very low compared to China's. China's naval strength is estimated to have 76 units of submarines available. This, of course, contributes to China's assertive territorial claims and land reclamation efforts in the SCS.

Table 3. Comparison of Indonesia and China Naval Strength

Naval Assets	Indonesia	China
Aircraft carriers	0	I
Frigates	8	52
Destroyers	0	33
Corvettes	24	42
Submarines	5	76
Patrol vessels	139	192
Mine warfare	II	33
Total assets	221	714

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Adapted from Global Firepower (2019)

Judging by the data, Indonesia's defense in the SCS is insufficient. This refers to the idea that national defense is in the sense of deterrence or being prepared to counteract the opponent's physical strength (read: China) insufficient. Military strength with indicators of personnel and assets of the Indonesian navy, still far below China. An idea proposed by (Buzan, 1987), which stated that the national defense strategy should be able to showcase military power to prevent aggressive actions by external adversaries, can be used to draw a conclusion about Indonesia's defense strategy against China's claims in the South China Sea region. With insufficient military power, it is impossible for Indonesia to pose any significant threat against China.

Indonesian government support for its military power is part of the country's grand strategy, envisioning the concept of Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) in the Medium-Term National Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015–2019. Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) is envisioned as "intensifying Indonesia's maritime diplomacy to promote the resolution of the country's border disputes with 10 neighboring countries, maintaining Indonesia's territorial integrity, maritime sovereignty, safety, and social welfare in its outer islands, and safeguarding the national resources and exclusive economic zones by: (a) implementing maritime and land border negotiations; (b) implementing the Global Maritime Fulcrum doctrine; (c) disseminating the information including the border agreement negotiations limit the transmission power of radio. "

Therefore, it can be seen that the policies chosen by the government are related to problems at the border, such as in the South China Sea

region, more directed at increasing soft power. The government clearly emphasizes on maritime diplomacy efforts in promoting the resolution of the country's border disputes 10 neighboring countries. No official policy aimed at strengthening military power (hard power) has been formulated.

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Besides being based on the 2015-2019 RPJMN, the National Defense Implementation Policy 2015-2019 can also be referred. This document is a national defense development policy that directs the formation of the National Defense Posture with active defensive principles in order to support the realization of Indonesia as the Global Maritime Fulcrum. To see the implementation of the policy, three aspects can be used, including the national defense strategy, military defense posture, and TNI doctrine (Sisriadi, 2016). In the aspect of national defense strategy, there is an emphasis on the consideration of threats, in other words substantively procedural compared to considerations of the geographical constellation, in the aspect of military defense posture, it accommodates more static aspects (strength, ability, and degree of strength) than geography. Lastly, the aspect of military doctrine which gives a clearer picture of the merging of the three units in a joint task force, the composition of which is adjusted to the characteristics of the threat and the type of operation to be carried out

Based on this explanation, Indonesia's military strength is among the best in the world. Even compared with other countries with interest in the South China Sea region, Indonesia is second only to China, which has a large number of military personnel. However, Indonesia military power is highly regarded in the international arena. Even in the Indonesian defense system, especially in dealing with the South China Sea conflict, Indonesia has prepared a whole military defense. The increasing defense budget allocation would give the Indonesian military more freedom to improve its defense equipment.

The stronger military diplomacy carried out by each country, the greater is the possibility for open conflict to manifest in the South China Sea region. With every country showcasing its military power, the world is filled with fear. As long as a military power is not limited, the potential for war is likely to increase. Therefore, based on the explanation above, the potential for conflict in the South China Sea region is highly likely. As expressed by Fisher dan Kartikasari (2001) that as long as there are differences in objectives between the two groups, conflicts will definitely occur. By seeing the potential in the South China

Sea, each country has an interest in being able to play a greater role in the region. So that when interests collide, conflicts will take place. As long as friction has not sparked the fires of conflict, Indonesia has strengthened its military strength to be able to play a deeper role in the South China Sea area. Fisher dan Kartikasari (2001) explained that conflict situations can occur due to disputes over territories, territorial boundaries, valuable resources, legitimacy of the authorities, political ideology, ethnic differences based on race or religion, or on other matters. The South China Sea Region is a situation of territories in which natural resources are located so that they become mutually tangent between countries that have an interest in it. But in the situation of the South China Sea, disputes that arise are not always military in nature, but the potential for using military methods is always open if substantial differences between parties are not resolved.

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The new strategic environment has pushed Indonesia to adopt various new policies in political and security matters. Indonesia can no longer see the South China Sea Area as not only a matter of bilateral cooperation. Changes in the constellation of conflicts in the South China Sea are encouraging countries in the region, including ASEAN members including Indonesia, to pay more attention to regional security issues. In particular, the increasing disputes in the South China Sea region involving ASEAN countries such as Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam. Disputes arising from the South China Sea conflict have led to bilateral conflicts and disputes between countries raising fears of a possible military conflict, in which several ASEAN member countries were involved.

The competing claims taking place in the South China Sea clearly affect the Southeast Asian regional security. In this context, ASEAN as the most important regional organization plays a central role to maintain the political stability in Southeast Asia. ASEAN's role in this matter can be realized through the implementation of negotiations to mediate the countries involved. One of these important roles has been played by Indonesia. Various attempts have been made to reduce conflict in regional disputes in the South China Sea. However, strong nationalist sentiment, especially among the countries involved, has impacted the diplomacy process due to the strengthening of national interests. The road to cooperation among the countries involved is difficult and many times met with a dead-end (Bateman, 2011). The form of diplomacy exercised in the South China Sea is a complex one,

interrelated and interdependent on one side, but also conflictual on the other. Therefore, diplomacy has a central role in the dynamics of international politics in the South China Sea region. Another form of diplomacy is the role of military power.

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In addition to what was explained about the military strength developed in diplomacy in the South China Sea Region. One form of the active role of the Indonesian government in alleviating the conflicts in the South China Sea is not always by showcasing its military power. However, the role of Indonesia at this time is to contribute ideas by optimizing the resources of all the parties involved. Among others, Indonesia initiated the formation of a joint patrol in the South China Sea (Wahyudi, 2016). With the joint patrol proposed by the Indonesian government, fellow ASEAN countries work together to achieve Conflict De-escalation In this case, the Indonesian government helps solve the South China Sea problem together, in the sense that the pattern of handling conflicts in the South China Sea region carried out by Indonesia was emphasizing the pattern of persuasive relations abroad.

Conclusion

The role of Indonesia in handling the South China Sea conflict is very important because, up to this point, the active role of the Indonesian government in alleviating in the South China Sea conflicts is not always by displaying military power. In doing so, the Indonesian government mainly resorts to soft power approaches, namely by providing ideas to optimize the diplomatic resources of all the parties involved. However, if the emphasis is on the defense sector, Indonesia's role can still be categorized as weak, because the military strength with indicators of the number of Indonesian naval personnel and assets is still far below that of China. The national defense strategy should ideally be able to showcase military power to deter aggressive or arbitrary actions of other parties (foreign countries), but for now Indonesia, with military power far behind China, certainly cannot pose significant threats to China's military strength.



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In Refer to Societal Security Dealing with the Radicalisation in West Java, Indonesia

RMT Nurhasan Affandi, Windy Dermawan, Gilang Nur Alam

This research aims to examine how to deal with radicalisation in West Java, Indonesia. To achieve this goal, researchers focused on the efforts of the national institutions in dealing with radicalisation, for instance through educational institutions such as universities and boarding schools; regional governments represented by regional apparatus organisations, for example the public education institution at the municipality level, the Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (National Counter Terrorism Agency) (BNPT) and national defense institution (the Indonesian Army); including individual actors. As the subjects of this research, therefore the sub-state and non-state actors were chosen to see their relevance and contribution to the study of International Relations after the Black September era. Additionally, it tends to search its contribution to global peace and security. West Java became a locus of this research because the historical records that reported as a place for the growing of a radical movement. Furthermore, in the contemporary socio-political development, West Java became an area with the dynamics of Islamist thought and movement that were considered related to the radicalisation. This research uses a qualitative approach with descriptive analysis methods utilizing interview data collection techniques, field observations and utilization of online information both historical and contemporary. In order to build conceptual frame-

RMT Nurhasan Affandi, Windy Dermawan, Gilang Nur Alam. In Refer to Societal Security Dealing with the Radicalisation in West Java, Indonesia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 275–300.

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work the research concerned on societal security and radicalisation. This research found that efforts in dealing with radicalisation are still state centric, with the limited involvement and contribution of substate and non-state actors. This limitation has triggered society and made them concerned about the possibility of extremism and / or fanaticism with violence, which can lead to intolerance so that it became a threat to societal security and even national security.

Keywords: societal security, radicalisation, non-state actors, sub-state actors.

In a global context, one of the events that shocked the world took place on September II, 200I (9/II). It was considered as a radicalisation related to the Al-Qaeda terrorism movement that attacked the vital objects of the United States, which was a response to the involvement and support of the United States for Israel in the Gulf War and a number of other regions in the Middle East (History.com). After the Cold War, the United States popularised Western cultures, such as democracy, free market, human rights, freedom of individualism throughout the world (Huntington, 1996). This action leads to the clash of cultures between the West and Non-West, especially with Islamic values.

Since 9/II, the United States has carried out campaigns to combat terrorism throughout the world and marked the beginning of a new round of Western relations with Islamists (Ramos, 2013). This event seemed to have lifted back Western relations with Islamists in the event of the success of the 1979 Islam(ist) Revolution Iran as evidence of resistance to Western global domination. Furthermore, the Western countries also perceive the Islamist fundamentalism movement as a new form of political power which poses a serious threat to them (Amuzegar, 1995). Some argue that the Iran Islam(ist) Revolution is at the root of Islamist radicalism movements throughout the world (Anderson, 2008). The threat to the West has shifted from a state (Soviet Union) to non-state actors (radicalisation movements), especially global terrorist groups.

In the regional level, Gunaratna (2019) identified political-religious extremism in the Asia Pacific region. During the 1990s, Soviet-Afghan war veterans returned to their home countries to join existing radical groups or form new groups and carry out radicalisation. One of them is Al-Qaeda that claims to spread the doctrine of Jihadism to

Southeast Asian countries (Baylis, 2008). The expansion of terrorist networks in Southeast Asia has indirectly raised Islamist radicalisation movements in several Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. In Indonesia, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and Laskar Jihad have emerged. In the Philippines and Thailand, Islamist radicalisation is manifested through the movement of ethnic minority Muslim Moro separatists and Pattani Ethnics in Southern Thailand and in Malaysia is demonstrated by the existence of the Malaysian Mujaheedin Collection (KKM). Some of the Islamist radicalism movements are alleged to have links with Jemaah Islamiyah in Southeast Asia which intends to form an Islamic state, in the national, regional and global level (Fealy, 2004).

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Radicalisation has become a concern in countries with a Muslim majority such as in Africa. In North Africa (Morocco, Tunisia and Libya), Islamist political movements are present referring to domestic factors. For example, marginalization and economic deprivation by the central government, the influence of urban currents, and social conservatism such as maintaining traditional Islamic values from the flow (invasion) of foreign cultures and westernization. Meanwhile the Islamic view is a core component that shapes the identity of people in Africa (Pargeter, 2009). Historical antagonisms that affect the collective memory of African societies have also been a driving force for radicalisation in Africa, including the historical aspects of the struggle of African peoples' independence from European colonial powers (Githens-mazer & Githens-mazer, 2009; Pargeter, 2009). Radicalisation in Africa has threatened national peace and security so that it has implications for national, regional and international security policies (Aning & Abdallah, 2013) as well as regional and international regimes (Ismail, 2013). For countries in Africa, as in Morocco, the country encourages the formation of governance as an effort to improve state and human security (Alaoui, 2017). Thus, the cooperation between government and African Muslims is need to deal with radicalisation (Solomon, 2014).

The issue of radicalisation is also a growing concern in the European region. Radicalisation can be done by non-state actors to achieve hegemony in a nation-state (Bashirov & Lancaster, 2018). Radicalisation per se has even evolved to be individual radicalisation (lone wolf radicalisation), in which the prevention requires monitoring of the community and the Internet to detect and manage threats (Dechesne & Meines, 2012). Berger (2016) found that radicalisation has some im-

plications for Western European governments in shaping security policies and creating social cohesion. However, Vidino & Brandon (2012) suggest that the characteristics, philosophies, goals and challenges of counter-radicalisation strategies in various European countries need to consider the unique political, cultural and legal elements in each society. In fact, the policies tend to narrow the tolerance limitation as an effort to prevent radicalisation that shows the development towards perfect liberalism in post 9/11 Western societies (Kühle & Lindekilde, 2012).

The problem of radicalisation in Southeast Asia is influenced by ethnicity; idealism to build a new country and group fanaticism. This radicalisation has the ability to shift separatism to radical Islamist ideologies in the Islamist political struggle against the state (Sugunnasil, 2006; Yusoff, 2010). The ethnicity factor arises due to the neglect of local community concerns, the repressive attitude of the military and the rise of militant Islamist forces. Apart from these factors, Islamist radicalisation in Southeast Asia is inseparable from the international dimension, such as the separatist movements in the Southern Philippines or Southern Thailand, as well as in Aceh. Indonesia is involved with radical Islamist networks in other parts of the Muslim world. They develop because of access to weapons and popular support and networks with Muslims in the Middle East Tengah (Chalk, 2010; Gunn, 1986; S. Jones, 2018; Rabasa, 2003). The previously-mentioned networks are Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) with affiliation to Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) that encourages the youth in Southeast Asia to join violent groups (Ramakrishna, 2017). In the context of Southeast Asia, such as in Indonesia, Hwang (2018) shows why and how individuals support and join extreme Islamist groups, how the circle of study, conflict, school and friendship becomes the path for radicalisation that supports terrorist groups.

There are several studies of Islamist radicalisation in Indonesia, including studies of the development of radical Islamist networks in Indonesia, the historical roots, and the ideological foundations and factors causing their development (Fealy & Borgu, 2005; Hadiz, 2008; Jamhari, 2003; S. Jones, 2016; Naupal, 2019; Ward, 2008). There are also studies of patterns, pathways, religious considerations and psychological processes that encourage militant individuals to stop participating in acts of violence (Hwang, 2018). The development of radicalisation in Indonesia is also reviewed by Mietzner & Muhtadi (2018) and marks

the growth of conservative Muslims who are more educated, prosperous, organised in groups that are in line with their neglect by the government. In the context of Indonesia's ideology, when faced with the growth of radical Muslims, N. Jones (2005) shows that Pancasila is the basis of plurality growth in Indonesia. It is necessary for Indonesia to develop a strategy of pluralism and its policies, so that the government considers Pancasila with religious pluralism in the security context.

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Security, in this context, is not focused on fulfilling the form of state security, which confirms that terrorism is a threat to the existence of the state, but rather looks at the form of human security, particularly societal security which becomes a global concern regarding the existence and survival of human life. The community's fears towards the development of radicalisation that lead to exclusivism, intolerance and verbal and physical violence and even lead to terrorism is not impossible to be a threat to societal security in West Java.

Based on the previous research studies above, it is shown that radicalisation is an interesting phenomenon to be discussed, especially when the study of radicalisation in Indonesia is placed on the realm of the dynamics of development at regional and global levels. Research on the development of radicalisation in certain parts of Indonesia is still limited. The research studies above still place the phenomenon of radicalisation within Indonesia's broad scope. Those studies are also related to security studies, particularly societal security in Indonesia and in the context of International Relations, and can be a reflection for the development of limited Islamic International Relations from previous research studies. Therefore, this research is conducted to fill the limitations of previous research studies regarding efforts to deal with radicalisation that were confronted with societal security in West Java, Indonesia. In addition, this research is conducted using the field survey method and interviews with a number of participants across West Java Province which complemented the method for the research that had been conducted. This research seeks to answer thoughts and considerations on the conducive involvement of sub-state and nonstate actors in the face of radicalisation in West Java, Indonesia.

Research Methods

The focus of this research is on one of the major provinces in Indonesia, West Java. The reason for choosing this research location is that West Java Province has an important position in Indonesia, namely as

a buffer province of the national capital, so that the social and political dynamics that develop in this province have an impact on national policy. In the history of the development of radicalisation in Indonesia, West Java became one of the regions to form a radical movement in Indonesia after independence. Some districts or cities in this region became the centre of massive Islamic growth. The 'qualitative research' is chosen as an approach, assisted by historical as well as descriptive analytic research methods, to review the history of the development of radicalisation in Indonesia from independence until now. Research object is picked and told to be further descriptively analytically analyse d according to the conception of societal security and radicalisation . In addition, field observations are also carried out, both in the review of the context of the phenomenon studied and in the confirmation process (triangulation) in this research.

Data collection is carried out through interviews with a number of participants, including policy makers in the Government of West Java as representatives of sub-state actors. The educational institutions represented by public and private universities, religious- and general-based universities, pesantren across the West Java, including Cianjur and Sukabumi in the west; Bandung, Cimahi and Sumedang in the central; Garut, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, Banjar, Pangandaran and Kuningan in the east; Bekasi, Depok and Bogor as the buffer zone areas of the capital; and Majalengka, Cirebon, Indramayu, Subang and Karawang in the north. Those nineteen regions in West Java became a source of interviewers and participants in field research. In addition, interviews are conducted with groups in the community. Researchers also conduct interviews with the leaders of institutions that tackle terrorism (the National Counterterrorism Agency for West Java) and the security forces (TNI and Police) as state actors who are leading sectors for security in Indonesia.

Researcher conducts data analysis on an ongoing basis during the course of the research until the end of the data collection process. This data analysis process takes place from the beginning of the research to drawing conclusions from the results of the research. While the data recording and writing is done by utilizing the forms of research instruments, including: the researcher per se, field notes, tape recorders, and photographers. To maintain data validity, the researcher uses data checking techniques from various data sources in various ways and at various times. Researcher cross-checks data obtained from interviews with participants, data from field research and documentation studies.

Theoretical Frameworks

The literature on radicalisation has been extensively studied in the in doing research. Researcher reviews the literature on radicalisation and societal security compiled according to the conceptual framework of the research.

There is no universal definition of radicalisation, both in the level of the academic community and practitioners. In fact, the concept of radicalisation is still debatable and has not found consensus on the causes, nature and limitations of radicalisation in academic literature (Mandel R, 2009; Sedgwick, 2010). The word radical comes from the Latin meaning root and radix, as an expression for 'going to the roots' (Mandel R, 2009). At the most basic level, the meaning of the word radical is to represent or support an extreme part of an action (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). Radicalisation is a process in which someone becomes an extremist (Mandel R, 2009). Radicalism is also interpreted as an understanding or flow aimed at social or political change or renewal through violent means (Christmann, 2012). Some academics consider that radicalisation involves various factors and complex dynamics, being extremist is a process, so studying radicalisation is an attempt to discover the nature of the process. Radicalisation is the process of growing individuals or groups with a tendency to reject dialogue and compromise with different parties (Schmid, 2013). Those who embrace radicalism are those who want to bring their political thoughts or ideas and reinforce doctrines by means of violence. They can come from a variety of ethnic, national, political and religious groups (Living Safe Together, 2015).

From the various definitions above, radicalisation can mean two things, radicalisation of thought and radicalisation of action. This is in line with the opinion of Neumann (2013) who sees that radicalisation has two meanings, namely emphasizing extremist thinking (cognitive radicalisation) and extremist actions (behavioural radicalisation). At the level of thought, radicalisation is a form of internalization of a set of beliefs starting from recruitment that transforms itself into a weapon of jihad or the process of adopting an extremist belief system that is a precondition for a willingness to use, support or facilitate violence. However, there is no connection between extremist political beliefs and political action (violence) and the two phenomena can be examined separately. Being radically cognitive does not require a person to be a terrorist. Borum (2011) states that many terrorists do not

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deeply believe in doctrines that have extremist nuances and may not radicalise in the context of any traditional sense. They are interested in certain activities or groups for other reasons. Ideology and actions are sometimes related, but not always—it is needed to understand the difference between the two terms. There are a number of determinants for Islamic ideology which have problems with security. For example, anti-democracy, blaming the West for all issues concerning Islam, and understanding and or helping acts of terrorism (Jordan & Boix, 2004).

In another context, radicalisation has a broad meaning that Emphasise's large changes in society that may or may not bring threats to democracy whether or not there is use of violence/threats in achieving its goals (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). Radicalisation can be violent or non-violent. Violent radicalisation means an action taken to achieve political or other goals using violence. The result of this violent radicalisation is in the form of terrorism, when someone is very optimistic in using violence to achieve various goals. Every terrorist is radical, but not every radical is a terrorist. This means that radicalisation can develop in various directions, including forms of non-violent radicalisation. For example, radicalisation allows a person to be motivated to commit to intense *dakwah* or missionary practice or to strong religious service. This non-violent radicalisation is linked to the desire to actively support broad changes in society in various ways but without violence (exclusively).

Radicalisation cannot also be released in the context and normative issues. The word "radical" does not stand alone. Its substance varies depending on how the mainstream in society sees it and within a certain period. Different political, cultural and historical contexts, in certain respects produce different ideas from 'radicalism'. As in North Korea, the principle of freedom of speech is called radical; this is different from Western countries that uphold this principle. In the 1980s, the idea of same marriage was seen as radical, but now those who oppose it are seen as fundamentalist and radical. In fact, 'radical' is attached to Martin Luther King Jr. as a civil rights leader who was threatened by the government in his struggle (McCarthy & McMillian, 2003). 'Radical' for groups of people are fighters for the freedom of others, so the term is often used to serve political agendas rather than describing social phenomena, which can be learned impartially and objective. In the sense that labelling a person or group of people as radical will lead to the question "radical in relation to what?" This is also the meaning of radicalisation, which depends on what is considered mainstream or acceptable, adoption of certain beliefs or behaviours can be seen as radicalisation, being progressive, or returning to roots. Thus, radicalisation ultimately depends on the context and its meaning will always invite debate. Likewise with the term extremism, it has a variety of meanings, one of which is political ideas that are diametrically opposed to the main values of society, which in the context of liberal democracy for example, can take the form of racial or religious supremacy, or an ideology that negates basic human rights or democratic principles, or a method used by principals to achieve their political goals by denying life, liberty and human rights (Scruton, 2007).

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Researchers also tried to map radicalisation at three levels of awareness, that is, radicalisation at the level of thought that is referred to as vision, mission, and goals. Then, radicalisation at the policy level refers to programs, policies and strategies. Finally, radicalisation at the level of action refers to various actions or actions with a tendency to violence or even terrorism. Then the researchers chose one of the three levels as a priority, namely radicalisation at the level of thought. As a limitation, the term radicalisation in this research refers to a process of developing extremist ideologies and beliefs that is likely to lead to verbal violence and threaten collective identity, but does not necessarily mean being involved in acts of terrorism or acts of violence.

The next concept that is relevant in this research is about the concept of security. After the Cold War, there was an expansion and deepening of the concept of security caused by the development of forms of threats to security, so that the discussion of security threats was no longer related only to the military or the state as its referent object. The complexity of this security threat can be seen from the increasing number of things that must be secured by the state, such as theoretical, population, cultural, and economic prosperity from fatal disruptions or damage (Salmon & Imber, 2008). The same thing was stated by Buzan, Woever & Wilde (1998) which categorised threats into five sectors, including military threats that could threaten all components of the country, political threats that attack the state non-military to state sovereignty, economic threats that attack the economy of a country, societal threats that threaten the state's identity or the existence of the identity of community groups (nation, religion, language and culture), and environmental threats that have a very broad referent object and concern the existence of every living creature on earth. These

five sectors have the potential to pose threats to national security and to individual security such as threats to the economic, social, and environmental sectors.

CEJISS 4/2019 In the context of this research, the potential threats that emerge that are against the societal sector because the thought of radicalisation with violent extremism cannot be denied as a threat to Indonesia's national security through a new identity that enters the sphere of local communities. This societal sector is related to collective identity, so threats to this sector are associated with the identity of a group of people who are recognised together, such as language, culture, religion, and national identity that can come from within and outside the country (Buzan, 1991).

The societal aspect also cannot be separated from the context of maintaining state sovereignty. This is in line with the opinion of Wæver, Buzan, Kelstrup & Lemaitre (1993) that there is a meeting between state security that Emphasise s threats to its sovereignty and societal security which Emphasise s community identity. The problem of language, religion, and culture is part of the idea of state that must be maintained and protected from the entry of foreign values that can threaten identity (Buzan, 1991). This threat to identity can be caused by a mixture of foreign cultures which erodes the values of the local culture. With the intention that the threat can be driven by the existence of institutions that preserve language and culture, such as museums, schools, and newspapers, to pass down the identity of the community to the next generation (Roe, 2005).

Furthermore, Buzan et al., (1998) have explained issues that posed a threat to societal security, including migration that caused contamination and shifting population composition at the destination country, horizontal or vertical competition with the emergence of linguistic and cultural rejection, even the emergence of integration that is driven by a new, stronger identity that replaces the old identity. In the context of maintaining societal security, this research is not directed to build so that the state tightens borders to control the flow of immigrants as revealed by Buzan et al., (1998), nor does it seek to dominate the ruling government as a consequence of preventing identity of the majority, or form a self-government such as the Zionists in Israel, or also live separate from the majority like the Jews in Europe. This research explores how communities with various elements in it are able to have the power to prevent the spread of radicalisation that is not impossible

to damage the collective identity of the people of West Java by bringing different languages, customs, religious teachings, and cultures.

Analysis

The Development of Radicalism in West Java
Java is one of the provinces with high dynamics of Islamic development. In the demographic aspect, the Muslim population of West Java reaches 97%. In the socio-political aspect, also Islamic organisations developed massively in West Java, including the transnational Islamic movement, which competed in spreading its influence with Islamic organisations in the mainstream, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and some of the transnational Islamist organisations such as Hizb ut-Tahrir, Tablighi Jamaat, and Salafiyah Movement. There is also the Islamic Defenders Front Militia (FPI) as a local radical Islamist movement which helped to enliven the dynamics of Islamic development in West Java by promoting social morals in post-Decentralisation developments in Indonesia in 1999 (Facal, 2019).

In the context of formal politics, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which is a manifestation of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Indonesia, has a strong mass base in West Java. Then West Java became a mass base of Islamists, referring to the consolidation of conservative Islamic politics which was manifested in the 212 Alumni Association, Islamic Community Forum (FUI), and the National Fatwa Guard Movement (GNPF). Some of these organisations have also become a driving force to fulfil the Prabowo-Sandiaga voting bag in the struggle to win the Presidential Election to achieve a superior voice in the 2019 Presidential election in West Java. This is also supported by Islamic political parties, mass organisations, and new preaching movements in West Java.

In the historical aspect, the political dynamics in West Java were coloured by local radical Islamist movements. West Java became the basis of the Darul Islam / Indonesian Islamic Army (DI / TII) movement led by SM Kartosuwiryo (Van Bruinessen, 2013). This movement had bases in Garut, Tasikmalaya, Cianjur and Ciamis and spread to South Sulawesi and Aceh under the lead of Kahar Muzakar and Daud Beureuh which began in the 1940s to 1960s (Lim, 2005; Umam, 2006). The aim of the movement was to implement Islamic *Sharia* apart from the Indonesian Government (Van Bruinessen, 2002). One area in West Java Province, which has influence in the development of Islamic conser-

RMT Nurhasan Affandi Windy Dermawan Gilang Nur Alam to the large number of Islamic boarding schools and Islamic organisations that grow in this area. One of them is Miftahul Huda Manonjaya Islamic Boarding School. KH Choer Affandi, one of the DI figures of his time, found the pesantren. His pesantren network has spread beyond Tasikmalaya (Takwin et al., 2016).

vatism, is Tasikmalaya. Tasikmalaya is famous for its "Santri City" due

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> In addition, there is also the Masyumi Party which has a populist Islamist mass base in Indonesia. Even in this party, Kartosuwiryo was once a member of the executive board and commissioner for the West lava region (Effendi, 2017). In the 1955 election, 23% of the Masyumi Party vote was cast in West Java, which contributed greatly to the party's victory. The two organisations above (DI and Masyumi) have different ways of struggle; Masyumi moves constitutionally in the formal channels, whereas DI prefers using arms against legitimate government and establishes an Islamic State of Indonesia based in West Java. After the Masyumi Party was banned by the government, among them established the Indonesian Islamic Dakwah Council (DDII) to fight for Islamic ideology in Indonesia. DDII became the first Islamist organisation to send students to the Middle East based on scholarships from Saudi Arabia to study in the country.

> The dynamic development of Islam in West Java does not rule out the possibility of leading to the development of radicalisation. The climate is conducive to the development of Islam in West Java as a means for the radical Islamist movement. Both are based on radicalism and violence extremism even that is referred to as terrorism and to expand the network through recruitment and outreach. This is in line with research results from the International Republican Institute (IRI) in 2017, which concluded that, West Java is vulnerable to extremism with violence. In addition, the Setara Institute (in Hasani and Naipospos, 2010) also shows that there are at least four agendas of the radical Islamist movement in West Java, including the establishment of Islamic Sharia, eradication of moral decadence, heresy, and anti-apostasy movements. To achieve this goal, some radical Islamist movements have resorted to physical or violent channels that have caused social unrest. This certainly raises concerns, because acts of radicalisation that lead to acts of violence, it is not impossible to trigger the acts of terrorism.

> In other developments, the results of research in 33 provinces in Indonesia concerning radicalism show that West Java is second in the index of vulnerability (46.6) to radicalisation (Khozin, 2013). Correspond

ingly, Lazuardi Birru concluded that West Java became the province with the highest level of radicalism after Nangroe Aceh Darusalam. According to him, the vulnerability of radicalism in West Java is influenced by several factors, including understanding jihad, alienation and deprivation, acts of intolerance, threatened positions, feeling insecure, the agenda of Islamism, and radical membership (detiknews, 2011). Intolerance and radicalism in West Java are shown by the issue of moral decadence that underlies sweeping actions against objects deemed as nests of disobedience, racism sentiment issues that are narrated in ethnic Chinese economic inequality vs. indigenous communities, issues of Muslim and non-Muslim minorities affected by physical violence or non-physical, raising support for the implementation of Islamic Sharia through regional regulations. The emergence of local radical movements in West Java is associated with the genealogy of the movement towards the existence of the Islamic Syarikat, Masyumi, and Darul Islam in the past. Whereas in the current context of Indonesian democracy, the application of Islamic law is no longer through armed channels, but constitutionally, namely regional regulations (Takwin, et al., 2016).

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These forms, if left unchecked, might lead to radicalisation and violent extremism in achieving its goals. Furthermore, the results of the Wahid Foundation survey on the tendency and behaviour of intolerance found that West Java was the highest province that had cases of radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia (Izan, 2016). Especially if we observe that demographically, the majority of people in West Java are Muslim with varying degrees of diversity, ranging from traditionalist to modernist Islam, from moderate to radical who tend not only to radicalise other identities of different religions, but also towards fellow Muslim different thoughts, ideas, and groups.

Societal Perspectives dealing with Radicalisation: Sub-state Actors Sub-state actors can be viewed as part of the state when representing national interests and structural patterns that are not separate in the context of central and regional relations in the development aspect. Sub-state actors can also be viewed as independent units that are autonomously capable of making decisions, policies, and territories representation in relation to other actors domestically and internationally. The involvement of sub-state actors in dealing with radicalisation is interesting to study because it is out of state-centric which is expected

to consider preventive options, the use of moderate efforts through dialogue and soft non-military approaches. However, sub-state actors with elements of legitimacy, legality and power capacity within their scope are possible to face the growing radicalisation in society. Licensing of domicile, conducting economic activities, conducting certain activity and visiting to the area within the scope of the territory authority becomes the authority for sub-state actors to conduct observation and supervision in the framework of preventive action.

Some vulnerability aspects that develop in the community may trigger the growth and development of radicalisation. From the existing vulnerabilities, it is easy to exploit towards radicalisation. These aspects include poverty, unemployment, income inequality, injustice in obtaining economic and political rights, policies based on minority discrimination such as ethnic and religious, coercive approaches in dealing with problems trigger the emergence of radicalisation in the community. Within the scope of public service authority in the regions, surely the function of the substate actors becomes relevant. Sub-state actors can also face radicalisation with their knowledge of the diversity of migrants who can increase the vulnerability, both domestic and foreign nationals. The diversity of migrants is a hallmark of plurality that cannot be avoided in society, but the regulatory mechanism is needed so that the role of the community can be involved in maintaining plurality while staying on the symptoms of tendency to pose vulnerability. In Indonesian society, sistem keamanan lingkungan (siskamling) (neighbourhood security system) is known, which is a non-governmental effort to maintain neighbourhood security and order, even opening socialisation and inter-citizen communication to strengthen relationship. The community needs to be fully aware that neighbourhood security is a shared responsibility, not leaving it to security officers. So that all suspicious activities in the community can be monitored optimally. This is possible to prevent radicalisation and terrorism. Besides that, one of the efforts that can be done to strengthen the resilience of the region is the need for social communication by security actors or institutions (Djuyandi, 2017).

The diversity of immigrants can be interpreted in terms of collective identity. The more diverse elements of its societal collective identity, the more vulnerable it is to be exploited by radicals. Collective identity that triggers vulnerability to radicalisation can be based on religion, ethnicity and race. There is also a form of vulnerability that can be

indicated but it is uncertain what kind of vulnerability is. This fact refers to the perception of cultural threats by the community such as forms of music, fashion, and film that can weaken collective identity according to the perception of other community groups. In this context, radicalisation not only refers to a religious basis, but also based on culture when foreign culture is seen as part of self-characteristics that are manifested in various forms of life so waiving or even eliminate the nation's collective identity. Sub-state actors at the local government level to the sub-district and urban village (kelurahan) can play an optimal role in preventing the emergence of vulnerability caused by diversity in the community. Increasing Pancasila values as a state philosophy such as tolerance, equality before the law, opportunities to access employment and political positions, anti-discrimination, freedom of worship need to be strengthened in society through a variety of activities, both socialisation and other forms of activities that lead to increase the values above.

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The radicalisation based on politicisation of religion can be felt when selecting the president and vice president of the Republic of Indonesia. This issue can divide the community into at least two parts, which support the presidential, and vice presidential candidate's number I and number 2. It is easily utilised by efforts to lead to radicalisation and fanaticism of groups which can divide unity. The doctrines of each supporter of the two groups were able to radicalise at the community level. Supporters of number I form the discourse that the candidate is a religious choice and descendants of famous religious leaders, or by the term nyantri (student at traditional Muslim school). Meanwhile, supporters of number 2 developed discourse as candidates who are concerned about the welfare of the people and determined based on the agreement of the ulamas (Muslim leaders) in Indonesia. The developing discourses were used as doctrines utilised by radicalism activists to radicalise society. This indicates that identity politics based on religion still plays a role in Indonesia in achieving its objectives.

Reflecting on the above explanation, efforts to deal with radicalisation are still limited to carried out by sub-state actors. The vulnerability that comes from diversity shows that the knowledge has not been spread to the population so that exposure to radicalisation still touches the realm of grassroots and is still limited to involving residents to deal with radicalisation. Limitations in identifying potential vulnerability in society will also lead to limitations in community participation in

dealing with radicalisation. Likewise, the discourse that developed at the elite level is still limited to state politics, the case of money politics, the distribution of power, and the development of its doctrine is still within the scope of state leadership. This shows that the thoughts and or considerations of the political elite are still dominant around a limited country regarding community welfare, overcoming unemployment, increasing access to the same economic and political channels, education and affordable health. Therefore, it needs to be balanced by efforts to deal with radicalisation that is not state centric.

Sub-state actors represented by the regional government, province, city, district, sub-district, urban village, up to hamlet and neighbourhood need to be involved in dealing with radicalisation. The reach of the bureaucracy that reaches grassroots can be used for community empowerment in preventing potentials that lead to acts of intolerance, violence and racism. For example, how communal activities can be developed and maintained in a community, such as inclusive religious activities, social activities as a form of concern for other affected communities, joint neighbourhood security system (siskamling), traditional arts activities, and preservation local cultural values need to get a portion to be appreciated in the community. This is also part of the local cultural heritage that enriches national culture, as well as a form of local wisdom. In this case sub-state actors can provide support for the implementation of various activities. Activities of Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembanguanan (musrenbang) (development planning discussion activities) involving various community leaders, government elements and the security and order apparatus can be an alternative in building communication and coordination facilities in the region as an effort to deal with potential vulnerabilities and trends in radicalisation that occur in the community, so that they are not only as an activity administrative routine that has the substantial meaning contained in these activities.

Societal Perspectives dealing with Radicalisation: Non-state actors Efforts to deal with radicalisation are not limited to state and substate actors, but also need to involve non-state actors. In the context of this research, the intended state actor is a social organisation, which includes religious groups, youth and nonprofits-oriented social organisations. This group is seen as a civil society; a community that is not only as a form of community independence faced with the state,

but also as an instrument in realizing certain values in society such as justice, equality, freedom and pluralism. In addition to the groups, individual actors can play a role in dealing with radicalisation, such as religious leaders, community leaders, traditional leaders, academics (universities) and youth leaders. They can move simultaneously in encouraging inclusive values, tolerance and plurality in the midst of society, in addition to the above autonomous groups or organisations.

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Religious mass organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah and other organisations in Indonesia have a strategic position in conducting surveillance, preventive efforts and prevention of the development of radical ideologies or violent ideas from groups affiliated with terrorism or ISIS. The advantage of these mass organisations is that they have a real and clear membership base so that their active involvement, both at the level of policy formulation through their participation in the formulation of laws or regulations on the prevention of radicalisation as well as in the aspects of advocacy and outreach, is relevant to be carried out. These organisations as part of civil society can actively include priority agendas regarding prevention to counteract thought or actions. Efforts to deal with radicalisation must be a program or platform that is intensively carried out both in internal discussion forums and actions that can be taken to help government programs.

Religious leaders or other community leaders who have moderate insight also have a strategic position in containing radicalism in society. The existence of these figures can be a partner for the government or security forces in taking radicalisation prevention measures. The role of religious or community leaders and mass organisations can be synergized to become a layered force as a stronghold in facing radicalisation through various types of preventive activities and other non-violent actions such as campaigns, discussions, seminars, interfaith dialogs aimed at providing awareness to society that radicalisation and acts of violence have the potential to threaten unity, values of tolerance, plurality and societal security in society. As an example, the discourse that developed in the community that the concept of jihad is seen as an effort to fight the infidels who are interpreted as non-Muslims. While Islam teaches the concept of jihad in a persuasive, constructive, and bringing benefit to humans. There are other religious terminologies that are interpreted politically to be used by certain parties.

Education is one of the keys in facing radicalisation. Educational institutions can build critical thinking, especially towards the younger generation in responding to developing information, especially when radicalism infiltrates through the cyber world. Educational institutions can play a strategic role in combating the narratives of radicalism with counter narratives. Like Islam Nusantara narrative developed by Nahdlatul Ulama, Islam Berkemajuan (the progressive Islamic) narrative developed by Muhammadiyah. Both of these organisations have effective educational institutions that can be instruments in dealing with radicalisation through the office of opinions that develop in society that lead to radicalism and violence. The community needs to be aware that all religions teach values of tolerance, peace, non-violence, mutual respect and pluralism.

The current challenge for tertiary institutions is to develop prejudices and claims that tertiary institutions in Indonesia are the center and seeds of the development of radicalism. Tertiary institution becomes a place for students with a variety of potential they, also known as a nursery place for people who are critical, open minded and intellectual. Some observers say that radicalism on campus is growing because of the development of right-wing student organisations. The growing discourse of the debate about the compatibility of Islam and democracy is part of strengthening radical understanding. Radicalists view that Muslims who accept democracy as Muslims who have deviated from Islam, without exploring Islamic values that also accommodate democratic values, such as Islamic teachings on tolerance, equality before the law, plurality and mutual respect for differences. Islamic movements or organisations outside the campus are able to spread their wings into the campus, such as Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (the Islamic Student Association), Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (the Indonesian National Student Movement), Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Unit), and even Salafi organisations make campus as a venue for organisational regeneration. So, the leaders of tertiary institution need to control campus facilities, mosques and prayer rooms, student centers and other public spaces that are used as a vehicle to conduct coaching and recruitment.

In addition, the revitalization of relevant subjects becomes urgent to strengthen national values, such as Pancasila, civic, the history of the nation, and other social sciences need to be supported and strengthened with national values. Campus becomes a means to discuss the nation's problems scientifically. But it does not mean it used as an arena for the spread of anti-NKRI (rejecting NKRI) and anti-Pancasila (rejecting Pancasila ideology), because academic freedom on campus or campus autonomy is used as a means of spreading radicalism and violence. Autonomy for academic freedom needs to have clear boundaries, which are related to science, not associated with freedom in spreading political ideas that are contrary to Pancasila, such as the discourse of the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia, so academic freedom is not intended to replace the state ideology.

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Not only tertiary institutions, radicalisation also tends to develop in other school institutions, such as high school level, which is filled with a number of young people of productive age. In West Java, organisasi rohani Islam (Rohis) (the Islamic spiritual organisation) has the potential to develop inclusive Islam in addition to the potential for the spread of exclusive Islam. The West Java Provincial Education Office seeks to make religious guidance carried out by the religious can run inclusively, teaching tolerant values with the motto of Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin. Besides that, there is an effort to revitalize the curriculum of Rohis activities in order to develop students' potentials in a positive direction and the development of Islam, which is Rahmatan Lil Alamin. As the case in tertiary institutions, the strategic instruments of Rohis that need to get adaptation and inculcation of national values are found in their coaching and regeneration patterns, not even Rohis, intra-school student organisations (OSIS) also become a vehicle for the spread of inclusive values, tolerance and nonviolence.

Family has the potential for the growth of radicalism embryo in society. The contributing factors are the lack of parents' attention to children and the family's weakness to instill critical thinking. Family involvement in radicalism has actually taken place since the Darul Islam uprising. Fighting alumni in Afghanistan involve their families to conduct training, although it is only for the leaders. The figure who plays a role in transmitting the values of radicalism is not only a father, but also the whole family can play a role and influence each other. Family is the first coaching for children's development so that it deserves attention in dealing with radicalisation. The family carries out the contemporary issue of cases of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. For example, in May 2018, the perpetrators involved their entire families carrying out suicide bombings. In this case, parental doctrine

to other family members triggers acts of terrorism, such as the doctrine of sacrifice to enter heaven and jihad as a Muslim obligation in the world. However, with the development of massive communication media, it does not rule out the possibility that children can become actors who can make their families think radically because through social media everyone can easily interact with other strangers. Thus, inculcation of inclusive values, tolerance, and nonviolence becomes an important part in the family besides the introduction of digital literacy and the inculcation of true religious values in the family environment. Family has a strategic position in shaping the character or personality of their children. This includes parents' knowledge about religion also needed because they can play a role in protecting their children to maintain the values of tolerance and inclusivism which are the unifying values of heterogeneous Indonesian society.

Conclusion

Radicalisation can be seen as a threat to societal security when radicalisation tends to change community's collective identity. The impacts arising from radicalisation such as anti-tolerance, anti-plurality, the use of verbal and nonverbal violence to achieve the goals are not in line with the values of Indonesian society, which is based on Pancasila. Thus, a well-designed and comprehensive effort is needed in facing radicalisation. The effort to deal with radicalisation is not only a concern for state actors, but also requires optimal involvement of substate actors, province, city and district, and also sub-local actors starting from the sub-district to urban village or village. In addition, non-state actors such as mass organisations (youth, religious and social), community leaders to the family as the smallest unit in society can make important contributions in facing radicalisation. Coordination between sub-state actors and state actors is one important element in dealing with radicalisation.

We find that various efforts in dealing with radicalisation in Indonesia, especially West Java are still state centric. It shows that the involvement and contribution of sub-state and non-state actors are still limited. These limitations trigger community concerns about violent attitudes and acts of extremism and fanaticism with violence that lead to acts of intolerance, even leading to concerns about the emergence of threats to the community's collective identity as part of societal security.

For further researchers, we suggest referring to the ideological foundation of Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), namely Pancasila. In contemporary discourse in Indonesia, there are discourses about NKRI bersyariah (NKRI based on Sharia ideology) and NKRI berpancasila (NKRI based on Pancasila ideology). Interpretably, NKRI bersyariah can be viewed as a moderate reference between the Islamic State of Indonesia which is fought for and claimed by Islamists and NKRI without Sharia ideology, but is this ideology be compatible with Pancasila? Surely, it will be a discourse among academics and practitioners regarding the position of religion in the framework of the Republic of Indonesia which has Pancasila as its ideology.

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Digital Trace and Critical Discourse Networking under Jokowi Government (2014-2018)

Rachmad Gustomy, Laode Machdani Afala

Digital media is one of the pillars of democracy. The media serves various expressions that support the government or criticize the government. Both are present along with the development of democracy and the rapid progress of digital media. This paper intends to explain the digital trace of Joko Widodo government over his period of power. By using DNA (discourse network analysis) and discourse analysis, this study observes how the criticism of the Jokowi government in 2014-2018 through digital media was then responded to and how discursive networks were formed in it. The presence of various criticisms is one of the consequences of the development of democracy. Indonesia's transformation towards democracy has had a major impact on the changes and dynamics of Indonesian politics. One of the impacts is marked by political liberalization where civil liberties and civil rights, and media freedom are guaranteed by the state. Based on the corpus of politics, economics, law, security, and personality in digital media, the criticism toward Jokowi government show that most of the criticism are not substantive, and only a few are substantive issues such as human right issues. Those critics, mostly, are derived from his opponents that affiliate with one of the presidential candidates who compete with Jokowi in the next presidential election in 2019.

Rachmad Gustomy, Laode Machdani Afala. Digital Trace and Critical Discourse Networking under Jokowi Government (2014-2018). *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 301–317.

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Keywords: digital trace, analytical network, actor-network, digital democracy.

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Politics in the present, not only is contested in the real world, but also through digital media. Since the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla government came to power in 2013, the media has become one of the important pillars that directly or indirectly strengthen government power as well as an effective channel for the aspirations of the people who are outside the government. Communities in the development of digital media have the ability to create and distribute information through what Manuel Castelll (2009) calls "mass self-communication", which is the use of digital media to create personal messages that have the potential to reach the masses. The media transforms every aspect of individual action and becomes the most extensive space in which humans can be involved. Therefore, digital media in this study is a public space where everyone can be involved in the political process, especially in responding to the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla government from 2013 to 2018.

Digital media has dramatically influenced the political life of a country. This happened after the life of modern society was transformed from the phase of the Industrial Revolution into the phase of the digital revolution. This phase has had a significant impact on political life, especially towards countries that are in the third wave of democracy. These advances, in particular, have given rise to various myths such as democracy, political harmony, the peaceful world, and the latest is free digital information myths. In the context of the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla administration, digital media is a medium that bridges how citizens participate in political life at both the local and national levels.

In the democracy, digital media has transformed the way in which humans communicate, interact and consume a lot of information including presenting political information. Gilardi (2016) and Farrell (2012) explain that the digital revolution has influenced the process of democratic change, which influences political mobilisation, opinion polarisation, and campaign strategies and as a tool to help create good governance. However, there are not a few negative effects caused by the massive progress of digital media especially in triggering the turmoil of a country's divisions. Indonesia, in this context, has become an epicenter where digital media has a significant role in the changes and political processes, especially in the era of President Jokowi's administration.

Literature Review

In several studies, digital media is considered to have a big role in the process of changing a country's politics. As explained by Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain (2011) when observing the wave of democracy that occurred in Middle Eastern countries such as Tunisia. Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Saudi Arabia, known as the Arab Spring, which saw the media as an actor or institution that is important in the political process of a country. Digital media such as Facebook and Twitter have played a significant role in mobilising civil society and demanding political change. The collapse of dictatorial regimes such as Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt as well as Muammar Qadhafi in Libya are examples of the success of the role of digital media as actors of democracy - "digital democracy". In line with Jan A.G.M. Van Dijk Efek (2013) that digital democracy is a means of democratic revolution in politics and public governance regarding the basic problems of political activity and the beliefs of citizens in government.

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Conversely, in a negative tone as explained by Joshua A. Tucker, et al (2017), digital media played a role in moving a number of protests and triggering political polarisation in the United States elections in 2016. The digital media encouraged the emergence of turmoil and political instability of a country. A number of autocratic regimes are rapidly adapting to limit the impact of digital media development, one of which is to carry out censorship strategies to silence opposition. Digital media ultimately negatively correlates with the development of democracy itself.

In Indonesia, the development of digital media as one of the actors of democracy occurred especially after the collapse of the New Order regime. According to Cornelis Lay (2010), the reformation era has marked the occurrence of several democratic changes, namely, the massive installation of democratic institutions, political liberalization, and dispersion of power. These changes have implications for the political life of Indonesian society; especially on the level of people's participation in public affairs (see Samadhi & Warouw, 2009). The guarantee of civil liberties and political rights as well as freedom of the press that is guaranteed by the country in the Indonesian reform era has transformed the way the people articulate their public interests.

In the era of Jokowi's 2014-2018 presidential administration, the presence of digital media provided convenience to the people of Indo-

nesia both personally and in groups in voicing opinions, giving criticism and suggestions to the government. However, the dense amount of information and the increasing number of digital media users have had an impact on the distribution of asymmetric and biased information. Some parties use digital media only as a means of personal or group interests. Complaint data on the use of digital media during 2017 increased by 900% from 6,357 to 60,135 complaints (Kompas, 2/1/2018). At present, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and Youtube are the most widely used digital media by the people of Indonesia. Negative content such as hoax and utterances of hate-related to SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, Inter group) became news content that was very wary in Jokowi's era.

In the electoral context, criticism of the Jokowi government experienced a significant increase. This happened because of the political momentum both in the simultaneous regional elections in 2014, 2017 and 2018 as well as the presidential election in 2019. In addition, this is also caused by the increasing use of social media users, both ordinary people, and politicians who are active as digital media users. Digital media provides a broad space of interaction for various political actors to smooth out their political attractions, build political communication, political campaigns and political mobilisation. According to Wisnu (2013), in the electoral contexts, the digital media plays an important role in determining voter behavior. Milling information about the news wildly, on the one hand, has led to excessive democracy. But on the other hand, the presence of such criticism has become important to safeguard and prevent the emergence of a new form of authoritarianism in the form of democracy.

In the context of the development of digital media, a number of discursive criticisms of the Jokowi government were born that followed the characteristics of the digital world. In this case, the media, on the one hand, became a space for the production of negative news and produced positive images that differed from reality. Castells (2011) explains that in the world of internet (digital media), power is asymmetrical because everyone has different power and influence. In the internet era, people are gathered in horizontal networks that are interrelated and affect each other, which Castell called a network society. But on the other hand, digital media is also an actor of democracy that bridges public interests.

Thus, digital transformation has created new challenges and opportunities for politicians, political institutions and the media to engage

deeply with citizens. Julia Schwanholz and Todd Graham (2018.p, 1-3) and Manuel Castells (2010) state that human life is currently mediated by the internet and new media. However, the fundamental aspect of this development is whether the progress of the internet and new media (digital media) provides alternative public spaces for the development of democracy? The Castells' question became relevant in the study to see how the digital traces and constructive structure of netizen criticism in the Jokowi government 2014-2018.

Digital Trace and Critical Discourse

Theoretical Approaches

I. Actor-Network Theory

Actor-network theory is a theory that is more focused on the shape or structure of networks composed of various actors that are interconnected. According to Susanti et al. (2014), Actor-network Theory explicitly seeks to connect different elements together towards the network, thus forming a seemingly coherent whole. In the perspective of this theory, it is considered important to know and understand the initial formation of a network by actors. Because the beginning of the network that was formed became a trigger for making a reality. Bruno Lator explained that each actor has a relationship with others because every actor has a social life. This is what becomes an intermediary for the spread of an understanding of something to others. For example, an actor has an idea or understanding of a problem that he conveyed to the public. This understanding or idea has the potential to become a trigger for the public to agree with their ideas or understanding. Therefore, the search for actors becomes important in the perspective of this theory to find out the network structure that is formed. In research on network theory, actors are used as a tool to dissect the networks formed in post-reform Pancasila discourse. This is done in order to explore the actors involved in the problem.

2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis in this study is intended to interpret or interpret the text that is in digital media. Along with the use of discourse as a study in various sciences, many scientists define the concept of discourse. Susan Straus and Paraston Feiz (2014) say that;

Discourse is the social and cognitive process of putting the world into words, transforming our perceptions, experiences,

emotions, understanding, and desires into a common medium for expression and communication, through language and other semiotic resources.

CEJISS 4/2019 In another sense from Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary (1983), discourse includes three senses, namely: Communication of thoughts with words, expression of ideas or ideas, conversations, communication in general, especially as a subject of study or subject study, and treatise such as formal dissertations, lectures, lectures, and sermons. According to Sunderland and Lossetii, discourse is broader than what is called the text "... discourse is a text in a context". In other words, discourse is something that is interrelated with the text, and context.

Research Methods

The subjects in this study were variations of the keywords from "Criticism to the Jokowi government" which were recorded in the object of the Digital Trail from October 2014 - April 2018, where it was calculated from when Jokowi was appointed until the beginning of this study. The assumption is that at that time the Jokowi government would have produced many criticisms which received pro and contra responses. Object limits will only be taken from data mining on the google.com server, where all news, responses, comments that have the validity of actor references will be used as sources of analysis. After the data mining, the researchers need to filter the data that has been obtained. The next process after the data filtering is the data coding using the DNA application (Discourse Network Analysis). Therefore, researchers must be able to operationalize the DNA applications correctly. After that, the coding was performed based on the categories of person, organisation, category, and agreement.

The final stage is done after the data has been coded using the DNA application. The DNA data files that have been exported are then opened in the Visone or Gephi application. When the data is entered it will visualize it in the form of a network. This form of network is called the political discourse network which in this study is about the critical discourse of the Jokowi Government. After the data is visualized in the form of a network image, the researcher will identify the actors and read the relationships that appear.

Discussion

Digital Traces and Critical Discourse Networking of Jokowi Government

The location of the actor and issue shows how central his position is in the developing discourse. Each level of the circle has a difference of 20 digits from the outside to the inner side. The following are the results of the visualization of six corpus statements.

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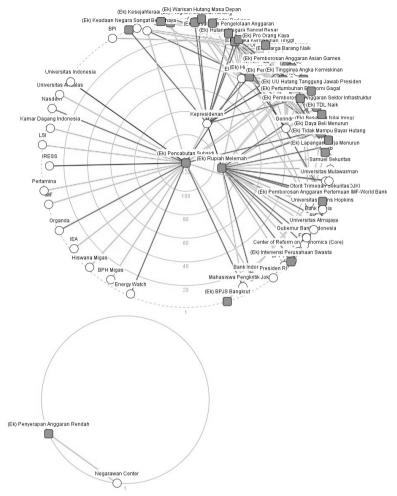
1. Economic Corpus

From the process of codifying the discourse and its actors and networks, a map of the discourse network is obtained as a map in the picture. From the mapping of the economic body, some analytical conclusions can be drawn that illustrate the centrality of the issues in the economic body.

First, the discourse on subsidy revocation is the most widely criticized and responded to in the Jokowi government. This discourse is the most central issue that occurred at the beginning of Jokowi's administration. Through the revocation of fuel subsidies, the Jokowi government was finally able to save Rp. 600 trillion in money which is usually used for fuel subsidies. Most of the funds for fuel subsidies are diverted to infrastructure development, education budgets, and social assistance. Based on the results of data codification, more parties agreed with the revocation of subsidies. There are only a few parties who disagree and are neutral. A number of parties who agreed with the discourse included BPH Migas, Pertamina, IMF, Andalas University, LSI and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, while those who did not agree were Nasdem, Organda, and Energy Watch.

Second, when the rupiah was weakened, a lot of criticism was directed in Jokowi's policies. This discourse gained much opposition from many circles, but many also agreed with the policy. Based on the results of the codification of discourse, a number of parties agreed, such as OJK, Andalas University, and many other parties. While those who disagreed among them were students who criticized Jokowi, Center of Economic Reform, Governor of Bank Indonesia and many other parties. This discourse was triggered by the Rupiah exchange rate which tended to depreciate against the dollar. Many responses flowed profusely which was addressed to Jokowi, regarding causality towards the weakening of the Rupiah exchange rate. Pieter Abdullah Redjalam (Center of Economics Reform) gives the view that the weakening expe-

Figure 1



rienced by the rupiah at this time is actually the same pressure in recent months taking into consideration global economic turmoil ranging from trade wars, crises in Turkey and Argentina, to the upward trend in the Fed's interest rates. The government through Sri Mulyani (the Economic Minister) also gave her own views, looking at the current account trend and also the domestic trade balance that had a deficit.

Third, the issue of the presidency in the Jokowi government showed more agreement. Various discourses of criticism that arise related to this include the issue that the country is in a dangerous state, pro-rich people policy, very large national debt and other issues.

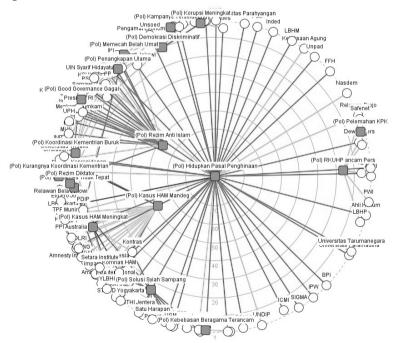
Fourth, the peripheral discourse includes decreasing employment, decreasing purchasing power, inability to pay profits, the magnitude of import values and other discourses. The discourse of weakening the rupiah is directly related to peripheral discourses which indirectly influence and at the same time serve as a means for the birth of the discourse of weakening the rupiah.

Digital Trace and Critical Discourse

2. Political Corpus

From the process of codifying the discourse and its actors and networks, a map of the discourse network is obtained as a map in the picture. Some analytical conclusions can be drawn from the mapping of the political corpus that describes the centrality of the issues that exist within the political corpus. From the mapping of the political corpus some analytical conclusions can be drawn as follows;

Figure 2



First, based on the results of the codification, the issue of activating the insulting article is the most central issue in the political field. There are 80 statements that Emphasise this. In general, most do not agree with Jokowi's policy. A number of actors who rejected the dis-

course were activists, LHBM, Attorney General's Office, FFH, ICMI, Sigma, IPW, BPI, the press council, legal experts and several other parties. The RKUHP proposed by the Joko Widodo government received strong criticism from various circles. This RKUHP has several articles which are considered to be a threat to press freedom, the public and the weakening of KPK's authority. Jokowi's government was labeled as a repressive government with efforts to revive the article of President's humiliation that had been rejected by the Constitutional Court in the SBY era.

Second is the issue of an anti-Islamic regime. The Jokowi government regime is considered a regime that is anti-Islamic. This is related to the strengthening of intolerant and radical actions in various regions so that it shows the implementation of weak governmental power. In addition, the issuance of Perpu No. 2 of 2017 concerning community organisations has resulted in the dissolution of the Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mass organisation, which is one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia. Since the issuance of the Perpu, HTl has been considered a banned organisation in Indonesia. A number of followers in various regions were convicted and forced to leave HTl. This dissolution is considered by some to be repressive measures by the state, contrary to the values of democracy and the government is known as an anti-Islamic regime. On the contrary, the state argues, this is done as an effort to prevent the spread of the ideology that is contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In connection with this discourse, there are many parties who disagree and criticize compared to those who agree. Some of the parties who disagreed included UPH, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, while those who agreed were Menkopolhukam, MUI, and a number of other parties.

Third, the issue of human rights cases is stagnant. The government of Joko Widodo is considered not fulfilling the NawaCita's promise because it is unable to resolve cases of human rights violations committed by the State. Political elites, human rights activists, students and some victims of human rights violations strongly criticized Jokowi's performance, which since being installed as President until the end of his term of office did not show the political will to resolve cases of human rights violations.

Fourth, peripheral issues are failing of good governance, increasing human rights cases, threatened religious freedom, lack of coordination of ministries, threatening press RKUHP, increased corruption, and other peripheral issues. These issues directly contribute to the formation of central issues in the political corpus. In other words, these bullying issues are issues that build a network of discourses that are connected with central issues in the political corpus.

3. Development Corpus

Critics of development in the Jokowi era are the least criticized compared to the other criticisms. Some of the main criticisms are:First, Waste of Infrastructure Sector Budget, development failure. The infrastructure development in Jokowi's government era received criticism from a number of parties, mainly from the axis of opposition because the budget spent was very large. One of the criticisms was delivered by SBY who stated that the Jokowi government should not drain the infrastructure sector budget. Other criticisms were also conveyed by PKS politician Tifatul Sembiring. According to him, the government emphasised infrastructure development but ruled out the basic needs of the people. On the contrary, PKB Politicians actually assess that the infrastructure development carried out by the government is very much needed to improve the domestic economy.

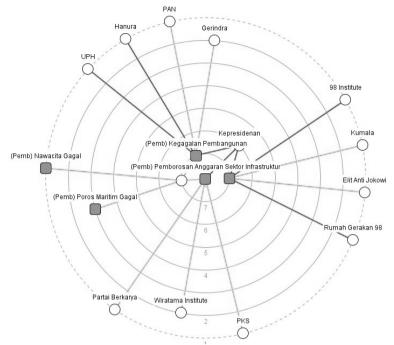
Secondly, the peripheral issue is the Maritime Axis and the misfortune that is considered to be a failure. Maritime development has received sharp criticism because its development has not been seen. Even though this program is one of the important agendas that became Jokowi's promise to strengthen the nation's identity as an archipelago. According to SBY, the maritime axis program is considered to be only rhetoric. This statement is inseparable from the government's focus on massive development on the mainland. According to him, the government should also carry out development at sea. Jokowi's priority program, better known as NawaCita, was criticized for being problematic. One criticism came from Democratic politician Ferdinand Hutahaean. According to him the difficulty of synchronizing the Nawa program with the National RPJM was due to mistakes made by the Jokowi government itself.

4. Legal Corpus

From the legal corpus, the indisputable criticism is that during the Jokowi's administration, human rights cases stalled and there was no continuation. Cases like Munir, Tri Sakti, and other human rights cases have not made significant progress. Likewise in Jokowi's era, human rights violations still occurred and the hope that Jokowi would uphold

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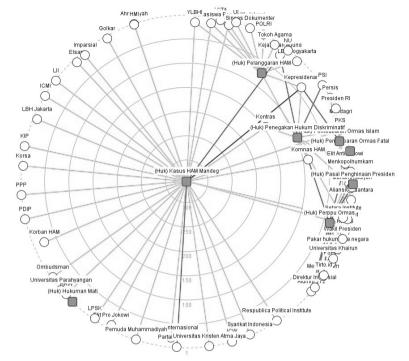




the human rights eventually escaped. This criticism of the absence of human rights actions brought a huge amount of discussion, exceeding 300 statements from each elite.

Another legal case that has become the focus of criticism is discriminatory Law Enforcement. The law enforcement in the Jokowi era received criticism from a number of parties because it was considered discriminatory. One of the parties was Mardani Ali Sera, who said that the law enforcement often discriminatory and accused the government of actually building up the success of pseudo-law. Whereas according to Amien Rais legal discrimination can be seen in the pursuit of small legal cases while abandon the large cases. He pointed out that the corruption cases handled by the KPK only focused on the average level and billions of rupiah while cases that reached the trillions were abandoned. Other cases that received response were quite significant, but not too prominent. For more details, see the following picture.

Figure 4



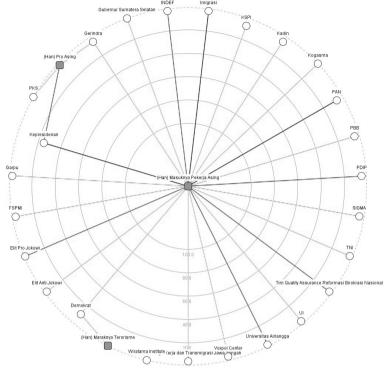
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5. Defense Corpus

In the context of creating Resilience as a nation, Jokowi has 2 main criticisms, although not too dominant and broad. These criticisms are summurised in Figure 5.

First, the issue of invasion of foreign workers (TKA) in Indonesia is associated with the labors from China. The issue was widely discussed following the issuance of Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 20 of 2018 concerning the Use of Foreign Workers. The regulation is considered by Fadli Zon to be not in favor for local workforce. The facts in the field found that many foreign workers from China worked illegally. This was reinforced by the minister of Labor; Hanif Dhakiri who found foreign workers in West Kalimantan did not have official documents to work in Indonesia. On the other hand, the government always rejects this accusation. A lot of data is wrong where the invasion of Chinese tourists is considered an invasion of foreign workers. Clarification is also carried out by Indef, the government and the like.

Figure 5



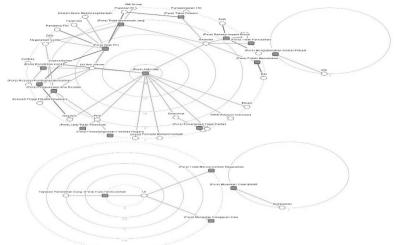
Secondly, another issue that emerged but did not bring up the main issue was the accusation of pro-foreign Jokowi and the rise of terrorism. But this issue only appeared briefly from a few people and did not get a response from other critics.

6. Personality Corpus

Criticism to Jokowi also leads to the personality that according to his critics is not feasible as President. How the picture of the criticism from the level of discourse can be seen from Figure 4.6.1, while from the person who criticizes it can be seen in Figure 4.6.2. The results are mapped in Figure 6.

First, the most criticisms that led to Jokowi were the assessment that he was an anti-critic president. One of the cases was when he did not meet with demonstrators who wanted to convey criticism. This was stated by retired TNI Suryo Prabowo. He criticized that Jokowi should not be afraid of being demonstrated. In fact, he suggested that

Figure 6



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Jokowi should follow the example of North Sumatra Governor Edy Rahmayadi who the face of demonstrators. This criticism has become the centrality of criticism of more than 20 elite figures.

Secondly, the next criticism that continued to be made was the accusation that Jokowi was a child of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) member. This accusation appears almost every year, but it does not clearly depart from a valid source. The groups that often accuse Jokowi, or spread the issue are from the hardline Islamic groups such as Panjimas and the like. From the character of this criticism, it is clearly related to other critics such as Jokowi as anti-Islamic, being hostile to Islamic scholars and the like.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The government led by Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla has left a variety of digital tracks, both describing the successes and weaknesses of his government. The media, in this case, is a medium that shows how the dynamics of government in the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla era. Through the analysis of digital media discourse, this paper concludes that in Jokowi's government.

First, the most dominant criticism is related to law and economy. The lowest criticism is about development. But it turns out that there are many personality criticisms that actually depart from concise matters, but to affirm Jokowi's policy identity. For example, the accusation of Jokowi as a child of PKI member is an accusation made against him

due to his seemingly unsupportive attitude towards particular group of Islamic scholars.

Second, in the mapping of figures who criticize and from what institutions, it appears that the map is very diverse. Opposition groups prefer to highlight economic and development issues, sometimes they attack personality. Whereas from activist groups more often questioned about the law. The Jokowi's supporters also don't always consistently support Jokowi's policies in all fields. For example, PDI elites also criticized Jokowi regarding the choice of the vice president.

Third, the discourse network formed shows that opposition groups will try to connect many things to justify their criticism. For example, anti-Islamic criticism is always treated in such a way by this group to show their accusations to be true, starting with PKI children issue, mental illness, the entry of foreign workers and the like.

There are some suggestions that can be considered: First, the most substantive types of criticism are about human rights and the economy. While the matter of development and personality is the weakest criticism. So if the critics want to provide quality criticism, it must be based on true reflection. Secondly, a serious response to improve the nation is that the response to criticism without facts will turn everyone against each other. So the criticism should be given in the substance of his criticism. It is precisely not pushing up critical criticisms from unclear sources. Third, the network of Jokowi substantive critics is apparently not related to a network of criticisms that are weak and improper. Though substantive criticism will be very useful for the progress of the nation.



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Digital Trace and Critical Discourse

Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries and Probability for an Open War

Muhammad Arsy Ash Shiddigy, Arfin Sudirman

The security conditions in Southeast Asian region are relatively safe and peace. There have never been direct confrontations or head-tohead wars between countries in the region, if ever there had been a confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, but that did not happen. During the cold war era, security in Southeast Asia was guaranteed by the two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Something bias happen in this region, when the cold war ends European countries are committed to reducing their military budget, and the opposite is true in Southeast Asia. The focus of discussion in this research is to discuss about Indonesian military strength in the Southeast Asian region and how the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia. In quantity, there are fewer types of defense equipment owned by Indonesia than neighboring countries, but that does not mean that Indonesia's military strength is below those countries, according to GFP (Global Fire Power) Indonesia is the strongest in Southeast Asia. The research method used is descriptive qualitative research by describing all the phenomena of the research problem empirically. Analysis is done through literature studies from various journals, books, research reports and other sources. Based on the processing of these data, the



Muhammad Arsy Ash Shiddiqy, Arfin Sudirman. Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries and Probability for an Open War. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 318–340.

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authors then mapped the Indonesian military strength and make comparisons with the military strength of the countries of Southeast Asia. This military theme is very interesting to discuss because a country's military strength will reflect the strength of the country itself.

Keywords: Indonesia, military strength, open war, Southeast Asia.

Muhammad Arsy Ash Shiddiqy Arfin Sudirman

The threat of global war is slow but sure becoming apparent. Some facts are increasingly visible. Since 2010, only two years after the 2008 world economic crisis, the tension of the global geopolitical arena has increased sharply. Starting from the series of regional conflicts and wars in Europe, Middle East and Asia Pacific, the return of arms competitions era, dramatic increases in military spending and defense, the destruction of diplomatic relations, to the threat of open warfare among fellow superpowers that is increasingly being heard. For example, the tension of Russian vs. European-US relations was initially triggered by a Crimean dispute between Russia and Ukraine in 2014. The tension continued with economic sanctions on Russia. Russia is increasingly labeled a "bad boy" for being accused of interfering in the 2016 US Presidential Election and attempting to assassinate Russian double agents in the UK, which led to the expulsion of diplomats from each country.

Furthermore, conflict and war in the Middle East after the Arab Spring (end of 2010) and counter-Arab spring (mid-2013) have not shown signs of ending. The conflict and war have devastated the entire political, economic and social order in the region. Death and refugee rates have been too dire. However, even more dangerous in the conflict was the involvement of world military forces: the US, Europe, Russia and China, also large regional powers such as Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia, as well as "non-state" forces with their various streams. Even in recent times, open direct clashes between US and Russian forces began to occur. Many observers say, triggers that can cause a global war are likely to originate from the Middle East. In Asia Pacific, we witnessed a heated situation in the South China Sea involving five countries, which are China, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam, Philippines and Indonesia. Another hotspot on the Korean Peninsula is a proxy for two old rival forces, the US and Russia, which represent two different ideological interests. In addition to inter-state conflicts, the region is also torn apart by local conflicts such as the Rohingya, and the potential of ISIS in the Philippines.

One of the main functions of military presence in a country is to fill the role of defense and maintain national sovereignty. Located right in the middle of two Oceans and two continents, Indonesia is a country full of threats. A bit of history about ASEAN's past security. The Philippines and Malaysia have disputes in northern Borneo. Malaysia and Thailand have border issues. Indonesia's relations with Malaysia and Singapore are even worse to the extent of what we are familiar with confrontation, although this confrontation then ended before the formation of ASEAN. Meanwhile, Vietnam's civil war escalated and the United States began to interfere, Laos and Cambodia were also caught in a similar situation. With such a bleak geopolitical background, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Thailand declared the establishment of ASEAN in 1967 (Rahakundini, 2007).

As we know since this regional association was established, there has never been an open conflict between ASEAN countries. Different to the situation before ASEAN was formed, various tensions, conflicts and confrontations colored the region. In this case, ASEAN has experience in managing good neighborly relations among its members. However, changes in regional security configurations do not necessarily reduce tension and potential conflicts in the region. The security situation in Southeast Asia after the Cold War is considered uncertain. Unlike in Europe, the main arena of the Cold War, where the end of the Cold War was accompanied by pressures about the need for a reduction in the military budget and demands for the benefits of peace, in Southeast Asia and generally in the Asia-Pacific the opposite development occurs. The Economist newspaper in its February 20, 1993 edition noted that Asian countries were now involved in the process of building military power. Military analyst Klare (1993) has predicted that the arms race will take place intensively in the Asia Pacific. Likewise, in the 1998-1999 edition of the Institute for Defense and Strategic Analyse's (IDSA) report on military expenditure and weapons acquisition, Asian countries experienced an increasing trend. Specifically for Southeast Asian countries, the results of a study conducted by Acharya in 1994 also showed the same symptoms.

Increasing the ability to purchase weapons for the defense of each ASEAN country, if it remains within the framework of regional cooperation, will certainly have a positive influence on regional defense as a whole. However, if on the contrary, each ASEAN member country increases its own defense system without consulting among fellow

member countries, it will instead trigger an arms race. This clearly threatens the stability and regional security conditions in the future. When viewed further both historically as mentioned above and regionally geopolitically today, between ASEAN member countries with each other and with other countries around ASEAN there are still various potential conflicts. On the other hand, it can be recognised that ASEAN has been able to manage the vast diversity of Southeast Asia and reduce various bilateral disputes. Although many of those bilateral disputes are only damped and can at any time come back to the surface, especially around the resolution of border conflicts, which sometimes takes time of decades (Asrudin, 2009, p. 61).

Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries

However, it cannot be denied geopolitically and geostrategically that Indonesia is located in a strategic and decisive position in world and regional relations. With the potential threats that are not light and diverse social, economic, and cultural conditions, Indonesia needs strong national defense capabilities to ensure the upholding of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. However, after the outbreak of the crisis, the development of defense capabilities was relatively neglected, resulting in the overall decline in the country's defense capability. Therefore, with the increase in the defense budget each year, it is hoped that the rise of the Indonesian military can truly run so that Indonesia is able to face a variety of threats both actual and potential.

History records at least twice in the history of the Republic of Indonesia, the TNI is counted as an armed force that cannot be mocked in defense and its impact on our foreign policy bargaining position. First, the period 1960-1962, when President Soekarno encouraged the Indonesian Armed Forces (APRI) to prepare to seize West Irian with military force. Although the national economic situation was not very good, Bung Karno allowed large-scale arms purchases. In less than two years, APRI was transformed into the largest war force in the southern hemisphere, including the Navy having 12 submarines capable of patrolling to the west coast of Australia without being detected by the country. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Air Force has two TU-16 longrange bombing squadrons, which easily reach the entire Southeast Asia and Australia region, drop bombs, and return safely to their bases.

Second, the 1980-1988 eras, at the leadership of General M. Jusuf (1978-1983) and General L.B. Moerdani (1983-1988), the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia were built into a modern, professional and non-political military institution. General Jusuf started his pro-

gram in a simple way, reviving the soldier's self-esteem by increasing welfare, repairing dormitories, and retraining troops who had been in the process of "refinement" because they rarely exercise, weapons are outdated, and neglected their welfare. In the following era, General Moerdani was able to ingeniously see the opportunity to buy a major weapon system that was not new (such as the six Van Speijk frigates from the Netherlands), repair and modernize it so that it could be operational again. In the era, ABRI also bought 10 F-16 Fighting Falcon fighters. Now, with Indonesia trying to strengthen its defenses again, it is hoped that Indonesia's bargaining position in all fields of politics, economy and culture can also be improved.

Security conditions in the Southeast Asian region are relatively safe. There has never been a direct confrontation or head-to-head war between countries in the region. After the end of the cold war and the absence of security guarantees from both countries, practically the countries of Southeast Asia must develop their military power to ensure security for their respective countries. Even though countries in this region are friendly enough and more inclined to collaborate, the potential for conflicts in this region is very large, especially regarding border issues, Southeast Asian countries still face many border conflicts between one another. Some sort of bias can occur in this region, when the cold war ends European countries are committed to reducing the military budget, and the opposite is true in this region. After the end of the cold war and the absence of security guarantees from the two countries, Southeast Asian countries began aggressively increasing their military budgets and increasing the capabilities of their military forces, resulting in a Security Dilemma in this region.

Literature Review

The author uses a realist approach that has the theme Struggle for power and security. International relations are marked by anarchy; all means are done to achieve national interests. Morgenthau states that super power is the focus of international relations; power is a tool to achieve national interests. The Realist perspective has three basic assumptions. The main assumption is that the state is the main actor. In this case, international relations are identified with relations between sovereign states, thus the security factor is seen in the context of national interests.

Hans Morgenthau. Politics Among Nation: The Struggle for Power and Peace.
 1973. New York: Knopf. Hlm 25.

The second assumption is from a political and security approach that is by assessing the function of power as an instrument of foreign politics. The third assumption is that there is a clear hierarchy of issues that dominate international politics. The level of analysis used is the nation state because the main object in international relations is the behavior of the nation state, assuming that all decision makers, wherever they are, behave the same when faced with the same situation. Thus, to analyse diplomatic maneuvers and other diplomatic actions seen because of political pressures, ideology, public opinion or domestic economic and social needs². Domestic conditions determine foreign policy that will be achieved through diplomacy.

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The level of analysis comes from the assumption that the behavior of each country actually depends on the behavior of other countries in an international system. To explain this abstract system, a simpler analogy can be used, it is the human body's circulatory system, which consists of pulse, arteries, organs and cells that as a whole must work and function properly to smooth the system and ultimately produce a healthy body and good performance. Likewise internationally, he also has sub-systems that are interconnected with one another³. Each country in the international political system is responsible for its own security and independence (Struggle for power), the position of other countries is considered as a threat that can endanger its fundamental interests. So in general, countries feel insecure so that they feel fear and mistrust of one another. They became very focused on their respective strengths with a view to preventing attacks from other countries.

To be able to analyse the problem above, the author uses some of references and previous research relating to the Security Situation of the Southeast Asian region, and the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia. This research is different from previous research because the focus of the discussion in this research is to compare the military strength of the countries of Southeast Asia and discuss how the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia. In contrast to previous studies, which have focused a lot on cooperation between countries in the Southeast Asian region and have almost forgotten the potential for conflicts that could erupt in this region at any time. To make it eas-

² Mohtar Mas'oed, Ilmu Hubungan Internasional dan Metodologi. LP3ES, Yogyakarta. 1990. Hlm 45.

³ Holsti, K. J. Politik Internasional, Suatu Kerangka Analisis. 1992. Binacipta. Bandung. Hlm. 16.

ier to understand the differences and the relationship of this research with previous research will be explained as follows.

CEJISS 4/2019

Several studies have focused on the security situation in Southeast Asia in general and only describe the dynamics of conflict between regional countries, likes border disputes, theft of marine products, peoples and drugs smuggling, Terrorism, and the seizure of natural resources, but do not really study the other potential conflicts such as the Arm Race in the Southeast Asian region. Increased military power and the development of the defense industry in each regional country are a tangible form of the Arms Race, and this could be a potential conflict if not managed properly by regional countries. (Some of these research are: Sudirman and Sari, 2017; Prasetyo and Berantas, 2014; Ningsih, 2017; Dewitt and David, 994; Mathews and Tuchman, 1988; Ayoob and Mohammed, 2002; Capie and Taylor, 2010; Hasibuan and Rosmi, 2005; Setyawan and Sumari, 2016; Ramírez and Tan, 2014; Klare, 1993; Saicheua, 2012; Cheng and Kuik, 2016; Brewster, 2013; Sharpe, 2010; Rathus, 2011; Garovano, 2002; Askandar, 2003; Hadiwinata, 2004; Osborne, 2008; Rafter, 2010; Dunlap & Charles, 2011; Oliver, 2009). Most of these research only describe the general security conditions in the Southeast Asian region, but none have discuss the comparative military forces of Southeast Asian countries and the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia

Research Method

The method used is descriptive in nature that aims to make a description of a situation or event systematically and factually following the phenomenal approach. The most important thing from events, phenomena, and social phenomena is the meaning behind these events can be used as valuable lessons for the development of theoretical concepts. In order to collect the data needed, which has links with this research, the writer uses bibliography research in the form of secondary data arranged in the form of books, journals, related documents, websites and newspapers.

This study used qualitative research methods. The method is widely used in the social science, such as anthropology, sociology and psychology. Political science and international relations are also part of the group of knowledge that uses the most qualitative research methods as an option in conducting research. Some generic definitions of qualitative research methods are qualitative research approaches that

explore and understand the meaning (meaning) which is considered by a number of individuals or groups of people to originate from social problems (Cresswell, 2014). Anyone involved in this form of research must apply an inductive perspective of research, focus on individual meanings and translate the complexity of a situation (Bakry, 2016).

Based on this explanation, this study uses a qualitative approach that aims to uncover the main issues related to the Comparison of Indonesian military strength with countries in Southeast Asia and the probability for the Open War toward Indonesia. A qualitative approach is used for the following reasons:

- I. To find out the specific meaning in the context of this study and to determine the extent of the comparison of Indonesian military strength with the countries of Southeast Asia. Does Indonesia deserve to be called the strongest country in the Southeast Asian region?
- 2. To find out the extent of the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia from neighboring countries.

The approach is considered very appropriate to conduct research on the Comparison of Indonesian military strength with the countries of the Southeast Asian region and the Probability for the Open War toward Indonesia. This is because the purpose of this research is to make a comparison of the military strengths of the countries of Southeast Asia and draw conclusions that Indonesia is the strongest country in the region based on its military strength.

Discussion

C.I. Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries

One of the main functions of the military presence in a country is to fill the role of defense and maintain regional sovereignty. Located right in the middle of two oceans and two continents, Indonesia is a country full of threats. In the form of the largest archipelago, Indonesia is a country where most of the defense gaps are in the sea. How is Indonesian military forces compared with neighboring countries? Following the review to provide a comparsion of military power in the Southeast Asian region, military power encompasses all aspects of state equipment and resources found in a country, which can be used immediately for war purposes. The ranking of military forces conducted by Global Fire Power is based on an assessment of eight indicators of mil-

Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries

itary strength, there are: 1. Personnel 2. Armaments System 3. Maritime Power 4. Logistics Strength 5. Natural Resources 6. Geographic Strength 7. Financial Strength 8. Others (Supporting). Each indicator has several sub-indicators that will form the core strength of the battle. Interestingly enough, maritime power is separated from the power of defense equipment (point number 2). This is actually related to the political background of defense in a country in the form of offensive or defensive in which the entire surface of the earth is more covered by territorial waters. Military and defense strategies will later combine all of these elements to become a force to support political attitudes, including if it is decided to declare war with another country.

Of the 8 key military forces of a country, then made into 8 elements that will directly affect war decisions, there are: I. Personnel Strength 2. Air Power 3. Land Strength 4. Naval Strength 5. Logistics Strength 6. Strength of Natural Resources 7. Financial Strength 8. Geographic Superiority. Air, Naval and land power is the most important thing because it will play a role in the recovery of military decisions and strategies in the short term (Sudden War). The comparison of military strength to be reviewed below is based on 8 key military forces that have a role in making war decisions.

C.1.1. Personnel Strength

With the support of the largest population, Indonesia seems to be superior enough to sustain the strength of personnel. This is evident in all sub personnel having quite a significant dispute with neighboring countries. Indonesia still has considerable opportunities to realise guerrilla warfare, including city battles, if the outer defenses are successfully penetrated and controlled by the enemy.

C.1.2. Air Power

There are 3 sub-air power, which are total military aircraft (all types of military aircraft), number of helicopters, and airfields. Based on many military aircraft, Thailand looks superior to the number of military aircraft, which reaches 568 units. Thailand is also quite superior for the most number of helicopters, 304 units. Indonesia can be said to be quite superior by having more airfields that function as military bases or can function as military bases. The description of air power is still too abstract, because the military aircraft itself consists of warplanes, bombers or blackheads, reconnaissance aircraft, and transport aircraft.

Table 1. Comparison of Personnel Strength

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippines	Vietnam
World Rank	91	41	26	59	64	23
T.	262.787.403	31.809.660	68.615.858	166.566.5	105.852.030	97.840.000
population						
Available	130.868.127	15.201.837	35.543.014	4.255.902	51.649.196	51.645.430
manpower						
Fit for	108.620.545	12.587.121	35.490.939	2.691.973	42.570.733	41.503.949
service						
Reaching	4.540.339	526.142	1.043.204	67.466	2.127.388	1.635.084
military age						
Active	438.410	110.000	360.860	72.500	125.000	482.000
military						
manpower						
Active	400.000	321.300	245.000	312.000	180.000	9.000.000
reserve						

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Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

The indicators that are written down still allow bias in giving a description of air power, because the calculation of the strength is not solely in terms of the number of aircraft but also the expertise of the flight crew and pilots.

Table 2. Comparison of Air Power

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Air power						
Total aircarft	451	187	568	236	171	318
Helicopters	192	71	304	78	97	140
Serviceable airports	679	114	101	9	247	45

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

C.1.3. Land Power

There are 10 keys to measuring or knowing the (potential) ground forces in a battle. It contains all forms of land weapons systems, including logistical vehicles. Overall it will be very much needed in a ground battle that will face both land enemies and enemies from the air. Uniquely, Singapore, which is the country with the smallest area, is quite dominant with elements of land strength, except for logistical vehicles. But what's interesting in terms of land strength is Vietnam with the highest number of tanks, reaching more than 2000.

C.1.4. Naval Power

Naval power is the key to every battle victory that determines the course of history. 10 elements make up naval power according to the GFP version as seen in the image below. As the largest archipelago country with the largest sea area in Southeast Asia, Indonesia seems to realise how important the defense of the sea, and that is shown by the superior marine assets compared to neighboring countries. Almost all aspects and indicators of Indonesia's naval strength are superior to others. Starting from a total of military ships, submarines, patrol vessels for the border region. Overall, the strength of Indonesia's marine defenses is quite respected by the large number of new ammunition that has been bought in this year.

Tabel 3. Comparison of Land Power

Tabel 3. Comparison	Or Burna r c	,,,,,			,	
	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World rank	16	4 I	26	59	64	23
Land power						
Total land weapons	1.577	2.465	4.392	8.001	2.379	3.432
Tanks	315	74	805	190	18	2.575
APC/IFVs	1.300	1.460	1.551	3.585	530	
Tower artillery	356	211	700	138	286	350
Self-propelled guns	141	29	44	48	0	120
MLRSs	50	36	30	18	O	1.104
Mortar	3.350	1.200	1.200	100	1.070	2.000
Anti-tank Weapons	11.000	329	2.150	4.000	1.400	1.600
Anti-aircraft weapons	100	733	378	1.000	200	
Logistical ve- hicles	11.100	13.200	8.100	2.100	3.400	5.600

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C.1.5. Logistic Strength

The logistic Strength included in the following list is all kinds of resources that can be immediately prepared to support direct combat. Indonesia can be said to have an advantage in the aspect of logistical strength by looking at the highest number of labor forces. The length of access to roads and railways is not always significant in size, because it depends on the area and condition of the island or archipelago. By having a workforce that can be turned into a military or paramilitary force, at least Indonesia will still have the strength to carry out the most difficult urban guerrilla and war strategy, when the enemy has entered the defense territory on land.

Table 4. Comparison of Naval Power

Table 4. Comparis	on of Navai	Power				
	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rand	16	41	26	59	64	23
Naval Power						
Total Navy	221	61	81	40	119	65
Ships						
Merchant	8.782	1.690	781	3.558	1.508	1.818
Marine						
Strength						
Major Ports	14	7	5	I	6	6
and Termi-						
nals						
Aircraft	0	0	I	0	0	0
Carries						
Destroyers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	5	2	0	0	0	6
Frigates	8	6	7	6	3	9
Amphibious						
Assault Craft						
Patrol Crafts	139	41	42	II	39	26
Mine	II	4	7	4	0	8
Warfare						
Crafts						
Amphibious	26	I	17	4	II	20
Assault Craft						

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

C.1.6. Natural Resources Strength

Every battle will require natural resources (energy), especially for the needs of everyday community needs. The war situation will cause the orientation of meeting the energy needs of civil society to be diverted for military purposes. This is where one of the key strengths in battle, which is the power of the state in controlling its natural resources. Even though Indonesia is said to have the most oil reserves, the population is quite large, reaching over 260 million people with daily

Table 5. Comparison of Logistic Strength

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World	16	41	26	59	64	23
Kand						
Logistical						
Labor	126.100.000	14.940.00	38.900.000	3.237.000	44.000.000	56.230.000
Forces						
Rodway	437.759	98.721	180.053	3.356	213.151	180.549
Coverage						
(km)						
Railway	5.042	1.849	4.071	0	995	2.632
Coverage						
(km)						

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Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

consumption above I million barrels. But if calculated, Indonesia will survive long enough if there is a war situation with abundant natural resources and enormous oil reserves.

Table 6. Comparison of Natural Resources Strength

parison of Natural	Reso	ources Str	ength		
Vietnam	23	318.000	271.500	415.000	138.500.000 4.400.000.000
Philippina	64	26.640	15.000	300.000	138.500.000
Singapore	59	0	0	1.300.000	0
Thailand	26	378.200	239.700	1.005.000	396.400.000
Malaysia	41	603.400	647.900	625.000	3.230.000.000 3.6000.000.000
Indonesia	16	982.900	801.700	31.660.000	3.230.000.000
	World Rank	Resources	Oil Production (bblday)	Oil Consumption (bbl/day)	Proven Reserves (000 bbl)

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

C.1.7. Financial Strength

War or its preparation requires many costs, and requires adequate national financial management capabilities. There are 3 elements in financial strength, there are the defense budget foreign exchange reserves and gold, and purchasing power. The elements that need the most attention are foreign exchange reserves and defense spending. Of these two elements, Singapore is superior by having the largest foreign exchange reserves and defense spending. This means that Singapore has a greater chance to prepare for a war or finance a war. Indonesia has the greatest purchasing ability among the countries compared here. This means, from a financial standpoint, Indonesia has the greatest opportunity to transform its economic assets in financing and preparing for war. Even so, purchasing power requires time and political mechanisms that are not as easy as transferring financing such as foreign exchange reserves and defense spending.

Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries

C.1.8. Geographic Superiority

One of the military strength needed in warfare is geographical superiority. These advantages can be a defense gap or otherwise used as a defense base. As the largest archipelago in the world, Indonesia is superior in having a wide area of waterways and coastline. As for here there are 3 countries that have a land border area (shared border), Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.

Military strength data released by the GFP is based on data compiled by the CIA Fact and Statistics. It is still too abstract to know a concrete picture of strength, because it is only based on a quantitative approach. All the elements that make up military power in a country are not just about the quantitative aspects, but the qualitative aspects. For example, for the main weaponry system or weapon system currently has developed technology, each of which is divided into periods of 10-15 years (I generation). Other problems regarding the accuracy of the data is ;for example, in the group of helicopters, which are currently divided into several functions, such as logistical/army transport helicopters and attack helicopters. Another fact that cannot be ignored is the experience of war in the past that shaped the way of thinking in developing military strategy in the most urgent times.

*C.2. The Probability for an Open War Toward Indonesia*With all the possibilities and potential of military power, there are only 3 countries that have great opportunities for war with Indonesia, they

Table 7. Comparison of Financial Strength Numbers are in millions.

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Indonesia Malaysia Thailand Singapore Philippina Vietnam	Vietnam
World	91	41	97	65	64	23
Rank						
Financial						
(USD)						
Defense	006.9	4.700	6:390	002:6	3.000	3:365
Budget						
Reserve of	130.200	102.400	202.600	279.800	81.300	49.050
Forex&-						
Gold						
Purchasing 3.402.500 977.500 1.278.200	3.402.500	977-500	1.278.200	543.900	931.100	000.989
Power						

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

are the United States, China, and Russia. They are not only favored by elements of military power, but are also supported by all possible economic resources in the country. It takes months to be able to conquer the Indonesia through open warfare, if done in the near future. Indonesia, with its archipelagic characteristics, has the advantage of a defense aspect, especially when guerrilla warfare is carried out. To only conquer Iraq aided by Britain and its allies, the United States must bear long-term economic losses at home.

An open war option is almost impossible to realise with Indonesia. Modern battle strategies have now begun to shift from physical war-

Tabel 8. Comparison of Geographic Seperiority

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Geographic (KM(
Waterways	21.579	7.200	4.000	10	3.219	17.702
Coastline	54.716	4.675	3.219	193	36.289	3.444
Square Land Area	1.904.569	329.847	513.120	697	300.000	331.210
Shared Border	2.958	2.742	5.673	0	0	4.639

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Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

fare to political and intelligence wars. They will tend to use their foreign political power to dominate public officials, political parties, academics, journalistic institutions, and social institutions to secure their interests in Southeast Asia. Other forms of modern warfare can be in the form of cultural claims as was recently done by Malaysia. Cultural transition and way of thinking is actually a form of modern war, which aims to eliminate national cultural identity. There are still many forms of modern warfare involving international intelligence organizations to enter into the political and governmental systems as well as into the social and social system.

In the Hankamrata doctrine it is stated that if one of threat to regional sovereignty will take into account regional threats or regional threats. Indonesia is located in the Southeast Asian region, which is also adjacent to Australia. In this case, there are at least 5 countries that have the potential to become sovereign threats, they are Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. This is because Indonesia still has problems in the form of border disputes with neighboring countries. Border disputes will be very possible to trigger friction (at the border) which can lead to war.

Australia, in fact is not a serious threat, but this country is considered the most ready to conduct direct confrontation with Indonesia compared to other neighboring countries. Judging from the data of military power above, even had to fight with Indonesia, Australia would not be able to control the entire region (island), but only prioritised to control strategic islands such as Java and Papua. For this alone, Australia will face the risk of losing most of its defenses within its own country. Australia also will not risk at the expense of all its citizens who are ready to fight (manpower fit for service) to engage in battle with Indonesia. Only around 10 million military personnel are available, which is not enough to reduce 129 million military personnel or additional paramilitaries in the event of a guerrilla war. In history, Australia has never had a confrontation alone with Indonesia. Last time Australia helped in the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation, but that too with British involvement. In 1999, Australia's involvement in East Timor (now Timor Leste) was also behind the cloak of the peacekeeping force (UN) which of course was also supported by the United States and Britain. That is, if only his position was threatened to make a war decision with Indonesia, Australia would not be alone to face Indonesia.

Malaysia, in history Malaysia has never brave head-to-head battles with Indonesia, without the involvement of other countries. Confrontation with Indonesia in the Soekarno era, Malaysia was openly assisted by Britain and Australia. On paper, based on data released by the GFP above, Malaysia also does not have superiority in any field to fight with Indonesia. Malaysia might only excel in a few days of fighting less than a week. To conquer Indonesia at least it would take more than I month of direct battle. Another issue concerns the problem of ethnic Malay similarity, which will psychologically affect the course of the battle. Even if they had to fight with Indonesia, Malaysia would not be alone in facing Indonesia. Even so, Malaysia could be a trigger for the entry of large battles involving many countries.

Singapore, is a small country in the Southeast Asia region, but can be said to have sufficient defense equipment strength for war. The country, which is famous for its lion statue, has superiority in a land army and is supported by its financial strength, including superior in a technology such as air and naval power. Next year, as many as 2 F-35 squadrons will strengthen Singapore's air power. Even so, with the least number of personnel available, it is doubtful that the whole weap-

ons system will be used against Indonesia. In this case, it is very likely that Singapore, which entered the British Commonwealth group, will be used by other parties in conducting open battles with Indonesia.

Thailand, is the only country in the Southeast Asian region that currently operates aircraft carriers. Even though they are old, the GFP still notes that the aircraft carrier has an active status in which carrying a type of tactical attacker such as Super Entendart (made in France). Thailand actually does not have a history of certain conflicts with Indonesia, except only the issue of water borders. Nevertheless, Thailand has joined the Southeast Asian defense pact, namely SEATO, which contains the names of Southeast Asian countries (minus Indonesia), and Australia. At present, Thailand can be said to be quite dependent or have economic interests with Indonesia, especially to supply industrial raw materials and components. Indonesia is also a market for Thai industry, so it is also possible if in the future it will be in alliance with the defense pact to face Indonesia.

Philippines, Indonesia actually still has several waters border disputes with the Philippines. Even so, the Philippines is more concerned with the boundary waters with China than Indonesia. The history of the Philippines it self has a relatively good relationship with Indonesia even in the Soekarno era. Among the neighboring countries mentioned earlier, the Philippines has a relatively small threat to Indonesia. The Philippines also actually participated in a water border dispute with Malaysia, which is not far from the border of Indonesian waters. If you look at data on Philippine military power released by the GFP, the Philippines is considered superior in personnel strength (after Indonesia). But this country is very unlikely to open confrontation with Indonesia. Seeing the current condition of the Philippine economy, it will be open to the possibility that this country might be affiliated with a great power to face Indonesia. As events in the past by making his country as a military base.

Conclusion

At present, the anxiety, fear, uncertainty, and anger are emotional combinations that coloring the psychological nuances of global society. The Great War in history is usually never planned, but always erupts in the middle of a collective psychic atmosphere or a bad and uncontrolled public mood. In the midst of emotional turmoil, radicalisation usually occurs at the community level and can damage the emo-

Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries tional balance of the elite in making important decisions. The public mood will continue to deteriorate as the conflict and war drag on, then accelerate into collective frustration and can lead to fatalism.

CEJISS 4/2019 Global war, of course cannot be certain to happen, moreover the time to happen. In fact, none of the forces in the world today wants that war to happen. However, linking various factors, such as the accumulation of a series of conflicts and regional wars that drag on and involve more and more parties, military spending continues to swell, a touch of increasingly sophisticated technology to the war machine, the malfunctioning of international institutions effectively such as The United Nations, the increasing number of hardliners who hold key positions in the super powers, and of course the global economic crisis that has not yet recovered, leads us to an acute anxiety that a small incident could immediately trigger a major war. In recent years, the dynamics of global geopolitics have shown that the threat of global war is increasingly apparent.

The implications of the arms race, of course are the increased defense and military spending. China's total military spending in 2000 was still around USD 10.3 billion, and this year it is estimated to reach around USD 231 billion. Not just a matter of numbers, China is changing its weapons configuration by reducing land strength but increasing air and sea power, and increasing joint operation capability, which in war literature is called theatre-level command. That is, China modernised its army into a modern force, ready for war and offensive oriented. Data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) shows the total military spending of all countries in the world in 2016 reached USD 1.69 trillion, equivalent to 2.2% of world GDP. The ten countries with the largest proportion are America (36%), China (13%), Russia (4.1%), Saudi Arabia (3.3%), India (3.3%), France (3.3%), United Kingdom (2.9%), Japan (2.7%), Germany, (2.4%), and South Korea (2.2%).

Indonesia's military strength in the Southeast Asia region post-Cold War has practically declined. Indonesia, which in the old order era was dubbed the Asian tiger, could no longer roar the defense equipment of the national defense, which began to be consumed by time. The welfare of the soldiers was very alarming, and funding for drastic defense was very small so that it all resulted in this Asian tiger no longer being able to roar on the continent of the biggest part in this hemisphere. Nevertheless, that is all before, now day and has been passed

by a rich, prosperous country Indonesia. Indonesia's military strength is currently still not meeting the minimum essential force, in terms of military technology and a number of Indonesian defense equipments, which are lagging behind some countries in the Southeast Asia region. However, that does not mean that the overall Indonesian military of these countries, because the military strength of a country is not only calculated from military technology but there are still many other aspects that must be considered. Indonesia has the highest number of personnel and combat units among ASEAN countries, calculated from the three dimensions that Indonesia has the most headquarters and military units.

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We must believe and recognise that Indonesia is the strongest country in Southeast Asia. We realise that there are many who are pessimistic and trivial about the Indonesian military strength. This is in addition to the frequent occurrence of military defense equipment accidents during training due to aging, inadequate allocation of funds, and the development of the defense industry, which tends to decline. However, all these phases we are working on pass through and in the process towards improvement and we must realise we have felt the good impact of the process. Indonesia firmly raises the military budget every year and develops a rapidly growing defense industry. Indonesia also has a lot of international cooperation in the military field; Indonesia has a lot of cooperation with developed countries in order to increase military power, one of which is cooperation with South Korea in the manufacture of warplanes and submarines.



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Marking the Presidential Elections

The Year of Change or Continuity?

Festive and Viral

Outlining the Islamist and the Leftist in Indonesia's 2019 Election

Siti Aliyuna Pratisti, Taufik Hidayat, Deasy Silvya Sari

One of the most significant phenomena is the emergence of political identity that moves participation further from the conventional political platform. The Occupy Wall Street movement and the Arab Spring are suitable examples for postmodern politics which characterize by unstructured movement that was no longer based on traditional political party system. In Indonesia, a non-conventional political participation guided by self-actualization and identity driven motive, is performed by various groups of society-from religious movement which took the center stage of political discourse in Indonesia to youth leftist movement who run a campaign on Golongan Putih (an apolitical movement that suggest youngster to disassociate with any political group). Despite the difference in political values and goals, this plethora of movements shared the same platform in the landscape of social media. By using the postmodern paradigm, this article aim to illustrate how postmodern politics has shaped political identity and political participation in Indonesia. Authors conducted literature review toward social medias and relevant articles and also did informal interview with purposeful sampling toward the youth leftist movements. This article find that in Indonesia's 2019 election, in postmodern politics, the leftist and the Islamist in Indonesia are facing the paradox of profanity, whereas political participation is shaped in daily basis: always changing and superficial.



Siti Aliyuna Pratisti, Taufik Hidayat, Deasy Silvya Sari. Festive and Viral: Outlining the Islamist and the Leftist in Indonesia's 2019 Election. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 342–353.

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Keywords: identity, postmodern, reflexive modernization, political participation.

The year 2019 will be remembered as another seasonal storm in Indonesia's political arena. National election won by Joko Widodo is tainted by the popular political segregation, religious metanarrative, and the prolonged of the election manipulation or vote rigging issued by Prabowo's coalition. In addition, four days before the election, a documentary entitled "Sexy Killers" released by Wacthdog Documentary, an independent film production. The film depicted a coal industry in Indonesia and environmental degradation that resulted from the mismanagement. The film catch nation-wide attention since it explicitly mentioned names of political figure that running in the 2019 election. Many of young Indonesia's then voiced *Golongan Putih* (political apathy) as they are disillusioned, both by the regime and the opposition.

The two opposites polar in Indonesia's political view then challenged by the third (*Golongan Putih*). While the first two polar related to the political figures (Joko Widodo and Prabowo), the third is voicing another popular participation: leftist movement in Indonesia. Despite the difference in agenda setting, these events symbolized the trend of postmodern politics that emerged in global level and characterised by extensive discourse in social media. Robinson (2007,p. 94) depicts postmodern perspectives as a rapid changing of symbolic interaction in political system. In 2019, the using of religious metanarrative and the reemergence of *Golongan Putih*, symbolized the popular political discourse in social media that remain as essential study to understand identity politics in Indonesia. Therefore, this article Emphasise s the two issues in portraying how identity plays as important factor shaping political participation.

Another interesting point that need further analyse from the two cases is the apparent gap between political ideas and its practice. This is also another characteristic of postmodern politics when the interpretation of (political) values is rather subjective. A good example of postmodern politics phenomena is Arab Spring (2010) and the Occupy Movement (2012), where the people involves in the movement are having their own subjective interpretation of the movement and often led to oblivious agenda setting and goals. To understand this phenomenon, this article will elaborate the conception of identity politics in postmodern conditions by following two objectives; (1) to describe

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how postmodern condition shape identity politics, and (2) to analyse how social media (as the platform of postmodern politics) transformed today political participation. This research follows the procedure of qualitative method to expound the connection between concepts and information gathered. The data gathered through comprehensive literature review on the case of popular political participation in 2019 election, media monitoring and informal interview with the youth leftist movements. In validating the data, authors compared extensive literature studies on social media with results from interview (jotings and transcript).

Identity in Postmodern Era

Identity is defined as a character, feeling, or viewpoint, which can be separated to different groups or people. In the study of identity, Anthony Giddens has a solid impact in setting up fundamental legitimacy to clarify the development of non-customary political personality that moves from the conventional ideology and political practice. Giddens plans his thoughts dependent on two principles; (1) the prescient nature of society as clarified by Durkheim and (2) Weber's perspective on the significance of individual stories. Giddens then combined the two perspectives and provide a bridging hypothesis between the two traditional polarities in humanism. The two contending thoughts collaborate in the structuration idea which stressed the connection among society and people. According to Gidden, in the process of structuration, the human agency (micro level activity) and the social structure (macro level forces), influence one another (Giddens, 1991). Further, the interaction between macro and micro level are shaping the pattern of individual behavior. He also stated that the structure of society basically affected by the behavior of its individuals. He also expressed that the structure of society essentially influenced by the conduct of its people (lifestyle). Based on this reflective relation, Giddens argues that the social condition occurs today is the repetition of modernity that undergoes some changes (Giddens, 1991).

Though Giddens' perspective on late-modernism has set to be a prominent theory in social and political study, still it faces numerous critics. Stjepan Metrovic is a humanist known for his direct hostility toward Giddens, started the polemics. Metrovic (1998, p. 7) reprimands Giddens' view which he supposes is far too rational, as for Giddens, emotion has always been the part of traditional value structure of so-

ciety that has no significant role in the formation of modern political lifestyles. Gidden's perception of political participation was also challenged by the reemergences of emotional feature in current social and political discourses. He then proposed a study on self-identity which explains two basic pattern of political identity: (1) the fluidity of changing identity to the point of a daily basis, and (2) the ability of an individual to reflect on the conditions of society. Self-identity, according to Giddens, is a person's own reflexive understanding of their biography (Giddens, 1991, p. 53). However, the capability of reflexive understanding is challenged by the development of cyberspace, that distorted the ability of individual reflection upon the Self and social context is somehow lost in oblivion. Today communication does not provide fixed identity but offers the possibility of constant recontextualization (Prosman, 2011, p. 23). With this changing pattern of interaction, political identity is no longer the result of one's rational choice. Cyberspace undeniably brings significant change to social construction and brought up the term of postmodernism. However, Gidden consistently disagreed on the term postmodern society-he insisted the term of late-modernism to describe the current situation. In his argument on identity, he shows hesitance to move further from advancement, made his reflexive speculations continually being tested to clarify the present phenomena, which lie in the surge of postmodernism.

Festive and Viral

The peculiar case of post-truth is one indication that irrationality has replaced rationality that highly valued in modern society. Public opinion is no longer driven by logic, but personal preference. This phenomenon leads to the next consequence of the loss of reflexive process in the forming of one identity. Another view on identity by Bernea (2003.p, 84) provides an alternative reading of the current actuality. An identity which is resulted from the lacking of authenticity leads to the natural discontent of pseudo-identities. This blurry reading of the text (of Self and social phenomenon) brings a huge impact to the changing of social norms. Without the existence of moral consciousness, the social system of society is fragmented; generate social conflict based on emotional ties and subjectivity. Therefore, identity requires a new reading. Goffman predicts this condition by argues that the Self, awaits individuals in every situation and every situation is multi-situated activity system (Goffman in Allan, 1997.p, 6). The virtual realities, as a multi-situated activity, bring the greatest impact on identity in the term of atomism. Lyon (in Hossain and Karim, 2013, p.172) depicts

atomism as the substitution of social ties by a feeling of vulnerability and loss of course. A representation of today character, caught in the fantasy of connectedness in a detached reality.

CEJISS Changing Platform in Political Participation

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The advancement of technology has carried an unfathomable political mode. In Indonesia, the enthusiasm of youngsters toward alternative ideologies and the emergence of religious metanarrative in political discourse, is likely to occurred as social media provide, not only political parties but also individual, a political platform to expressed theirs political view. However, the term postmodern politics is nothing new. Formed in the 1960s, the emergence of political subjectivity bring postmodern politics as an alternative platform of identity politics that promotes anti-rationalism, feminism, environmental movements, non-discriminatory movements in lesbian and gay, as well as movements against abortion. These movements emphasis on transforming the public sphere and transform social institutions on the basis of their subjectivity (Best and Kellner, 1991, p.72). In any case, just in the late twentieth century, when the internet is available for all, identity politics has turned postmodern politics in a global level.

The transformation of communication technology has produced new pattern of social forces. Nowadays, political debate "cyber stage" is open for participants from various backgrounds. More positive result of the open "cyber stage" is giving a chance to marginal identity to voice their narratives. The successful LBGT movement is a good example of how social media has generated a basic transformation in the narrative of sexuality. Another example can be seen in the vegan movement as a political action to counter the mismanagement of food companies and modern food production system. These various narratives present simultaneously in social media as the main platform of current political identity. Best and Kellner (1991) also mention that "There is another mode of affirmative postmodern politics, perhaps the dominant form of politics today, known as "identity politics" that often has emancipatory aspirations but which usually falls short of advancing systemic change and new forms of radical struggle". It refers to individual perception of their personal preference, cultural and political background, which they expressed by engaging activism or mode of political participation. In twenty first century, the political expression is widely shared in social media.

This virtual political space is a milestone in today's postmodern movement. There are two main forms of disseminating ideas in social media: activism and art performance. The existence of the internet enables the activist from around the world to spread their ideas by sharing, posting, or sounding their petition. This is how the social media changed global activism operates: by gives way to the alternative narratives of many difference agendas. Here are few examples: *truthout. com* that voiced the liberal social narrative, *rainforest.arkivert.no* who speak out and concern toward the burden of environmental protection, *fear.ink* that discusses various issues of Islamophobia, to *mipex. eu* who pay attention to the process of integration of refugees with the community.

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In addition to the website, networking between the activists also play significant role in the form of civic organisation. Within a virtual basis, youth organisations are able to have members from various countries (de Jong, et al, 2005.p, 210). Through networking, the political movement has created innovation, disseminating ideas, and promotes grass root engagement toward political and social problems beyond the boundaries of nationality. This new political platform brings specific character to the political movement today, which creates a new form of non-hostile civil disobedience in shaping public opinion and convoy policy change. A civil disobedience can be performed by cyber-based organisations known as "electronic civil disobedience". These tactics conduct by hacking certain websites, or by flooding a certain company with millions of emails (Pickerill 2001.p, 146). This new pattern of civil disobedience is very effective in spreading ideas and building awareness among the wider community. Such tactics transform the internet infrastructure from a means of communication into an instrument of action (Wray, 1998).

Another form of political movement that generated from post-modern politics materialized in the form of art-especially street art. Gravities draw by Banksy, for example, are able to raise social awareness from anti child labor movement to war criticism. The streets are chosen as political battleground to challenge the hegemonic ideas of power, economy, to social and cultural life. After Trump won the presidential election, the streets in the United States are filled with gravity protesting Trump's anti-immigration policy. Also the gravity in the walls of public buildings in Berlin during the WTO meeting in mid-2017, is the political statement made by anonymous political agent.

The spirit of street art captured the essence of force within postmodern politics. They are the cutting edge in methods, attacking corporate hegemony and their ideology (Suzuki, 2013,p. 6). Street art is a symbol of resistance to the control of political parties and corporations that shackled society's consciousness. Street art, by definition, is grassroots movement who trying to expose various forms of abuse of power that occurred. It seeks to expand the consciousness of the average citizen to the harsh realities of our time. By doing their "city guerillas", they mean to break barriers between high and low culture, in order to show our common humanity (Suzuki, 2013, p. 6-7).

Global activism and street art has showed a new process of political articulation, transmission and dissemination of political ideas to various audiences that has bring new sensibilities into everyday political practices (Featherstone, 2007, p.69). Aronson (1999, p. 5) defined it as postmodern political design, whereas a juxtaposition of elements within the unifying structure of the stage frame creates a referential network within the mind of the viewer that extends beyond the immediately apparent world. These two forms of political movement speak the same language—the language of political identity that reflects in the "politics of everyday life" (Gidden, 1991). Identity politics, which was originally a counter-culture movement in the '60s, has evolved into a global movement capable of shaking the hegemonic order. Suzuki (2013, p. 8) reveals that activism and postmodern political movement seeks to change society by making us aware of our shared humanity through street theaters and orchestrated absurdity.

Festive and Viral: Profanity in Political Participation

In the age of postmodern politics, political participation is polarised into "the sacred" and "the profane". The sacred is refers to the hard-liner radical movement, while the profane refers to mundane and non-ideological movement. Both have the same right to expresses their political view on the "cyber stage". In other words, postmodern politics brings its own relativity. This condition allows post-truth and personal biased appear in the political discourse and more often, interpretation is entirely cut off from its any original meaning (Brann, 1992.p, 6). This condition of postmodern political has become two sides of the same coin: on one side, it can become a very resourceful social power, but on the other side, it lack of meaning and commitment. Arab Spring, Occupy Movement, the use of reli-

gious metanarrative and the youth leftist movement in Indonesia, are facing a similar dilemma.

Arab Spring and Occupy Movement are bringing the awareness of how political profanity has become the strength also weakness in postmodern political movement. With social media as their platform, both of these movements managed to gather a large number of supporters. The demonstration in Tahrir Square, for example, there are more than ten thousand people who join the rally for Democartisation in Egypt. For those who watched from the television, this demonstration indicates a major shift in the narrative of Egyptian political power. However, when the news tried to provide depth report on the event by interviewing the activists, a profane reality burst to the surface since most of the protester did not have solid ideas and solutions (about what kind of government system they really wanted)-they were on the streets for a very simple reason: to be part of a historic movement (Bayat, 2009,p. 215). The absence of a strong agenda setting in the Arabs Spring gives way for political parties to represent and revive the authoritarian regime. Occupy movement is also bear the weakness of postmodern politics, though it echoes in various parts of the world, there is no significant change in the current capitalist system. Gidden (1999) mentioned that the condition of profanity is a direct consequence of the stagnant political party system. The public disappointment to political parties has bred the anti-ideological form of political participation.

Indonesia is also gravely affected by the changing form of political participation. The changing nature of political participation has given the way to the Front Pembela Islam (FPI) in shaping Indonesia's political agenda. The anti-blasphemy campaign against the former Jakarta governor, Basuki Tjahja Purnama (Ahok) in 2016 via the symbolic 212 rallies is one of the examples. By narrating the anti-Chinese sentiment and religious metanarrative, FPI has succeeded in brought back their popularity. With massive rally in social media by FPI and its supporters, the North Jakarta High Court's condemned Ahok for two years in prison for the sacrilege against Islam over remarks he made in September 2016 that supposedly offended the Al-Maidah (51) of the Quran (Setijadi, 2017,p.1). Mietzer and Muhtadi (2018.p,13) highlight the driving motive of the campaign is because they "have lost their access to formal power and have no other recourse than the Internet and the street". Therefore, to stay in the spotlight, the FPI perpetuating their agenda by responding to the current social and political situation, for Festive and Viral

example, the anti-Ahok protest in 2016 and later, anti-Buddhist sentiment in 2017. The same pattern of religious metanarrative also remerged in the 2019 national election. Political group are divided between the Islam Populist linked to Prabowo's political coalition and the nationalist which supported the incumbent, Joko Widodo. Islamic symbolism are used by both coalition, however, since the FPI is joined the Prabowo's coalition, the religious metanarrative (such as The Ulama as Prime Leader and anti-Chinese sentiment) are significantly used in their campaigns.

On the other hand, after the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, left ideology also turn to social media in disseminating their ideas. In March 2016, the leftist movement in Indonesia held "Belok Kiri Festival" and gained wide attention from the younger generation. The festival, which intended as bold political statement from the leftist as part of their struggles against hegemonic and dominant system, has different meaning to some of the attendance. Ranging from high school to college students, some of them view the festival in a very carefree manner. Most of them took a selfie and uploaded it on social media. One of the attendance mention that his motive to attend the festival is to "mengisi waktu sama teman" (spending spare moment with my friend), while other attendance mention his motive "pingin cari tahu aja acara apa" (just want to know what is it all about). The "only to be seen on the scene" behavior that can be found amongst the Tahrir Square demonstrators, also clearly visible at the Festival. Another turning event in the leftist narrative in Indonesia resurfaced only few days before the election. The release of "Sexy Killers", a documentary film on environmental degradation in Indonesia's coal mine industry has reshaped, mostly young generation, their ideas of political participation. The film played as the third wave in the Indonesian's divided political view. It bring strong message on political disillusionment on how government deal with environmental issues. It also shaped the third non-official voter: Golongan Putih (the political apathy). While the nationalist Joko Widodo supporters tend to restrain their opposition with Prabowo's supporter - the Golongan Putih did not. They are clearly voicing their political statement by opposing, not only the incumbent, but both political coalition running the Indonesia's national election in 2019.

Despite the difference symbolism, the leftist and the Islamist in Indonesia are successful in delivering theirs agenda. However, in postmodern politics, both are facing the paradox of profanity, whereas

political participation is shaped in daily basis: always changing and superficial. There is always a self-image and personal preference embedded in every political decision. This is clearly the side effects of non-ideological movement, when traditional political values can no longer be the basis of political participation. Therefore, in understanding the recent phenomena, we have to deal with the ugly truth – that there is no guarantee for solid political support, since identity is always struggle and reconstruct almost in daily basis. The FPI agenda and the leftist successful campaign illustrate in the paradox of subjectivity: it is powerful yet hard to grasp. As Best and Kellner (1991) stated, that "post-modern politics is open and evolving, and will itself develop in response to changing and perhaps surprising conditions".

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Conclusion

The current study of political identity stands on the ground of postmodernism. While Giddens's modern view is still very relevant to measure the social dynamics, however, there is a fundamental change in communication patterns that turns reality into virtual mirrors. The similar condition also exists in the context of the youth movement. When modernity has a steady structure by provides templates form of lifestyle, the transformation of the postmodern society rests on the individual's subjectivity in imaging the lifestyle. Faced with these changing conditions, a new synthesis form is needed to grasp the basic social relations patterns of our current era. Both views, of course, have advantages and limitations, and it is possible that through the understanding of both can emerge a new construction as what Hegel calls "differentiated unity". The dynamics of social science provide space for the existence of new constructs that are born out of social and historical context. By taking the example of the dynamic form of political participation in 2019 Indonesia's national election, it is expected that the changing in social paradigm can be clearly outlined.



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Indonesian Presidential Election 2019

Democracy without Conflict?

Wahyu Gunawan, Keri Lestari, Margo Purnomo, Deasy Silvya Sari

This article aims to explain the ideal construct of Indonesia democracy after the 2019 presidential election which is colored by the conflict of two blocks known as cebong vs kampret. This shows that democracy cannot be separated from conflict. However, despite the ongoing conflict, is it possible for Indonesia to build an ideal construction of Indonesian-style democracy? Democracy in 2019 Presidential election is an indicator of political development in Indonesia, whereas all state institutions must ensure basic rights of Indonesia peoples. A valuable lesson of Indonesia democracy is diversity as a blessing of Indonesian human life with Pancasila as democracy system. In this system, deliberation (musyawarah mufakat) and majority voice ensure direct presidential election based on people's will. The dynamic of 2019 presidential election is the emergence of the tightness and uniqueness of supporters of candidate pairs. At the end, this dynamic was coloured by flowing tears of the motherland mourning.

Keywords: democracy, presidential election, Indonesia.

Democracy originated from Athens, Ancient Greece in the 5th century BC. It comes from the word, demos means people, and kratos or cratein means government, so that it is defined as government of the people, or government of the people, by the people and for the people.



Wahyu Gunawan, Keri Lestari, Margo Purnomo, Deasy Silvya Sari. Indonesian Presidential Election 2019: Democracy without Conflict?. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 354–367.

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ple. The amount of chaos, conflicts, frequent changes of government, and periods of tyranny, made the Greeks give a lot of speculative legal thinking about legal issues and society. According to Plato (in Thalhah, 2009), the state must be run by state authorities that do not discriminate against people or society, the position of all people before the law is equal and balanced. Aristotle Plato's pupil (in Thalhah, 2009) made an essential distinction of the legal concept of distributive justice and corrective justice. Distributive justice is the concept of justice concerning the distribution of goods and respect to each person according to their place in society. Whereas corrective justice, in carrying out the law, there must be a single and common standard of a general nature, as a consequence of an action taken by a person in relation to others around him. These standards must be balanced and applied without looking at people, must be objective (Thalhah, 2009). The law does not only regulate the behavior that already exists in society and maintain existing habits but has led to a tool or means, as an expression or will manifested in society (Thalhah, 2009).

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State institutions in exercising state power need to be limited, so that they are not arbitrary, do not overlap authority and there is no centralization of power in one institution, it is necessary to have a division or separation of powers. This is intended solely to guarantee the human rights of its citizens so that the authorities (Montesquieu, Philosophers of France - 1748 in Yulistyowati et al, 2016) do not treat them arbitrarily. The concept of Trias Politica is a normative principle that power should not be handed over to the same person to prevent abuse of power by the ruling party, meaning that state life by separating power is expected to be separated from each other in an equal position, so that they can control and balance one another each other (checks and balances), other than that limiting power so that there is no centralization of power in one hand which will give birth to arbitrariness (Yulistyowati et al, 2016).

In the system of government of the Republic of Indonesia implicitly, both before and after the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, applying the Trias Politica Montesquieu concept, but its application is not absolute. The division of power based on state functions in the Indonesian republic's government system based on the 1945 Constitution before the amendment turned out to be not only Legislative (MPR, DPR), Executive (President) and Judiciary (MA), but apart from the 3 (three) functions, it was still divided again into Consultative Power (DPA) and

Examinative Power (BPK). After the amendment it turned out that not only was the Legislature (MPR, DPR, DPD), Executive (President) and Judiciary (MA, MK), but it was still divided into Examinative Power (BPK) (Yulistyowati et al, 2016).

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In order to fill those who occupied these state institutions, Indonesia held an election. In this case, simply put, the election is one of the pillars or the hallmark of democracy (Mesfin, 2008). However, the elections held were generally not free from conflict. Conflicts in elections occur when elections as a democratic process are considered unfair, unresponsive, corrupt by those who prioritise interests rather than norms and public needs (Fischer, 2002). In Africa, for example, electoral conflicts often lead to violence including competition between elites, ethnic politics, land conflicts, which even involve military forces in the conflict (Kovacs & Bjarnesen, 2018). In Indonesia, the 2019 presidential election had divided the Indonesian nation into a conflict of two tadpoles versus shucks. Cebong is a designation for bearers of presidential candidate or Joko Widodo-Ma; ruf Amin and Kampret are the names of supporters of o2 Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. This labeling-based conflict is getting sharper even after the presidential election is over (Triwibowo, 2019). This labeling shows that participant's fanaticism is a malaise from each opponent that tear motherland.

Valuable lessons from democracy in Indonesia: difference is a blessing for Indonesian human life

Indonesia has gone through at least four periods of democracy: liberal democracy (during independence), guided democracy (when President Soekarno dissolved the constituent), Pancasila democracy (President Soeharto) and transitional democracy. It turned out that liberal democracy at that time could not make a meaningful change for Indonesia, the various cabinet-build-ups at that time had shown a variety of personalities along with their brilliant thinking in leading but easily overthrown by parliament with a vote of no confidence. While the guided democracy declared by Sukarno (seeing the length of the constituents issuing a new constitution) has strengthened Sukarno's position absolutely (Nihaya M, 2011).

Pancasila democracy has a rational and specific basis for thinking compared to both liberal democracy and popular (communist) democracy. Liberal democracy puts individual freedom as the basis for implementing democracy. The philosophy used is humans as free individuals. People's democracy puts the foundation of society as the pattern of implementing democracy. The philosophy used is that humans live in a commune structure. Pancasila Democracy places wisdom wisdom (common sense) as the basis for implementing democracy. The philosophy used is humans as creatures of thought. Considering that in a democracy opening the space for dissent, the difference must be seen as a basic capital for the development of human life. Therefore, in managing differences requires common sense, not free individuals or individuals who are shackled by society. With common sense, the difference will be a blessing for human life in realizing justice and welfare of life and human life and their natural environment (Prabowo, 2011)

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The concept of Pancasila democracy does not originate from the understanding of individualism that developed in the West, although it cannot be denied the liberal values that shape democracy in the West such as equality of citizens' rights, freedom of opinion as the main pillar of democracy, strongly influences the enrichment of Pancasila democracy. Pancasila democracy that is raised is democracy based on the understanding of togetherness and kinship, the substance of this model democracy is a critical attitude towards the policies of the authorities, deliberation to reach mupakat in political decision-making and the habit of helping or helping each other. Pancasila democracy in Indonesia is characterised by religious nationalism rather than secular nationalists. The first precept Pancasila acclimated the divine values in the State ideology as the foundation of the nation and state (Agustam, 2011).

The collapse of communism in 1989 became a crucial momentum for democracy as a political system to spread its influence throughout the world. Democracy has broad meaning and also its own complexity, especially the debate between liberal democracy and social democracy. The practice of democracy in Indonesia after the 1998 reform era shows the problems faced by this country in creating a democratic society. Democartisation in Indonesia is still in the process and there are still many things that need to be addressed (Nugroho, 2012).

Basically, Pancasila Democracy System consist of Consensus and Majority Discussion. Democracy presents the common interests of the community. By using all infrastructure and supra-structure, community interest can be contested as government policy. Government policies, in Indonesia, have been produced in two mechanisms: Con-

sensus-building and Majority votes. Both are based on Pancasila values. With problems in the form of space and the number of people in democracy, consensus agreement is sometimes replaced in other processes such as majority votes, for example, the most votes are general elections, both on a national and local scale. On the other hand, consensus was held to make policies at the legislative level. In some cases, the issue of governance was decided by consensus agreement. So, deliberation and consensus majority vote the same in the democratic system, has a fundamental reason as the national value of the implementation of Pancasila (Permatasari and Cahyo, 2014)

Direct presidential elections based on the will of the people

Direct election is the process of choosing the representation of the aspirations of the people to achieve all their dreams and hopes to those who want to be able to maintain the mandate and become their trust to always voice the conscience of the people who chose it. According to Hamza (2003) the direct election of the president is based on the will of the people who determine the heirs of the national leader himself, with the provisions and mechanism of the election implementation.

Indarja (2018) explains, the regulation of the Election of the President and Vice President in Indonesia changes from time to time, starting from the period 1945-1950, the President and Vice President are chosen by the PPKI by acclamation. Period 1950-1959 President and Vice President are chosen by agreement between the RIS countries and RI. After the period of 1959 until now, the people through general elections elect the President and Vice President. After the issuance of the Constitutional Court Decision Number 14 / PUU-XI / 2013 Concerning Judicial Review of Law Number 42 Year 2008 Regarding the Election of the President and Vice President, the 2019 General Elections shall be held simultaneously both the Legislature and the Executive. Tamrin (2013) stressed the importance of the provisions of the Direct Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in the Reformation Era. The direct presidential and vice-presidential elections have begun in 2004 under Law Number 23 of 2003 and renewed with Law Number 42 of 2008. The importance of this provision is that the president and vice president-elect reflect the choice of the majority of people. In addition to preventing problems in Parliament, this provision also aims to maintain the sustainability of the President as head of government and head of state. Therefore, it is not easy for him to be moved or impeached.

Democratic elections and the presidential election illustrates that sovereignty is in the hands of the people, where the government comes from the people, by the people, and for the people. In elections, there are political contestations that encourage the candidates for leaders to make efforts to win the general election. This has caused different reactions in the community regarding their views on the efforts made by the contestants. The current warm situation in Indonesia is the presidential election held in 2019, but the atmosphere of tight competition has been felt since 2017. Tightness between supporters of the two pairs of candidates causes the 2019 presidential election to have its own uniqueness compared to previous presidential elections. This presidential election is a rematch of competition 5 years ago in 2014. There are interesting things about the phenomena that occur prior to the 2019 presidential election, namely competition between two camps of candidate pairs has caused various reactions among the public. In fact, differences in principles and points of view are what make the emergence of patterns as if there is competition to seep into the layers of society and are vulnerable to disunity in the middle of Indonesia is a country that upholds the values of pluralism (Huda, et al: 2018).

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The presidential election is a series of activities to elect a president in accordance with the aspirations of his people, which are mediated by the election organizer safely and peacefully. The 2019 presidential election is the process of selecting the president of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period. In the series finally colored very high dynamics and even bleeding mixed with the aroma of death. Should the 2019 democracy party be full of endless bloody conflicts? The reality of the 2019 presidential election is not only competing in a healthy manner, but also raises a very high contradiction resulting in a very open conflict. What's wrong with my people, red and white half-pillar fluttering gaping wounds, torn hearts of the nation's children, making the tears of the motherland grieving flowing.

Democracy: Community (Without) Conflict (?)

In the realm of democracy, community conflict becomes a necessity. Democracy cannot be separated from the existence of conflict but through the 2019 Election is expected to be an effort to manage the conflict towards a good, especially constructive Conflict that is able to mediate pragmatic negotiations of the interests that exist in the motherland.

The dynamics that occur in society will determine the existence and sustainability of democracy in a community context. The tendency that democracy Emphasise's the existence of autonomy for individuals related to their equal rights in society makes the presence of democracy has created a meeting room of various differences from each individual or community group that makes conflict as a matter that will always be present in the space of democracy (Sukri, 2016).

At present, there is a tendency to view conflicts in the era of democracy as negative excesses of the existence of democracy. The assumption that democracy is a good system and will bring good to human life is interpreted by a society without conflict. This understanding seems to mask the fact that the freedom and equality of each individual offered by the democratic system means providing space for conflict, because human nature as creatures that always have differences. Conflict tends to be considered a non-democratic phenomenon as something that actually makes sense in a democratic context. Through election as one of the main pillars and indicators of democracy that seems to be a criticism of the rejection of conflict as an important element in a democratic society (Sukri, 2016).

Although democracy is understood as a method that can benefit the community, its presence cannot be separated from the existence of conflict between individuals and community groups. This understanding is due to differences in interpretations, preferences and goals of each individual and even groups of people who live together in a social life context even though the interpretation of how people will rule and in what form then produces various perspectives on democracy. As the essence of social change, including changes that are progressive in a community structure. A conflict can be constructive or destructive that arises when two or more people or groups of people believe that they have different goals (Sukri, 2016).

If every decision will be taken as part of human life, then the decision taken in the election can be said as an attempt to manage the conflict towards a good. Thus, both the winners and losers must submit to and obey the decisions made in the election as an agreement taken by the community together to resolve conflicts over differences in choices and desires to whom and what policies are expected to become policy makers (Sukri, 2016).

Elections must be understood as a way to find a decision between many conflicting differences in society but on a temporary basis. Elections become a process that is always done periodically considering the form, type and model of conflicts that occur in society due to differences make conflict as a part of the reason for the presence of democracy. Disclaiming conflict in the existence of democracy can be seen as an effort to deny the existence of democracy itself (Sukri, 2016).

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Elections as a form of democracy provide space for peaceful competition between political ideas, personalities, and political and social debates to remain in the arena of constructive conflict, so the efforts are made not only on Election Day but even before. This requires attention to the processes that occur in the dynamics of elections outside Election Day. Elections must be seen as a space of conflict that is part of a cycle of social change and community life that links matters that have an influence before and after the election (Sukri, 2016). In the end all differences and conflicts that exist in society due to various differences that are intrinsic can be stabilized or sought a solution but only temporarily through a pragmatic negotiation between the interests that form certain forces against others (Sukri, 2016).

Washing the Tears of Indonesian Motherland: An Effort to Indonesian Unity

Efforts to wash away the tears of grief of the motherland after the 2019 elections in the framework of knitting the unity of Indonesia are still on the national track that unity and justice in diversity are the political ideals of the nation's children, the importance of multiculturalism discussion in increasing social cohesion, and the need for democratic transformation to establish citizen communication and make social integration policies. There is ongoing support from the mass media in enhancing national identity; Obligations of the world of education in supporting national unity and diversity; Building nationalism based on cultural diversity.

Unity and justice in diversity are the political ideals of the nation. Many countries put unity and justice in diversity as national political ideals. David, P (2016) gives an example of India which views unity as a political ideal in the context of India's post-colonial profound diversity and on this political ideal from the perspective of justice. Another case in Ethiopia, Adamu, AY (2013) discusses ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity, which are the distinguishing features of this country, despite failing to properly handle the issues of diversity, but there are efforts to overcome them by maintaining a balance between unity and diversity.

Another example (Brewster, K.: 2004) is the twentieth century Mexico offers a brilliant example of a country that is able to overcome its ethnic divisions. After a decade of brutal civil war (1910-2020), the country developed a series of reforms designed to incorporate previously marginalised sectors of society.

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Nurturing the Spirit of Asia Africa 1955, there is commitment to diversity, independence and cooperation. Indonesia's normative leadership at the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference was based on anti-colonialism that was part of the 'Spirit of Bandung'. However, Indonesia's recent form of leadership, following extraordinary Democartisation, is more difficult to understand. Indonesia shows a great embrace of diversity alongside substantial illiberality - a pattern that produces a flexible form of liberalism that presents difficulties, but also shows special opportunities for Indonesian leadership. Taking into account the navigation of Indonesia's unity with diversity enables a better understanding of Indonesia's current and potential future forms of leadership than analyse s that rely on macro-level expectations of Democartisation taken from the dominant liberal understanding of democracy and political order. This is partly due to the importance of ongoing commitment to diversity, independence and cooperation articulated in Bandung in 1955 (Brigg et al, 2016).

Clearly, there is a need for multiculturalism discussion by increasing social cohesion. Multiculturalism discussions are urgently needed to increase social cohesion, for example in the UK after 11 September 2001, economic determinism and structural and cultural racism, with European government rhetoric and public policy almost exclusively aimed at Muslims. Then the ruling labor party held a discussion by exploring the changing concept of multiculturalism with special reference to British Muslims and emerging debates related to identity, nation and civil society (Abbas, T.: 2005). Nigeria also considers multiculturalism as the best way to deal with diversity in the emerging (fragmented) nation-state in Africa, by demonstrating the adoption of a federal government system designed to encourage 'interactive pluralism' which ultimately promotes 'fragmented pluralism' (Adebanwi, 2018). In Norway and the Netherlands, one can observe a general shift away from multiculturalism and an increasing emphasis on citizenship and social cohesion (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007). For this reason, it is important to have a "group" for politics and the relationship between political action, multiculturalism, and socio-economic integration (Bloemraad, 2007).

The need for democratic transformation aims to establish citizen communication and makes social integration policies. The postwar Second World War is an example of a country that is changing social integration policies, especially the policies and philosophies of social integration of the Labor Government that specifically represent the post-multiculturalism discourse for social integration. The Labor Government seeks to build social integration by introducing abstract shared identities, which can be accepted by both majority and minority groups and in accordance with various cultural or religious conventions and teachings (Adachi, 2011).

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In Malaysia as a multi-ethnic country, diversity is considered a challenge for national unity. Various ethnic groups in Malaysia have expressed different ideals about inter-ethnic unity and differed in their ideas about how this can be achieved. The results show that different ethnic groups have the same problem perception in terms of problem recognition, involvement, recognition of constraints, and not significantly different in terms of their social position on the problem. The findings of Azlan, A. A., Kee, C. P., & Abdullah, M. Y. (2018) suggest that different ethnic groups may be equipped differently to deal with the issue of inter-ethnic unity in Malaysia. Communication and policy efforts to build an integrated country will benefit by considering these differences to ensure effective implementation.

In the case of Turkey, Boyraz, C., & Turan, Ö. (2015) focuses on democratic transformation that demands more social integration through internalising participation through promoting active communication between citizens by increasing claims of active participation in the social and political fields and by making identities visible in various socio-cultural aspects.

A Support can dome from Mass Media in enhancing national identity. Good things can be seen from the role of the Saturday Evening Post which mediated the nation in constructing the popular culture of American nationality between 1942 and 1969. As a medium, where the idea of shifting American identity is articulated, promoting a united American image, providing a real connection with countries that seek to integrate readers into in the sense of national community, the United States is defined as a united state by summarising internal differences, articulating a country where unity is expressed through a shared democratic political beliefs where differences and diversity reside (Appleton, 2002).

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Educational support is needed for unity and diversity. Malaysia is an example of how to promote unity in society starting from school education from a young age through arts education, unity and harmony among children in a multicultural society can be developed and strengthened. Art education is used among students of different school systems and races to foster unity and harmony between them. Strengthening unity among children in multicultural societies can bring harmony and peace in the future. Art education as a tool in achieving the national agenda to strengthen unity and harmony among elementary school children in Malaysia who come from various races and school systems (Balakrishnan, 2017).

According to Ben-Porath, S. (2011) the idea of citizenship as a common destiny is a productive lens for use in national affiliation analysis and for use in the educational process for citizenship. Muttaqin (2014) added, Nationalism Values and Norms manifested in culture or in the Indonesian National subculture were built from core values in the form of local culture-based education laden with life skills as a provision for survival in community life.

Indonesian society need building nationalism based on cultural diversity. Nationalism was built from the integration of all elements of the nation and state, the result of the people's integrity. Social integrity and social cohesiveness are built from the cohesiveness of the people in carrying out solidarity with fellow nations. Solidarity refers to a state of relationship between individuals and / or groups based on shared moral feelings and beliefs that is reinforced by shared emotional experiences (Durkheim, 1895 in Johnson, 1986). The basis of social solidarity is the existence of dynamic social relationships through good mass communication and face-to-face friendship between citizens.

The principles of nationality and humanity that Emphasise the importance of inter-national relations or the real basis of independence and justice in Socio Nationalism on a daily basis can be realised in mutual cooperation behavior. Institutionalisation and internalization of cultural values Nationalism in the form of mutual cooperation as a local wisdom of the people, according to Durkheim (1895 in Ritzer, without years) is a cultural values that are coercive to everyone, which is obtained through observation and experimental.

According to Syamsuddin (1989), the process of observation and experimental nationalism of the nation will differ in its level; however, inheritance through socio-cultural integration is an alternative answer

to the diversity of the nation's children. Integration is mixing to become a unified whole. Dienaputra (2018) added, the value of local wisdom about socio-cultural integration can be extracted from written sources both inscriptions and ancient texts as well as from the daily habits of society both oral traditions, manuscripts, customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technology, art, languages, folk games and traditional sports.

Indonesian Presidential Election 2019

Conclusion

The 2019 presidential election teaches us many things, especially the tightness and uniqueness of the supporters of the pair of candidates who have shed tears of grief to the motherland. For the sake of creating tolerance, about the differences and conflicts created by the democratic process, all Indonesian citizens need to understand that democracy will not be separated from conflict. By upholding the five precepts listed in Pancasila, it should be considered that blessing in Indonesia is a blessing for all its people, be it differences in race, class, thought or even choice.

In addition, for the sake of creating a more conducive situation, efforts from all elements are needed to perfect democracy while upholding the value of deliberation / representation, so that the presidential election is based on the will of the people. All state institutions must do their best to guarantee the human rights of their citizens. Political elites should negotiate pragmatic interests in order to create goodness with constructive conflict. For the sake of knitting nationality and maintaining the unity of Indonesia, the role of the mass media is needed in improving national identity and educational support for all Indonesian people on the understanding of unity and justice in diversity as the political ideals of the nation. Then the need to increase nationalism based on cultural diversity, including the Spirit of Asia Africa 1955 as a commitment to diversity, independence, and work that is well maintained. Finally, multiculturalism and democratic transformation discussions need to be held to establish citizen communication and create a policy of social integration.



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The Influence of Public Debate on the Political Preference of Communities in the Presidential Election in 2019

Siti Witianti, Ratnia Solihah

Public debate is one form of political campaigning carried out at the campaign stage in the presidential and vice presidential elections in 2019 with the aim of influencing the political preference of the people. Besides being able to influence people's political preference, public debate (political debate) between presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates in the 2019 Presidential Election is also expected to increase the political participation of the public. Through public debate (political debate) that is broadcast on TV nationally, the people will get information directly about the programs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates if elected or won in the presidential election in 2019, and it is one way to attract public interest to participate in the presidential election in 2019. By using a qualitative approach through literature studies, this paper discusses the significance of the public debate in the Presidential Election contestation, the influence of public debate on people's political preference in presidential elections, as well as factors that influence people's choices (related to debate public) in the Presidential Election.



Siti Witianti, Ratnia Solihah. The Influence of Public Debate on the Political Preference of Communities in the Presidential Election in 2019. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 368–380.

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Keywords: public debate, political choice, political participation, presidential election.

The process of choosing a leader in a country is a crucial process because it will affect the future sustainability of the life of a nation. As mandated in the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia adheres to a democratic system where sovereignty is in the hands of the people (Article I paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia). The presidential election, which has also been regulated in the constitution in the process, was chosen directly by the people as a form of popular sovereignty (Article 6A paragraph I of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia).

In the selection process, the candidates who are promoted to become presidential candidates will compete to attract the attention of the people to get support in order to win the contest. In order to attract people's attention, the Election participants will compete to convince voters by offering a vision, mission and program commonly referred to as the campaign process (Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning General Elections of Members of the House of Representatives, Regional Representatives, and the Council Regional People's Representatives article I number 26). In practice, there are several campaign methods that are allowed to be implemented in Indonesia, one of which is the holding of public debates or open debates between candidates (General Election Commission Regulation Number 16 of 2014 concerning General Elec-

Debate can be understood as an argument against an issue, from the conflict then it can be seen how the attitudes and perspectives of the parties arguing over an issue are the topic of debate. The purpose of this debate is to explore the reasons behind each point of view in order to convince others that the opinions delivered are better, listen to other people's opinions on an issue and find the best solution for a problem (Nurcahyo, 2015). In the context of elections, it is hoped that the holding of debates between presidential candidate pairs can give preference to the community as voters in determining their choices.

tion of the President and Vice President Article 15).

As stipulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, that the candidate pair debate must be related to the campaign of the related candidate pair (Article 275 paragraph I letter h of the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections), and national vision as referred to in the

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Opening of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Article 277 paragraph 5 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections). However, what happened during the first stage of the debate, each candidate pair was deemed unclear in the delivery of the vision and mission program which was supposed to be delivered in the event so that the debate event which should be one medium for campaigning was not used effectively. From these weaknesses, the emerging public opinion emerged, including the inability of the KPU as the organizer of the debate in concocting the concept of debate and the inability of contestants to debate themselves unable to elaborate their vision and mission to attract community support. This public opinion arose because the public debate of the presidential candidate pair was important because it had an effect on changes in the number of swing voters and undecided voters, which would have an impact on the acquisition of numbers from each candidate. Based on this, in this paper the authors are interested in discussing how the political debate between presidential and vice-presidential elections influences people's political choice.

Besides being able to influence people's choices, the public debate (political debate) between presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates in the 2019 Presidential Election is also expected to increase public political participation. Through public debate (political debate) that is broadcast on TV nationally, the people will get information directly about the programs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates if elected or won in the presidential election in 2019, and it is one way to attract public interest to participate in the 2019 presidential election.

Some studies of political communication, especially political campaigns in relation to political contestation have been carried out by researchers, such as the Political Communication Dynamics Ahead of the 2014 Election (a collection of articles from researchers on political communication and political campaigns in the 2014 election) published by the Communication Studies and Development Center and Informatics (BPPKI) Bandung, HR R & D Agency of the Ministry of Communication and Information.

Other important studies of political communication have been also conducted. Whilst a few of these studies have analysed the dynamics of political communication in elections and the formation of democratic election law, the remaining studies have investigated the role of elections strategies in the election of national and regional heads

(Susanto, 2013; Siti Fatimah, 2018; Pulungan, 2010; Mahadi, 2015; Putri, 2015; Turistiati, 2016).

Some related studies on political communication and political campaigns mentioned above review various forms of political communication, political campaign strategies, carried out by candidates, and studies of the phenomenon of black campaigns in political contestation in order to win the political contestation. While in this study, the author discusses the significance of the public debate in the Presidential Election contestation, it is then indispensable to discuss the influence of public debate on people's political preference in the presidential election, and the factors that influence people's choices in the Presidential Election related to the public debate.

The Influence of Public Debate on the Presidential Election in 2019

Public debate is one form of political campaigning carried out at the campaign stage in the presidential and vice-presidential elections in 2019. Campaigns are the delivery of messages from senders to audiences (Ardha, 2014, p. 107). In the implementation of elections, campaign activities are one of the things that attract the attention of many people. Political campaigns themselves can be understood as organised efforts that try to influence the decision-making process in certain groups and campaigns focused on elections and candidates for heads of state or heads of government to be the most interesting things (Fatimah, 2018, p. 8). The presidential candidate's campaign usually gets great attention from the audience where it is also influenced by the media that take advantage of the moment by preaching the characteristics and program of candidates (Hirzi, 2008, p. 135).

The campaign period was included in one of the stages of holding the Election of President and Vice President 9 (Article 3 Paragraph 5 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President). In the General Election Commission Regulation Number 16 of 2014 concerning the General Election Campaign for the President and Vice President, it was explained that campaign material included the candidates' vision, mission and program, and explained further in the regulation that in the delivery of campaign material can use several methods, among others, through limited regulations, face to face and dialogue, dissemination through printed mass media and electronic media, broadcast via radio and / or television, dissemination of campaign material to the public, installation props in the campaign site and elsewhere determined by the KPU, debating the candidate pair about the campaign material for the can-

didate pair and other activities that do not violate the laws and regulations (Article 15 Paragraph 1 of the Election Commission Regulation Number 16 of 2014 concerning the Presidential Election Campaign and Vice President).

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As one of the campaign methods, public debate among candidates has always received great attention from the public. With the debate being held the policy position of the presidential candidate pair will be elaborated more deeply and broadly on each of the themes discussed (Budhirianto, 2015, pp. 156-157). From the debate activities, the community is expected to get a picture as a voter to be able to determine their preference of information obtained from the debate.

As an organizer, the KPU is responsible for the technical implementation that must contain political education for the people so that the attitude towards their choices can be influenced properly and correctly. In addition, this event can generate public awareness in democracy in shaping a more mature society order for their political preference (Budhirianto, 2016, p. 157). So that many people can access information from this debate, this debate program is usually broadcast on various TV media.

The public debate held by the KPU as a form of campaign for presidential and vice-presidential candidates not only provides information on the vision, mission and programs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates to serve as a way of attracting the public to vote, but also aimed at increasing political participation society.

Political participation can be understood as all activities of citizens in order to influence (directly or indirectly) public policies and the determination of political authorities and the distribution of power in society. The presence of political participation in a country can also be said as a form of manifestation of democracy because countries that do not facilitate the existence of public participation will lead to an authoritarian system

Political participation in General Elections is a very important instrument because it can determine the direction and progress of the country. The quality of political participation in elections will be largely determined by the factor of voting as a people's right to vote, the ease of access in choosing and the reason for giving their choices based on the quality of the chosen leader (Liando, 2016).

All forms of political participation will be directed at influencing the course of government. Milbart and Goel (in Subekti, 2014) distinguish participation into several categories. First, apathy that can be under-

stood by the state of society that does not participate and withdraw from the political process. Second, the specator is understood as a society that has at least voted in general elections. Third, gladiator where people are actively involved in the political process, namely communicators, specialists hold face-to-face contacts, party activists and campaign workers, and community activists (Subekti, 2014).

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The high or low level of public political participation in elections can be explained through a rational choice approach. The rational choice approach is the approach adopted by political scientists from economics popularised by James Coleman. Coleman's rational choice approach is evident in the basic idea that individual action leads to a goal and goal that is determined by value or preference (Subekti, 2014). In politics, this rational choice approach produces static methods that are more realistic as those carried out in the voting process. According to adherents of rational choice theory, the core of politics is individuals as important actors in the political world because human (voter) is a rational individual, so he always gives rational rights as an option and he also has the obligation to make choices in an effort to influence social issues (Supriyadi, 2015, p. 404).

Information, education and knowledge possessed by voters become determinants of political preference that are not based on chance or habit but are determined by factors of reasoning and logical thinking. With consideration of profit and loss to determine the preference of alternatives that are in the best and most profitable choices both for self-interest and for the public interest (Supriyadi, 2015: 404). In the process of determining that preference, social institutions have a significant influence in this rational choice theory.

Research Methods

This study used descriptive qualitative research methods, where a detailed review of some related studies are analysed and discussed. The authors collected and reviewed various studies related to the problem, to be the material of analysis in this study.

Result and Discussion

Significance of Public Debate in the Presidential Election Contestation

As one of the campaign methods, the public debate event has become a significant means of influencing the electability of election candidates.

William L. Benoit (2014, p. 3-4) explained that there are at least 5 important factors in the debate in the political campaign process, namely:

Debate gives access to the public to be able to compare each candidate who fights in contestation. This is because in the debate the issues being debated have been arranged by the organizers who assumed the issue was neutral so that the public could read the ability of each candidate as voters;

 With the coverage of media debate and discussion in political reporting and discussion, this gives additional access to candidates for voters so voters can learn about candidates indirectly or directly;

- 3. Debates have far less intervention from the media than reporting. Even sometimes journalists who are involved in debates can berate candidates who do not answer questions;
- 4. In the debate, candidates have the opportunity to correct alleged false statements from opponents. Denial can be made even when the injured party does not have the turn to speak and they often ask the moderator to reply to the statement.
- 5. Candidates usually do not like voters to only hear messages from their opponents. Although the opponent is not wrong in representing the other party's point of view, the candidates usually want the voter to listen to their side besides the point of view of their opponent.

But most importantly, the debate program offers substantial benefits for democracy where as a medium, debate can be a source of information for voters and debate offers opportunities for candidates to discuss the position of their issues and make campaign appointments. The public debate program is an important part of democracy because it is witnessed by many voters, has effects by voters and is held in various places for various positions. So that the political debate program between candidates broadcast by various media can be called an excellent opportunity for candidates to be able to compare themselves to be able to reap as much - the many voices of the people. In the contestation of the Presidential Election, the debate program in each series will certainly get the attention of many parties, especially the voters.

In the momentum of the presidential election, public debate received broad attention due to the function of the Election itself. These reasons include general elections as comparative action, candidates who are required to distinguish themselves from opposing parties,

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political campaign messages will make candidates distinguish themselves, candidates build choices through recognition, attacks, and defense, campaign discourse applies to two topics namely policy and character (Benoit, 2014). This will be more comprehensively elaborated in the momentum of public debate when compared to other campaign methods.

Public Debate on the Presidential Election in 2019

The Influence of

The Influence of Public Debate on the Political Preference of Communities in the Presidential Election

Debate is the best opportunity for presidential candidates to convey their message to many people. Although there is a tendency that the debate itself does not have a major influence on the preference of the people who have become sympathisers for each candidate who has been patterned before. With the debate of sympathisers and supporters, they will always seek justification for the parties they support in the moment of debate and look for loopholes to the opposing parties. However, the debate between candidates has a significant influence for the beginner voters, swing voters and undecided voters.

The existence of beginner voters, swing voters and undecided voters has a significant influence on the victory of each candidate. The number of swing voters in the 2019 Presidential Election based on the survey results of various pre-presidential survey institutions is in the range of 7-13%, so there are equally large opportunities for candidate pair 01 and incumbent 02 to win the 2019 presidential election (Sanur, 2019, p. 26). Data found based on a survey conducted by Charta Politika found that novice voters aged 17-20 and young voters aged 21-35 years accumulated as many as 11% expressed doubts about whether to vote or not on the day of the presidential election. Hendri Satrio (in Sanur, 2019) argues that basically swing voters or undecided voters are groups of people who actually already have a preferencebut keep their choices a secret, which makes swing voters often equated with the silent voters who indeed keep their political preference secret (Sanur, 2019).

The release of the survey results from political indicators concluded that after a series of presidential candidate debates there was a trend of decreasing the number of undecided voters or getting closer to the H-day the selection of the number of undecided voters declined. The survey conducted in December 2018 showed 9.2% of the number of undecided voters and showed a figure of 7.2% with the number of swing voters who tended to be balanced on each pair in the survey

conducted in March 2019 (https://tirto.id/survei-indikator-undecided-voters-berkurang-jelang-pencoblosan-dkZl).

From the data, the results show that the debate does not have a significant effect on the electability of the presidential candidates fighting in the 2019 Presidential Election. This can be caused by the polarisation of the people who have formed strongly since the 2014 presidential election and continued to the 2019 presidential election, which also brings together two candidates the same presidential candidate. The polarisation was also strengthened in the momentum of the election of the DKI Jakarta governor in 2017 which was sharpened by the case of blasphemy by Basuki Tjahaya Purnama alias Ahok who was the incumbent governor at the time to trigger the existence of 212 Peaceful Action.

Meanwhile, what also influenced Joko Widodo's superiority was that the incumbent position held by Joko Widodo was the reason for the community, especially those who were satisfied with the performance results in the previous period to re-elect contestation in 2019.

Although the public debate of the presidential candidates is an effective campaign tool to gain votes, especially for beginner voters, swing voters and undecided voters, the results of the data shown by the debate show no effect as expected. The enthusiasm of the beginner voters does have a positive impact on political participation in Indonesia, but they also have characteristics that are less rational in choosing so that it is easy to influence (Sanur, 2019: 28). With the existence of a number of irrational voters, the debate will be less effective in gaining votes.

Factors Affecting to Community Political preference in Presidential Elections

Factors that influence people's choices in the Presidential Election are inseparable from the factors of community political participation. These factors include social and economic status, situation, parental political affiliation, organisational experience, political awareness, trust in the government and incentives for participation through mass media socialisation and informal discussions (Hendrik, 2010, p. 141-142). The source of these factors comes from various forms of campaigns accepted by the public as voters, including from public debates.

With the increasing level of community political participation, it will show that the implementation of a democratic system is getting

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better. Elections are an accumulated moment where community participation is contained in a process. Therefore, those elections become a sacred moment to read public participation as a prerequisite for the establishment of a democratic state of life.

As a source of public information that determines the level of participation, political campaigns, especially public debates conducted by candidates who fight in a general election cannot be underestimated. Political campaigns must really contain a political message that is useful for the community because of these messages the community can consider its choices, especially for rational voters. From this, it is expected that there will be a sound acquisition of representative election results from rational community considerations.

In addition, the purpose of political campaigns is certainly related to the effectiveness of political campaigns carried out. Political campaigns are said to be effective if what is the goal of the political campaign is achieved. The statement is in accordance with the measure of effectiveness (Bastian, 2007, p. 215) that effectiveness must be measured by the standards formulated based on the objectives of the program itself. In this context, the aim of a presidential candidate campaigning through public debate is to explain his program, vision and mission, then the campaign. The public debate is said to be effective if the public becomes aware of the vision and mission of the program that has been presented by the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, which ultimately can attract the interest of the community in determining their political preference. Thus, the public debate broadcast on TV nationally aims to influence the behaviour of the public (audience / audience) in order to cast their votes for them, which when associated with campaign effectiveness, are in accordance with the campaign in the form of public debate if they influence the level of public political participation.

The success of public debates in influencing and changing audience behaviour cannot be separated from the efforts of a presidential and vice-presidential candidate to carry out political campaign activities in the form of other campaign methods that are carried out repeatedly not just once. Thus, the intensity of campaigning and various political campaign methods carried out by candidates became an important dimension in the effectiveness of campaigning. In other words, to be able to influence people's political preference, political campaigns do not rely solely on public debate, but also combine all forms of campaigns

Siti Witianti Ratnia Solihah tailored to the conditions of the people (audience) who attend, their incisions and the substance of politically packed material.

Conclusion

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Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that public debate is one of the significant campaign methods in influencing the electability of election candidates. As a debate medium, it can be a source of information for voters and serves as a forum for candidates to discuss the position of their issues and make campaign promises to the public that are substantial in democracy. Candidates who compete in political contestation will be able to elaborate more comprehensively the vision, mission and program that they campaigned in the public debate event.

Debate events that are intended more specifically to influence vote acquisition from beginner voters, swing voters and undecided voters in fact have no significant effect. It can be seen from the survey results, which were only slightly reduced from the undecided voters from the surveys conducted pre-debate and post-debate. The electability of the two pairs of candidates also tended to remain unchanged both before and after the debate was dominated by the superiority of the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin.

Effects that have little effect on the voices of novice voters, swing voters and undecided voters after the series of debates were held generally due to the failure to convey the message of the vision, mission and program expected by voters from the candidates obtained from the debate. This is also supported by the lack of technical debate, even though in every series technical changes have been made to obtain the best quality. So that the series of debates held as one of a series of campaigns in the 2019 Presidential Election momentum has less influence on the main target of debates, namely beginner voters, swing voters and undecided voters, but the series of debates can show an increasing level of community political participation. became trending and there were various criticisms and suggestions from the people that emerged from the debate.

The political preference of the people in the Presidential Election are influenced by the factors of community political participation, namely social and economic status, situation, parental political affiliation, organisational experience, political awareness, trust in the government and incentive for participation through mass media so-

cialisation and informal discussions obtained by the community from political campaigns (especially through public debate) from presidential candidates to vice presidents. These factors can also explain the effectiveness of public debate on community political participation in the 2019 presidential election; where the effectiveness of public debate is also influenced by various other forms of political campaigns, such as the intensity of delivery, which are packaged in the form of interesting programs so that the substance of the campaign material is delivered well and effectively, which ultimately the community (audience) is interested in participating in choosing the best candidate with his political preference.

The Influence of Public Debate on the Presidential Election in 2019



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Sectarian Narratives of the 2019 Presidential Election and the Radical Transnational Network

R. Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata, RMT Nur Affandi, Dina Yulianti

The 8th presidential election in Indonesia occurring in 2019 was heavily peppered with religious narratives and the mobilisation of sectarians. As a result, as found in several observation reports, the demographic analysis of each candidate's vote revealed a sectarian split where Joko Widodo's landslide victory occurred in all provinces where the majority of the population was not Muslim and his considerable defeat in many Muslim-majority areas. This is a big threat to the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. If we examine the narratives circulated in mass media and social media, the main actors spreading sectarian narratives during the 2019 elections were anti-democratic groups. By using the concept of sectarianism and radical transnational networks, this article argues two points: (1) the sectarian narratives used by antidemocratic forces in Indonesia are related to radical transnational networks; (2) therefore, in preserving democracy, the Indonesian government cannot solely focus on the democratic narrative but should also link this phenomenon with transnational radical networks. The authors hope that this analysis can contribute to the discourse of how democratic forces should deal with forces of anti-democracy.

Keywords: democracy, Indonesia election, radical transnational networks, sectarianism.

R. Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata, RMT Nur Affandi, Dina Yulianti. Sectarian Narratives of the 2019 Presidential Election and the Radical Transnational Network. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 381–396.



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The 8th Indonesian Presidential Election was held on April 17, 2019 and was called 'the world's biggest one day election' by some media outlets. Election vote counting which was partaken by 192 million people with a 83.90% vote turn-out was done manually and brought victory for Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Their rivals, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, rejected the election results and filed a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court on charges of fraud. After a hearing that was covered live by a number of television stations, the Constitutional Court ruled that the allegations were unproven. Based on this decision, the General Election Commission officially declared Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin as the President and Vice-President of Indonesia for 2019-2024.

Although Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno officially accepted the decision of the Constitutional Court, several Muslim groups, such as PA 212, GNPF and FUI, continued to protest in rejecting the decision and even threatened to file a lawsuit with the International Court of Justice. Demonstrators waved flags bearing the *shahada*, banners using the word 'jihad', 'defending Islam', or quoting verses from the Koran about justice. During the Constitutional Court trials, they also flooded the streets to perform Islamic rituals such as praying in congregation and reciting the Koran. A cleric even read the *shalawat ashghil*, a special prayer asking for protection from God from the evil of wrongdoers (CNN Indonesia, 2019a).

This situation is a continuation of the narrative that had been built by some political forces in Indonesia which had supported Prabowo in the 2014 contestation, namely the narrative of Islam versus non-Islam. President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo was portrayed as an "enemy of Islam", "communist", or "Christian". On the contrary, Prabowo Subianto was represented by his supporters as the 'the choice of *ulama*' (clerics).

Jokowi responded to these narratives by showing various rituals to the public to prove that he was a true Muslim, such as leading congregational prayers, visiting Islamic boarding schools, and approaching a number of prominent clerics. The culmination of his effort was on 9 August 2018 when Jokowi finally chose a senior and very influential cleric as his Vice President candidate, KH Ma'ruf Amin. Meanwhile, Jokowi's supporters responded to the sectarian narratives by exposing biographies of Prabowo's extended family, some of which were Christians or by bantering Prabowo for allegedly not attending Friday prayers through the hashtag #PrabowoJumatanDimana that was always trending every Friday before the election.

Narrative battles that involve religion and accuse each other as 'less Islamic' or even 'infidel', are phenomena that have the potential to cause divisions in Indonesian society. Some qualitative observations have shown division of support based on identity and religion in a number of regions in Indonesia. Jokowi won a big victory in areas with a majority non-Muslim population or a significant population of non-Muslims. In contrast, Prabowo-Sandi won by a landslide in areas with majority Muslim populations (Brooks, 2019; Sani, 2019; Mcbeth 2019; Pepinsky, 2019).

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From the results of the manual calculation carried out by the KPU, it was seen that the division of votes was based on the population's religion. Joko Widodo or Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin gained absolute victory in Bali, East Nusa Tenggara, North Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, Papua, West Papua and West Kalimantan. In contrast, Prabowo - Sandiaga Uno won by a landslide in Aceh, West Sumatra, West Nusa Tenggara, Riau, Banten and West Java. The following table shows the final results of the vote count in several provinces which shows a sectarian patter

Table 1. Distribution of Votes in Muslim and Non-Muslim Majority Areas

Table 1. Distribution of votes in Muslim and Non-Muslim Majority Areas			
Areas with a Majority of Non-		Areas with a Majority of Muslims	
Muslims			
Number of Jokowi Voters		Number of Prabowo-Sandi Voters	
Bali	91.68%	Aceh	85.59%
NTT	88.57%	Sumbar	85.92%
Sulut	77.24%	NTB	67.89%
Sulbar	64.32%	Riau	61%
Papua	90.7%	Banten	61.54%
Papua Barat	79.82%	Jawa Barat	59.93%
Kalbar	57,50%		

Source: KPU (Commission of Election, Prayoga, 2019)

Many Indonesian observers provide similar responses to this result, such as Mahfud MD, a law professor and prominent political observer in Indonesia; Kunto A. Wibowo from the Kedai Kopi Survey Institute; Irwansyah, Head of the Aceh Regional Campaign Team; General Moeldoko, Chief of Staff of the Indonesian President; and Asrinaldi, an academic from Andalas University. They all assessed that religious factors contributed to Jokowi's defeat in some provinces such as Aceh, West Java, and West Sumatera (Kami, 2019; CNN Indonesia, 2019b; Abonita, 2019; Egeham, 2019; Anugerah and Marta, 2019).

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The question is, which actor was most active in voicing sectarian narratives during the 2019 elections? Aminudin, an academic from Brawijaya University, in evaluating Jokowi's big victory in two provinces in Java which had Muslim majorities, namely East Java (65.79%) and Central Java (77.29%) stated that Prabowo-Sandiaga's weak point was their closeness to Islamist groups, even "hardliners". This contradicts the moderate political line of Nahdlatul Ulama, the dominant Islamic mass organisation in the two regions. The results of a survey conducted by the Indonesian Political Indicators in early April 2019 showed that 62.7% of NU residents supported Jokowi-Ma'ruf, while the rest supported Prabowo-Sandiaga, especially in Banten and West Java (Teguh, 2019).

The role of Islamist groups in Indonesia's 2019 political contestation can be seen, among others, in the Prabowo-Sandi campaign (April 7, 2019) when the Chair of the Islamic Community Forum (FUI) Al-Khaththath read the MUI (Board of Indonesian Clerics)'s *fatwa* [*decree*] on the Right to Vote (published 2009) about the obligation to "choose a leader who fights for Islam" in the election. But he added a narrative outside of the *fatwa*, namely, "... choosing a leader who does not meet the conditions as referred to in item 4 [of MUI's *Fatwa*], namely not having faith, being devout, dishonest, cannot be trusted, not aspirational, stupid [*planga-plongo*, the mockery that many anti-Jokowi groups convey] and not fighting for the interests of Muslims, is *haram* [forbidden]" (Detik, 2019a).

Although Al-Khaththath did not explicitly mention who he called 'forbidden to choose', because it was said during Prabowo's campaign, it was clear that he was talking about Jokowi. In his speech at Baiturrahman Mosque, Jakarta, on November 22, 2018, he stated that "those who elect leaders who do not fight for Muslims will be burned in hell" and "the campaign team of such leaders will be most exposed to hell-fire" (CNN Indonesia, 2019c). Other very popular scholars also spread similar narratives, such as Habib Rizieq Shihab (Chairperson of FPI, Forum of Islamic *Umma*) who said it was forbidden to choose supporters of "religious dissidents" (Detik, 2018a) and Felix Siauw (an Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir activist) who denounced Jokowi's government as "anti-Islam" and "criminalizing the *ulama*" (Siauw, 2018b).

The interesting aspect of this phenomenon is that these Islamist groups are supporters of the establishment *khilafah*, an Islamic anti-democratic system. Jokowi had made a number of efforts in blocking

the movement of these anti-democratic groups during his first administration, including dissolving Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia and arresting several *ulama* who openly gave radical statements. However, the response given by a number of observers was negative. They assessed that "[Jokowi is doing] a deliberate and increasingly systematic effort to impede and enfeeble the legitimate opposition essential to democratic regimes" (Power, 2018); "the government is increasingly turning to authoritarian measures to shore up its support and stymie its opponents" (Aspinall, 2019); dan "Jokowi is fighting illiberalism with illiberalism" (Mietzner, 2018).

Sectarian Narratives of the 2019 Presidential Election

This raises a research question, how should democratic governance behave in the face of anti-democratic forces? By using the concepts of sectarianism and radical transnational networks, the authors analyse the activities of one of Islamist groups that had actively spread sectarian narratives ahead of the 2019 presidential election, namely Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

Conceptual Frameworks

a. Sectarianism and Radical Transnational Networks

Sectarianism can be briefly interpreted as "one's strong support for certain religious or political groups and often involves conflict with other groups" and this can be found in various communities, both Muslim and non-Muslim (Rahman, 2019). Hinnebusch (2019) defines sectarianism as the identification of a religious community which sharply Emphasise s boundaries with the *Other*, especially when politicised and involving monopoly claims over religious truth.

Previous studies of sectarianism have dealt with conflict in the Middle East, where generally rulers are seen as perpetrators of sectarization or using sectarian issues to silence opposition. In Bahrain, protests that were originally non-sectarian immediately became sectarian as a result of the Al Khalifa's strategy to frame this action as a demonstration of the Shiites against the power of a Sunni government and spread the opinion that if the Shias win, the Al Khalifa regime loses, and the Sunnis in Bahrain will be in danger. Meanwhile, in Egypt, the Al Sisi regime was sectarizing the demonstrators who were members of the Muslim Brotherhood by calling them foreign powers, traitors, and sectarians. Conversely, the Muslim Brotherhood also gave rise to the narration that anyone who opposed Morsi was Christian, liberal, or supporters of the old corrupt regime, and was not a 'true Muslim' (Valbjorn, 2019).

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Hurd (2015) writes that sectarianism is a special modern discourse about religious involvement in politics that is endorsed or even institutionalise d by those who hold power to fulfill certain political agendas. Hurd further explained that because sectarianism is a political process, it is not appropriate to view religion as inherently pushing people to conflict or that religious differences will lead to conflict. Therefore, it is not enough to make religious teachings the only factor in explaining violence occurring in society, both physical violence (terrorism) and political violence (pressure on different political groups), regardless of the political conditions underlying the violence.

Adamson (2005) defines the Radical Transnational Network (RTN) as non-state actors who network with one another across national borders who use violence to achieve political goals, such as Al-Qaeda, Tamil Tigers, Kurdistan Workers' Party and Kosovo Liberation Army. However, it should be underlined that the RTN is not always the same as terrorist organisations. Schmid (2013) suggests distinguishing between terrorism and 'political violence'. Non-state actors sometimes resort to political violence against the state, ranging from 'mild' actions such as hunger strikes, to destruction of public property, hate crimes, and at the highest stage take up arms to overthrow power.

RTN benefit from globalisation because of the convenience provided by communication and transportation technology, enabling them to have political resources that are cross-border in nature, both in terms of funds and opportunities for dissemination of ideas and ideas to recruit more followers (Adamson, 2005). For example, the Syrian armed political movement, the Free Syrian Army, which rebelled against the Assad regime, received financial assistance from civil society from various Gulf countries which was handed over to donors from Kuwait, who then sent it to Syria via bank transfer, *hawala* (the traditional brokerage network), cargo, or cash carried in person (Dickinson, 2013).

b. Options Available to Countries in the Face of Anti-Democratic Power

Mietzner (2018) identifies several actors who seek to destroy democracy from within, namely they openly form antidemocratic parties, mass movements that propagate changes in state shape, and individuals who use grassroots structures and social media to counter the democratic status quo.

Mietzner (2018) conducted a literature review and concluded that there were three opinions about the ways that a democratic government might take in dealing with antidemocratic groups; firstly 'militant democracy' which considers that the government must criminalize or shut down organisations that reject democratic rules. Secondly, tolerating the intolerant, that is, accommodating radical groups in the hope that their views can be shifted to moderate. Third, concentric containment, which is to isolate the non-democratic actors and at the same time take a systematic approach to their supporters and answer the issues of their concern.

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Meanwhile, Plotke (2006) mentions three options that democratic governments can take in the face of anti-democratic forces, namely political tolerance, repression (which is generally the same as militant democracy), and incorporation. Plotke stated that political tolerance is not the same as acceptance or agreement, but rather more openness to accept various political offers from various circles. However, tolerance cannot provide answers to problems that exist related to the relationship between culture (including religion) and politics. For example, the government may recognise the existence of a particular religious group; but when the religious group has a political view which states that only their group can become a political leader [the president], it will certainly be a threat to democracy.

Political repression is the use of power, especially by the state, to limit or eliminate the capacity of actors in carrying out their political activities; starting from the imposition of rules that strictly restrict anti-democratic forces, to prohibit anti-democratic organisations and take legal action against individuals who play a role in violent actions.

Plotke states that repression of anti-democratic forces is indeed a dangerous instrument with strong potential to weaken democracy. But at the same time, citizens also have an interest in maintaining the government they have chosen. If the antidemocratic power is left to strenghten, the citizens' political rights will be threatened; in extreme cases, security and unity of the country are also threatened. But Plotke underlined the two conditions in choosing repression. First, the group has so far been protected by freedom of expression in which they have openly rejected democracy and carried out actions that endanger the sustainability of democracy; and second, the act of repression must be carried out within the corridor of the law.

Plotke suggested the third option, incorporation, which is to invite anti-democratic forces to join democratic processes but at the same time, democratic governments remain firm in rejecting anti-democratic projects aimed at blocking and destroying democratic practices.

CEJISS In practice, the incorporation strategy can involve repression of radicalise d political forces and increase their resistance to democratic forces (Plotke, 2006). The authors consider that this third option is appropriate in the cases of antidemocratic forces in Indonesia and will be explained in the next section.

Sectarian Politics in Indonesia and the Role of the Radical Transnational Network

A number of observers confirmed that sectarianism and polarisation between pluralist or nationalist versus Islamist groups in Indonesia has increased since Jokowi was elected president in 2014. However, they considered that Jokowi's response toward the Islamists was turning into authoritarianism and is a threat towards Indonesia's democracy (Hadiz, 2017; Powers, 2018; Aspinall, 2019; and Davidson, 2019). Busch (2017) explicitly stated that Jokowi's decision to ban HTI has "threatened the freedom of assembly" for all the people. Some of these authors did not thoroughly analyse the anti-democratic activities and sectarian politics carried out by HTI and its relation to radical transnational networks.

Hizbut Tahrir (meaning *Party of Liberation*) is a political party originally founded by Sheikh Taqiyuddīn al-Nabhāni in Jerusalem in 1953 with the aim of establishing a global government headed by a caliph in which all the legal rules carried out by that government were based on the law (*syariah*) of God. This movement then spread to various countries with the same ideology, which generally appeared in the form of anti-democratic narratives and anti-nationalism, and anti-other ideologies that were considered contrary to Islamic teachings (Azman, 2018; Kartini, 2015; Arifan, 2014)

The establishment of the Indonesian branch of Hizb ut-Tahrir, called Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) can be traced from 1982-1983, when an Indonesian student studying in Jordan, M. Mustofa, along with an Australian Hizb ut-Tahrir activist from Lebanon, Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi, introduced the ideas of the khilafah to students of Bogor Agricultural University (IPB). The introduction of Hizb ut-Tahrir's teachings occurred along with the increasingly widespread campus preaching

movement at that time, which was carried by ex-Masyumi Party activists, to quell the liberal Islamic movement (Arifan, 2014). In 2007, HTl held an International Khilafah Conference at the Gelora Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta, which was attended by around 80,000 people and invited many national figures, but according to the BBC report (2007), the only figure present at the time was Din Syamsuddin (then serving as the Chairman of Muhamadiyah).

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When Mustofa returned to continue his studies in Jordan, the expansion of the HTI network was carried on by several figures including Fathul Hidayah, Asep Syaifullah, Adian Husaini, and Hasan Rifai Al-Faridi under the guidance of Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi assisted by two Saudi alumni, Abas Hall and Abdul Hannan. The leadership of Hizb ut-Tahrir was held by Muhammad Al-Khathath for some time, who left in 2010 and founded the FUI (Azman, 2018), and he was also active in spreading sectarian narratives leading up to the 2019 Presidential Election as quoted in the previous section. At present, HTI is led by Rokhmat S. Labib with Ismail Yusanto as the spokesman.

In 2014, HTI was registered as an 'association legal entity' through electronic registration at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Thus, even though Hizb ut-Tahrir was essentially carrying out political activities, namely encouraging changes in the system from a democracy to a khilafah and implementing sectarian politics, they had not formed a formal political party. HTI's sectarian narratives has received massive resistance from nationalist and pluralist groups. One element of society that strongly supports the disbanding of HTI is Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic community organisation in Indonesia. According to NU, organisations that undermine national unity and Pancasila must be disbanded (Gual, 2017). With such moral support from nationalist and pluralist groups, the government finally revoked the HTI Legal Entity Decree on 19 July 2017.

Nevertheless, the revocation of this decree did not seem to discourage HTI's activities in carrying out sectarian politics. Ahead of the 2019 presidential election, HTI actively spread sectarian narratives. Among others, in 2018 Ismail Yusanto defended an orator named Bahar bin Smith who was detained by the police in the case of persecution of two teenagers. The parents of the two teenagers filed a report to the police in December 2018 and the police immediately arrested him. Video footage of the act of torture was shown in court (Detik, 2019b) and the court finally sentenced Bahar to three years in pris-

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on in July 2019. However, Yusanto linked Bahar's arrest with the hate speech case of Bahar who was reported to the police by netizens in November 2018 (but not investigated by the police), who called Jokowi a "sissy" president and "traitor to the nation" for "enriching the Chinese people, infidels, and Westerners" (Detik, 2018b). By stating that "sissy statements are a form of criticism", Yusanto called for Bahar to be released and "if this discrimination and injustice continues, don't blame the public if they say that this regime is indeed an anti-Islamic regime" (Yusanto, 2018). In other words, Yusanto has linked two different cases to support his sectarian claim, namely that the Jokowi government is anti-Islamic.

Another HTI figure, Felix Siauw, actively propagated the importance of establishing the khilafah, and the rejection of democracy and nationalism. In his 2016 speech, for example, Siauw said, "There should not be any ally of God in terms of creation, law, and governance. As sure of every promise of God and the Messenger of Allah, such is that we believe in the return of the khilafahala minhaji-nubuwwah, together with the people, to establish the *khilafah*!"(Siauw, 2016). On May 9, 2017, Siauw issued a statement that the Jokowi government was indicated to be anti-Islamic (Illahi, 2017). In his lecture on Youtube 2018, Siauw mentioned that the Jokowi government "was acting unfairly to Muslims; allowing cases of blasphemy [religion]; supporting efforts to secularize Indonesia". But he also stated that replacing the president would not bring significant change as long as the democratic system was not transformed into an Islamic caliphate (Siauw, 2018a). On December 18, 2018, the same day that Bahar bin Smith was detained by the police for child abuse, Siauw wrote a status on facebook stating that "The current ruler doesn't want Islam to influence the people's life, and they consider anyone that wants to establish an Islamic system as radical." He used the hashtag #kriminalisasiulama [criminalization of the clerics] and #baharbinsmith (Siauw, 2018b)

HTl activities cannot be viewed as a local movement because Hizb ut-Tahrir is in fact a transnational network. The track record of Hizb ut-Tahrir in various countries shows that this organisation carries out sectarian politics. Hizb ut-Tahrir is estimated to be active in 40 countries and although they do not use violence in conveying their political ideas, they try to seize power by triggering a rebellion. As a result, many governments have subsequently banned the activities of this party, including in Uzbekistan in the early 2000s (with accusations of

Hizb ut-Tahrir being involved in mass demonstrations in the city of Andijon), Germany in 2003 (with accusations of Hizb ut-Tahrir spreading anti-Semitic propaganda), Bangladesh, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey (Hasan, 2017).

In a Podcast discussion, Dr. Dave McRae, an academic from Melbourne University stated that "...Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), [is] the local branch of an Islamist organisation that seeks to replace democratic governments with an Islamic caliphate through non-violent means." His discussion partner, Sidney Jones, Director of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, also emphasised HTI as a 'non-violence' movement and considered that the dissolution of HTI was related to "HTI's involvement in anti-Ahok [the Christian governor of Jakarta] demonstrations". But Jones also acknowledged that HTI was part of a transnational network that received command from the central network. Jones said, "... one of the big questions is where did the HTI monev come from? Because HTI is part of an international organisation with highly classified leadership, it is believed to be based in Jordan, but no one knows for sure, and there is a 'central direction' and 'central funding' for HTl operations in Indonesia, and the Indonesian branch of Hizb ut-Tahrir is the largest branch of these organisations. "In addition, Jones also informed that there were several HTI ex-members who joined ISIS, including Bahrun Naim (McRae, 2017).

Bahrun Naim went to Syria in 2014 to join ISIS. Previously, since 2011, HTl had been very active in voicing support for the overthrow of Libyan President Moammar Qaddafi and Syrian President Bashar Assad. HTl's view of the conflicts in Libya and Syria shows that the assessment that HTl is a 'non-violence organisation' needs to be further studied in depth.

The main actor in the overthrow of President Qaddafi in 2011 was Al Qaeda's affiliation in Libya, the Libyan Islamist Fighting Group (LIFG). Their action received open support from Al Qaeda's leader, Abu Yahya al-Libi, and also from the Muslim Brotherhood cleric, Qatar-based Yusuf Qaradhawi, who issued a fatwa on the killing of Qaddafi. LIFG members state that their focus is to enforce sharia law in Libya (Spencer, 2011). At almost the same time, namely in February 2011, HTl through its spokesman Ismail Yusanto published a statement containing a call to Muslims in Libya to subvert Qaddafi and enforce the Khilafah. When Qaddafi was finally killed, HTl expressed their congratulations for the overthrow of the 'tyrant regime' (Sulaeman, 2017).

R. Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata RMT Nur Affandi Dina Yulianti CEJISS 4/2019 Furthermore, LIFG figures had left for Libya to help the formation of jihadi militias that would move to overthrow President Assad, including those who were members of the Free Syrian Army and Liwaa Al-Ummah (Fitzgerald, 2012). HTl also expressed support for Syrian jihad. Hafidz Abdurrahman, Chair of the Tsaqafiyah DPP HTlstated, "Hizb ut-Tahrir continues to work hard to guard the Islamic Revolution until it reaches its goal, namely the overthrow of the Bashar kufr regime, then replacing it with the Khilafah." 'as was done with Qaddafi' (Sulaeman, 2017).

HTI Spokesperson, Ismail Yusanto, acknowledged that members of his organisation were involved in jihad in Syria "personally" and "institutionally", Hizb ut-Tahrir had also taken oaths of loyalty with many of the mujahidin groups in Syria including the Jabah al-Nusrah Mujahideen, to ensure that jihad in Syria is an effort to uphold Islamic law under the auspices of the Islamic Khilafah" (Global Muslim, 2013). In addition, HTI also showed support for the Ahrar Al-Sham jihadi militia. On September 9, 2014, the HTI website posted condolences for the death of Ahrar Al-Sham's "jihadist" leader (hizb-indonesia.info).

Jabhah Al-Nusrah and Ahrar Al-Sham are jihadi affiliated militias. Al Nusrah has been included in the list of terrorist organisations by the United Nations since 2012, while Ahrar Al has yet to be included in the list due to US rejection. But the US Secretary of State, John Kerry, said on June 28, 2016, "From Orlando to San Bernardino to the Philippines and Bali, we've seen pictures and we've heard testimony of shocking crimes committed by al-Qaida, by Boko Haram, by Jaysh al-Islam, by Ahrar al-Sham, by al-Shabaab, Daesh, other groups against innocent civilians, against journalists, and against teachers particularly" (Kerry, 2016).

HTI's support for some jihadi groups in Libya and Syria shows that HTI ideologically supports violence in the overthrow of a government. This was also seen in the sentence of the British Hizb ut-Tahrir spokesman, Imran Waheed, in his BBC interview, "We want to discard these rulers [of Libya, Egypt, Pakistan] to the dustbin of history" (Hasan, 2017).

How Should Indonesia Deal with the Radical Transnational Network?

By using the categorization of actors who want to destroy the democracy of a country as proposed by Mietzner (2018), it could be concluded that HTl is a "mass movement that propagate changes in the state's

shape". Unfortunately, the fact that antidemocratic groups in Indonesia are part of the RTN was not discussed by the observers who had considered Jokowi to have committed undemocratic actions in the face of antidemocratic Islamist groups. If Jokowi's action to dismiss HTI is categorised as 'repression', Plotke (2006) has provided an opportunity for repression, which must meet the two conditions mentioned earlier. Firstly, HTI has been allowed to spread their narratives and have freedom of expression. From this freedom, the public knows that they have openly rejected democracy and wanted to change the foundation of the country (Pancasila). They have actively spread sectarian narratives ever since Jokowi became president, which was also carried out very openly. Even though they did not carry out acts of violence in Indonesia, their support for the network of "jihadists" in Libya and Syria have proven that they agree on armed coups and this ideology endangers the sustainability of democracy.

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For the second condition, repression must be carried out within the legal corridor and Jokowi has fulfilled this by revoking the legal entity decree of HTl. HTl was even given the opportunity to challenge this decision at the State Administrative High Court. After PTUN rejected all HTI lawsuits, they filed an appeal with the Supreme Court, which was also rejected. Thus, focusing only on the democratic procedures in dealing with the undemocratic forces of RTN is not enough because there is a greater interest that must be protected, namely the interests of pro-democracy citizens who want to maintain the government they have chosen, security and national unity. In the case of HTl, as explained, their attachment to the pro-violent radical transnational network is a danger that threatens not only democracy, but also the integration of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, the author agrees with the third option proposed by Plotke, namely "incorporation", which invites HTI members to join in the democratic processes in Indonesia; but at the same time, the Indonesian government must also act to enforce the law in the face of actions which are strongly indicated to destroy democratic practices.

Conclusion

The result of the 2019 Indonesian presidential elections demonstrate a division of support based on identity and religion in a number of regions in Indonesia. The division is drawn between the regions with a minority voter base and Muslim voters. By examining the sectarian

narratives spread before the election, the authors argue that the main actor for causing the strengthening of the sectarian narrative is the Islamist antidemocratic groups. Hizbut Tahrir is one of the prominent forces of these antidemocratic groups and by tracking their support CEIISS for sectarian wars in Libva and Syria, the authors conclude that HTI 4/2019 is part of the RTN. Pluralist-nationalist organisations and the government have been made aware of the danger brought by HTl towards Indonesia's democracy and unity and this has led to the dissolvement of HTI. However, a number of observers assessed this decision as an authoritarian act of Jokowi. This assessment seems to have forgotten or ignored the fact that HTl is part of the RTN, thus the incorporation strategy option suggested by Plotke is the better choice. Therefore, concurrent with opening the door for HTl to join democratic processes, Jokowi's administration has also rejected their anti-democratic projects by revoking the legal status of the Hizb ut-Tahrir.

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Civil Servant Neutrality on 2019 General Election in Indonesia

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Theoretically, bureaucracy should be neutral from political affairs. This neutrality should be implemented by current regime. In fact, ASN (civil servant) is prohibited to get involved in political activity such as attending political campaign and activity (including non-campaign activity such as taking picture with the campaign participant, etc). According to researchers, this ban is similar with as if the ASN is prohibited from having political preferences, and this is contrary to the nature of humans as zoon politicon (political being). Besides, neutrality also embraced non-civil servant whom has be in charge on governmental institution such as Village Head (Kepala Desa) and his/her apparatus, including Village Council (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa). Even if it is prohibited, in 2019 general election, the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) found 1096 cases violation which is committed by ASN, TNI and Polri. The discussion of this research will only focus on civil servant disobedience on neutrality towards political affairs. How neutrality regulation affected ASN? Why does it difficult to actualize ASN neutrality. The research question will be answered by the library method of studying the rules relating to ASN neutrality and also books on bureaucracy and politics. This research shows that rule according to neutrality on Law no 5 in 2014 related to ASN only mentioned that ASN is prohibited to be member and political party committee. However, the rules below which are reinforced by Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning Elections keeps ASN from having political preferences, even the ranks

Dede Sri Kartini. Civil Servant Neutrality on 2019 General Election in Indonesia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 397–410.

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of village government are treated the same as ASN. Another thing that makes the ASN neutrality difficult is that the career position of an ASN is determined by the Regional Head who is a political official who acts as a PPK (Officer of Staff Assessment). The rules that exist after the issuance of Law No. 5 of 2014 concerning ASN should be revised and PPK should be the Regional Secretary not the Regional Head.

Keyword: election, bureaucracy, neutrality, ASN.

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Elections are an instrument of democracy to form a government, this is where the process of obtaining government leaders is legalized. In the democratic political structure, the struggle and implementation of power is carried out with certain rules of the game as outlined in the laws and regulations below (Etzioni dan Halevy, 2011).

In Indonesia, all chief of government is obtained by election methods, started from Chief of Government in National level until Chief of Government in village level, whom public are heavily participated to directly vote. When election is finished, government cycle is operated by bureaucracy system led by political officers whom winning the election. Thus, political and bureaucratic officials are viewed as one entity, the bureaucracy will not run without politics, so political officials will be in vain without bureaucracy, because no one runs election campaign promises of political officials

Campaign promises could only be realised when bureaucracy system interpreted into Medium Term National Developing Plan (Rencana Pembangunan Jangkan Menengah Nasional /RPJMN) for National level and Medium Term Regional Developing Plan (Rencana Pembangunan Jangkan Menengah Daerah /RPJMD) for Province, City or District level. In the RPJMN and RPJMD policies are gathered by government leaders (the President and the Regional Head), while the bureaucracy is the executor of these policies.

As mentioned by Rockman (1992), if we discussed about bureaucracy and power, the word "bureaucracy" refers to the executives as governmental organs. Bureaucracy finally has three main: first, bureaucracy as a form of common organisation. Weber explains this definition, and then bureaucracy is being intended to government and private organisation. Second, bureaucracy is a form of public or private administrative organs. We often use this word to refer to parts of state administration, such as the organisation of a department, function

lines within departments or other government institutions. From this understanding, the issues discussed are coordination, supervision and autonomy, the task of the bureaucracy is to make and implement policies. Thus the word "bureaucracy" consists of bureaus that interact with each other. Third, bureaucracy is people who sit in government permanently (civil servants). This group of people can be seen from various angles. If what is seen is the first group, then it refers to a group of administrative elites, if those who are seen by the second group are given attention to civil servants. From this lowest level, institutional affairs (officialdom) where the frequency of power is carried out when state employees meet the population, norms within the institution are the legitimacy and appearance of the state. With the selection of ASN in this paper, the author uses the third perspective of the Rockman.

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Research Question

This research seeks to answer why is it difficult to implement neutrality on ASN in the 2019 general elections?

Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with library study methods. Literature studies are conducted by studying various regulations such as laws, government regulations, circulars from agencies, news both through trusted and printed online, and books relating to bureaucratic theory and elections. Thus, the source of data in this study is documentation (Creswell, 2012).

Discussion

Unlike Weber whom interprets bureaucracy could be found on several organisations, Smith (1988, p. 9) limited the definition of bureaucracy as administrative governmental component from a political system (state, nation, city, region, etc) and public policy implementation.

As political phenomenon, bureaucracy as defined by John Stuart Mill is an activity to organize power. Beside Mill. Another writer also analysed bureaucracy as political power such as Hegel, Marx, Mosca, Michels, Weber and Laski. For example, Harold Laski categorised "bureaucracy" word in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* with negative meaning: "Bureucracy is the term usually applied to asystem of government the control of which is so completely in the hands officials that their power jeopardizes the linberties of ordinary citizens" (Hill, 1992.p., 2).

Max Weber in *Economic and Society* journal writes bureaucracy had been an important thing in political power by examine social phenomenon as follows:

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- I. As an instrument in engaging authority relationship in rational organisation, bureaucracy in the past and now become the first tools of power for someone to control its apparatus.
- 2. The position of power can build bureaucracy always becomes bigger, so that in normal conditions it is difficult be defeated
- 3. In the modern state, the government really needs bureaucracy, and it is inevitable to avoid bureaucracy, whether it is in parliamentary or monarchy form.
- 4. In observing the growth of state bureaucracy and its increasing role in power, how to ensure power implementation is well-supervised effectively

Based on social phenomenon stated by Weber, how does Indonesia manage its bureaucracy, as it implemented in the followings rule, will be discussed below.

Modern bureaucracy has opposite nature with democracy (1996.p, 189), as recognised by Katz and Kahn, that politic should be naturally contained democratic character. It means, bureaucracy should be naturally being separated from politic, they cannot intervene on each other's. Being separated from politic means bureaucracy arena has silver linings with politics. ASN working performance is supervised by bureaucrat officers not by political officers. Thus, when an ASN get promoted, it is determined by bureaucrat officers not by President or Chief of Regent. But based on ASN management rule, according to Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia No. 7 in 2011 regarding on Civil Servant Management, Pejabat Pembina Kepegawaian has authority to assign rank, mutation and dismission of ASN and its management supervisory in government institution (Article 1 verse 17).

Who is PPK as mentioned above? According to the Law, President has highest authority for ASN supervisory and has a right to appointment, transfer and dismissal of civil servants. The president can delegate his authority to the minister, the head of the institution in a non-ministerial government agency, the secretary general at the secretary of state institutions and non-structural institutions, the governor and bupati / mayor. According to researchers, from the various recipients of the authority, the most vulnerable to violations of ASN neutrality is the governor and regent / mayor. This is reinforced by

BKN, that out of 990 cases of violation of neutrality carried out by ASN as many as 99.5% of violators of ASN neutrality from January 2018 to March 2019 are employees in regional agencies (https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/bkn-995-employee-neutrality-asn-status-agency-regional-violator, accessed on June 14, 2019, at 19:05).

The above incident shows that the Regional Head carried by a political party uses his authority to intervene in the bureaucracy to ask for political support to the bureaucratic apparatus which is subordinate in position, so it does not rule out the occurrence of dyadic patron client relations (Liddle, 1996). This means that when the Regional Head requests support from his apparatus, then when support is given the apparatus will be "rewarded" with a promotion for example.

Wilson and Goodnow made a dichotomy between politics and administration (Darwin, 1996). Politics deals with policy making, while administration deals with policy implementation. As an implementation institution, bureaucratic systems and procedures must be developed efficiently, among others, with hierarchical bureaucratic structures, impersonal rules, and career development systems that can guarantee the development of the professionalism of their apparatus. The purpose of developing this concept is to ensure the effectiveness of a democratically developed government. This means that democratic political mechanisms must be supported by a professional bureaucracy so that all political policies decided can be implemented efficiently. If the PPK is Regional Head, how can a political official guarantee the professionalism of his apparatus?

The rule according to neutrality as mentioned by Law No 5 Year 2014 as explained below:

"In order to maintaining ASN neutrality from political party influence, and ensuring wholeness, compactness, and unity of ASN, and can focus all attention, mind and energy on the task, which is charged, ASN is prohibited from being a member and or administrator of political parties."

From this explanation, it can be implied that neutrality is defined only as prohibition to become members and or administrators of political parties. Ironically, government regulations under the law have locked the ASN to not have political preferences, namely sympathy for political parties or candidates that can be realised by participating in campaigns when the ASN is on holiday. The rules relating to ASN neutrality are Government Regulation (PP) Number 53 of 2010 con-

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cerning Civil Servant Discipline, Government Regulation Number 11 of 2017 concerning Management of Civil Servants and ahead of the 2019 Concurrent Election, the two regulations are supported by Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning Elections and Perbawaslu Number 6 of 2018. Although other laws and regulations were born after PP Number 53 of 2010, which is related to the discipline of civil servants, it is still used to translate the principle of neutrality. The following are the contents of the article about the discipline used to translate the principle of neutrality:

Civil servant is prohibited to:

- Giving supports to President/ Vice President candidates, House of Representatives in National and Regional candidates (DPR and DPRD), or Regional Representatives Council (DPD) candidates
 - a. Participate as executor in the campaign events
 - Become the participant by wearing party attribute or civil servants attribute
 - c. As participant by mobilize another civil servants, and/or
 - d. As participants by using state facilities
- 2. Giving supports to President/ Vice Presidents candidate by:
 - a. Create decision and/ or action whom benefitted or bring disadvantages on one candidates during campaign periods, and/ or
 - b. Conducting activities which directed to civil servant's partisanship towards candidates before, during and after campaign period includes: meetings, invitations, appeals, and delivery of goods to civil servants inside the working unit, family members and society
- 3. Giving supports to , House of Representatives in National and Regional candidates , or Regional Representatives Council (DPD) candidates by submitted letters of support with copy of ID card or Resident Registration Certificate according to the Laws
- 4. Giving supports for Regional Head/ Vice Regional Head, by:
 - a. Participating in campaign activity to support Regional Head/ Vice Regional candidates
 - b. Utilizing facilities related to ranks in campaign activities

- c. Create decision and/ or action whom benefitted or bring disadvantages on one candidates during campaign periods, and/or
- d. Conducting activities which directed to civil servant's partisanship towards candidates before, during and after campaign period includes: meetings, invitations, exclamation, and delivery of goods to civil servants inside the working unit, family members and society

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From this prohibition, there is a poin that is difficult to be proven i.e.: appealing to family member to support election candidates. Who will supervise ASN in domestic territory?

In Order to maintaining neutrality in 2019 general election and still committed to place its role and function proportionally, and also participating to positively contribute in unity of NKRI, Chief of BKN (State Personnel Agency/ Badan Kepegawaian Negara) released an appeals as follows:

- I. According to Article 2 Law No 5 /2014 concerning to ASN It is stated that in policy making and civil servants management, strongly attached in neutrality aspect. "Neutrality" is defined as each civil servant does not take side from every aspect of influence or do not take side of anyone's interest.
- 2. Civil servants are prohibited to give support to President/ Vice Presidents candidate by:
 - a. Participating in campaign activity to support Regional Head/ Vice Regional candidates
 - b. Utilizing facilities related to ranks in campaign activities
 - c. Create decision and/ or action whom benefitted or bring disadvantages on one candidates during campaign periods, and/ or
 - d. Conducting activities which directed to civil servant's partisanship towards candidates before, during and after campaign period includes: meetings, invitations, exclamation, and delivery of goods to civil servants inside the working unit, family members and society
- 3. By giving support to President or Vice President as mentioned in number 2, including activities whom directly conducted or not , including the usage of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, BBM, Line, Instagram, Blog etc
- 4. In accordance with this condition, it is ordered to all civil servants to obey the law as mentioned in number 1,2,and 3

- All Senior High Officials, High Primary Leadership Officers, Administrators and Supervisors had to monitor their subordinate in order to maintain neutrality in President and Vice President
- 6. Civil servant who disobey the law in number 1,2, and 3 will receive disciplinary sanction

- 2. Civil servants are prohibited from providing support to candidates for President and Vice President by:
 - a. Involved in campaign activities to support candidates for President and Vice President;
 - b. Use facilities related to positions for campaign activities;
 - c. Make decisions and or actions that benefit or harm one of the candidate during the campaign period; and / or
 - d. Conducting activities that lead to partiality of the candidates who are participants of the Election before, during and after the campaign period including meetings, solicitation, appeals, appeals or the provision of goods / money to civil servants in their work environment, family members and the community.
- 3. That the provision of support to candidates for President and Vice President as referred to in number 2, covers activities carried out directly or indirectly including using social media such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, BBM, Line, SMS, Instagram, Blogs, and its kind.
- 4. In connection with this matter, all civil servants are ordered to comply with the provisions referred to in number 1, number 2 and number 3.
- To all Senior High Officials, the Primary High Leadership Officers, Administrators and Supervisors must supervise their subordinates in order to maintain neutrality in the implementation of the Presidential and Vice President Elections.
- 6. Civil servants who do not comply with the provisions referred to in number 1, number 2, and number 3 above are sentenced to discipline.

The appeal is similar to PP No. 53 of 2010, only has been adjusted to the conditions of the 2019 simultaneous elections, namely the development of social media as an instrument to spread support to election participants. In addition, the 2019 simultaneous election also added rules for non-civil servants specifically prohibitions for village officials and members of village consultative bodies to be involved as executors

or campaign teams (Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning Elections Article 494).

Katz and Kahn recognised that politics should have a democratic character and an authoritarian bureaucracy (Darwin, 1996). Democracy has a populist character, which means that decisions taken pay attention to the voices of many people, for example the demands of demonstrators on the streets, also to occupy the leadership of political parties one do not require special education and expertise. As long as he gets the most support from the people, his political position is legitimate. Whereas bureaucracy has a hierarchical character, which meaning that between superiors and subordinates have contractual relationships, that is, individuals want to sacrifice their freedom by being obedient to the organisation because of rewards in the form of salaries and status, which already set. In a neutral bureaucracy the obedience of a subordinate to a superior based on the formal mandate of the superior, not because of the tradition or charisma he has. Thus, subordinates can say no to tasks that must be carried out outside their responsibilities.

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The dominant value in politics is justice. Thus, equality of rights and decision-making that participate should be prioritised. Decisions or policies taken by politicians should be in accordance with the demands of the people, and politicians must account for all policies taken to the people because they are *elected officials* (elected officials of the people). To be able to carry out the daily tasks of government, civil servants are required to have knowledge, skills and abilities (KSA) to produce government goods and services. Civil servants will only become *human capital* only if they have experienced planned and tiered human resource development through education, *on-the-job training*, staff schools, and mutation or transfer of tasks to various fields of government (Darwin, 1996)

As the government's hand, the bureaucratic apparatus must realise that he is not a ruling government employee but a state employee, two different but inherent statuses that must be embedded in the civil service. So do politicians, he is only a temporary official who occupies a political position because he is elected by the people. For this reason, it must be realised that he uses the bureaucracy to implement the policies he outlines, but the bureaucracy is not his personal property so that he can use it at will.

The origin of politicians and bureaucratic apparatus is indeed different, political positions are obtained through the election process thus has support, while bureaucratic positions are obtained because they are appointed so that the person has bureaucratic power, expertise and institutional position, not a voter mandate (Gruber, 1987). Thus, it is very important to separate the bureaucratic arena and the political arena, placing the Regional Head as PPK is an action for the entry of politics into the bureaucracy.

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Bureaucracy is an institution that permanently serves the community, while politicians are party representatives who certainly have a moral burden to serve the interests of their population. Do not let the bureaucracy be damaged by people who come and then take power only for a temporary

The difference between democracy and bureaucracy as listed briefly in the table below:

Table 1

Viewpoint	Democracy	Bureaucracy
Character possessed	Populist	Hierarchies
Dominant value	Justice	Efficiency
Basis	a. Value of equality	Differences in status
	and role	and role
	b. Decision making	
	is participatory	
Position	Politicians'	The flow of decisions
	wisdom based on	and orders flows
	the demands of	from the top (leader)
	the people and	- down (subordinates)
	accountable to the	and the flow of
	people	accountability flows
		from the opposite
		direction

Source: processed from Darwin, 1996: 189

From the matrix above it appears that the characters are opposite, but both must be present in modern government. For this reason, so that the relations between the two will maintain their respective arenas, then the rules should not allow "politics" to enter the bureaucratic arena. Indonesia through its set of rules actually invites politics to influence the bureaucracy, it is not surprising that if these rules are not changed so then the ASN neutrality problems will continuously appear

in every elections, because after all ASN is an object as well as a subject in bureaucratic reform (Putranto, 2009).

Bureaucratic and democratic relations in the form of matrices were also put forward by Carifio (Turner and Hulme, 1997) below:

Table 2

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Power Distribution in	Power Distribution in Government	
Society		
Democracy	Executive Ascendant	Excecutive Sublated
	I	2
	Democratic Political	Bureaucracy Dom-
	Regime Control	inates Democratic
	Bureaucracy	Political Regime
Authoritanism	3	4
	Bureaucratic	Authotarian Political
	Subordination To	Regime Shares Power
	Authotarian Political	with Bureaucracy
	Regime	

Source: Carifio, 1992 modified by Turner and Hulme (1997)

Turner and Hulme (1997: 95-95) explain the matrix as follows:

In cell I we have 'the legally expected interaction of a political leadership and bureaucracy in a democracy', whereby the political regime maintain control over what bureaucracy does. Cell 2 delineates a 'bureaucracy-dominated democracy' where the bureaucracy is ideally participatory and non-hierarchical, dealing directly with public interest groups representing racial, gender and class minorities. Cell 3 despite bureaucratic subordination under authoritarian leadership. The final cell 4 in especially common in military regimes that secure the willing participation of the bureaucracy in government.

When we analyse the relationship between democracy and the bureaucracy using the matrix from Carrifio above, Indonesia is in cell 1 because of the rules that control the bureaucracy. Politics is indeed democratic like competitive elections involving various political parties (Tohari, 2013) but the bureaucracy is still intervened by politics.

Democracy in Indonesia is still in the stage of procedural democracy or formal democracy. It is this democracy that will ignore structural conditions and perpetuate the dominance of the power of the local

elite (Tohari, 2013). Procedural democracy can be explained in two conditions, first, democracy is an almost technical matter, meaning that there is no relationship between democracy and economic and welfare issues. For this view, democracy and the economy cannot be mixed up, each has a different problem. This kind of democracy is often called liberal democracy that is democracy where all of its devices are derived from liberal ideology. Democracy will work well if the institutions and procedures are well developed, and everyone runs it well. This kind of democracy does not question why when there is a change of power there is always a group that enjoys power with good welfare, but on the other hand there are groups that do not enjoy power with a low level of welfare. This view of democracy adheres to the fulfillment of civil and political rights, while the fulfillment of economic, social and cultural rights is not considered important. The winners are those who have controlled more resources, so this type of democracy is the winner's democracy.

Second, democratic actors are the main elements for Democartisation and democracy. These actors fight for the values and practices of democracy. According to Moore as quoted by Tohari (2013), democracy will be realised when there are bourgeois or middle class groups that are adequate and have an awareness of the importance of democracy. For his statement, Moore is famous for the slogan no bourgeoisie no democracy. Thus, democracy is determined by how many people live and "believe in" democracy and practices it well and orderly whether people are prosperous or not is a matter to be concerned later.

The third perspective is the hope from the author that substantive democracy is present in Indonesia, democracy is not just a competitive election routine, civil political rights and the Realisation of political institutions. But democracy also meets structural requirements which include economic, social and cultural capital (welfare) for anyone and also everyone can enter the arena of political contestation. For adherents of this type of democracy, in addition to political and civil rights, guaranteeing economic, social and cultural rights is a condition for a democracy. How much of these rights are fulfilled will determine the level of people's welfare. Without guarantees for these rights, democracy will be trapped in the oligarchy of the bourgeoisie.

Procedural democracy that fosters and nourishes the strengthening of local elites, gets stronger when supported by rules like what is happening in Indonesia today. The descendants of certain families who hold positions as Regional Heads control some regions. There are districts that are almost 20 years controlled by certain families, this has the potential to dominate the bureaucracy, and the regent by the rule is the Pejabat Pembina Kepegawaian.

Conclusion

Political conditions may change according to the polarisation of support for the party, but this condition should not interfere with the bureaucracy that requires structured turnover and prioritizing expertise. After all, for the creation of democratic government a strong bureaucracy is needed, bureaucracy is the hands of the government but does not belong to the government, it belongs to the state. As the existence of an eternal state, with people who govern may change, so does the bureaucracy.

The rule that states that the Regional Head is a Pejabat Pembina Kepegawaian (PPK) has the potential to be misused, making it difficult to neutralize ASN from politics. It would be better if PPK is the Regional Secretary who is also a bureaucratic official.

Translating neutrality should not eliminate the political preferences of an ASN, so the current restrictions should be reviewed. A prohibition against ASN for the Concurrent Election ahead has led ASN to become a voter who made his choice without consideration and limit ASN to obtain political information.

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Beyond the Binary Logic of Populist Articulations in 2019 Indonesian Election

A Post-Structuralist Analysis of 'Sexy Killers' Documentary

Luthfi Hamzah Husin, Nuruddin Al Akbar

This study seeks to highlight the emergence of Sexy Killer documentary as an important tool in an effort to encourage the rearticulation of democracy in a more substantial direction. This study is important in the middle of the trend of re-Democratisation that is taking place but is moving in a symbolic direction without meaning (the battle between the fantasy figures of 'cebong' and 'kampret'). Furthermore, the rearticulation of democracy towards symbolic direction tends to be a binary opposition so that the society is preoccupied by discursive war in public space but in a non-substantial sense and more in negative labeling war (insults) without meaningful antagonism (eg. debates about welfare, direction of development and others). This shallow trend of democratic articulation is crucial to be changed because the trend of rearticulation itself has actually a positive spirit that has the potential to trigger a more meaningful political change after previously the meaning of democracy has been frozen into merely soulless electoralism (and ultimately logic of money politic). Even though the presence of 'Sexy Killer' itself appeared in several days before the election, it was

Luthfi Hamzah Husin, Nuruddin Al Akbar. Beyond the Binary Logic of Populist Articulations in 2019 Indonesian Election: A Post-Structuralist Analysis of 'Sexy Killers' Documentary. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 411–431.

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able to provide an opportunity for the emergence of new non-binary subjects (which are then wrongly associated to non-voting behaviour). One important thing is that the new subject (although trying to be labeled negatively) is able to emerge into the public domain and no longer be reduced in the 'cebong' and 'kampret' binary dichotomy. Moreover, the new subject is arguably able to rearticulate a more substantive meaning in politics (for example highlighting development that is not environmentally friendly).

Key words: binary opposition, Indonesian election, meaning construct, populism, post-structuralism.

The politics of contemporary Indonesia seems to be increasingly moving towards (or at least adding to) the new 'vocabulary' called 'cebong' and 'kampret'. This term has been spreading since before and during the 2019 Indonsian election even today. The terms 'cebong' and 'kampret' mark the crystallisation of the new movements in Indonesian politics, which were previously seemed to be stagnant and absence of antagonistic debates. Even if there is a debate, it is more than just conveying a vision and mission, in which, although it seems textually to have a difference between one candidate and another, it seems to have nothing to do with Indonesian politics in general.

In this non-antagonistic politics, the thing that then works is a mere logic of economism (even then in a very limited sense which in contemporary Indonesian political dictionaries is known as money politics). The work of Aspinall and Sukmajati (2015) is one of the important markers of the world academics that captures the political spirit that works in contemporary Indonesian politics after the reform era. Those who have money and capacity to utilise the money more are expected to dominate the democratic game over the other political opponents. It can be said that money politics is one of the most important vocabularies when discussing Indonesian politics before 2014 (since Jokowi's election marked the era of populist politics in Indonesia) to this day.

Another important vocabulary that exists prior to post-2014 Indonesian politics is clientelism (see for example Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019). Similar to money politics, in the non-anatagonistic political space, a patronage link can be used to leverage one candidate in an election. The network here has various meaning but is usually derived from old networks, such as primoridal or institutional structure. For

instace, networks of customs, religions and/or more modern networks such as women's Family Welfare Empowering groups (Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga or PKK). The logic that works in clientelism politics is that those who have network or are supported by a strong network have a convincing opportunity to win. There is no room for the antagonism of ideas in this kind of political space. Politics only talks about who has a strong material or cultural base so he willwin the fight. A classic logic that perpetuates the practices of elitism and the stagnancy of existing and established political institutions. Even though material and cultural factors are inevitable in politics, it becomes the only and, at the same time, the static way in understanding politics and nothing can be expected from this kind of approach. Progressive politics will not work in this kind of political structure, as there is no possible meaning construct at all in the political space which claims to be democratic, with all its institutional and procedural arrangements, because what happens is only a person who has large capital can dominate the executive or legislative without the need of struggling and constructing a different idea from other candidates. In fact, this contest of ideas is actually the spirit of democracy - at least in terms of Habermasian and Mouffean (Norman, 2001).

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This political landscape was shifted in 2014 when the term of 'populism' became a new vocabulary in Indonesian politics. Populism can be placed as a trajectory of rearticulating politics (and democracy) in Indonesia. Populism in Indonesia has its own logic, that is, regardless of the background of the candidate (how much capital he or she has), he or she must offer a program that is in accordance with the will of the people (Djani et al., 2017). Joko Widodo (known as Jokowi) is a representation of the political trends that emerges at the national level and also in a number of regions, where all the candidates start to offer populist programmes. Jokowi, for example, when he and Basuki Purnama or Ahok competed in the Jakarta gubernatorial election, built the image that he was standing with the community facing the "depravity" of the bureaucracy which was considered unfriendly to Jakarta's very typical urban conditions (Hiariej, 2018). In an effort to build the impression that he is serious about his commitment, he is often broadcasted visiting various places and chatting with the people so the impression of his programmes were really not just a political promises.

The same trend continued to emerge when he climbed his career as the President of Indonesia who in 2014 was paired up with Jusuf Kalla

against Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa. Prabowo himself was a figure who supported Jokowi's nomination as the governor of Jakarta and used the logic of populism. When competing with Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election, Prabowo also actually used the same logic of populism but at a more 'radical' level. He promised to change the political structure that he considered not in line with the Indonesian constitution (Mietzner, 2015b). In contrast to Jokowi, who built his populist articulation through programmatic politics an sich, Prabowo adopted a more 'classic' style of populism by not only promising 'radical' programmes for people but also built a binary dichotomy between the elites and the people including himself, although he actually came from Indonesian elites (Aspinall, 2015; Mietzner, 2015b). It was this binary opposition that marked the beginning of the emergence of political antagonism in Indonesian politics. The candidate dares to draw boundaries between the programmes he offers with other candidates who are considered deceiving the people.

The explanations above, if it is related to the contemporary Indonesian politics after the reform era, can actually be seen as an opportunity to reap 'blessing' and not 'disaster'. Political antagonism based on this substantial idea actually becomes the spirit of democracy and was unfortunately absence in the practice of post-reform democracy. Transition and consolidation of democracy only works as a 'transplant' of institutional and procedural arrangement (hardware) but does not change the way the democratic value works (software) at all. Instead of conceiving discursive contestation as a part of democratic practices, money and network contestation happened without meaning contestation at all. With the existence of populism, it brings a new 'vocabulary' in contemporary Indonesian politics, as it re-calls ideas back to the Indonesian political space and forces every candidates to adopt the new vocabulary and distinguish him or herself through, what Gramsci calls 'war of position' (Laclau & Mouffe, 2000).

When referring to the idea of Laclau (2018) and Mouffe (2018) on populism, in which they put their political trajectory of radical democracy, in fact the "direction" of Indonesian democracy has seemingly headed to the 'right' path. However, what happens in the next phase of radicalisation whose spirit is to rearticulate the rule of the old political game actually moves in a 'shallow' direction and at some extent turns to be destructive to the future of radicalisation of democracy itself. As mentioned at the beginning, the emergence of the 'cebong' and 'kam-

pret' dichotomy is a new trend in which there is a siltation of political antagonism from substantive and discursive contestation into a rhetoric contestation that is occupied by meaningless construct, connotative meaning and ideological fantasies.

The terms of 'cebong' and 'kampret' mean analogies of figures and groups supporting certain political pairs (in this case Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandiaga) by labelling and symbolysing with certain animals. 'Cebong', in Indonesian, refers to tadpole and 'kampret', in Indonesian, refers to fruit bat. This use of dictions was built to insult or curse different opponents. 'Cebong' is associated with lower IQ as they usually gather in a small pond together, while 'kampret' is often associated animal that has a habit of sleeping in reverse which reflects its reverse mindset. This labeling made them not clear in seeing reality, as they reduces all political articulations by mocking the opponent to be a fool. It can be said that the two dictions actually has the same centre meaning of stupidity. In other words, there is no difference between these political articulations as both of them has the same meaning substantively.

The antagonism that is built from the emergence of the 'cebong' and 'kampret' trends is very hegemonic because it changes the antagonism of ideas to the antagonism of labeling on people and groups. In this case, the target is another candidate and interestingly it also extends to all individuals in the public space who are considered as part of their opposing candidate supporters. 'Kampret' itself was labelled to the supportes of Prabowo-Sandiaga supporters while 'cebong' was associated with the supporters of Jokowi-Ma'ruf. Previously the term 'Ahokers' also appeared which is meant to label the supporters of Ahok. But in the national context, 'Ahokers' is eventually melted in the 'cebong' group.

In this atmosphere of increasingly personal nuances of antagonism, populism ideas are eventually deflected into symbols that do not at all represent the interest of popular itself. In this kind of condition, even though there are debates containing arguments war about the candidates' vision and mission, there is not much contested meaning since the superficial articulation of populism dominates contemporary political space. It needs to be stressed here that the occurrence of 'siltation' on populist politics does not only occur in Indonesia. At global level, the idea of populism is even synonymous with negative meanings because it is related to the development of racist right-wing

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politics both in Europe and the US, especially when Donald Trump took office in the US precidency. The term 'post-truth' then became a popular term to define this populism, which is mainly potrayed by a binary antagonism between native and foreigner, such as Trump's accusations that Obama and Hillary are traitors of the nation for creating ISIS or China is the actor behind global warming (Sim, 2019; Cushion & Thomas, 2018). One could argue, therefore, the political antagonism is nowadays reduced to be more imaginative hoaxes than the more substantive antagonism.

Given the above explanation, in this article we argue that the populist turn in contemporary Indonesian politics actually opens up a space for democracy that is more substantive, unless the rearticulation does not end in a 'shallow' antagonism. It becomes more severe when the public is forced to become part of the subject in that superficial binary logic as discussed before. The disciplinary idea seems strongly playing here. In the context of this 'stagnation' of political articulation, the emergence of a documentary produced by Wachdoc Image entitled 'Sexy Killers' deserves a serious study. This is not to mention that the documentary can function as a tool for re-articulating democracy to be an actual substantive and radical democracy. Certainly, more documentaries and hard works are needed to make that trajectory. Notwithstanding, at least, this documentary is one of an entry point to criticise the binary dichotomy and offers a whole new perspective that is not fully captured in the binary logic, even at some extent dismantling the binary logic by deconstruct their fixity of meaning constructs so that there is no such thing as substantial antagonism. This study itself is limited to the study of the narrative discourse and political articulation contended in the Sexy Killers documentary which has the potential to 'subvert' the existing hegemonic structure of meaning.

Material and methods

A post-structuralist approach in criticising populist articulations in 2019 Indonesian election

This study is focused on examining the narrative discourse constructed in the Sexy Killer documentary which has the potential to subvert the binary structure of meaning, which now becomes a new logic in contemporary Indonesian politics. Following the post-structuralist tradition, Derrida especially provides an interesting approach to see the potential for subversion that can be produced by a documentary. Derrida

himself departs from Saussure's structuralist assumption of signifier and signified in language (Joseph, 2004). Where signified refers to an abstract idea or meaning while a signifier refers to a concrete marker or a medium that represents the abstract idea at the material level (in this case language, through writing/expression) (Joseph, 2004). For instance, when we talk about chicken, the word 'chicken' is the signifier of an abstract idea/picture of a chicken. For Saussure, this relationship between signified and signifier takes place steady/ static and apolitical. In contrast to Derrida (2016), who departs from this kind of thought, he is always suspicious on the signification system and also includes a more political analysis in seeing the sign relations with that meaning. In Derrida's analysis, the relation of signifier and signified is possible to be deconstructed (so that it is not fixed) with a reason to avoid the totality of language that might reduces the complexity of 'being'.

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To understand Derrida's ideas above, we can illustrate more simply with an examples of love. Love is an abstract concept but illustrates the existence of a special relationship between one and another. However, we can see in the modern era that there is a dominant signifier in describing the astract concept, such as the symbol of 'heart'. Furthermore, the symbol of heart is materialised to be a chocolate with a package illustrated by a heart picture. In this context, we can understand that the meaning of love has been transformed by the dominant signifier named chocolate. It does not stop until there as this dominant signifier ultimately influences the meaning of love itself which was previously spiritual (from heart to heart mentally) into relations that are material in nature - one must prove his love by giving chocolate. Anyone who does not give chocolate is considered not to have a deep sense of love for someone he or she loves. Or at least, he or she is considered lacking in showing his or her love to others. Perhaps, today love is not just conceived as chocolate but is also transformed into another new meaning constructs.

Derrida does not talk much about the idea that is related to the practical politics. Other figures also known as exponents of post-structuralists, namely Ernesto Laclau and, especially, Chantal Mouffe, are two academics who brought Derrida's ideas to their project of radical democracy. For Laclau and Mouffe, Derrida's ideas becomes an important tool to open rearticulations in politics and within liberal democracy. Laclau and Mouffe (2000) themselves consider that this rearticulation is the spirit of politics itself which cannot be quelled,

whereby political antagonism for both is seen to be inevitable and even good for opening of the space for all apolitical articulations to create change continuously. Trespassing the Saussurean tradition, the idea of 'never-completed sign' of Derrida is fruitful to understand the nature of meaning construct, which is always limited, hegemonic and even contested (Laclau & Mouffe, 2000). Furthermore, this meaning construct is then analysised by observing the fixity of 'moments' (discursive articulation) from 'elements' (non-discursive articulation) that signify the centre of meaning, or in Lacanian psycho-analysis tradition was called as 'point de capiton' or nodal point (Andersen, 2003). The fixity of moments, as Derrida points out, will never fully capture the whole undecidable elements, which consequently makes surplus of meaning and dislocations. This conditions enable every dislocated element to dis-articulate and even rearticulate the established the centre of meaning constructed in a hegemonic political articulation.

The concept of the 'never-completed sign', which Derrida discusses and then is used in Laclau and Mouffe's radical political project, becomes relevant in reading contemporary Indonesian politics and the potential for subversion contended by Sexy Killer documentary. As emphasised in the introduction, post-reform Indonesian politics is widely identified with extraordinary progress in the installation of democratic institutional and procedural arrangements. Elections, for example, are no longer under the authority of the Home Ministry but under a more independent commission. The idea of the separation of powers has been undergone by strengthening the legislature. However, various institutional reforms have no impact on the face of Indonesian democracy where the game of money politics and clientelism dominates the logic of electoralism both at local and even national level.

With the emergence of the idea of populism, although in limited scope, at least it is able to provide a new colour/ new political logic, in which democracy is not only a matter of periodic elections but also how the ideas are raised during the campaign manifested to the benefit of the wider community (popular). However, the idea of populism itself, which is conceived as the open door for any political articulation to emerge in the table, is eventually reduced to become practices of personal cults and collective emotionalism, while the radical narratives that encourages the real political change of the system disappears from the public discussion, in this case the last Indonesian election. Instead of enabling the agenda of radicalisation of democracy, the bi-

nary opposition of 'cebong' vs. 'kampret' has downplayed it by reproducing personal issues or hoax news. Nevertheless, as the emergence of populism ideas that began to shift the old logic of money politics and clientism, this static and artificial populist articulations can actually be transformed (be rearticulated) in such as stated by Derrida that the structure of meaning will not be inevitably stable. It is impossible for the logic of 'cebong' and 'kampret' to be fully dominate whole narratives.

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Furthermore, yet we follow Derrida's notion about the undecidability, it does not necessarily mean that the meaning construct will automatically change itself. There is a 'political guerrilla' that must be done by the undecidable elements to change the established sructure. In this context, Laclau and Mouffe emphasise the importance of understanding politics as the art of changing the 'freezing' (and singularity) of the discourse to be more dynamic, including the emergence of the 'Sexy Killers' documentary. Interestingly, this documentary is aired through social media platform, YouTube, as a work of popular art.

In the history of contemporary politics, it can be said that the position of popular art has become a kind of important tool for maintaining public sanity. The emergence of documentary such as 'Inconvinient Truth', which was later used by Al Gore in campaigning the issue of Global Warning in the US, turned out to be successful in changing the ignorance of some US people about the reality of environmental damage which was also caused by industries there. At a more local level, we can also observe how a simple documentaries produced by Joshua Openheimer entitled 'The Act of Killing' and 'The Look of Silence' were able to encourage a more critical debate about what happened with the case of 65 and even were able to challenge the dominant articulation narrated by the Old Order production's films about The Movement of 30th of September - Indonesian Communist Party (Gerakan 30 September Partai Komunis Indonesia or G30SPKI). In other words, making art as a politics or politics as an art has a successful examples in the past. Indeed, it is difficult to compare the success of 'Inconvinent Truth' with Sexy Killers', but what we want to underline here is that the documentary is one of the manifestations of politics as an art itself, which has subversive potential to shake up the hegemonic and binary articulation of 'cebong' and 'kampret' that now dominates public and academic discourse.

Results and Discussion

Political rhetorics in the binary logic: technocratic populism vs. ultra-populism

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When referring to Lim's work (2017) which highlights the latest Jakarta gubernational election, where Anis Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno defeated Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) - Darot Saiful Hidayat, we can actually see the nuances of siltation on populist discourse since that time. On one hand, it was often to see dictions of insult, such as 'bani taplak' (the sons of table cloths), 'kaum bumi datar' (flat earth people), 'onta' (camel), 'babi' (pig), 'Chinese infidel', which were more nuanced in the way each of political camp articulated their meaning construct, including the term of 'Ahoker' for labelling the supporters of Ahok (Lim, 2017). Although, on the other hand, more substantive nuances of political antagonism were still present at the time by the presence of discursive war between the contested camps. This political polarisation leads to, what Hadiz & Robison (2017, p. 489) calls, 'confrontations between varieties of populism' in the nowadays Indonesian politics, such as guided populism, distributive populism and conservative Islamic populism.

Drawing on this political landscape, Mietzner (2015b) generally categorises the two contested camps by labelling 'technocratic populism' and 'ultra-populism'. On one hand, technocratic populism refers to lokowi's populism which tends to be soft since it does not mention who the opponent is and focuses more on the narration to solve the problem of society technocratically (Mietzner, 2015b). On the other hand, as also argued by Hadiz (2017, 2018), ultra-populism, which later intersects with conservative Islamic populism, presents as a more antagonistic narrative because it is also wrapped in religious (Islamic) identity with the main narrative at the time was anti-Ahok as a representative of 'minority-infidel' leadership. The 'anti-infidel' discourse in this context must be read more carefully because, in political practice (especially during the 212 movement), they actually displayed a friendly attitude towards Christian couples, for example, who were about to get married and obstructed during the action. In other words, 'infidel' here connotes a special infidel that, in the definition of Islam, fights against Muslims. In the context of Ahok, his the technocratic projects were considered not friendly to the urban poor and Muslims in general. In other words, there were nuances of injustice which was actually tried to be sued though in the wrap of religious narratives (Djani & Tornquist, 2017). Accordingly, political antagonism in the sense that it is more substantial works in the context of the 2017 Jakarta gubernational election. Notwithstanding, there was also the phenomenon of 'siltation' on the antagonism with the emergence of increasingly personal fetishism trends, which Ahok with *Teman Ahok* (Friends of Ahok) appeared on one side and Anies Baswedan and Rizieq Shihab on the other side, and the appearence of negative labelling (insults) that do not have the connection of meaning with more substantial debates.

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The 2017 Jakarta gubernational election has become crucial moment to understand the 2010 Indonesian election. Besides the adjacent time between the two elections, it can be said that Jakarta is also the representation of Indonesia politics not just a capital city in general. Moreover, media coverage was so massive in highlighting the lakarta case and unfortunately participating in reproducing the binary construction in its superficial nature. The results of the election were shocking, as Ahok, who was actually a strong figure because he was juxtaposed with the big name lokowi and was famous for his populist achievements at that time, was defeated. On the other hand, the challenger candidate, Anies-Sandiaga, was supported by Prabowo Subianto who was Jokowi's rival in 2014 Indonesian election. Given the facts earlier, the antagonism that has undergone silently does not stop with the appointment of Anies as the governor of Jakarta, but it continues on a larger scale in the 2019 Indonesian election, in which Jokowi and Prabowo again competed for the position of president. Unfortunately, this populist articulation between technocratic populism and Islamic populism is not improved but is getting worse, where the binary logic of 'cebong' and 'kampret' has dominated public discourse and neglected more substantial populist issues. Hence, it is not surprising that there are not substantial difference in the vision and mission carried by the two candidates. This condition has transformed the actual political antagonism that is considered to be radical to be more superficial and even destructive antagonism. There is no room for alternative articulations whose political ideas are more substantive in such hegemonic binary dichotomy.

The myths of 'Cebong' and 'Kampret': Efforts to dominate the centre of meaning

Following the arguments of Barthes (1976 & 1977), the hegemonic articulation constructed in the last Indonesian election is eventually transformed into a new and more connotative meaning. As discussed

earlier, the two political camps construct the fixity of their each meanings through rhetorical articulation, in which the Jokowi-Ma'ruf camp tends to construct the meaning of technocratic populism while the Prabowo-Sandiaga stronghold constructs the meanings of economic and Islamic populism. Both of these populist articulations contradict each other to maintain dominance in the center of meaning against the threat of rearticulation conducted by political opponents. In this case, meaning contestation occurs and takes place in two stages. First, as the preposition developed by Derridean (Laclau & Mouffe, 2000), there is always an inability to articulate meaning to capture the whole elements. It is this never-completed signification that makes each meaning indirectly reproduce surplus of meaning, where the political actors in each camp do not only construct the fixity of meaning through discursive articulation, but also, at the same time, they constitute the meaning constructs of 'the elements' beyond 'the moment' passively. This inevitable condition is often referred to be 'constitutive outside' (Laclau & Mouffe, 2000). Therefore, this latent inability makes any meaning construct always has a potential surplus of meaning that can trigger dislocation conditions. Second, furthermore, the logical consequence of the inability of the meaning structure to interpret the whole elements is the existence of meaning limitations that allow elements in dislocated conditions to actively engage in dis-articulation and rearticulation processes. These two stages of the contestation of meaning make each articulation has to maintain and dominate the center of meaning and, at the same time, destroy and deconstruct the dominance from the opposing camp. In such condition, ideological myths and fantasies then work.

Therefore, in the context of the battle of meaning, the fixity of the meaning construct that was originally denonative eventually turned into a new connotative meaning. The structure of the populist technocratism meaning constructed in Jokowi-Ma'ruf's rhetoric, for instance, transformed into a new signifier for 'cebong' as a result of dis-articulation and rearticulation of the opposing camp. By way of contrast, the fixity of the economic and Islamic populism meaning on Prabowo-Sandiaga's rhetoric was re-articulated to become a new signifier for the meaning of 'kampret'. 'Cebong' which etymologically in Indonesian means tadpole becomes a new meaning construct for Jokowi-Ma'ruf supporters, especially on social media, as a form of insults from Prabowo-Sandiaga's camp, while 'kampret', which means in Indonesian is

fruit bat, is made as a new meaning for supporters of Prabowo-Sandiaga. The use of 'cebong' and 'kampret' dictions is then very widespread and is commonly used by both sides in conducting disarticulation and rearticulation of the centre of meaning constructed by the opposing camps (CNN Indonesia, 2018).

The 'cebong' and 'kampret' jokes in the contestation of meaning later became myths and ideological fantasies that reduced the substance and real programmatic debate. One could argue, in the polarised political climate and the binary opposition, one can easily pout all political articulations from their opponents simply by saving 'cebong!' or 'kampret!' (Triwibowo, 2019). The connotative meaning that is not at all related to denotative meaning but can damage the effectiveness of the opponent's meaning construct effectively. The battle between 'cebong 'and 'kampret' eventually forced political articulation in the 2019 Indonesian election, which had been polarised from the beginning, becoming limited to figures of animal fantasies. The articulations of populism built by the two camps were reduced to the battle of fantasy animals which kept trapping voters in the binary opposition. Therefore, it is no wonder if one of those who criticises Jokowi-Ma'ruf, for example, will soon be judged as 'kampret', and vice versa, someone who criticises Prabowo-Sandiaga will be judged as 'cebong'. The hegemony of articulation in political contestation is now exacerbated by the existence of connotative meanings which also reduce political debate and the real problem of populism politics.

Reduction of meaning that occurs as a result of the extreme polarisation and the binary logic in the last Indonesian election eventually marginalised important issues which were actually excluded in political discussion of the two candidates. Hegemony of binary articulation occurs, especially coupled with the existence of connotative and ideological fantasies, as if it forces other political articulations to merge into one narrative of the two: 'cebong'or 'kampret'. This triggered the stagnancy of alternative political articulation and the lack of emancipatory articulations on issues that were considered minor and did not sound promising during the electoral process, especially a few months before the voting day.

Sexy Killers: Deconstructing the established meaning at the last minutes

In the midst of the hegemonic of binary dichotomy, a documentary produced by Watchdoc entitled 'Sexy Killers' was posted on YouTube Beyond the Binary Logic of Populist Articulations

platform just four days before the voting took place. Some social media platforms and not a few of the mainstream media were stirred up with the documentary video with duration of less than one and a half hours followed by a drastic increase in the number of viewers (Kompas. com, 2019a). The emergence of new articulation with the use of social media like this basically succeeded to break the deadlock of binary opposition narrative in the 2019 election. The 'Sexy Killers' documentary, generally speaking, departed from energy and environmental issues in Indonesia by raising contradictions of development ambitions accompanied by high energy needs with negative impacts on the environment. As for the highlighted case, environmental pollution due to coal mining activities in Kalimantan Island becomes the main study along with the dynamics of business interests and the actors behind the mining. The title 'Sexy Killers' was chosen to personalise that coal mining is hitherto a very attractive business for all political actors, which on the other hand contributes to the 'killing' of environmental ecosystems including humans at the same time (Watchdoc Image, 2019). This 'Sexy Killers' meaning construct makes a new fantasy figure beyonf the construction of the previous hegemonic figures, 'cebong' vs. 'kampret'.

In the documentary video, the structure of meaning about 'Sexy Killers' is constructed in many story plots in various places and cases where the effects of environmental pollution occur. The spread of coal mining on Kalimantan Island in the past two decades, for instance, directly had negative impacts on agriculture, plantations and fisheries, especially for the community of farmers and planters around the mine and also the Steam Power Plant (Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap or PLTU). Among the adverse effects on agriculture and plantations is the scarcity of clean water which affects the decreasing amount of agricultural and plantation production. The functional shift of land use from agriculture to mining is also in the spotlight where land conflicts between industry players and local residents becomes a new problem. In one plot, it is described that functional shift of land use often sacrificed local residents by intimidation and criminalisation. In addition, the other damage caused by coal mining in the upstream sector is the large number of ex-mine excavated ponds that are not reclaimed. Former mine ponds, which were narrated to be more than 3500 ponds, have killed at least 32 people in East Kalimantan Province in 2011 to 2018 (Watchdoc Image, 2019). Particularly, this documentary video also cites one of the record of presidential candidate debates, which shows normative answers of the two candidates regarding the reclamation of these former excavated ponds.

Another example, this documentary video also highlights the pollution and destruction of ecosystems and marine life, where coal barges pass by to supply PLTUs in several places, such as Batang Regency, Central Java Province, and Buleleng Regency, Bali Province. Taking the case at Buleleng Regency as for example, a constructed environmental issue is a decrease of fish catches around Bawang Bay, Bali Province, because of coal spills to the sea and destruction of coral reefs due to anchors of the barges. Another environmental impact that occurred there is a decline in coconut production in the plantation sector because of the air pollution caused by coal burning at the PLTU. The different case of air pollution occurs around the Donggala PLTU, where the surrounding community is vulnerable to acute respiratory infections, asthma, coughing and even lung cancer.

Populist articulation with environmental issues, which were not considered as the main menu in the meaning contestation between the narrative of 'cebong' and 'kampret', is finally used to deconstruct the fixity of meaning construct built in the framework of binary opposition discussed earlier. Sexy Killers documentary explicitly exposes business interests including political actors involved in coal mining and power plants which ironically are in the two camps that are competing. It is stated in Sexy Killers documentary that there are important actors in the Jokowi-Ma'ruf camp involved in the coal business, such as Luhut Pandjaitan with Toba Sejahtera Group that covers several coal mining companies such as Toba Bara Ltd. in Kalimantan Island (Watchdoc Image, 2019). By looking at this business groups, next actors who became political elites in the Jokowi-Maufuf campaign team are exposed. On the other hand, important actors in the Prabowo-Sandiaga camp including the involvement of Sandiaga Uno's companies are also exposed. There are an emphasis and patterned information selection in arguing that the actors behind the coal mines, who contribute to the environmental pollution, are actually interconnected both from the Jokowi-Ma'ruf camp and the Prabowo-Sandiaga camp. The documentary clearly shows this connection by demostrating the fact that a number of shares of Saratoga Investama Sedaya Ltd. owned by Sandiaga Uno was once sold to Toba Bara Ltd. owned by his opposite, Luhut Pandjaitan. Another fact, sibling from Erick Tohir, the leader

of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf National Winning Team, named Garibaldi Tohir,

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is one of the owners of the Sandiaga Uno's company, Adaro Energy Ltd. (Watchdoc Image, 2019). These business relationships exposing as explained in Sexy Killers documentary video seem to explain that, although at the surface 'cebong' and 'kampret' are seen to fighting, in some contexts of economic interests, they are actually the same. The emergence of this kind of rearticulation in the last days leading up to the election certainly shook the binary articulation that had been taken for granted by the voters.

Given the issues discussed in the video above, Sexy Killers documentary has succeeded in dis-articulating the binary mindset of 'cebong' vs. "kampret" by re-articulating an alternative populist meaning related to energy and environmental issues, which were previously neglected by the hegemonic articulation from the two existing political camps. This process of rearticulation is the beginning of a resistance against the binary narratives that occur throughout the electoral process by deconstructing the fixity of meaning construct of each political camp. The connotative figure named 'Sexy Killers' is constructed as a counter-narrative on two existing fantasy figures constructed in the 2019 election, 'cebong' and 'kampret', which excluded other political articulations.

Seen in this light, there are three important implications of the rearticulation process that occurred. First, Sexy Killers documentary has released the voters from being trapped in the binary opposition mindset that reduces not only alternative articulations, but also substantive and programmatic political debates between the two camps. Sexy Killers documentary has brought the voters to a more realistic meaning construct, in which real environmental problems occur and are neglected regardless of the choice of 'cebong' or 'kampret'. Second, Sexy Killers documentary has destabilised the meaning construct of the two candidates and replaced it with new meanings of 'Sexy Killers', which signifies the fact that basically each political camp has people who are involved in environmental pollution and join hand in hand for business interests. There is a drastic deconstruction of the crux in the binary opposition, which has previously been seen to be diametrical and insulated to be more fluid and free-flowing. Third, given the deconstruction on the deadlock of articulation, Sexy Killers documentary allows the emergence of other articulations outside of the binary logic that have been reduced. Sexy Killers documentary has constructed the meaning of energy and environmental issues in which this articulation has become a new populist discourse from the grassroots by positioning 'cebong' and '*kampret*' as political economic elites who basically capture the Indonesian politics.

Sexy Killers' effects: Re-defining non-voting behaviour? In the midst of the previous meaning constructs of binary opposition, all forms of political articulation were canalised into two groups and any political behaviors outside of the two choices are often considered to be negative, one of which is the so-called 'golongan putih' (white group) or the abstentions. Anti-abstention campaigns are often voiced by both political camps that compete with different meaning constructs. In the Jokowi-Ma'ruf camp, for example, there was an artist influencer named Ernest Prakasa (2019) who called on his Instagram account: 'Jokowi could lose' two weeks before the voting, this emerged as the electability of Jokowi-Ma'ruf decreased on several survey results in the last few months before the election (Kompas.com, 2019b). Non-voting behaviour is finally associated as a new signifier for the cause of Jokowi-Ma'ruf's defeat and the victory of radicals, so that this kind of behaviour is seen as negative and even seen as a part of a political can be a survey of the cause of Jokowi-Ma'ruf's defeat and the victory of radicals, so that this

ical agenda that threatens them. On the other hand, the Prabowo-Sandiaga camp also constructs the same meaning that non-voting behavior will bring Jokowi to be re-elected as a president, and that, according to their populist articulation, will damage the nation's economy. Since a few years ago, the hashtag of #2019GantiPresident (#2019ToChangeThePresident) became viral on social media and was accompanied by political movements and declarations in various regions. Accomplishing the meaning that abstentions is a dangerous behaviour for the survival of the nation for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf camp, and dangerous for economic sovereignty and Muslims for the Prabowo-Sandiaga camp, makes all forms of articulation that exceed this binary logic are reduced. Therefore, the level of voter participation in the 2019 election increased dramatically compared to the trend of increasing abstentions since the reform era (Tempo.co, 2019). This shows that the magnitude of the populist articulations, which were constructed by each camp, and at the same time the reduction of alternative articulations.

However, the emergence of the Sexy Killers documentary video in the last days before the election has deconstructed the meaning of non-voting behaviour which was predominantly co-opted by the two

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narratives to be more open. Centre of meaning the environmental issue behind the energy business that was exposed has destroyed the fixity of the existing meaning so that it raises alternative perspectives and discourses in seeing public issues. Institutionally, the rearticulation process carried out by the documentary has deconstructed the established structure of power between political institutions and actors by allowing new definitions of non-voting behaviour. In the midst of judgment and allegations of binary logic as followers of 'cebong' or 'kampret', people or voters who are not in both are often associated with non-voting behavior which is often seen as a lower-political awareness, not intelligent behaviour and even part of the scenario of the opponent. Sexy Killers documentary deconstructs the way most of us in defining non-voting behavior earlier to be a form of political entity that exists in the society, especially those who are fed up with the binary opposition narratives that dominate the political discourse during the electoral process. Non-voting behavior is ultimately seen as a form of criticism on the two political camps who are hostile in the fantasy and connotative spaces, though, seen in the environmental populist point of view, they sit intimate in mining business affairs and together ignore the environmental issues.

Apart from the actual implications of the abstentions in the electoral processes, the rearticulation carried out by Sexy Killers has provided new spaces for the public to rethink the meaning constructs that are naively presented in public space. Therefore, as a consequence, it is not surprising that this documentary has been poorly portrayed by dominant political exponents, such as the response of Luhut Pandjaitan, or other political exponents who have benefited from an established structure of meaning (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

Conclusion

It cannot be denied that the public space in Indonesian democracy has been dominated by the binary opposition narratives in which political polarisation is divided into two fantasy figures: 'cebong' and 'kampret'. This diametric conflict departs from the original programmatic and political antagonism sentiment based on populist issues, such as Islamic populism, economic populism, pluralist populism or anti-radicalist populism, becoming more connotative and fantasy antagonism. This narrative of articulation is then reinforced by the presence of some prominent scholars' views, who has predominantly been known

in the literatures of Indonesian politics, that establishing the binary opposition logic (see for example Aspinall, 2015; Hadiz, 2017; Mietzner, 2015b). Alternative populist articulations are excluded and indirectly marginalised by the dominant centre of meaning, which was maintained and at the same time contested by each camp.

Through post-structuralism approach, every meaning construct is always viewed critically as a static, limited and hegemonic. Therefore, the impasse of political articulation which is mostly coloured by populist rhetoric from the both political camps can be seen as a hegemonic discourse. Sexy Killers documentary, as discussed earlier, dismantles the peculiarity of the structure of meaning in the populist rhetorics of each political camp and deconstruct a new structure of meanings. The partition in binary logic of 'cebong' vs. 'kampret' was deconstructed into a new signifier for a much more connotative meaning, where 'Sexy Killers' becomes the nodal point. At this point, the populist discourse is re-articulated by re-posisitioning the sign of 'cebong'and 'kampret' as economic political elites, who both of them become 'Sexy Killers' that threaten the environment and the people.

To conclude, this article argues that the process of political articulation in a non-binary framework after the 2019 election needs to be strengthened, particularly populist discourses originating from the grassroots, such as the environmental issues that are often ignored by mainstream populist articulations. Furthermore, this process of rearticulation enables every alternative articulation to emerge as a manifestation of a real populist movement that is associated with popular sovereignty. This is important considering that the populist articulations constructed by contesting political elites tend to be merely oriented on electoral incentives and the game of electoral democracy, so populist discourse is more trapped in rhetorical games and meaningless connotative fantasies.

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Quo Vadis Islamic Populism? An Electoral Strategy

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This paper discusses how far Islamic populism as an old social movement, especially in Indonesia, rises as a new form of polarisation in the electoral mechanism in Indonesian democracy nowadays. Considered as the main group of religion in Indonesia, Indonesian Muslims appear as a contested object by the political elites to gain a vote. Yet, it is hard to conclude or even make a clear conclusion that Islam in Indonesia represented by one group, as in Egypt and Turkey. The dualism of Islamic power that exists in Indonesia represented by the traditional moderate groups (NU and Muhammadiyah) and the Khilafah-inspired moderate groups (Ikhwanul Muslimin, HTI, and the others). It encourages oligarch elites to take attention to the Islamic community in the hope of reaping votes. This paper uses discourse analysis and symbol analysis to conclude. Results of the analysis show the Islamic community makes use of the Islamic discourse and symbolisation to gain political bargaining position within electoral democracy. However, the Islamic groups who draw closer to the political elite and use a similar method to gain vote considered fail to represent the interest of the Indonesian Muslims. This phenomenon causes friction within the Islam community due to political difference mobilised through Islamic discourse and symbols as an electoral strategy and it potentially causes disintegration of the nation. However, in contrast to the mainstream argument, this paper exhibits how this phenomenon bores a new potential source to maintain and develop good democracy in Indonesia.



Rendy Adiwilaga, Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, Muhammad Ridha Taufik Rahman. Quo Vadis Islamic Populism? An Electoral Strategy. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 432–453.

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Keywords: Islamic populism, political identity, election, programmatic democracy.

The absence of the left-wing political groups, swept by President Soeharto as his first move to take over the Old Order, didn't rapidly put the Indonesian Islamic groups as the new power to rule the nation.

The oppression of the Islamic groups by the President Soeharto, led by his concern of the emergence of the hegemonic opposition in addition to his military competition, push the Islamic groups to the edge of the political power where the Islamic groups only permitted to move in the realm of the personal piety. In the process of elimination of the communist fraction, represented by PKI, Soeharto integrated Islamic groups such as Muhammadiyah and NU, as well as the ex-Masyumi militant movement which has dissolved by Soekarno, Soeharto only provided one political vehicle for the Islamic group, namely the United Development Party (PPP). History then records that PPP maneuvers outside Golkar tended to be castrated by a structured, massive, and systematic network of rulers at the time (Hadiz, 2018; Gyene, 2019)

After the disappointing experience of Muslims during the New Order regime, the rise of reform became a forerunner as well as a sign that the Islamic group could not restrain itself from voicing its aspirations to political contestation. It was noted that as many as approximately 20 new parties out of 48 parties participated in the 1999 general election based on an "Islamic party". Unfortunately, only PPP entered the top five which acquired 10.72 percent of the vote (59 seats). Whereas most of the other Islamic parties did not get a significant vote to win a single seat in the DPR, the Crescent Star Party (PBB) which considered the main heir of Masyumi won only 1.9 percent of the vote (13 seats), while the Justice Party was only able to collect 1.4 percent of the votes (7 seats). Some other Islamic parties such as the Nahdlatul Ummah Party (NU), the United Party (PP), the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party (PSII), PPI Masyumi, and the People's Awakening Party (PKU) only get one seat each. Unfortunately, some other Islamic parties were unable to win the seat in the DPR. Islamic parties that did not get the seat then called "decimal parties" because they get less than one percent of the vote.

If PKB and PAN are categorised as Islamic parties, a different discourse was present. Three of the five winning parties were from Is-

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I Romli, Lili. "Partai Islam dan Pemilih Islam di Indonesia". Jurnal Penelitian Politik, Vol.l No. 1. 2004. Hal. 29-48

lamic parties which reflect a good condition for Islamic groups. PPP received 11,329,905 votes (10.7 percent) and was ranked third, whereas PKB (12.6 percent) and PAN (7.1 percent), ranked fourth and fifth. This condition has become a sample that in fact, the interest of Islamic groups in the electoral procession is very large.

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The absence of the left-wing political groups as the case in the 1955 elections until the end of PKI later confronted the nationalist forces as a single force fighting with Islamic groups. Significant frictions such as the fierce battle of the Masjumi-PKI did not accompany the contestation, or the PKI with the conservative NU (specifically related to agrarian issues). Islamic groups at the time of the 1999 elections and even after the 2004 and 2009 elections, tended to often coalesce with nationalist groups.

The closeness of Islamic groups, especially traditional groups with nationalist groups that repeatedly occupy power, inevitably presented alternative groups from the Islamic group itself. Accompanied by the growth of information flow that requires the entry of transnational Islamic thoughts, and consolidation through a long process, carried out by the Tarbiyah group so that it succeeded in giving birth to a new axis and pattern in the dynamics of Islamic groups, ultimately encouraging Islamic groups to no longer be recorded as a group with representation a single figure or institution, but rather split into several streams.

Inequality of perception between Islamic groups, coupled with the disappointment of certain Islamic groups due to power, as well as with indoctrinations that will someday revive a system of Khilafah at the end of time with the adoption of beliefs in theological values singly, then gave birth to a phenomenon that was detailed by Vedi R. Hadiz as "Islamic Populism". The theoretical and definitive introduction of the terminology will be discussed later in the next discussion.

Before further discussing Islamic populism, it is necessary to understand that although scholars insert pessimistic criticisms, there is an interesting note that in the Indonesian locus, Islamic populism has now risen to become an alternative movement, which is quite influential at the grassroots level. Especially, in urban areas, Islamic populism can provide resistance against the nationalists and another group of Islamic groups themselves, namely the traditionalist group represented by NU.

For instance, the election of the Governor of DKI Jakarta 2017 can be one example of the rising of Islamic populism. Religious identity, ethnicity, and poverty issues merge into one distinctiveness that was built by supporters of Anies Baswedan (supported by the coalition of Gerindra political parties, PKS, PAN) to fight other candidates namely Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok supported by the PDIP political party coalition, the Golkar Party, Nasdem Hanura, PKB, PPP, and PKPI (Hamid, 2019). These issues were later strengthened by building a discourse that supporting Muslim candidates and opposing Ahok was not just a political choice, but a form of struggle in defense of the Islamic religion. Based on that issues, various series of demonstrations entitled "Islamic Defending Movement" emerged, which were later institutionalise d as the National Movement for Defending Fatwa Ulama (GNPF-Ulama). The movement became a source of reference for voters in Jakarta (Hamid, 2019). Since then, Islamic populism has continued to strengthen and become a political discourse built on electoral contestation.

Quo Vadis Islamic Populism?

Even at the beginning of the rise of Islamic populism in the DKI Regional Election, the dichotomy of the representation of groups that support the candidate for governor was already seen clearly. In the Anies Baswedan Sandiaga Uno camp, there are PAN (mostly filled by Muhammadiyah cadres) and PKS (mostly filled by people from the tarbiyah group) which both of whom join because they feel they have thoughts of more modern Islamic teachings². Whereas nationalist parties such as PDIP and Golkar, as well as traditional Islamic groups filled the Basuki TP-Djarot camp represented by PKB and PPP. All this confirms that Islamic populism arose from the resistance of the faction which in this paper is defined as a modern group of khilafat, against the coalition between the nationalist and traditionalist camps.

Modern Khilafatism vs. Nationalist and Traditionalist Groups
The phenomenon of Islamic populism that emerged in the dynamics of the 2017 DKI Regional Election is the starting point for similar movements in every subsequent political momentum. Interestingly, this Islamic populism then gave rise to two opposing big streams. The first stream was brought by traditionalist groups, where these Islamic groups tended to show the unique features of Southeast Asian Islam, especially the Shafi'i school of doctrine, and showed more tolerance for

² This assumption is confirmed by an interview with PAN Chairman Zulkifli Hasan with Kompas.com where he stated that joining PAN with the coalition of supporters of Anis Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno considerated that PAN dan PKS have same paradigm of modern islam.

the absorption of local and tribal traditions in carrying out their religious rites (Eliraz, 2004; Gyene, 2019). Figures and parties represented this group from the Nahdlatul Ulama community organisations such as the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the United Development Party (PPP). In the course of the history of the Indonesian nation, these traditional groups tend to have considerable closeness and access to power, which so far is certainly controlled by people from the nationalist circles whose main power is represented by PDIP and Golkar.

The second stream that emerged from the Islamic populism movement was the modern group of khilafat. The Muslim Ummah group that was shaded by the GNPF-MUI-which subsequently changed their name to the GNPF Ulama-could be categorised as a modern Islamic group who always tried to integrate its political movements into the pan-Islamic movement whose thoughts were driven by by movements of Islamic reformers such as Al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh (Gyene, 2019). In this political stream, they usually fight for the basic interpretation of Islamic teachings that are more stringent, by always trying to restore Islamic religious rites to match the source of the teachings in the Koran and Hadith.

In Indonesia, this modern group is reflected in the struggles of community organisations such as Muhammadiyah, Persis, Al-Irsyad as well as tarbiyah study groups that try to make democracy as a means of applying Islamic teachings in the context of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The cadres of the organisation spread and established political parties to participate in political contestation. The majority of political parties which become the organisation of this group are PKS, PAN, and PBB.

The interesting thing about this second group is, there is another group who have an understanding that democracy is a corrupt system so they try to establish the Khilafah. This group was represented by the Indonesian Hizbuttahrir organisation or HTI. In the Islamic populism movement, especially after the Jakarta Election, this modern group and Khilafah seemed to unite to then fight the domination of nationalists and traditionalists.

As this paper wants to reveal the Islamic populism movement that occurs in Indonesian political dynamics, the writer decided the terminology of this second group as a modern group of khilafat. Although this terminology will lead to lengthy discussions and debates, especially regarding the participation of khilafatism in procedural democracy,

the arguments from this paper are ultimately expected to be able to answer the discussion and debate.

Islamic Populism Post DKI Election

Islamic populism that strengthened after the 2017 DKI elections, reached its peak in the 2019 elections. Islamic populism emerged as the dominant discourse built by almost all participants in the 2019 election, lessons learned from DKI Election made all parties are claiming to be the most Islamic parties. In this contestation process, two large coalitions emerged, each of which carried the nominees of the President and Vice President. The first coalition brought the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin as Vice-Presidential Candidates, while the second coalition supported Prabowo - Sandiaga Uno. It is in this struggle that the internal fragmentation of the Islamic Ummah is increasingly apparent.

The first coalition to support Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin, contained nationalist and traditional Islamist political parties. This happened because, the couple Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin were the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates promoted by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as the coalition leader party, which was also the party supporting the Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok and Djarot parties in the 2017 Jakarta Election. While the second coalition that carries the pair of Candidates for President and Vice President Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno is filled with modern groups of khilafat who have long carried out Islamic populism, especially during the 2017 DKI Election.

In addition to being seen in the Presidential Election, Islamic populism is also very pronounced to appear in the political struggle of the Parties participating in the Legislative Election process. The 2019 elections that were held simultaneously, made the heat of the competition for the presidency, also felt in the struggle for the filling of legislative seats. Islamic populism movement in legislative elections can be felt from the discourse and issues that are built by legislative candidates from each political party coalition supporting the Candidates for President and Vice President. Discourses of personal transgression, close to the ulema, protecting the interests of the Ummah, are discourses that also appear as pioneers of the voice of certain Islamic parties along with the nationalist party supporting the 02 Presidential candidates Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. Although the votes obtained were

Rendy Adiwilaga Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa Muhammad Ridha Taufik Rahman not able to make the 02 Presidential coalition parties merged as the new government in the 2019 elections.

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It is interesting then to examine carefully how the discourse and symbols used by groups who try to make Islamic populism as a means of political maneuver in electoral contestation. Especially, in the last few general elections, Islamic symbols can catalyze the vote acquisition of several parties and the presidential election coalition, as well as being able to become a group that is quite influential in the democratic competition even in the smallest private spheres of society. Not to mention, the perception that arises amid the Islamic populism movement leads to the opinion that Islamic populism can cause disintegration of the nation, which is why many do not agree on it. For this reason, this paper attempts to analyse the discourses of Islamic populism, and the potential it brings to democracy in Indonesia.

This paper uses qualitative methods with literature studies and semiotic analysis to look for theoretical explanations about the phenomenon of Islamic populism in Indonesia by looking at discourse patterns and symbols used as electoral strategies. Semiotic analysis is used to find ways in which populist actors attempt to discourage Islamic populism.

Text semiotics is a branch of semiotics that specifically studies texts in various forms and levels, where the text as a 'product of language use' is a combination of signs, especially those concerning sign systems (syntactic / paradigmatic), level of signs (denotation / connotation), relations between the signs (metaphor / metonym), the content of myths, and the ideology behind it (Piliang, 2004.p, 189). The semiotic approach of the text is used to read the efforts of Islamic discourse as an electoral issue through symbols, visual signs and those contained in the text. The semiotics approach used in this research is semiotics developed by Roland Barthes which focuses on the level of meaning related to symbols and texts and rests on the historical and cultural values of the community (Pawito, 2007, p. 164).

Barthes's semiotic analysis uses two stages namely denotation and connotation. Denotation marks are signs that produce explicit meanings. While the connotation is a marker that can produce an implicit or hidden second layer meaning. This is done by revealing the code of a text-based on an agreement between community members (Piliang, 2004, p. 194-915). Barthes analysis helps to see the structure of values prevailing in society that is reflected in the use of certain languages as

well as trying to find hidden power relations in the discourse of Islamic populism. The symbols/signs used in the form of public service ad text and images used as campaign media were scattered during the 2019 elections.

Discussion

Islamic Populism: Theoretical Perspectives

Quo Vadis Islamic Populism?

The embodiment of the term "populism", based on Laclau's presentation, is generally imposed on social actors in a manner that seems demeaning, by those who ideologically tend to oppose mass-based politics in the name of a kind of 'modern' political rationality. This means that in simplification by Hadiz, only a few people call themselves as populists.

Populism, in a simpler sense according to Allan Knight, is a special political style that shows the closeness of relations with the people. In another words, Kenneth M. Roberts also stated that populism is a top-down mobilisation of mass politics carried out by personalistic leaders to oppose the elite in the name of people's suffering (top-down political mobilisation of mass constituencies by personalistic leaders who challenge the elite groups on behalf of an ill-defined pueblo, or "the people").

However, in contrast to what Laclau meant as populist, Mude and Kalwaster (2012) as quoted by Hamid (2019), said that today populism is often used as a label for politicians who aggressively build the impression of being defending the interests of people used to fight the ruling elites.

In line with Hamid, Kusumo and Hurriyah³ also quoted Cas Mudde's opinion which suggested that the characteristics of populism that the basic philosophy of populism is divided into three characteristics, namely anti-establishment (anti-establishment), authoritarianism, and nativism. Anti-establishment is understood as a philosophy that Emphasise s the value of wisdom and virtue of ordinary people or the silent majority against the establishment of rulers (Acemoglu, Egorov, & Sonin, 2013, p. 771). Populism reflects deep cynicism and hatred of existing authorities or government officials. Ordinary people are homogeneous parties who are considered good and worthy to replace dishonest elites.

³ Kusumo, Rangga, Hurriyah. Populisme Islam di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Aksi Bela Islam oleh GNPF-MUI Tahun 2016-2017. Jurnal Politik. Vol. 4 No.1. Agustus 2018. Hlm 87-112.

Furthermore, authoritarianism is understood as support to bring up personal power given the power of leadership, to lead strongly and charismatic so that it can be considered to reflect the will of the people. Whereas xenophobic nativism or nationalism assumes that all "people" are uniform or homogeneous entities with the same identity, the state must exclude people from other countries and cultures. Populism supports monoculturalism rather than multiculturalism, prioritise s national interests over international cooperation, closes and limits liberal values.

More specifically, Mudde (2004) simplifies populism as an 'ideology' which conceptualizes society as 'ultimately separates into two antagonistic and homogeneous groups, namely 'pure people' versus 'corrupt elites4'.

The concept is also in line with Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008), where both argue that the characteristics of populism as something that depends on the idea of a 'pious and homogeneous society' which is confronted with 'a group of elites' and 'dangerous others'. The latter is in turn described as a group of people who "hinder (or attempt to block) society to be sovereign in their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice⁵."

The spirit of resistance is then fused with the views or beliefs of the value that religion is an integrated matter, in the sense of being united and inseparable from politics. Islam is a din wa daulah, where based on that, the social problems, including the state and political problems, are a problem that is inseparable from the problem of religion (counter-secularism). This view certainly arises based on a belief in the perfect and comprehensive nature of Islam, so that according to them, Islam encompasses three 'D' (Din, religion; Dunya, world; and Daulah, state) (Kasdi, 2015). The manifestation of that view then leads to the urgency of political power as an effort to uphold Sharia or Islamic laws. Enforcement of the Islamic Sharia was asked as a solution to various problems, especially those that hit Muslims in Indonesia. However, in reality, Islamic populism has not yet touched on these views.

Islamic populism itself was born because of the colonialism in Islamic countries – including Indonesia as a majority Muslim country.

⁴ Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist", Government and Opposition, 39 (4). Hal. 543.

⁵ Albertazzi, Daniele dan Duncan McDonell (eds.). 2008. "Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy. London: Palgrave MacMillan. Hlm. 3.

Its birth was stimulated by the past euphoria where Islam was predicted to have prevailed and almost controlled two-thirds of the world. Garadian (2017) in his book review explained that in the experience of Indonesia and Egypt, movements that carried the old ideas of Islamic populism even managed to reach the working class and even met with anti-colonial movements and nationalist movements which generally came from the bourgeois and aristocratic circles. It was here that the embryo of a social class coalition that was incorporated from various class structures began to form. They are united by several similarities such as the pain of marginalised systems and have a dream to build a modern nation-state in the future. In this initial phase, dreams based on Islamic law (Sharia-based visions), as commonly found in new models of Islamic populism, and tend to be vague.

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If classical populism tends to imagine that "Muslim people" are oppressed by greedy elites, then the new variant of Islamic populism imagines people who are stripped both in the socio-economic aspects even including culture, which is carried out by other major forces that control social order, which is seen as a character of isolation. If the old populism rested on the working class or peasantry, the social basis of the new populism in the context of neoliberalism was a multi-class alliance articulated through identity as the basis of the fabric of solidarity. But most importantly, the similarity of the classical movement with the new Islamic populism that is equally continuing to undermine the discourse on dogmas "Islam is under attack".

Revealing the Weaknesses of Islamic Populism in the 2019 Elections: The Blurring of Ideology

What is interesting in the case of Indonesia is the meaning of the Islamic populism itself which brought the polarisation of Islamic populism, precisely confronts Muslims vis a vis Muslims. This polarisation occurs because of a differentiator namely, the modern Islamic Khilafatism group represented by the GNPF-Ulama raises the discourse of resistance to the government because it is considered oppressing Muslims, facing counter-discourse promoted by nationalist and traditional groups represented by Nahdlatul Ulama, where the institution builds the discourse that the government always supports and fulfills all the interests of Muslims as stated by Jayanto. That is, if it refers to the meaning of Islamic populism that was explained in the previous section, the Indonesian case gave rise to a new form, which seemed to

shift the struggle between the masses and the elite, but instead collided the masses with the masses through discourse.

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This battle can be seen clearly in the simultaneous General Election process in 2019. With ease, we can see the battle between the two groups that are both carrying out Islamic populism movements, in the coalition of political parties supporting the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates who competed in the 2019 Elections. Two coalitions are facing each other in fighting over the executive power in the 2019 elections.

These two coalitions have continued to develop a discourse on which they can best represent the interests of Muslims. The first coalition is the Indonesian Coalition for Work led by PDIP, showing the process of building this discourse explicitly by appointing KH. Ma'ruf Amin as the assistant to the incumbent president, Joko Widodo. The election of Ma'ruf Amin can certainly be read easily as the first step of counter-discourse that the Indonesian Coalition seeks to do against the discourse attacks of the opposing camp, which often labels this coalition as an anti-Islamic, anti-ulama, and coalition, etc. This assumption is reinforced by the background of Ma'ruf Amin, which is closely related to Islamic symbols such as his position as Kyai as well as Rais Aam NU and the chairman of MUI. In this coalition, several parties claim to be affiliated with Nahdliyin citizens, such as the United Development Party and the National Awakening Party.

While in the second group, the Islamic populism movement is represented by the modern Islamic Khilafatism group, which is fronted by the GNPF-Ulama. In this group, Islamic populism is carried out by overhauling the issues and discourse that have been built since the DKI Jakarta Regional Election. In its journey, the discourse war between the two groups then narrowed to an issue that precisely when viewed from the final results of the contestation met different results than they got when the DKI Jakarta Governor Election.

This different result can be seen when we analyse the comparison of votes obtained by the coalition parties of the two camps during the 2014 elections with the 2019 elections, both in the legislative and presidential elections as shown in the following table.

Table 1. Votes for Political Parties in the 2014 Election

Nama Partai	Perolehan Suara	%
PDI-P	23.681.471	(18,95%)
Golkar	18.432.312	(14,75%)
Gerindra	14.760.371	(11,81%)
P. Demokrat	12.728.913	(10,9%)
PKB	11.298.950	(9,04%)
PAN	9.481.621	(7,59%)
PKS	8.480.204	(6,79%)
Nasdem	8.402.812	(6,72%)
PPP	8.157.488	(6,53%)
Hanura	6.579.498	(5,26%)
PBB	1.825.750	(1,46%)
PKPI	1 142 004	(0.01%)

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Source: kpu.go.id

Table 2. Votes for Political Parties in the 2019 Election

Nama Partai	Perolehan Suara	%
PDIP	27.053.961	(19,33%)
Gerindra	17.594.839	(12,57%)
Golkar	17.229.789	(12,31%)
PKB	13.570.097	(9,69 %)
Nasdem	12.661.792	(9,05 %)
PKS	11.493.663	(8,21 %)
Demokrat	10.876.507	(7,77 %)
PAN	9.572.623	(6,84 %)
PPP	6.323.147	(4,52 %)
Perindo	3.738.320	(2,67 %)
Berkarya	2.929.495	(2,09 %)
PSI	2.650.361	(1,89 %)
Hanura	2.161.507	(1,54 %)
PBB	1.099.848	(0,79 %)
Garuda	702.536	(0,50 %)
PKPI	312.775	(0,22%)

Source: kpu.go.id

From two tables above, it is shown that the vote acquisition of dichotomous Islamic parties only fighting overvotes in the same segmentation of society, which if analyse d simply through Geertz categoriza-

tion is a society classified in the characteristics of Santri which tends to practice Islam conservatively, where they made Islam as the main issue and identity in their political movements. While for the Abangan and Priyayi, they tend to still choose parties with nationalism nuances as an election choice. This analysis is shown by comparing the results of the last two elections held, where the increase in votes experienced by PKS as the main motor of Islamic populism together with the GN-PF-Ulama by 1.42% in the 2019 election compared to the 2014 election, and the increase experienced by PKB of 0.65%, in fact, accompanied by a decrease in votes experienced by PPP by 2.01%. The amount of increase and decrease in noise is certainly not a coincidence. Although it requires deeper research, but simply from the figures that emerge, it can be seen that the three parties with the ideology of Islam who carry out Islamic populism are only fighting over the voices and sympathies of the same and that is all.

Even if viewed partially, in areas that have a considerable Santri mass base such as those in West Java, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), in the legislative contestation in Bandung Regency for example, was able to increase its voice drastically from before 2014 only as many as 6 seats, in the 2019 legislative elections jumped to 10 seats, meaning up by 66.66%, and slowly, PKS was almost able to erode Golkar's dominant voice for years in Bandung Regency. Golkar lost one seat (11 seats in 2019) when compared to 2014 (12 seats). ⁶. Even in the West Java election, the Gerindra Party as the strongest opposition of the Government at this time, managed to win the vote recapitulation results, followed by PDIP, and again, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)⁷.

However, when viewed from the national vote, shows the failure faced by these Islamic populism movements, because after all, the one who wins the battle in both the executive and legislative is the PDIP Party that is a representation of the ideology of nationalism. The failure in question is, the inability of Islamic parties to offer a universal value that is reflected in the programs offered to be able to attract nationalists, both from internal Muslims themselves and non-Muslims.

This certainly raises quite a critical criticism of the Islamic parties, which in reality cannot provide an ideological platform represented

⁶ Harian Pikiran Rakyat, 15 Mei 2019 dengan tajuk "Lampu Kuning Bagi Golkar".

⁷ https://m.katadata.co.id/berita/2019/05/16/gerindra-menang-pileg-2019-di-jawa-barat-ini-daftar-caleg-yang-lolos. Diakses pada tanggal 27 Juni 2019.

in the offer of programs so that they are considered to represent the interests of Muslims in particular, and the interests of the Indonesian people in general, which in turn broadens the pot community segmentation which is used as a source of votes. During this time, offered by Islamic populism movements, has not led to universal values that are a common solution. So that its emergence is considered a movement that can threaten national unity. This also raises concerns, that Islamic populism can lead to national disintegration.

This condition can occur as a result of the presidential system in Indonesia, which requires the existence of a majority government that forces election winners to accommodate all interests. So that the wheels of government are run based on the interests of the elite to please all parties, not on the idea of what they want to uphold. Election contestant political parties, both Islamic and nationalist ideology, have never offered a clear ideology that should be drawn from the programs they offer.

Discourse and Symbolisation of Islamic Populism in 2019 Elections: Towards Representative Politics

The phenomenon of populism in Indonesia is becoming an interesting study, especially the presence of Islamic populism which is very evident in the 2019 elections. Islamic population that emerges is not only the domain of one of the presidential candidate pairs or a narrative of the campaign of certain Islamic political parties. But the narrative of Islamic populism is played by both sides who are contesting as well as by all of their supporting parties using the Islamic platform.

The discourse that has arisen in Islamic populism revolves around individual skill, social excellence, respect for religious teachings and scholars and fighting for the interests of Muslims. These discourses are reproduced discourses during the 212 ulama and anti-Ahok movement. This discourse arises from a variety of concerns, criticisms and inner conditions of Indonesian society which are easily influenced by the narratives that appear on social media as a propaganda tool. On the one hand, Islamic populism is used by Islamic groups with differing views to get closer to the elite and power. In addition to differentiating the identity of one Islamic group from another.

The issue of individual piousness that emerged during the election was whether Jokowi or Prabowo had prayed correctly or not. A fierce debate on social media became very counterproductive. For moderate Rendy Adiwilaga Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa Muhammad Ridha Taufik Rahman

Islamic groups, Jokowi's proof of individual skill is the inauguration of the National Santri Day. As for the Islamic khalifate group, this did not show much of Jokowi's piety. On the other hand, Prabowo's Islam is doubtful because he comes from a family of different religions, divorced from his wife and attends Christmas mass where the video is widely spread. This becomes a counterpoint to question Prabowo's Islam, but it is denied by the Islamic Khilafatism group which chose Prabowo to represent the interests of his group. So there is an assumption that radical Islamic groups (read: modern khilafat) as mounts to raise the issue of Khilafah in Indonesia. This then sharpens the friction of Islamic groups who have different political preferences.

Other discourse about Islamic populism that emerged most during the 2019 Presidential Election was the issue of respect for religious scholars and religious teachings which gave rise to the Ijtima Ulama phenomenon which was bound in a volume. This phenomenon is an antithesis of the 2017 DKI Election case which later became the main point of rival between Muslims in the election.

Jokowi's camp used the discourse first when choosing a vice presidential pair by directly electing KH. Ma'ruf Amin as a representative of Ulama 212 to show that Jokowi is also a pro-Ulama. Besides, an interesting campaign narrative used with the tagline "umara-ulama for advanced Indonesia". The symbolisation of Jokowi-Ma'ruf holding hands in a sarong and kopeah costumes further reinforces the symbolisation that Jokowi's camp has closeness and is in favor of Indonesian Muslims.

This symbolisation also shows Jokowi to break away from the Ahok case related to blasphemy. Besides, the umara-ulama clash was also muted by the election of KH. Ma'ruf Amin as the Vice President's pair. The Indonesian Narrative Going forward is echoed to show that the success of a nation will be supported by ulemas and umara who work well together in building a nation. In Barthes' semiotic analysis, denotatively, the texts "Ulama-Umara" and "Advanced Indonesia" indeed mean that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair is a "leader-preacher / religious expert" pair which will, therefore, make Indonesia a more advanced country under the leadership. However, in an implicit second-tier meaning, the tagline "Ulama-Umara" at the same time counters strong Islamic claims monopolised by the khilafat group represented by the party by PKS in the election. This is because the couple promoted by the PKS is not the "Ulama-Umara" couple mentioned in a religious text

(hadith) that a state must be led with a balance between ulama and umara.

Figure 1. Islamic Narrative and Symbols in the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Couple Campaign



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Source: https://storage.googleapis.com/statelessgcs/kabarnusantaranews/2018/08/IMG-20180809-WA0052.jpg

In the symbolisation shown above, the narrative of 'Indonesia Maju' was accompanied by a sarong and kopeah costume which at the same time showed the piety of individuals possessed by Jokowi to brushed aside public doubts about Jokowi's partiality towards Islamic groups. In the tradition and culture of Indonesian thought, the use of sarong and kopeah shows the level of individual acumen which Gertz classifies as a santri group. This is also supported by the support of other actors namely Ustad Yusuf Mansur and Mr. Guru Bajang as Ulama who support pair or to legitimize Jokowi's Islamic discourse as an electoral strategy in the 2019 election. And the strongest support is given by Nahdhatul Ulama as the largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia helped strengthen the legitimacy of the Islamic identity of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf couple.

Figure 2. NU Young Generation Instruction for Choosing Jokowi-Ma'ruf



Source: https://i.bp.blogspot.com/-H8H2D-B4JFc/XEfrzoF4n_I/AAAAAAACXhA/FNJyOqNEHGcnEM8JCEo9OtEyRDo1Xag4wCLcBGAs/s64o/mdaoapbd.jpg

In another camp, Prabowo announced later that he was paired with Sandiaga Uno who was the Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta who later

not have an inherent ethical identity as demonstrated by the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair, which was strengthened by Islamic profiling through the symbolisation of KH. Ma'ruf Amin. However, in terms of developing discourse and symbolisation, the Prabowo-Sandi couple is no CEIISS less populous than those couples are. This is because the support of scholars who are members of 212 ulama ijtima is big enough to support the couple. The GNPF cleric decided to give the mandate to the Prabowo-Sandi couple to represent the interests of Muslims in the 2019

resigned. In terms of Islamic identity, the Prabowo-Sandi couple did

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elections.

Figure 3. Islamic Narrative and Symbols in the Prabowo-Sandi Campaign



Source: http://www.repelita.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/dsrth-28.png

litima ulama is one of a decision-making method for the matters that cannot be found textually in the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah, so it requires a scientific procedure to determine the legal basis or decide certain laws. Ijtima has its position in the Islamic legal system as the results of the litima Ulama are certainly obeyed and followed by some sections of the Muslim community. With the text and narration as in the picture above, "Ijtima Ulama Results", denotatively shows the legitimacy of Islamic group support for the Prabowo-Sandi couple. At the same time in its implicit meaning, it is a counter-attack on the discourse of "Ulama-Umara" which was first spread by the Jokowi-Ma'ruf.

Another symbolisation and discourse that arises is the support of ustad celebrities in Indonesia, which currently has quite a large number of worshipers, namely Ustad Abdul Somad, Ustad Adi Hidayat and Aa Gym. The three of them represent the Ulama group to be a rival of the ulama symbols in the opposing camp.

In Barthes's semiotic analysis, a hidden power relation in a text or symbol can be seen by revealing the implied or explicit codes. Disclosure of the code is assessed based on an agreement between comFigure 4. The Meeting of Ulemas and Prabowo became Public Attention



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Source: http://cdn2.tstatic.net/tribunnews/foto/bank/images/uas-dan-prabowo.jpg

munity members. That is, without having to struggle to explore the discourse and symbols that emerge as part of the phenomenon of Islamic populism, the community knows and instead reproduces it as an electoral strategy to be able to attract the attention and support of the political elite. So, it cannot be denied that to win the election, political elites need to approach Islamic groups and take votes from the niche.

If we view the power relations that emerge from each symbolisation and discourse of Islamic populism as an electoral strategy, it is increasingly emphasised that in the Indonesian elections Indonesian Muslims and Indonesian Islamic groups have significant power to attract elite attention. Adherents of Islam as the majority vote in the election certainly cannot be ignored and denied its existence by the eligible contestants. Discourses of alignment and mainstreaming of the interests of Islamic groups become mandatory discourse for election contestants to be able to win votes.

This condition also shows that the phenomena that occur are purely the excesses of procedural democracy. Procedural democracy requires a mechanism of representation and speaking of representation means speaking of representing certain entities or identities. So, in the case of the phenomenon of Islamic populism, what emerges is a symbiotic condition of mutualism, where political elites need the support of Islamic groups, and Islamic groups need political elites as a vehicle for smoothing interests and policies in favor of their groups. This applies to Islamic groups that seem to be divided between moderate Islam and Islamic khilafat, which are nothing but different vehicles for their re-

spective representations. Until now, history proves that Islamic groups in Indonesia can be a political barometer of both the issue of election issues and the representation of their identity in the political superstructure. So far, the writer has not found a rival issue that could be an electoral strategy besides the Pancasila issue, which is also vis a vis with Islam. This further shows the dominance of Islamic discourse in Indonesian politics.

The Potential of Islamic Populism for the Advancement of Indonesian Democracy: Universal Values of Islamic Tenets as Identity

The situation brought by Islamic populist movements raises many concerns and questions, especially regarding the direction of Indonesia's democracy which is considered to be heading backward. To answer this question, one thing we need to understand is that, in a democratic country, it is difficult to exclude a political movement based on the identity of a particular group, because its presence is a necessity in a democracy. That is, efforts to eliminate a political identity movement under the pretext of saving democracy will instead lead us to a paradox that in turn can make our democracy back. What must be done is, by directing political movements of identity, in this case, Islamic populism, to be in harmony with universal values that can create consensus, both at the community and elite level, where these are the main ideas of democracy.

Elections that are accompanied by the existence of identity political movements should no longer be seen as a scourge that can lead to the de-Democartisation of Indonesia, but must be understood as a characteristic of Indonesian democracy that recognise s the diversity of identities and approves them for healthy contestation through democratic election mechanisms⁸.

Today we still see that the identity that underlies Islamic populism still dwells at the level of personal values of certain personalities, not the universal values of Islamic teachings that can answer social problems in society. For political opponents, to break this political movement is done by making personal issues as a counter to the discourse of built resilience.

⁸ Adiwilaga, Rendy, Ridha, Muhammad, & Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa.. Pemilu Dan Keniscayaan Politik Identitas Etnis Di Indonesia: Sebuah Tinjauan Teoritis. Jurnal Bawaslu Vol.3 No. 2 2017, Hal. 269-284

Islam certainly has universal values that should be the main identity in underlying Islamic populism movements. For this reason, Islamic Populism, if it does not want to be seen as a neo-authoritarianism movement that is monocultural, must be able to provide a movement in response to problems that occur. If that is not done, the Islamic populism movement will instead generate ridicule and fear that the interests of other groups cannot be accommodated.

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When the Islamic populism movement can offer its ideology, which is reflected through a clear program and policy direction, this will force its political opponents to do the same. Of course, this is good for the progress of our democracy where the battle that took place in the general election is a fight about the program and a clear policy direction for the interests and welfare of society at large. In the end, the discourse battle that arises, is no longer about Islam vs Pancasila which can raise fears of national disintegration, but is a battle of ideas about program concepts and policy directions that are more applicable and concrete so that they can emerge as a solution to the nation's current problems occur, both in economic, political, social, and cultural aspects.

Conclusion

The Islamic Populism Movement in Indonesia (both modern traditionalist groups and modern groups of khilafat) which is based on discourse and symbols of Islamic values as identity is currently in the spotlight of all parties. This must be seen as a potential for democracy in Indonesia. Political opponents, who disagree with this movement, continually try to fight this movement with the issues and discourses that are built, such as the separation of religion and politics, getting stronger. If you see this, the key to the direction of democracy in Indonesia is in the direction of the Islamic populism political movement.

This Populism Movement must be able to improve the quality of ideas and discourse offered so that what emerges from this movement is the party platform and program and policy direction as a concrete representation of Islamic values and ideology in responding to problems in society. This can be a potential for democracy in Indonesia, because when the Islamic populism movement has done that, then its political opponents will do the same thing as a counter-discourse in fighting for sympathy and community choice. This condition will direct Indonesia's democracy into a programmatic democracy, where the battle in it is about which programs and policy directions are the

best in answering the nation's problems so that the community can prosper.

In line with this, the current Islamic populism is a signal that democracy cannot escape from the politics of representation as to the main value of both substantive and procedural democracy. If the issue of representation is raised, then equality of access and participation of all groups to be "represented" in politics, will become a valuable value for the Democartisation of Indonesia as a country that has multiple entities and identities. So, in the future, the study of the phenomenon of Indonesian Islamic populism can be seen in a broader perspective to find solutions to quality democracy. So that political phenomena are no longer seen as pathologies but are studied to find new theories and formulas in creating better social and political change by utilizing the "blessing in disguise" adage.

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Rahman

Internal Affairs, External Repercussions

Looking Inside Indonesia

The Effectiveness of Political Identity in Post 212 Movement

Yusa Djuyandi, Rahmah Ramadhani

The 2019 election did not escape from a variety of cases and issues, whether this is entirely affected or not at all. Elections are also an arena of competition that does not escape cheating, which can hurt the ongoing campaign period until the election. But most of the issues contained in this election period have a background regarding political identity. The emergence of 212 movements that initially aimed to convey the anger of the Muslim masses over the attitude of the Governor of DKI Jakarta Previously, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), turned out to have an impact until before the 2019 Election. This movement also emerged as a combination of conservative views and the rational attitude of the Muslim community to the conditions they were experiencing at that time. When referring to the ideology of liberalism, conservative nature is considered to create intolerance in society, although conservative societies also have other reasons behind their political attitudes. This political identity is also unavoidable in the 2019 General Election, where two presidential and vice-presidential candidates get support from two different identity groups, Muslim and Nationalist. In other words, in the 2019 general election the two candidates for president and vice president also use political identity to win the competition.

Keywords: political identity, general election, Muslim, conservative.



Yusa Djuyandi, Rahmah Ramadhani. The Effectiveness of Political Identity in Post 212 Movement. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 456–468.

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Introduction

On December 2, 2016, mass marched neatly in the central area of Jakarta, calling for takbir to prayer. This 212 movement is known as a peaceful action, because mass mobilization shown is in the form of worship, although in essence this is a demonstration. The masses of Muslims expressed their voices for their willingness to defend their beliefs and protest the speech of the former Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or called Ahok, which was considered to defame the Quran. In his past speech in Thousand Islands (Kepulauan Seribu) on September 27, 2016, he alluded to Al-Maidah verse 51 which contained a statement about the guidelines for choosing a leader.

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Ahok speech on the video was spread on October 6, 2016 by Buni Yani via Facebook social media. This was very controversial and became the starting point for the formation of the mass movement of 212 on 2 December 2016. The case also caused various polemics and even commotions because of the 2017 election, where Ahok was also one of the candidates (Pamungkas & Octaviani, 2017). Until Ahok was reported to the police by Habib Novel Chaidir Hasan and had to bring it before the judge. Ahok was finally by the court was snared under article 156a of the Criminal Code and sentenced to two years in prison.

Since the mass action 212 has taken place, there has been a strengthening of conservative attitudes among voters, ranging from rejection of non-Muslims in political positions to an increase in the support of the Islamic political agenda (Fernandes, Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu 2019: Proyeksi dan Efektivitas, 2018). Median Survey Institute also shown that the 212 mass actions are even believed to be one of the supporting indicators for the victory of Anies Baswedan in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Election (Putri, 2018).

Even though Anies Baswedan's victory in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election was also influenced by identity politics, Fernandes (2018) based on his research stated that Anies's victory in Jakarta and it's identity politics will not affect Jokowi's vote in the 2019 Presidential Election. Jokowi's vote in 2019 Presidential Election is believed will not decrease, while the vote for Prabowo Subianto will also considered to remain stagnant.

Although identity politics is deemed not to be able to influence Jokowi's vote, but in reality, both Jokowi and his success team, still look worried about the impact of identity politics. In determining the vice-presidential candidate which took place very tough, suddenly public were shocked by the decision of Jokowi and his winning team who chose the figure of Ma'ruf Amin as a candidate for vice president. Ma'ruf Amin's figure as a Muslim cleric and also a religious leader who was involved in the 212 action, is considered capable of reducing identity politics (Saputro, 2018).

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However, after the 2019 Election ended, Jokowi - Maruf was declared as the winner of presidential election, as if the political identity game in the election was not going well at this time. Even before the presidential election, the CSIS survey showed that Jokowi's electability had increased by 9% and Prabowo had stagnated (Fernandes, Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu 2019: Proyeksi dan Efektivitas, 2018). If this political identity really works and has an impact, Jokowi should experience a decline in votes because most Muslim votes are won by the scholar's. Even though Indonesia is not an Islamic country, Indonesian political policies cannot be separated completely from Muslim aspirations as a majority.

The 2019 election did not escape from a variety of cases and issues, both of which affect the whole or not at all. But most of the issues contained in this election period have a background regarding identity. These issues also emphasize the fact that the 2019 Election is very inseparable from social media. 212 movement came about as a result and resulted in a high conservative view of the people. Islam is very conservative, where what is written in the Quran is not recommended to be changed to adjust the times.

Based on the description above, the problem in this research is how Identity politics that are very effective in accompanying the 2019 Election, actually does not have a significant impact on the results of the 2019 Election.

The purpose of this paper is to describe this problem and describe using the glasses of Liberalism's ideology, towards the magnificent conservatism that was built after this 212 movement.

Methods

The methodology used in this study is qualitative. This is intended to understand and look for the meaning of this event and see the 212 Movement from the perspective of Liberalism's ideology. Qualitative research itself aims to reveal the meaning of the behavior of individuals and groups participating in regional elections until the 2019 general election.

The link between the movement 212 towards the 2019 election uses qualitative methods because by looking at the issues that occurred at that time, this method could understand the emergence of distrust to make it many voters to be conservative. The emergence of new parties that adorn the 2019 elections has involved 16 political parties and 4 local parties in Aceh, a total of 20 political parties. These parties are within the scope of ideologies and different interests, so it is clear that the 2019 elections are very playing within the scope of ideology. All of them are divided into two voices, between those who take part in the first and second pairs of candidates for president and vice president. This has an impact on the community as voters in determining their choices. Therefore, this time the author will write how the 2019 election is seen through a rational approach, both in terms of people who are directly involved in politics and the people who participate or not in this democratic party.

The Effectiveness of Political Identity in Post 212 Movement

Discussion

Politics of identity, Islam and movement 212

The 2019 election did not escape from a variety of cases and issues, both of which affect the whole or not at all. Simultaneously, elections were held with various challenges until the campaign period ended, of course this is no exception with hoaxes, cases, and issues that bring down every opposing candidate, which of course can hurt the ongoing campaign period until the election. General election is also an arena of competition that is not immune from fraud, where there are also sound trading terms (vote trading) and vote buying (vote buying) which both mean giving something both goods and money to voters (Fitri, 2018).

Political identity is where the identification of individuals is referred to based on political affiliation, is when individuals or groups stand out with a particular political group, they adopt the attributes of the political party in which they are located. Political identity leads them to prejudice, monopoly; hegemony, and others because it directly develops a particular bias approach between political actors. This shows that political identity represents the role of awareness and political affiliation. The role of significant awareness in developing political identity because when deciding to join certain political groups, all return to the individual who decides (Sajjad, Malghnai, & Khosa, 2018).

In a rational approach, rational judgment from citizens is what determines, not the existence of party ties or the dependence of structural social bonds (Zidni, 2014). Actually this approach was adopted from economics, where a human being must choose the smallest capital for maximum profit. This can be equated with human behavior in choosing the candidate of choice in the election, which considers whether the choice will harm him or choose which one is the least harmful.

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According to Anthony Downs (as cited by Zidni, 2014), voters with rational glasses will always prioritize their interests over the interests of others, because they want to prosper. This means the voter will choose a candidate or party who, if they win, will benefit him. It can be seen in several people who voted for Jokowi in 2014, then switched to choosing Prabowo in 2019, can be assessed in a rational approach. It could have been that the person felt that he was not prosperous during Jokowi's administration, and they wanted to change their destiny with one of the ways he wanted his country to be led by a new president, which might be oriented towards the new president's better life than the previous president. It can be seen that this kind of thing proves that the people in choosing prioritize their interests. Even if there is someone who assumes that the choice represents the people, it is a form of justification of his opinion with the opinions of others who are the same as him, and still oriented towards his interests, first seeing the interests of others whether they are the same or not.

The most interesting thing discussed here is that the election this time plays with identity politics. Identity politics itself comes from two words, politics and ddentity. Political etymology of politics comes from Greek, namely Politea, which means state or city. While Identity, etymologically comes from the word Identity which means the inherent characteristics of a thing, such as ethnicity, race, religion, and others that differentiate from others. Political Identity is a tool to achieve certain goals, where emergence is caused by the emergence of something that is considered an ethnicity as a threat in the form of injustice in politics (Buchari, 2014). According to Smucker (2011), politics is always based on identity with a group and there cannot be politics without the identity of a group. Political identity is defined as identification of the main political party for self decryption (Sajjad, Malghnai, & Khosa, 2018).

According to Alfaqi (2015), identity politics by a group exists as a means of struggle and to fulfill their desires. This arises because a sense of injustice arises involving one group and another, so that one group demands justice in the name of Identity. According to Castells as cited

by Buchari (2014), there are three establishments for building identity, namely legitimacy, resistance, and project identity. Legitimacy Resistant Identity (legitimizing identity) is where Identity is introduced by a body or institution that dominates and continues its dominance, but the institution has been legitimized to do so. Resistance Identity (resistance identity) is an identity made by social actors in a depressed condition with the aim of sustaining their class. While project Identity (project identity) is where social actors form a new Identity to change the structure of society (Alfaqi, 2015). These three things form the politics of Identity. As a tool and Identity, Identity politics appears to fight for justice in a depressed state.

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Since the mass action 212 has taken place, there has been a strengthening of conservative attitudes among voters, ranging from rejection of non-Muslims in political positions to an increase in the support of the Islamic political agenda (Fernandes, Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu 2019: Proyeksi dan Efektivitas, 2018). However, identity politics after the mass action 212 did not stand alone, on the other hand came another group with another identity basis, namely the Chinese ethnicity group, which tried to emulate the strength of the 212 group in the DKI Jakarta Election. Political solidarity strengthening of the Chinese ethnic can be seen from their increased participation in the Jakarta elections in 2017, especially in residential areas dominated by Chinese ethnic. Exit Poll data in the first round of voting showed that the Ahok-Djarot pair won an absolute victory at the polling station where the majority of the voters were Chinese or non-Muslim (Khamdan & Wiharyani, 2018).

The 212 mass groups, whose majority of participants were Muslim, although there were also a number of non-Muslim figures who supported this movement, in fact decided to continue to strengthen the group's consolidation even though Ahok had lost the election and was sentenced by the court. This condition was then considered by political parties which supported Jokowi, because there was a fairly close relationship between Jokowi and Ahok, especially when both were elected as governors and deputy governors of DKI Jakarta in 2012.

The impact of these calculations then led to a change in the attitude of the political parties and Jokowi's success team in determining the prospective vice-presidential candidate, who initially Jokowi was so strongly juxtaposed with Mahfud MD but later turned into Ma'ruf Amin. This political choice transition seems to show a political strat-

egy to win Muslim votes, especially when its rival, Prabowo, is closer to Muslim figures who are trying to encourage Prabowo to choose a vice presidential candidate based on the consideration of ljtima Ulama (scholar's itjima).

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From the electoral side, the action of 212 did not have a significant impact, because Jokowi - Ma'ruf's vote did not decrease, as did Prabowo - Sandi whose vote did not have a significant increase. If this identity politics really works, then logically the vote for Jokowi will decrease, because most Muslim voices are influenced by the scholars (ulama's) decision.

Even though Indonesia is not an Islamic country, Indonesian political policies cannot be separated completely from Muslim aspirations as a majority. The involvement of the identity issue is still a hot topic in various parts of the world in politics. Even the victory of the PKS itself which was founded by campus activists already has a wide field of rational voter sympathizers, such as cadres of students with Islamic ideology (Supriyadi, 2015).

But if you look at it from a rational perspective, people who have no interest in politics should look at the values of extravagance compared to the issue of identity. As in the case of why a voter who is satisfied with the jokowi administration must follow the scholar 'uljima. If using a rational approach, in producing a rational approach there are situational factors that play a role in the decisions and actions of the person in politics, for example various issues to what the candidate is like. Voters can assess these political issues, so voters will make their choices with rational considerations. Even in its own democracy, the will of the people is a combination of rational considerations of each individual who is combined. But not all individuals have the same rational considerations, so the solution to this difference of opinion is election, by determining the outcome of the most votes. Not everyone also uses this principle of rationality, which could be due to differences in the level of education to the conditions around them. It could be because the voter was involved in buying votes, so he chose the candidate, even though he felt that he would lose out when he had to be in the government of his choice.

Ideology also becomes party identity, it is provides them with ideals that underpin the society they wish to establish (Joyce, 2015). It can be seen from the old and new parties certainly adhering to the Pancasila (nationalist) or Islamic parties, although some indicate their position

in the center, but increasingly shifting to the right increasingly thick with Islamic ideology, and if increasingly shifting to the left increasingly thick with nationalists. The new parties that emerged also tried as the antithesis of the old parties, which were considered to be the time for new parties to emerge, which the old parties could no longer bring up. It could also be the emergence of these new parties as a form of dissatisfaction with their bureaucratization in the government for quite a long time. Rationally, young people of this nation feel disadvantaged by a government system led by parents who actually feels a lot of negative things. However, these new parties are not separated from the old parties as coalitions, for alignments with candidate pairs. The issue of the party and the president is two different things in the 2019 election, because in the same time the legislative and presidential administration, the issues that affect both are also different. The party must make new issues that influence it and its opponents.

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Speaking of the 212 movement, this movement may have arisen as a result of the conservative views of some Muslims. For some people, Islamic thought is considered quite conservative, where what is written in the Qur'an is not recommended to be changed even though the times have changed. But that view does not apply to Islam-liberals who feel religion is a personal and God's business, so it does not need to interfere with religious life and must adjust to the times.

Ma'ruf Amin himself who is the vice president for the period 2019-2024 states that liberal thinking is very dangerous in interpreting Islamic teachings. Even the Indonesian Scholar Council (MUI) in 2005 issued a fatwa that liberalism is not in accordance with Islam because it uses mind that tends to be free. Also regarding secularism, MUI issued a fatwa concerning religious secularism that separates world affairs from religion (Irawan, 2018).

But basically liberalism does not merely arise because everyone demands freedom. Because at the same time religion has its own teachings, this makes human beings compartmentalized and intolerant that cannot be avoided. So that what is Islam-liberal demands transparently is how to respect all things in the world from everyone so that tolerance is maintained. According to Budy Munawar-Rachman, to avoid ambiguous liberalism, he distinguishes between good and bad liberalism. Good liberalism is based on anti-theocracy, pro-democracy, women's rights and freedom of speech. While bad liberalism contains neoliberal policies which are secular liberals (Irawan, 2018). Liberalism

which is fought by Islam is also actually useful for a peaceful and tolerant national life. That's because liberal Islam is a Muslim who understands religion with rationality, so what is taught in religion is applied to adjust in interfaith, intergroup and inter-tribal relations. They oppose fundamentalists and Islamic conservatives who understand religion as if religion curbs freedom of rational and critical thinking.

But with simultaneous elections held, this Identity politics is not so applicable in the legislature. In fact, legislative campaigns tend to be lacking. The legislature depends on the party that becomes its political vehicle and is lucky for those in the regional winning party. Voters tend to choose which representatives of the stronghold they hold or which party supports which candidate pair. Even though the legislature is elected people who will connect the people's aspirations to the country. It is even undeniable that by choosing people's representatives who are in the camp which causes voter fanaticism to the presidential candidate. People's representatives who are in the opposing camp are considered wrong and bad, even though ethos of work may be that some people's representatives in the camp that are considered right are no better than the people's representatives in the opposing camp.

Although Muslims are a large majority in Indonesia, this country has from the start still been a 'secular' country. After playing an important role in anti-colonial resistance, Islam remained excluded from the Indonesian national framework and the more 'secular' state ideology, Pancasila, was chosen by Indonesian leaders. Proposals and efforts to formally establish relations between Islam and the state often fail because of a lack of popular and political support. The nationalist-oriented Indonesian nationality then became the face of political discourse and practice in this country.

Like Marxism, Islamism is marginalized from state power and ideology in a discursive and constitutional manner. During the Soekarno era and the first two decades of the Soeharto regime, political Islam was never allowed to dominate national politics and political organizations committed to explicit Islamic goals (Abdi, 2009). Muslim groups, especially those relating to non-sectarian and harmonious relations between various religions. has played an important role in accepting and supporting Pancasila as the final foundation of Indonesian nationality. The Soeharto era, groups of civilian or liberal Muslims held many key positions in government and civil society. Indonesia after the New Order did not only see the continued strength of liberal and progres-

sive Islamic thinking and movements. Islam that is more ideological, political, literal and violent also lives in a more open political and public sphere (Abdi, 2009).

The connection of social media in the 2019 election also cannot be forgotten, because social media is a bridge between political actors and the community besides having to take to the streets. The media and the existence of democracy in Indonesia cannot be separated. For example, during independence, Soekarno's speech was broadcast by radio. Currently, campaigns are also held on social media. This does not escape the hoaxes, rumors, and others that can poison the course of democracy. Similarly, Identity politics can be said to be streamlined by the existence of social media as a tool in political campaigns. The existence of mass media in fact for some people who only judge candidates from the mass media becomes a place where they seek their Identity and ideology. Voters will judge which identity suits him, in terms of interests, and of course he will choose the one that is profitable and not detrimental to him. Then the voter will look for the outline of the candidate and compare whether the political Identity of the candidate can be on the same path as the ideology of the voter. Not infrequently many social media users, when viewing a political element post, they will see top comments, which are definitely the most liked comments and comments. From these posts, users of social media can be advised that what is a comment is a truth and reality that many people agree on, so that the commentary suggests that the social media user has agreed to this, which may not necessarily and it is possible that the account is biased in terms of the selector of the account and its followers.

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Flow 212 movements in 2019 Election

The simultaneous holding of elections in April 2019 did not escape the issue of Identity politics, but this did not have a significant impact on the rise and fall of the votes of the two candidates. Simultaneously, elections were held with various challenges until the campaign period ended, which of course enabled many hoaxes, cases, and issues to bring down every opposing candidate. Elections are also an arena of competition that does not escape cheating, which can hurt the ongoing campaign period until the election.

In the eyes of liberalism, the impact of the movement 212 in the form of identity politics is very evident in causing intolerance in society. It can be concluded that this year's voters are not completely in-

fluenced by identity issues and Identity politics, but keep returning to their respective decisions with rational principles that are processed by each individual voter. But it is undeniable that the way to make rational decisions of voters is also influenced by the circumstances and issues that occur adorning the 2019 elections, such as the issue of identity and identity politics. So that it can be said that both of these did not effectively affect the 2019 elections, especially in the scope of the candidates' votes, but affected the way rational decision-making was made by voters. In fact, this also affected the candidates, which in the end both used a political strategy which both of them wanted to win the votes of Muslims as the majority in Indonesia. Although Muslims are a large majority in Indonesia, this country has from the start still been a 'secular' country. After playing an important role in anti-colonial resistance, Islam remained excluded from the Indonesian national framework and the more 'secular' state ideology, Pancasila, was chosen by Indonesian leaders.

The effectiveness of identity politics does not take too much role in the vote acquisition of the 2019 election. Similarly, Identity politics can be said to be streamlined by the existence of social media as a tool in political campaigns. The existence of mass media in fact for some people who only judge candidates from the mass media becomes a place where they seek their identity and ideology. Voters will judge which Identity suits him, in terms of interests, and of course he will choose the one that is profitable and not detrimental to him. Then the voter will look for the outline of the candidate and compare whether the political Identity of the candidate can be on the same path as the ideology of the voter.

However, after the 212 action, it is undeniable that many people slowly become conservative in making choices, choosing candidates who are considered the same or supporting their Identity, until the rejection of non-Muslims is political office. From that moment on, intolerance became enlarged and the gap between the majority and the minority seemed to be enlarged by political conditions. In fact, this situation is a scenario of people with an interest in politics who want to gain or maintain their power. Not only voters, some of whom cannot be seen rationally in their choice, but also political actors, such as the PBB, which is the right-hand party or with Islamic ideology, should support Prabowo like PKS. But perhaps the PBB sees that being a party coalition supporting Jokowi is more profitable than joining the party

coalition supporting Prabowo. All of that returns to the rational thinking of each individual.

Conclusion

The 212 movement which was based on an identity politics movement did not really have an effective impact on predictions of the 2019 Presidential Election vote, although this movement also showed that there were several groups of people who wanted religious values to be internalized in political life. However, this movement also received more attention from the success team and the political parties that supported Jokowi, at least this can be known from the decisions was taken suddenly and at the end of time to elect Ma'ruf Amin as a vice-presidential candidate.

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Jeje's Political Capital in the Regent Election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015

Ratnia Solihah, Arry Bainus, Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa

Political capital is one of the main capitals to be able to follow the political contestation. This political capital was one of the factors that determined the passing of Jeje as regent candidates who following the local political contestation, which eventually became the winner of the political contestation. Various candidates in political contestation often face the problem of ownership of political capital. Likewise, in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015, political capital became one of leje's capital whose acquisition process was carried out quite long (not instant) by not ignoring other factors. To achieve the objectives of this study, a qualitative research method, that includes techniques of data collection through field studies conducted with interviews and documentation, as well as literature studies by reviewing various references related to the problems under study, was used. The results of studies show that the ownership process of Jeje's political capital in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015, which had been pioneered for several years before the regent election of Pangandaran regency was held in 2015. Jeje's political capital was built through his work in politics and government, as a the politician several years before the elections and as deputy regent of Ciamis in 2012-2015, which ultimately contributed in winning the contestation of the election of Regent Pangandaran. The finding of the field show there is Jeje's personal branding in the process of his political investment that was instrumental in achieving his victory in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015.

Ratnia Solihah, Arry Bainus, Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa. Jeje's Political Capital in the Regent Election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 469–488.

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Keywords: political capital, regent election, Pangandaran regency.

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Pangandaran Regency is one of the New Autonomous Regions (DOB) in Indonesia in 2013. In 2015, Pangandaran Regency held the regent election for the first time, whose duty of the regent was previously carried out by Acting Regent Pangandaran appointed by the Governor of West Java. This is in accordance with Law Number 21 of 2013 concerning Pangandaran Regency, the appointment of acting Regent of Pangandaran Regency is the authority of the Governor of West Java.

The first local election held in Pangandaran Regency was interesting to study, especially related to Jeje's political capital as a regent candidate who won the election regent of Pangandaran Regency in 2015.

Political capital is one of the main capitals in the elections to be able to follow the political contestation. According to Law No. 8 of 2015, candidates or candidate pairs can participate in the local election (regent elections), if supported by Political Parties or coalition of Political Parties that can register candidate pairs if they have fulfilled the requirements of at least 20% of the total number of seats of the House of Representatives Regional People or 25% (twenty five percent) of the accumulated legal vote in the general election of members of the Regional People's Representatives Council in the area concerned. The process of political support for Jeje as a regent candidate is process the ownership of jeje's political capital, and become one interesting reason to study. For that, on this paper would discussion: How the process of obtaining the ownership of Jeje's political capital from the initial stage to the stage of winning the election, and what are the aspects that influence formation process of Jeje's political capital as a regent candidate of Pangandaran regency in 2015.

The study about capital in a political context has been carried out among others by Booth and Richard (1997) who see the effects of civil society, political capital and Democratisation on the level of democracy in Central America. Another study was carried out by Birner and Witmer (2007) who raised the case of the transformation (conversion) of social capital towards political capital in Thailand and Columbia. To review his study, Birner and Witmer used the concept of political capital to explained how local communities use social capital to achieve the objectives of political outcomes through political activities such as voter voting, direct participation in legislative processes, protests / demonstrations, lobbying, and building discourse as political capital to build democracy.

Some studies of capital in political contestation, especially capital in the elections held by regent-vice regent candidates in the local elections (for example, Putra, 2012; Arwantinna, 2013; Agusyanto, 2011; Pantouw, 2012; Rasyid, 2012; Putri, 2017). In these studies, the capital owned by the couple of candidate plays a role or determines the results of the election victory, both capital studies from aspects of political capital, aspects of economic capital, aspects of social capital, aspects of cultural capital and social capital, as well as aspects of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital owned by the regent-deputy regent (mayor-deputy mayor) candidate in the local election. However, these studies did not reveal how the process of obtaining capital and its aspects, which affected the ownership of the capital, especially the process of obtaining political capital as the main capital of candidates who were supported by political parties which subsequently, determined the victory in political contestation.

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In this paper, the authors reveal the process of obtaining Jeje's political capital as a regent candidate of Pangandaran regency and reviewing aspects that affect the ownership of Jeje's political capital, which ultimately contributed in winning the regent election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015.

Political capital in the context of local elections can be seen in the sense that candidates in the local election need political support from political parties (political party coalitions). Political parties are political organisations that propose candidates in regional elections to fill political positions in the government and then be elected by the people. Candidates will try as much as possible to mobilize coalitions of political parties that get seats and votes in the regional legislature (DPRD).

Casey defines political capital as the utilization of all types of capital owned by a political actor or a political institution to produce political actions that benefit and strengthen the position of political actors or political institutions concerned (2007, p. 7). Casey detailed four political markets that influence the magnitude of political capital owned by a political actor or a political institution. The first political market is elections, because elections are the basic instrument for the election of leaders in a democratic system. The second political market is the formulation and implementation of public policies. The third political market is the relationship dynamics and conflicts between political actors and political institutions in the formulation and implementation of public policies. The fourth political market is an opinion or public

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opinion about the political actors or political institutions. Meanwhile symbolic capital or in relation to political dynamics can be understood as the amount of legitimacy, reputation, and the level of respect obtained by political actors or political institutions due to political actions that are carried out or not done (Nasir, in http://pemilu.liputan6.com/column, download on January II, 2016 at 3:00 p.m.).

Hick and Misra (in Pantouw, 2010, p. 18) suggest that political capital is sharing the focus of giving power (resources) to realise things that can realise interests. In essence, political capital is the power a person has, which can then be operated or contribute to the success of his contestation in the political process such as elections.

Although political parties and / or coalitions of political parties are political capital which play a role in delivering candidates to participate in political contestation, the influence of figures is greater and competition between parties (coalition of political parties) is not too prominent. The role of candidate figures is seen as very decisive because the election as an arena of contestation there is no strong contestation between parties but between candidates (Haryanto, 2005, p. 72.).

Related to this, in the context of local politics there are many elites who occupy political positions and strategic positions that have an important role and influence on groups and communities in the area. According to Nurhasim, et al (2003, p. 8), political elites in the local context are those who have high political positions at the local level who make and carry out political policies. Its political elite are governors, regents, mayors, chairs of DPRDs, DPRD members, and party leaders at the regional level. Meanwhile, non-political elite in the local context is someone who occupies strategic positions and has the influence to govern other people within the community. These non-political elite are like religious elites, elite community organisations, youth organisations, professions and so on.

Candidates need the support of political parties, support of local political elites and local non-political elites to be able to participate in the regional election contest. The elite has a prominent role in politics and other fields and has a great influence in the process of political support for candidates in the elections. In addition, candidates must also have quality personal capacity, such as the position in political parties by looking at strategic positions in organisational structures or positions in political parties and government.

Thus it can be said that political capital is political support from political parties (coalition of political parties) and the support of local political elites from political organisations and community organisations to win the local elections. But other political capital in the context of this study includes the utilization of aspects of political capital owned by a political actor or a political institution which produce political actions that benefit and strengthen the position of the political actors or political institutions concerned, so that their political reputation is considered good in the views of people outside their political institutions, especially in the view of the people who will choose it.

Jeje's Political Capital

Political capital is also a form of political action in sharing the focus of giving power (resources) to realise things that can realise political interests. This political action is in the form of a political contract carried out by political parties who are members of a coalition of political parties and share roles or tasks as a winning strategy. In addition, political capital is also a political ability of a candidate (namely, political capacity and political experience of a candidate, as well as political position and strategic position of a candidate in political institutions), which contribute to the success of his political contestation such as in elections or local election.

Research Methods

Researchers use descriptive method with qualitative approach in this study. Data collection is done through field studies and literature studies. Field studies as primary data sources are conducted through in-depth interviews with purposively selected informants, while literature studies as secondary data sources obtained by reviewing documents (literatures) related to the problems examined.

Informants in this study are Regent of Pangandaran Regency period of 2016-2021 (Jeje as regent candidate in the regent election of Pangandaran in 2015), Chair of Pangandaran Regency Election Commission, political party leaders which supporting Jeje as regent candidate in local election of Pangandaran Regency, volunteers representatives supporting Jeje, community leader, community groups representatives, and local mass media.

Three activities are carried out in data analysis technique, namely data reduction, data presentation, and data conclusion (Miles and Huberman, 1992, p. 16-21). In validating data, a triangulation technique is used to check data from different sources and different techniques.

Results and Discussion

Jeje's political capital in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015 is the political support and political strength possessed by Jeje as a regent candidate in winning the political contestation, which finally contributed Jeje's winning in the regent election of Pangandaran regency.

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In this study, candidate's political capital is assessed through various aspects related to the ownership process of political capital, namely through:

- I. Support of political parties (coalition of political parties) for Jeje;
- 2. Jeje's political positions, his political capacity, and his political experience;
- 3. Jeje's political actions which benefit and strengthen the position of political actors or political institutions;
- 4. Political contracts in the regent election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015;
- 5. The role of The Success Team and the winning strategy

Support of Political Parties (Coalition of Political Parties) for Jeje The background of PDIP and Golkar Party suportted Jeje as a candidate for regent Pangandaran is suitability of vision and mission and the suitability of leader figure if leading Pangandaran Regency. Jeje is considered to have a long enough political and government experience, has closeness to various social levels of society, and is supported by many community leaders from various communities in Pangandaran.

Jeje was not only supported by PDIP and Golkar Party in his candidacy for regent candidate in the Pangandaran regent election in 2015, but was also supported by Democrats and PKS, arguing that he had a leader figure who could bridge political parties and having political capacity, political experience, known to the Pangandaran community and having close relations with various levels of society, since Jeje duties as a member of the DPRD in Ciamis Regency, and also role as deputy regent in Ciamis Regency who was elected through the local election in 2012.

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, supporting from coalition of political parties for Jeje in the regent election of Pangandaran Regency is based on the results of a survey conducted by several survey institutions, which the survey results showed Jeje's popularity always rate was highest is compared with other candidates in local election

Pangandaran (http://www.harapanrakyat.com/2015/06/pilkada-pangandaran-ini-alasan-dpp-pdip-akhirnya-usung-jeje-adang/).

The high popularity of Jeje is compared to other candidates, one of which can be seen in the results of a survey of the Lamda Indonesian Survey (http://www.lamda-ksi.com/2015/11/tingkat-popularitas-calon-bupati.html), which was done on May 2015 and August 2015, with the following popularity and acceptability levels:

The survey results, which showed the high level of popularity of Jeje, were one of the aspects taken into consideration by DPD PDIP West Java giving confidence to Jeje Wiradinata to take part in the regent election of Pangandaran regency.

Table 1. Level of Candidates Popularity and Acceptability in Regent Election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015

Candidate		Popularity		Acceptability	
		August	May 2015	August	May 2015
		2015		2015	
ı.	H. Jeje Wiradinata	94,6%	90,7%	83,9%	84,4%
2.	H. Adang Hadari	81,0%	63,9%	75,0%	93,4%
3.	Hj. Azizah Talita Dewi	77,9%	68,2%	73,0%	85,9%
4.	H. Cucu Sulaksana	45,5%	26,9%	43,9%	72,3%
5.	H. Ino Darsono	49,9%	47,0%	55,8%	76,5%
6.	Dr. Erwin Thamrin	50,6%	22,5%	59,0%	77,4%

Source: Survey Lamda Indonesia, 2015

Because of several reasons mentioned above, PDIP, Golkar Party, Democratic Party and PKS to participate in political contestation as regent candidates in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015 supported Jeje.

The background that is the reason for political parties to coalition in favor of Jeje can be seen as an objective reason, which leadership figures, political engagement, political experience and government experience, political capacity and political electability are factors that determine coalition of political parties to support Jeje as regent candidate in the political contestation. In addition, there is also the closeness and trust of the community with the candidate that he has built as long as he takes part in politics and government.

Jeje is supported by PDIP, Golkar Party, Democratic Party and PKS, which when viewed from the legislative seat in Pangandaran for this coalition of political parties get18 seats or 56% of the total seats in the

Ratnia Solihah Arry Bainus Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa regional legislature of Pangandaran Regency. It means that Jeje as the regent candidate has political capital greatly in the form of political party support which makes him able to legitimately follow political contestation in the Pangandaran regent election in 2015.

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The coalition of political parties carried out by the four political parties is a large coalition consisting of several winning political parties in the legislative elections in Ciamis District in 2014, including in Pangandaran as one of its constituencies. In addition, the supporting of political party coalition is also influenced by socio-political factors, such as the aspirations of the Pangandaran people who tend to support Jeje and his partner through survey results from various survey institutions and direct aspirations of individuals and groups through various social communities. Other factors that influence the formation of coalitions of political parties that support Jeje are external factors involving figures or actors nominated by coalitions of political parties, because Jeje has a leader figure with the capacity, credibility and electability that deserves to be nominated as regent. Motivational factors also form the basis of this coalition of political parties, because of the proximity of policies (vision, mission and program), as well as internal factors that indicate the internal dynamics of political parties to decide coalitions with other political parties (Pridham, 1987.p, 374).

From the explanation above, it can be stated that the establishment of a coalition of political parties that support Jeje in political contestation is influenced by various factors. But basically, the coalition of political parties was born because there was a goal to be achieved, namely the success or victory of the regent candidate who supported them in the political contestation. Therefore various aspects such as popularity or figures desired by the people, their proximity to the community and electability of candidates become the criteria of the political parties to support Jeje and his partner in the regent election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015.

The leadership figure, popularity, and proximity to the community were the strongest reasons for Jeje's support as a regent candidate by coalition of political parties. The leadership figure, popularity, and proximity to the community are Jeje's social capital, which makes it easy to follow the candidacy process of the regent of Pangandaran. Political parties also assessed Jeje's track record, Jeje's political experience and Jeje's government experience which made him eligible to become Pangandaran regent, which he considered to understand the

conditions and potential of the region and the characteristics of its people.

Jeje's Political Positions, His Political Capacity, and His Political Experience

Jeje's Political Capital

Jeje's political capital as a regent candidate in the regent election of Pangandaran Regency can also be seen through the ownership of political positions during his work in politics. With the political positions, he had held, making him have more political experience and political capacity than other candidates who did not have it.

Jeje as a regent candidate in the regent election of Pangandaran regency had a long enough political experience, among others, when Jeje became a member of the Regional Representative Council of Ciamis Regency in 1999-2004, then became Chairman of the Regional Representative Council of Ciamis Regency in 2004-2009, becoming Chairperson of DPC PDIP of Ciamis Regency in 2009, and as Deputy Regent of Ciamis Regency in 2012. Based on Jeje's political gait, Taufik Martin as Chairperson of DPC Golkar Party of Pangandaran Regency for the period 2014-2019, which at the time was in Ciamis Regency as Chairman of the Regional Representative Council of Ciamis Regency committed and encouraged Jeje to become regent if Pangandaran Regency was separated from Ciamis Regency. Jeje's political gait while in Ciamis Regency and his experience as Deputy Regent of Ciamis which became a strong reason for Golkar Party to support Jeje as a regent candidate of Pangandaran, which also had long government experience and political experience. Besides it, Jeje is being a native of Pangandaran and having close ties with the Pangandaran community was long before the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015.

Jeje is close to the Pangandaran community, because during his duties Jeje was able to attract public sympathy. This can be seen from Jeje's political activities as representatives of the people and politicians (1999-2012) and also as Deputy Regent of Ciamis (2012-2014), which in carrying out his duties was not only related to the task of political institution and government, but he also do not hesitate to go to every event organised by the community, such as attending various recitations held by residents and Islamic boarding schools, community activities in various villages and RWs, people's parties, and visiting and providing compensation to disadvantaged communities, to people who are grieved and affected by disasters, and other community events.

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Based on Jeje's political experience and his government experience, Jeje has political capital to be worthy of being supported by major political parties as regent candidate in Pangandaran Regency. In addition, Jeje is also known by Pangandaran communities, because during his career in government and politics Jeje was close and often interacted with various sections of society. The interaction and closeness with communities was not only done before and during the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015, but he had lived it for years, especially as long as Jeje took part in politics and government in Ciamis Regency.

From the ownership of political positions in the form of their work in politics and government, it can be seen that in carrying out of political act and governmental work, Jeje can interact and try to understand the condition of the people, so as the people know him and are close to him psychologically (having emotional ties), until finally communities gave their aspirations and belief in Jeje to become a regional leader (regent) in Pangandaran Regency.

This phenomenon shows that the community support obtained by candidates is inseparable from the utilization of candidate's political capital when he has a career in government and politics, which in the process does not occur instantly. Efforts to gain public trust in political victory, political investment must be carried out through several stages. Stage one, the community knows the candidate's names and his face. Second stage, the community knows his profession and his competence. In the third stage, the community likes him because of his proximity to communities. A candidate is able to attract the sympathy of communities, often interacting with communities and protecting them. The fourth stage, the community supports it. In this stage, the candidate must also market himself, provide information to the public regarding what he has done and what he will do for the benefit of the communities. That way, to be able to win the elections, it must work hard to build communities trust, work hard to build closeness with the communities, and the strategy of marketing itself to get communities support (social networking). All of which have to be built long before the elections, can be a year or two before, or even more.

Thus, one of the field findings in the process of utilizing political capital to obtain social capital in the context of political support in the elections is the existence of "political investment" carried out by the candidate. In this case, Jeje's political investment was carried out during his career as a politician and government practitioner, whose

results were used in the process of political contestation, in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015.

Based on the above, it can be shown that the process of political party support for Jeje is also influenced by his ability to use or optimise his role as a political or government official by frequently interacting and closing to the community. Hence, political support from political parties for Jeje as a regent candidate considering communities's support to Jeje who had been built long before the election of regent Pangandaran was held. This is a candidate's political investment in an effort to gain public support during political contestation, which also determines and becomes one of the reasons this candidate is supported by the great political parties in Pangandaran, as well as this candidate is a political party cadre who has political experience, position politics and political capabilities that are considered credible, do not have problems with legal and ethical cases.

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Jeje's Political Actions Which Benefit and Strengthen the Position of Political Actors or Political Institutions

Jeje's political capital was not only influenced by his political positions during his career in politics, but also because of his behavior and political actions carried out by Jeje during his career in politics as a member of the Regional Representative Council of Ciamis Regency, Chairman of the Regional Representative Council of Ciamis Regency, and as deputy regent of Ciamis Regency, where behavior and political actions tend to be carried out by interacting and communicating with the community, especially the Pangandaran communites.

One of his actions considered populist by the Pangandaran communities was his actions as a member of the Regional Representative Council of Ciamis Regency. Jeje helped to revive and raise up the bankrupt's KUD whose members were almost all of them Pangandaran fishermen. Thanks to the help of Jeje who took over the bankrupt's KUD, the Minasari KUD was able to save its business which helped the needs of many fishermen. Under the leadership of Jeje as Chairman of the Minasari KUD, KUD eventually expanded its business and now owns the Minasari restaurant.

Besides succeeding in rebuilding the fishermen's business or the economy of the fishing community, his political actions during the Deputy Regent also influenced the assessment and support of communities and various social community in Pangandaran, including several

programs or policies that directly touched Pangandaran farmers when Jeje became Deputy Regent of Ciamis, namely providing fertilizer and subsidize seeds for agricultural crops at low prices.

CEJISS 4/2019 Jeje is also considered capable of understanding anglers' problems. Anglers feel helped and can channel their aspirations directly to Jeje, which incidentally Jeje was also given the mandate as chairperson of HNSI Pangandaran. In addition, some of Jeje's policies and political actions related to community empowerment also gave rise to public trust, especially from various communities of Small and Medium Enterprises, which were established, assisted and facilitated by him.

This is in line with what was put forward by Fukuyama (1999), that trust arises due to the same interests or expectations of the bond. With ownership of the network, candidates have a bond of trust that indirectly creates an emotional bond with all its members. The candidate's social capital with the ownership of social networks, in this case the Minasari KUD and HNSI, which are under the tutelage of Jeje, were able to build strength to gain support and sympathy from the community, especially the fishing community to give confidence to Jeje.

The trust and support of the community towards Jeje is inseparable from the interactions and behavior of Jeje in building communication with the Pangandaran communities as long as Jeje is being the Deputy Regent of Ciamis who cares for the Pangandaran communities and develop Pangandaran as part of Ciamis District. Thus, the approach to communication is also one of the approaches done by Jeje to build belief in communities. Through the approach of communication, especially the political communication, the comunication function will be achieved (Cangara, 2011.p, 33), which will provide information to the public (community) about what happened (has been done) by Jeje in Pangandaran.

The political communication he had done eventually became part of the political marketing of candidates in political contestation (regent election). The essence of political marketing is packaging the image, the public figure and personality of a candidate who competes in the election context to the wider community who will vote for him. In addition, personal branding strategies are also carried out in political communication. Branding is used by regional head candidates to build a positive image, which is one of the basic capital of advanced regional head candidates in a political battle. Prospective regional heads are encouraged to make themselves like a brand and apply the principles

of public relations strategies to attract public sympathy. The imaging process must be built through the continuous and continuous intensity of political communication, which in the end is expected to succeed in gaining support from the community. Every regional head figure must prepare himself through early socialisation to be better known to the public. According to Rhenald Kasali (in Nursal, 2004), personal branding is a communication strategy to enter the window of the voter brain so that a contestant has a certain meaning that reflects the superiority of competing contestants in the form of associative relationships. With personal branding voters who were not sympathetic at first became sympathetic, from those who did not care to care. Personal branding is effective for strengthening community support and increasing electability (Nursal, 2004.p, 86).

Jeje's Political Capital

Political Contracts in the Regent Election of Pangandaran Regency One aspect of political support by political parties is usually carried out through political contracts between candidates and political parties that support, even political contracts between candidate and communities that support him. Political contracts are written or unwritten commitments made by parties involved in the support process of candidate who will participate in political contestation.

Based on the results of the study, political contracts were not made explicitly (written) between the candidates and political parties who supported them, but rather a shared commitment to create common perceptions about vision and mission of the candidate, as well as the Realisation of candidate's political promises campaigned during the elections to become tangible programs if elected as regional leader (regent) in the development of Pangandaran as an effort to fulfil the wishes of the constituents of the supporting parties (voters).

Likewise, between Jeje with the social communities and supporting volunteers, there is no political contract, because the social communities and volunteers give Jeje and his partner a great deal of trust is able to realise their political promises that are considered realistic and in accordance with which needed by communities of Pangandaran.

Related to the description above, it can be argued that the absence of a political contract between Jeje and his partner with social communities and supporting volunteers was caused by an emotional bond or because of the closeness of the community to Jeje. On the contrary, the community hopes that Jeje as the regional leader in Pangandaran

based on their interaction relationship so far with Jeje, who is expected to bring increased welfare to them. Thus, the absence of a political contract between Jeje and the social community and volunteers who supported it was influenced by the public's trust in Jeje.

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The Role of the Succes Team and the Winning Strategy

The succes team is also called the winning team or the campaign team. The succes team is a team formed by political parties and their coalitions for manage, formulating and designing winning strategies in regional elections. The succes team was formed to gain as many votes as possible, including the votes of voters from political parties and supporters of other district head candidates through their winning strategies.

The winning strategy is one aspect that plays a role in determining and influencing the success of candidates in political contestation, which is carried out by the success team. In this case, the role of the success team and the winning strategy that it carries out can contribute to the success of the candidate it supports.

Likewise, for Jeje as a regent candidate in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015, the success team's role is one aspect that cannot be ruled out in an effort win the local politics contestation. In carrying out its winning strategy, the success team of jeje was formed in the district level and the sub-districts level. In addition, the success team was also formed at the RW and hamlet level, where the success team at the RW and hamlet level had the task of socializing the candidate's superior programs to the grassroots community. The succes team at the RW and hamlet level is under the coordination of the sub-district level success team.

Muhamad Taufik Martin who was also the Chairperson of DPC the Golkar Party Pangandaran chaired Jeje's succes team in the Regent election of Pangandaran Regency, he had experience as chairman of the success team of the regent candidate when Pangandaran still part of Ciamis Regency, where in two direct regent elections in Ciamis Regency he became chair of the candidate's succes team who won the regent election of Ciamis Regency.

Armed with experience as chair of candidate's succes team when in Ciamis Regency, Taufik was believed be the Chair of Jeje's succes team and his partner, in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015.

The winning strategy carried out by the succes team is not too difficult to do. Jeje's figure is known to be close and popular in the community, making the task of winning the pair not too heavy. Gait Taufik who was once a member of the Ciamis DPRD and Chairman of the Ciamis DPRD when Jeje became Deputy Regent of Ciamis, caused him to be close to Jeje at Ciamis. He was one of the motivators who encouraged Jeje to advance as a regent candidate of Pangandaran Regency (if Pangandaran had become a district separate from Ciamis), when Jeje became Deputy Regent of Ciamis.

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One of the winning strategies which he done was Jeje's branding and supported Jeje to realise the vision-mission and programs of his government when Jeje being the deputy regent of Ciamis regency which benefit for the community of Pangandaran (Solihah, 2018: 385). By branding Jeje (personal branding), the success team carried out a winning strategy with a political marketing approach. This personal branding is also the finding in this study related to political investment in the process of obtaining Jeje's political capital in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015, which was carried out during Jeje being the deputy regent of Ciamis Regency in 2010-2014, with the aim of achieving Jeje's brand image.

Achieving brand image is the goal of doing political marketing through a Market Oriented Party (MOP) approach, a Sales Oriented Party (SOP) approach and Product Oriented Party (POP) approach. Lillekeer and Lees-Marshment (in Firmanzah, 2012) explained about how political marketing became a global phenomenon used by political parties through these 3 approaches. Market Oriented Party is a more approach to how the product delivered to the community is in line with expectations and able to provide satisfaction (The product of the political party is a candidate from a political party who will be a candidate for contestants in the local election). Sales Oriented Party is more emphasised on how the various products can be sold to really arrive and give influence to the community (Candidates from political parties because they can give satisfaction to the community, ultimately able to provide positive influence and image among the community). Whereas Product Oriented Party is based on what political parties have owned and carried out, such as ideology, the developing process cadre of political party, public policies, which used as the main ingredient in political marketing to the community (the candidate able to bring his reputation as cadre of political party, run its political career

successfully, become political officials who are close to society, and his policies benefit to society and tend to be populist).

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In the context of this approach, Jeje's brand image was carried out with several stages, namely Jeje known his name and profession as a PDIP politician and as deputy regent of Ciamis (2012-2014), and then Jeje's competence was known public with government programs that benefited for Pangandaran communities (especially when becoming Ciamis Regent, where Pangandaran is part of the Ciamis region); Jeje also had closeness and always interacted with the Pangandaran community, and finally Jeje was trusted and supported by the Pangandaran community to become the leader of the Pangandaran area after Pangandaran was split into a district or New Autonomous Region.

After the achievement of Jeje's brand image in various circles of society, the next political strategy is to conduct opinion studies or research and environmental analysis as emphasised by Wring (in Nursal, 2004, p. 8) in the context of political marketing, in an effort to find out what Pangandaran's community wants about criteria regional leaders, what is needed from the leader is related to the condition of the community and the potential of Pangandaran, what programs are needed by the community, and leaders who are expected by the community as leaders of the region; which can then identify the amount of community support for candidates. This is in line with what was stated by Firmanzah (2012, p. 124-127) that political strategy is a political approach carried out by contestants to win the general election. Contestants need to conduct studies to identify the amount of their supporters, the floating masses and other contestant supporters.

An independent research team carried out the opinion study or research a few months before the supporting of Jeje and his partner in the regent election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015. The survey results show that the leader figure expected by the majority of the people to become leaders of the Pangandaran area is a leader who is close to the community, often interacts with the community, is able to understand the conditions, potentials and aspirations of the community, and is able to build and develop Pangandaran. The communities hope Jeje's figure to become a leader in Pangandaran.

The existence of hope, support and public trust in Jeje's figure shows that Jeje's brand image has been built before the election took place. Jeje's brand image is inseparable from the political communication process that Jeje runs with his constituents and society that he has

done as long as Jeje becomes a politician and as a representative of the Ciamis Regent. The political communication that he has done eventually became part of his political marketing in political contestation (the regent elections), which is his political communication is carried out with stakeholders and all levels of society, especially the Pangandaran community when Jeje was being the Deputy Regent of Ciamis Regency.

Jeje's Political Capital

Political engagement and Jeje's political experience become a large capital that can bridge the process of Jeje's political communication with various groups, both the community, business people, politicians and stakeholders. In addition, the long-standing social interaction between Jeje and his constituents as well as with the Pangandaran community made the process of political communication that he built go well, including the process of political communication that he did during the Pangandaran elections in 2015.

This political communication approach is also one of the winning strategy approaches that is suitable for Jeje and his partner. Through the political communication approach, the political communication function itself will be achieved (Cangara, 2011, p. 33), which will provide information to the public (community) about what has happened (has been done) by this couple in Pangandaran; provide political education to the public (community) about the facts that occur (things that have been done by Jeje as a potential leader in Pangandaran); as well as the figure of Jeje who can provide himself as a political platform to accommodate political problems so that it can become a discussion in shaping public opinion (Pangandaran public opinion and stakeholders in Pangandaran).

In addition, a team of volunteers who volunteered to support the candidates by contributing energy, thoughts, materials in various socialisation activities and campaigns carried out by Jeje and his partner and the winning team to the grassroots level also assisted the winning team. In addition, he also oversees all stages of the elections, including participating in socializing the leading programs of Jeje and his partner to all members of the community to participate in monitoring and overseeing the vote count after the voting.

The volunteer team that supports Jeje and his partner consists of a Volunteer Team named JIHAD Volunteers, Great Pangandaran Community, Jeje-Adang Barisan, Fisherman Youth Organisation and Taruna Rimba. The volunteer team was formed on its own initiative, the

majority of which was formed during the process of supporting prospective candidates who were carried by political parties or about six months before the registration of candidate pairs to the General Election Commissions of Pangandaran Regency.

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The form of individual volunteer team activities in promoting the excellent program of Jeje and his partner begins with socializing it in the family. In essence, family members must first know the figure of Jeje and its superior programs. During the campaign and program socialisation, volunteers invited their families to attend and succeed the candidates' campaign activities. Then volunteers also did the program socialisation voluntarily to other anglers so that many people became aware of the candidate's programs. After that, the volunteer team moved to other NGOs in Pangandaran.

The form of winning strategy carried out by the winning team is also related to the various forms of campaign that it runs, where limited meeting activities are more often carried out by candidates, the winning team, the volunteer team and several communities that support this candidate in the Pangandaran Regional Election. The limited meeting was held in an effort to consolidate and coordinate the winning team (including the District Level Winning Team, Village or Hamlet Level Winning Team, and RW Level Winning Team), the Volunteer Team and its supporting communities in carrying out their respective roles and tasks so as to optimise and increasing community support in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015, based on the amount of community support and trust in Jeje and his partner.

Conclusion

Based on the result and discussion above, it can be concluded that the greatly of public support for Jeje as regent candidate in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015 affected the process of political support PDIP, Golkar Party, Democratic Party and PKS against Jeje as the regent candidate in Pangandaran regency, which became Jeje's political capital in the regent election of Pangandaran Regency in 2015.

The existence of considerable community support is inseparable from political investments made by Jeje during his involvement in politics and government, through his interactions, his behavior and political actions, and his populist government programs, which tended to be favored by the Pangandaran people.

Jeje's political investment is accompanied by Jeje's branding, so that his name is known by the community as a good politician and leader, having the competence to be a regional leader, having close relations with various groups of society; and eventually the majority of communities supported and belief in Jeje as a leader in Pangandaran after Pangandaran split into a new district.

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The existence of opinion research and environmental analysis carried out by independent research teams as well as by volunteer teams a few months before the selection of candidate which was carried out and supported by political parties, showed that community aspirations regarding the criteria for prospective regional leaders was more directed towards Jeje's figure. This was also supported by the results of surveys from several survey institutions that showed Jeje as a regent candidate is always having electability, popularity and capacity highest compared to other candidates.

The community's support for Jeje as the regent candidate not only affected Jeje's political capital, but also played a role in influencing the success of Jeje and his partner in winning political contestation in the regent election of Pangandaran regency in 2015.



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Woman Leader Victory as the Single Candidate in the Elections in District of Lebak Banten Indonesia in 2018

Elly Nurlia, Utang Suwaryo, R. Widya Setabudi Sumadinata, Netty Prasetiyani

One of the provinces that contributes to the emergence of women leadership in Indonesia is Banten. Until recently, there are four municipal regions which are chair-headed by female mayors out of the eight regions in Banten Province including Lebak regency. Particularly, Lebak has already conducted a direct local election in June to elect its regional head (regent). Nevertheless, it has a unique and interesting case for further study, namely the re-candidation of the incumbent head as the only 'single' contestant in the election. As a result, the past female head was successfully re-elected to lead the region for the next five years. What are of significant factors that have successfully contributed to the victory of this female candidate? Of what considerations do people finally put their decisions on this female candidate, whether they chose her because of her quality and characteristics of leadership, or any other factors take play to their decisions such as it is only 'single' candidate available? Thus, the study sets describe the factors that are contributing to the victory of her as a single candidate in the elections in Lebak district 2018. This research was conducted through field research by using interviews with related parties in the district of Lebak Banten.

Elly Nurlia, Utang Suwaryo, R. Widya Setabudi Sumadinata, Netty Prasetiyani. Woman Leader Victory as the Single Candidate in the Elections in District of Lebak Banten Indonesia in 2018. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 489–498.



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The existence of Autonomy in Indonesia gives a very wide flexibility for a district / city to be independent, after that, the re-emergence of direct local elections that provide many opportunities for the entire community is no exception for the generation of regions to take part in political contestation. One of them is the province of Banten, the province which was previously the province of West Java had become a spotlight because the former Governor of Banten. Ratu Atut Chosiah was caught in a corruption case. It was highlighted because she was a very famous female leader in Banten because he was the first female governor in Indonesia. Besides the Former Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, Banten is indeed a province that has a 50 percent female head of region from 8 regencies / cities, namely the city of South Tangerang, Serang Regency, Pandeglang Regency, and Lebak Regency. Women becoming regional heads are the political rights of all people. Political rights are related to an increase in the number of women in state institutions such as the legislature by becoming members of the legislature, including in executive institutions by becoming important officials of government bureaucracy, as well as judiciary.

Direct regional elections provide many opportunities for women to have a career in politics and government. Banten is one of the concrete proofs that women in the national political arena are very calculated, 4 female heads of regions are able to become winners in direct regional elections in each district / city.

The fight for regional head elections was again held in Lebak Regency due to the end of the regional head period, in accordance with the mandate of Law No. 10 of 2016, direct elections must be held. Candidate for the incumbent regent, namely the head of the previous region, is the nominated candidates. ²Not only Lebak Regency in the same year, based on Information from the General Election Commission (KPU), there were 13 districts that had carried out democratic parties with single candidate including Lebak Regency. Why can a single candidate exist even though with a direct election system, the community is given many opportunities to participate in becoming candidates through both parties and individual candidates, should the

I Joni Lovenduski, State Feminism and Political Representation, Cambridge University Press, London 2005, p.i.

² https://www.kpu.go.id/.

candidates for regional heads who register to fight be more men and women?

Lebak Regency has finished carrying out direct elections with the results of the re-election of female leaders, and great is a single candidate who is stretched by 10 parties, in the fight against empty box; lti Oktavia Jayabhaya with his vice, Ade Sumardi won with 453,938 votes.³ The vote is based on 28 sub-districts in Lebak Regency. Lebak Regency is an area that is still lagging, of course, a leader is needed who can advance Lebak Regency and prosper the community, and there are still many problems that must be solved including infrastructure, health, education and so on.

In the politics of Iti Oktavia Jayabhaya is not a new person, before she was a member of the DPRI-RI on commission XI and the Budget Agency, who was chosen from the Election District I of Lebak Banten. Historically the father of Mulyadi Jayabhaya was the regent in office from 2003 to 2013. So indeed the Iti Octavia Jayabaya battle in the Lebak regional election can be said that Iti Jayabhaya has the popularity and experience in politics. At the end of the leadership of Iti Oktavia Jayabhaya there was a video circulating about the assertiveness of the female regent in taking action against subordinates who were not right at work, Iti Jayabhaya came to the location and scolded her underneath who worked slowly using the original Lebak-Banten accent. The incident had become a conversation between the people of Banten and its surroundings.

What exactly was the cause in this second period, the female regent of Iti Jayabhaya was re-elected as the Regent of Lebak Regency. This paper will explain whether there is a relationship between female leaders and the election victory with a single candidate, or are there other factors that deliver Iti Oktavia Jayabaya back to being Lebak Regency Regent in the direct elections in 2018.

Research methods

The method used in this study is a qualitative method with a case study approach. This method is considered relevant to the research carrying out to gain an understanding of why was the female Regent chosen in the Lebak Regency. In addition, with qualitative methods, it is expected to be able to explore and understand the meaning of a problem to be studied. This is similar to what was expressed by Creswell (2016, p.

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³ https://kpu-lebakkab.go.id/.

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4-5) that: Qualitative research is a method for exploring and understanding the meaning of a number of individuals or groups of people who are considered to be related or come from social or humanitarian problems. The research process involves important efforts, such as asking questions and procedures, collecting data inductively starting from themes that are specific to general themes, and interpreting the meaning of data. The final report for this study has a flexible structure or framework. Anyone involved in this form of research must apply the method of view of the researcher who is inductive in style, focusing on individual meaning, and translating the complexity of the problem.

Furthermore, choosing such a qualitative method can surely help the researcher to explore and understand why the people of Lebak Regency prefer female leaders who are incumbents. Are there any things that influence whether there is a relationship with a regional head candidate women; therefore, the information and research data obtained by the author are consistent with what happens in the field and are not manipulated. This is using data collection techniques in the form of library research, fieldwork field studies consisting of interviews and observations. The interview process involved parties such as high-ranking party bearers, community leaders and the people of Lebak Regency who took part in the Lebak Regency on the regional election.

Victory of Woman Leader as Single Candidates in Banten Lebak on Regional Election

Based on the results of the research with the interview method, why in the Lebak Regency Election there was only one candidate (single candidate) who was also a woman. One of the supporters, the Hanura party explained that he still nominated Iti Octavia Jayabaya because there were no other figures. There are party figures/cadres. Because the Hanura Party chair was only one, so it did not fulfill the requirement to nominate its internal cadre. In addition, we also do not have coalition partners and all parties in the direction of their support for Iti Oktavia Jayabaya. Eventually the Hanura Party just joined the flow of support (Muntoha, 2018). ⁴ So the emergence of a single candidate in Lebak Regency is due to the severity of the conditions that political parties must meet to propose regional head candidates, Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning Pilkada which requires party parties or joint parties to submit candidate pairs if they have met the acquisition requirements

⁴ Interview with the manager of the Hanura Party in Lebak Regency.

of at least 20% the seat of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) or 25% of the accumulated legitimate votes in the election of DPRD members in the area. This is what happened in Lebak Regency.

The second party is the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or PPP, this party also does not have a role that can be nominated in Lebak Regency elections in 2018. Potential candidates are considered not to have the party bearing the Kabah symbol, and political party development or PPP parties only have 4 seats in the Lebak Regency DPRD, so this is also an obstacle in carrying out the Lebak Regency of Regent candidate. By carrying out Iti Oktavia Jayabhaya is a right and profitable choice for the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or PPP (Fatih, 2018). ⁵ Finding a figure in a political party is indeed difficult especially a figure who has a popularity in the electoral area, but not necessarily able to defeat incumbents who have very much election network.

As a Supporting Party, the Democratic Party succeeded in delivering its best cadre, Iti Oktavia Jayabaya in the 2018 regional election, who was also incumbent and was chairman of the DPC of the two-period democratic party in Lebak Regency, the Democratic Party's hard work with several coalition parties got the desired results by defeating empty boxes in Lebak regency elections 2018. (Mahuri, 2018). ⁶ This shows that the Democrat party succeeded in regenerating the party by not nominating people from outside the party or its supporting parties.

The results of the study by interviewing the bearer party and supporting parties as well as the community, the victory of Iti Oktavia Jayabaya as Lebak Regent was not because she was a woman. In other words, there was no connection, supporters and bearers of the party and the community who chose Iti Oktavia Jayabaya or chose the Empty box sex as a woman is not a special thing in the electoral landscape in Banten Regency. The track record, experience, and performance and of course the effort of the successful team that determines the victory of the Lebak Regent wins in the regional election fighters. The Lebak Regency community considers women and men to be the same as the most important thing to lead Lebak Regency well. Therefore, what became the capital of the regent in Lebak, it turned out to be a family factor or strengthening. The political network built by political dynasties based on family political closeness led to the closure of political

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⁵ Interview with the Executive Board of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan in District of Lebak Regency.

⁶ Interview with the Executive Board (BPOKK) of Partai Demokrat in District of Lebak Regency.

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recruitment for people outside the dynasty (Susanti in Bathoro 2017, p. 114) and almost all parties there was no chance to nominate a candidate for the Regent other than the absence of a figure and inadequate seats in the Lebak Regency of DPRD. It is undeniable that Iti Oktavia Surabaya is the son of the previous regent, Mulyadi Jayabaya, who was in power in Lebak Regency from 2003 to 2013. The same thing was said in Titi Anggraeni's Executive Director of Elections and Democracy or (Perludem). There were two variants of the first candidate in the first election. The single candidate is a person who was previously in power or incumbent and the second is a single candidate who is a relative or family of a person in power, in this case the regent lebak was elected including the candidate who was previously in power or incumbent with added family factors.

The popularity of the Javabava Iti is increasingly rising, in the period leading of the Lebak Regency as a regent; she won the best 10 District Innovation Awards in Indonesia on the even of the 2017 Innovative Government Award (IGA). 7Lately, there have also been many videos spread in the social media regarding their work that have garnered praise from the public, such as videos that invite people to clean up garbage that goes straight to the times and participate in cleaning up garbage with the community, video of Lebak Regent who firmly reprimands employees work not according to the rules. All of that as a form of capital and strategy in the vote of the people of Lebak Regency, Strategy in politics is very necessary in winning the elections, Peter Schröder (2009.p, 5), political strategy is the whole conditional decision about the actions that will be carried out in order to achieve political goals. In other words, political strategy is a strategy used to realise political ideals. In general, elections, political strategies are important instruments that can be used to win hearts and gain sympathy for political constituents. It is structured as the main framework in determining the pace of political action. Things that are inherent in the hearts of the people and re-elected as regents mean that the candidate for regent of Iti Oktavia Jayabaya has done a good political strategy.8

The strategy carried out by the success team is conducting a survey, and in the survey shows, the Octavia Iti Jayabaya is a popular figure and high electability. Despite her position as as single candidate, the suc-

⁷ https://setda.lebakkab.go.id/bupati-lebak-raih-penghargaan-pada-malam-anugerah-iga-.

⁸ Interview with the Executive Board (BPOKK) of Partai Demokrat in District of Lebak Regency.

cess team continued to go down to the community to forgive Iti Oktavia Jayabaya to community leaders and all groups. Because there are concerns that it is still considered the taboo of a female leader in Lebak district, so that the success team massively conducted campaigns and socialisation to Islamic boarding schools in Lebak Regency.

From the results of the interview, the campaign team worked hard to win the Iti Oktavia Javabaya in the Lebak Regency election, the choice of the community was right, not seen because charisma as a woman, instead the female regent candidate became a special concern for the success team because there are still many people who are doubtful with female leaders, because there is still an inherent culture if women only work at the domestic level. It is normal if the concern arises, the perspective of Ulama of Banten, Abuva Muhtadi, the scholars limits the activities of women in the narrowest and most domestic areas, this could affect the choice of the Lebak Regency community not to choose women as candidates for the Regent and to choose empty. From the results of research in the field and from interviews with local communities, it was found that some Lebak district communities welcomed the nomination for the second time, as expressed by Udin, Candra and Rohim (2018) and they were people who felt the progress of Lebak regent leadership in the first period and feel that the government must continue, so that in general election in 2018 it is not permissible to choose empty box.

The presumption of victory, Iti Oktavia Jayabaya, in continuing her leadership for the second period was because her leadership in the previous period had a lot of progress, especially in infrastructure development, in addition to the existence of health programs with the re-planning of family planning programs and the establishment of family planning villages in Lebak Regency, p. that made many people re-elect the regent, Iti Oktavia Jayabaya, in Lebak district. Then another thing that made the regent in Lebak regency reelected was the progress in the democratic order, where the Lebak regency community felt that there was freedom in democracy which if there was a community visit, the Regent did not forget to listen to the complaints of the community and local figure.

The research conducted by Egarly and Carli (2003) entitled the *Female Leadership Advantage of Evolution of Evidence* which sees female leaders as more democratic is not realised by the people of Lebak district, it may be true that choosing the first regional head is looking at

Elly Nurlia Utang Suwaryo R. Widya Setabudi Sumadinata Netty Prasetivani track records and performance, but other aspects like women as leaders are democratic

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Democracy is not always ideal, always demands a variety of things so that no actual regime is able to fully understand. When looking for an ideal democracy there is no democratic regime. Single candidates are actually dangerous in democracy; here there is no competition and enthusiasm from various parties. In the direct local election in Lebak Regency, the power modalities finally became the direction of victory. Even the female character is not a thick tie in the direction of victory. Political dynasty in the vission competition of leaders in this study as confirmed by (Dewi: 2016) stated that women who become regional heads are usually family relationships such as father or husband who previously became the head of the regional area.

Conclusion

Lebak Regency Election which was only followed by a single candidate namely Iti Oktavia Jayabaya was the incumbent who had won the 2018 regional election in Lebak Regency who fought an empty box. There is no supporting party that can propose other candidates because there is no figure considered appropriate in the Lebak 2018 regional election. Besides, it also collides with the rules of Law NO.10 of 2018 parties that nominate candidates must have 20% of seats in the DPRD or 25% of the accumulated legitimate votes in the election of DPRD members in the areaThe victory of Lebak Regency Regent was not based on her who was a woman who might have certain charisma in leading, the female figure did not become the allure of the victory of Iti Oktavia Jayabaya in the Lebak Regency Election. The community considers that choosing a Regent is based on the absence of other choices and the performance of the previous period has been seen. The victory factor of the Lebak Regency Regent in the 2018 regional election was a family factor because she was the child of the former Lebak Regency Regent Previously, a factor of popularity and because of competition with empty boxes.



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https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=BUPAT1+LEBAK

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGmHxwBxGlE

Regulations

Indonesian Law, No 8 / 2015 about Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 Year 2014 Regarding the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors Into Law.

Interview

Interview with the manager of the Hanura Party in Lebak Regency, Hadi

Interview with the Executive Board of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan in District of Lebak Regency, Deden Fatih

Interview with the Executive Board of Partai Demokrat in District of Lebak Regency (BPOKK), Ucuy Mashuri Interview with Lebak district community , Ombi Romli Interview with Lebak district community, Hudri Interview with Lebak district community, Chandra Wiguna Interview with Lebak district community, TB Munawar Azis **CEJISS**

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The Role of Bawaslu Supervision in Handling Disputes Election Results in Indonesia

Yusa Djuyandi, Arief Hidayat, Hendra

Elections are an implementation of orderly structured and organized democratic practices. Supervision of elections is needed to ensure that elections run democratically, therefore there is a need for well-organized and competent election oversight bodies. The emergence of violations in the administration of elections has injured the democratic process, and hence the existence of the election supervisory body (Bawaslu) is to conduct surveillance and enforcement of election violation reports. Based on this research it can emphasis thats the presence of Bawaslu is not only to ensure that the election runs well according to the rules of law, but also as the parties involved in the event of an election dispute. In the future, the role of Bawaslu needs to be maintained and even improved so that the quality of elections is well maintained.

Keyword: elections, democratic, Bawaslu, violation.

Introduction

Election controller in their journey are inseparable from many critical questions, especially from communities who wants an increase in the quality of elections in Indonesia. The questions that are asked about the presence of the election supervisors, how the performance and how

Yusa Djuyandi, Arief Hidayat, Hendra. The Role of Bawaslu Supervision in Handling Disputes Election Results in Indonesia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 499–517.

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the election guarantee can be based on the Bawaslu institution. This is very proper, considering that the community still feels that there are many election problems have not been over and often tarnished by deception, even it ended in criminal. Related to the public's attention to the election controllers becomes the starting point to be able to provide evidence to the public, that election controllers especially in Indonesia are still an inseparable important part in every election which happen every 5 (five) years, whether the presidential election, members DPR RI, RI DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD.

Generally, there are various studies in electoral discussion, starting from political parties, elite power, organizer studies, and ideal processes in democracy which ultimately base themselves on ideal values that are considered of capable reflecting that an election can be judge to be quality and success, both procedurally or substantially. In Indonesia, especially the character of controller in elections is one characteristic that cannot be eliminated according to the history of its formation. Even though there are no controller institutions in stable countries with experience in democracy. The international standard of election does not require the formal establishment of a controller institution to guarantee the compliances all election regulations². Therefore, in the implementation there are always two values that must be achieved both in the practice of election management or the results.

The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) sets several parameters in determining the level of democracy in an election so that it is more qualified, i.e.: First, Universality; Democratic elections has universally equal measures because democratic values are universal. This context includes several things that are concepts, systems, procedures, instruments and election implementers. Second, Equality; Democratic elections must be able to realize the presence of equality, both among candidates competing and the voters. In this way the election runs openly, freely and avoids political inequality. Third, freedom; elections in this context provide free competition in accordance with the principles of elections to avoid intimidation, pressure and promises will influence

¹ Penguatan Bawaslu: Optimasliasi Posisi, Organisasi dan Fungsi dalam Pemilu 2014. Jakarta, Perludem.2012.

² International IDEA, Electoral Intrenational Standard: Guidelines for Revwiewing the Legal Framework of Election, Stockholm: International IDEA, 2001. Others, Guy S. Goddwin-Will, Pemilu Jurdil dan Standar International (trj.), Jakarta: Pirac dan The Asia Foundation, 1999.

the choice of voters. democratic elections must be able to guarantee the confidentiality of voters' political choices, even though the election committee. Secrecy as a principle is closely related to the freedom of a person in choosing. Fifth, Transparency; Democratic elections are able to guarantee the presence of transparency related to all electoral activities and also the parties involved in it, including election organizers, election participants and also election monitors (Romli & Tryatmoko, 2004).

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From these emerging criteria, even though it is not explicitly stated, a guarantee is needed which specifically comes from the organizers in realizing elections that are based on universality, equality, freedom, confidentiality and transparency. The five indicators can be fulfilled if the organizing institution has a high value of trust in the view of the community. However, that is not enough, a well-organized supervision mechanism is needed. Because it can't be denied that elections are an implementation of orderly structured and organized democratic practices. So, that it is impossible to carry out a supervision to guarantee the election in accordance with these points without the existence of a neatly organized and competent election supervisory institution. Besides the quality assessment of democracy, it is better if there is anticipation related to electoral disputes that often occur in each election. In this context, the role of the election supervisor is no longer just a process supervisor, but also the parties involved in resolving disputes over election results in the judiciary. In this point, Bawaslu becomes stronger in having a position in maintaining elections starting from the beginning to the end (the result of a dispute decision).

Theoretical Review

Supervision

According to Menurut Hendry Fanyol about supervision: "Control consist in veryfiying wether everything accur in comformity with the plan asopted, the instruction issued and principles established. It has for object to point out weaknesses and errors in to recttivy then and prevent recurrance" (Muchsan, 1992). The purpose of the definition above refers to activities or actions to test whether a reality that is running has been in accordance or not with a predetermined plan. The monitoring process will be able to find errors that can eventually become material improvements, so that similar errors do not recur.

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Siagian (1989) stated supervision is: "The process of observation rather than the implementation of all organizational activities to ensure that the work being carried out goes according to the predetermined plan". Henry Favol's as cited by Siagian (1989) told that supervision are more about governmental practices in evaluating programs (not the elections context), in its implementation there are values contained of supervision meaning, so it is very relevant as a base for monitoring in the context of elections. If we examined more closely, the opinions expressed by these experts lead to one thing, that is supervision focuses on an activity that is running, and not carried out in the final phase. In this condition, controller is present as a process that influences the success achieved through the activities carried out. From the information above, it can be concluded that the supervision carried out does not focus on the final results, but the unity of action goes together with the process of activities to ensure that the activities carried out are in accordance with the procedures, so they can achieve the desired goals properly.

Theoretically this supervision has a function as: **First** is explanation, the ability to answer questions that can explain the results of policies and programs that have different results from the planning that has been done. Information access is central to the monitoring process carried out. **Second** is accounting, supervision while accessing information also produces information specifically relating to accounting and social change and economics which may occur as a result of the implementation of public policies that can take place time to time. **Third** is inspection, in this context supervision ensures that the resources that have been prepared are indeed distributed to the target group and also ascertain whether that things have arrived at them. **Fourth**, supervision is able to provide direction to the parties (administrators), staff and the others who are interested in accordance with the procedures and standards that have been made by policy makers, whether legislators, government institutions or professional institutions.

In an attempt to understand the pattern of supervision in an organization, at least there are five questions that are considered important to be studied, i.e.:

- I. Who did it? What kind of tasks they do? In organizations there must be a specific division of tasks.
- 2. Who is responsible? To whom? These things notice the presence of a hierarchy of authority and responsibilities from every level in the organization.

- 3. Who interacts? With whom? The characteristic of a modern organization is to bring the collaboration and synergy between the parts inside.
- 4. What communication patterns apply in the organization? This pattern will show how culture in an organization.
- 5. What kind of network information is available? Can this information be used by members of the organization?

The Role of Bawaslu Supervision

(S. P. Siagian, 2012)

In the organization at least divided into two parts, first an organization that is public or in other words government organizations, besides that there are organizations that are private or corporate. Each of them has differences, for example in private organizations have weaknesses that fluctuate in their life cycle and may also retreat even they can disband, but sometimes also progress. While the public or government organizations tend to have long durability. This is because public organizations are supported by state power while private organizations tend to be influenced by their power and ability to respond the changes that occur and also their environment.

Election Supervision model in Indonesia

The history of electoral supervision began in the 1980s elections, at the time the government formed a supervisory institution whose task was to oversee the election. The supervisory institution formed was named Panwaslak or the Implementing Supervision Committee. The Panwaslak leadership was directly headed by the Attorney General, who was supported by the civilian bureaucracy and also the military as the executive committee in the domain. On the decision to create the National Anti-Corruption Commission, the government issued a regulation, that is the Law Number 2 of 1980 concerning the second improvement on Law Number 15 of 1969 about the Election of Members of the DPR / MPR. Shortly, it can be said that the awareness in establishing election supervisors did not exist in the elections of the early independence era, which happened in 1955, 1971 and 1977. Sanit (1997) stated that elections when the Old Order regime and the early New Order adopted traditional power principles based on the principle of internal government supervision on the one hand and the government as the executor on the other side (the principle of internal supervision).

At least there are several supervision models that exist in Indonesia throughout the elections that have been carried out, that are:

a. Attorney General Election Supervision Model

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The Panwaslak headed by the Attorney General was an implementation of an internal supervision pattern which was only realized during the 1982 election. In the previous elections in 1955, 1972, 1977 there was no awareness of the presence of controller in the election process. The Government supported it with the issuance of Law Number 2 of 1980 concerning Repairs to the provision of Law Number 15 of 1969 concerning General Elections of Members of the DPR / MPR.

Panwaslak was a supervision section formed by the Election Committee in Indonesia (PPI). The structure of this institution was directly under the control of the Attorney General while the implementing element consists of civil and military bureaucracies. The composition was divided into regions to the sub-district level. Whereas to attract the parties in assessing the openness of the election the government took the composition of membership also from the members of Golkar, PPP and PDI.

b. Community Section Supervision Model

In the election event towards the end of the New Order's power in 1997, there began to appear dissatisfaction with the pattern of elections which Golkar always won as a workforce entity that supported the New Order government. Therefore, several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) established an Independent Election Monitoring Institution, as we called it LIPP in Bandung. The status of this controller was participating in the election process from the beginning (the registration process) to the end (announcement of vote acquisition). The pioneering civil society institutions that intend to guard this election got positive response in other regions. NGO activists, students and Legal Institutions (LBH) in ten other provinces also set up similar institutions which were named the Independent Election Supervisory Committee (KIPP) which was motivated by Goenawan Muhammad and friends. KIPP thought that the elections conducted by the New Order were not transparent and even tend to be fraudulent and full of manipulation. KIPP aims to form elections better and democratically, while also control the electoral process to bring people's trust.

Besides the presence of LIPP and KIPP, some of figures pioneered by Luhut Sitompul and friends, formed the Election Monitoring Objective Team (TOPP). This institution is independent in support the role position and function of Panwaslak as an official institution authorized to supervise.

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c. Supreme Court Election Supervision Model

After the reformation in 1998, then in 1999 the election was held as one of its mandates. This election was considered the most democratic after the New Order regime collapse. In this election the supervisory duties were carried out by the Supreme Court and also the judiciary under it. The 1999 election gave formal authority to the Supreme Court to establish a supervisory institution as mandated by Article 24 of Law Number 3 Year 1999. The Supreme Court with this mandate formed the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwas) which was a formal institution in the election supervision process from the beginning to the end guarantee the presence of elections that were direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair. The level of the Supreme Court (MA), both the High Court and the District Court placed their staff in the Panwas management.

d. Election Supervision Model Formed by KPU

In the next election phase, before election in 2004, the General Election Law No. 12 of 2003 was formed concerning the Election of General Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD. Article 120 states that in order to carry out supervision of elections an Election Supervision Committee is formed. This Supervisory Committee was formed by the General Election Commission (KPU), while the composition of the supervisors began at the provincial level and was subsequently formed by the Election Supervisory Committee at the top level. In addition, in Law Number 23 of 2003 concerning the Election of the President and Vice President, the duties and authorities in the supervision of the president and vice president election are carried out by the Election Supervisory Committee which also oversees the elections of DPR, DPD and DPRD. The mechanism of action of the Election Supervisory Committee is more coordinated with the KPU / KPUD.

e. The Election Supervision Model Is Permanent Before the 2009 elections, the government issued Law No. 22 of 2007. In this law it was stated that in the process of organizing

election supervision would be carried out by the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). Bawaslu has several levels, i.e. the Provincial Election Supervisory Committee, Regency / City Election Supervisory Committee, District Election Supervisory Committee, Domain Election Supervisory Committee and Overseas Election Supervisory.

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(Musfialdy, 2012)

According to Law Number 22 of 2007, Bawaslu is a permanent and independent supervisory institution. The membership is promoted every 5 (five) years, while the levels below are at the provincial regency / city, sub-district, village and overseas levels are *ad hoc*. The level of the Provincial Election Supervisory Committee up to the Domain Election Supervisor and Overseas is formed no later than 1 (one) month before the first stage of the election begins and ends up no later than 2 (two) months after all stages of the election are completed. In its position, Bawaslu is in the national capital, while the Provincial Panwaslu is in the provincial capital, Regency / City Panwaslu is in the Regency / City Capital, while the District Panwaslu is in the subdistrict capital.

Furthermore, based on Law Number 15 of 2011 concerning Election Organizers, a Domain Election Supervisor who is domiciled in the village is formed and the Overseas Supervisory Committee is located in the representative office of the Republic of Indonesia. Membership of the election supervisor is open from all elements that fulfill the criteria as supervisors and not from members of political parties. Quantitatively the number of members of the election supervisors since 2007 until the Law Number 15 of 2011 launched, are as stated in Table 1.

Based on Article 73 of Law Number 15 Year 201, in carrying out its supervision Bawaslu and its subordinates have duties:

- (i) Supervise the stages of organizing elections starting from the stage of updating the voter list to the recapitulation stage. They also control the follow-up elections and subsequent elections and the process of determining election results.
- (ii) Manage, maintain the archives / documents and carry out the compilation based on archival retention schedules compiled by Bawaslu and archival institutions established by Bawaslu and ANRI.

Table 1. The number of Election Supervisory Members based on Law No. 15 of 2011

No	Election Supervisor	Level	Number of
			Members
I	Election Supervisory Agency Central	Central / Republic of Indonesia	5 (five)
2	Provincial Election Supervisory Agency	Province	3 (three)
3	Panwaslu Regency / City	Regency / City	3 (three)
4	Panwaslu sub-dis- trict	Regency	3 (three)
5	Election Supervisor Domain	Village	I (one)

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Source: Article 72 of Law Number 15 of 2011

- (iii) Receive the reports of alleged violations of the implementation of legislation concerning Elections.
- (iv) Convey the findings and reports it to the KPU for follow up.
- (v) Forward the findings and reports that are not the authority of the authorized agency.
- (vi) Monitor the implementation of follow-up handling of Election criminal violations by the authorized agency.
- (vii) Supervise the implementation of election violation decisions.
- (viii) Evaluation of election supervision.
- (ix) Compile reports on the results of supervision of election administration.
- (x) Carry out other duties as stipulated in the laws and regulations.
- f. Permanent Supervision Model based on the Election Law Number 7 of 2017

According to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, the implementation of election supervision is carried out by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). In this case Bawaslu is assisted by the Provincial Bawaslu, Regency / City Bawaslu, District Panwaslu, Village Panwaslu (PKD), Voting Station (PTPS) and Overseas Election Supervisor (PPLN).

The composition of the number of election controllers is almost the same as stipulated in Law Number 15 of 2011, except

that there are differences in the number at the provincial level and additions at the polling station level. The details are as follows:

Table 2. Number of Election Supervisory Members based on Law No. 7 of 2017

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No	Election Controller	Level	Total of Members
I	Election Supervisory	Central / RI	5
	Agency Central		
2	Provincial Election Su-	Province	5 or 7
	pervisory Agency		
3	Panwaslu Regency /	Regency / City	3 or 5
	City		
4	Panwaslu sub-district	Sub-district	3
5	Village Election	Village	I
	Supervisor		
6	Voting place Supervisor	Voting Place	I

Source: Article 92 Law Number 7, 2017

The election supervision process is based on the stages, among others; First, the process of registering political parties and the verification process of political parties (factual). Second, the preparation of the Election List and Determination of the Final Voters List (DPT). Third, registration of Candidates for Members of the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and City / Regency DPRD. Fourth, the preparation and Verification of Provisional Candidates List of Members of DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPR. Fifth, stipulation and Announcement of the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) of Members of the DPR and Provincial DPRD and City Regency DPRD. Sixth, the determination and Announcement of the Permanent Candidate List (DCT) of DPD Members. The activities carried out in the electoral process are: Campaigns, Voting, Vote Calculation, Recapitulation of Voting Calculations, Determination of Election Results, Determination of the acquisition of seats and elected candidates, and Settlement of Election Violations including the lawsuit of Election Result Disputes (PHPU).

Strengthening of Bawaslu Based on Election Disputes

In find out the background of strengthening the position of the Bawaslu in supervising each stage of the election, a main argument is needed which states that supervisors still have a position that is worth maintaining.

Throughout the observation and monitoring of the electoral process carried out by the nonprofit organization Junaidi and Ramadhanil (2014) and a combination based on other sources of data, there are findings related to this dispute including the following:

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Number of 2014 PHPU Cases and Decreasing Cases of PHPU 2019 In the 2009 legislative elections there were 655 cases of PHPU. Whereas in the 2014 legislative election there were 902 cases of PHPU approval. Whereas seen from the number of election participants, the 2009 legislative election was far more than in 2014. The 2009 legislative election was participated by 34 political parties and 6 Acehnese local parties, 11,219 legislative candidates and 1,116 DPD candidates. While 2014 legislative elections were attended by 12 political parties, 6,607 legislative candidates and 945 DPD candidates. Whereas in the 2019 Election, the number of PHPU practically decreased significantly from 2014, from 902 cases to 339 cases handled by the Constitutional Court (see table 3).

Table. 3 Number of Cases of 2009, 2014 Election Results Disputes, 2019

Legislative	Total of	Legislative	Legislative	Total of
Elections	Parties	Elections	Election	Cases
		DPR RI	DPD RI	
2009	38	11.219	1.116	655
2014	12	6.607	945	902
2019	18	7.968	807	334

Source: Processed from various sources

Looking at the increasing from the trend of PHPU disputes 2014 legislative elections compared to 2009 at least involved several factors:

First, the procedural law of the Constitutional Court had extended the legal standing of applicants who submitted disputes, that is not only political parties and candidates for DPD, but also provincial and DPRD candidates and district / city. This individual position opens up more opportunities for individual object claims that can increase the number of PHPU requests. Evidenced in the 2014 legislative elections individual requests reached 118 cases. **Second**, dissatisfaction with the process, the emergence of many alleged violations, fraud and other allegations that led to dissatisfaction with the determination of the elec-

tion results. Although, fairly dissatisfaction with this process did not necessarily indicate the poor quality of the implementation considering that of the 902 cases submitted, only 22 cases were granted, 2.4 percent. In this context the parties who submitted the PHPU only used the final struggle to gain legitimacy from the Constitutional Court.

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According to Commissioner KPU RI Pramono Ubaid Tantowi, the decline in PHPU cases in the 2019 election was due to the better quality of the 2019 Election (Andayani, 2019). The lawsuit to the Constitutional Court was the last legal action that can be taken by the election participants. This also was a struggle, because the Constitutional Court's decision is final and binding. The lawsuit to the Constitutional Court basically had a sense of injustice or fraud or a feeling of being disadvantaged over the election process which led to the election results. The decline in lawsuits is considered a success and the quality of elections is increasing.

Portrait of Internal Party Disputes

The process of the Constitutional Court, especially in the 2009 General Election and 2014 General Elections, at least showed that there were patterns of competition within political parties that occurred between legislative candidates in one party. The accusations that emerged also varied, starting from the existence of money politics (vote buying), the absence of neutrality of the election organizers, inflating the results of the vote, eliminating votes and other types of cheating

The Object of PHPU Dispute

The petitioners in the PHPU at the Constitutional Court in 2014 proposed several forms of fraud such as changes in vote results (59%), Errors in vote counting (29%), management of election management (7%), neutrality of EMB personnel (3%), etc. Whereas in the 2019 election, the analysis of the object of the dispute was not yet apparent, due to the opening of the trial specifically in discussing the dispute over the 2019 election. Despite many forms of fraud, the Court only considered several forms of violations, that is the administration of recapitulation and recapitulation of election results. In the matter of the administration of vote recapitulation problems that often arise were violations of administrative mechanisms that were violated, for example: inaccurate vote counting, vote inflating, recording errors on forms C1, D, D1 until the synchronous calculation at the polling station level, PPK and other modes.

Figure 1. Infographics of the PHPU Lawsuit for the 2019 Election in the Constitutional Court



Total of Cases Requested

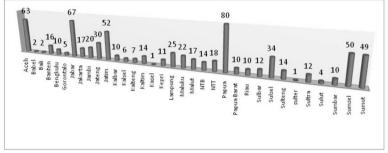
In addition, Perludem (2014) also noted the number of cases petitioned based on all of the requests, especially at the 2014 PHPU. The third most cases were as follows: Golkar Party had 91 cases, Demokrat Party had 73 cases, PKPI had 71 cases and other parties. The cases were spread in several regions of Indonesia.

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The province that most filed PHPU in the Constitutional Court in the 2014 elections was Papua, which was 80 cases, followed by West Java with 67 cases, Aceh 63 cases, East Java 52 cases, North Sulawesi 50 cases, South Sumatra 49 cases and several other areas. This map, besides showing the number of cases submitted to the Court, can certainly be a material for mapping areas with a high level of fraud. Although the Court will not be fully granted, this map shows a number of potential areas or electoral violations have occurred (see table 4).

Table 4. Total Distribution of 2014 PHPU MK Cases



Source: Processed from PHPU MK and Perludem 2014

2014 PHPU Dispute Level

Junaidi and Ramadhanil (2014) also mapped the level of dispute over PHPU cases submitted by candidates in all levels, both DPR, DPD, Provincial and Regency / City DPRDs, the Aceh House of Representatives (DPRK). The highest case of PHPU was filed for district / city level disputes totaling 321 cases. It means, of all the candidates for the legislative elections of political parties were participating in the election who submitted the PHPU to the Court, almost half of them were related to the DPRD election results at the district / city level. This level is the most disputed because the largest number of electoral districts (Dapil) so, the potential for submitting disputes is very large. The second position was actually occupied by a dispute put forward by the legislative candidate of the Republic of Indonesia which was 186 cases followed by the provincial DPRD level 117 cases, DPRK 42 cases and DPRA 15 cases and DPD of 34 cases, (see table 5).

Seen from political parties and the level of submission of applications, there are several parties that have a high level of dispute. For an example PKPI, the tendency to submit disputes at the DPR level was 56 cases, while for the District / City DPRD there were 12 cases and Provincial DPRD in 3 cases. Whereas the Golkar Party submitted more results disputes for the Regency / City DPRD level which amounted to 45 cases, for the DPR level cases there were 29 cases, DPRD Province were 13 cases, DPRK were 3 cases and 1 case for DPRA.

Table 5. Levels of the 2014 PHPU Dispute

Election Level	Number of Cases	Rating Based on Most Cases
DPR	186	2
DPD	34	5
DPRD Province	117	3
DPRD Districts / City	321	I
DPRK Aceh	42	4

Source: Junaidi and Ramadhanil, 2014

In the 2019 election, the Demokrat Party submitted a lawsuit of 24 applications, while the second and third most claims were Gerindra Party and Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) with 22 and 20 requests respectively. Then the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the National Awakening Party, each of them submitted 18 lawsuits (see table 6).

Table 6. Political Parties that submit the most PHPU 2019 Elections

Political Parties	Total of Cases submitted
Demokrat	24
Gerindra	22
PDI P	20
PAN	18
PKB	18

Source: (Rahadian, 2019)

Party Internal Conflict

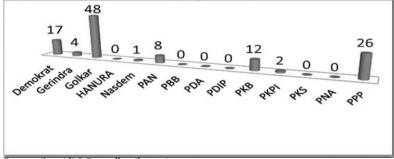
April 9, 2014 in the Legislative Election showed a number of conflicts that occurred within the political parties. A few of predictions mention, the rose of disputes between candidates in one political party. This was evidenced by the rampant cases of voting which generally not occur between political parties but between candidates in one political party. Internal disputes of political parties were also evident from an analysis of the petition submitted by 14 political parties, both nationally and locally (see Table 7).

Specifically, for the anatomy of 2019 cases related to internal party conflict, it has not been detected due to the absence of a trial process

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Table 7. Cases of Internal Political Party Disputes in 2014

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Source: (Junaidi & Ramadhanil, 2014)

Object of Submission of Application for Disputes

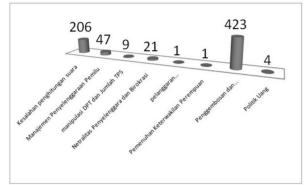
Election disputes both between parties and internal parties, due to several frauds that occur in various levels. The highest form of burglary cheating voters, meaning that there was a political transaction in the form of vote-buying which resulted in increased noise reduction or even both parties and candidates. The second problem that becomes a dispute argument in the Court was the existence of a vote counting error committed by the officers. There were 47 consecutive cases of election management, 21 neutrality of organizers and bureaucratic apparatus, DPT manipulation and 9 cases of polling stations, 4 cases of money politics, systematic, structured, massive violations and fulfillment of women's representation in each case.

The issue that dominates the dispute at the Court is the case of a vote break and a vote counting error. Furthermore the reasons behind it are described in the following discussion.

Actors of Offenders

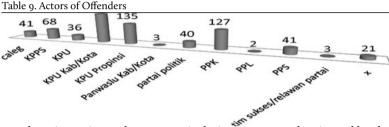
These cases arose involving several actors. Actors who most played the role of electoral disputes according to the PHPU's request were Regency / City KPU with 193 cases, followed by Provincial KPU 135 cases, 127 KDP cases, 68 KPPS cases, 41 PPS and Candidates, 40 cases, KPU 36 cases and several other actors. If it is juxtaposed with several previous modes of fraud, it can be seen that the cases of vandalism and errors in vote recapitulation were dominated by election organizers. If we compair with multiple previous cheating mode, it appears that the

Table 8. Object of Submission of Application for Disputes



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Source: (Junaidi & Ramadhanil, 2014)



case heaping voice and vote recapitulation error was dominated by the election organizers.

Based on the anatomy of the application submitted by both political parties, legislative candidates and candidates for DPD members above, it shows a several problems in the process of holding elections. Therefore, the question is "What is the background of the emergence of problems in the election stage so that all dissatisfaction by the election organizers must be submitted to the Constitutional Court?". What are the recommendations for the future in order to dissatisfaction with the results of the election is not always carried out by PHPU in the Court.

Regardless of the question above, it should also be noted that the current elections have shifted the terrain, from supervision to dispute resolution. So it is very appropriate, if Bawaslu as an organizer continues to carry out its role properly in accordance with the legislation. This certainly can not be separated from the description above of the dispute that occurred after the election with the data and analysis presented by the non-profit institution Perludem.

Conclussion

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Based on what the researchers have explained above, it can provide important emphasis points on the presence of Bawaslu, Bawaslu not only has an obligation to ensure that the election runs well according to the rules of law, but also as the parties involved in the event of an election dispute. For this reason, institutionalizing supervisors in electoral systems in Indonesia is not only a "distinctive Indonesian characteristic", but it has become a logical consequence of the presence of election disputes in the future, which are increasing in quantity and quality. Against the background of this dispute, Bawaslu also realizes that the strategy in conducting supervision is not only focused on the existence of supervision efforts on the process, but also divides the concentration on the claims that lead to electoral disputes. With this argument, the debate about the existence of institutionalization of electoral supervisors is no longer necessary, given the increasing importance of the role of the Supervisory Agency in bringing the quality of an increasingly healthy democracy.

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Yusa Djuyandi Arief Hidayat Hendra

Law

Law 2011 Number 15 *about General Election Organizers* Law 2017 Number 7 General Election

Extending *Aliran* Politics in Electoral Contest

An Insight of Indonesia's Democracy in the Post-2014

Ari Ganjar Herdiansah, Yusa Djuyandi, Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata

Aliran politics is an analytical framework that considered too simplistic and less accurately classifying the political axes of Indonesian socio-political structure. This article, however, shows that aliran still prevails in the form of politicization of identity that reflected in the post 2014. The analysis was constructed through scrutinizing Indonesia election dynamics with put an insight to the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial contest. Some interviews with several political party officials as well as civil society organizations activists and document study were conducted as the data collection method. The study reveals that the more integration of electoral contestation between local and national level had driven the polarization of political elites that in line with the ideology-based masses grouping. Despite the interest dimension was still prominent in which some Islamic parties and groups choose to opposed to their counterparts, the friction between Islamic groups and nationalists-secular was unavoidable. Considering the advantageous of the commodification of religious, ethnic, and ideological identities, the re-emerging of *aliran* could potentially be eminent in subsequent political contest.

Keywords: aliran politics, Islamic party, election, identity politics.



Ari Ganjar Herdiansah, Yusa Djuyandi, Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata. Extending Aliran Politics in Electoral Contest: An Insight of Indonesia's Democracy in the Post-2014. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 518–545.

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Introduction

The political dynamics of post-authoritarian Indonesia show the paradoxical symptoms of democracy. On the one hand, the democracy has been running institutionally well as represented by a fair election, the freedom of the press, and the free of political participation. It also documented by some international institutions that listed the country as the third biggest democratic state. But on the other hand, the substantive value of democracy such as integrity, competence, and accountability are frail and leave the political process tend to be controlled by elites' interests. Most of the political parties are still possessed by distinct figures who depend on their charisma and cultural roots. To some extent the parties also linked to the oligarcs power (Winters 2013). Many officials are elected with the mixture of popularity among their roots and material source rather than displaying proper competence. As a consequence, the government remains weak and corruption is increasingly rampant. On the electoral competition, political elites the apparent mobilization of identity from the use of religious and ethnic symbols is still a way widely used by political elites to grasp votes. The development of post-2014 further strengthens the use of identity in various political contests. It drew the attention to explain why politicization and mobilization based on identity or aliran still prevail after the country undergoes two decades of democratization.

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The conception of *aliran* refers to psycho cultural cleavage of Javanese people that often attached to socio-political categorization, which has long received criticism because it is considered as less accurate to portray the real political situation. Watson (2004) suggests that such conception is even totally irrelevant when using to analyze the 1955 election. In the post-authoritarian era, Azra (2004) sees there is no indication of political aliran in the 2004 elections. He concludes that the political dynamics driven by electoral competition in Indonesia is increasingly determined by interest factors, so the use of aliran is frequently not working anymore. The scheme of aliran is considered to be too simplistic to comprehend the complexity of the sociopolitical structure of Indonesia.

Nevertheless, this article holds that to some extent, the political conception of aliran is still relevant in explaining the political turmoil that intersects with the ideological base. The case that shows this symptom is taken from the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial event which involves demonstrations by various Islamic groups against one of the candi-

dates, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), who regarded defiled Islam in their formal speech in September 2017. Based on that event, this article tries to clarify the question of whether the involvement of the actions of Islamic groups signifies the strengthening of the identity politics of puritanical Islam in practical politics? Then how can religious mass actions affect democratization in Indonesia? While these questions can open a critical view of the understanding of the relationship between religion and politics, the conception of aliran is used as a foothold to explain how the phenomenon of the emergence of Islamic groups that intersect with the political contest can have an impact on Indonesia's democratic transition. Discussion on the social bases cleavage based on aliran politics is used to criticism or adaptation to the situation (Geertz 1976: Ufen 2006). Furthermore, it will be explained about post-authoritarian Indonesian political competition which is characterized by party management that pivots the political elites and clientelism patterns that determine the pattern of cooperation and competition between parties before and after the election (Mietzner 2015). This article argues that the model of the competition of the political elite characterized by patronage relationships with ideological mass bases has reproduced the identity politics of Islamic groups, which in the study are referred to as the depoliticisation of Islamic aliran. In turn, the depoliticization of the Islamic aliran provides a political advantage for elites so they can access such means so that pattern can continue in any future political contestation.

This article begins with a discussion of how the pattern of the aliran influences on the political dynamics, especially in the post-authoritarian era. The study scheme does not apply the concept of aliran to political events without any criticism or modification. However, the discussion intended to show that the principle of aliran is not completely irrelevant. It is also important to note of how the form of political competition between parties is strongly shaped by the kind of cooperation and competition of the main elites. After the fall of Suharto, elites appeared to try to infuse their influence widely in economic and political life. Along with the electoral competition, where most large parties are dominated by political elites who are also concerned about control of resources, the axes of the elites are increasingly conical and result in sharper political contestation. The pattern of competition that correlates significantly between national-regional election governors Jakarta also contributes to such situation. Both discussions at-

tempt to show that the preservation of the aliran in Indonesia political contestation does not work naturally and reflecting the rise of Islamic politics, but is more determined by the elite competition to dominate the democracy cake.

The analysis of this article was constructed through interviews with several prominent Islamic organizations, Islamic parties, and review of political news related to the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial event. The search on the dynamics of aliran politics throughout Indonesian political history was made to show how the dimensions' political upheaval tend to involve the religious factors that are distinctive in this country. The opposition of political ideology which is carried by the friction of some elite also color the cooperation and political competition that happened. The analytical framework is performed descriptively-chronologically starting from the pattern of ideological cleavage since the New Order until post-2014. But the emphasis of the event is focused on the 2017 Jakarta governor election case, where the perception of religious defamation issues raises awareness of the political identity of the Islamic group.

Extending
Aliran Politics
in Electoral
Contest

This study assumes that the current Islam aliran on current political events that reflected in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial case are influenced by the form or characteristics of electoral contestation at both local and national levels. While some observers regard aliran politics as irrelevant due to the strengthening of the interest orientation of open electoral mechanisms, this study looks at electoral competition reflecting the struggle between political parties and not preserving aliran politics with a varied form. The various races taking place in such high frequencies have led to the polarization of elites who have certain practical ideological tendencies. The power-elite axes have connections with the ideological group at the root level. Post-New Order started the era of democratization in not only the sense of political freedom and fair elections but also the emergence of mass elites who try to control political resources. From elections, the elites begin to fall and pivot on some of the strongest elites. They were able to sustain their great influence through the number of votes that placed their cadres in political power. The decline in the number of large elites as a result of being thrown from election competition further heats up the competition and the increasingly intensive use of the roots of the masses.

The case of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial shows a situation that prompted the dynamics of the aliran was eminent in the form that can

be observed. The protest movement by various Islamic groups in Jakarta during September 2016 to December 2017 was accompanied by political debates with strong religious nuances. An imaginary line can be drawn between the conservatives who want to apply Islamic values including in choosing leaders in the context of elections and liberals or progressive groups who regard it no longer important to question issues that intersect with religion in the realm of practical politics. The problem becomes complicated when Ahok performs a perceived blasphemy which was the result of his feud against political opponents. The context of the problem escalated until it threatened the stability of the government regime. Various Islamic groups have accused the government had stubbornly defending Ahok, while supporters of Ahok accused the protest movement activists as radicals.

This article intends to examine the issue of political dynamics in the post-2014 Indonesia, especially on the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial as an indication of elite factions to gain power in the institutional politics that directly or indirectly has preserved identity politics. The strengthening of terms such as radical Islam, intolerant group, NKRI, Pancasila describes that the feud is not only happening in the elite or institutional level, but also the cultural contest between different groups of orientation. Each of them tries to dominate the discourses so that the terms fit their meaning and identity. Interestingly, aliran friction does not take place between santri vs. abangan Islam as the definition of Geertz, but has taken a dynamic form. Thus, in the dispute, the Muslim santri were divided again based on the conservative degree, ranging from the most conservative to the liberal or progressive tendency. Islamic groups on the elite level there are many progressive figures tend to be on the side of Ahok-Djarot, while conservative groups tend to oppose it. These symptoms can not be separated from the electoral competition process that encourages the orientation of interests. That is, the political openness and the dynamics of elections have influenced the variation of political flow especially on the Islamic community.

Aliran in Indonesian Political Contest

Aliran politics was introduced as the theoretical framework of Clifford Geertz to explain the categorization of the Javanese people associated with the tendency of political behavior. Geertz sorts the Javanese into three categorical groups: santri, abangan, and priyayi. The santri is the people that study the teachings of Islam intensively and practicing Is-

lamic values and traditions in everyday life. The santri usually develop in Islamic educational institutions called pesantren. The abangan group represents people who, although originated mostly as Muslims, but chooses not to highlight the religious (Islamic) aspects of its social and political life. Abangans are more interested in adopting universal political ideas unrelated to religious thought, while the priyayi group represents the values of the Javanese aristocracy whose religious views still adhere to Hindu norms.

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To understand how the conception of aliran can spread in the dynamics of Indonesian politics, it is necessary to review the historical aspect of aliran reproduction that until now still affect the division of the axis of political power. Based on the party classification using the aliran political scheme, the santri group is represented by the Islamic party. While abangan groups are often identified with the left secular party represented by the PKI. In the Old Order era, there were several prominent Islamic parties such as the Masyumi Party, the NU Party, the Islamic Shari'a Party and the Indonesian Tarbiyah Party. Since this period there has been tension between the Islamic group and the leftist (Sulastomo 2008).

The clash between the left-communist and the Islamists implies ideological division based on aliran finding its relevance. It should be noted, however, that the political struggle at that time occurred among the central figures representing ideological orientation tendencies, such as the communist of DN Aidit, Muhammad Natsir from the Islamists, Sjahrir from the socialist group, and Sukarno trying to combine them in the Nasakom. The deadlock of the ideological struggle and the worsening economic conditions had contributed to the continuing political turmoil, until the revolution of the PKI took place on September 30, 1965, which was later thwarted by the Army. Before the bloody revolution broke out, there had been a series of mass killings perpetrated by PKI militias such as those that occurred in Madiun in 1948. The repercussions of various Islamic groups against PKI elements later spread in East Java and Central Java from late 1965 to mid-1966 when the Army put down all PKI components to its roots (Roosa 2006).

In the New Order era, the decay of left-communist ideology gained legitimacy from government authorities. Suharto made the PKI and communism as a ghost that always threatened the ideology and unity of the state. The government regime instilled awareness of the citizens that the PKI was a latent danger that could arise at any time. The con-

struction of the PKI image or the left-communist ideology as the greatest enemy of the state was reinforced by repressive actions against the people who indicated as PKI member and who had been in contact with the PKI, as well as the enactment of rules that isolated the family and descendants of the members. The former members PKI or people suspected of being close to the PKI were put in prison without clear court proceedings. Meanwhile, family members and their descendants were given a mark on the ID's card. They were not allowed to enter the occupancy and education freely. Books containing leftist thought, especially the Marx, Lenin, and Stalin were also not allowed to circulate. In this way, Suharto gave a clear message that there was no tolerance for those who sympathetic to left-communist ideology and his regime was capable of protecting the country from the hazardous communist threat.

However, Suharto's repressive actions against the leftist-communists did not mean to give way to the Islamists. The ones who supported Islamic politics also get almost the same pressure. They were not allowed to make movements that intersect with politics. Islamic groups were only recognized by the government as long as they work in the social and religious sphere or accord with the government agenda. The government considers Islamic politics as a threat from right-wing extremists who are supposed to establish an Islamic state. The source of ideas and roots of his movement came from Darul Islam/Islamic State of Indonesia (DI/NII). Various Islamic organizations, especially among students were closely monitored. Nevertheless, Suharto realized that Islamic elements have a strategic force for his power. In the final decade of his rule, Suharto tended to ally with Islamic forces in the face of opposition forces from both the pro democracy and some elements in the Army.

Suharto's step in suppressing extreme left and right forces actually could be seen a concept that is similar from Sukarno to unite all the components of ideology. When Sukarno attempted to accommodate all ideological aliran in the grand scheme of nationalism, Suharto emphasized a repressive approach to each of the extremes, both left-communist and Islam-right and forced all parties to be coherent with the government. The effort was further reinforced by the fusion of political parties into three parties in 1973 to control the opposition strengths. The Islamic parties were then incorporated into the United Development Party (PPP), while the secular left and Christian parties have been integrated into the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). In

1985, efforts to uniform state ideology were made through the enactment of Law No. 5/1985 and Law No. 7/1985, in which the government required Pancasila as the sole principle for all political parties and civil organizations (Moesa 2007).

The Suharto action to press the left-communist and Right-Islam show that he regarded its ideological forces were capable of challenging his power. However, his effort of fusing political parties and the application of Pancasila as a single principle did not necessarily erase the potential of ideological forces. The opposition ranks were then perceived such actions as the manipulation to perpetuate power. Therefore, the resistance to the New Order regime was also accompanied by a critical view of ideological uniformity and the demand to recognize other political ideologies other than Pancasila. After Suharto resigned in 1998, the MPR enacted the MPR Decree No. XVIII/MPR/1998, concerning the revocation of MPR Decree No. II/MPR/1978 on Pancasila as a single principle. The spirit of abolishing the sole principle of Pancasila is to undermine the New Order's hegemony inherent in the symbols of the state. This political openness led to the proliferation of various organizations and parties that openly showed their ideological inclinations. The militant religious group expresses the symbols of Islam as a marker of the substance of the struggle to apply Islamic moral values in various aspects of people's lives. Some of them even openly declare themselves as militia or Laskar groups, such as Laskar Jihad and Laskar Pembela Islam. On the other hand, left-wing parties are also emerging, such as the People's Democratic Party (PRD) founded by leftist activists such as FX Rudi Gunawan, Andi Arief, and Budiman Sudjatmiko. Meanwhile, the movement of Islamists had developed cells on campus. In the late 1990s, some of them participated in great power in opposing the New Order regime and establishing a political party (Partai Keadilan). Political openness has provided a way for organizations and parties that want the struggle with an ideological expression as a means of mobilization.

In the post-authoritarian era, as hundreds of new political parties were established, they show a wide variety of ideological affiliations. In general, parties adopt a symbolic ideology between Islam and secular nationalism. However, the political conception of aliran certainly can not be applied directly. In the Islamic aliran, for example, there are various sub-streams ranging from formalist-oriented, substantialist to secularist (Mashad 2008). The formalist Islamic group explicitly states

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that Islam is the formal ideology of the organization, other than Pancasila. It shows their intention to run the government by the value of Islamic norms. Political parties that adopt this view include PPP, Justice Party (PK/PKS), Partai Nahdlatul Umah (PNU), and PBB. Substantialist Islamic groups have a view that is almost similar to the formalist Islam associated with the application of Islamic norms in socio-political life, except the establishment of Islam as an organizational ideology. They considered Islam not to be used as a political tool, but the basis of the values of the party's struggle. They include PKB and PAN. Both formalist and substantial Islamists are based on Islamic groups or groups, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, and Jamaah Tarbiyah. Meanwhile, the secular Islamic view does not exist in a party-based political party but is represented by civil society organizations such as the Liberal Islam Network (JIL) and liberal Islamic figures.

The secular nationalist party is represented by the Golkar Party and the PDI-P. However, since many Golkar Party cadres belong Islamic civilian organizations, such as HMI, this party tend to be friendly to the interests and aspirations of Muslims (Baswedan 2004). (Baswedan, 2004). The abangan class in the reform era may be identified with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) consisting of the nationalist, leftist-socialist, and Christian component (Singh 2003). However, according to Liddle and Mujani based on opinion surveys in the 1999 and 2004 elections, the aliran politics no longer relevant to explain the voter behavior in the reform era because it is more determined by the leader figure than the party identification factor and sociological background. Of the total respondents in the survey, about 88 percent who voted for Megawati eventually voted for their PDIP party, 89 percent voted for Habibie to vote for Golkar Party, 95 percent chose Abdurrahman Wahid to vote for PKB, and 75 percent voted Amien Rais chose PAN. In the 2004 election, the survey results showed the same pattern, in which Yudhovono who won the presidential election received support from 82 percent of Golkar Party voters, 78 percent of PPP voters, and even 29 percent of PDI-P voters. Based on the study, identification factors for leaders or elite figures have dominated voter decision. In other words, psychological factors determine political behavior more and show the aliran politics is no longer relevant to be used in analyzing elections (Permata & Kailani 2010).

However, based on a comparison study of the 1955 election results with 1999, King (2003) states there was a common pattern in which

voters are gathered in parties based on social and religious identity. Both elections, although differentiated for more than four decades, still show the similarity of Islamic party voters' preferences (PKB, PAN, and PPP) in 1999 with Islamic party voters in the 1955 election (Masyumi, Partai NU, PSII). Meanwhile, secular-oriented voters who in the 1955 election elect PNI and PKI could be represented by Golkar Party and PDIP voters in the 1999 election. The analysis of voter party preferences based on flow schemes was also carried out by Baswedan (2004) with the focus of the 1999 and 2004 elections. He sees that the principles of Islamist and secular ideology still colorized the character of the post-New Order party. But in general, all parties to the secular still adopt the aspirations of Muslims and the symbols of Islam with different degrees. He divides the secular orientation into two, namely secular inclusive and secular exclusive. The first term refers to a view that considers Islam and Pancasila compatible and the moral values of Islam, as long as it coincides with Pancasila and nationalism, deserve support in political schemes. While the last term, while still adopting a secular-inclusive view, they assess the adoption of Islamic moral values in government including the Islamization agenda that needs to be rejected. Both secular views are currently represented by two large secular parties namely Golkar Party which is friendly with Islam and PDIP that prevent the inclusion of Islam. Both analyzes imply that aliran schemes are still relevant to be used in analyzing electoral politics in Indonesia.

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Aliran in Electoral Dynamics

This article argues that the aliran political schema still stands out in the context of political parties' configuration and the struggles of power competition, but is difficult to see in the context of events that require compromise. For example, in the 1999 presidential candidacy through the MPR, despite winning electoral status, PDIP failed to place Megawati's as president. This is due to some Islamic parties supported by the Golkar Party to build a joint force that carries Abdurrahman Wahid, from PKB, as president. Megawati was then appointed to be the vice-president. Megawati's blockade had a religious motive when the PPP says that women's presidents were unacceptable in Islamic theology because a hadith says leaders of men should take precedence. But beyond that, fears of the emergence of left forces as the ruling PDIP. Since 1994, there have been allegations to Megawati

that the PDI party has been infiltrated by communist elements (Eklof 2004).

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In the subsequent development after the 1999 presidential appointment, almost all political forces are in the Abdurrahman Wahid government. However, Wahid's lack of synchronization with its supporting components in running the politics of government could not be overcome. Interestingly, several reasons still pertain to ideological issues. One of them was when Wahid opened the way of diplomacy with Israel and proposed to abolish MPRS XXV Tap of 1966 on the banning of the teachings of communism and Marxism. Both steps were strongly opposed by Islamic counterparts. Meanwhile, the other parties were feeling stifled by some Wahid government policies that ignore their political interests. After the impeachment, Megawati then appointed as president and her vice was Hamzah Haz, of the PPP, who had strongly opposed Megawati's candidacy as his theological reasons. The incident indicates that the interest factor of the elite and the ideological impulses of some parties is a factor in the friction of regime change.

In the 2004 presidential election, the party groupings in coalition increasingly showed no correlation with aliran politics. In the first round, there were five pairs of candidates, namely Wiranto-Solahudin Wahid (Golkar Party), Megawati-Hasyim Muzadi (PDIP), Amin Rais-Siswono (PAN), Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla (Democratic Party, United Nations, PKPI), and Hamzah Haz-Agung Gumelar (PPP). Interestingly, the candidates were dominated by prominent religious figures, such as Solahudin Wahid, Hasyim Muzadi, Hamzah Haz from NU, while Amien Rais was the chairman of Muhammadiyah. The configuration of Islamic leaders in the presidential election shows that Muslim representation is still strong in the context of elections, but melting with secular nationalists, like the Megawati-Hasyim Muzadi (PDIP-NU) and Amien Rais-Siswono (PAN/Muhammadiyah-aktor dari GMNI¹).

In the first round, the Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla and Megawati-Hasyim Muzadi outperformed other candidates by 33.57 percent and 26.62 percent. Ahead of the second round, there was a grouping of supporting parties on both candidates. At the ranks of Megawati-Hasyim Muzadi, there are PDIP, Golkar Party, PPP, PBR, PDS, PNI Marhaenisme, PKPB with a total vote in parliament 54,75 percent. While Yudhoyo-

I Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (GMNI) is civil society organization affiliated to Indonesian National Party (PNI) that known close to nationalist-left ideology (Wardaya 2009). After the reform, GMNI then affiliated to PDIP.

no-Jusuf Kalla only got additional support from PKS. Although PKB and PAN did not declare official support, their votes flowed to Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla (Pusat Penelitian Politik LIPI 2004). At a glance, it can be observed that the coalition grouping configuration is further away from the aliran conception. At the level of the elite, the dichotomy of santri-abangan has melted in line with the strengthening of the axis of interest. As seen in the Megawati-Hasvim camp that hopes to gain a voice from both Islamic and secular (Suryadinata 2005). On the other hand, Yudhoyono-Kalla set a strategy to gain mass support from traditional Islamic and modernist Islam, from PAN base, PKS, and using the influence of Abdurrahman Wahid (Mietzner 2009). Yudhovono-Jusuf Kalla then won the 2004 presidential election by 60.62 percent and established a government composed of almost all large and medium-sized parties, except PDIP. The PDI-P positions that are outside the government were due to balance the government and the still freeze relation between Megawati and Yudhovono in the post-election 2004.

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In the 2009 election, the votes of Islamic parties were declined to 29 percent from 37 percent in the previous elections. According to Aspinall (2010), the electoral decline of Islamic parties in the 2009 election signifies the disruption of aliran politics. The strengthening of the mass media role and modern-creative campaign models has undermined voter behavior based on collective identity. Parties with strong collective identity images, such as the PDIP and PKB, experienced drastic decreases in votes. Another indication of the weakening of aliran politics is the success of parties that use strong personal charms, such as the Democratic Party and the Gerindra Party. The period of 2009 shows the revival of individual voter patterns that refer to candidate characters, no longer on ideological preferences and social identification. Yudhoyono-Budiono's victory was attributed to that factor, in which Yudhoyono's electability was firmly in various polls ahead of the 2009 Presidential Election (Firmanzah 2011).

The predictions of several survey agencies, such as the LSI and the National Survey Institute (LSN), said that Islamic political parties would lose their vote in the 2014 election (Dw.com 2013). Even some of them such as the PKS and PBB were not expected to be able to place their representatives in the DPR. Survey results from LSI in January 2014 show that PKS will only get 2.2 percent of the vote, while the UN is predicted to only get 0.7 percent of the vote. Several other Islamic

political parties, such as PKB's vote anticipated in the range of 4.1 to 5.1 percent, PPP is in the lowest range of 3.6 percent, PAN in the range of 1.7 to 3.2 percent (Kompas.com 2014c). From the LSI survey, Islamic political parties would not only be difficult to penetrate the top four positions, even some of them, such as PKS and PBB, are predicted to fail to enter DPR. Not to mention the PAN which is still threatened could not place his cadre in DPR because the bottom range of votes was still at 1.7 percent of the vote.

The prediction that undermined Islamic political parties was understandable. They were perceived as unable to manage public expectations and lost their ideological struggle. The interest of young voters for Islamic parties was also low (Kompas.com 2014b). However, on the other hand, some of the Islamic parties then still raise a sense of optimism about its capability to compete with other parties in the 2014 election. As Chairman of PPP, Suryadharma Ali, believed that his party would still performed to gain a sufficiently large votes in the 2014 legislative elections, which is about 12 percent (Tribunnews.com 2014). It was also prevail with the PKS, which the party suffered due to their leader, Luthfi Hasan Ishaaq, caught by the KPK. They were predicted to lose a lot of votes. Through the fraction chairman in DPR, Hidayat Nurwahid, PKS responded that the fate of Islamic parties was not determined by the survey results (Viva.co.id 2013). The statement indicated not only a sense of optimism but also shows the existence of resistance to the survey results.

In fact, from the results of the 2014 General Election, Islamic based parties can reverse the survey prediction. As from the results of CSIS calculations that the five Islamic parties previously predicted would decrease, surprisingly their total vote rose to 32 percent from the previous 26 percent in the 2009 Election (Voaindonesia.com 2014). The PKB got the highest percentage, 9.04 percent, PAN occupies the next position with a total of 7.59 percent, followed by the PKS with 6.79 percent, the PPP with 6.53 percent, and the PBB with 1.46 percent (Kompas.com 2014a). The ability of Islamic parties to raise the vote results in 2014, despite getting negative news from the media as experienced by the PKS, shows the strength of the cadre base and the loyalty of the cadres in the political struggle. The ability of Islamic parties in managing the traditional Islamic mass base was carried out by maintaining political communication among pesantren, whether against kiyai or santri, as it was done by PKB or PPP. The management of modern Islamic mass

base is done by several other Islamic parties, namely PKS and PAN, these parties build communications among the campus community, in particular through Council of Mosque Prosperity (DKM) or other Islamic student organizations.

In political competition context, the vote of Islamic parties in 2014 legislative elections is considered to significantly influence political contestation in the post-2014, namely in the 2014 presidential election and Regional Head election (Pilkada). In the 2014 presidential election, the weakness of the PDI-P in exploiting the popularity of presidential candidate Joko Widodo to meet the presidential threshold of 25 percent of the vote nationally forced them to build cooperation with other parties that carries Jokowi. Although ideologically between the PDI-P and the Islamic parties are different, the strength of Islamic parties is believed to be able to provide significant votes support. However, the result of political communication built by PDI-P with Islamic based parties was succeeded only with PKB and some PPP which then support the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla in the 2014 Presidential Election.

From the description of the political dynamics and ideological base, although electoral politics increasingly distanced the analysis of aliran, it turns out that the aliran as a political reality can not be denied. In the Old Order era, the opposition between leftist-communist and right-Islam groups implied a clash of aliran. The bloody history of the PKI and other groups especially from the Islamic group was not easily eliminated in the collective memory of its supporters to this day. Discussions about the reconciliation of the PKI organized in the reform era have often ended in turmoil because it has always been vehemently opposed by Islamic and nationalist groups (Okezone.com 2016). In the New Order era, the agenda of communist decay and repressive acts against Islamists by the Suharto regime were the steps of the politicization of the aliran to gain total compliance. The New Order regime realized the potential of aliran orientation particularly between left-communist and right-wing Islam, still affecting political forces.

In the reform era, the rise of Islamist and left-based parties also shows that the ideological and sociological preference is still prevails. Although the current parties have been driven by pragmatic orientation, they are at the same time free from the use of identities and religious issues to attract voters' sympathy. The Islamic parties will continue to attempt to symbolize themselves, though not self-limiting, as representations of santri and pro-policy orientations toward

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the Shari'a or supporting Islam in politics (Pepinskly, Liddle, & Muhani 2012). In the contestation of the Presidential Election, in which the aliran politics are seen blurred, the elite has obviously made use of a particular aliran mass base to mobilize the vote. Mass bases like traditional Islam, modern Islam and secular nationalists are objects that often used by candidates. Thus, the aliran is not only prevailed in the realm of the support bases but also politicized by the elite who compete for power.

An Insight from the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

To understand the map of political power in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial contest, we need to describe the events of the post-2014 election about identity politics. Towards the 2014 presidential election, there was a dynamic of Islamic groups supporting the presidential candidate. The first candidate, Prabowo-Hatta was supported by Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PAN, PKS, and PPP (Suryadarma Ali camp). All these parties, except for Gerindra Party, have a Muslim support base. While Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla carried by the PDIP, Nasdem Party, Hanura Party, PKPI, and PKB that has the grassroots supporters of traditional Islam. The 2014 election results were later won by Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. The separation of political support has in fact affected the mass support base of the government. During the 2014 Presidential Election campaign, it was not uncommon for issues raised about religious sentiments. Jokowi is often portraved as an anti-Islamic figure, of Chinese descent, and comes from a PKI family. These allegations are a bad reflection of the country's leader figure from Islamic groups. Black campaign about Jokowi spread through various digital media like Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp.

After running the government, Jokowi-JK conducting political consolidation included with Islamic civil society organizations, especially the NU and Muhammadiyah. Some NU cadres filled the ministerial posts, such as Khofifah Indar Parawangsa, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, Marwan Ja'far, Imam Nahrawi and Muhammad Hanif Dhakiri, Muhammad Nasir, Nusron Wahid (Tempo.co 2015). Meanwhile the cadre of Muhammadiyah who sat in Jokowi's cabinet were Nina Moeloek and Muhajir Effendy. The support of Muhammadiyah to Jokowi administration was not so great because Amien Rais attitude that often criticizes the government. Jokowi sought to neutralize the negative opinions of Islamic groups against him. In 2015-2017, Jokowi visited

some pesantren such as in Solo, Surabaya, Cirebon, Tegal, and Banten. Also, Jokowi attend the inauguration of the International Islamic University of Indonesia on June 29, 2016, a higher education institution that would be under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Various measures indicate that Jokowi considers the importance of Islamic elements' support for the sake of maintaining political stability.

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Consolidation of political parties was done by attracting parties outside the government. The PAN and the Golkar Party later joined a coalition of government supporters. Some of the two party cadres then fill the cabinet positions, such as Airlanggar Harvanto (Golkar Party) as Minister of Trade and Industry, Sutrisno Bachir (PAN/Jokowi volunteer), and Asman Abnur (PAN). However, not all elements in the newly-joined party provide full political support for Jokowi. Some Golkar Party cadres and PAN still look critical of the government as the support agreements were in the hands of dominant elites, but do not necessarily reflect the aspirations of the cadres below. The totality of party support was visible in Jakarta 2017 governor's election contest, where although Golkar Party carries Ahok-Djarot, but many young cadres refuse the decision. The firmer position was shown by PAN which is more supportive of Anis-Sandi than Ahok-Djarot in the final round. They reasoned that there was no central government coalition agreement with the coalition in the local elections. However, the political consequences of their attitude had an impact on the position of PAN which increasingly shifted as an opposition party.

The 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial competition reflects the opposing forces at the national level. Although in the first round of the coalition split into three groups, namely the Agus-Silvy, Ahok-Djarot, and Anis-Sandi, but in the second round the coalition pattern resembles a map of power at the national level, the government support parties (PDIP, Golkar Party, Hanura, Nasdem Party, PKB, PPP) and parties who critical to the government (Gerindra Party, PAN and PKS). Particularly for the Democratic Party, just like its position at the center, in the second round of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial they also declare a neutral vote but in practice were inclined to support non-governmental ranks. The map of strength can also be drawn on elite shafts, comprising the axis of Megawati and Luhut Binsar Panjaitan located in the supporting line of Ahok-Djarot and Prabowo, Yudhoyono, Amien Rais, and Jusuf Kalla who are in the front of supporters of Anis-Sandi. The configuration is likely to last until the 2019 election.

The 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial is distinc from elections elsewhere. First, Jakarta is the capital of the country, with its status various issues and phenomena is often a subject of discussion at the national level. Exposure to such widespread and intense issues through mass media is a boon to those who win political battles. Victory in Jakarta provides a positive image and significant confidence for the party, its elite and candidates. Secondly, Jakarta has always been a political barometer for both the national and other regions. There is an assumption that those who can win elections in Jakarta have a great chance to win the presidential election. Jokowi's victory in Jakarta's 2012 governorship and 2014 presidential elections reinforces this assumption. Third, with the region's revenue reaching Rp.31 trillion, Jakarta became the center of attention of the parties to control and manage the province. Thus, the 2017 gubernatorial race becomes the arena of power contest of the main elites. Moreover, they are bound by the bigger interests of the 2019 election.

In the context of elite competition, the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial contains a dramatic political event. Ahok was initially Gerindra cadres that opted out after he had more support to Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election, whereas Prabowo as Gerindra Party chairman was dealing with Jokowi. In 2012, Prabowo had brought Ahok to accompany Jokowi in Jakarta and hoped Ahok could pave the way for Prabowo in the 2014 presidential election. Ahok's frontal step to supports Jokowi dragging Gerindra at the opposite position against PDIP. On the other side, Yudhoyono was seen fighting to increase the popularity of the Democrat Party, after the acquisition of their vote dropped from 20 percent in 2009 to 10 percent in 2014. His strategic way was putting his son, Agus Harimurti, as a candidate for Jakarta governor. At least, the tactic could provide a stage to Agus to be known in the national political arena. The less harmonious relationship between Yudhoyono and Megawati still have an impact on the political constellation after 2014, and the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial seems become political prestige arena between them.

The 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial event was not merely a political event, but it also intersects with social-religious turmoil. Before the contest began, the issue of racism regarding Ahok's as a Protestant and Chinese descendant had surfaced. The issues developed into bullets to bring down Ahok include a ban in choosing *kafir* (infidel) leaders and China's potential for dominance in Jakarta. On the contrary, the

stronghold of Ahok's supporters retaliated by declaring it was better to be led by a *kafir* but a mandate than by Muslims but corrupt (CNN Indonesia 2014). Then, Ahok himself proudly proclaims to be a *kafir* but not corrupt. Ahok's response to racism attacks was even wilder. When Ahok conducted his service in Kepulauan Seribu on September 27, 2016, he declared that he did not force people to vote for him in the 2017 elections and urge people not to be lied to by those who use the verses of Al-Quran (*al-maidah 51*). The word then became viral in cyberspace and instantly reap public reaction (Tirto.id 2016). On 7 October 2016, Habib Novel Chaidir Hasan of FPI reported Ahok on suspicion of committing a criminal act of religious humiliation. The reconciliation of the Islamic groups on the alleged blasphemy by Ahok increasingly intensive and widespread.

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Various protests demanding legal proceedings against Ahok are not only conducted in Jakarta, but also in other areas, such as Medan, Surabaya, Tegal, Solo, and Sampit. In mid-October 2016, thousands of people from various Islamic civilian organizations took to the streets to denounce Ahok and urged the police to imprison him immediately. There were pros and cons in society to respond whether Ahok did blasphemy. The Ahok's protesters were convinced that Ahok's remarks, regardless of any context, have harassed the Koran, while others consider the comments to be inconsiderate of the Koran since he meant those who use the verses of the Koran to incite Voters. However, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) later claimed that Ahok had denounced Islam.

A larger and organized demonstration was held in Jakarta on Friday, October 14, 2016. The rally was coordinated by FPI with other Islamic organizations attended by more than ten thousand people. The demonstration, called the Islamic Defense Action, conducted a long march and rallied in front of Jakarta City Hall. The demonstrators demanded the police to process Ahok (Tribunnews.com 2016). Despite a major demonstration on October 14, 2016, Islamist groups were still dissatisfied and regarded the slow legal process due to be protected by the power. Then, the demonstration of the second Islamic Defense Action was held on 4 November 2016 that demanded the police to arrest Ahok and set him as a suspect in the case of defamation. The crowd gathered at the Istiqlal Mosque and moved to the police headquarters, the Merdeka Palace and the City Hall. They met every corner of the area of Horse Statue Roundabout to Medan Merdeka. Participants

who followed the peaceful action came from various regions, such as from Bandung, NTB, Makassar, Palembang, Maluku, Madura, Surabaya, Lampung and Yogyakarta. The political actors and Islamic leaders enliven the Islamic Action 411, such as KH Abdullah Gymnastiar aka Aa Gym, KH Ma'ruf Amin, and Habib Rizieq Shihab, KH. Cholil Ridwan (TAPl3), KH. Tengku Zulkarnain (Wasekjen MUI), Sukatsyah (United Islamic Community), Nur Diati Akma (PP Forsap FUII), Wirawan Adnan (GNPF), Abdul Rasyid (Ponpes Asyafiiyah). The political leaders who were appeared were Amien Rais (PAN), Fadli Zon (Gerindra Party), and Fahri Hamzah (Vice Chairman of DPR).

The dissatisfaction from various Islamic groups was triggered by a series of different but influential factors in the political constellation. Long before the contestation of the gubernatorial election, Ahok did have problems with some Islamic groups who felt inconsistent with some policies, such as banning takbir-rally and sacrificial animal slaughter at public facilities. On the other hand, there were a handful of Islamic groups in Jakarta who are opposed to Ahok's authority on the grounds of ethnic and religious background. It can not be denied that in addition to them, there were also parties from political opponents who take advantage of the situation to reduce the image of Ahok in public, especially Muslim voters in Jakarta.

Various demonstrations against Ahok certainly affect the dynamics of competition in Jakarta. Though Ahok's political relation faces various problems, his performance as an incumbent in Jakarta gained appreciation from the majority of residents. From various surveys, the level of Jakarta citizens' satisfaction with Ahok's leadership was relatively high at the time. Based on a survey of Lingkar Survei Indonesia (LSI), in March Ahok electability was still the highest that is 53 percent (Viva.co.id 2016), while the survey results Saiful Mujani Research Center in October showed Ahok still superior with 45 percent (Kompas 2016). Although Ahok's electability tends to a bit decrease, as a candidate for governor, he was very dominant among other candidates. The result of Jakarta citizens satisfaction survey on Ahok performance conducted by Indonesian Poltracking Survey Institute revealed as much as 52.5 percent claimed satisfied with the performance of Ahok. Jakarta residents claim to be pleased with the development of Ahok. Increasingly affordable levels of health services, educational services with scholarships for higher education for those who have Smart Card Jakarta (KJP), and the construction of infrastructure or public facilities is increasing (Kompas.com 2016).

The conflicts between elites can be seen since Jokowi said that the Islamic Defence Action was ridden by political actors aimed at creating a political instability. Although not explicitly mentioned, these allegations later led to the Democratic Party when it was carrying the Agus-Silvy as a challenger Ahok-Djarot. Yudhoyono was being accused as an actor who rode a massive protest on 4 November 2016, then it later denied through a press conference at his residence (BBC Indonesia 2016). Allegations from the government side increasingly sharpened the problem. The Islamic groups did not accept that they are perceived as being driven by a certain political agenda. Along with the warming of the atmosphere that could potentially disrupt national stability, Jokowi perform political safari to the three major Islamic organizations: NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI. Also, Jokowi also conducted several meeting with political figures including Prabowo, while meeting with Yudhoyono represented by Jusuf Kalla.

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As protests against Ahok over allegations of religious blasphemy continued, Ahok-Djarot was deeply troubled. The survey results show the Ahok-Djarot electability tends to decline after the Islamic Defense Action on 4 November 2016. The results of a survey conducted by LSI stated that the Ahok-Djarot continues to decline every month. By March 2016 the electability of Ahok-Djarot was 59.3 percent, slumped to 49.1 percent in July, 31.4 percent in October, and declined drastically to 24.6 percent in November (Detiknews.com 2016). The survey also found that 89 percent of Jakarta residents knew about this case of blasphemy, but as many as 73.2 percents of respondents stated that the words in Ahok's speech were a mistake that could happen to anyone. Although the Ahok's electability declined, still he was the highest favorable candidates comparing to Agus-Sylvi as much as 20.9 percent and Anies-Sandiago 20 percent, while as many as 34.5 percents had not made any choice.

In the first round of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial race, the parties joined in the axis of Agus-Silvy (Partai Demokrat, PKB, PPP, PAN), Ahok-Djarot (PDIP, Golkar Party, Hanura, Nasdem Party, PKPI), and Anis-Sandi (PKS, Partai Gerindra). When drawn on the main elite axis, the first pair is identical with Yudhoyono, the second couple is represented by Megawati, and the third couple puts forward Prabowo's figure. Among the three couples, positions that often faced to face are between the first and third pairs of the second pair. However, the substance of discourse that was made the object of opposition is different.

The competition between Agus-Silvy and Ahok-Djarot emphasizes the comparison of the governmental success between Jokowi and Yudhoyono. While the competition between Anis-Sandi and Ahok-Djarot more about the issue of Ahok's rude characteristics. At the level of the mass base, supporters and sympathizers of Anis-Sandi tend to question the case of Islamic blasphemy by Ahok. The first round eliminated Agus-Silvy, but Ahok-Djarot, who was initially believed to have won one round had failed so they should fight against Anis-Sandi in the second round.

In the second round, PKB explicitly determines its support to Ahok-Djarot, while PPP experiences a split when it must decide who the candidate will be supported. PKB elites and mass organizations supporters argued that they chose Ahok-Djarot because the couple's performance has been proven and felt benefited by the citizens of Jakarta. Although they realize Ahok's actions have hurt many people, they believe that if Ahok continues his post as governor, the people will also benefit from Ahok's integrity commitment. One of the Ahok supporters' groups, the GPA, argues that during this time Ahok's policies have made a real contribution to its members at the lower levels. For example, a policy that garbage collectors are given a fixed salary by the Jakarta administration, which significantly helps members or their sympathizers. On the other hand, they did not want to be a row with the basis of Ahok's opposing masses, among others from HTI, FPI, and PKS groups. They saw these groups as radical and intolerant, so the victory of Anis-Sandi was feared could provide a free space for radicals in carrying out their actions. Based on these reasons, there was a picture that the friction between traditional Islam and puritanical Islam also colored the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial contest.

Another Islamic party that supports Ahok-Djarot waw PPP. Although many ulama were opposed to Ahok, the elite of the party prioritized the interests of the organization. In recent years, PPP has been shaken by a conflict that has divided the party into two camps, the Romi and Djan Faridz camps. Each stronghold attempted to steal sympathy from the government regime to gain the legitimacy of stewardship. Their allegiance to Ahok-Djarot, even though aware of the great rejection of his constituents, was a much-needed decision by the party. Party solidarity was more important in the face of the 2019 election than serving constituents expectation. Although the PPP elite at the central level supported Ahok-Djarot, some PPP grassroots elites tend to support Anies-Sandi, including Bachtiar Chamsyah, Haji Lulung,

Mardiono, Ubaidillah Murod, Zarkasih Nur, Tahir Saimima, and Yudo Paripurno. They claimed that supporting Anis-Sandi is the necessity of choosing a leader of Islamic principles (Tirto.id 2017). However, the support of PKB and PPP elites was less in line with support at the mass base level. Historically and sociologically, the masses of the NU are indeed claimed to have a closeness with the PKB and PPP. The Kiai from NU would often become the bickering of both parties when entering the election (Rmol.co 2013). However, the votes of the Nahdliyin are quite open; this is at least can be seen from the tendency of some of the NU masses who in the elections of Jakarta are many who drop their votes on Anies-Sandi (Republika.co.id 2017b).

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The emergence of the NU masses supported to the Anies-Sandi is also a key determinant of the victory of the candidates. Moreover, the NU mass in the second round was faced with choices related to the belief aspects and matters of the ummah. In addition to the ongoing wave of protests against Islamic blasphemy, Ahok has also been backed by PDIP that historically and sociologically not too close to the masses of Islam. So even in the second round of the Election of DKI Jakarta, the PKB elite and PPP declare their support to Ahok-Djarot, the masses below tend to choose the Anies-Sandi because they were considered as representatives of the ummah.²

Seeing the reason of majority NU masses who prefer Anies-Sandi because of religious and ummah factors, then it can be regarded as an option based on a sociological and rational approach. In the sociological approach, it is clear that the religious factor becomes one of the determinants of the emergence of the political behavior of the community in choosing a particular candidate. Whereas in a rational perspective, logical reasoning becomes the basis of voting consideration in the community. Although choosing religion-based proximity in many cases does not fall into the category of rational choice, but when referring to (Calvert 1994) view of the partisan rational choice theory, ideology and belief can encourage participation so the NU masses can also perceive into a rational choice category.

Not much different from the NU masses who chose Anies-Sandi, for the Muhammadiyah, Persis and FPI mass base they decision to

² The coordinator of PASNU West Java, "KH Fahrurrozi, said that his support gave to Anies-Sandi due representing vision, mission, and program which benefited the ummah, especially the Nahdliyyin in Jakarta. He assured that in Anies-Sandi commitment the ummah would be united (Republika.co.id 2017a).

supported Anies-Sandi was also strongly related to religious factor. Although usually in the activities of political contestation they were formally positioning the organization in a neutral position, in the Jakarta election, the regional leader of Muhammadiyah, Edy Sukardi, fully supported the Anies-Sandi. The support was given because of his religious commitment and the character of its leadership who should be considered representative of the Muslim community and Muhammadiyah (Okezone.com 2017). The solid support of the Muhammadiyah base to Anies-Sandi was not only demonstrated through Muhammadiyah's organizational stance but also from the attitude of the political party close to it, PAN.

The tendency of Islamic mass base; NU, Persis, FPI, and Muhammadiyah to the Anies-Sandi signifies the validity of the Islamic aliran in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial. The emergence of Islamic intensification of aliran also seems even to find the momentum of its rise with the Islamic parties that managed to break some predictions by the relevant survey result that the Islamic parties would vanished in the 2014 election. Although some observers have assured the aliran politics is no longer relevant, but taking into account the ability of Islamic parties and communities to win the Anies-Sandi in the Jakarta, it is necessary to find that the Islamic aliran are still a significant political force.

In the second round, Anis-Sandi elected as the next jakarta governor. The defeat of Ahok-Djarot in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial became a point where the intensification of Islamic aliran manifested itself in a strong consolidation between Islamic-based political parties, Islamic civil organizations and the mass of Islam from other groups. The melting pot between the political interests and the awakening of the awareness to safeguard the interests of the ummah many Islamic elements then synergized in supporting the Anies-Sandi. The intensification of Islamic aliran may not have occurred if there were no things that could drive the various components of Islam to unite and defeated Ahok-Djarot.

From the phenomenon that is related to the high value of Islamic parties, it can be realized that the existence of them is still significant recently. However, the Islamic party itself can not be separated from the mass of Islam, where the Muslim masses sometimes associated with certain Islamic parties, this can be seen from the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial event. The Islamic masses affiliated with PPP and PKB preferring to support Anies-Sandi than to support Ahok-Djarot for an

ideological reason. It indicates that when the establishment of a joint issue between the mass base and the Islamic party encouraged the creation of Islamic aliran, the Islamic political party would be a platform for the political aspirations of the Islamic groups.

Although based on the categorization of aliran, the opposition of Islamic groups to Ahok as an incumbent candidate can not be simply described as a rivalry between santri and abangan groups. In the Ahok-Djarot camp, there are also components of Islam-based parties, PKB and PPP, and the civilian Islamic organization, GP Ansor cadres, which mostly supported Ahok in the second round. The main parties of Ahok-Diarot, among others PDIP, Golkar Party, Nasdem Party, Hanura Party, and Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) can not be said as abangan party, except the most secular PDIP known (Choi 2017). But on the other hand, the conglomeration of Islamic groups opposed to Ahok and their actions gave rise to a strong political identity atmosphere. The resistance against Ahok not only came from partisan supporters of opposition candidates, especially Anis-Sandi, but support also came from nonpartisan groups known far from the hustle and bustle of the election contest, such as HTl. Their involvement in the actions against Ahok was motivated more by the desire that Ahok would no longer be the governor of Jakarta than to act as an Anis-Sandi sympathizer.

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Conclusion

The political dynamics of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election show that the aliran scheme is still applicable particularly in the context of political relations of ideological and social identity bases. However, the conception of aliran used by the development of the political situation. As has been the case in three periods of government regimes, from the Old Order to the reform era, Islamic aliran is not a monolithic, but there are some variants in it, ranging from oriented to the application of the Shari'a to the orientation of secularism. On the secular side, there are also some tendencies, from being friendly to Islam to rejecting the inclusiveness of religion in government. Aliran politics continues to survive in Indonesian social, political structure because of the intensification that is rolled by the elite. Although in the era of reform, the aliran politics is considered no longer relevant in line with the strength of electoral politics, this article sees the aliran politics prevailing in the sphere of politicization, especially the elite relationship with the ideological mass base. The phenomenon is prominent in the

2017 Jakarta governor election case, where the involvement of Islamic groups in protests against Ahok signifies the strengthening of the identity of puritanical Islam in practical politics. Various protests not only directed about blasphemy but also strengthen the discourse of the banning of kafir leaders who were cornering Ahok. Political battles in the realm of the mass base make the conservative Islamic group vis-àvis the secular/progressive group. At the same time, political interests have struck a traditionalist Islamic elite with puritanical Islam.

The melting pot of religious issue of the Islamic mass base and practical interest can not be separated from the ideological and sociological factors that promote the awareness of the identity in the political sphere. Considering the significance of the Islamic mass base involvement in a political competition, this article holds that the intensification of Islamic aliran would be enacted by political actors in future contestation. Because in a democratic race, any approach can be taken to achieve victory as long as it does not violate the rules themselves. Nevertheless, the commodification of religion in politics must be avoided to maintain a healthy democratic life. The balance of relations between state, religion and politics is a commitment that must be sustained by the elites.



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