



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Digital Affective Citizenship: @The nexus of on-line and off-line anti-corruption activism in Banten, Indonesia
Fauzanafi, M.Z.

Citation

Fauzanafi, M. Z. (2024, April 4). *Digital Affective Citizenship: @The nexus of on-line and off-line anti-corruption activism in Banten, Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3731349>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3731349>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Digital Affective Citizenship

**@The Nexus of On-line and Off-line Anti-Corruption Activism
in Banten, Indonesia**

Muhammad Zamzam Fauzanafi

Cover Design:
Muhammad Zamzam Fauzanafi

Layout:
Dhimas Langgeng

© 2024, Muhammad Zamzam Fauzanafi

Digital Affective Citizenship

@The Nexus of On-line and Off-line Anti-Corruption Activism
in Banten, Indonesia

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 4 april 2024
klokke 13.00 uur

door
Muhammad Zamzam Fauzanafi
geboren te Tasikmalaya (Indonesie)
in 1977

Promotor(es):

Prof.dr. B.A. Barendregt

Prof. Dr. W.J. Berenschot

Promotiecommissie:

Prof.dr. M.J. Spierenburg (Universiteit Leiden / voorzitter)

Dr.M. Lim (Carleton University Canada)

Dr.J. Postill (RMIT University)

Prof.mr.dr.A.W. Bedner

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my two supervisors: Professor Bart Barendregt (Leiden Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology), and Professor Ward J. Berenschot (KITLV). Prof. Barendregt and Prof. Ward have provided me with strong and critical guidance, as well as ongoing motivation and inspiration. I have felt privileged to engage with them. I would like also to express my gratitude to Prof. Henk Schulte Nordholt and Prof. Gerry Van Klinken, as the project director and project coordinator of the research program: *From Clients To Citizens? Emerging Citizenship in Democratizing Indonesia*. My research has been a part one of the research program that is a collaboration project between KITLV, Universitas Gadjah Mada, University of Amsterdam and Leiden University. It is funded by the Dutch KNAW and The Indonesian Ministry of Education.

I would like to thank the members of the reading committee, Dr. Merlyna Lim of Carleton University Canada, Dr. John Postill of RMIT University, and Prof. Adriaan Bedner of Leiden University. I appreciate that they read my dissertation manuscript with enthusiastic, engaging and critical perspectives.

I would like also to thank to friends and interlocutors in Banten; Lulu Jamaludin, Pak Sanusi, Mang Ripin, Nur Baety, Agus Safari, Gol A Gong, Badja Kudrata, Irvan Hq, Widyaningsih Budihartanti, Robie MJA, Khaeril Bowie, Andi Suhud Trisnahadi, and Bang Anca. They have been so generous in sharing their stories and insights.

I would like to acknowledge the good times shared with fellow Indonesian PhD students in Leiden: Hari Nugroho, Fifi Mubarika, Koko Sudarmoko, Fahrizal Affandi, Lusvita Nuzuliyanti, Mega Atria, Aldian Irma Amarrudin, Nazarudin, and Afriansyah.

I dedicate my dissertation to my parents; E. Noor Hasanah, my mother, and my late father, Ma'mun Sholeh. My late grandmother, Hj. Titi Latifah, who has supported my educations. My brother, Mohammad Irfan Hidayatullah has been my best discussion partner and brother. My Sisters Zaky Khoerunnisa and Ima

Khotimatunnisa have been wonderful friends and sisters. My parents-in-law, Suwanto and Sulastri, have been thoroughly supportive and engaging over years.

The last, but most special, I would like to thank my partner, Dyna Herlina Suwanto for supporting me and integrating family and work together. My sons, Arash Bumi Fauzanafi and Revan Bestari Fauzanafi, have been giving me so much fun and happiness.

List of Abbreviations

AKAK	: Advokasi untuk Komisi Anti-Korupsi ('Advocacy for a Corruption Eradication Commission')
AMM	: Aliansi Masyarakat Mentawai ('Mentawai Community Alliance')
ALDERA	: Aliansi Demokrasi Rakyat ('The People's Democratic Alliance')
APBD	: Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah ('The Regional Budget')
ASPRI	: Asisten Pribadi ('Personal Assistants')
BCW	: Banten Corruption Watch
CSO	: Civil Society Organization
DPR	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat ('The National Parliament')
FBN	: <i>Fesbuk</i> Banten News
FITRA	: Forum Indonesia Untuk Transparansi Anggaran ('Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency')
FMPP	: Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan ('Education Concerned Community Forum')
FMPK	: Forum Masyarakat Peduli Kesehatan ('Health Care Community Forum')
FOKSAD	: Forum Kajian Sosial dan Budaya ('Forum of Social-Cultural Study')
FPSB	: Forum Peduli Sumatera Barat ('West Sumatra Care Forum')
FSPP	: Forum Silaturahmi Pondok Pesantren ('Cordiality Forum of Islamic Boarding Schools')
FWB	: Forum Warga Banten ('The Citizens Forum of Banten')
GeRAK	: Gerakan Anti-Korupsi ('Movement Against Corruption')
GMKI	: Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia ('Indonesian Christian Student Movement')
GMNI	: Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia ('Indonesian National Student Movement')
GOWA	: Government Watch
GRP	: Gerakan Rakyat Palembang ('Palembang People's Movement')

HMI	: Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam ('Islamic Student Association')
IAC	: India Against Corruption
ICW	: Indonesia Corruption Watch
ICT	: Information and Communication Technology
IDEA	: Ide dan Analitika Indonesia ('Idea and Analytic Indonesia')
IMM	: Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah ('Muhammadiyah Student Association')
IPW	: Indonesia Procurement Watch
KADIN	: Kamar Dagang dan Indonesia ('Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry')
KAK	: Komite Anti-Korupsi ('Anti-Corruption Committee')
KAPPI	: Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia ('Indonesian Student Action Front')
KMAK	: Koalisi Mahasiswa Anti Korupsi ('Anti-Corruption Student Coalition')
KOAK	: Komite Anti Korupsi ('Anti-Corruption Committee')
KKN	: Korupsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme ('Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism')
KPK	: Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi ('The Corruption Eradication Commission')
KRM	: Koalisi Rakyat Menggugat ('The People's Coalition')
LAKRI	: Lembaga Anti Korupsi Republik Indonesia ('Anti-Corruption Agency of the Republic of Indonesia')
LBH	: Lembaga Bantuan Hukum ('Legal Aid Institute')
MCW	: Malang Corruption Watch
MTI	: Masyarakat Transparansi Indonesia ('Indonesian Society for Transparency')
MUI	: Majelis Ulama Indonesia ('Indonesian Ulama Council')
NKK/BKK	: Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan ('Normalization of Campus Life/Bodies for the Coordination of Student Affairs')
NU	: Nahdlatul Ulama ('The Renaissance of Ulama')
PMII	: Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia ('Indonesian Islamic Student Movement')
PMKRI	: Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Indonesia ('Indonesian Catholic Student Association')
PPATK	: Pusat Pelaporan dan Analisis Transaksi Keuangan ('The Centre for Financial Transactions Reporting and Analysis')
PPPSBBI	: Persatuan Pendekar Persilatan Seni Budaya Banten Indonesia ('The Indonesian Union of Bantenese Men of Martial Arts, Art, and Culture')

- PSHKI : Pusat Studi Hukum Kebijakan Indonesia ('Centre of Law and Policy Study')
- RBB : Relawan Banten Bersatu ('Unified Banten Volunteers')
- SMID : Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi ('Indonesian Student Solidarity for Democracy')
- SAMAK : Solidaritas Masyarakat Anti Korupsi ('Anti-Corruption Community Solidarity')
- SORAK : Solidaritas Rakyat Aceh Anti Korupsi ('Acehnese People's Solidarity Against Corruption')
- SOMASI : Solidaritas Masyarakat untuk Transparansi ('Community Solidarity for Transparency')
- TGPTPK : Tim Gabungan Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi ('The Joint Team For Corruption Eradication')
- UNCAC : The United Nations Convention Against Corruption

Table of Contents

Title Cover	i
Acknowledgments	vi
List of Abbreviations	viii
Table of Contents	xi
Chapter One	1
Introduction	
Chapter Two	32
The History of Anti-corruption Mobilizations in Indonesia	
Chapter Three	50
Mapping of The Dominant On-line Discourse of Corruption	
Chapter Four	69
Indirect activism and the Practice of Doing Citizenship	
Chapter Five	89
Off-Line Citizens Mobilizations	
Chapter Six	122
Conclusion	
Bibliography	130
Summary	144
Samenvatting van dit proefschrift	147
Curriculum Vitae	150
Propositions	152

