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

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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

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

Chapter Five

Off-Line Political Mobilizations

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that activist-citizens have engaged in emotional on-line anti-corruption activism by enacting digital acts of reporting and sharing news about corruption, as well as the digital acts of flaming targeted Banten political dynasty and cronies. Contemporary social movement studies scholars have noted that emotions, feelings of approval or disapproval, based on moral intuitions such as indignation and outrage, are relevant to the development of political protest and even social movements (Luker 1984, Flam 1990a, 1990b, Jasper and Poulsen 1995, Jasper 1997, Jasper 2011). They believe that anger can become the basis for mobilization (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001:16-17). Activists attempt to create moral outrage and anger among a larger segment of citizens and to transform them into political passions, driving the process of mobilization or directing people toward specific protest events (Melucci, 1996, Goodwin, Jasper, and Polleta, 2001, Jasper 2011, and Gerbaudo, 2012).

As I will explore in this chapter, however, this is not the case for Banten.

So far, emotions have here not been transformed into significant and effective mobilizations that could help curtail the allegedly corrupt dynasty. Following three cases of off-line political mobilization, i.e.; the ‘don’t vote for a corrupt dynasty’ off-line mobilization in the elections in Banten, anti-corruption street protests, and as a comparison case, anti-corruption off-line protest and participation organized by MCW (Malang Corruption Watch) in Malang, East Java, I will answer the question of why on-line emotional anti-corruption campaigns have not led towards successful off-line mobilization.

To answer the question, I make use of political and discourse opportunity structures as theoretical frameworks (see below). Looking into political opportunity structures In Banten, I found that off-line mobilizations, in comparison with Malang, were less successful because they were subjugated to the existing clientelistic structure that supports the dynasty. And, from a discourse opportunity structure framework, it can be argued that moral-emotional discourse of corruption in Banten, compare to the legal-material discourse of corruption in Malang, was not diffuse as clear, relevant, and directive messages in the public sphere. The moral-emotional discourse, therefore, could not attract supporters’ attention and trigger significant off-line political mobilization.

Political and Discourse Opportunity Structures

Before delving further into anti-corruption off-line mobilizations cases, I provide some theoretical frameworks. These are the frameworks of political opportunity structure and discourse opportunity structure.

The first refers to ‘the structure of political opportunities and constraints confronting the movement’ (McAdam, et.al, 1996: 2). In this sense, political opportunity structure can also be defined as the external environments in which social movements find themselves. This includes historical socio-political and institutional contexts that enable their mobilization (ibid.). According to this theory, the success of social movements is shaped by the broader set of political constraints and opportunities provided by a specific political system within which they are embedded and work (McAdam, et.al, 1996, Hooghe, 2005).

In Banten, the embedded political system is political clientelism. It refers to ‘the practice of providing personal favors—jobs, contracts, welfare support, money, and so forth—in exchange for electoral Support (Berenschot, 2018: 1564). Since the first direct election, in 2006, that brought Ratu Atut to become

governor of Banten, the family of Chasan Schohib (Ratu Atut's father) has created an organization called: "The Unified Banten Volunteers" (Relawan Banten Bersatu or RBB), which has consisted of the members of the family itself and the network of local businessmen, *jawara* (local strong man/thug), and intellectuals, that work to manage and mobilize provincial bureaucracies and government projects that involved the distribution of goods or foods were attributed to Atut to evoke the sympathy of people (Anzar, 2014, Maasaki and Hamid, 2008:134) (see chapter 1). This political clientelism practice was, then, continued to be used in the following elections in which Ratu Atut and her family ran for election. The elections included the 2011 governor election when Ratu Atut was elected for the second time, the 2011 local election of Serang regency and South Tangerang city that was won by Ratu Tatu (Ratu Atut's sister) and Airin Rachmi Diani (Ratu Atut's sister in law), the 2014 legislative election that brought Ratu Atut's son; Andika Harzumi to be a national parliament member (DPR-RI) and his sister was chosen as Banten's parliament member (DPRD Banten), and his wife became a representative in Serang Regency DPRD, and elections for Major of South Tangerang and Regent of Serang elections in 2015 that won by incumbents; Airin Rachmi Diani and Ratu Tatu.

This long-term domination of a political dynasty or family is related to the concept of subnational authoritarianism (Gibson 2005, Sidel 2014, Berenschot, et.al, 2021: 4). Through this concept it is argued that the concentration of control over economic activities, such as the dependency of local economies on the state, is an important factor to maintain the domination of a political elite (Berenschot, et.al, 2021: 4). There are two key indicators of concentration of political and economic power; state dependency and limited economic diversification. And as Berenschot (2018:1558) explains that:

"A dependency on state budgets fosters concentrated control because it concentrates power in the hands of ruling elites capable of allocating state resources. When economic diversification is limited—as evidenced by, for example, small industry, trade, and services sectors—economic power is generally more concentrated because of a lack of sources of income outside the ambits of (ruling) elites."

In other words, Political clientelism will decrease as a result of the growth of different economies that foster the establishment of a more independent civil society and an open public sphere (ibid: 1565).

Banten is an example of a province with a state-dependent economy where NGOs (Non-Government Organizations) and local newspapers are lacking independent sources of funding outside the orbit of local elites. In Banten, most of the NGOs seek money by practicing what is called as ‘delapan enam-an’ (eighty-six-ish). The number ‘delapan enam’ referred to the ‘code 86’ used by the policemen when they understand orders from their superiors. Politicians, bureaucrats, and activists themselves used this term to call NGOs that threaten to report alleged corruption cases of local officials to the police or attorney if they are not paid off. Conversely, in Malang, Most of the NGOs were likely more independent as they have diverse sources of funds including donations from the management, sympathizers, independent businesses, and external donors from national and international organizations.

Moreover, related to the nature of the public sphere in Banten, I found that local media, like newspapers and radios, are heavily dependent on the advertorial projects controlled by the dynasty and its cronies in the local government agencies (SKPD). According to Aji Setiakarya, a former media campaigner for the dynasty, Wawan (Ratu Atut’s brother) have controlled almost all local radio in Banten and set up ‘collaborations’ (kerjasama) with local newspapers, including Radar Banten (a most prominent local newspaper in Banten, belonging to Jawa Pos group), worth around 25 billion rupiah (about 1.3 million USD). The local newspaper must maintain good relations with the dynasty and mention Wawan’s name in order to get an advertorial ‘package’ (‘paket’) from the local government agencies. *“Since in Banten, there are not so many private companies that put an advertisement in local newspaper or media, we depend on the advertorial package from the government,”* said Amrin, an editor of Radar Banten. Eka Satyalaksamana, a former Radar Banten’s journalist, also stated that *“basically, Radar Banten has been bought (dibeli) by the dynasty...we must support the dynasty in return for money from advertorial package.”* He recounted to me how his editors refused to publish articles criticizing Banten political dynasty out of a fear of losing advertisement revenue.

When most of the local media and newspapers were under control and dependent on the dynasty, social media emerged as platforms that make critical postings and comments on the Banten political dynasty that were deemed corrupt. These social media platforms are Facebook pages and groups called: Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), Wong Banten, and Forum Warga Banten (see chapter 2 and 3). They contributed to diffusing discourse of corruption to the public and to the success or failure of offline political mobilization. To understand

this discursive opportunity provided by social media, I adopted the discourse opportunity structure as one of my conceptual tools.

The discursive opportunity's structure is defined as 'the aspects of the public discourse that determine a message's chances of diffusion in the public sphere' (Koopmans and Olzak, 2004:202 in Molei, 2015:96). According to this theory, the discourse that cannot attract supporters' attention and provoke reactions from other actors in the public sphere is considered to be failed in triggering political mobilizations (Molei, 2015).

In Banten, citizen-activists use social media to disseminate a moral discourse of corruption into the affective public (see chapter 3). Whereas, on social media in Malang, similar to the national CSOs (see chapter 3), corruption is constructed as legal and material discourse. In this chapter, using the concept of discourse opportunity structures, I look into how these two different aspects of discourse can or cannot attract people's attention and provoke offline mobilization.

The “Don't Vote for a Corrupt Dynasty” Off-line Mobilization

In the sub-chapter above, I have mentioned that electoral victories enabled the Banten political dynasty to gain power, largely helped by its clientelistic practices. Ratu Atut's family members and cronies took part in most of the elections instituted after the fall of Suharto – for governor of Banten (in 2006 and 2011), Mayor of Serang City (in 2011), Regent of Serang Regency (in 2011 and 2015), Mayor of South Tangerang (in 2011 and 2015), local parliament [DPRD, in 2009 and 2014), and national parliament (DPR-RI, in 2009 and 2014).¹ Here, I focus on social media campaigns which mobilize voters against not voting for Ratu Atut's family members and cronies in the 2014 national parliament elections, the 2015 regent of Serang, and major or South-Tangerang elections.

As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, campaigns against the candidacy of the Dynasty were initiated by activists, journalists and writers. These campaigns made use of Facebook page and groups discussed in the previous chapter: Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), Wong Banten, and Forum Warga Banten (FWB). Those campaigns emerged in election times only after Ratu Atut

1) They were Ratu Atut's husband (Hikmat Tomet), son (Andhika Harzumy), daughter (Andiara Aprillia Hikmat), daughter in law (Adde Rosi K), son in law (Tanto Warsini A.) and brother inlaw (Aden Abdul Khaliq). In South Tangerang's Mayor elections of 2015, Airin Rachmy Diany, Ratu Atut sister's in law or Wawan's wife, tried to get re-elected. And, in simultaneous local elections of 2015, Ratu Tatu Chasanah (Ratu Atut's sister) also run, for the second time, to be the Regent of Serang.



Pessa Pecong

Do not vote for legislative candidates from Atut Dynasty's family and cronies.

Do you have other names to add to the list of Atut's cronies? please write down here, so all people of Banten will know!

Share!! #JanganCoblosKroniAtut (#Don'tVoteForAtut'sCronies)

@ForosBanten (Front Revolusioner Selamatkan Banten/The Revolutionary Front to Save Banten)

and Wawan were detained by the KPK for bribery case of Constitutional Court Chief Justice (see chapter 1 dan 4). Anti-corruption activists saw Ratu Atut and Wawan's detention by KPK as proof that the dynasty is indeed corrupt, and that has made their power and reputation quickly dwindle.

When Ratu Atut's family members ran for office during the elections after Ratu Atut and Wawan were imprisoned, the activists also saw it as an attempt to take back power from the dynasty and ruin its reputation. Therefore, some activists were campaigning, using Facebook platforms, arguing not to vote for members of the dynasty to prevent their coming back to the offices. They used particular rhetoric for the campaign, including slogans such as "*Jangan coblos kroni Atut*" (Do not vote for Atut's Cronies, see picture below) , "*Tolak keluarga koruptor*" (Say no to corruptors family)", "*Jangan pilih dinasti*" (Do not vote for the dynasty), or using even more vitriolic words such as "*ganyang dynasty*" (destroy the dynasty), in which Ratu Atut and her family are framed as 'devils'. In this sense, those anti-corruption campaigns, as was explored in Chapter 3, are framed as moral-emotional discourses aiming at igniting citizens' anger to mobilize them to not vote for the candidates affiliated with a corrupt dynasty.

The result of the "Don't vote for a Corrupt Dynasty" campaign, however, has been disappointing. All the dynasty's candidates in the 2014 national parliament elections and the 2015 regent of Serang and major or South-Tangerang elections have succeeded to obtain office. This suggests that the online campaigns and framing activity mentioned above did not result in effective off-line mobilizations. Citizens were thus not effectively mobilized to vote against the candidates from a 'corrupt dynasty'. Why was this off-line mobilization unsuccessful?

I asked one of Ratu Atut's family supporters, who is also an active member of the Wong Banten FB group and a reader of Fesbuk Banten News about the "don't vote for the corrupt dynasty" campaigns. Nurjaya Sumanah, a newly graduated student who also is active in *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (The Muslim Students' Association) of Banten, who told me that:

Somehow, the one that they condemned (Ratu Atut) may not be as bad as we think.. she may be our 'parent', our 'ibu' (mother) who cares for us... and she and her family won big time in the elections. A lot of people voted for them. Just because of a small (bribery) case she is condemned and insulted. And they who criticize her, who do they think they are? They probably just happen to be people who are envious...And, actually the more they speak harshly about

Ratu Atut and her family, the more I feel sympathy for them. (Interview, 10 September 2015)

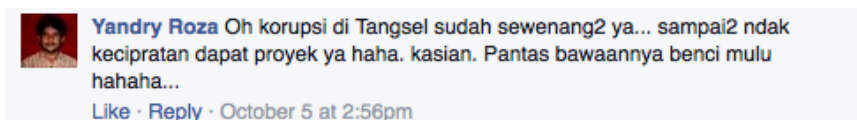
It can be understood from Nurjaya's point of view that even though Ratu Atut and her family are framed as 'devilish' or 'immoral', for him and others Ratu Atut's supporters, she is still seen as a mother figure who cares for them. The term 'care' here is related to Ratu Atut and her family's 'generosity' in giving "*bantuan*" or support, in these cases channeling government's resources, projects, and money-politic in election times. Therefore, from Nurjaya's perspective, anti-corruption activists who condemn Ratu Atut and her family are seen as 'people who are envious' because they did not get money for projects. And, people who received the "*bantuan*", due to money-politics in election times, relate themselves affectionately to Ratu Atut; a good mother who cares for their children.

A similar view was also applied to the case of the 2015 South Tangerang's Mayor elections that won by Airin Rachmy Diany (Ratu Atut's sister inlaw), a candidate framed by activists and her adversaries as a member of the 'corrupt family'.



Picture 1. Participants of the Arsid rally campaign (kampanye terbuka) in the Alap-Alap Square, Ciputat, South Tangerang, 22 November 2015. The narrative of "TOLAK KELUARGA KORUPTOR" (REJECT THE CORRUPT FAMILY)" was also picked-up by Arsid (Airin's contender in South Tangerang major election 2015) as his campaign tag-line written on t-shirts.

From the perspective of Airin's supporters, the 'don't vote for a corrupt dynasty/family' campaign was only an expression of enviousness and hate from her adversaries. Yandry Roza, one of Airin's supporters and active members of Forum Warga Banten, Yandri Roza wrote in a comment:



Yandry Roza Oh corruptions in Tangsel [South Tangerang] are already out of control yes...so that you [Airin's adversaries] could not get projects [government projects] hahaha...poor you. No wonder that you are full of hatred hahaha)

Yandry Roza, in a conversation with me at his house in Ciputat, South Tangerang, also added that:

They are, as citizens (*warga*), not satisfied (*puas*)..since they could not get projects (*proyek*) or grant (*bantuan*) from the government. Here, in this neighborhood, especially women (*ibu-ibu*), support Airin. Why? I asked them.. they said it is because Airin had already given them a lot of development (*pembangunan*). All the streets and alleys in the kampong are being asphalted or concretized ..Airin also support their *pengajian* (Quran study circle), and if they go to the hospital, they don't need to pay, it's free. ...) (Interview on 15 October 2015)

On the day of voting day on 20th December 2015, at a public counting of votes at a polling station in Ciputat, South Tangerang, I encountered some 'ibu-ibu' (women) mentioned by Yandry Roza. This group of women blatantly shouted: "Ibu..Ibu..Allahu Akbar..ibu.." every time a polling officer announced a vote for Airin Rachmy Diani through the microphone. They had clearly voted for Airin. They said that Airin is a good leader because she has provided citizens (*warga*) in their kampong with good public facilities like asphalt or concrete roads, and also, she gave some grants for their *pengajian* (Quran study circle). "But on Facebook or in the campaigns people said that Airin is part of a corruptor's family (*keluarga koruptor*), what do you think", I asked them. One of the women answered:

No... She is only a victim of Wawan's (her husband) corruption. It is only gossip that she has been involved in corruption herself...She is being slandered (*dihujat*) as a corruptor and being immoral, but she is a good and strong *Ibu* (mother) who cares for us as *warga* (citizens) (interview on 20th December 2015).

This notion of a “*ibu* (mother) who cares for us” through her distributing projects ‘*pembangunan*’ (development), benefits and money in exchange for political support reflects the dynasty’s clientelist practices (see above). The distribution of personal favors-projects, welfare support, money, and so forth was involving the same organization, that is RBB (Relawan Banten Bersatu/ The Unified Banten Volunteers) organizational structure (see above).² Fitnon Nur Ikhsan, a political consultant for Ratu Atut’s Family, explained that “*But, in this campaign (Airin’s campaign for Mayor of South Tangerang) We don’t call this organization RBB anymore. It has no name, but the structure is similar with RBB*”. It consists of the family of Ratu Atut and its networks of *jawara* (local string men), businessmen, plus local/village officers (*perangkat desa/kelurahan*). According to Ansarullah Yasin, a local leader of Ciputat, the place where the polling station mentioned above was located, one of the winning strategies from Airin’s team consisted of mobilization of resources and money through these *perangkat kelurahan*.

In the election for the position of the Regent of Serang, which coincided with South Tangerang’s Mayoral election, Ratu Tatu (Ratu Atut’s sister), the incumbent regent, also involved the ‘*perangkat desa*’ and Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)³ cadres in her network to mobilize resources and money to the voters.

- 2) “The Unified Banten Volunteers” (*Relawan Banten Bersatu* or RBB) is an organization whose cadres were all recruited from Ratu Atut’s Family, including his sisters (Ratu Tatu Chasanah and Ratu Lilis K.), brothers (Tb. Chaerul Zaman), husband (Hikmat Tomet), and brother-in-law (Aden Lilis K.), and some other members from the extended family. They work as coordinators in provincial and district level, and mostly to control funding for the campaign at the community level (Maasaki and Hamid, 2008:134).
- 3) The first conditional cash transfer program in Indonesia, Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH), was introduced by the Indonesian government in 2007. By requiring households to use certain health and educational services, the program aims to increase the quality of human capital. (Nazara and Rahayu, 2013). The PKH aids in easing the financial strain on very poor households (the immediate consumption effect), while also making an investment in present and future generations by promoting better health and education (the human capital development effect). The government’s plan to permanently pull PKH clients out of poverty combines short- and long-term aid. (*ibid*).

On one occasion, I visited Ratu Tatu's house in the city of Serang to have an interview with her. There was a large gathering being held for her in the pavilion of the backyard of her house. Ratu Tatu was in the gathering, and I was asked to wait for her outside the pavilion, sitting with some men dressed in black. Some of them were equipped with walkie-talkies. I assumed that they are the *jawara* who worked for Ratu Tatu as a kind of 'bodyguards' (*petugas keamanan*). Later, after a couple of conversations, I knew that they indeed were *jawara* that mostly came from '*perguruan silat*' (martial art schools), around Banten. The man who was sitting and smoking beside me also said that he has been working for the Family since Chasan Sochib (Ratu Atut's father) was alive. He continued serving the family as '*petugas keamanan*' for Ratu Atut, and then, at that time, was moved to work for Ratu Tatu.

After talking for a while, I then asked the man what was happening inside the *Pendopo*. "*Ibu (Ratu Tatu/Ratu Atut's sister) is gathering 'perangkat desa' and petugas PKH (program keluarga harapan) ...to discuss the next elections*", he said. I, then, asked whether I could enter the pavilion to see what was happening. Just before he replied, suddenly one of the *jawara* with a walkie talkie in his hand, yelled to his co-workers standing nearby the entrance of the *pendopo*, "*Di dalam ada anggota Bawaslu (The Election Supervisory Board), nyamar..suruh dia keluar.. (There is a member of the election supervisory board inside, he is undercover, drag them out...)*". I stood up and curiously approached the door. But, one of the *jawara* stopped me and asked me, politely, not to enter the pavilion. Minutes later, the *jawara* who entered the pavilion came out with a man. He was then surrounded by four *jawara* and was interrogated. They asked him about his letter of assignment from Bawaslu (The Election Supervisory Board). The man could not provide the letter and argued that it was due to the holidays he had none. He was accused of entering private property without permission and the *jawara* asked him to leave Ratu Tatu's House.

Before he left, the *jawara* also asked him to delete some photos that he apparently had taken in the *Pendopo*. After the man was gone, the *jawara* who had caught and interrogated him said to his colleagues; "*It was crazy, he took pictures when the people were queuing to receive an amplop (money)*". The *Jawara*, who sat with me before, said that they must make contact with the head of Bawaslu of Serang and settle this problem by "*just giving him and other officers some amplop (money), so they will keep quiet*". I understood later that Ratu Tatu had gathered some *perangkat desa* and *petugas PKH* to provide them with money to distribute to the voters in their area.

After the gathering had finished, I met with Ratu Tatu in her large and ornate guest room. I interviewed her about her family's strategies to win the various elections and how to deal with the 'don't vote for the corrupt dynasty' campaigns. She responded by saying that:

My sister (Ratu Atut) and brother (Wawan) are not corrupt in the sense that they stole people's money (*mencuri uang rakyat*). They just made the mistake of bribing...Look, people of Banten still love and respect us... It was proven by the fact that all of our family members won in the previous elections. And I hope I will win in the next elections also...

We have been taught by our late father (Chasan Sochib) that we must care for the people of Banten. Our late father was well-known for his kindness, helping the people. That, also, was the reason why we got involved in politics (by) becoming governor, mayor, regent, or legislative members. We want to continue to help and care for the people of Banten. We don't care if people say that we are a corrupt family because we are not. We do not steal the people's money. We already have money before we joined politics. As you see we have our own business (Interview on 8 November 2015).

The ideas expressed by Ratu Atut's family such as "caring for the people of Banten", intertwined with their clientelist practices - distributing resources, projects, and money in exchange for obtaining political support - all are among the strategies causes that rendered the 'don't vote for corrupt dynasty' mobilization unsuccessful. The harsh and emotional language used in the campaign (see above) failed to provoke the voters to not vote for the dynasty. The voters were instead seduced by, what Lazar (2004), in the context of Bolivia, phrased as: "the affective aspect of clientelism" in which patrons are trying to 'have people' by 'giving 'care' and 'warmth' to the voters. Moreover, as incumbents, Ratu Tatu and Airin also could use state resources-budget and programs - in a clientelistic way - that gave them a big advantage over their opponents. These clientelistic practices, together with 'the affective aspect of clientelism', ensured that votes remained loyal to the candidates from Ratu Atut's dynasty. Thus, the 'don't vote for a corrupt dynasty' off-line mobilization failed.

Anti-corruption Off-line Demonstrations

In Chapter 3, I have argued that corruption in Banten is framed as a moral-emotional discourse and is aimed at igniting citizens' anger. In this sort of framing, there are no strategic accounts or callings of what should be done for the citizens to take action. A lack of clear-cut strategies is what makes there are little anti-corruption mobilization efforts in Banten that also occur off-line and only small numbers of people are commonly seen to join such mobilizations if they occur. It can be seen from one of the examples of a demonstration initiated by the administrator of Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), Lulu Jamaluddin. This demonstration was held on the 9th of December, 2014 in commemoration of the International Volunteers Day that is celebrated every 5th of December.

The campaign started with a posting from Lulu Jamaludin at FBN's wall, as seen here:

FESBUK BANTEN News bersama Alaaw Ekhsan.
5 Desember 2014 · 🌐

Selamat Hari Relawan Sedunia, 5 Desember 2014.(LLJ)

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KORUPSI
RAKYAT BANTEN BANYAK YANG
MATI**

RELAWAN fesbuk banten MUSA NYATA
www.fesbukbantennews.com

**Hari RELAWAN Sedunia
5 Desember 2014**

Promosi Tidak Tersedia

👍 133 💬 11 Komentar 9 Kali Dibagikan

FESBUK BANTEN News

5 December 2014

Happy International Volunteer Day, 5 December 2014 (LLJ)

Government Officials are corrupt, Many people of Banten have died.

Fesbuk Banten News, From Virtual World with Real Acts.

This posting did not become very popular, it only received likes from 133 people, and was shared by nine people, and commented upon by eleven readers, which included:

Arifin Noer La Galigo *Aksinya dong min. (Let's take an action, Min...)*

Tyar story *Jangan Cuma dimatiin sekalian dimiskinin terus asingkan keluarganya di hutan tanpa dikasih bekal biar diliat semua orang korupsi sama dengan maling sederajat. (Don't just kill them, make them poor, then exile their family to the forest without giving them food, so all people will see them as thieves)*

Reza Jhon Gacon *Haahhh..simbolis doang..Percuma kalau tidak ada ystem pembentukan karakter SDM nya...korupsi itu sudah jadi darah dan daging di Banten... jadi Cuma hukuman mati yang mampu membuat mereka Jera. (Haahhh .. it's just symbolic..It's useless unless there is a system to build good charters of government's human resourcescorruption is embodied in Banten...so only a death sentence that can make them repent.)*



Nanang Agung Pureowo Get Together

Ana Sugiarto *Rakyat susah? EGP (People are suffering? I DON'T CARE)*



Inha Verdy Amoer screw the enemy..I'd rather earn money

Fatah Bowo Pejabat *korupsi harus berani dihukum mati (corruption, [you must] dare to punish it with a death sentence)*

Irvan Surahman Pejabat. Politikus = TIKUS!!! (government officials. Politicians = RAT!!!!)



Omar Albantany Dare to be Honest, Great! (KPK's anti-corruption slogan)

Most of the comments above reflect the moral-emotional discourse on corruption in Banten Facebook page and groups (see Chapter 3). With the exception of two very short comments that were suggested to take further action. One of them is the first comment from Arifin Noer La Galigo who also is a citizen journalist and volunteer of FBN itself. He is well-known to the FBN readers for his photo reports of the poor-infrastructure *conditions* in Banten. His comment above, “Let’s take action, Min”, is directed personally to Lulu Jamaludin being the administrator of FBN who is also a close friend of his. Lulu, himself, did not frame his posting about corrupt officials causing the death of poor people in Banten as a call for action. Lulu, however, then decided to answer the call from Arifin by inviting him and others FBN’s volunteers together with Arif Khirdiyat, a coordinator of “*Relawan Kampung*” (Kampung Volunteer),⁴ to discuss a plan for an ‘aksi’ (action).

On the 8th of December 2014, Lulu Jamaludin, Arifin, and some of the younger FBN’s volunteers - Rully, Wiwit, and Rizal - gathered at Homi café, which is owned by one of FBN’s founders, Andi Suhud (see chapter 3 and 4). Arif Khirdiyat arrived later, alone. They decided to have an ‘aksi’ for the day after afternoon at the Ciceri intersection. This place is considered as an ‘entrance gate’ to Serang City, the capital of Banten. After choosing the location of ‘aksi’, they discussed a division of tasks. Lulu took the task to make a banner and Arif Khirdiyat was assigned to make leaflets to be circulated for the people on the street. Arifin and other FBN’s volunteers had no specific duties. They were, only,

4) *Relawan Kampung* is an initiative by Arif Khirdiyat, a travel and tourist businessman, for collecting donations to build bridges, roads, and school in remote and poor area of Banten.

asked to show up for tomorrow's aksi'.

On the following day, the 9th of December, at 15.30, Lulu, Rully, and Imam (a high school student and the youngest citizen journalist of FBN) arrived at Ciceri Intersection. After parking his motorcycle, Lulu took out a banner showing photos of poor sick people with the same text posted on FBN: “*Pejabat Korupsi, Rakyat Banten Banyak Mati* (Government Officials are corrupt, Many people of Banten Have Died)” (see photo below). Not long after, Arif Khirdiyat arrived and brought two Relawan Kampung's Volunteers. Later, Arifin came with his daughter.



Picture 2. Fesbuk Banten News (FBN) anti-corruption off-line protest at Ciceri junction, City of Serang, Banten.

The protest was conducted in the middle of the Ciceri intersection. Every time the traffic lights turned red and all the vehicles stopped, Rully and Imam hold and spread the banner in front of the vehicles, whereas Lulu started to give an oration. He said:

“Saudara-saudara para pengguna jalan, bapak polisi, mohon maaf kami hadir bukan untuk mengganggu perjalanan anda, tapi hanya mengingatkan tentang Hari Relawan Sedunia yang jatuh pada tanggal 5 Desember 2014. Kami dari Forum Relawan Se-Banten...pada hari relawan sedunia ini kita harus lebih peduli lagi harus lebih rajin membantu masyarakat miskin, karena pemerintah seperti tutup mata pada ribuan

pasien miskin, pada ribuan warga kita yang tidak memiliki rumah, kepada ribuan warga Banten yang tidak memiliki jembatan untuk pergi ke sekolah...kita harus peduli..karena kalau bukan kita siapa lagi, karena saat ini anggaran untuk rakyat ratusan milyar dikorupsi sehingga banyak warga Banten yang mati akibat kelakuan pejabat.”

(Friends, road users, policemen, we are sorry if we disturb your trips. We just want to remind you all about International Volunteer Day commemorated on the 5th of December 2014. We are from Banten Volunteers Forum. In this International Volunteers Day. We must more care and diligently help poor people, because the government seems don't care about thousands of poor patients, thousands of citizens who have no house, thousands of citizens who have no bridges to go the schools...we must care. Because if it is not us who will care, because now hundred billion budgets for the people are corrupted, so a lot of citizens of Banten died because of that)

This protest lasted for more or less one hour. Lulu was the one who did the orations all the time. Rully and Imam held the banner in turn with the two Relawan Kampung's volunteers. Whereas, Arif Khirdiyat and Arifin mostly only watched from the sidewalk or took some photos of the demonstration.

As it can be seen from the description above, Lulu and FBN's volunteers, who were quite spontaneous and have very little time in preparing the demonstration, could not mobilize a lot of people. The participants in the demonstration only consisted of their own inner group of friends. There were, also no clear agendas or demands claimed during the demonstration. It was more like a commemoration of International Volunteers Day by calling people on the street to do voluntary actions in caring and helping poor people, with a little insert of general accusation that “*budget for poor people is corrupted by government officials, and it makes a lot of citizens of Banten dead*”. They did not clearly indicate what the corruptions cases were, who were the government officials suspected of the corruption and what were their own demands.

Similar problems also occurred in a set of anti-corruption demonstrations organized by students covered by, but not choreographed through, Fesbuk Banten News (FBN). These had more participants, compared to FBN's demonstration, but still only limited to the members of those student's organizations. Usep, one of the student activists' leaders from *Keluarga Mahasiswa Sudirman 30 (KMS)*, said that in fact they never use social media platforms for the internal members to

mobilize and to call people to join their actions on the street. He said it was very difficult to call other citizens to join their demonstrations, so he only focuses on organizing his fellow student activists.

Ahmad, a student-activist of IMM (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah/ Muhammadiyah Students Bond),⁵ who is also one of FBN's volunteers, shares a similar opinion and experience with Usep. He shared with me that:

It is difficult to call citizens of Banten to join our actions, both using direct approaches (*pendekatan langsung*) or using social media. Unless we bring issues to bear on something that they directly see and feel, like issues of poor public facilities or poor conditions, like the damaged roads. Issues of corruption and dynasty are too abstract (*abstrak*) to be understood by ordinary citizens (Interview, 25 Agustus 2015).

Similar to FBN's demonstration, anti-corruption students mobilizations also serve as, more or less, as a response to, certain events, such as elections or inauguration of elected candidates, the Province of Banten establishment commemoration (4th October), International anti-corruption day (9th December), National Hero Day (November 10th), Mother's Day (20th December), the day prior to and on which Ratu Atut became a suspect (17th December, 2013) until the day when she was arrested by KPK (20th December, 2013), and celebration after that. Therefore, like FBN's demonstrations, students' demonstrations, also, have no clear agendas or demands although being related to some real-life corruptions cases. In fact, most of the students' demonstrations held after Ratu Atut and Wawan were being captured publicly appeared or made the impression to be more like a '*syukuran*' (celebration) of their detention by KPK. This made the demonstrations less likely to be subject to threats from the dynasty since Ratu Atut and Wawan had less power after they were arrested by KPK.

5) Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM) or Muhammadiyah Student Association (founded in 1965) is an exponent of Muhammadiyah in student affairs which basic mission is to realize the real Islamic society as formulated by Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah. As an effort to attain this mission, IMM should provide scrupulous interpretation based on its role as a student organization in the second century of Muhammadiyah movement or "the Enlightenment Movement (*harakah at-tanwir*)" (Widodo, 2017:127)



Picture 3. One of the student demonstrations reported in Fesbuk Banten News. Some student enacted “sujud syukur” (prostration of gratitude) as a celebration for Ratu Atut and Wawan’s detainment by KPK.

Before 2013, when Ratu Atut and Wawan, and with back-up from their father Chasan Sohib, were still in full control, mobilizing people to some anti-corruption demonstrations would be countered by intimidation by their *jawara* or it could be tamed by various kinds of payments (bribery). For example, in 2010, Makky Fatihah, a Fesbuk Banten News volunteer and activist of an NGO called *Foksad* (Forum Kajian Sosial dan Budaya/Forum of Social-Cultural Study), together with his brother; Hafid Asad, initiated some demonstrations in which they demanded an investigation of corruption related to a medical equipment procurement in the Health Department of Banten Province (*Kasus Alkes*). Makky remembers that:

There were only 12 or 15 people who usually joined our demonstrations. Most of them are also student activists...after the demonstration, we always were chased (*dikejar-kejar*) by Ratu Atut’s *jawara*. We would then go into hiding. I fled to Kudus, one of my friends even fled as far as Lampung. Whereas Hafid was interrogated by Wawan’s man (*orangnya Wawan*) Izul Jazuli, a broker that connects Ratu Atut’s family with NGOs, journalists, and even the law enforcement apparatus. Hafid came to Le-Dian hotel, and at its cafe, he

met with Izul and Djaja Buddy, the head of the health office of Banten, who allegedly involved in 'Alkes' corruption case (medical equipment procurement corruption case)..they gave money to Hafid, it was 200 million rupiah (about 13.000 USD). Hafid took the money. After Izul and Djaja left, suddenly there came policemen who arrested Hafid by charging him with blackmail. It was a trap, and Hafid went three years into prison. After all those incidents I am afraid to get involved in demonstrations against the dynasty.

This experience shows how the dynasty uses its power and networks, including policemen, to counter or tame political mobilizations. A scholar-activist, Boyke Pribadi, who had a similar experience of being threatened by Ratu Atut's *jawara* for being critical towards the dynasty, said that the dynasty's network of *jawara* used 'golok' (machete/violence) to spread fear and their business network used 'uang' (money/bribery) to silence activists. Even, Gol A Gong, a writer, and activist, who has been active criticizing the dynasty through the Wong Banten Facebook Group (see Chapter 4), also fled to Sumatra for almost six months out of fear for the dynasty's *jawara* and their terror. Fear is one of the important emotional elements that determine the success and failure of political mobilizations (Flam, 2005:29). And, in the case of anti-corruption mobilizations in Ratu Atut repressive era, before she and her brother were detained by KPK, activists' attempts to mobilize people all failed because they could not manage or counter their fear. The dynasty's repressive system, in this case, works through its clientelistic practices and its *jawara*'s networks in spreading threats ('golok'/machete) or through money politics and businessmen that financially tame the activists.

A little Comparison: Anti Corruptions Mobilizations of Malang Corruption Watch

In this section, in order to understand how an anti-corruption movement may work in mobilizing citizens, I make a small comparison between off-line anti-corruption mobilizations in Banten and a considerably more successful anti-corruption mobilization in Malang, East Java, organized by an NGO called Malang Corruption Watch (MCW).

Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) was founded on May 31st, 2000, with support from LBH (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum), a well-known national NGO that not only provides free legal assistance, advocacy, and consultation but

also engages in anti-corruption activism (see Chapter 2). The establishment of MCW was inspired by the existence of ICW (Indonesian Corruption Watch) (also see Chapter 2). MCW is one of the most active local anti-corruption NGOs in Indonesia, and MCW became the main actor in the anti-corruption movement in the Malang Raya region, including Malang Regency, the City of Malang, and the City of Batu (Latifah and Larasati, 2018).

In combating corruption, Malang Corruption Watch has developed several activities, including; “Pendidikan Politik Rakyat” (Political Education For The People), “Sekolah Rakyat” (People’s School), “Forum Warga” (Citizens Forum), “Kelompok Warga Mengawal Pelayanan Publik” (Citizens Group For Public Services Monitoring), “Kampanye Anti-Korupsi” (Anti-Corruption Campaigns), and “Sekolah Anti-Korupsi” (Anti-Corruption Schools) (Rahmadani and Samsuri, 2019: 55).

Firstly, political education for the people is a process of building critical awareness among the communities in Malang, starting with providing an understanding of rights and obligations as citizens. Secondly, the people’s school, which is a means to transfer knowledge and skills in community organizing and advocacy to actors in communities, Thirdly, the Citizen’s Forums are forums in which communities’ actors from the People’s Schools practice their skills in community organizing and advocacy. Fourthly, these Citizens’ Forums main activities are conducting public service monitoring. The two most active citizen monitoring forums are Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan (FMPP) and Forum Masyarakat Peduli Kesehatan (FMPK). FMPP focuses on monitoring and advocating for education services in Malang, mostly to encourage schools to be free from corruption and illegal fees (more about FMPK will be explored in detail below). where FMPK works to file complaints against healthcare services that are not pro-people. In 2018, Malang Corruption Watch collaborated with FMPK with a focus on monitoring programs related to the implementation of non-contributory modality (PBI, Penerima Bantuan Iuran) for the poor, advocating for universal health coverage, and changes in the local health regulation (Perda, Peraturan Daerah) in Malang City (Rahmadani and Samsuri, 2019: 56).

Furthermore, Malang Corruption Watch utilized various methods of anti-corruption campaigns, including community cinema, anti-corruption arts and performances, “jagongan” (public discussion), anti-corruption “istighosah” (praying together), and social media campaigns. Community cinema and anti-corruption arts and performances were held to unite community’s perspectives on corruption as a common enemy. *Jangongan* (public discussion) sets out to

facilitate meetings between the public and government officials, as well as academics and activists. For example, a *jagongan* meeting was held to discuss the implementation of local elections in Malang City by inviting the Regional Election Commission (KPUD) and the City Election Supervisory Committee (Panwas) to reach an agreement on the joint monitoring of the implementation of the Malang City local elections with integrity. The anti-corruption *isti ghosah* is organized under the theme “Malang Corruption Emergency” in response to the detention of 41 members of the Malang City DPRD by the KPK in a bribery case. Malang Corruption Watch invited all elements of Malang’s society, including motorcycle taxi drivers, street vendors, housewives, public transportation drivers, teachers, lecturers, students, factory workers, farmers, religious leaders, and members of the Anti-Corruption Society Alliance (AL-MAK). For Malang Corruption Watch, the development of social media is a top priority in carrying out its anti-corruption campaigns. The social media platforms used by MCW include a Facebook page called Malang Corruption Watch, an Instagram account under the name of @mcwngalam, and a Twitter account of @MCWngalam. The availability of social media makes it easier for MCW to conduct its campaign through various content considered relevant, such as infographics on policy analysis and corruption cases and calls for actions or demonstrations. City (Rahmadani and Samsuri, 2019: 57).

It is not surprising that Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) is well known among the citizens of Malang. This was evident when I went to Malang and headed to the MCW office. The motorcycle taxi driver I was riding with immediately recognized the address of the MCW office: “*This is the MCW office, right? They often hold activities and protest about corruption. Continually, they seem to never get tired,*” said the motorcycle taxi driver.

Malang Corruption Watch’s achievements in monitoring, advocacies, and investigation of corruption cases in Malang includes; extortion in the education sector in Malang City, corruption in the procurement of land for the Malang City hospital, delayed completion and overrun budget in the Tidar street drainage dine worth 39 billion rupiah (about 2.5 million USD), alleged corruption in the Kedungkandang bridge project worth 9,7 billion rupiah (about 262.000 USD), alleged corruption in the procurement in the procurement of library books for village offices worth 2,2 billion rupiah, tax evasion in 2012 amounting to 4,6 billion rupiah (about 142.000 USD), illegal levies at SMA 10 (a high school) worth Rp.2.25 billion rupiah (about 145.000 USD) , and also corruption cases that occurred during the local elections (Surabaya Pagi, 2014).

In addition to corruption cases mentioned above, Malang Corruption Watch has also been successful in uncovering “10 corruption cases” in Batu City that allegedly involving (ex) Mayor of Batu; Eddy Rumpoko. Malang Corruption Watch posted the detail of these 10 corruption cases on their social media platforms; Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, as follows:

10

KASUS KOTA BATU

#ERterlibat

- 1

PENUNGGAKAN PAJAK HIBURAN 2010-2014 SEBAGAI DUGAAN MODUS TINDAK PIDANA KORUPSI

telah terjadi penunggakan pajak hiburan oleh JTP 1 dan 2 serta BNS, berpotensi menimbulkan kerugian keuangan negara sebesar Rp. 24 M
- 2

PENGURANGAN PIUTANG PAJAK HIBURAN 2012 SEBAGAI INDIKASI KORUPSI

SK Walikota memberikan keringanan pajak kepada JTP 1, dan dugaan potensi kerugian keuangan negara sebesar Rp. 2,2 M
- 3

KORUPSI PT BWR 2014

dana penyertaan modal PT BWR, dipinjamkan kepada orang lain oleh direksi, atas perintah dari pemilik saham penuh, berpotensi menimbulkan kerugian keuangan negara Rp. 1,2 M
- 4

KORUPSI BATU ROADSHOW “BATU SHINING INVESTMENT” 2015

pengadaan jasa EO tidak menggunakan mekanisme pengadaan barang dan jasa dengan benar, berpotensi menimbulkan kerugian keuangan negara Rp. 1 M
- 5

DUGAAN KORUPSI PEMBANGUNAN BLOCK OFFICE 2009-2016

pembangunan sempat terhenti beberapa tahun akibat adanya persoalan penganggaran, kontraktor dan proses pengadaan tanah.
- 6

DUGAAN KORUPSI TUKAR GULING DADAP REJO 2011

antara Pemkot Batu dan pihak swasta (terdapat perbedaan harga) yang berpotensi merugikan keuangan negara Rp. 7,5 M
- 7

PEMBANGUNAN TAMAN BLOCK OFFICE “AMONG TANI”

proyek ini di kerjakan oleh PT CA dan beberapa bulan lalu ramai terkait aliran dana kepada beberapa pihak
- 8

PEMBANGUNAN GOR GAJAHMADA 2016

proyek ini di kerjakan oleh PT CA dan beberapa bulan lalu ramai terkait aliran dana ke beberapa pihak.
- 9

PERIZINAN “PREDATOR FUNPARK” 2014

berdirinya predator funpark di Kota Batu ternyata belum mengantongi izin
- 10

PEMBANGUNAN SEJUMLAH PERUMAHAN/PEMUKIMAN 2017

lahan pertanian berubah menjadi lahan perumahan tanpa pengawasan ketat, ini berpotensi ada proses negosiasi antara pihak pengembang dengan





malang
corruption
watch



mcwingalam



mcw.malang@
gmail.com



@mcwingalam

10 Cases of Batu City

#ERterlibat (Edi Rumpoko involved)

1. The arrears of the 2010-2014 entertainment tax as an alleged mode of corruption.

There have been arrears of entertainment tax by Jatim Park 1 and 2 and Batu Night Spectacular. Potential to cause state financial losses of 24 billion Rupiah (about 1,5 million USD)

2. Reduction of 2012 entertainment tax receivables as an indication of corruption

The mayor's decree provides tax relief to JPT 1, and the alleged potential loss of state finances is RP. 2.2 billion Rupiah (about 142.000 USD)

3. Corruption PT.BWR 2014

Government investment money for PT. BWR is lent to someone else by the board of directors on the orders of the full shareholder, potentially causing state financial losses of 1.2 billion rupiah (about 77.000 USD).

4. Corrupt Batu Roadshow "Batu Shining Investment" 2015

The use of EO services does not use the correct mechanism for the procurement of goods and services, potentially causing financial losses of 1 billion rupiah (about 64.000 USD).

5. Allegations of corruption in the construction of the 2009-2016 block office

Construction had been halted for several years due to problems in budgeting, contractors, and the land acquisition process.

6. Allegations of Corruption in the land exchange of Dadap Reja 2011

Between the Batu City Government and the private sector (there is a price difference) which has the potential to harm the state's finances 7.5 billion rupiah (about 484.000 USD)

7. Construction of the 'Among Tani' block office park

This project is being carried out by PT.GA and a few months ago there is a rumor about the flow of funds to several parties.

8. Construction of the 2016 Gajah Mada GOR

This project is being carried out by PT.GA and a few months ago there is a

rumor about the flow of funds to several parties.

9. 2016 “Predator Fun Park” Licensing

This project is being carried out by PT.GA and a few months ago there is a rumor about the flow of funds to several parties.

10. Construction of housing/settlements 2017

Agricultural land turned into residential land without strict supervision. There is potential collusion in the negotiation process between the developer and the government.

As a result of this long investigation and advocacy, in September 2017, Eddy Rumpoko, the Mayor of Batu City, was arrested by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) in relation to corruption allegation case in tourism business investment of PT Batu Wisata Resource and “Batu Shining Investment” (Number 3 and 4 in the list above).

Different from postings on corruption in social media in Banten, Malang Corruption Watch’s postings, as it can be seen from one of the examples above, most are framed as both legal and as material/financial discourse. Similar to national CSOs’ social media discourse of corruption, Malang Corruption Watch’s social media postings on corruption are described in terms of legal doctrines under which particular events or practices can be adjudicated (see Chapter 3). Whereas as material practices, corruption is framed as monetary abuses by those government officials. Compared to moral-emotional discourse in Banten, this legal and material framing, supported with MCW’s organizing ability, is more effective in directing people towards specific protest events or offline-mobilizations.

There were a variety of off-line anti-corruption events organized by Malang Corruption Watch, including demonstrations, *rembuk warga* (citizens deliberation), *kongres rakyat* (people’s congress), *sekolah anti-korupsi* (school of anti-corruption), *pos pengaduan* (public complaint stations), festivals, art exhibitions, movie screenings, seminars, and discussions. In contrast to anti-corruption online campaigns in Banten (see Chapter 3 and section above), Malang Corruption Watch’s social media campaigns provide potential participants with a clear narration about corruption cases they will deal with and clear agenda of actions or suggestions on how to act. The clear narrations are a result of their legal-material framing of corruption. As it can be seen from several postings on

Malang Corruption Watch's social-media platforms (Facebook page, Twitter, and Instagram)

In relation to the detainment of the Mayor of Batu City due to the corruption in the tourism sector (see above), Malang Corruption Watch continued to post a "seruan aksi" (a call for action) demanding to "stop public deception on corruption and environmental destruction in The City of Batu":



SERUAN AKSI

Salam Anti Korupsi

Korupsi dan Kerusakan lingkungan adalah penyakit yang sedang menular dalam sendi - sendi pemerintahan, khususnya pemerintah Kota Batu. Bagaimana tidak? ditetapkan nya Walikota Batu (ER) sebagai tersangka dalam kasus suap pengadaan menunjukkan bahwa korupsi tubuh pemerintahan Kota Batu sedang mengidap penyakit korupsi. Selain itu, perubahan Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah RTRW) Kota Batu yang berpotensi merusak lingkungan, sangat diresahkan oleh Masyarakat.

Oleh karena itu, Malang corruption watch (MCW) bersama warga Kota Batu mengajak Aksi Bersama dan mengundang rekan-rekan dalam aksi tersebut dengan “Stop Pembodohan Publik atas Korupsi dan Pengrusakan Lingkungan” yang dilakukan pada:

Hari/ jam ; Kamis, 26 April 2018, 13.00 WIB - Selesai

Tempat; Di arena Alun-alun Kota Batu

Demikian dari kami.

Salam Anti Korupsi

(CALL FOR ACTION)

Anti-Corruption Salute!

Corruption and environmental destruction are infectious diseases in the body of the government, especially the government of Batu. When the Mayor of Batu became suspect of a bribery case it shows that corruption is infecting the body of the government of Batu. Moreover, the amendment of the City of Batu’s Regional Spatial Plan potentially will destroy the environment, it is, also, complained by the community.

Therefore, Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) together with the citizens of the City of Batu invite you to join an Action to demand: “stop public deception by corruption and environmental destruction in The City Of Batu”, that will be held in:

Day/time: Thursday, 26 April 2018, 13.00 WIB - end

Location: City of Batu’s public square.

From Us,

Anti-Corruption Salute!

This call for action was a response to the verdict in a bribery case of Batu’s City Mayor; Eddy Rumpoko, announced the next day. Bayu, Malang Corruption Watch’s research division coordinator, said that:

We want to support KPK to reach a fair verdict in the Eddy Rumpoko case, by involving the warga (citizens) of Batu themselves...there were about 30 people who joined the demonstration. In terms of numbers, it was not a lot. However, if we put it in the context of Batu, where Rumpoko’s family have a lot of supporters and ‘spies’ (mata-mata), this number was significant. (Interview on 30 March 2017)

In this case, although Rumpoko's family has a lot of supporters and 'spies', they do not make use of them to intimidate the Malang Corruption Watch activists. Therefore, Malang Corruption Watch was able to mobilize a significant number of people to join their demonstration against Eddy Rumpoko.

Moreover, although the Rumpoko family also practiced political clientelism by creating patronage networks, especially, with politicians and businessmen, their clientelistic strategies seemed less effective in suppressing protests. It is because the activists and NGOs, in this case, Malang Corruption Watch, are more independent from the patronage network of government's resources. Malang Corruption Watch has different funding resources including: donations from the management and supporters, publishing business, cafe business, collaboration with other NGOs (for example with ICW), and external donors from national and international organizations.

In an informal talk with a student from Brawijaya University, Malang, Lutfi J Kurniawan, the founder of Malang Corruption Watch and one of candidates of KPK's chairmen, said that it is forbidden for Malang Corruption Watch to accept money from monitoring objects, namely the government, legislature, or companies. Independence is indeed the most guarded value in MCW. "In the past, we were offered a bundle of money from a head of government's department. If we want, we could take the money. Our self-esteem is not that low. What a mess such people are (if they take the money). How come they are not ashamed of that?" (Informal conversation 3rd February 2011).

In this case, Malang Corruption Watch is not only holds the values of independence, has more sources to support their activities. Compared to the NGOs in Banten which are more dependent on money from the local government as part of the Atut dynasty's political and business networks (see above), Malang Corruption Watch has diverse funding resources, as mentioned above.

Malang Corruption Watch also organized the demonstration by making use of their old network with students and youth organizations, who have been collaborating with MCW advocating against the threats of environmental destruction in Batu. That was why they also brought environmental issues into the demonstration. Fahrudin, Malang Corruption Watch's head coordinator, also noted that:

Environmental problems, like water pollution issue, loss of agricultural land, are something that directly felt and affected the community. Bringing those issues and relating them to corruption practices in a development project

involve government officials and businessmen, is our strategy to attract citizens of Batu joining the action (interview on 30 March 2017)

In terms of citizens' participation, Malang Corruption Watch claims that they are one of the NGOs that still opts for 'pengorganisian warga' (citizen organizing) as their main approach in the anti-corruption struggle. Malang Corruption Watch facilitates citizens to engage in anti-corruption mobilization through 'pos pengaduan' (public complaints station) to collect complaints from citizens about corruption cases in public services. One of the most successful citizens mobilizations facilitated by Malang Corruption Watch is the Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan (FMPP /Citizens Forum Care For Education) which aims to study policies on education, organize protests against extortion (*pungutan liar*) in the school admission process, and collect complaints about corruption practices in the educational sector.

Malang Corruption Watch and Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan use social media to spread information about their *pos pengaduan*. For example, the posting below about a *pos pengaduan* set-up for monitoring and reporting every kind of mistreatment in "Penerimaan Peserta Didik Baru" (PPDB/ New Students Admission Process) in elementary schools to high schools in Malang :



Malang Corruption Watch

Halaman Disukai · 27 Juni 2016 ·

AWASI DAN LAPORKAN SEGALA BENTUK
PENYIMPANGAN PPDB 2016/2017.

Malang Corruption Watch dan Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan membuka posko pengaduan keliling dan pengaduan sms interaktif selama 27 - 30 Juni 2016.

Kirimkan aduan dan keluhan anda di nomor yang tertera di gambar. Mari awasi mari peduli.

Salam.
MCW dan FMPP

...

(Malang Corruption Watch

WATCH AND REPORT ALL TYPES OF
ABUSES IN PPDP 2016/2017

Malang Corruption Watch and Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan open complaint stations and you can also send complaints to interactive SMS in the period of 27-30 June 2016.

Send your complaints and grievances to the phone number in the poster. Let's keep a watch out and keep caring.

Greetings,

MCW and FMPP)

AWASI DAN LAPORKAN SEGALA BENTUK PENYIMPANGAN PENERIMAAN PESERTA DIDIK BARU (PPDB) 2016/2017

Penerimaan PPDB tahun ajaran 2016/2017 mulai dari tingkat SD, SMP, SMA/SMK dibuka melalui jalur mandiri maupun online. Namun calon siswa baru berpotensi mengalami pungutan liar dalam bentuk uang pendaftaran, uang gedung, seragam, buku pelajaran, dan lain sebagainya.



POSKO PENGADUAN KELILING

Posko Pengaduan dilakukan di beberapa titik yang sudah ditentukan mulai dari **27 Juni - 30 Juni 2016**

TITIK POSKO PENGADUAN

- ▶ SMPN 17 Malang
- ▶ SMKN 2 Malang
- ▶ SMAN 10 Malang
- ▶ SMPN 6 Malang
- ▶ SMAN 6 Malang



PENGADUAN SMS INTERAKTIF

Pengaduan ini dilakukan berbasis SMS dari pengadu dengan menyebutkan nama, alamat, jenis, aduan, nama sekolah.

Kirim SMS pengaduan anda ke:

0823 3251 5159 (Buyung Jaya) atau
0838 3456 1819 (Suefendi)



MALANG
CORRUPTION
WATCH

Pak Arifin, a civil servant's pensioner and one of the active members of Forum Masyarakat Peduli Pendidikan, claims that hundreds of people that are being mobilized in those monitoring and collecting reports complain about mistreatment in new students' admission procedures. Most of the people file complaints about the illegal payment (*pungli, pungutan liar*, as described above) in the process. These all are complaints brought to a hearing with the local parliament (DPRD). FMPP and MCW also compiled recommendations from those complainers and passed them on to the Regional Office of Education (Dinas Pendidikan). Pak Arifin shared with me that, "*every time we (MCW and FMPP) come to visit Dinas Pendidikan, they will be nervous, and a sense that there must be something wrong with their programs and policies*". He then added, "*through FMPP, together, we learn about law and policies in the educational sector, monitoring their implementations, and collecting reports from other citizens about some abuses or corrupt practices.*"

Fahrudin, the coordinator of Malang Corruption Watch, claimed that they, through FMPP, were successful in mobilizing citizens, in that: "*we did not bring or mobilize a lot of people to DPRD or Dinas Pendidikan, but we mobilized the voices of Malang citizens related with corrupt practices in the field of education in Malang*". This citizens' participation, I argue, succeeded because they were compelled by Malang Corruption Watch's anti-corruption campaigns that brought issues of corruption relevant to the citizen's everyday life, i.e. education and environmental issues.

From the description above, It can be grasped that Malang Corruption Watch's anti-corruption off-line mobilizations are more successful than their counterparts in Banten for four main reasons: firstly, compared to moral-emotional framing on corruption in social media in Banten, Malang Corruption Watch's legal-material discourse brought a clearer message and call for actions. Secondly, the public sphere in Malang was more conducive to mobilization, because there was less repression. Whereas in Banten, the activists were often threatened by the jawara. Thirdly, compared to Banten in which political clientelism effectively works, In Malang, the clientelistic practices of politicians were less effective in taming the protests. This is caused by the activists' less dependency on the resources provided by the politicians and NGOs in Malang have more diverse economic resources than those in Banten, so economic power is not concentrated in the hand of ruling elites. Lastly, the activists in Malang were able to integrate corruption with other issues, such as environmental and educational issues, that are felt and relevant to the citizens' everyday life, so they stimulated citizens' participation and mobilization. Whereas, in Banten, as

described above, the activists rarely brought corruption issues that concretely 'felt' by ordinary citizens in their protest's repertoire. And, this hindered the activists in mobilizing ordinary citizens, into strong and significant off-line mobilization.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined three cases of off-line anti-corruption mobilizations, they are: the 'don't vote for a corrupt dynasty' mobilization in the election time in Banten, anti-corruption demonstrations in Banten, and, as a comparison, the Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) anti-corruption mobilizations.

The mobilization of voters to not vote for the candidates from a corrupt family or dynasty failed. Ratu Atut's family won the elections and maintained their power in Banten. Moral-emotional discourse diffused to the public through social media could not provoke the voters to not vote for the candidates from the dynasty. The voters were, instead, persuaded to support the dynasty as they feel that the dynasty is giving care and warmth to them (the affective aspect of clientelism) by providing them with government resources, projects, and money in exchange for political support (political clientelism).

In the case of anti-corruption demonstration, the attempt to ignite moral outrage and anger by framing corruption as a moral-emotional discourse has made the issue of corruption rather vague. There are no clear demands related to the curtailment of corruption and government officials who were blamed for those problems. Furthermore, the lack of solid organization and leadership on the side of Facebook moderators and activists limited the mobilizations to a small circle of friends. In other demonstration, when the dynasty was repressive, in which activists came out with a clear and specific case of corruption and its alleged perpetrators, more broad and active anti-corruption mobilizations were hampered by intimidation or threats from the dynasty's jawara and tamed by bribery from the dynasty's cronies.

As a comparison, Malang Corruption Watch offers an example of how one successfully can mobilize people or citizens of Malang to participate in different anti-corruption events: from demonstrations to discussions, and collecting citizens' complaints on public mistreatment. Different from the Facebook activists in Banten, Malang Corruption Watch, using their social media platforms, frames corruption in terms of a legal-material category. This framing

provided potential participants with a clear story about corruption cases and their relevance to their everyday life. Enabled by the Malang Corruption Watch's community ability to organize, it also gives the citizens clear suggestions about how to act and what to demand curtailing corruption. This mobilization is also enabled by the public sphere in Malang that is more conducive than Banten. In this sense, different from Banten, political clientelism in Malang is not effective to tame the off-line protests since the activists were less dependent on governmental resources. Finally, off-line mobilizations in Malang were more successful as the activists were able to stimulate citizens' participation by relating issues of corruption in other issues that are relevant to the life of the citizens. Whereas in Banten, the activists have difficulties in mobilizing people outside their circles, i.e ordinary citizens of Banten, because they do not succeed in relating corruption cases to everyday concerns of citizens.