

## Democracy and Violence in Post-new Order Indonesia

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### Abstract

Democracy basically minimizes violent conflict in the political process. In the practice of democracy in post-New Order Indonesia, there are still cases of violent behavior in resolving differences. This tendency can be seen in the case of violence against Novel Baswedan, a member of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) investigators in 2017 and violence against members of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in 2020. The main aim of this article is to contribute to the study of democracy and violence in Indonesia. The specific objective is what motivated the perpetrators of the two cases. Why do state elites, in this case the President and judicial bodies, have different responses to the two cases? This article uses a qualitative approach, data sourced from websites and interviews with sources. The important finding of the discussion is that the violence in both cases has a relationship with the motivation of the perpetrator in the form of a special message to the victim. The difference in the state's response to the two cases of violence is related to the environmental situation and mass media coverage.

**Keywords:** Violence, Democracy, Perpetrator Motivation, State Elite, Post-new Order

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## 1. Introduction

Post-New Order Indonesia entered an era of democracy characterized by, among others, multi-party electoral democracy, direct presidential and local elections.<sup>1</sup> The post-New Order state faces many challenges, including the spread of political corruption,<sup>2</sup> the survival of entrenched oligarchies,<sup>3</sup> and the emergence of violent means as a strategy in pursuing interests.<sup>4</sup>

While democracy essentially aims to reduce violence,<sup>5</sup> Indonesia's post-New Order democratic process has shown the opposite, with violent behavior in the political process. Forms of violence include terror, physical violence, and murder. Aspects of violence perpetrated by state apparatus on the community, violence between state apparatus, violence between community groups as supporters of candidate pairs in regional head elections, and violence committed by violent groups on communities with different interests and ideologies.<sup>6</sup> This condition has led to the perception among political scientists that Indonesian democracy is experiencing a democratic deficit.<sup>7</sup>

The Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence,<sup>8</sup> informed that in the 2020-2021 period, there were 651 violent behaviors in the democratic process in Indonesia. This violent behavior was carried out by state apparatus (military, police, civilian apparatus) on the community, and violence between community groups as supporters of candidate pairs in the 2020 simultaneous regional head elections. The forms of violence committed are terror, threats, physical violence, and murder.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Edward V. Schaefer, "Reformasi and the Indonesian 'War on Terror': State, Military and Legislative-Executive Relations in an Emerging Democracy," *Journal of Legislative Studies* 15, no. 2-3 (2009): 294-313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330902933508>.

<sup>2</sup> Asran Jalal, "Corruption and Democracy: Political Corruption in Post-Soeharto Indonesia," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 04, no. 10 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.47191/IJSSHR/V4-I10-08>.

<sup>3</sup> Vedi R. Hadiz, *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Ian Douglas Wilson, *The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia*. (Routledge, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Jelke Boesten, "Revisiting 'Democracy in the Country and at Home' in Peru," *Democratization* 17, no. 2 (2010): 307-325. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510341003588732>; John Schwarzmantel, "Democracy and Violence: A Theoretical Overview," *Democratization* 17, no. 2 (2010): 217-234. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510341003588641>.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, *The Politics of Protection*.

<sup>7</sup> Marcus Mietzner, "Sources of Resistance to Democratic Decline: Indonesian Civil Society and Its Trials," *Democratization* 28, no. 1 (2021), 161-178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1796649>.

<sup>8</sup> Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KontraS), *Catatan Kritis atas Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak 2020 Pilkada Serentak 2020: Demi Kekuasaan, Kejahatan Diwajarkan* [Critical Notes on the Implementation of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections: For the Sake of Power, Crimes are Justified] (Jakarta: KontraS, 2020).

<sup>9</sup> "KontraS Catat 677 Kekerasan Dilakukan Polisi dalam Setahun [KontraS Records 677 Acts of Violence Committed by Police in One Year]," *CNN Indonesia*, Jun 30, 2022, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20220630140427-12-815561/kontras-catat-677-kekerasan-dilakukan-polisi-dalam-setahun>; Agung Sandy Lesmana and Ria Rizki Nirmala Sari,

This article will discuss two cases of violence in Indonesia's democratic process: first, the case of police (state security forces) violence against Novel Baswedan in 2017. Novel Baswedan is a senior investigator of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Second, the case of violence by state security forces against members of the Islamic Liberation Front (FPI/*Indonesia Non-Government Organization*) which occurred in 2020. FPI is an organization whose activities are based on the values of Islamic teachings and democracy. The problem in writing this article is first, the function of the state security apparatus basically provides protection to the community from various crimes, thus providing a sense of security to the community. In its implementation, the state security apparatus has actually committed violence against the community outside the procedure. The perpetrators of violence against Novel Baswedan, the perpetrators were only known in 2019 or two years later, the perpetrators were two active state security forces. The perpetrators of violence against FPI members were known directly at the time of the incident, namely carried out by state security forces, based on official information from state security forces.

Second, the response of state elites, namely President Joko Widodo (President) and the judiciary to the two cases is different. The response of the state elite in the case of violence against Novel Baswedan tends to provide a defense of Novel Baswedan, while the case of violence against members of the FPI, the state elite tends to provide a defense of violent behavior. The questions raised in this article are first, what motivated state security forces to commit violence against Novel Baswedan and members of the FPI? Why did the state elite, especially the President, respond differently in the case of violence against Novel Baswedan and violence against FPI members? What was the underlying environmental situation? The main aim of this article is to contribute to the study of violence and democracy in Indonesia. Because of the lack of attention among Indonesian political scientists in researching the topic.

## 2. Methodology

The discussion in the article uses a qualitative approach, by describing the phenomenon under study and prioritizing interpretation.<sup>10</sup> The data of this

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“Catatan KontraS: Polri Lakukan 651 Kasus Kekerasan Selama Setahun, Terbanyak Penembakan [KontraS Notes: Police Handle 651 Cases of Violence in One Year, Mostly Shootings],” *Suara*, June 30, 2021, <https://www.suara.com/news/2021/06/30/155555/catatan-kontras-polri-lakukan-651-kasus-kekerasan-selama-setahun-terbanyak-penembakan>; Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KontraS), *Catatan Kritis atas Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak 2020 Pilkada Serentak 2020: Demi Kekuasaan, Kejahatan Diwajarkan* [Critical Notes on the Implementation of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections: For the Sake of Power, Crimes are Justified] (Jakarta: KontraS, 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Alicia Jencik, “Qualitative Versus Quantitative Research,” in *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Handbook*, ed. John T. Ishiyama and Marijke Breuning (CA: SAGE Publications, 2011), 506-13.

research comes from data and information derived from written sources and interviews. Written data is in the form of explanations from state elites about the two cases of violence that were publicized through online mass media. Interview data comes from sources in the form of explanations about the two cases of violence. There are 3 sources, 1 person from the FPI board, and 1 person from the KPK element, and 1 person from the observer element. The identity of the source in this paper is not mentioned, only mentioning the institution, this is done at the request of the source and adjusts to the culture of the Indonesian nation.

The research was analyzed using content analysis techniques in the form of core sentences or key phrases from written sources and interviews.<sup>11</sup> Data analysis was conducted in three stages. First, selecting core phrases or sentences from written sources and interviews that are in line with the research questions. Second, writing the core phrases or sentences into writing after going through the language editing process. Third, discussing the data with reference to the research questions.

### **3. Violence and Democracy: A Review of the Literature**

Violence refers to actions that create threats that result in harm to people or damage to property.<sup>12</sup> Violence in a democracy can be perpetrated by state apparatus and by the community. Forms of violence committed by state officials include dispersing protesters with tear gas, confronting demonstrators using rubber bullets, torture in prison, and murder. Community violence includes deliberately injuring police, injuring foreigners, injuring government officials, burning city buildings, and looting stores, burning tires to block roads.<sup>13</sup> Violent behavior aims, among other things, to increase power.<sup>14</sup>

Factors that motivate perpetrators to commit violence are: (1) as an attempt at self-defense; (2) revenge; (3) as a means to achieve certain goals and to convey important messages to other parties.<sup>15</sup> This concept will be used to discuss the case of violence against Novel Baswedan and the case of violence against FPI members.

Factors for the development of violence in a democracy are: (1) the state allows the operation of the security forces and bureaucracy to use violent means to maintain the authority of the state; (2) the failure of religious institutions to play a role in changing violent behavior, (3) the absence of international-based human rights organizations<sup>15</sup>. This concept, especially

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<sup>11</sup> John T. Ishiyama and Marijke Breuning, eds., *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Handbook* (CA: SAGE Publications, 2011), xi–xii.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Von Holdt, "South Africa: the Transition to Violent Democracy," *Review of African Political Economy* 40, no. 4 (2013): 589–604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2013.854040>

<sup>13</sup> Kathryn Staples et al., "MLGI Protest Barometer," *Local Government Bulletin* 14, no. 3 (2012): 4–7; John Keane, *Violence and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publisher, 1970).

<sup>15</sup> Keane, *Violence and Democracy*.

the state factor, is utilized to discuss the prospects of Indonesia's non-violent democracy.

Perspectives on the relationship between democracy and violence. The first perspective argues that democracy can reduce violence with its own arguments. Democratization at its core aims to reduce violence.<sup>16</sup> Democratization is a process of replacing violent conflict with a process of compromise through democratic institutions.<sup>17</sup>

The second perspective views democracy as triggering political violence, with various arguments. First, democratization that takes place during democratic transitions provides an arena for violent conflict, especially between political groups competing for positions in government.<sup>18</sup> Second, competitive elections result in the ethnicization of voters in multi-ethnic societies, which can lead to violent conflict.<sup>19</sup> Third, violence is the enemy of democracy, because democracy will always be overshadowed by the threat of violence.<sup>20</sup>

Several studies on democracy relations have been conducted by scientists in various countries<sup>21</sup> explained the case of violence in the democratization process in South Africa. His study concluded that elections in South Africa are the biggest threat to democracy, due to the occurrence of violence in the form of physical clashes and threats of violence between supporters of candidates and parties in the election process. The factor is that the contestants see winning positions through elections as the easiest and cheapest way to enrich themselves.

Boesten,<sup>22</sup> his study on democracy and violence in Peru. The results of his study stated that the democratic process that took place in Peru gave birth to the phenomenon of violence in society. The violence in question is violence against women in the form of domestic violence. Factors in the development of violent behavior in Peru are due to the lack of attention of the state and society to violence against women.

Wilson<sup>4</sup> from his study in Indonesia concluded that the state and its agencies in post-Soehato Indonesia, not only failed to fully monopolize the use of violent means, the state covertly and overtly actively supported various forms of non-state violence through third parties. The factor is that the state

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<sup>16</sup> Boesten, "Revisiting 'Democracy'."

<sup>17</sup> Schwarzmantel, "Democracy and Violence."

<sup>18</sup> Matteo Cervellati and Uwe Sunde, "Civil Conflict, Democratization, and Growth: Violent Democratization as Critical Juncture," *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 116, no. 2 (2014): 482–505. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sjoe.12054>.

<sup>19</sup> Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

<sup>20</sup> Keane, *Violence and Democracy*.

<sup>21</sup> Busari Dauda Aderemi and Itumeleng Mekoa, "Preventing and Managing Electoral Violence as a Threat to Democracy in South Africa," *The Anthropologist* 29, no. 2–3 (2017): 192–201.

<sup>22</sup> Boesten, "Revisiting 'Democracy'."

faces internal problems in the form of separatist movements and terrorism, and organized crime. Secondly, democratic elections are used as a means of participating as a broker to win candidates, by threatening competitors to win votes.

The results of the aforementioned studies provide an explanation that democracy in various countries still has the presence of violent behavior in the political process. Violent behavior is used by groups competing in public elections who are motivated to win positions in government. The state, on the one hand, is still preoccupied with internal problems such as the threat of separatism and the threat of violent groups.

The argument of this paper is that the practice of democracy that takes place in Indonesia, presents violent behavior in the political process. Violent behavior is used by state elites on other state elites and state elites on community elites who are motivated to give special messages to victims, while the state is still focused on development issues.

#### **4. Motivation for Violent Behavior**

This section discusses the case of violence against Novel Baswedan and the case of violence against FPI members. The case of violence against Novel Baswedan, in the form of acid thrown into his face by unknown perpetrators, occurred on April 11, 2017. Novel Baswedan was returning from dawn prayers at Al Ihsan Mosque in Kelapa Gading, North Jakarta, when two unknown men on a motorcycle approached him and poured acid on his face. Residents who knew about it then helped Novel Baswedan and referred him to Mitra Kelaurga Hospital. Novel Baswedan's treatment process continued to the Singapore hospital. As a result, his left eye is disabled for life.<sup>23</sup> The perpetrators of the violence against Novel Baswedan were only caught on December 26, 2019 or 2 years after the incident occurred. The perpetrators are known to be 2 members of the state security apparatus who are still serving in their institutions.<sup>24</sup>

Novel Baswedan is a senior investigator of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Novel Baswedan, along with 27 KPK investigators, resigned from the police in 2012 and chose to remain as KPK employees. Novel Baswedan became the head of a task force investigating a corruption case of a driver's license simulator involving police officials at the Indonesian National Police Headquarters. Novel Baswedan was an officer of the state

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<sup>23</sup> Jimmy Ramadhan Azhari and Irfan Maullana, "Novel Baswedan Ceritakan Kronologi Penyiraman Air Terhadap Dirinya di Persidangan [Novel Baswedan Recounts the Chronology of the Acid Attack Against Him in Court]," *Kompas*, April 30, 2020, <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2020/04/30/14541511/novel-baswedan-ceritakan-kronologi-penyiraman-air-terhadap-dirinya-di?page=all>.

<sup>24</sup> Rakhmat Nur Hakim, "4 Tahun Kasus Penyiraman Air Keras Novel Baswedan dan Misteri Sang Dalang [4 Years of the Novel Baswedan Acid Attack and the Mystery of the Mastermind]," *Kompas*, April 12, 2021, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/04/12/11114271/4-tahun-kasus-penyiraman-air-keras-novel-baswedan-dan-misteri-sang-dalang?page=all>.

security apparatus, who was assigned to the KPK institution. In later developments, he chose to become a KPK investigator and left the state security institution.

The response of the state security apparatus to the violence against Novel Baswedan is to investigate the case by forming a joint team consisting of state security forces, the KPK, experts, and community leaders. The results will be presented to the public. Response.

"The police are trying to investigate the case of acid throwing against Novel Baswedan. The state security forces will form a Joint Team on January 18, 2019 to follow up on the recommendations of the Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) and civil society pressure. The joint team consists of the police, KPK, experts, and community leaders."<sup>25</sup>

The perpetrators of the violence against Novel Baswedan were arrested on December 26, 2019. The perpetrators were two active police officers. State security institutions ask the public to prioritize the presumption of innocence in assessing the investigation process of the two members of the state security apparatus, and state apparatus institutions guarantee that the legal process of the two perpetrators will run transparently.<sup>26</sup>

What motivated the violent behavior against Novel Baswedan? According to the confession of the perpetrators of violence in court, they stated:

"We just wanted to teach Novel Baswedan a lesson, because he did not defend the police institution he came from. He left the police force and chose to become a member of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) investigators."<sup>27</sup>

Another source explained:

"Novel Baswedan is a KPK member who is critical of corruption cases that occur in the police institution. Novel Baswedan was among the KPK members who supported the announcement of corruption cases involving high-ranking police officers, the day before President Joko Widodo announced the candidate for the Chief of the Indonesian Police."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Mabruroh and Erik Purnama Putra, "Kronologi Versi JPU Polisi Tembak Enam Laskar FPI di Km 50 [Chronology of the Prosecutor's Version of the Police Shooting of Six FPI Troops at Km 50]" *Republika Online*, October 19, 2021, <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/r17531484/kronologi-versi-jpu-polisi-tembak-enam-laskar-fpi-di-km-50>.

<sup>26</sup> Ahmad Naufal Dzulfaroh and Sari Hardiyanto, "Beragam Respons soal Penangkapan Penyerang Novel Baswedan [Various Responses to the Arrest of Novel Baswedan's Attackers]," *Kompas*, December 29, 2019, <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2019/12/29/164123065/beragam-respons-soal-penangkapan-penyenang-novel-baswedan?page=all>.

<sup>27</sup> Tsarina Maharani and Bayu Galih, "Novel Baswedan Disiram Air Keras Anggota DPR Bandingkan Tuntutan Kasus Novel dengan Penyiraman Air Keras Lain [Novel Baswedan Was Splashed with Acid; Member of Parliament Compares the Charges in Novel's Case with Other Acid-Attack Cases]," *Kompas*, 12 Juni 2020, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/06/12/10353111/anggota-dpr-bandingkan-tuntutan-kasus-novel-dengan-penyiraman-air-keras-lain?page=all>.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with KPK.

Factors that motivate violent behavior include the perpetrator wanting to give a message to the victim.<sup>29</sup> The message can be to stop their activities, to make peace, or in the form of further consequences that will be experienced by the victim. The statements of the two sources above, namely the perpetrator of violence and the observer, can be interpreted that the state security apparatus wanted to give a message to Novel Baswedan. The message is that Novel Baswedan, in exercising his authority at the KPK, should continue to provide defense and support to the police institution, including corruption cases involving state security forces.

The next case discusses violence against FPI members. The FPI organization is an association of various layers of society in Indonesia, its leader is Habib Rieziq Shihab, a cleric of Arab descent. The movement of this organization has gained public sympathy, because in carrying out its political movement without being based on political interests and economic interests.<sup>30</sup>

Violent behavior of FPI members occurred on December 7, 2020 at the Cikampek Toll Road, West Java Province, known as 'Kasu Kilomer 50'. The process of violence against FPI members, sourced from statements by the police through online media. The violence against FPI members stems from information received by the police that supporters of Habib Rieziq Shihab want to hold demonstrations and besiege the DKI Jakarta police building, and will carry out anarchist actions. The state security apparatus anticipated by ordering its members to investigate and monitor the activities of its leader Habib Rieziq Shihab. According to information from the state security apparatus, the process of violence against FPI members is as follows:

"The police on December 7, 2020, followed Habib Rieziq Shihab's entourage. The police car on the way was blocked by a car of FPI members who followed Habib Rieziq Shihab's entourage. The police chased the FPI member's car, but suddenly another FPI member's car appeared and stopped the police car, then four FPI members came out of the car carrying weapons and attacked the police members of the police car. The police gave warning shots, and asked to surrender. FPI members then directed shots at the police car, the police returned fire. then directed his shots at the FPI car. As a result of the incident, 6 FPI members died."<sup>31</sup>

The explanation of the state security forces was denied by FPI, as explained by the source:

"The head of FPI and his entourage wanted to go to a place to carry out da'wah activities. On the way, the group was followed by several cars dressed and styled as thugs, blocking the group's car and forcing the

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<sup>29</sup> Keane, *Violence and Democracy*.

<sup>30</sup> Hadiz, *Islamic Populism*; Vedi R Hadiz and Richard Robison, "Competing Populisms in Post-authoritarian Indonesia," *International Political Science Review* 38, no. 4 (2017): 488–502. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512117697475>.

<sup>31</sup> Mabruroh and Putra, "Kronologi Versi JPU."

group's car to stop. We did not know it was the police. One car was forcibly stopped and a short time later a gunshot was heard. FPI members in their activities do not use weapons, including in the Km 50 case, because FPI does not have any weapons. The police statement that FPI members attacked the police is slanderous. The police action of shooting FPI members violates the procedures and rules of using weapons. Police as informant with plainclothes should not do any action, except to seek information."<sup>32</sup>

The purpose of this paper is not to test the truth of the events that occurred, but to contribute to the study of violence and democracy. The question is what motivated the police to commit violence against FPI members? The motivation for violence in a democracy, among others, is to give a message to the victim.<sup>33</sup>

The state security apparatus provides official information to the public about the process of violence against FPI members, as described above to supervise Habib Rieziq Shihab as the leader of FPI, because the state security apparatus suspects that Habib Rieziq Shihab and FPI members will carry out demonstrations at the Jakarta state apparatus building. The results of interviews with sources reveal:

"Violence against FPI members in the Kilometer 50 case, is actually a scenario that has been planned by the police. The police consider FPI's activities to criticize government policies to be troublesome for the police. Although, FPI activities are carried out peacefully, and get sympathy from the community. This is like giving a lesson to FPI."<sup>34</sup>

The motivation of the perpetrators to commit violence against FPI members was to send a message to FPI to stop their activities in conveying their aspirations in the form of peaceful demonstrations, because they had already inconvenienced the police as an institution authorized to maintain security and public order. The next question is what is the difference between the motivation of the police to commit violence against Novel Baswedan and violence against FPI members?

The difference lies in the interests contained in the content of the message, namely the interests of the police elite and the interests of the implementation of the functions of the police institution. Violence against Novel Baswedan, the interest of the message is for the benefit of the police elite, namely protecting the police elite involved in corruption cases. Violence against FPI members is in the interest of the police institution. The message is that FPI should not carry out peaceful activities in criticizing government policies,

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<sup>32</sup> Interview with FPI.

<sup>33</sup> Keane, *Violence and Democracy*.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with observer.

because it keeps the police busy in carrying out their authority to maintain public order.

Violence against Novel Baswedan and violence against FPI members are categorized as state violence that is not tolerated in a democracy. State violence that is tolerated in a democracy is violence to prevent the actions of groups of people who want to threaten democratic procedures, namely the desire of groups of people to force to cancel the results of democratic elections.<sup>35</sup>

### **5. State Elite Response**

The state elite referred to are the President, the Public Prosecutor (JPU), namely the Prosecutor who acts as a prosecutor in the Court, the Panel of Court Judges (MHP), namely the Judge who decides cases in the Court. The form of state elite response to violent behavior is sorted into two, namely positive reactive response and negative reactive response. Positive-reactive response is a form of response that tends to accept violent behavior. A reactive-negative response is a form of response that tends to reject violent behavior.

The President gave a reactive-negative response in the form of not tolerating violent behavior against Novel Baswedan. The President's response was realized by instructing the police to investigate the case of violence against Novel Baswedan, and report the results of the investigation to the President. The President's statement was made by the Presidential Staff:

"The President asked the police to accelerate the investigation of the water dousing case against Novel Baswedan and gave the Chief of the Indonesian National Police (Kapolri) three months to investigate the case."<sup>36</sup> The President on November 1, 2019, ordered the new National Police Chief to resolve the Novel Baswedan case.<sup>37</sup>

The prosecutor's response was a reactive-negative response in the form of charging the two perpetrators of violence against Novel Baswedan with 1 year in prison each, at the North Jakarta Court on June 11, 2020. The MHP's response was categorized as a reactive-negative response. On July 16, 2020, the MHP sentenced the two perpetrators to 2 years' imprisonment each for the main perpetrator and 1.5 years' imprisonment for the supporting perpetrator.

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<sup>35</sup> Marcel Paret, "Violence and Democracy in South Africa's Community Protests," *Review of African Political Economy* 42, no.1 (2015): 107–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2014.995163>.

<sup>36</sup> "Presiden Jokowi tanggap kasus penembakan enam anggota FPI dan kasus Sigi [President Jokowi Responds to the Shooting of Six FPI Members and the Sigi Case]," *BBC Indonesia*, December 13, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-55292138>.

<sup>37</sup> Yodie Hardiyan, "Penyiraman Air Keras Novel Baswedan : Presiden Jokowi Beri Tenggat Kapolri Baru [Acid Attack on Novel Baswedan: President Jokowi Gives a Deadline to the New National Police Chief]," *Bisnis Kabar24*, November 1, 2019, <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20191101/16/1165934/penyiraman-air-keras-novel-baswedan-presiden-jokowi-beri-tenggat-ka-polri-baru->.

The state elite's response to the case of violence against Novel Baswedan is similar, including the category of reactive-negative response. The arguments for each state elite's response can be seen in the table.

**Table 1. Violent Behavior Against Novel Baswedan Based on State Elite Response**

State Elites	Response
President	Enforcing the law
Prosecutor	Charges according to the perpetrator's actions
Judges	Punishment according to the perpetrator's actions

*Sources:* Tsarina Maharani and Bayu Galih, "Novel Baswedan Disiram;" Hakim, "4 Tahun Kasus Penyiraman;" Fathiyah Wardah, "Two Defendants in Novel Case Sentenced to Prison," *VOA Indonesia*, July 7, 2020, <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/terdakwa-kasus-novel-divonis-penjara/5505708.html>; Muhammad Irham and Dwiki Marta, "Novel Baswedan: Fakta-fakta dalam kasus 1.192 hari, penantian 'tanpa sentuh aktor intelektual' [Novel Baswedan: Facts of the 1,192-Day Case, a Waiting Period 'Without Touching the Intellectual Actors]," *BBC Indonesia*, July 16, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-53269896>; Hardiyani, "Penyiraman Air Keras Novel Baswedan."

What factors in the socio-political environment contributed to the President's reactive-negative response to the case of violence against Novel Baswedan? First, the socio-political situation of the KPK where the institution of the victim of violence is located. The KPK institution is receiving sympathy and support from the government, including the President and elements of society. The KPK implemented a policy of uncovering corruption cases involving state elites, including police elites. This KPK policy had a psychological effect on the state elite in responding to the case of violence against Novel Baswedan. The response of the state elite who defended the case of violence can be interpreted as supporting corruptors. This analysis is supported by the results of interviews with informants:

"The image of the KPK institution at that time received positive support from the government and the public, because the KPK was implementing a policy of investigating corruption cases involving state elites, including the police elite. This KPK policy received broad support from the public. This situation had a psychological impact on the government. If the government does not solve the case, the government could be perceived as a supporter of corruptors."<sup>38</sup>

The second factor was the mass media, which reported the case of violence against Novel Baswedan openly. This analysis is supported by the results of interviews with interviewees:

"The case of violence against Novel Baswedan was very well reported, all mass media reported it openly, starting from the case, what the police and the government did in solving the case. Novel Baswedan is a member of the KPK investigators and comes from the police."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Interview with an observer.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with KPK.

The response of state elites to cases of violence against FPI members is different. The President gave a reactive-positive response, which is a response that tends to tolerate violent behavior of FPI members. The public prosecutor gave a positive-reactive response, which tends not to accept violent behavior on FPI members, in the form of demanding a 15-year prison sentence on the perpetrator. The MHP shows a negative-reactive response, tolerating violent behavior against FPI members, with its decision in court, releasing the perpetrators of violence from all punishments, The arguments raised by each state elite are contained in the table below.

**Table 2. Violent Behavior towards FPI Members Based on State Elite Response**

States Elite	Response
President	It is the duty of the police to enforce the law
Prosecutor	Demand that the police officer who carried out the shooting be sentenced to 15 years in prison, as the police deliberately took the life of another person.
Judges	Acquitting the perpetrator because the perpetrator's actions were in self-defense.

*Sources:* “Vonis bebas terdakwa penembakan anggota FPI: KontraS laporkan ‘tujuh keganjilan’ ke Mahkamah Agung [Acquittal of the Defendant in the FPI Shooting: KontraS Reports ‘Seven Irregularities’ to the Supreme Court],” *BBC Indonesia*, March 29, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-60803922>.; Devira Prastiwi, “6 Tanggapan Terkait Tewasnya Enam Orang Laskar FPI [Six Responses Regarding the Deaths of Six FPI Members],” *Liputan6*, December 8, 2020, <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4428275/6-tanggapan-terkait-tewasnya-enam-orang-laskar-fpi>; “Didakwa Pasal Berlapis, Terdakwa Kasus Penembakan Laskar FPI Tak Ajukan Eksepsi [Charged with Multiple Articles, Defendant in the FPI Shooting Case Does Not Submit an Objection (Eksepsi)],” *Medcom*, October 19, 2021, <https://www.medcom.id/nasional/hukum/ybD4px0b-didakwa-pasal-berlapis-terdakwa-kasus-penembakan-laskar-fpi-tak-ajukan-eksepsi>.

What socio-political environmental situations influence the President's response in the category of reactive-positive response to cases of violence against FPI members? **First**, the existence of the FPI organization where the victim is located. The existence of this organization is under great pressure from the government and government supporting elements. The government made a policy to dissolve this organization because it was considered that its ideology was not in accordance with the ideology of state ideology. This analysis is supported by the informant's explanation:

“The case of violence against FPI members, known as the Km 50 case, cannot be separated from the political conditions of FPI's existence. This organization is under pressure from the government and elements of society supporting the government. The government made a policy to dissolve FPI, because the ideology of this organization is considered incompatible with the ideology of the Indonesian state.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Interview with observer.

**Second**, the mass media factor that reported cases of violence against FPI members was limited. This analysis is reinforced by the results of interviews with sources.

“Mass media coverage of cases of violence against FPI members is very limited and only certain mass media have reported it. The mass media coverage of cases of violence against FPI members is not as big as the coverage of cases of violence against Novel Baswedan.”<sup>41</sup>

What environmental situations contributed to the difference in the President's response to the case of violence against Novel Baswedan, which was categorized as a negative reactive response, and the response to violence against FPI members, which was categorized as a positive reactive response? The difference in the President's response was influenced by, first, the socio-political situation of the existence of the KPK and FPI, where the institutions of the victims of violence are located.

The position of the KPK institution received a positive image from the government and elements of society, because of the institution's policy of dismantling corruption cases involving state elites. FPI's position is under pressure from the government and pressure from elements of society supporting the government. FPI is considered that its ideology is not in accordance with state ideology. Second, the factor of mass media coverage. Mass media coverage of the case of violence against Novel Baswedan was more extensive, while mass media coverage of the case of violence against FPI members was limited. These two factors contributed to the difference in the President's response to the two cases of violence.

The state's response to the case of violence against Novel Baswedan and the case of violence against members of the FPI indicates that the prospect of a non-violent Indonesian democracy requires a long struggle. The reasons are **first**, the state's response to the two cases of violence mentioned above is limited to resolving short-term cases and tends to allow the work of state security forces and judicial bodies to resolve cases of violence according to their interests, while the state is more focused on achieving development targets. **Secondly**, from the available data, there is no state response based on the resolution of strategic and long-term cases of violence, in the form of reforming laws on violence and human rights in Indonesia.

## 6. Conclusion

Violent behavior was used by state security forces on KPK investigators, and violence by state security forces on FPI members. The violent behavior was motivated by wanting to give a special message, so that the victim and his institution would defend the state security institution and its elites in their activities and movements. The difference in the President's response to the two cases is related to the socio-political environment of the victims'

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with FPI.

institutions and mass media coverage. The KPK is in a condition of receiving support from the state and elements of society, because of its policy of investigating alleged corruption cases involving state elites. The FPI was under pressure from the government and elements of society supporting the government, because its movement was considered incompatible with the state's ideology. The case of violence against Novel Baswedan received widespread coverage, while media coverage of violence against FPI members was limited.

Violence is the enemy of democracy, because democracy will always be overshadowed by the threat of violence.<sup>42</sup> Cases that occurred in Post-New Order Indonesia support this thesis. The democracy that took place in Indonesia showed violent behavior, such as the case of violence against Novel Baswedan and the case of violence against FPI members.

The prospect of developing Indonesian democracy minus violence still requires a long time. The state's attention to designing a specific policy in the form of a law to reduce violence in Indonesia's democratization era is yet to be seen. This argument is supported by the discussion above, where the state's response to the cases of violence against Novel Baswedan and violence against FPI members has not yet provided a strategic and long-term response in the form of law reform to prevent violent behavior and human rights in Indonesia.

The continuation of studies on violence and democracy in Indonesia has ample opportunities. Various media and survey institutions in Indonesia report information and publish various forms of violent behavior in the democratization era. These violent behaviors include violent behavior among state apparatus, violence between state apparatus and the community, and violent behavior between community groups during regional head elections. These cases can be used by researchers as material for the study of democracy and violence in post-New Order Indonesia.

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<sup>42</sup> Keane, *Violence and Democracy*.

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