

Hidden Meanings of New Anti-corruption Movements in Indonesia after 1998: A Mapping Literature

Muh Afit Khomsani, Ani Widyani Soetjipto

Universitas Indonesia

Universitas Indonesia

muhafitkhomsani@gmail.com, anisoetjipto@gmail.com

Abstract

This article examines concealed meanings of new anti-corruption social movements in Indonesia. The researchers explain the roles of civil society movements in shaping a new social and political structure in Indonesia in the post-reform of 1998. The research method is an intensive literature review by collecting and analyzing journal articles and books related to the article's topic. The authors reveal that new social movements on anti-corruption issues show various features in their actions by utilizing social media and cultural fields to obtain broader support from society. Besides, the actors have become an epistemic community whose roles create breakthroughs for society.

Keywords: Anti-Corruption, Indonesia, Meaning, Social Movement

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji makna tersembunyi tentang gerakan sosial baru dalam isu antikorupsi di Indonesia. Peneliti menjelaskan peran gerakan masyarakat sipil dalam membentuk struktur sosial dan politik baru di Indonesia pasca reformasi 1998. Metode penelitian ini adalah studi literatur intensif dengan mengumpulkan dan menganalisis artikel jurnal dan buku yang terkait dengan topik artikel ini. Penulis menyimpulkan bahwa gerakan sosial dalam isu antikorupsi menunjukkan berbagai ciri dalam tindakan mereka. dengan memanfaatkan media sosial dan arena kebudayaan yang ada untuk mendapatkan dukungan yang lebih luas dari masyarakat. Selain itu, para aktor yang terlibat dalam gerakan tersebut telah menjadi komunitas epistemik yang mampu melahirkan gerakan dan peran penting di masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: Anti-Korupsi, Indonesia, Makna, Gerakan Sosial

Introduction

Anti-corruption movements have long played a significant role in socio-political discourses worldwide, including in Indonesia. As part of social actions, they arise as collective efforts by a group to fight for socio-political interests in dealing with corruption. According to S. G. Tarrow (2011, p. 9), social movements are defined as collective actions toward elites, other groups, or cultural codes by people with daily purposes and solidarity in ongoing interplays with elites, opponents, and authorities.

Scholars in discussing social movements have two approaches: classic and contemporary. The former considers movements as a causal effect of deprivation and grievance on society due to an unequal socio-political structure (Gurr, 2016). In contrast, the latter results from contentious politics or collective actions negotiating with states or powerful groups (S. G. Tarrow, 2011). In addition, political scientists have classified movements according to how societies reach their networks. S. G. Tarrow (2011) divides those in two: local and global interactions. The local movements concentrate on limited issues, occur locally, and only contain local actors; however global movements operate through international issues and transnational actors, both state and non-state actors.

Many contemporary scientists see that globalization generates global actions. Those phenomena drive social movements to create mass mobilizations by framing issues upon states and, on another level, to bring about social movements influenced by international institutions and domestic structures (Soetjipto et al., 2018, p. 33). Previous topics concerning global social movement have been contentious politics (Smith, et.al., 1994; S. Tarrow, 2005), transnational advocacy networks (Keck &

Sikkink, 1998), and global capitalism (Sklair, 1995).

Globalization has sparked many contemporary social movements Combined with technological advancement. (Prabowo et al., 2018). Currently, society is paying greater attention to using online social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to obtain broader public support regarding specific issues (F. Suwana, 2020). In addition, the movements promote unusual areas, including humanitarian topics such as environment, gender equality, governance reform, and lifestyle.

Unlike old-fashioned social movements as failures of capitalism that only discern class struggles without observing other factors such as social setting, individual interest, and organizational resources for movement effectiveness and accountability, as explained by Steven M. Buechler on *New Social Movement Theories* (1995), new social movement theory has several features that symbolize certain meanings, including essential autonomy and self-determination; post-materialist values in collective actions; collective identities and group interests as priorities; grievances and ideology as socially constructed nature; and recognitions of dynamics in collective actions. Thus, the abovementioned traits are different from old perspectives, which tend to discuss economics about class disputes.

Intellectuals categorize responses to corruption issues as a new social movement. Historically, the movements emerged to answer global governance failures in resolving corruption (Eigen, 2013). The governance as representative of state actors has failed to eradicate corruption as bribery in business. Responding to the states' incapacity, some practitioners and academia concerning global corruption issues seem to try alternative options in settling the problems (Hough, 2013). They

realize that corruption is proven to damage the economy, ruin democracy, and cause environmental damage. Thus, those determinants push former employees of World Bank (WB) like James Wolfensohn and Peter Eigen to establish Transparency International (TI), a non-governmental organization (NGO) aiming at combating corruption. TI plays a leading role in shifting global attention to corruption issues (Hough, 2013, p. 15). With its research like Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) -an index published annually to rank countries by their perceived corruption levels in public sectors-, TI has contributed its beneficial recommendations in embodying effective and anti-corruption governance throughout the world.

In Indonesia, a new movement like anti-corruption refers to the reform of 1998 (Prasisko, 2016). It shows varieties in actors, issues, and goals of whole movements entangled college students, journalists, religious organizations, and scholars. The actors focused on governance reform issues and made the ruling power -president Soeharto- the movement's primary objective. Referring to Vishnu Juwono (2016) entitled *Berantas Korupsi: A Political History of Governance Reform and Anti-Corruption Initiatives in Indonesia 1945-2014*, social movements on anti-corruption issues in Indonesia gave their tremendous attention to demand changes in a corrupt bureaucratic system. As David Aberle (1982) calls the reform, it calls a reformative social movement, a specific social movement to reform social structures.

As a forward-looking movement, the 1998 reform promoted democratization in Indonesia (Dibley & Ford, 2019, p. 3). In this era, the growth of civil responses towards sociopolitical dynamics points to new features where they use symbols, fashions, and methods of how they exist. For instance, anti-corruption movements

in the post-reform symbolize new titles on their actions. In addition, such movements can occur at a local level whose actions frequently respond to various phenomena, mainly public services (Ganie-Rochman & Achwan, 2009).

In order to comprehensively understand the concept of anti-corruption movements in the post-reform of 1998, Aspinall (2005) explained the causes of how they emerge and whom actors are involved in the movements. He emphasized that the 1997 Asian crisis has impacted the Indonesian reform movement. At then, Students and other elements also urged the court to bring corrupt officials and politicians to justice during the New Order or *Orde Baru*, including former President Soeharto (Widjoko, 2017). Besides, for instance, recent movements include *Cicak vs. Buaya* or *Gecko vs. Crocodile*, Coins for the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), and *#reformasidikorupsi* demonstration to oppose changes to KPK Law.

Current studies show that anti-corruption movements in Indonesian history varying from the Old Order to the reform era resulted from public disappointments toward government services, corrupt, unfair, and arbitrary (Kramer, 2019; Setiyono & McLeod, 2010). Public distrust seems like a consequence of anti-corruption institutions that work ineffectively. For instance, during the New Order, Indonesia faced some mischances when anti-corruption agencies such as the team of eradicating corruption (TPK), the Commission IV, and the Control Operation or *Opstib* in which the ruling power only utilized those agencies as political tools. Consequently, the three exemplify how state institutions failed to exterminate corruption. They used to be afraid of uncovering salient cases relevant to the rulers (Robertson-Snape, 1999; Suraji, 2015). In brief, such democratic

regression impelled civil societies, students, scholars to form intellectual forums at universities, pioneered mass demonstrations, and established groups or organizations like *Petisi 50* -a group formed by politicians and retired militaries who criticized the ruler intensively-, and Forum for Democracy or *Fordem* concerning with democracy and human rights issues.

As explained before, current studies about social movements on anti-corruption in Indonesia show more about the causes of how the movements emerge and then exist. Figure 1 shows how more current works have discussed topics about political sides: democracy, political reform, decentralization, government, and social movement itself. In addition, scholars paid less concern about using social media and online networks by civil movements. Therefore, it needs that this research will fill the gap. Even if the related studies exist, they have not been in an integrative literature mapping; hence, the authors examine social movements on anti-corruption issues as the main topic of this article.

This article is limited by a specific issue about anti-corruption movements by society. This paper focuses on social and political dynamics after the reform of 1998 by using the new social movement theory. The researchers try to map and analyze concealed meanings in the literature on anti-corruption movements after 1998.

This article is qualitative research by using an intensive, integrative literature review. The researchers collected and scrutinized scientific articles and books related to the topic and classified them using the VOSviewer application. As a guideline in the mapping literature, the researchers used six new social movement concept characteristics. The researchers identified five categories based on the guidance by mapping 36 works in Indonesian cases and more than ten literature underlying the concept. There are symbolic action, autonomy and self-determination, post-materialist values, collective identities and group interests, and dynamics in collective actions in

Table 1.

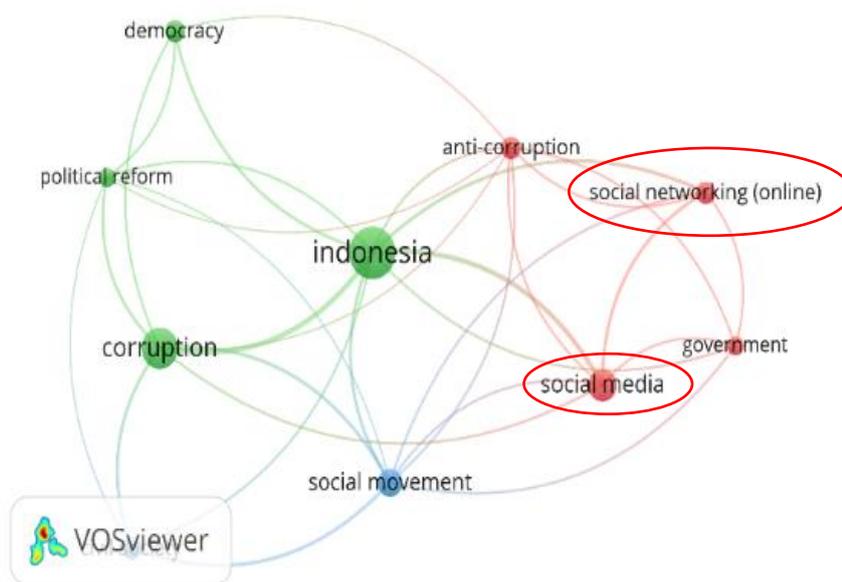


Figure 1. Literature Mapping of Social Movements in Indonesia on Anti-corruption Issues after 1998

Table 1. The Literature Mapping

No.	Category	Literature
1.	Symbolic action	Prabowo et al. (2018); Sulistyono (2018); Sulistyono and Azmawati (2016); Widodojoko (2017); H. Molaei (2015); Rahutomo et al. (2020); Kramer (2013)
2.	Autonomy and self-determination	Fiona Suwana (2020); Azra (2010); Davidson (2007); Verdenicci and Hough (2015); Harasymiw (2019); Widoyoko (2016)
3.	Post-materialist values	Crawford and Hermawan (2002); Setiawan (2009); Azra (2010); Collingwood (2006); Harasymiw (2019); Prabowo et al. (2018); Schütte (2012); Zainal, Nazar, Z, and Irwan (2021)
4.	Collective identities and group interests	Setiawan (2009); Setiyono and McLeod (2010); Hamilton-Hart (2001); Umam, Whitehouse, Head, and Adil Khan (2020); Hamideh Molaei (2015); (Lay, 2017); Slaughter (2019); Shokheh, Ebrahimi, and Yusoff (2021); Epakartika, Murnawan, and Budiono (2019)
5.	Dynamics in collective actions	Ganie-Rochman and Achwan (2009); Ganie-Rochman and Achwan (2016); Tomsa (2015); Haque (2020); Villanueva (2020); Jamil (2018); Umam et al. (2020); Clarke (2016); Warf (2016); King (2006); Silva-Leander (2015)

Furthermore, as another guide for literature review, the researchers use an integrative literature review approach. The approach synthesizes the literature related to the research topic, resulting in theoretical frameworks and new perspectives (Torraco, 2005).

Discussion

Symbolic Action

Several studies explore determinants of how social movements emerge. They frequently consider the movements to seem like various political actions due to their extensive impacts. However, others also classify current movements as cultural activities that symbolize certain means (McAdam, 2000). Brandt (1986) saw that those movements had reached broader scopes than means as conventional politics. Symbolic movements show a metapolitical challenge, where they indicate complicated relationships between state and individual.

The emergence of social movements in global politics can be transnational advocacy networks by NGOs. Not only conducted in common ways such as demonstrations and contentious movements, but social movements also depict cultural expressions. Peter Eigen mention-

ed NGOs' appearance as an alternative governance scenario. NGOs serve to complement and mediate the triangular interaction of government, business, and civil society rather than replace the state's position. Moreover, civil actors appear as a response to failures of global governance in facing global defiance. For instance, Eigen (2013) emphasized that NGOs' struggling for corruption emerged as responses to the state actors' in the 1990s.

In the Indonesian context, social movements were born as civil societies' efforts in eradicating corruption in the reform era. Previous debates on anti-corruption social movements have explained the connection between movements and technological developments, whose advancements have revolutionized the way people interact. The media has a responsibility to enlighten citizens to provide oversight and foster meaningful debate (Kramer, 2013).

In addition, the number of using social media by activists to fight against corruption increased (Prabowo et al., 2018). They benefit from Facebook and Twitter to drive anti-corruption issues by campaigning posts such as photos and videos to collect support through discussing relevant issues. These movements make many

people aware of the consequences of corruption (Sulistyo, 2018).

Social movements on anti-corruption issues in the reform era indicate cultural resistance to government policies. For instance, there was the hashtag #coinsforKPK movement. It was an initiative to collect funds for KPK's new building initiated by several civil organizations. The action occurred when the Indonesian House of Representatives or DPR rejected a new KPK building proposal. People initiated donations by doing a mass demonstration and utilizing social media with the hashtag #sawerankPK or donation for KPK to get broader public attention. In this case, social media usage increased public awareness of anti-corruption values (Sulistyo & Azmawati, 2016). It enabled the wider public attention, including students, laborers, artists, and the public, to join with this action. This movement shows that the public paid more extraordinary notions to KPK and signaled that people stand with this institution when the state is no longer on its side (Widojoko, 2017).

Other digital movements for anti-corruption agencies were one million Facebook users or Facebookers to support Candra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Riyanto, and currently, campaigns for hashtag #reformasidikorupsi or #corruptedreform – a movement to prompt the state about the unfulfilled promises such as law enforcement, anti-corruption, and military occupation in Papua.

In 2009, civil society succeeded in organizing massive supports for the KPK. By then, two KPK commissioners faced a countereffort after investigating Susno Duadji, the Police Chief Detective, in a bribery case. Many reports reveal that the resistance could assume it as revenge from the Police. Moreover, the hashtag #reformasidikorupsi and #SaveKPK demonstrate public rejection towards

amendments of criminal law book draft (KUHP) and KPK law (UU KPK). Since then, people have utilized social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, combining with street movements for weeks to accommodate and mobilize issues for the public (Hamideh Molaei, 2015). For #SaveKPK, its popularity showed Indonesian indulgence in discussing a political movement in social media (Rahutomo et al., 2020).

Concerning the movements mentioned above, anti-corruption actions by civil societies after 1998 explain that the actors in movements utilize social media to evade KPK from multiple nuisances. Besides, cultural reactions depict people's attempts to stand with the anti-corruption institution. However, as discussed in the literature, today's social movements have evolved and advanced with technology in which people use social media to accommodate voices and generate movements.

Autonomy and Self-Determination

In addition to symbolic actions that unify mass movement and technology, numerous current works related to this topic have probed if a new social movement highlights autonomy principles and self-motivations to determine. This view is to express how social movements appear as reasons to organize and ascertain their actions. Ryan and Deci (2000) say that the presence of autonomy in society influences expressions of self-determination. Jurgen Habermas is the most prominent actor in this debate; in *Theory of Communicative Action* (2015), he said that reasons for self-determination are defensive reactions to the involvement of state and market in modern social life. Dieter Rucht (1988) asserted that the process of modernization generates conflicts between that issue pretensions to pursue their authority.

According to Jurgen Habermas on self-determination, rivalries among people may bring out psychological motivations that push society to have competence, autonomy, and broader social relationship, which plays significant roles in (1) enhancing primary motivations, (2) facilitating the process of internalization in inessential motivations (3) strengthening life goals. In brief, those of needs are linked with remarkable experiences in which self-determination in social movements should often deal with many challenges (Yuliestiana, 2019). It happens when people's interests have different views from the concept of state sovereignty.

Like a powerful action, anti-corruption movements should never rely on authorities to eradicate corruption. Conversely, those movements come from consistent endeavours to encourage broader social actions in dealing with corruption (Widoyoko, 2016). Two factors determine civil society to establish and coordinate anti-corruption movements: engagement motivation and resources or capability of actors involved in such movements (Fiona Suwana, 2020). The first encompasses internal determinants like commitment, knowledge about corruption, and awareness of participating in movements. Such factors illustrate a new perspective in which anti-corruption movements focus on improving the government system but should be oriented on morality (Johnston, 2012). Civil society's motivations come from internal feelings of effectiveness, which can arise from participating in a cause, obtaining group solidarity, or successfully organizing activities or operations.

As a motivation to make social movements, works explain significant roles played by ideology (Rodan & Hughes, 2012). Ideology encourages societies to construct opposite actions, movements, and public advocacies to target specific

issues. As the world's largest Muslim country, Islamic lessons have played a significant role in eradicating corruption. In Indonesia, the teachings emphasize honesty as an essential value and, at the same time, forbid corruption for its followers (Azra, 2010). Therefore, its doctrine motivated Islamic organizations like Nadhlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah to enthusiastically combat corruption by cooperating with many parties through anti-corruption programs.

The second refers to individual abilities. For instance, digital activism explains the skill of utilizing social media. A personal inclination to support political participation and civic engagement can also motivate people to benefit from digital media. After Soeharto's fall, those involved in anti-corruption movements signalled anti-corruption values to bring corrupt public officials to justice. They have favoured governance reforms by denouncing the different types of corruption in different regions of Indonesia. Moreover, regional anti-corruption movements also consolidated democracy at the regional level, mainly by keeping local elected representatives from corruption (Davidson, 2007).

The task of anti-corruption policy is to empower citizens by taking actions against those who behave corruptly. The works in this part confirm that anti-corruption movements show authorities to determine their actions. To convince the people in this task, awareness, and education policies are needed (Verdenicci & Hough, 2015). Moreover, NGOs or other civil groups can control corruption by combining political leadership and expert, effective agents in eradicating corruption. Apart from those, well-organized civil societies can be another factor determining the emergence of social movements (Harasymiw, 2019).

Post-Materialist Values

The following discussion focuses on the struggles for movement values that emphasize post-materialistic values in collective actions. This topic is intimately associated with values autonomy and self-expression, as illustrated above. It is Ronald Inglehart in *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics* (2015) who shed light on a situation where post-war generations tend to pursue their intangible goals like autonomy, self-expression, gender equality, and freedom of speech. In addition, existing laws should reinforce values to uphold human equality, raise standards of social prosperity, and protect the environment.

When it comes to immaterial values, the discussion about anti-corruption struggles is by far the best-known topic. In Indonesia, more current studies are mainly concerned with two major themes. The first is criticism of the liberalization of the international agenda during governance reform in the 1990s. After the fall of Soeharto in 1998, Indonesia experienced transitional democracy and should deal with demands from the protesters to implement anti-corruption and open government. Simultaneously, some international agencies came to offer programs regarding bureaucracy reform to the Indonesian government.

In contrast, there are many critiques for the initiative. One of them is that the Partnership for Governance Reform involves such endeavours in which international agencies are ineffective in pursuing the reform agenda. The agenda is more closely related to economic liberalization than democratic political reform (Crawford & Hermawan, 2002).

The second are determinants in the effectiveness of advocacy. In Indonesian trajectories from the reform era to the present, works explain how the activists

perform anti-corruption movements. Social movements consider as an ideological effort. It could be political or religious actions. For instance, the People's Democratic Party (PRD) emerged as an ideological movement initiated during the reform era. The PRD is identified as the only significant political party with a solid ideological orientation to support anti-corruption reform. Max Lane in Setiawan (2009) argues that the party would play an essential role in the future, and it is currently only a marginal political force. Ideology could be religiosity. Azra (2010) explained another. He said that fighting against corruption is a means of performing Islamic teachings. Islam is a religion that stresses good manners to build a better community, and corruption is wrong and lets people hide the truth.

Besides ideology, legitimacy and strategy that activists use are other significant factors in the effectiveness of advocacy. Legitimacy depends not only on what has happened in society but also on actor behaviours, individuals' morality, and current regulations (Collingwood, 2006). Gutterman (2014) asserted that legitimacy is influential support for succeeding advocacies. Talking about strategies for fighting against corruption, Koven (2019) explained that the strategies consist of the needs for organizations (1) to improve their ethical standards of what is or is not, (2) to educate people about knowledge of corruption, and (3) to extend the punishment for corruptors.

Moreover, NGOs and other advocacy groups can control corruption by combining political leadership and active anti-corruption agents (Harasymiw, 2019). For instance, to realize democratic and anti-corruption elections, civil groups in *Lima Puluh Kota* regency campaigned to reject money politics by cultural approaches. (Zainal et al., 2021). Besides, among the factors that have caused this efficiency,

media is influenced to connect. These communications tools are used in the fight against corruption in the public sector (Prabowo et al., 2018). The abilities of NGO or advocacies groups to legitimate their actions come from their skills and experiences. In anti-corruption works, for example, Transparency International (TI) successfully serves to enhance anti-corruption issues on a global level. Its actions have effectively run for nearly 30 years due to society's public legitimacy and political authority for its contribution (Gutterman, 2014).

In summary, prior works on this topic can be divided into two major points. They are (1) the critiques for liberalization that arose in the early 1990s when there were massive reform agendas, particularly governance reform. The activist criticized that it was only an economic liberalization and not about democratic political reform; (2) the factors that determine the effectiveness of advocacy, including ideology, legitimacy from the actors, and political leadership.

Collective Identities and Group Interests

Collective identities and group interests are the following topics in this article. According to Hunt, Benford, and Snow (1994), both are interconnected dynamics and show two roles of how people interact to obtain their interests: protagonist and antagonist role; consequently, the dynamics will create framing issues.

The emergence of social movements on anti-corruption issues may have inextricable relation to the socio-political dynamics of the 1998 reform. The protagonists represent the 1998 actors who called for deeply rooted changes. In contrast, the New Order regime served as the antagonist. Max Lane in Setiawan (2009) attributed this solely to Indonesia's mass political movement. It is most likely

that this was the deciding factor in forcing Suharto's downfall. Civil societies that had got politically suppressed for 32 years during Soeharto's era found their freedom through the 1998 reform. Many individuals, repressed during the Soeharto era, have evolved into an active collection of anti-corruption CSOs and have become an influential part of Indonesian democracy since the late 1990s.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia play an essential role in the fights against corruption during the transitional democracy period. The groups have succeeded in stimulating public awareness to resolve the problems. They have also successfully initiated several strategic policies, which have led to the promulgation of institutional and legal frameworks. They can also hold state officials accountable and bring the corrupt to justice (Setiyono & McLeod, 2010). Many organizations expressly focused on human rights, corruption issues, legal reform demands, and governmental disclosures have multiplied and increased their activism in 1999–2000. Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), *Masyarakat Transparansi Indonesia* (MTI), and *Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Tindak Kekerasan* or KontraS probably have the highest profile in this respect (Hamilton-Hart, 2001).

Currently, civil movements consider as collective actions and interest groups standing with anti-corruption agencies. In Indonesia, creating an anti-corruption agency like KPK was a great revolution in the struggles for anti-corruption. Now, the institution provides the means to improve transparency and accountability in public governance (Umam et al., 2020). As a result, the success of KPK has generated many positive responses from the public. For instance, civil society played significant roles in supporting KPK when the institution faced problems such as the criminalization of the KPK's commissi-

oners, rejection of building a new KPK office, revision of KPK Law (Hamideh Molaei, 2015; Shokheh et al., 2021).

Social movements as interest groups have contributed to global politics in a broader scope, emerging as strategies to influence states' policies. For example, their involvement in G20 and the National Movement to Save Natural Resources (GN SDA) resulted in states' support and recommendations. The groups realize that the G20 is a tool to advocate transparency and corruption in which states and business actors are involved (Slaughter, 2019). In addition, civil societies have partaken in broadening information in the implementation of GN SDA (Epakartika et al., 2019).

Anti-corruption movements showed their interest. They will struggle for their needs to deal with corruption. Therefore, a choice to create civil organizations is crucial to facilitate their intentions.

Dynamics in Collective Actions

When discussing social movements, the dynamics in collective actions are the most prominent topic. Scholars in contentious politics discuss this at length. Such politics is closely related to struggles in the movements by the actors and stretches throughout history (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2003). In turn, historical contexts have provided the appearance of dynamics in movements. In Tilly (2004), he elucidated three essential elements underlying social movements. There are campaigns, political actions, and public representations.

Earlier literature on this part discusses several things. Firstly, it is the critiques for movements. In Ganie-Rochman and Achwan (2009), Indonesian civil organizations lack capability and knowledge of the principles of accountability to each other and the world outside, which is an important pillar to achieve

their goals. In contrast. Indonesian civil groups are often involved in corruption cases, including vote-buying, extortion, and other corrupt actions (Ganie-Rochman & Achwan, 2016).

Previous works also addressed their critiques to the former activists; most have co-opted from the dominant elite networks. Consequently, at the local level, genuine civil-society groups and independent journalists are few in numbers. Where they do exist, they do operate in political environments depicted by coercing mutual dependencies and a plain lack of resources and mobilization potential (Tomsa, 2015).

In addition to those, Haque (2020) criticized that the proximity of NGOs to the governments in a public-private partnership (PPP) causes harmful notions such as NGOs for profit, loss of government roles, NGOs for politics, and lack of accountabilities for their actions. Haque highlighted that those do not depict the identities of NGOs as nonprofit, shared values organizations. Moreover, although civil societies seem like robust movements, they should have supports from the ruling power with a fair judiciary and open bureaucracy.

In brief, three factors cause the effectiveness of anti-corruption movements. There are policies from actors, political supports, and actors' capacities (Villanueva, 2020). Furthermore, the effects of globalization are those of abusing power by NGOs, including corruption, bribery, trading in influence. Clarke argued that transnational NGOs obtain profits and specific authorities due to their engagements in exchanging influences, lobbies, and privileges, including rent-seeking (Clarke, 2016).

Moreover, there are two determinants in influencing efforts to build anti-corruption movements: internal and external. The first demonstrates how domestic matters determine movements

to emerge. There are internal coalitions and a lack of appreciation from society (Johnston, 2012). Social movements appear like a complicated relationship. Walton (2016) stated three relations between political society and actors to influence civil responses towards corruption: political incentives, anti-corruption discourses, and local supports. The second explained that actors' involvement in the mainstream media industry is interrelated with the framing media and public (Jamil, 2018). The interconnectivity illustrates how the framing media has significant roles in influencing movements. An example is a relationship between the media and public frames. The frames presented in the media coverage have influenced how people perceive anti-corruption issues.

Furthermore, the actors engaged with the movements have become an epistemic community that focuses on five aspects: ties among actors, power relations, types of networks, and shared values or shared interests. Their involvements may deliver causes as iterative ideas to contribute to others (Pal & Spence, 2020). In addition to actors as an epistemic community. The works in this topic generally concern themselves with three major points on dynamics in movements on anti-corruption issues. They stressed critiques, determinants, and roles of actors on movements.

Previous civil movements in Indonesia on anti-corruption issues encompassed the dynamics of their actions, both internally and externally. Works in this part concerned with critiques for organizations and actors. Besides, studies also addressed determinants of successful movements whose roles have become crucial as a community.

Conclusion

Previous social movements in Indonesia after reform show various features in their actions. They have evolved in types, ways, motivations, and causes to express their struggles. Using the concept of new social movements, the researchers have identified the literature focusing on how they symbolize their missions, causes of why they emerge, values from their goals, interests, and movements' dynamics.

The scholars have long focused on how the activists develop strategies for their advocacies whose roles benefit from internet-based social media and cultural acts to collect broader support from people. Besides, previous studies also focus on what factors the movements exist. In Indonesia, social movements can appear and survive due to motivation, resources, and ideology, enabling people to construct protests and public advocacies. In addition, fighting against corruption is self-determination. The groups will defend their existences by combining political leadership and expert, effective agents in eradicating corruption.

Moreover, previous works gave critiques for liberalization in Indonesian massive reform agendas. As a response to those, social movements are closely related to group interests. In this case, a choice to create civil organizations is crucial to facilitate their interest

Nevertheless, the previous studies prominently discuss dynamics in collective actions. The actors engaged with the movements have become an epistemic community. Although civil societies seem like robust movements, they should have supports from the ruling power with a fair judiciary and open bureaucracy. Social movement literature provides a valuable mapping to conduct researches in political sociology further. For Indonesia, studies about this topic still lack social movements on anti-corruption issues combined with

technology usage. As a follow-up work towards the article, next future research needs to explain more the usage of social media in anti-corruption movements and its efficacy. It would be enormously significant when technological advancement evolves and the challenges against corruption arise.

Acknowledgement

We are very grateful for completing this article. We would like to thank our colleagues, staff, and students of the international relations department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), University of Indonesia.

References

- Aberle, D. F., & Moore, H. C. (1982). *The peyote religion among the Navaho*: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Aspinall, E. (2005). *Opposing Suharto: compromise, resistance, and regime change in Indonesia*: Stanford University Press.
- Azra, A. (2010). Islam, corruption, good governance, and civil society: The Indonesian Experience. *ICR Journal*, 2(1), 109-125.
- Brandt, K.-W. (1986). New social movements as a metapolitical challenge: the social and political impact of a new historical type of protest. *Thesis Eleven*, 15(1), 60-68.
- Buechler, S. M. (1995). New social movement theories. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36(3), 441-464.
- Clarke, G. (2016). Governance and transnational civil society: the problem of transnational rent-seeking. *Journal of Civil Society*, 12(1), 82-100.
- Collingwood, V. (2006). Non-governmental organisations, power and legitimacy in international society. *Review of International Studies*, 32(3), 439-454.
- Crawford, G., & Hermawan, Y. P. (2002). Whose agenda? "partnership" and international assistance to democratization and governance reform in Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 24(2), 203-229.
- Davidson, J. S. (2007). Politics-as-usual on trial: regional anti-corruption campaigns in Indonesia. *The Pacific Review*, 20(1), 75-99.
- Dibley, T., & Ford, M. (2019). Activists in transition. In D. Thushara & F. Michele (Eds.), *Introduction: Social Movements and Democratization in Indonesia* (pp. 1-22): Cornell University Press.
- Eigen, P. (2013). International corruption: organized civil society for better global governance. *Social Research*, 80(4), 1287-1308.
- Epakartika, E., Murnawan, R. N., & Budiono, A. (2019). Peran masyarakat sipil dalam pemberantasan korupsi: pembelajaran dari gerakan nasional penyelamatan sumber daya alam (GNPSDA). *Integritas: Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 5(2-2), 93-106.
- Ganie-Rochman, M., & Achwan, R. (2009). Civic organisations and governance reform in Indonesian Cities. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 37(5), 799-820.
- Ganie-Rochman, M., & Achwan, R. (2016). Corruption in Indonesia's emerging democracy. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 32(2), 159-177.
- Gurr, T. R. (2016). *Why men rebel*. New York: Routledge.
- Guterman, E. (2014). The legitimacy of transnational NGOs: Lessons from the experience of transparency international in Germany and France. *Review of International Studies*, 40(2), 391-418.
- Habermas, J. (2015). *The theory of communicative action: lifeworld and*

- systems, a critique of functionalist reason*, (Vol. 2): John Wiley & Sons.
- Hamilton-Hart, N. (2001). Anti-corruption strategies in Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 37(1), 65-82.
- Haque, M. S. (2020). A critique of the Role of NGO as partners in governance. *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, 42(1), 17-32.
- Harasymiw, B. (2019). Civil Society as an anti-corruption actor in post-Euromaidan Ukraine. *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 61(3), 288-320.
- Hough, D. (2013). The rise and rise of the global anti-corruption movement. In *Corruption, Anti-Corruption, and Governance* (pp. 12-30). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Hunt, S. A., Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (1994). Identity fields framing processes and the social construction of movement identities. In E. Laraña, H. Johnston, & J. R. Gusfield (Eds.), *New Social Movements* (pp. 185-208): Temple University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (2015). *The silent revolution: changing values and political styles among western publics*: Princeton University Press.
- Jamil, A. (2018). Social movements in framing perspectives: a study on corruption case issues in Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, 7(2), 174-191.
- Johnston, M. (2012). Building a social movement against corruption. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 18(2), 57-74.
- Juwono, V. (2016). *Berantas korupsi: a political history of governance reform and anti-corruption initiatives in Indonesia 1945-2014*. The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE),
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: advocacy networks in international politics*: Cornell University Press.
- King, P. (2006). Korupsi dan disintegrasi in indonesia since Suharto. *Policy and Society*, 25(4), 3-22. doi:10.1016/S1449-4035(06)70087-X
- Koven, S. G. (2019). Toward a strategy for combating corruption. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 42(8), 677-684.
- Kramer, E. (2013). When news becomes entertainment: Representations of corruption in Indonesia's media and the implication of scandal. *Media Asia*, 40(1), 60-72. doi:10.1080/01296612.2013.11689951
- Kramer, E. (2019). Activists in transition. In D. Thushara & F. Michele (Eds.), *Chapter Two. Democratization and Indonesia's Anticorruption Movement* (pp. 41-60): Cornell University Press.
- Lay, C. (2017). Political linkages between CSOs and parliament in Indonesia: a case study of political linkages in drafting the Aceh Governance Law. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 25(1), 130-150. doi:10.1080/02185377.2017.1297243
- McAdam, D. (2000). Culture and social movements. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 253-268): Springer.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2003). Dynamics of Contention. *Social Movement Studies*, 2(1), 99-102.
- Molaei, H. (2015). Discursive opportunity structure and the contribution of social media to the success of social movements in Indonesia. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(1), 94-108.
- Molaei, H. (2015). Discursive opportunity structure and the contribution of

- social media to the success of social movements in Indonesia. *Information Communication and Society*, 18(1), 94-108. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2014.934388
- Pal, L. A., & Spence, J. (2020). Event-focused network analysis: a case study of anti-corruption networks. *Policy and Society*, 39(1), 91-112.
- Prabowo, H. Y., Hamdani, R., & Sanusi, Z. M. (2018). The new face of people power: an exploratory study on the potential of social media for combating corruption in Indonesia. *Australasian Accounting, Business and Finance Journal*, 12(3), 19-20.
- Prasisko, Y. G. (2016). Gerakan sosial baru Indonesia: Reformasi 1998 dan proses demokratisasi Indonesia. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 3(2), 9-16.
- Rahutomo, R., Budiarto, A., Purwandari, K., Perbanga, A. S., Cenggoro, T. W., & Pardamean, B. (2020). *Ten-year compilation of #savekpk twitter dataset*. Paper presented at the 5th International Conference on Information Management and Technology, ICIMTech 2020.
- Robertson-Snape, F. (1999). Corruption, collusion, and nepotism in Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly*, 20(3), 589-602.
- Rodan, G., & Hughes, C. (2012). Ideological coalitions and the international promotion of social accountability: The Philippines and Cambodia Compared. *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(2), 367-380.
- Rucht, D. (1988). Themes, logics, and arenas of social movements: a structural approach. *International Social Movement Research*, 1(1), 305-328.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68-78.
- Schütte, S. A. (2012). Against the odds: anti-corruption reform in Indonesia. *Public Administration and Development*, 32(1), 38-48. doi:https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.623
- Setiawan, K. (2009). Max Lane. unfinished nation. Indonesia before and after Suharto. *International Review of Social History*, 54(3), 529-532.
- Setiyono, B., & McLeod, R. H. (2010). Civil society organisations' contribution to the anti-corruption movement in Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 46(3), 347-370.
- Shokheh, M., Ebrahimi, M., & Yusoff, K. (2021). The role of Indonesian and Egyptians' NGOs in democratization. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, 17(64), 289-306. Retrieved from <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85112464293&partnerID=40&md5=0ae3b7954bc12df1500e35df9cefa8b3>
- Silva-Leander, A. (2015). *The role and influence of nongovernmental organisations on anti-corruption policy reform in Indonesia*. The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE),
- Sklair, L. (1995). Social movements and global capitalism. *Sociology*, 29(3), 495-512.
- Slaughter, S. (2019). Interpreting civil society engagement with the G20: the qualified inclusion of the 2014 civil 20 process. *Globalizations*, 16(1), 36-49.
- Smith, J., Pagnucco, R., & Romeril, W. (1994). Transnational social movement organisations in the global political arena. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 5(2), 121-154.

- Soetjipto, A. W., Yuliestiana, A. T. D., Suryani, D. P. S., Kinanthi, D. K., Tamzil, C. F., Parameswari, P., & Waworuntu, A. (2018). *Transnasionalisme: Peran aktor non negara dalam hubungan internasional* (A. W. Soetjipto Ed.): Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Sulistyo, P. B. (2018). Social and political factors in actualizing new anti-corruption movement through online community in Indonesia. *International Journal*, 5(1).
- Sulistyo, P. B., & Azmawati, A. A. (2016). The roles of facebook in creating new anti-corruption social movement through online community in Indonesia. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 6(7), 33-37.
- Suraji, S. (2015). Sejarah panjang korupsi di indonesia dan upaya pemberantasannya. *Jurnal Kebijakan dan Administrasi Publik*, 14.
- Suwana, F. (2020). What motivates digital activism? The case of the Save KPK movement in Indonesia. *Information Communication and Society*, 23(9), 1295-1310. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2018.1563205
- Suwana, F. (2020). What motivates digital activism? the case of the save KPK movement in Indonesia. *Information, Communication & Society*, 23(9), 1295-1310.
- Tarrow, S. (2005). *The new transnational activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in movement: social movements and contentious politics* (III ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilly, C. (2004). *Social movements, 1768-2004*. Colorado: Paradigm.
- Tomsa, D. (2015). Local politics and corruption in Indonesia's outer islands. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 171(2/3), 196-219.
- Torraco, R. J. (2005). Writing integrative literature reviews: guidelines and examples. *Human Resource Development Review*, 4(3), 356-367.
- Umam, A. K., Whitehouse, G., Head, B., & Adil Khan, M. (2020). Addressing corruption in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: The role of the corruption eradication commission. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 50(1), 125-143.
- Verdenicci, S., & Hough, D. (2015). People power and anti-corruption; demystifying citizen-centred approaches. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 64(1), 23-35.
- Villanueva, P. A. G. (2020). Why civil society cannot battle it all alone: the roles of civil society environment, transparent laws and quality of public administration in political corruption mitigation. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 43(6), 552-561.
- Walton, G. W. (2016). Gramsci's activists: how local civil society is shaped by the anti-corruption industry, political society and translocal encounters. *Political Geography*, 53, 10-19.
- Warf, B. (2016). Global geographies of corruption. *GeoJournal*, 81(5), 657-669. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44076432>
- Widoyoko, J. D. (2017). Indonesia's anticorruption campaign: civil society versus the political cartel. In M. dela Rama & C. Rowley (Eds.), *The Changing Face of Corruption in the Asia Pacific* (pp. 253-266): Elsevier.
- Widoyoko, J. D. (2016). Menimbang peluang Jokowi memberantas korupsi: Catatan untuk gerakan anti korupsi. *Integritas: Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 2(1), 269-297.

Yuliestiana, A. T. D. (2019). Narasi tentang advokasi transnasional dalam *self-determination* Timor Timur. In A. W. Soetjipto (Ed.), *Transnasionalisme: Peran Aktor non Negara dalam Hubungan Internasional* (pp. 47-76). Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Zainal, W. Y., Nazar, J., Z, Y. F., & Irwan, I. (2021). Efektifitas masyarakat sipil di Kenagarian Kab. Lima Puluh Kota dalam mewujudkan pemilihan umum demokratis. *Integritas: Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 7(1), 79-100.