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# Rights to free from corruption: A vernacular mobilization of anti-corruption movement in Indonesia

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| **ARTICLE INFO** | **ABSTRACT** |
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| *Keywords:*<br>anti-corruption<br>non-governmental organization<br>social movement<br>vernacularization<br>UNCAC | This study examines how the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia built anti-corruption movements despite the constraining socio-political context in Indonesia. Applying collective action framework, this research argues that NGOs translate, transform, and circulate the meaning of anti-corruption activism set in the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) into an appropriate environment. The translation results in rights consciousness through redefining the meaning of corruption, victimization of corruption, mainstreaming anti-corruption techniques, circling the human rights frame through capacity-building training, and multiplying the task of vernacularization to local NGOs. This research selected Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) as a case study, examined their article of association, annual report, program report, and their educational campaign. Interview conducted with participants of their educational program. The data analyzed using discourse analysis to see how ICW problematizes and prognose corruption, and identifying the key framing of their activity. The study contributes to the scholarship of Indonesian social movements that were paying more attention to the efficacy and evaluation of NGOs movement rather than the process of how they built the movement. This study also argues that in the absence of leftist politics, human rights discourse is applicable to articulate justice demands and mobilize citizens for liberal reforms. |

# Introduction

The purpose of this research is to examine how the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia form and mobilize a social movement. Following the three decades of New Order regimes, the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia needs to deal with the public who are disinterested in political issues, disorganized, and unfamiliar with a critical assessment of political and social reality (Hadiz, 2000, p. 15; Hadiwinata, 2018, p. 363). At the same time, the government continues the political repression, which hindrance the activist's ability to resist authoritarian return (Mietzner, 2020, p. 12). Given the constraint, scholars of social movement in Indonesia are skeptical of the civil society movement's contribution to the political change in post-authoritarian Indonesia (Mudhoffir, 2022, p. 3; Setiawan, 2021).

In addition, experiences of anti-corruption movement worldwide has proven difficult to maintain and sustain, given the variety of definitions, explanations, and measurements of corruption. While the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) and Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) served as explanation and measurement standards, it is unclear what can be considered a victim and what activity can be considered corruption (Johnston M. , 2011, p. 468). In Indonesia, corruption is subject to debate between the perspective that argues corruption is caused by the electoral regime and political party (Mietzner, 2015) and another view that explains the established alliances between politicians and private sectors is the plausible explanation for corruption (Hadiz & Robison, 2004; Mudhoffir & A'yun, 2021). Related to Indonesia's previously mentioned political culture, neither of the two explanations dominated the corruption discourse in Indonesia, as the public is more familiar with the government-made discourse that explains corruption as moral negligence and lack of integrity (Pertiwi, 2019).

Despite the restricted environment, social movement actors managed to contribute to fight corruption in Indonesia. In the anti-corruption movement, NGOs have fought to fight for transparency and accountability and exercised activities such as lobbying for legislative changes and independent investigation (Kramer, 2019; Setiyono & McLeod, 2010). Public participation was also evidenced during the series of protests to support the independence of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) from 2012 until its recent attack in 2019 through the enactment of the second revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission bill (RUU KPK). At that time, the public gathered in various cities to protest the bill, making it the biggest protest in Indonesia since 1998. The existing studies also emphasized the political outcome as the sole indicator (Mietzner, 2013; Aspinall, 2013; Setiawan, 2021; Mudhoffir, 2022), while the context in Indonesia demands activists to raise awareness of the newly introduced human rights and democratic values before creating broader changes (Eldrige, 2002; Nyman, 2006).

While the previous study evaluates the NGOs' role, program, method, outcome, and efficacy, this research will focus on *how* the NGOs built up a pro-democracy movement in post-authoritarian Indonesia while navigating the challenges. The central argument of this research is that the social movement actors underwent a cultural process of claiming and translating corruption as human right. According to Kate Nash, the cultural process involves identifying who is the ignored, marginalized, and the victim of the violations, determining which activity can be considered as human rights 'wrong', and naming the responsible actors of any violations (Nash, 2015, p. 15).

This process further involved of translating, adapting, and appropriating the international convention of corruption into local context (Merry, 2006). In this research, claiming human rights as corruption show the 'human face' of corruption and point out the effect on the ordinary person and hold the government accountable for their action (Pearson, 2013; Rothstein & Varriach, 2017). Corruption, therefore, reframes the criminal and national economic issue into a more people-centered and creates more sense of urgency (Rajagopal, 1999). Therefore, the vernacularization of international anti-corruption movement results in the NGO to redefine corruption from administrative to political-corruption, victimize the public as victim of corruption, mainstreaming anti-corruption movement method and creates collective identity of anti-corruption activist. In turn, the social movement actors used collective framing of corruption as human rights that is later used to attract, recruit, and mobilize constituents (Benford & Snow, 2000).

## Method

This research applied a qualitative approach. According to Bryman, the qualitative approach provides an inductive view between theory and research and emphasizes understanding the social world through examination of interpretation (Bryman, 2012). In this research, the application of the qualitative approach is illustrated in the examination of the selected NGO message, program, and statement and to analyze the meaning of those empirical data as well as treating their method as a social process where the transformation and translation of UNCAC take place.

While plenty of NGO's work in anti-corruption activism with various strategies, tactics, discourse and issue selection, this research needs to select one NGO

to be studied. Therefore, this research implemented a case study as the research strategy. According to Descombe, case studies focus on a few instances of a particular phenomenon to provide an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences, or processes occurring in that particular instance (Denscombe, 2007). By focusing on one case, the research has the opportunity to learn from the particular case in-depth to create a general conclusion as well as to see the relationship between the social process. Thus, it is helpful to examine how NGOs translate the universal value of human rights considering Indonesia's restraining environment and political and social context

Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) is selected as the case study as compare to other local anti-corruption NGO in Indonesia, the Transparency International Indonesia (TII) which is the branch of global anti-corruption network, ICW is the grassroot-founded anti-corruption NGOs in Indonesia, while also still depending on international donors as the main source of income. As global branch, TII has less flexibility in their strategy and their activity is much more relevant to localizing human rights rather than transform it into the local context. Meanwhile, ICW has range of flexibility on how they would like to use the UNCAC, including to transform it into human rights discourse. Furthermore, their proximity to their constituent means the organization able to adapt and understand the local context of Indonesian society. With their activity flexibility, also comes variety of strategy that ICW can employed to circulate human rights into the local context and expand their engagement with local partner across the country.

However, ICW itself has variety of technique, method, and strategy to combat corruption. This research needs to further select activities that are relevant to the vernacularization process. Hence, this

research will examine two ICW educational program. The first program, *Akademi Anti-Korupsi* (Anti-Corruption Academy) is an open-source e-learning platform to learn the concept and theory of corruption. As of now, *Akademi Anti-Korupsi* has 20 courses ranging from concept and method of anti-corruption movement. However, this research will focus on three courses "Introduction to Corruption", "Corruption and Poverty", "Corruption and Critical Pedagogy", "Monitoring Political Financing", and "Corruption and Democracy". Those courses allow the author to understand how the organization problematized corruption in Indonesia, its linkage to the UNCAC as well as how they adapt and prepare the target to adapt with Indonesia local context. The program also can be argued the main strategy of ICW as every campaign and activity needs to promote *Akademi Anti-Korupsi*.

The second anti-corruption program made by ICW is Sekolah Anti-Korupsi (SAKTI). While *Akademi Anti-Korupsi* is an open-source learning program, SAKTI is an exclusive and intensive anti-corruption training. The purpose of SAKTI is to increase the capacity of anti-corruption activist across the country. Since 2013, ICW already created seven SAKTI, including specific local program in Bali, West Kalimantan, and Papua. In the seven-days program, SAKTI participants were taught material such as political and social context of Indonesian society, perspective on poverty and corruption, and various practical method such as campaign, investigation, audit, and public examination on court proceeding. Due to its exclusive nature, SAKTI sheds new light on what kind of discourse or what sort of culture the organization should adapt to.

The research gathered the data from both primary and secondary resources. Primary resources for this research gathered from the ten of former participant of the

SAKTI since its inception in 2013 until 2019, prior to *Reformasi Dikorupsi* movement against the second revision of Corruption Eradication Commission Bill (RUU KPK). The research limit time frame until 2019 to see how SAKTI develop the human rights frame and anti-corruption knowledge that will be used during the movement. Furthermore, the participants were chosen based on random sampling with at least one respondent from one SAKTI's. Drawing from the vernacularization and collective action framework, SAKTI's participant will be asked regarding their motivation to join the program, their anti-corruption and human rights knowledge prior to joining SAKTI, their experience during the process, and how their anti-corruption skills and knowledge developed after the program. The importance of bringing SAKTI participant is to see how does the anti-corruption norms circulated and travelled across various part of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, secondary data gathered from other ICW's academic platform, *Akademi Anti-Korupsi*. The platform was chosen as it provides information regarding ICW stance on corruption, how they problematized, in what aspect they were inspired by UNCAC and how they adapted into Indonesian social-political context. Other than *Akademi Anti-Korupsi*, this research will gather secondary information from ICW's documents such as article of association, annual reports, and their research products.

Taking the path of social constructionist perspective of corruption, this research considers the meaning of corruption were mediated and interpret given the history, culture, and social context (Tanzler, Maras, & Giannakopoulos, 2017, p. 17). As a result of taking corruption as a constructionist approach, this research used discourse analysis to examine the process ICW had taken to develop their meaning of corruption through their activities, rather than

measuring the outcome of their programs. Drawing from the vernacular mobilization of human rights concept, this research will analyze the data to see how ICW diagnose the meaning of corruption, prognose their solution, and call for motivation.

## Results and Discussion

The following sections will examine how the anti-corruption NGO built the human rights collective actions frame. Combining frame perspective from Benford and Snow (1988) and vernacularizing of human rights by Merry (2006), this chapter argued Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) built their human rights frame through series of translating international anti-corruption norms into political and social context of Indonesia, transforming the norms, and circulate the norms. The process consisted of redefining the meaning of petty corruption to political corruption, creates victimization of the corruption, mainstreaming anti-corruption technique, circulating anti-corruption norms, and fostering anti-corruption activist community.

### *Redefine corruption from administrative to political*

The first step of ICW's translation of anti-corruption international norm is to redefine corruption into a more suitable to political and social context in Indonesia. In their article of association, ICW stated corruption in Indonesia emerged due to political elites dominated the decision-making process while at the same time there is an absence of public accountability. Furthermore, ICW attempt to disseminate their meaning of corruption can be identified in *Akademi Anti-Korupsi* (Anti-Corruption Academy), a free-access e-learning platform to learn basic corruption concept.

During the 'political financing monitoring' course in *Akademi Anti-Korupsi*, ICW stated the urgency of redefining UNCAC definition as it only covered petty and administrative corruption (*Akademi Anti-Korupsi*: Monitoring Dana Politik 2019). But did not reflect the situation in Indonesia where elected politicians and political party officials became major offenders for most corruption cases. This caused ICW to define political corruption as 'an authority abuse exercised by political actors'. Through this definition, ICW has successfully maintained UNCAC's proposition of 'abuse of power for entrusted gain' while adding 'power dimension' to include politicians as corruption perpetrators, and political processes as corruption motives (*Akademi Anti-Korupsi*: Monitoring Dana Politik, 2019).

To further address the political dimension, ICW's argued that corruption transpired during the bill deliberation process rather than only at the implementation phase (*Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Monitoring Dana Politik,* 2019). In order to specify which actors are deemed responsible of corruption acts, ICW explained that aside from formal political actors, non-formal politician actors such as political party's treasuries are also able to influence formal political organization, including the president (*Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Monitoring Dana Politik,* 2019).

ICW goes beyond the administrative dimension of corruption and stated that corruption in Indonesia is rooted in high-entry cost for politics and low political party quality. Participating in politics requires "high risks, high cost, but high return." (*Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Monitoring Dana Politik,* 2019). This situation caused the lack of ordinary citizens participation in the decision-making process as the high entry cost makes it impossible for them to join the process and provide formal accountability in the Parliament. At the same time, ICW

claimed that the only individuals who could form political parties are the New Order elites, former military generals, and private sectors (Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Monitoring Dana Politik, 2019). ICW described the situation as a 'political conglomerate where political parties are merely a shorthand of business rather than the means to assert public interest (Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Monitoring Dana Politik, 2019). By this means of creation, ICW argued that corruption in Indonesia is beyond discretion as it extends to the nation's political system as a whole. To solidify this framing, ICW continues by naming the 'actors' behind corruption cases in Indonesia.

To name the responsible actors behind corruption cases, ICW named the 'oligarchs' as the driving forces of corruption in Indonesia and consistently repeat the term throughout their research, campaign, and Akademi Anti-Korupsi. The term 'oligarch' inspired from the works of Jeffrey Winters which defined oligarch as actors who command and control massive concentration of material resources that can be deployed to defend or enhance their personal wealth (Winters, 2011, p. 6). To ground the definition of oligarch, ICW used the term "politically-exposed person" which they defined as "individual who currently or formerly holds official public position" which also covers "family members and close relative within a professional context" that potentially "holds multiple position and abuses and neglects laws." (ICW, 2020).

In line with Benford and Snow (1988)'s framework, the translation of corruption norm helps ICW to diagnosing the problem, locating the responsible actors, and identify the causality. Moreover, ICW also fill in the gap left by UNCAC considering its negligence to the political dimension and does not address grand corruption and various issues pertaining to independent legislation, electoral system, conflict of interest and political party. Meanwhile, the

case of corruption in Indonesia often connects with political parties' quality and electoral regime, and the predatory alliance between the private sectors and the government (Robison, 1986; Hadiz & Robison, 2004). Based on the previous discussion, it is safe to assert that ICW vernacularized the technical and institutional nature of corruption into a more structural-oriented one to adapt to the complicated nature of Indonesian politics. Corruption, according to ICW, has no longer involved formal public officials but rather different alliances of business players, politicians, executives, and judiciary members that attempt to enrich themselves for political purposes.

### Locating the 'victim' of corruption

In the first video of introduction to corruption course in Akademi Anti-Korupsi, ICW cited a research conducted by Jeffery Winters (2011) which claimed majority of the national wealth controlled by elite (Akademi Anti Korupsi: Pengantar Korupsi, 2018). ICW continues their argument by criticizing UNCAC minimalist definition of corruption and argued that the corruption in Indonesia depends on the political economy of state institutions, citing the works of Acekmoglu and Robison (2012) (Akademi Anti Korupsi: Pengantar Korupsi, 2018). ICW further claimed that corruption has directly impacted the citizens' well-being as they might no longer have legacy for their children, had to suffer the outcome of piling national debt, and losing natural resources ownership (Akademi Anti Korupsi: Pengantar Korupsi, 2018). Furthermore, ICW also brought grand corruption cases to further amplify public grievances. The organization used national ID cards corruption case to illustrate better how ID creation was delayed for up to twelve months after a significant amount of money were stolen by a prominent political party figure.

In "Poverty and Corruption" course, ICW contested UNCAC for neglecting state responsibility to provide welfare for the citizens. Failing to combat corruption means that the state has failed in providing quality education, protecting vulnerable groups, and maintaining health care system. (Akademi Anti Korupsi: Korupsi dan Kemiskinan, 2019). ICW further elaborates state responsibility on welfare by using an example of conflict of interests in coal mining industries, of which the organization mentioned that the state has failed to fulfil its responsibility in providing health benefits and safe access to water by participating in the extractive industry. ICW further linked political impunity with the coal mining owners as they were not held accountable for their crimes (Akademi Anti Korupsi: Korupsi dan Kemiskinan, 2019). In their public accountability review after corrupting national welfare system during Covid-19, ICW repeated its stance by pointing out that the state had already neglected its responsibility, and to make matters worse, stealing the money from the vulnerable group group (ICW, 2020a). Despite mentioning state's responsibilities to protect, fulfil and respect human rights, ICW did not mentioned any article out of international human rights law or the scope, nature, and extent of the state responsibilities. Nevertheless, ICW demonstrated the severity of corruption cases by selecting ongoing corruption cases in Indonesia and identify which rights were violated.

Not only the citizens, ICW also attempt to argue corruption worsen Indonesian democracy as it creates unfair rule of law and absence of transparency. In the "Corruption and Democracy" course, ICW explained that the casualties of corruption and democracy as well as the dimension of power and authority in defining corruption (Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Korupsi dan Demokrasi, 2019). During the course, ICW stated that corruption is depending on how authority is managed, and hence requires accountability from the political parties and citizens. ICW continued by stating that eliminating corruption means improving good governance, which in turn, resulting in a better public service quality. Meanwhile, the lack of good governance may create a law practice that is *tajam kebawah, tumpul keatas* (unfair practices of law), maladministration, and disproportional public welfare allocation (Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Korupsi dan Demokrasi, 2019).

Previous studies argued the political culture in Indonesia is unfavorable for any political changes driven from below. This was caused by New Order regime creates the absence of structural explanation of political issues, demobilized and disorganized citizens (Bourchier, 2015; Hadiz, 2000; Hadiz, 2006). Given the socio-context of the New Order regime, redefining corruption as a politically charged act, shifting the blame, and providing context might not be sufficient to mobilize the public. According to Nash, constructing rights means the social movement actors should establish the reference actors of violations – who is the marginalized and the victim of corruption (Nash, 2015, p. 13). The process even more important as while UNCAC's preamble describes corruption "undermines democracy and the rule of law, leads to violations of human rights, distorts markets, erodes quality of life and allow organized crime, terrorism, and other threats of human security to flourish", it does not cover its impact to inequality and welfare of citizens.

In this process, ICW creates the meaning of 'human rights violations of corruption'. ICW's treatment of corruption relevant to the standards made by the International Council on Human Rights Policy (ICHRP) which explained that corruption-related human rights violations could identify by (Bacio-Terracino, 2010):

1) Identify the corruption practice and establish what corrupt act is involved;
2) Identify the perpetrator: state actor or someone acting in partnership with a government official;
3) Identify the state human rights obligations, study the scope and the content of the human rights in question and establish what acts or omissions of the state were required;
4) Evaluate the responsibility of the state for damage caused and determine if the state had undertaken an effective investigation and prosecuted those found responsible; further, determine which forms of reparation would be adequate for the given cause.

The term 'human rights violations' can be constructed as it is a result of situations, experiences, and histories (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004, p. 2). Merry argued that NGOs plays a role to construct human rights cases and transform them in a way that will increase their appeal and mobilize pressure (Goodale & Merry, 2007, p. 41). Merry continues to elaborate the process starting from naming, defining human rights violations process, and end it by answering to a question of what constitutes as violence. The new meaning of violence, in turn, will also strengthen their collective frame to resonate better with public grievances (Benford and Snow, 1988).

### Creating rights-based activity to fight corruption

In the "Critical Pedagogy for Anti-Corruption Education" course of Akademi-Anti Korupsi, ICW acknowledged the citizens' ability to mobilize and organize opposition to the government has been neutralized by the New Order regime. This has caused the Indonesian public to be more susceptible to participating in populist sentiment and money politics (Akademi Anti-Korupsi: Pedagogi Kritis Anti-Korupsi, 2019). Moreover, the organization also blamed the stick-and-carrot nature of Indonesian education system, which cannot be separated from the New Order legacy. In their "Critical Pedagogy for Anti-Corruption Education" course, ICW stated that the education system intended to control the citizens, rather than liberating them.

After inciting critical consciousness, ICW developed twelve anti-corruption strategy modules, which include law enforcement monitoring, public examination, citizen report card, election monitoring, and public service advocacy. Their advocacy efforts and investigation tools were results of their previous studies on related issues, which allows ICW to provide empirical evidence for certain issues in the respective fields. For example, in ICW's module on monitoring school's budget allocation, they mentioned that schools are still facing difficulties in fulfilling adequate infrastructures, fulfilling teachers' welfare, and supplying their own students with necessary study materials. Furthermore, ICW had also attempted to gain personal sentiment regarding corruption within the education sector:

> *"On the other hand, although parents had already spent a lot of money for education, school is still not maintained properly. It can be seen through the condition of the school building, learning materials, and the quality of the teacher" (ICW, 2021).*

In this stage of vernacularization process, ICW brought rights to information as one of anti-corruption tools. In 2008, the Indonesian government passed the bill on Public Information and ICW deemed the bill enactment to be able to guarantee access to information, which in turns increase the public participation in the decision-making

process (ICW, 2015). ICW claimed that rights to information is significant to anti-corruption activism as corruption emerged due to disclosed public information, and civil society struggled to prevent and eradicate corruption following asymmetric information (ICW, 2015). The UNCAC Toolkit also mentioned that information access can be seen as a means of empowerment to exert influence and affect outcomes (UN Anti-Corruption Toolkit, p. 363). Since then, ICW has submitted hundreds of public information requests, including information pertaining to funds for public facilities such as operational budget for school police, and political party financing. The module repeatedly mentions the importance of the rights to obtain information. By implementing human rights mechanism, ICW does not only amplify the urgency of state responsibility, but also operating anti-corruption activism within the appropriate legal corridor. Moreover, it also allows ICW to point out responsible actors and amplify rights consciousness, as their statement after their request for information were rejected:

*"The Constitutional Court (MK) proceeding does not reflect the state responsibility on protecting public rights of information that is already guaranteed by article 28F of the Indonesian constitution. Moreover, MK has injured the spirit of public information which is one of the important characteristics of democratic country to exercise good governance" (ICW, 2020b).*

Furthermore, the creation of anti-corruption modules also serves to corroborate ICW's previous argument that corruption expanded beyond the abuse of power committed public officials. This method also extends to the public's engagement, ranging from raising awareness to voicing their opinion into a more systemic and investigative approach.

In this phase of vernauclariztion process, ICW aims to translate corruption to rights-based practice. According to Merry, this process aims encouraging the constituent to frame their grievances in human rights frame (Merry, 2006, p. 39). The significance of standardizing and creating the anti-corruption technique was also the results of New Order legacy that provides citizens no experience and organizational capacity to creates changes. At the same time, formal political channels were also closed due to patronage politics (Mietzner, 2013) and high entry cost to join the politics (Fionna & Tomsa, 2017). In addition, anti-corruption activist also become the target of government repression (Mietzner, 2020, p. 12), as ICW researcher and KPK's investigator were harassed following their activity on exposing corruption cases (Detik, 2010; Safenet, 2020; Tempo, 2017).

Given the socio-political context, ICW needs to ground their definition and calls for a concrete action to fight corruption by developing creative approaches to attract the public's interests. However, ICW needs to be mindful regarding their discursive fields and decide when and how they could opt to a resonate or radical strategy during this entire process (Ferree, 2003). In other words, ICW needs to ensure that their activism will not cause any harm or legal charges from the government or other involving actors. Hence, in this step ICW aimed to generate critical consciousness among citizens. Despite the severity of corruption impacts, ICW needs to persuade the public that they are entitled to basic rights and deserve a better well-being, of which anti-corruption movement is one of the measures to achieve that.

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## *Distributing the new definition of corruption through educational program*

The next step of ICW vernacularization strategy is to circulate their meaning of corruption into wider public and build a network of society to assist the ICW vernacularizing anti-corruption discourse into a more specific cultural and societal context. In this process, ICW circulate human rights through intensive, Sekolah Anti-Korupsi (Anti-corruption School – SAKTI), the program was first initiated in 2013 to develop basic knowledge on corruption, including historical dimension, theory, skills to implement anti-corruption instrument, and basic skills on anti-corruption campaigns and advocacy (ICW, 2018a). The establishment of SAKTI was also ICW's attempt to adapt to the strict Indonesian political context and depoliticized citizens as the coordinator of ICW argued that citizen participation would be much easier and more effective if the public had more knowledge, skills to fight corruption, and grassroots anti-corruption activist tied together and able to work in concert (ICW, 2013).

The materials contained in SAKTI further explained ICW's attempt to vernacularize Indonesia's political and social context in four ways. *First*, with material such as social analysis, history of corruption, and Marxian perspective on corruption, ICW attempts to avoid ahistorical by developing a curriculum suitable to the Indonesian political and social context. Primarily as the material draws from similar roots as the one in Akademi Anti-Korupsi, that means aiming to produce critical and rights consciousness among participants.

*Second*, materials such as investigation and Marxian perspectives might be unsuitable to be held in public due to the stigmatization of Marxian ideas and political repression (Hadiz, 2000) Thus, an exclusive SAKTI was chosen both for the reason to be more flexible in disseminating ideas without societal constraint and at the same time, to protect the participants from political repression. *Third*, by equipping the participant with anti-corruption skills, ICW gives freedom to the participant how to fight their own corruption accordingly to their context and to measure their own corruption situation, rather than relying on an international standard such as Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Finally, the terms from UNCAC are limitedly used as a starting point to define the corruption context in Indonesia as ICW sticks with their definition of corruption. Meanwhile, the language of human rights was also used as justification to move for the issue rather than becoming a standard or setting a scope for government responsibility and citizen movement.

To not repeat the similar education system model, ICW designed the learning process by providing more space for discussion and practice rather than lecture (Sri Haryanti, personal interview, 18th August 2022). ICW exercised this model by asking participants about the corruption cases in their origin, assisting them to analyze the theory and concept, and brainstorming which anti-corruption module suits them. Moreover, the materials from ICW are also helpful for the participant to prove or indicate the corruption situation in Indonesia or their local context:

> *"For all I know before, corruption is only matters in Jakarta, but now I realize that corruption is everywhere, including in my district, and there are many ways of corruption" (Mona Ervita personal interview, 19th August 2022).*

ICW also took the participant to the site where the anti-corruption movement

is practiced. During the site visit, the participants were taken to Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). In this activity, the participants were exposed to the works of KPK, learning directly from the investigators and understanding the procedure to handle corruption. Resulting of this exposure, the participant gained more motivation and political consciousness regarding the importance of corruption. Furthermore, besides KPK, ICW also invited the participants to visit the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI) to expose themselves with public reports to YLBHI regarding government repression and neglect of state responsibility. During this activity, the issue that was addressed was not necessarily a corruption case but rather how a corrupt institution damaged the rule of law. This way, ICW has vernacularized the depoliticized citizens who thought corruption was merely an elite issue and thought there is the proximity of corruption, and everyone could be part of the damage.

After five days of training, SAKTI participants were sent back to their hometowns, where they were assigned to develop a follow-up plan to address real-life corruption in their local community. During the SAKTI session, ICW reminded the participant to address feasible cases rather than grand corruption cases very concretely. This means the meaning of corruption returns to petty corruption as in UNCAC, while the ICW definition was only applicable to explain corruption from a national perspective. The participant was also encouraged to collaborate with other activist elements in their local community. Throughout this activity, ICW has proven that their vernacularization strategy worked as now the participant, who formerly had minimum knowledge of corruption but in five days were politicized and 'able to channel their anger through knowledge. Thus, ICW's vernacularization strategy, from

redefining corruption, setting the victims and the responsible actors, and creating anti-corruption methods and techniques, almost ended. The next step, however, is to ensure ICW new construction of how an anti-corruption movement should be exercised multiplied and has mobilizing capacity to respond to corruption cases.

## Fostering anti-corruption identity

SAKTI's primary purpose was to connect pro-democracy activists across the country in a five-days training and equip them with a new understanding of corruption as well as a new methodology to fight corruption. The practices of vernacularization by SAKTI participants starts from the follow-up plan, when they were tasked to create an anti-campaign, program, or activity supervised by ICW officers and corruption funded by the organization. During the process, local student activists, NGOs, and other elements of social movement had the opportunity to learn the new definition of corruption, the impact of corruption on the public, and the technique that ICW formulated.

Outside of SAKTI setting, the former participant also created their own organization and implemented ICW definitions and technique for their members. Korneles Materay, former SAKTI's 2017 participant from Timika, West Papua, established a community called *Tapere*. The community was established to address Special Autonomy fund allocation in West Papua, but the citizen could not receive the benefits. At the same time, local youth in the region has the minimum conception of corruption and has no technical capacity to take action. This situation resulted in Korneles gathering local youth and creating public discussion and anti-corruption classes with other social movements and schools. Korneles involvement continued as his organization submitted a public information

request regarding the allocation of the Special Autonomy fund in the region. Moreover, Korneles admitted how SAKTI influenced the development of his new organization:

*"Special Autonomy and abuse of power have been massive in the local elite, it has become the grievances of youth in Papua. However, we have no special skills, network, do not know to handle, and calculate the risks. Thanks to knowledge I earned from SAKTI, we can investigate corruption without bringing the word corruption but with other interpretation that has the same meaning"* (Korneles Materay, personal interview, 13th August 2022).

Moreover, former SAKTI participant also redefines anti-corruption meaning into their local context. For instance, context in Timika allowed Korneles to redefining corruption only limited to makan duit (eating money) where the authority used public money, but the public did not receive any benefits due to lack of transparency. Similarly, Abror, former participant in Bali redefine corruption and diagnose corruption happened when public officials do not perform accordingly to their responsibility (Abror Tonjilla, personal interview, 15th August 2022).

While Korneles and Abror initiated their social movement group following their involvement in SAKTI, some participants had already joined local anti-corruption NGOs and stated their motivation to join the program was to improve their anti-corruption skills and to develop a network with other anti-corruption activists in the country. For example, Sri Haryanti, a former participant of SAKTI 2017 from Pontianak, West Kalimantan, is a program officer of Gemawan, an anti-corruption NGO based in her city established in 1999, around the same time as the creation of ICW. When asked about her motivation for joining SAKTI, Haryanti stated she was expecting to gain friendships and network so that she can create a broader anti-corruption network:

*"At that time, it was a national level SAKTI, gathering students, youth from various part of Indonesia to have the opportunity to meet, learn, and create a collective action in anti-corruption issue, so that I can remind myself that I am not alone in this fight and we have to multiply our friends and awareness of anti-corruption"* (Sri Haryanti, personal interview, 18th August 2022).

Moreover, Anti also acknowledges that despite herself being a former law student and working in anti-corruption NGOs, she thought she did not have enough skills and knowledge of corruption. Notably, she found suitable material such as monitoring law and court and budget analysis as essential courses she learned in the program and never had previously learned the materials mentioned. Furthermore, she found the course on monitoring procurement using Open Tender is useful, considering the national development context was focused in West Kalimantan. At that time, the provinces were building railway, highway, and power plant that required a public check on the projects.

Replicating ICW works, Gemawan also created its own anti-corruption school with a focus on monitoring procurement in Pontianak. The program is also necessary considering despite plenty of development projects in the province, the public still has the minimum concern to fight corruption. Anti admitted that she was influenced and brought materials from SAKTI into Gemawan anti-corruption school in the development of the curriculum (Sri Haryanti, Personal interview, 18th August 2022). Besides material, she also replicates the way ICW exercised the class by adding more practice, games, and relational meetings rather than long lectures.

Ni Ketut Juliantari, program officer of *Balebengong*, an anti-corruption NGO based in Bali. Drawing from her five years experiences in the organization, Juni encountered the difficulty of local context in Bali where there is not one single system to manage public officials, while at the same time, it is public service that committed more corruption. Furthermore, the collectivism value that was held in the community also forced corruption cases to be solved in kekeluargaan, or in a modest manner rather than bring them to justice (Brauchler, 2019). Juni also retells her experience where she was afraid of investigating corruption in her district after she was looked down by the local official considering her young age and low stature in the community. To pass through these local context boundaries, Juni aspired to convince the public that information is not only owned by the elite, but rather everyone, including citizens. Similar to ICW, Juni anti-corruption works aim at reclaiming citizenship rights to information:

> *"ICW and Balibengong has similar stance that information should not only belong to the elite, but also every member of citizen and citizen has rights to produce information until reaching the district level." (Ni Ketut Juliantari, personal interview, 22nd August 2022)*

While Korneles and Abror created their own anti-corruption school for the youth, Juni attempted to replicate ICW by specifically engaging local journalists. By approaching local journalists, Juni was convinced it would increase public literacy and claim citizenship rights in a sense public would have the opportunity to obtain their information. However, due to lack of information, Bali citizens only considered corruption a 'Jakarta issue' as the media only covers corruption cases of high-level officials, and the public does not realize that lower rank officials can also exercise corruption.

## Conclusion

The previous study on social movement in Indonesia successfully evaluated the works of social movement in Indonesia with variety of outcome or limitation (Hadiz, 2018; Mudhoffir, 2022; Setiawan, 2021; Mietzner, 2013; Aspinall, 2013). The study opposed to the skeptical reviewing by arguing that the fact there was mobilization and social movement, meaning that changes from below is worth to consider in Indonesia. The efficacy of the movement is the capacity to mobilize rather than direct political outcome. Instead, the process of how they create the movement should be examined. This study extends the contribution of social movement study by analyzing the process of how the NGOs creates its positive outcome.

To build social movement in Indonesia, the social movement actor studied in this research creates a collective action framework to attract, recruit, mobilize citizens for anti-corruption movement. The collective action framework developed from series of translation of international anti-corruption norms into local context. The translation results in the construction and claiming corruption as human rights issue, allowing the social movement actors to add political dimension of corruption, identify the victims, creates an alternative technique to combat corruption. After the process, social movement actors distribute their meaning through their activity and hence, the task of vernacularizaion shifted to local NGOs.

The anti-corruption norm has translated, transformed, and traveled from its inception in Geneva, where corruption is understood as an administrative and bureaucratic problem, into a more structural dimension in Jakarta through the works of ICW and finally met into a more narrow local context such as *kongkalikong* in Bali or *makan duit* in Timika, West Papua. The similarity of such

translation, however, depends and thanks to ICW's attempt to redefine the meaning of corruption so that it can be suitable to the general socio-political context in Indonesia and generate a more rights-conscious meaning. Talking about corruption now expand to the discussion of human rights violations, rights entitlement, and various ways citizens can participate in anti-corruption activism. In a way, ICW produces the conception that fighting corruption in Indonesia means attempting to improve the human rights situation in Indonesia.

Considering the study revolved around the political sociology of human rights which covered the area of treating culture as mediating variable to claim and construct human rights, this research implicates at understanding how human rights can be practiced. While previous study focuses on the downstreaming and upstreaming of human rights, this research showed that process of claiming rights can be started from non-rights related issue such as corruption. Furthermore, this research will also implicate the study of post-authoritarian politics in Indonesia. In the case of social movement, it can be argued that human rights discourse may be the alternative frame to articulate grievances, as what Hadiz (2021) argued regarding the role of Islamic populism to do so.

While this research focus on the process of social movement formation through frame perspective, further research can extend to finally measure and evaluate the impact of implementing human rights in the social movement in Indonesia. In other corruption movement in Tunisia, for instance, Transparency International that brought neoliberal discourse potentially undermines the movement (Baumann, 2016). Similar study may provide contribution on how implanting human rights frame to the expected political outcome.

## Declaration of Ownership

This article is my original work.

## Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

## Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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