

Social Capital In The Indonesian General Election 2019

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze social capital associated with the implementation of general elections in Indonesia in 2019. The social capital in question is how the trust, network and norms held by the community, election participants, and election administrators in carrying out general elections based on honesty and justice. A hot issue that has developed in the community during the 2019 general elections in Indonesia is the impartiality or partiality of the election organizers, namely the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (KPU RI) and the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). As a result, many Indonesians doubt the performance of the Indonesian KPU and Bawaslu. Even stereotypes that appear in society can cause division or disintegration of the nation and this must be avoided. So a solution is needed that always prioritizes the value of togetherness, advances together, creates love, and nurtures one another among the community, election participants, and election organizers so that there is no division in society.

Keywords: Social Capital, Silih Asah, Silih Asih, Silih Asuh.

1. Introduction

The implementation of general elections (elections) in Indonesia in 2019 is different from the elections that have been held previously. In the past, the implementation of the presidential and vice presidential elections was held after the legislative elections. However, in 2019 the elections were held simultaneously. The 2019 elections were based on the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) to issue a Judicial Review Decision on Law Number 42 of 2008 which was petitioned by Effendi Ghazali and the Coalition of People for Concurrent Elections, in a numbered 14/PUU-XI/2013 decision partially granted the petitioner's petition to cancel Article 3 Paragraph 5 concerning the implementation of the presidential election after the legislative election, Article 12 Paragraph 1 and 2 concerning the ability of political parties to announce who their presidential candidate pair is in the legislative election campaign, Article 14 Paragraph 2 regarding the registration period for presidential candidates after the determination of the legislative election results and Article 112 concerning the implementation of the presidential and vice-presidential elections after the determination of the results of the legislative election.

In the 2019 election, there were two pairs of candidates for president and vice president, namely candidate pair number 01 and candidate pair number 02. Candidate pair number 01, namely Jokowi and KH. Ma'ruf Amin, of which Jokowi is the incumbent candidate. Meanwhile, the candidate pair for monor sequence 02 are Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Salaudin Uno.

Fourteen (14) political parties who passed the verification results at the KPU and declared as participants in the 2019 election. Prior to the implementation of the election, the Indonesian KPU has also determined the serial number of political party participants participating in the 2019 elections, namely (1) Kebangkitan Bangsa

(PKB); (2) Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra); (3) Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP); (4) Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar); (5) Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem); (6) Partai Garuda; (7) Partai Berkarya; (8) Partai Keadilan Sejahtera; (9) Partai Persatuan Indonesia (Perindo); (10) Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP); (11) Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI); (12) Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN); (13) Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura); dan (14) Partai Demokrat.

Before the election was held, the Indonesian Republican General Election Commission (KPU RI) stipulated that the campaign for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates as well as political parties participating in the election would be carried out for seven months, starting from September 14 2018 to April 14 2019. The campaign implementation that took so long was certainly not effective in the administration of elections. During the implementation of the campaign, there was a lot of commotion and friction caused by the supporters of the presidential and vice presidential candidates who were promoted by each political party.

Not only that, the issue of partiality made by state officials or regional officials to support one of the presidential candidates is also an interesting thing. Even not only state officials, the neutrality of law enforcement agencies is also questioned. This can be seen from the news broadcast or written by the mass media, be it television, newspapers, or other online media.

An even more interesting issue in the 2019 election is the impartiality of the election organizers, namely the KPU and Bawaslu (General Election Supervisory Agency). As a result, many Indonesians doubted the performance of the Indonesian KPU and Bawaslu. Public distrust of the KPU's performance, for example when ballot boxes made of cardboard and the number of permanent voter lists (DPT) do not match. As for Bawaslu itself, the public also does not trust Bawaslu's performance when violations committed by candidate pair number 01 are not taken action against. However, if there is a violation in candidate pair 02 Baswaslu, he always acts firmly.

On April 17, 2019, simultaneous elections were held. All Indonesian people who have the right to vote must vote and may not vote (golput). However, sadly, the election slogan "JURDIL" (honest and fair) which is always echoed by politicians and the government does not match the reality on the ground. Many cheatings occurred before and after the 2019 elections. Fraud before the implementation of the election, for example, occurred "dawn attacks", namely money politics committed by election participants. They give envelopes containing money for people to vote or punch them. Meanwhile, fraud that occurred after the election (mass counting of ballot papers) also occurred, for example the number of ballots that had been punched by a certain candidate pair and also legislative candidates, as happened in Selangor Malaysia, ballots for Indonesian citizens living there were punched.

All events that occurred in the 2019 election will certainly cause public distrust of the results of the election implementation in Indonesia. When there were systemic frauds so that the public assumed that their votes at the time of voting were being played with and were not even appreciated by the election organizers. Moreover, the existence of data manipulation and deception carried out by survey institutions has made Indonesians doubtful if the 2019 elections are carried out honestly and fairly.

This paper attempts to analyze the implementation of the 2019 election which is related to social capital. The social capital in question is how the trust, network, and norms possessed by the community, election participants, and election administrators in carrying out general elections based on honesty and justice.

2. Social Capital

Social capital is a series of informal values or norms (Francis Fukuyama, *Trust, Kebijakan Sosial Dan Penciptaan Kemakmuran*; Francis Fukuyama, "Social Capital and Global Economy"); a series of human relations processes that are supported by networks, norms, and social beliefs (Cox); social adhesives (Partha and Ismail); values or norms embodied in behavior (Solow); and trust (trust), mutual understanding (quality understanding) and shared values (Cohen and Prusak).

Putnam (1996) defines social capital as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits". Social capital becomes the glue for every individual, in the form of norms, trust and work networks, so that mutually beneficial cooperation occurs, to achieve common goals.

According to Burt (1992) the ability to associate is highly dependent on a condition in which the community is willing to share to find common ground for common norms and values. If this ethical-normative meeting point is found, then in turn individual interests will be subject to the interests of the group community, such as loyalty,

honesty, and dependability. Social capital is based more on general social virtues. Social capital will not run out if it is used, but will increase. The damage to social capital is more often the result not because it is used, but because it is not used. In contrast to human capital, social capital also refers to people's ability to associate with other people (Coleman). Relying on shared norms and values, these associations between humans produce trust which in turn has large and measurable economic value (Fukuyama, 1995).

2.1 Media: Hoax News Vs News Not Hoax

Indeed, since ancient times the mass media have played an important role in providing information to the public. Information about the 2019 election must also be reported by all existing mass media. Through the mass media, the public can find out about political party participants and the presidential and cawapres candidate pairs they will choose. Likewise with legislative candidates, the use of mass media is also necessary. The public can find out which legislative candidates will sit in the DPR RI, Provincial DPRD, Regency/City DPRD, and DPD RI. Including legislative candidates who are indicated by corruption. Not only that, the public can also find out the vision and mission as well as the work programs offered by candidates who will compete in the 2019 elections. Lasswell (1972) explains that "study of politics is the study of influence and the influential". The appearance of the mass media will carry out several functions that describe democracy in its news.

Information about the 2019 elections presented by the mass media must be factual, honest and reliable. The news that is presented and given to the public must be in accordance with the facts in the field. This will certainly affect the credibility of the mass media. Because, sometimes the mass media likes to give and present news that is not in accordance with the facts on the ground or is always exaggerated. This is because there is competition that occurs in the mass media and they only seek to profit from the existing news. The neutrality of the mass media must also be maintained. The mass media must not side with any political party participants and presidential candidate pairs.

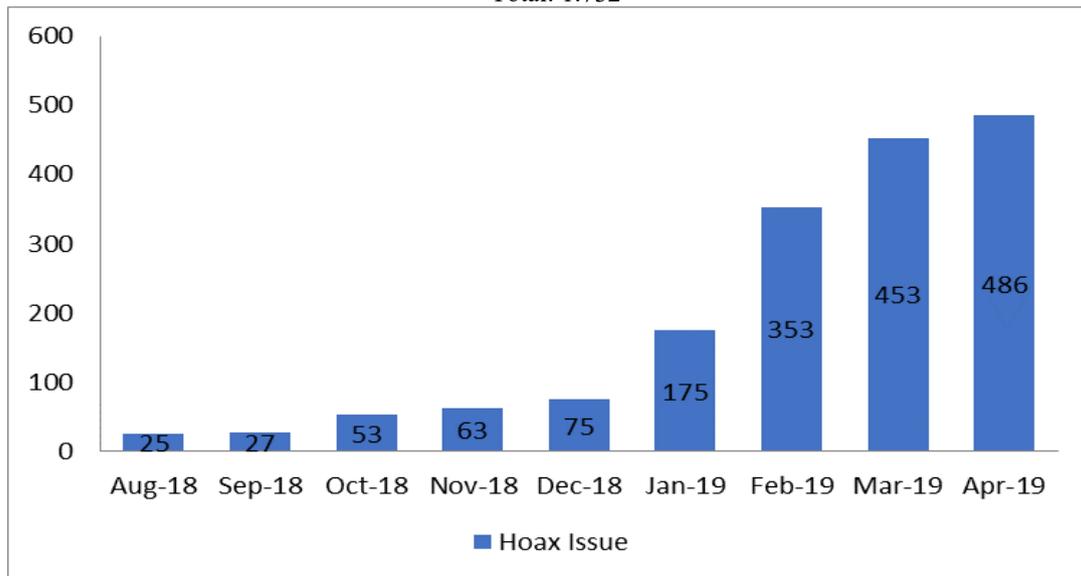
But something sad happened in the 2019 elections in Indonesia. It turned out that the impartiality and impartiality of the mass media were questioned by the public in the 2019 elections. Most of the news presented did not match the facts on the ground. The alignments and non-neutrality of the mass media in the 2019 election because most of them are owned by election participants and controlled by one particular presidential candidate. Thus, the news presented to the public always benefits certain candidate pairs and harms other candidates. Mass media is no longer a broadcasting institution that can provide positive information to the public. In the end, the public can be pitted against reporting that is not credible.

Not only mass media, online media including existing social media also play a role in providing and disseminating news about the 2019 election. However, the news or information disseminated sometimes contains hoax or fake news. Information disseminated through social media can actually influence people's thinking. People who receive it without filtering or filtering the information received will also be provoked. In fact, news or information disseminated through social media is sometimes deliberately made so that the public can believe in existing issues, including the issue of dwarfing one presidential candidate or other election participants.

The spread of hoax and non-hoax news should be avoided by mass media and online media and other social media. The government, in this case the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo), must play an active role so that hoax news does not spread. But is the government able to dispel the hoax news? This is what the Indonesian people then ask. The public feels doubtful about the performance of Kominfo in overcoming this problem. Public doubts because the Minister of Communication and Information himself is a member of the success team of the incumbent candidates.

Therefore, the public must be careful in accepting news that is not necessarily true. The public needs to filter news that is considered hoax and news that is not hoax. Because news that is provocative in nature will certainly lead to divisions in society which will lead to the nation's disintegration. We must avoid this so that society is not divided by misleading opinions.

Chart 1. Hoaxes Issue Finding August 2018-April 2019
 Total: 1.732



Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Republic of Indonesia, 2019

Based on the chart 1, a total of 486 hoaxes, false news, and fake news were identified by the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia during April 2019. The total number of hoaxes that were collected, identified, verified and validated by the Ministry of Communications and Informatics became 1,732 hoaxes in the period August 2018 to April 2019.

Of the 486 hoaxes during April 2019, there were 209 hoaxes of political categories. So that the total number of hoaxes identified, verified and validated by the Ministry of Communications and Informatics is 620 hoaxes. Political hoaxes include fake news that attacks presidential and vice presidential candidates, political parties participating in the election and election organizers, both KPU and Bawaslu.

From the Kominfo AIS Machine search, the number of hoaxes, false news, fake news and hate speech continues to increase ahead of voting day 17 April 2019. It does not stop at the voting date, the number of hoaxes continues to increase after 17 April 2019. The number of hoax content circulating in our society continues to increase from month to month. In August 2018, only 25 hoaxes were identified by the AIS Team of the Content Control Sub Directorate of the Directorate General of Information Applications at the Ministry of Communications and Informatics. In September 2018, it rose to 27 hoaxes, while in October and November 2018 it was 53 and 63 hoaxes, respectively. In December 2018, the number of hoax info continued to rise to 75 content.

A very significant increase in the number of hoax content occurred in January and February 2019. A total of 175 hoax content were successfully verified by the Kominfo AIS Team. This number doubled in February 2019 to 353 hoax content. This figure continued to climb to 453 hoaxes during March 2019.

Of the total 1,731 hoaxes from August 2018 to April 2019 identified, verified and validated by the Kominfo AIS Team, hoaxes in the political category dominated at 620 hoax items. Followed by 210 hoaxes in the government category, 200 hoaxes in the health category, 159 hoaxes related to slander, 113 hoaxes related to crime and the rest were hoaxes related to religious issues, natural disasters, myths, international and other issues.

2.2 Fading Public Trust

The 2019 elections have been held. Many memorable stories and made a mark in this year's democratic party. However, the stories presented did not match the expectations of the Indonesian people. The public hopes that the elections can run smoothly, safely, and of course honestly and fairly in accordance with the election slogan that is always echoed, namely honest and fair elections. In fact, the expectations that the community wanted did not match the realities on the ground during the general election. The failure of holding the 2019 elections is deeply felt by the wider community.

Inflation of the number of DPT that is not in accordance with existing data. The existence of a double DPT, the incompatibility of the DPT to the confusion of the existing DPT identities. There were also rumors that there were voters from China who were deliberately brought in to help the incumbent candidate pair win. The case of the promulgation that occurred in Selangor Malaysia added confidence to the public that there was fraud in the 2019 elections. Not only in Malaysia, many ballots that have been punched also occur domestically. This information spreads through the mass media, so that people also have various kinds of opinions.

The cheats that occurred in the 2019 election certainly brought a distinct impression on the community. Moreover, the absence of any sanctions imposed by Bawaslu on the KPU adds to public confidence that there is partiality or non-neutrality of the current election organizing parties. And it really appears and the news can be seen by the public through online media and social media sent by people who feel their voice is not respected.

As a result, the public became disappointed and did not believe in the 2019 election organizers. The election slogan which reads "jurdi" or "honest and fair" is far from burning. The public began to distrust the election organizers. As explained by Fukuyama (1995), trust is an expectation that grows in a society which is shown by honest, orderly, and cooperative behavior based on shared norms. Social trust is the application of this understanding.

Cox (1995) then notes that in societies with high levels of trust, social rules tend to be positive; relationships are also collaborative. According to him, We expect others to manifest good will, we trust our fellow human beings. We tend to work cooperatively, to collaborate with others in collegial relationships (Cox, 1995: 5). Social trust is basically a product of good social capital. The existence of good social capital is indicated by the existence of strong social institutions; social capital gives birth to a harmonious social life (Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital"). Damage to social capital will lead to anomie and anti-social behavior (Cox).

3. Trustworthy Network

The problem of fraud that occurred in the 2019 elections which caused public distrust made the public have to look for trustworthy parties. Parties that are considered neutral, for example, include the TNI, a survey agency that is not paid or receives an order from one of the candidate pairs to win the quick count results and the most important thing is the witnesses who brought C1 from each TPS who worked sincerely and voluntarily. The parties that are trusted are certainly not easy to believe. People are looking for them through existing and trusted networks too. Of course, these networks are obtained from the existence of cooperation. Collaborative networks between communities are the dynamic infrastructure of social capital (Putnam, *The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life*).

The network facilitates communication and interaction, enables trust to grow and strengthens collaboration. Healthy societies tend to have strong social networks. People know and meet other people. They then build strong relationships, both formal and informal (Onyx). Putnam (1995) argues that close social networks will strengthen members' feelings of cooperation and the benefits of participation.

It can be said that social capital is born from the bottom (bottom-up), is not hierarchical and is based on mutually beneficial interactions. Therefore, social capital is not a product of government initiatives and policies. However, social capital can be increased or destroyed by the state through public policy (Cox; Onyx; Nuraini et al.; Novitasari et al.). Including in the case of the current 2019 election, policies made by the government that only benefit the incumbent, including those who support him and disadvantage his opponents. So that the community also looks for other reliable alternative networks, such as from impartial academics and also the TNI who are still neutral.

4. Norms Not Obeyed

Norms consist of understandings, values, expectations and goals that are shared by a group of people. Norms can come from religion, moral guidelines, as well as secular standards such as professional codes of ethics. Norms are built and developed based on the history of cooperation in the past and are applied to support a climate of cooperation (Fukuyama, 2002; Putnam, 1993). Norms can be both pre-conditions and products of social beliefs.

Basically, the basic foundation for the 2019 election is the mandate of the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution which must be implemented as a country based on democracy. As the mandate of Pancasila and the 1945

Constitution, the implementation of every election must be fair and honest. To achieve fair and honest elections, it requires election organizers who are trustworthy, neutral, have integrity in the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and do not take sides with anyone. Moreover, during the inauguration, the election organizer had taken an oath based on a religious oath. So the election organizers should make the oath that has been pronounced as a moral guide so as to form a professional code of ethics as an election organizer.

Weak public trust due to election administrators who are not neutral, dishonest, unfair, and low in integrity has made the public think that the 2019 election is considered a failure and is worse than the previous election. The norms that have been embedded and built as characteristic of Eastern societies have faded. The fading of these norms is likely the result of the existence of "deals" or "agreements" that occurred between the election organizer and election contestants with the desire of better assets or positions. because human nature is greedy and always lacks what they get, they will justify any means to achieve this.

4.1 *Silih Asah, Silih Asih, And Silih Asuh*: Knitting The Lost Social Capital

Currently the political condition in Indonesia is unstable, this can be seen from the many reports in every electronic media and print media about the behavior of politicians who display each other's unhealthy power struggles in the 2019 elections. Officials who have power have forgotten society. Politics as the art of reaching decisions has turned into a fixed price struggle between interest groups. The spirit of the principles of representation, solemnity and wisdom has now turned into a democratic party. Politics is no longer positioned as a method for the welfare of the people collectively, but only as a strategy for endless battles so that it becomes a political culture that has a destructive effect on the construction of democracy.

This should be an afterthought because in essence, political culture is a human perception, the pattern of his attitude towards various political problems of political events is also carried over into the formation of structures and processes of political activities of society and government, because the political system itself is an interrelation between human beings who concerning the matter of rule and authority (Kantaprawira, 1999: 5). In fact, the determination of the distortion of the current political situation can be caused by the trimming of negative opinions that have become stereotypes in society.

In understanding the context of Indonesian political culture, of course, it has philosophical values that we always rely on. This philosophical value is embodied in terms that often appear and are popularized in the community. In the context of this paper, the author borrows the Sundanese proverb, "*Silih Asah, Silih Asih and Silih Asuh*" to knit back the faded hopes of understanding social capital during the 2019 elections. This is also to save the Indonesian people from national integration due to stereotypes in society. which developed during the implementation of the 2019 election.

First, "*Silih Asah*" is a word which denotes an activity of sharpening a tool, sharpening or smoothing something. In terminology, *Silih Asah* means enlightening knowledge, sharing information, and sharing knowledge. In the political context, *Silih Asah* can be used as an approach to communication carried out by the government towards the community so that communication can occur properly. The nature of sharing knowledge and knowledge carried out by the government will result in a faster understanding in the community so that a conducive government condition will be created.

Second, "*Silih Asih*" is an attitude of mutual affection. Building compassion between people is a noble attitude taught by our ancestors and our founding fathers since long time ago. This *Silih Asih* can unite the hearts of each other in how the process of political life can be carried out with an attitude of mutual love between the government and those being governed (society). In the political context, *Silih Asih* means that a successful system if it is supported by the strength of sincere love by the leaders for the people, a process of love for the motherland (nationalism) will arise in social life.

Third, *Silih Asuh*. Where *Silih Asuh* is an attitude of protecting each other, mutual respect, mutual respect and dignity. *Silih Asuh* in a political context means that the government's responsibility is to lead society to a more mature way of thinking, speaking and acting. *Silih Asuh* also means mentor, supervision and control in the implementation of politics. The government's task is not just given away, but the government needs to understand what the basic needs of its people are. The government must be able to become a protector to unite all components of the state in carrying out governmental work, for the sake of creating a prosperous community life.

The three foundations above are sufficient to give a big meaning to how political life must be carried out with a sense of mutual responsibility to enlighten and remind each other (*silih asah*), strategies in strengthening political identity can be carried out by loving each other by the political elite for the people (*silih asih*), and

provide mutual reinforcement in maintaining political values (*silih asuh*). Politics will have a progressive vision if it is based on the noble cultural values of the nation itself, not the culture of other nations.

5. Conclusion

In connection with the context of the 2019 election which is related to social capital is to see how social capital can work and be understood by election organizers so that the public trusts them and does not doubt their credibility and performance because they uphold the principles of honesty and fairness in elections. However, the expectations of the public do not match the reality on the ground that there is a vicious and dirty game in the 2019 elections. The public knows these games from various sources of information and news spread by electronic media and print media. As a result, it creates stereotypes in society that can lead to division and integration of the Indonesian nation. To avoid national division and integration, it is necessary to have a solution that must be provided and supported by the government and election administrators. By borrowing a term or proverb from the Sundanese, namely *silih asah*, *silih asih*, *silih asuh*. Through this proverb, it is hoped that the Indonesian people, both voters and participants or election contestants, even though they have different choices, always prioritize the value of togetherness, namely advancing together in intellect (*silih asah*), the power of love that is always created in all forms of individual relationships with each other (*silih asih*), and an attitude of protecting one another as an inseparable part of creating a harmonious life (*silih asuh*).

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