

The Role of Moral Outrage on the Impeachment of Garut Regent in 2012-2013

Nur Hidayat Sardini

Department of Politics and Government, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia
nhsardini@gmail.com

Abstract: Moral and political are two things that cannot be separated. The marriage of a regent in Garut regency, Indonesia, with an underage girl eventually leads to community action, where people demand the regent to resign from his position as a regional head. It was not even four days of marriage the regent had divorced his young wife via a short message from his own mobile phone. Therefore, the people of Garut suddenly expressed their wrath through a large-scale demonstration which pushed the Local House of Representative immediately to process the regent's removal. This research utilized a qualitative approach with a case-study method, the data in this research relied on the practice of in-depth interviews, observations, and documentaries. This research succeeded to observe that the general factor which underlying the action of demonstration in Garut which demanded the resignation of the regent was caused by the political climate change of democratization in the national level which also impacted Garut Regency. The national political-climate change increased the unconventional public participation in Garut and provided political sphere for non-state actors to establish political-involvement balance between state actors and non-state actors themselves. In other hand, the specific underlying factor on this case is the regent's behavior which was judged as the act of dishonorable humiliation on women's dignity, especially his speech in some national television channels. The power of this study lies on its novelty, filling in lubrication and study originality, towards the moral and ethical behavior as the new object on Social Movement.

Keywords: *Moral, Garut, Social Movement, Ethical Behavior, and Moral.*

1. Introduction

The common paradigm of Indonesian places a leader as a perfect figure in society. The leaders in Indonesia were taken as the patron, while the people were considered as the clients in the kind of vertical leadership which is the typical of patrimonialism (Jones, 2013). However, the structure was not automatically running without certain terms and conditions, especially if the leader is considered to have a deviant character, such as corruptive behavior (Santoso et al., 2014); as it was reflected in one of Indonesian proverbs, "The just king is the adored; the despotic king is the opposed". This proverb told that if the leaders behave politely, then the leaders will be respected. Otherwise, the leaders showing inappropriate behavior to their people hence would be condemned even opposed consequently by their people. The practice of leadership universally showed that the leaders were demanded to prioritize their people's needs rather than their own needs. They should demonstrate a certain degree of involvement, commitment, and performance in front of their people. The leaders were those who could successfully reveal their fascinating personal image. They should also be seen as those who have no mistake publicly, especially in front of his own people (Kouzes, & Posner, 2016). The concept of Sundanese political culture stated that the leaders are figures who 'kudu hade gogog hade tagok' who should speak righteously and behave favorably, without ignoring assertiveness on wrong things (Kurniasih, 2015).

Subsequently, in Sundanese leadership, the leaders should uphold the values of devoting purely for the sake of their people's interest (Hakim, 2012). On the eyes of Sundanese, which was contained on Sanghyang Siksa, the leaders should have obtained certain qualifications which were called as Parigeuing dan Dasa Pasanta, possessing a quality and quantitative behavior in a sense of their interaction with their people, with no rigid and authoritarian condition, and uphold the principle of silih asih, silih asah, dan silih asuh – as a key method for keeping everything in harmony strengthening the support of Sundanese to the highest in the structure (murbawisesa), served only to the powerful (ngawula kanukawasa), and the unity of people and the king / god (ngawula gusti, raja) (Heryana, 2014). The leadership a la Sundanese lies on the three (3) basic teachings, one of which is to be able to fulfill the set of Sundanese values (Nyunda). In the concept of nyunda, a leader was expected to unite with his people sincerely (ngumawula ka wayahna), a non-bad-behaving figure (teu ningkah), a non-arrogant figure towards others (teu adigung kamagungan), a non-self-excitement lover (teu paya diagreng-agreng), a wise and just person (agung maklum sarta adil), and a figure who avoided

corruptions (cadu basilat). Specifically, an ideal Sundanese women leadership values are righteousness, kindness, independence, and keeping her honor (Surya, 2010).

The history of the relations between leaders and their followers are more complex than as people think about. The dynamics of the relations depend on the law of interest between them. Historically, in the context of the relations, the followers are placed as the most aggrieved one because of their powerlessness. On the contrary, there are actually some leaders being guided by the political interest of their people, with a certain condition that the leaders should behave in accordance with the social moral values when they are exercising their power. As a fragment of system and the loss of leadership's direct control, the pressure to coordinate in the fragmented environment will become higher. While the people's expectation becomes higher, the burden of the leaders in some ways becomes higher too (Haus, & Sweeting, 2006). This article looks at public success in deposing regional heads who are considered to have deviated from moral and ethical values. Disappointment of the community then increased because of the attitude of the regent who acted emotionally in responding the demonstration.

In the Sundanese culture the leader is a respected person, but on the other hand a leader must also be able to provide good attitudes and examples. In other words, the demands of the community that demanded Aceng HM Fikri derived from his position as a regent is a reaction in order to maintain the local values and culture. Thousands of mass from various elements of student organizations, non-governmental organizations and community organizations in Garut held a demonstration that demand Aceng HM Fikri to resign from his position as Garut Regent. People criticize the attitude and deeds of the Garut Regent who does not respect the dignity of women by marrying a girl and divorcing her through a short message on a cell phone¹. In this article, the research object comes from the common assumption that the leaders could be deposed by their own people through a massive resisting social movement. The demonstrators behaved violently, expressing their moral outrage towards the regent who is considered to be unethical and immoral since the regent's marriage with an under-age little girl from his own people.

2. Literature Review

This research aimed to illustrate the social movement in Indonesia, especially in the era of Reform which had successfully preceded the era of Soeharto ruling Indonesia more than three decades (1965-1998). Indonesia in New Order was primarily established with three main political actors, Soeharto (the highest ordination on political structure), the Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia), and Golongan Karya (Golkar) as a subordination of state's power. For more than three decades, the New Order of Indonesia was becoming the most dominating actor in Indonesian National Politics, compared with other powers, such as non-governmental organization (Mietzner, 2013). The New Order regime produced not only political repressiveness and power business, but also political dictation on other social-culture regulations. With the fall of the New Order of Soeharto caused by the organized social movement initiated by primarily University Students, the political form of the state lost its relations with other two pillars, the state's power on political repressiveness and Golkar as Soeharto's political instrument (Aspinall, 2013). The landmark of Indonesia political constellation in post-Soeharto era was marked with the fall of State's hegemony. The social movement of Garut's people outrage was a post-hegemony movement. Furthermore, the social movement was successful to obtain their political purpose, according to the idea of success' measurement of Gamson (2015).

According to Kioupkiolis (2018), social movements tended to illustrate mass hysteria. Finding a particular form, and merely expressed the so-called righteousness in the era of democratization in a certain country. The rise of the concept of social resistance came from an assumption that social dialectics urged interactions of complex social process. One of the object which seldom to scrutinize was the matter of moral authority, social agents, and social structure in society. While some scholars have asserted that oligarchs are in control of Indonesia's democratic institutions and procedures (by being able to sponsor or directly control political machines that protect their interests), others have described postauthoritarian politics as an ongoing and

¹"Masyarakat Garut Demo Tuntut Aceng Fikri Mundur [Garut community Conduct Demonstration Demanding Aceng Fikri for Backward]." Source: <http://www.rmol.co/read/2012/12/04/88258/Masyarakat-Garut-Demo-Tuntut-Aceng-Fikri-Mundur->

mostly evenly balanced contestation between oligarchic and nonoligarchic forces (Mietzner, 2014). Similarly, Hikam (1990) proposed a concept of 'moral outrage' in a context of the origin of social resistance. He argued, in every social life, there was a 'natural morality'. In its development, society constructed social rules and social norms to obey as the social contract. Through this morality, each individual in a society to establish a social contract to legitimate social formations which had been developed before.

In a broader sense, social formations were born from the success of each individual to build social power, resulting dominating and dominated groups. In this social formation, there established social system, values system, political system, and other systems. Therefore, Hikam added, as long as it was about social obedience and resistance, it would depend on the ability (in my humble opinion, more appropriate to be said as 'willingness') from the individuals having created social formations and in the forms of social structures and social system to demonstrate imperative morality which had been agreed the social contract (Hikam, 1990). In the aspect of interaction, coordination, and social communication between the ruler and the ruled, the concepts of evaluation were born from one party to others. From the evaluations, it often produced social tension, especially in the context of social justice and social morality issues. With regard to the issue of Hikam's 'social contract,' if the leader still had an ability (willingness) to protect their own people, to maintain social peace and order, it would mean that the leader still committed on the agreed social contract. As the compensation, the people had social responsibility to obey the regulations. The mutual obligation between the ruler and the ruled should be met since each party was in commitment on agreed social contract. Hikam's concept triggered the following concept, 'obedience' and 'resistance'.

With regard to the social justice and morality, the evaluative relations should logically consequenced two things. First, 'moral obedience' was the result social willingness on following the leader who upheld social justice and moral values consistently. Second, 'moral outrage' was the result of unjust and immoral leader's violation on the agreed social contract (Hikam, 1990). Those action committed by the demonstrators placed irrational ways as well. Quoting Olson, in social movements, activists commonly aspired protests through certain ways which was normally considered as 'collective irrational behavior' (Porta, & Diani, 2015). In the context of Garut's people outrage, some women stripped their panties and draped it to the picture of the Regent. Subsequently, they paraded it at the street around the office of the Regent. The demonstrators were genuinely fascinating, clamorous, and satisfied with what they had done. In the end, they burn the panties-draped picture together. This study theoretically had contributed on some aspects of the study field of social movement. The Garut's social movement had a similar type with political protests on other third-world countries which were in the middle of political transition from authoritarianism to democracy, especially on the contemporary protest movement in non-western states, with some differences like the involvement of religion-base primordialism values on the wave of demonstrations (Fominaya, 2014).

In political transitional state like Indonesia, the movement of Garut's people's outrage could be seen as the movement to uphold the values of democracy for the sake of democratization (Tilly, & Wood, 2013). It was also perceived as inevitable process on obtaining national democracy (Santos & Avritzer, 2005). But, technically, in the real field, the form of this kind of outrage simultaneously was part of participative democracy through social expectations on more than the realization of civil and political rights in this liberal democracy (Glasius, M., & Pleyers, G., 2013). Another contribution from this people outrage was a feeling on finding, sensing, and self-identifying on local morality upholding human dignity. In the Garut's social resistance, an under-age lady was married by one of the high-rank official in local power structure, and furthermore was divorced not more than four days after the marriage with a disgraceful manner (he sent a divorcing message via short message service). Being inspired with Arbatli & Rosenberg (2017) on human dignity as an aspect of social movement, the social movement on Garut's people outrage was the point that I wanted to proposed as a type of people outrage's social movement based on ethics and human dignity.

3. Methodology

The research method used in this paper was the qualitative approach. This approach itself was a research procedure to gather, to organize, to perceive, to analyze, and to present systematically, so the research could deem the research problem contextually and illustrate perfectly what really happened. This research was also to utilize the case study method. The focus on this research was a contemporary phenomenon and

furthermore is a deviant with other cases in history (Yin, 2018). Yin's argument emphasized on systematic procedures to understand the case in this research which was the Garut moral outrage toward their leader who was considered to be unethical and immoral since their Regent's marriage with an under-age girl being blown up. The techniques for gathering the data in this research relied on the practice of in-depth interviews, observations, and documentaries. The primary source in this research relied highly on the informants which have chosen by purposive technique. The location of this research is on the area of Garut Regency.

However, being adjusted with the process of data collecting, this research was also conducted at Bandung, Bogor and Jakarta from January 2014 until August 2015. Heretofore, the study of local leader's impeachment had been being dominated by the law studies with the focus on regulation of leader's impeachment and formal juridical review, while the study on impeachment with the perspective on social movement and politics in accordance had not existed yet. Thus, this research was intended to fill the rubrication's gap on social movement and politics by taking Local Leader's impeachment as the research object, in the context of ethical and moral behavior as the new object on Social Movement study.

4. Findings and Discussion

Garut's People Outrage: The scandal of flash marriage of Garut's Regent, Aceng Fikri, and Fanny Octora with its divorcement which was considered to be uncommon by Garut's people commenced being blown up four to five months after the marriage which was held in July 14, 2012. The public just knew the shameful scandal when a women activist uploaded a photo in a Facebook group account namely "Gossip Garut". This photo quickly was shared rapidly via social media and then became the hot news in Garut. The large-scale public broadcasting stimulated negative reactions from considerable groups from Artists, Political Observers, Politicians, Local and National Officials which, in the essence, condemned the deviant behavior of the regent. The public was disappointed because the leader instead of becoming social role model behaved unethically and immorally towards their own way people. The open mass resistance of Garut's people towards the immoral Regent just commenced in November 25, 2012 – six (6) months after the Regent's marriage in July 14, 2012. In the commemoration of International Women Day, considerable Garut women activists condemned highly the behavior on the Regent towards their people, especially the women². Fanny Octora, the name of the woman who was married by the Regent without being registered in national administrative, report what she experienced with the immoral Regent to The Center of Integrated Service on Women and Children Empowerment in Garut (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak Kabupaten Garut)³.

In the very beginning, the Regent did not consider too much every single reproach to him. Instead of giving an answer as the expression of responsibility, the Regent analogized that the marriage was not quite different from a common transaction. A national television channel broadcasted his statement of the analogy which triggered especially the outrage of Garut's people and stimulated more reproaches from national figures towards him. It also encouraged Fanny to accuse him and hand her case to a Non-Governmental Organization, namely Gerakan Masyarakat Bawah Indonesia (GMBI) in November 26, 2011⁴. In 29th of November 2012, a legal aid agency, GERAK, reported a case of their client to the National Commission on Women and Children Protection of Indonesia (Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak Indonesia) in Jakarta⁵. Since the report to KPPA, the shameful scandal of this Regent became a national issue in which the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ordered Minister of Home Affairs to send a fact finding team for this particular case⁶. On 2nd December of 2012, religious figures, Islamic boarding schools, non-governmental organizations, academics, businessmen, youth, students, and social influencers conducted a meeting.

No fewer than forty-nine (49) civil organizations stated criticism to the immoral Regent. Aside of establishing an opposing platform namely Garut Savior Committee (Komite Penyelamat (KOMAT) Kabupaten Garut), they

² In-depth Interview with Ari Maulana, 19th of March 2015

³ In-depth Interview with Widjadja, 18th of March 2015

⁴ In-depth Interview with Saepudin, 10th of November 2015

⁵ In-depth Interview with Permana, 19th of March 2015

⁶ In-depth Interview with Suparman, 25th of March 2015

also declared “Limbangan Resolution” containing (1) To support totally legal efforts of Fany Octora and her Lawyer for the sake of Justice; (2) To urge the DPRD Garut to exercise their rights to pose a vote of no confidence towards the Regent; and (3) To urge the DPRD Garut to soon propose the Regent’s impeachment to Minister of Home Affairs⁷. A day after KOMAT establishment is declared, the yard of DPRD Garut’s hall is crowded with a thousand of demonstrator who were religious figures, students, and santri (Islamic students) throughout Garut. This huge demonstration was organized by one of the joining NGOs, Gerakan Masyarakat Bawah Indonesia (GMBI). The demonstrators were giving orations and shouting anti-Regent words.

They urged DPRD to soon impeach the regent from his position on the spot. Some of the elite demonstrators proposed to every single member of DPRD Garut to sign a draft of Regent’s impeachment. However, some of them were not eager to sign the draft. Those rejecting member of DPRD Garut quibbled that the impeachment of the Regent should obey the mechanism of the law. The rejection from some of the member of DPRD Garut just angered the people more and more. Some of the demonstration frontmen forced to come to the working room of DPRD and proposed the impeachment draft. Since not all of the members of DPRD were in their room, the frontmen initiated to pick up every single member of DPRD. A rumour of DPRD’s rejection on Regent’s impeachment, was soon heard by the demonstrator in front of the yard of Garut’s Regent Office – not too far from the secretariat of Garut’s DPRD. In front of the Regent’s office, the number of the demonstrator was not fewer than those conducting demonstration in front of DPRD Garut. Understanding that their political demand was rejected by DPRD, the demonstrator became more violent. Some of the demonstrators forced to enter the office of the Regent. However, the apparatus of Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja (Satpol PP) captured all of them. Local media report illustrated a thrilling situation of Garut at that time. The demonstrators and the police were pushing each other at that time in front of the Regent’s office. The head of GMBI, on behalf of the demonstrator, negotiated with the head of Satpol PP Suherman in order that the demonstrator could be allowed to enter the office of the regent.

The total number of the demonstrator was more than the number of the police at that time which resulted that the demonstrator could enter the office successfully. According to media report, the number of the demonstrator was not more than 10.000 people⁸, but the claim of the head of GMBI was more than 15.000 people⁹. Practically, the demonstrators were dominating policemen in the yard of Regent’s office. However, the head of Satpol PP asked the demonstrator not to enter the official residence of the Regent. Being violently, the demonstrator did not consider the demand from the head of Satpol PP at all which meant they did enter the official residence of the Regent. At that time, they tried to seek every symbol of the Regent. Nevertheless, it seemed that they did not find what they were looking for. They quickly moved to the office of the Regent. Even though the head of Satpol PP reminded them that official residence of the Regent could be considered as the national symbol, the demonstrator did not consider it for twice. Finally, the field coordinator of demonstration penetrated the office of the Regent and found the inauguration photo of the Regent in 2009, after pushing angrily some policemen keeping the front Regent’s official residence¹⁰. The head of Satpol PP was powerless facing the resentful behavior of demonstrant. They also brought the picture frame outside and showed it to the waiting angry demonstrator. It made the demonstrator shouted anti-Aceng louder and louder.

In an interesting scene of the demonstration, there was a woman stripping her panties and spontaneously draped it to the frame. Consequently, they paraded the draped-panties-picture of the Regent while shouting loudly, “This is the symbol of Aceng!”, “Infatuated for Panties”, “Aceng’s no more than Panties”, “Long live Panties!”, “This should close the Regent’s mouth”, “Depose Aceng!”, and many more¹¹. In the end, they burned the picture of the Regent in the middle of a street. To fulfill the demand of the demonstrator, DPRD Garut finally established a special-task team for processing the impeachment of the Regent, Aceng HM Fikri with regard to the case of flash unregistered marriage and his statement on the analogy of marriage with a transaction

⁷ In-depth Interview with Romli, 19th of March 2015. Check the Document of Limbangan, 2nd of December 2012

⁸ Radar Garut, 5th of December 2012

⁹ In-depth Interview with Permana, 25th of March 2015

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ In-depth Interview with Yousef, 18th of May 2015, and In-depth Interview with Saefullah 25th of March 2015.

which was deemed to hurt the heart of women. The limited DPRD assembly finally decided to depose Aceng and furthermore established the special-task team for processing the impeachment of the Regent. The head of the DPRD stated that DPRD had agreed to the demand of Garut's people and would run the mechanism on Aceng's impeachment in accordance with the law¹². After a full day of 4th of December 2012, there was a long lobby between DPRD and the demonstrator. Twenty-nine (29) out of forty-nine (49) members of DPRD, agreed to sign on the impeachment draft as it was said on the document of "Berita Acara Penyampaian Aspirasi Usulan Pemberhentian Bupati Garut" which the researcher got from the head of GMBI Garut¹³. In the plenary assembly of DPRD on 21st of December, they unanimously to follow up this case to the Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung).

On 22nd of January 2013, the Supreme Court investigating the case of Aceng Fikri resolved on the Resolution No. 01.P/Khs/2013 on 22nd of January 2013, bracing the Resolution of DPRD Garut No. 30 year 2012 on 12 December 2012 about the View of DPRD Garut on the Allegation of Ethics Violation and the Breaking Laws committed by Aceng Fikri as the Regent of Garut based on the provision No. 29 verse 4 the Law No. 32 Year 2004 had fulfilled the requirement for impeachment¹⁴.

Underlying Factors: The success of the demonstrator to depose the Garut's Regent should not be understood as a single phenomenon, but it should be analyzed comprehensively with the bigger issues such as Indonesian political constellation at that time. This is regarding to the great political shift from authoritarianism to democracy in Indonesia. The Garut's social movement on the case of Aceng Fikri should not be possible in the era of Soeharto's New Order. It should be ensured that the leader of New Order would counter all of the people's aspirations and the people's dissatisfaction manifested with such demonstrations like the case of Garut's Social Movement deposing their own Regent through repressive ways and involved military apparatus (Lee, 2015). After the fall of Soeharto's regime on 21st of May in 1998 which was replaced with the era of B.J. Habibie, Indonesia just entered a new phase which was more democratic than before. The resignation of Soeharto in 1998 diminished a huge political resistance on democracy (Emmerson, 2001). The leadership shift thus resulted on inevitable consequence of the end of military domination in Indonesia national politics (Crouch, 2010), centralistic (Lane, 2014) and oligarchic (winters, 2013) state a la New Order. On the other hand, Indonesia just entered a more democratic (Mietzner, 2006), decentralistic (Aritenang, 2016) and pluralistic national political constellation, which was known more as the era of Reform. Soeharto resigned from 32-years-in-power President because of the political pressure from Reform movement which mainly was initiated by University students.

President Habibie, the superseding President, did not have many options except to fulfill the political demands of the demonstrator in the Reform Movement. Under Habibie's regime, Indonesia entered the era of flux and reflux of political relations between state and non-state actors. It was totally different since in the era of New Order, State was the only dominating actor in the realm of national politics. However, in the era of post-Soeharto the power of non-state actors raised drastically, stealing the power of Indonesia renewing form of the state. Subsequently, the amendment of 1945 Indonesia Constitution was the part of the non-state actors as national political balancer (Horowitz, 2013; Indrayana, 2008), at once it also became the form of success on establishing new patterns in the most contemporary Indonesia politics. In a sense of local and national government relations, President Habibie made a policy which loosened local government to run their autonomy as large as possible except some certain policies like monetary, fiscal, region, foreign and law enforcement policies. In a broader context, the government provided public sphere to express public's aspirations through social organization or as an individual to sue the government (Hadiz, & Robison, 2014). With this politics of decentralization, the pendulum of political power was not focused only to the national government, as practiced in the New Order Era. After all, the local government became a new battle field for an obvious dynamics of politics.

¹²The Document of Report on Aspirations to Garut's Regent Impeachment, 4th of December 2012.

¹³The Treaties on Special-Task Team of DPRD Garut, 5th of December 2012

¹⁴The Resolution of DPRD Garut No. 19 Year 2012

Factors on the Impeachment of Garut's Regent: Indonesia post-Soeharto was a hybrid of the concept of oligarchy and complex democracy, but somehow was stable to establish political structure responding public participation (Winters, 2011). Even though, there was a political dynamic in locals because of the decentralization, but the political actor was dominated mainly by the oligarchy, the old political actors from New Order era who was willing to possess the political power and did not share equal chance to non-state actors because of the scarce extractive resource to organize power for the local strategic position (Fukuoka, 2013). The power transition from Soeharto's New Order to the era of Reform was mainly formed by the significant roles of the low class of society. Those roles were manifested by some actions which significantly deposed the regime of New Order. As the consequences, there were an ample of national news reporting demonstrations and the birth of some pressure groups and print media (Aspinall, & Mietzner, 2010). At the same time, the application of the decentralization strengthened the power of local popular groups which did not have vertical relations with the national government. The former political dynamic in local government, which was mainly only a little pressure subsequently transformed to be a massive pressure. This transformation was merely the response of the met interest between the national elites and local elites which gave a birth to limited social movements targeting certain purpose.

It was Emerson's argument (2001) saying that the local political dynamics were caused primarily by the detachment of national government with military in the context of national-local relations in Indonesia. The strong enough New Order institutions had been reformed and adjusted with the spontaneous conditions which could affect significantly local political pattern. In Garut regency, the dynamics of political participation were increasing. This was marked with the increasing considerable number of demonstration mainly conducted by non-state actors. The political history of Garut was the experimental history of grand ideologies in local realm with the basic characters of Garuts which civilized more than centuries ago. The Reform's contributions to Garut were the loosening of public sphere, the civil's freedom climate, the freedom of mass media, and the political fearlessness or worryness on expressing different opinions, which could be summarized as the process of democratization. The political climate of the freedom of expression was genuinely not possible to practice in the New Order era. The concrete measurement to measure political dynamic in Garut's regency in the era of Reform was the rapid rise of demonstration.

The data from General Directorate of the Unity of Nations and Politics (Directorate Jenderal Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik) showed that, from 2009 to 2013, the number of demonstration in Garut tended to increase. In the year of 2009, there conducted 72 times of demonstration, 102 times in 2010, 146 times in 2011, 99 times in 2012, 36 times in 2013. According to the data from DPRD Garut, since 2009 to 2013, there was at least 455 times demonstration. However, those actions almost ended up compromising dialogues with one of the member of DPRD Garut. The demonstrations to DPRD Garut were 146 times. If one year was 365 days, it meant that one-day people conducted demonstration and one day was free, and the day after tomorrow, they re-demonstrated¹⁵. According to the data of the Police of Garut, along 1998 to 1999 and 2000 to 2012, there was a huge demonstration when Garut's people demonstrated to depose President Soeharto as well. The waves of these demonstrations were equal with other locals in Indonesia, 51 times of demonstrations. In the year of 2000 to 2012, there were 43 demonstrations in Garut. However, that number increased to be 300 (three hundred) times in 2005¹⁶. The demonstrations in post-New-Order Garut were mainly driven by religion issue.

According to our informant, the issues to be demonstrated varied from the household issues, the increasing price of electricity, the protests on evictions, the protest on the cadger re-arrangement, up to the protest on the broken public facilities which became the responsibilities of provincial government and Garut's government. Nevertheless, the hugest demonstration conducting for weeks targeted the Regent Aceng Fikri (2012-2013) was encouraged with the success on the former Regent of Aceng, Agus Supriadi (2007, his actual period was on 2004-2009, and deposed a Local Secretary, Iman Alirahman. The political constellation as illustrated above, in the context of democratization, was seemed to be similar in Hong Kong in recent years in

¹⁵ Refined data from DPRD Garut Secretariat Year 2009-2013, also In-depth Interview with the Head of Kesbangpol Garut Suparman, 25th of March 2015.

¹⁶ Data from Polres Garut Year 1998-2012, complemented with In-depth Interview with AKP Saefullah, 25th of March 2015

which the phenomenon of the increasing political participation went along with the political protests of Hong Kong's people to the government of China, concurrently with the transformation of political structure and national economy development. The surfaced protests were perceived as the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong (Cheng, 2014). The political symptom in Garut and Hong Kong strengthened a postulation from Hibbs which stated that resisting regimes stimulated collective action from their people, which he defined as "aggressive political participation". In this aggressive political participation, there came anti-regime which was perceived by the people as norms and laws violations (Hibbs, 1973).

Precipitating Factors: The revelation of the Regent's flash marriage made Garut's people organize collective resistance on the Regent, Aceng Fikri. The four-day marriage and the Regent's divorcement via short message service were not reflecting how a good leader should behave. Instead of protecting their people, the Regent shamefully behaved immorally and unethically towards their people through his inappropriate speech. Therefore, according to our informants, the outrage of the people of Garut to their Regent was primarily triggered by their regent's behavior itself. Aside, the Regent's immoral statements broadcasted nationally just encouraged the opposing movement faster. How Aceng Fikri married and divorced his wife was a significant issue to cause Garut's outrage. The marriage was not registered in the Office of Religion Affair (Kantor Urusan Agama, KUA), which was perceived as the violation of the formal marriage law. On the other hand, how the Regent divorced his wife violated the social norms of Garut. Whereas, the religion reference (Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah) glorified the polygamous marriage with a condition that the man should uphold his wife's dignity. One of our informants agreed on the concept of polygamy because it was allowed on the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah but did not agree on such Regent's polygamy and divorcement which instead broke the teaching of Islam. Our informant questioned, "What kind of logic the he used to marry only four days and divorced in such manner?". In addition, from another informant, the triggering factor of Garut's people outrage was the manner of the regent itself which was willing to share his controversial statements¹⁷. The people's outrage was a response towards the act of law violations. The people of Garut considered that the affair of the Regent's flash marriage was a destructive act on the moral existence of Garut generally. While the wrongdoings committed by the Regent and the DPRD firstly did not put attention on it, then the people of Garut conducted an organized social resistance whose purpose was on protecting the existence of Garut's moral values. Therefore, the people's outrage was one of the instruments from social mechanism framework committed by Garut's people to condemn inappropriate behavior of the ordination of the running political power¹⁸.

The Garut's people outrage towards their Regent was perceived as the responsibility of Garut's on the moral contract created in the moment of the campaign on Local Election in 2008 resulting Aceng Fikri as the actor to win the Garut's legitimate political power. In the eyes of Garut's people, the revelation of the scandal was the form of the regent's inconsistency on obeying the contract of moral values between him and the people. The expression of people's outrage was a form of responsibility on the violation of social contract which encouraged the social resistance to him¹⁹. An important point on social contract stated that the leader should protect the people of Garut supporting him on the local election. As the consequence, the people submitted their loyalty to their Regent firstly in the context of the election which further on the government's policies²⁰. The social loyalty was the manifestation of moral obedience, the Garut's obedience judging consistency of the Regent. On the other hand, as the time goes by, the Regent was judged to violate the social contract, and then the people of Garut conducted social resistance and social disobedience as the manifestation of people's outrage. In the case of the Garut's Regent, the people of Garut considered that what the Regent did had harassed the people. Fanny, her parent, and her family, reported the scandal to some of non-governmental organizations and law enforcing institutions since they felt to be treated arbitrarily by the Regent²¹.

According to one of women activists, who were actively involved on the social movement on the Regent's impeachment, the people of Garut would not obey Aceng Fikri because he did not reflect the exemplary

¹⁷ In-depth Interview with Romli, 19th of March 2015

¹⁸ In-depth Interview with Syahidin, 20th of April 2015

¹⁹ In-depth Interview with Widjadja, 18th of March 2015

²⁰ In-depth Interview with Romli, 19th of March 2015

²¹ In-depth Interview with Permana, 19th of March 2015

character (akhlakul karimah). Furthermore, she added that the power should be in the hand of respected people, so that the people of Garut would honor and obey his orders. She boldly put it into sentences, "How the people would follow the order of the boss who loves to play women (awewek), immoral, and broke the law? Do not expect that the government would run well and would ponder the interest of the people if the leader did not pose to be an exemplary for his people²². As the assembly went on, there were some noisy colored the forum. The contra-Aceng groups did not obey the regulation of the assembly and for many times were reproved by the head of the assembly as demonstrated with the scene of when spokesperson of PKB and Gerindra fraction expressed their opinion. In the very beginning, those two fractions were seemed to be inverse from the demand of the demonstrators and their colleagues in parliament²³. However, the plenary assembly of DPRD considered that the process of the Regent's impeachment to the Supreme Court, for (1) Allegation of Ethics Violation and the Breaking Laws committed by Aceng Fikri as the Regent of Garut in Accordance with the Laws; (2) DPRD had found the information, data, facts on the allegation of violation of the Law No. 1 Year 1974 article 2 verse (2), article 3, article 4, article 5 jo Government Law No. 9 Year 1975 article 41 letter b and article 39 verse (1) and the Law No. 32 Year 2004 article 27 verse (1) letter e and f, and article 110 verse (2) committed by Aceng Fikri as the Regent of Garut; and (3) DPRD Garut stated their view on the Resolution of DPRD No. 30 Year 2012²⁴.

5. Conclusion

The moral outrage of Garut's people leading up to the impeachment of Garut's Regent in the Year of 2012-2013 is the expression of Garut's people struggle to the immoral and unethical Regent with regard to his flash marriage and how he divorced his ex-wife. Through the demonstration, the masses suppress the Local House of Representatives (DPRD) of Garut Regency to process and recommend impeachment of the Regent by firstly denounce the regent to the Law Enforcement Institution and prosecute him with applicable law. The actions and demands of the masses then ultimately succeeded in making the regional heads to terminate his position in the middle of the period. The underlying factors on the Garut's people outrage resulting the impeachment on the Regent of Garut in the year of 2012-2014 was part of the democratization caused by the political structural transformation and the government, strongly affected in the regency of Garut. Therefore, it dynamized and increased political participation unconventionally and urged the DPRD to fulfill the demand of the resentful people. While, the precipitating factor on this case was the Regent's statements in the media broadcasted many times which was judged to be immoral and unethical in a sense of four-day marriage and how he divorced his wife.

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²² In-depth Interview with Komariah, 25th of March 2015

²³ In-depth Interview with Fahmi, 26th of March 2015

²⁴ The Note on DPRD Garut Assembly, 26th of December 2012

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